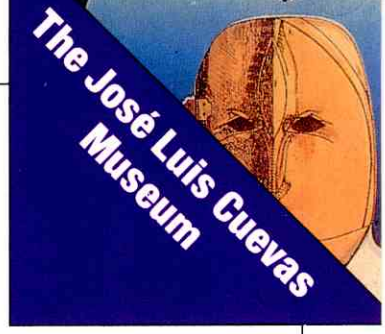
Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES



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Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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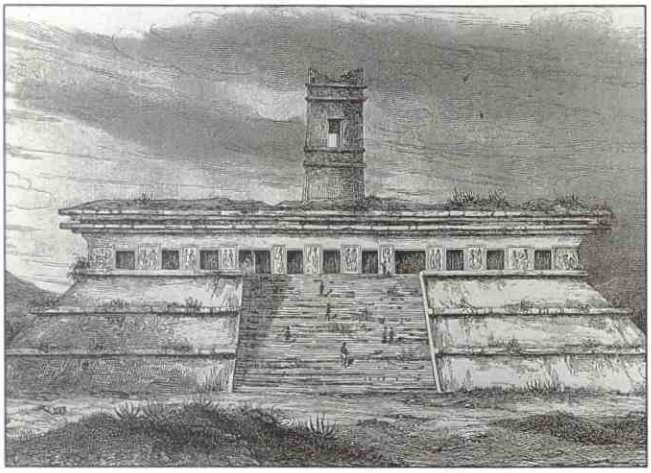

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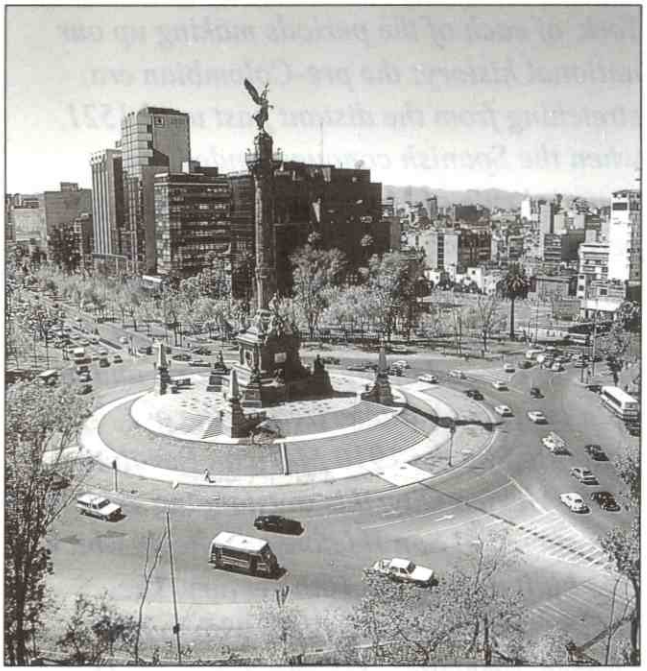

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Cover: *Fray Pablo de Jesús*, Bernardo de Gálvez, 1796 (49th viceroy of the New Spain). Photo by Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

Our voice

Mexico's historical and cultural strength was clearly shown at the exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, from October 1990 to January 1991. Representative samples were offered, in New York, of each of the periods making up our national history: the pre-Colombian era, stretching from the distant past until 1521, when the Spanish conquest ended the imperial rule of Moctezuma; the Viceregal period, running from 1521 to 1821, and producing three centuries of excellent Colonial art; the Independence period, from 1821 to the end of the 19th century, and the 20th century characterized by the art generated by the 1910 Mexican Revolution.

In Mexico City, this outstanding exhibition was staged at San Ildefonso College, which was built during the 16th century. The College corridors are filled with murals by Orozco, Revueltas, Siqueiros, Rivera. The Colonial architecture of the College, the 20th century murals, together with the exhibition itself, allow visitors to fully appreciate the testimony left by an exceptional culture, the product of the blending of native Mexican and European belief systems.

The Maya region has been considered the most developed of all pre-Hispanic civilizations. The Mayas have been called "The Greeks of America". We now have the pleasure of presenting some travelers who have been astonished by the extraordinary remains of their civilization. The key factor is the survival of significant traits such as the Mayan language, which is still spoken on the Yucatan peninsula.

We end with a article on the reaction of the Mexican press to the recent elections in the United States. The change of governing party from George Bush, a Republican, to Bill Clinton, a Democrat, illustrates a profound generational change; a generation which now faces serious problems, such as the excessive indebtedness of the US and the ability to use the tools at its disposal, in order to revitalize the US economy.

Our Museum Series has the pleasure of introducing the most recent addition in this area: the José Luis Cuevas Museum, located in the Santa Inés Convent —built in the era of the Viceroys, and one of the most important undertakings of its kind. In this museum, one can admire Cuevas' works, together with examples of Contemporary Art and a wide variety of styles reflected in the collection which Cuevas has donated to the people of Mexico.

Miguel Mancera, Director of the Bank of Mexico, received the Rey Juan Carlos Prize for Economics in Madrid, last November. This marked the first time that this prize has been awarded to a foreigner, allowing Mancera to take advantage of the occasion to present an excellent synthesis of the Mexican economy.

In this issue, it has been demonstrated that culture has no borders, and the Mexican culture, so deeply rooted in the past, constitutes an important contribution to the world.

Now, more than ever, in a world increasingly characterized by integration, people should be in greater touch with national culture. If we consider that sovereignty is largely based on and nourished by such notions, here in Mexico we should make a special effort to understand our country —a country which provides us with our specific identity, different from that of our northern neighbors VM

Hugo B. Margáin
Editorial Director.

The modernization of primary education in Mexico

The educational process in Mexico

To understand the vital need for educational reform in Mexico, it is first necessary to consider some of the general aspects of the nation's educational systems, past and present.

The educational process has represented a permanent and priority national concern since the creation of the Ministry of Education (SEP, *Secretaría de Educación Pública*) in 1921.

The strategy, during the first years of the SEP's existence, was to multiply the number of schools, attract a broad attendance over the first years of primary education, and coordinate the work of state and municipal authorities; in other words, to design a national public educational system.

According to official information, since 1921 noteworthy progress has been made in school coverage: the average educational level rose from one year per citizen to over six years of schooling; the illiteracy rate fell from 68 percent to 12.4 percent; one out of every three Mexicans attends school, and two out of three children have access to pre-school education. At the primary level, demand for education is being fulfilled at a level of 90 percent, and four out of every five primary school graduates have access to a secondary education.

A complex network of educational techniques and facilities has been established at all levels. Over 14 million children are enrolled in the primary system, and over four million enrolled at the secondary level.

Under the present Federal Education Act, in a scant nineteen years, the school population rose from 13.7 million pupils to almost 26 million; the number of teachers increased from 419 thousand to a little over 1.1 million, and the number of school buildings more than doubled, from 61 thousand to more than 165 thousand.

Diverse points of view and differing opinions exist regarding the educational levels in force before the present educational reform program. Among the most significant of these is the analysis carried out by the advisor to the Minister of Public Education, Gilberto Guevara Niebla.

Guevara states that when the basis for the development of a modern educational system was established with the creation of the SNTE teachers' union in 1943, and the last constitutional amendments dealing with education (1945), the nation's educational system experienced unquestionable success, and that this success explains, in great measure, Mexico's progress in economic and social fields. It was not until later that the system went into a slow decline.

Mexican schools, continues Guevara, have lost their efficiency in instruction and socialization. According to the latest census figures, illiteracy remains at about 12 percent; but the percentage of the general population of Mexico which lacks the knowledge, skills and abilities needed for full integration into modern society is much, much higher than the percentage of illiteracy. From this point of view, he emphasizes, Mexico is still largely an illiterate nation and at a profound disadvantage in the competition with other nations.

He also reminds us that in the past, Mexico enjoyed a system in which the positions of school Directors and Inspectors were occupied by the most highly qualified pedagogues. This is no longer true. The SEP yielded to pressure from the SNTE union and made the posts of Director and Inspector into seniority-based positions; that is, posts which are no longer awarded on the basis of academic merit, but by simple advancement on a seniority scale.

In the opinion of Luz Arriaga Lemus, of the School of Economics at the *UNAM*, following the establishment of the global structural analysis model in the teaching of reading and writing at the primary level, accompanied by the abandonment of cursive writing instruction during the Echeverría Administration, the nation's teachers became aware of the inadequacy of

the methods used to teach children their mother tongue, Spanish. The high levels of course-failure showed this to be true.

In the same vein, she states that under the De la Madrid Administration, teachers and students flatly rejected the educational reform proposal which projected abolishing the separation of secondary course-work into subjects and mandated the teaching of several class subjects in an area arrangement. Today it is clear that the teachers were right. Educational reform on the secondary level had resulted in a deterioration of academic levels.

The Minister of Public Education himself, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, recognized the truth of this in his appearance before the Education Commission of the House of Deputies on May 22, 1992, when he expressed severe criticism of the educational reforms of the preceding 20 years, which had generated serious problems —still unsolved— and affected the very structure of primary and secondary education.

But there are also those who hold that a Mexican teacher, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, pointed out the problem over thirty years ago in a series of articles entitled *A glance at the national educational disaster*: "Ever since the educational methods employed in primary and secondary schools in the United States were transplanted to Mexico in an act of illogical imitation, the formative education of Mexican youth and the socialization of popular beliefs and ways of thinking began to dry up, until they became stunted and dangerous."

Presentday educational challenges

The National Agreement for the Modernization of Primary Education (ANMEB, *Acuerdo Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación Básica*) consists of seven chapters in which considerations, measures and specific programs comprising the plan are set out, as well as taking into consideration the Mexican Normal School system in which teaching personnel are trained for the Basic Educational level —pre-school, primary and secondary levels.

The first two chapters include references to the introduction and past performance of the educational system, as well as some general information on results obtained to date. We will therefore focus on the document beginning with the third chapter, which deals with the present-day challenges in education.

In this chapter, mention is made of the efforts on the part of the Mexican educational system to meet the enormously increased demand for education, driven by demographic factors, while at the same time recognizing the limitations which are now evident in the system.

The results of the Eleventh General Census of the Population and Living Conditions, 1990, allow one to see the limitations in educational coverage with regard to literacy, primary education, school drop-out rates and average educational levels, as well as the marked regional differences in these respects.

The quality of primary and secondary education is deficient because it does not provide the needed range of knowledge, skills, abilities as well as attitudes and values necessary for the personal development of the pupils and which would enable them to contribute effectively to their own social advancement and that of the nation. On top of this is the added weight of a centralized educational system with too many bureaucratic procedures.

Moreover, it is stated that over the first four years of the present administration, federal government spending on education increased by over 70 percent in real terms. Similar increases have been experienced on the state government level. This fact is mitigated, however, by the reality that while increased availability of resources may bring about the expansion of educational coverage, it does not necessarily imply any improvement in the quality of education offered.

Thus, it is certainly necessary to increase projected spending over the next few years while, at the same time, applying strategies aimed at achieving positive effects at several key points in

One of the main characteristics of the administration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari is the carrying out of radical transformations in various spheres of national life. As part of this new way of thinking and doing things, the National Agreement for the Modernization of Primary Education stands out. It was signed on May 18, 1992, by representatives of the Federal government, each of the Republic's state governments and the National Educational Employees Union.

the educational system. These strategies, according to the reform document, focus on course contents and educational materials, as well as on teacher motivation and teacher training.

In addition, the document proposes increasing the number of actual instruction days. But more resources, more actual days of instruction, ideal curricula, better textbooks and highly-motivated teachers can all have minimal effects on educational quality and coverage, if they are not administered through a system which has overcome the obstacles and inefficiencies of centralization and excessive bureaucracy, which now plague the nation's educational system.

The reorganization of the educational system

With the aim of ridding the educational system of centralization and bureaucracy, from now on the state governments will be in charge of administering those educational establishments which the SEP had run, supplying pre-school, primary and secondary education in tune with local preferences, as well as providing for teacher training, including Normal School education, education of native peoples and special education.

The Federal government has transferred ownership of all school facilities and their administrative and technical elements, rights and obligations, real estate and equipment, as well as the corresponding budget allocations, to the state governments.

The Federal government will, at the same time, promote and plan the scope and sequence of the educational system at the national level; formulate educational programs and curricula for the entire Republic on the pre-school, primary, secondary and Normal School levels; authorize and approve educational material proposed for these levels; edit and update free textbooks for use at these levels; ensure a fair development of education in all of the states, giving special attention to those regions which display significant educational deficits; promote educational services which contribute to the training and on-going advancement of teaching staff; and promote and support educational research leading to educational innovation.

In compliance with Article 130 of the Federal Education Act, the SEP will continue to be in charge of the primary, secondary and teacher-training facilities located in Mexico City.

The state governments will have the responsibility of presenting to the SEP, curriculum proposals for courses with a regional content, and their proper insertion in the overall program. The regional course contents should ensure that pupils acquire a greater knowledge of the history, geography, ecological diversity, customs and traditions of their state.

Reformulation of course contents and materials

The course contents and curricula for primary and secondary education have been in effect for almost twenty years and, during this time, they have been subject to only sporadic and partial reforms; thus, they show certain deficiencies, as pointed out by teachers, parents, members of the scientific community, the SEP, as well as by studies and proposals submitted by the SNTE.

There is a broad consensus to the effect that it would be advisable to concentrate the focus of primary and secondary education on skills deemed to be truly essential —reading, writing and mathematics— which, once they are mastered in a basic but complete manner, equip the pupil to continue learning throughout his entire life and are also those elements which offer mankind a basis for rational thought.

On a second level of importance, every child should acquire a sufficient knowledge of the natural and social dimensions of the world in which he or she is to live, and of themselves. In this area, the study of health, nutrition, environmental protection and the study of the world of work are important.

It is necessary, moreover, that the pupil begin to learn about the ethical principles and aptitudes which will prepare him or her to participate constructively and creatively in modern society. This presupposes a knowledge of the characteristics of one's society and nation, the range of individual rights and responsibilities, and basic information about the nation's institutions and its political structure.

Education on the primary and secondary level should also strive to attain a cultural level consistent with our civilization, our history, and the national character as founded on the values of honor, respect, confidence and solidarity, all of which are indispensable for achieving peaceful coexistence, democracy and productivity.

These criteria will guide the thorough reform of course contents and educational materials which will result in the complete renovation of curricula and textbooks by the 1993-1994 academic year. The application of this reform program will culminate in 1993.

The application of the program includes training programs in the different states, the distribution of support materials to the children, teachers, directors and parents, and the implantation of follow-up and evaluation mechanisms in the areas of teacher performance and educational performance in the pre-schools.

In the primary grades an Emerging Program of Reformulation of Educational Content and Materials will be implemented, with the following goals:

1. To strengthen, in the first six grades, the instruction and

practice of reading, writing, and oral expression.

2. To reinforce the teaching of mathematics, with emphasis on the development of reasoning and precise calculation skills, as well deepening knowledge about geometry and focusing on the ability to state problems clearly and solve them.
3. In place of the present area study of social sciences, systematic instruction in the separate subjects of history, geography and civics will be implemented.
4. Special emphasis will be placed on instruction in those subjects which involve the pupils's health and personal care, as well as educating the pupil to protect the environment and natural resources.

As regards secondary education, and in response to a broad consensus expressed by teachers, specialists and parents, starting this school year and beginning with the seventh grade (first year of secondary schooling), teaching separate subjects was reinstituted in all of the nation's schools, replacing the area-based plan implemented almost two decades ago.

The teaching of Spanish and mathematics was reinforced through the expansion of both of these subjects to a full five hours per week of classes, instead of the three hours weekly which had been previously allotted them; the systematic study of history was re-instituted, now including world and Mexican history, geography and civics.

Re-evaluation of the teacher's role

The protagonist of the educational transformation of Mexico must be the teacher. One of the main objectives of the educational transformation plan is the re-evaluation of the teacher's role, in the following aspects:

Teacher-training. In each of the Republic's states, a state teacher-training system will be established, which can organize efforts and experiences at the levels of initial training, in-service training, instructional improvement, advanced studies and research. In the case of initial teacher-training, an educational model will be designed on the basis of a common core area with electives oriented towards instructional practice at the pre-school, primary and secondary levels. There will also be curriculum reform to remedy the enormous overlap and disparity found in the present curriculum, and teachers will now be trained in achieving complete mastery of the basic course contents. The nation's Normal School system will be reformed, including the simplification of prerequisites and a reduction in the number of years of study in the Normal Schools.

In-service teacher-training and advanced studies. The establishment of an Emerging Plan for Teacher-Training has been agreed upon with the goal of strengthening, in the short term, the teachers' mastery of subject areas and thus improving their classroom performance. It will combine extension courses, workshops, collective study sessions and the exchange of opinions and points of view, as well as individual work by the teachers.

Professional salaries. Teachers' salaries have been subject to significant increases, though they remain insufficient to reward and motivate teachers properly. Therefore, the Federal government and the state governments have agreed to continue the effort to raise teacher salaries. On May 15, —Mexico's "Teachers' Day"— 1992, the Federal government negotiated an additional raise with the SNTE Union. This increase brought salaries up to three or four times Mexico's daily minimum wage, a figure considered by the union to be within the range of a professional salary.

Housing. With the aim of complementing teachers' salaries with additional benefits which would signify a big improvement in their standard of living, a special teachers' housing program has been established, whereby institutional housing-construction mechanisms will be brought into play.

University pedagogical training. The creation of university teaching degree programs will respond to two instructional needs: to stimulate an increase in the quality of education, and to implement a clearly-defined means of professional, material and social advancement for teachers. A horizontal promotion system has been agreed upon for teaching staff at the primary level. The aim of this plan is to ensure that teachers may achieve higher salaries while holding the same position, according to their level of education.

A new social status for teachers. A quality educational system can only be consolidated on the basis of a new institutional structure which honors the teaching profession. Reciprocally, higher quality education brings more honor to the teachers' vocation. Therefore, the Federal and state governments have agreed to promote special recognition of the work of Mexican teachers, including prizes, honors, awards and distinctions, as well as economic incentives.

Compulsory secondary education

In addition to, and to reinforce the ANMEB reform program, during its official presentation President Carlos Salinas proposed compulsory secondary education, while emphasizing that the free and non-religous character of public education, established in Article 3 of Mexico's Constitution, would not be compromised VM

Celia Martínez Zwanziger
Staff Writer.

The public university in Mexico and science for development

*Juan Ramón de la Fuente**

We are all aware that many of the countries where the great ancient civilizations flourished —and, hence, science and technology— such as the Egyptian, Persian, Indian and Chinese, are currently part of the so-called Third World and that some of them are plunged in poverty.

We shall not forget that it was in these regions where fire was first used rationally and the compass invented; animals were domesticated, farming started, metals exploited, and writing, paper, the decimal system, calculus and gunpowder were created; just to mention some of their achievements.

Nowadays, the more than 120 countries comprising the Third World, with more than two thirds of the world population, import 99% of the scientific and technological knowledge they need, and contribute only 2% to total world spending on science and technology.

The remaining 98% is covered by the developed countries, some of which, in the middle of the last century, had social and economic indicators not so different from those considered today as typical of underdevelopment.

Recent bibliographic studies have revealed that all the less developed countries together generate only 2% of the total world scientific production and all the papers published by them also represent only 2% of the world total. Therefore, we can say that underdeveloped countries invest and generate only 2% of the world's effort dedicated to science and technology.

Some scholars, and politicians as well, underestimate these data. They center their expectations for development only on free trade, markets and investment by rich countries in the land of the poor. They demand from science immediate

Training human resources require top-level universities.

* Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, *UNAM*.

revenues, confusing it, in the best of cases, with technology, and ignoring the fact that without its own science, a country cannot even select, adapt, or consume rationally, the technological products being imported.

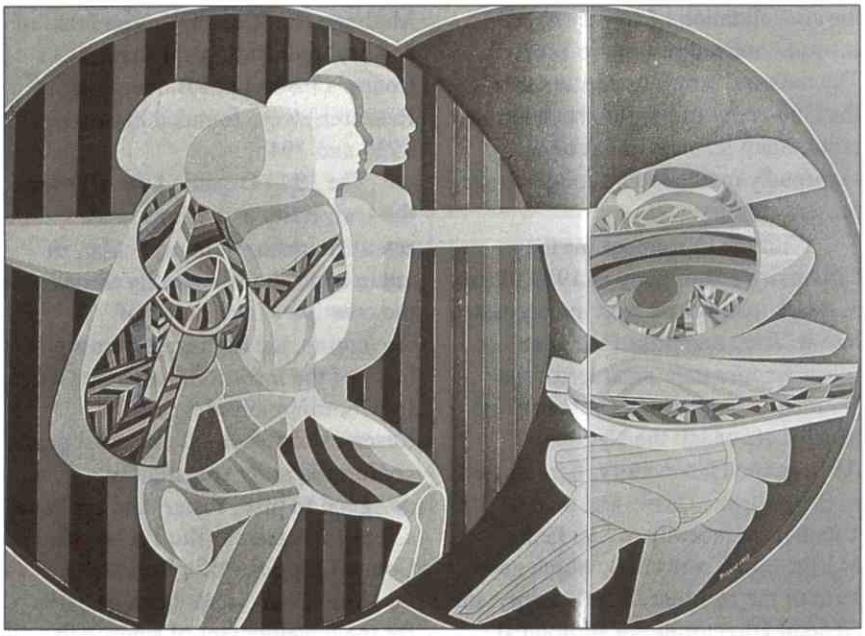
Scientific progress is achieved as part of the long-term impulse given to culture in general. As science ceased to be an individual activity and changed into a socially institutionalized one, universities have played a fundamental role. To illustrate the case of Mexico I shall present a brief historical overview.

In 1543, when Copernicus broke away from one of the most deeply-rooted philosophical conceptions of the Middle Ages by placing the sun in the center of our planetary system and displacing the privileged role of earth in the universe, in our territory a rich tradition, a social and efficient organization and an economic system that responded to the needs of the dominant social structure was being destroyed.

Later on, in 1610, when Galileo proved the Copernican theory by discovering, with his own invented telescope, four of the satellites of Jupiter, and almost simultaneously Keppler established his laws on the movement of the planets, and Bacon explicitly formulated the bases of scientific method and the theory of the inductive procedure, New Spain was ruled by obscurantists, and sustained on a blind and irrational obedience to a distant and decadent monarchy.

At the end of the 17th century, the fundamental laws of physics had already been established in Europe and Newton had published his *Principia Mathematica*, while here we were still suffering from a total lack of interest on the part of the Spanish throne to promote the development of its most important colony.

The colonial period is not the only one that can be considered as lost in regard to our scientific development. At the beginning of the last century,



Copernicus displaced the privileged role of earth in the universe. Painting by Arnold Belkin.

when Mexico had just achieved its independence, the countries now considered as developed had already established sound institutional structures and were ready for great scientific achievements. The potential interaction between scientific findings and their technological applications fostered the development of high-level research groups, since it was clearly understood that new scientific discoveries provided a good opportunity to produce substantial revenues through their industrial impact.

It was also clear that training human resources for politics, public administration, and industry required top-level universities, that their faculties should be made up of the most distinguished personalities in the sciences and the humanities, and that providing them with the necessary funding was a basic component of national policy. There is no doubt that European and, later on, the US universities were well cared for by the State, and were considered as privileged institutions where the new generations were to be educated, as the future depended on their preparation and talent.

Here, on the contrary, the reluctance of the Royal and Pontifical University to exert its influence against the independence movement of 1810 provoked dispersion of students and teachers by the Spanish Viceregal Government, and the university facilities were turned into military headquarters. A few years later, during the independence period, President Gómez Farías issued the decree abolishing the aforementioned university, creating instead several higher-education establishments.

The following decades were full of upsetting events for our university. It was reestablished by Santana in 1834, but Comonfort closed it in 1857; reopened a couple of years later by Zuloaga, only to be closed again in 1861 by Juárez; the French interventionists opened it again, and finally Maximilian closed it anew in 1865. It is clear from these events that the 19th century was not favorable for our scientific development.

Shortly before the Mexican revolution of 1910 the constituent law of the National University of Mexico was issued. It gave form to the institution and, from then on, allowed

the consolidation of science as an institutionalized activity in Mexico. The national scientific leadership of the University of Mexico began at that point. Such leadership has been vigorously maintained throughout the present century.

With the movement for the University's autonomy in 1929, three research institutions were incorporated into it. They comprised the first scientific research institutes of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (*UNAM*): the National Astronomic Observatory, first located in Chapultepec Castle and then in Tacubaya (currently in San Pedro Mártir, Baja California), which gave birth to the Institute of Astronomy; the General Directorate for Biological Affairs, located in the *Casa del Lago* (House on the Lake, Chapultepec) which included the Botanical Garden, giving rise to the Institute of Biology; and the National Geological Institute, currently the National Museum of Geology, the forerunner of the Institute of Geology.

In 1939, an outstanding group of Spanish refugees arrived in Mexico. Among them was a group of scientists who exerted a fundamental impact on the development of Mexican science. Recently, *UNAM* edited a publication commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Spanish exile. However, I would like to stress that three of the six Rectors of Spanish universitites arriving in Mexico were scientists: the physicist Blas Cabrera and the chemist José Giral, who were Rectors in Madrid, and the physiologist José Puche who was a Rector in Valencia. Mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics and medicine received a great impact thanks to the intellectual grafting provided by these Spanish academicians.

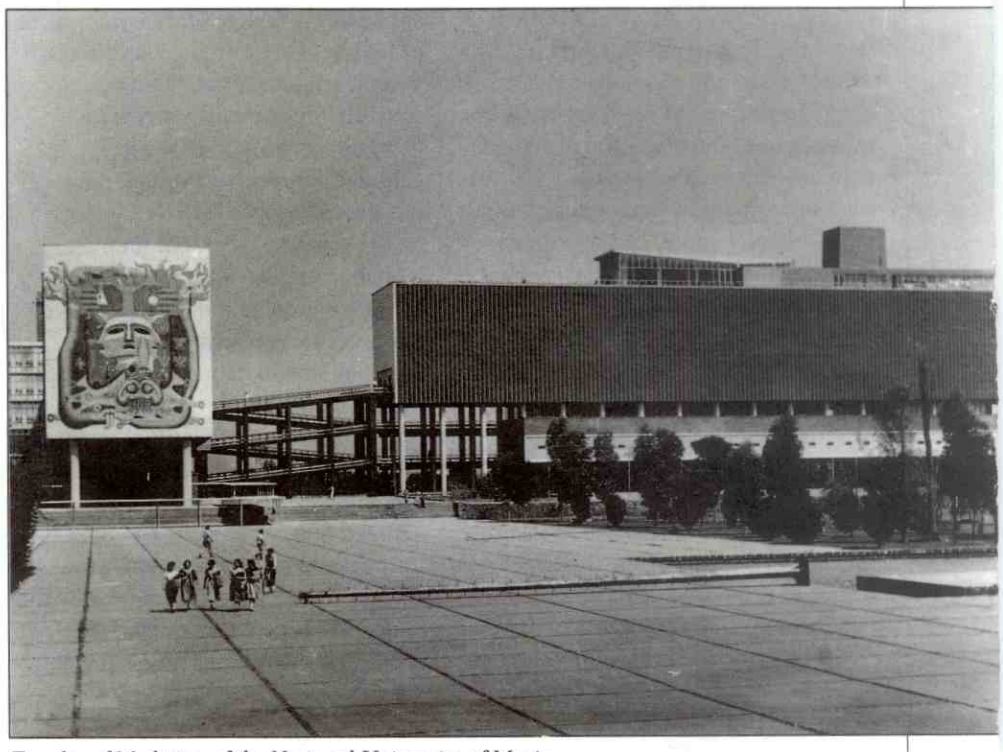
The *UNAM* Faculty of Sciences was also founded in 1939. The previous year saw the birth of the Institutes of Geography and Physics, while the Institutes of Chemistry, Mathematics, Geophysics and that of Medical and Biological Studies (today's Institute of Biomedical Research) were founded between 1939 and 1945.

The 1944 Organic Law allowed the University as a whole, and scientific research in particular, to attain institutional stability through the creation of the Board of Governors, the highest governing body of the institution, and the Office for Coordination of Scientific Research together with the first peer-conformed body specifically designed to plan, foster, and evaluate scientific research (the Technical Council for Scientific Research).

This Council has been decisive for the development of science in Mexico, both within and outside the *UNAM*. The Academy for Scientific Research, the National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT), the National System of Researchers, and the Science Advisory Board to the Presidency of Mexico have all been influenced in their conception, development, and conformation by the *UNAM's* Technical Council of Scientific Research.

Almost parallel to the consolidation of the scientific structure at the *UNAM*, and resulting also from the stimuli provided by the Spanish refugees, firm steps were taken, particularly in medicine, to consolidate scientific programs. Noteworthy was the foundation of the National Institute of Cardiology in 1944, which was not only significant for the development of this medical specialty, but was also decisive for the advancement of various biomedical research areas such as physiology and pharmacology.

The leadership of Ignacio Chávez was the milestone for the Institute, which he founded and directed for so many years, creating within it specific facilities for scientific development. The recruitment of Arturo Rosenblueth, formerly of Harvard, to the Institute, was also fundamental. The association of Rosenblueth with the well-known



Faculty of Medicine of the National University of Mexico.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, The apology of science's future triumph over cancer (detail).

mathematician Norbert Wiener gave birth to cybernetics.

Arturo Rosenblueth was for several years the Mexican scientist with the greatest international recognition. For two decades, his laboratory was one of the most important pillars of scientific development in this country. In 1962 the Center for Research and Advanced Studies of the National Polytechnical Institute was founded under his leadership, and is doubtless one of the most solid scientific institutions in presentday Mexico.

In 1952 the *UNAM's* new campus at University City was inaugurated. At that time, the center for the nation's scientific activity was an imposing building known as the Tower of Sciences. The move to the new facilities coincided with the designation of Nabor Carrillo as Rector. He had been the Dean of Sciences and had created, in 1954, the position of full-time investigator. That is, the professional researcher; thus the full-time scientist in this country was born at *UNAM* only 39 years ago.

It was therefore during the second half of this century that Mexico finally reached its first scientific research achievements of international projection: at the *UNAM* with its research centers and institutes and, on a more circumscribed scale, at the National Institute of Cardiology.

In late 1972, Guillermo Soberón became the Rector of the University. He too had formerly been Dean of Sciences, and as such, had faced intelligently the conceptual problem posed by the foundation of CONACYT at the end of 1970 and its relation with the research system formed by *UNAM's* scientific research institutes and centers.

Soberón successfully promoted actions to prevent CONACYT from affecting —through its "priority programs"— the scientific freedom prevailing at the *UNAM*. The greater experience and scientific tradition of the University allowed him to act efficiently and to formulate an institutional scientific and technological development program, which, among other effects, included internal planning within the research institutes and centers, and provided more structure to the coordinating tasks exerted by the Technical Council.

He also fostered the construction of new facilities for scientific research which not only changed the physical appearance of the university research system, but the new buildings were planned according to specific needs, overriding the old-fashioned and no longer functional concept of the Tower of Sciences.

The mature, strict, but at the same time open and progressive, policy of the *UNAM's* Coordinating Office for Scientific Research has allowed the

In the colonial period our scientific development was lost. Painting by Diego Rivera.

development of new scientific centers outside of Mexico City. The Center for Nitrogen Fixation and the Institute for Biotechnology, both in Cuernavaca, Morelos, constitute the most successful models for the decentralization of research in our country.

It has now been well documented that around 50% of all Mexican scientific research is carried out at the *UNAM*. However, the figures fluctuate; for example, in astronomy it is almost 100%; in physics around 80%; in biomedicine approximately 65%. The fact is that the *UNAM* is the only institution that has cultivated science in Mexico over the last 60 years, and that has systematically studied the nature of our land and our society.

UNAM researchers are dedicated to a great extent to the study of the conditions of our country: they study our soil and our subsoil, and have drawn up the National Geological Chart and the National Geographic Atlas among others. *UNAM* manages the National Seismologic Service and owns the two oceanographic vessels that systematically study the economic zones of the Mexican seas, both on the Pacific coast and in the Gulf of Mexico; in addition to which it manages the National Mareographic Network.

UNAM conducts all the research projects at the National Center for Disaster Prevention, and is in charge of studying and protecting the vast biological diversity of our country. *UNAM* manages the National Herbarium, the Botanical Garden of Mexico, and the most important biological and paleontological collections in Latin America.

Unquestionably, this public university is the cornerstone of Mexican science. But if we are to consider science as part of culture, we cannot overlook the fact that the *UNAM* also houses the National Library, sponsors the best philharmonic orchestra in the country, and its activities in the sphere of theater, dance, concerts and literature are at least as diverse and prestigious as those of the National Institute for Fine Arts.

I have been referring to the *UNAM* as the paradigm of the public university; but actually we cannot speak of the Mexican public university as if it were unique or a group of homogeneous institutions. Only the biological diversity of our country surpasses that of our public universities. Some have the best of the aforementioned attributes; but others have little to offer. Here is where the need for academic and administrative evaluations arises, as well as serious consideration of whether students, according to their possibilities, should contribute to protecting their institutional heritage.

In Mexico, science and public higher education have been and still are closely linked. There is little participation by the private sector in national scientific development, either through educational institutions or enterprises. If Mexican science is to survive, the contribution of private investment in science and technology has to increase, and for this to happen it is necessary to induce in society a real awareness of the importance of the continuation of research activities for future development.

Let us remember that Mexico will enter the next century with more than 100 million inhabitants, and that almost half of them will live in cities of more than a million people. Prospectively, lack of adequate housing and sanitation can be anticipated as well as the urgent need to generate a million and a half new jobs per year. In this context, we must anticipate forthcoming problems, propose possible solutions, and be very precise as to what science can offer and what it cannot promise.

The future of a society depends on the concern of one generation for the next. The future of Mexican science depends, to a large extent, on the capacity of the *UNAM* to adapt, as a public institution, in a changing country.

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Globalization through education

*Hugo B. Margáin**

The brief phrase "Live and learn, learn and live," contains an important message. It means that a person who lives and does not learn is not fully alive. If education has not illuminated his intellect, he is condemned to the worst kind of slavery, the slavery of ignorance. Without education, man is incapable of communicating with others. He lives on the edge of society, in the dark realm of illiteracy.

Education is the only means, the only instrument, whereby we can know who we are. From our earliest schooling, we are taught the basic "history of our country," our country's background, that enables us to understand the present as the fruit of roots sunk deep in the past.

I will refer briefly to my own country, a mestizo land, the result of the fusion of native and European cultures by way of Spain. It is impossible to understand contemporary Mexico without a knowledge of the history of its indigenous communities, the three centuries during which Mexico, as New Spain, was part of the Spanish Empire, and the period from its independence until the present day.

Following the defeat of Tenochtitlan, Fray Bernardo de Sahagún, aware of the importance of the country's indigenous past, gathered together a number of distinguished native Mexicans. Thanks to the records of what his informants told him, we now know about the institutions, social life and other aspects of pre-Hispanic civilizations.

Shortly after the beginning of this new society called New Spain, a college called the Holy Cross of Tlatelolco was established to educate native Mexicans. This was the institution that graduated the first generation of a new country. Transformed by contact with a new culture, they graduated in three languages, Nahuatl, Spanish and Latin, then the universal language.

To quote only one of several examples, the Cruz Badiano Codex records the Aztec herbolary, the finest in the continent, far superior to anything available in Europe. Martín de la Cruz set down the native description of these herbs in Nahuatl, illustrating his work with drawings of medicinal herbs done by native hands. The son of the first Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, realized the importance of Martín de la Cruz' work and asked another Mexican, Juan Badiano, to translate it into Latin.

Both Cruz and Badiano were among the first pupils at the College of the Holy Cross of Tlatelolco and later became teachers there themselves. They taught Spanish, Latin and Nahuatl to the sons of Spaniards born in Mexico.

The Codex was sent to Europe, where it was kept in the Vatican Library for several centuries, until it returned to Mexico in 1990.

Mexican history is taught in our schools alongside world history, awakening our students to the wealth and variety of world culture.

In our curricula, world history tends to focus on ancient Greece, with its enlightened philosophy, Rome and its extraordinary judicial organization, and Europe with its recurrent wars. Less attention is paid to our Northern neighbors. This lack of mutual knowledge occasionally causes conflicts which could be avoided if we each knew more about our neighbor's institutions and culture.

A binational group, composed of ten representatives from each country, was set up for the first time, in 1986, to enable both countries to find out more about each other. We met over a period of two and a half years in both Mexico and the United States to analyze our main bilateral problems: the economy, migration, drug abuse, and the occasionally contrary positions of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

The last meeting was devoted to a concrete proposal: the improvement of bilateral relations through education, which would make the differences between the two countries understandable and encourage mutual respect, the basis of civilized co-existence between nations.

Mexico is the only Spanish-speaking country to share a border with the Anglo-Saxons of the North. In Mexico, we are Ibero-indigenous by virtue of mixture and a syncretism that still goes on today. The United States is inhabited predominantely by Anglo-Saxons, with institutions that differ from our own.

Canada is a highly industrialized country like the United States and

* Editorial Director.

enjoys a standard of living similar to that of the US.

Mexico is a developing country. Economic asymmetry with the North is obvious. However, Mexico's history extends farther back.

During the recent New York exhibition of Mexico's indigenous and colonial past, and modern Mexico, visitors were surprised by the breadth of Mexican history, comparable to the richest of any in the world. Our vigorous cultural history is the foundation of our identity.

The NAFTA will strengthen economic ties with the North, without affecting cultural identity. We must, therefore, encourage learning in the national characteristics of each of our three countries. Their culture, language and history are the most powerful manifestation of their sovereignty.

Serious international problems, such as drug abuse, can be attacked in primary schools, where children can also learn respect for the environment, now threatened as never before.

The problem of drug abuse is currently being combatted in each of its three main phases: production, trafficking and use. Ever since the 1988 Vienna meeting, where the most important United Nations document against drug abuse was signed, combatting individual addiction through education against drug abuse has been regarded as the most effective policy. The free market system has taught us that in the absence of demand, the supply vanishes and production will therefore cease.

Great emphasis has been placed on education as a means of combatting drug abuse. A world-wide effort to show younger generations the individual and social harm caused by illegal drug-dealing and the consumption that fuels it, might be the most successful policy.

If drug production is successfully halted in one country, while demand continues to increase, then drugs will simply be supplied by another country. If, on the other hand, an individual is educated from childhood to reject drugs, the effect will be lasting.

Pollution of our endangered environment is another world problem that requires general education. In their latest book, *The first global revolution*, King and Schneider discuss general worldwide destruction of the environment. The book covers water, land and air, mentioning once crystal lakes whose waters are now brackish and poisoned. The Sargasso Sea is now a rubbish dump that is affecting marine life. Industrial waste, discharged through factory chimneys and drain-pipes the world over, is destroying the environment and seriously threatens the surrounding population.

The so-called Third World needs to follow in the footsteps of the industrialized nations, but it must recognize its obligation to adapt modern technology to the preservation of the environment. Uncontrolled development in the industrialized nations has destroyed the world's ecological balance, producing global warming and tearing a hole in the ozone layer over the South Pole.

On the threshold of development, the Third World must compete in the world market with products that do not harm the environment, and the industrialized nations must prevent pollution by changing products and the way they are produced. Education has a lot to contribute in this respect.

It has often been said, particularly regarding Third World countries, that there can be no development without democracy, and one might also add, there can be no development or democracy without education. Democracy is based and thrives on the education of the people. Its foundation is the essential equality of the human race.

Social justice must also be one of development's principal goals. Development cannot succeed without social justice, just as social justice cannot be applied unless there is progress.

The poverty among our peasants and in the big city slums goes hand in hand with ignorance. Education can break this vicious circle.

Democracy arises from the basic equality of the human race and is based on education and a fair standard of living. Social justice progresses far more slowly than the current rate of economic growth, due to mechanization, high productivity and new technology.

Canada, the United States and Mexico are negotiating a Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Europe set the example when Belgium joined Luxembourg and demonstrated the benefits of working together to achieve a common goal. Further confirmation was provided by the addition of the Netherlands to form BENELUX. The establishment of Saarland resolved the dispute between France and Germany over that steel and coal producing basin. Jean Monet and Robert Shumann, together with other distinguished politicians, decided on the unification of Europe and finally signed the 1957 Treaty of Rome.

Force destroys regional unity. Whereas, a European union has been forged by peaceful means, in keeping with agreements under which the opinion and interest of all parties have been respected. The overall economic benefits to the area might also be mentioned, but there is a more important reality. Today, conflict in a united Europe could not bring about another world war. The fact that national interests have been united in a regional pact guarantees the peace of the area.

In a 1983 interview, a year after the publication of the book entitled *L'Europe,* to which he contributed, Fernand Braudel stressed the importance of reinforcing European identity through culture. He mentioned the need for more student and teacher exchanges between universities in the

There can be no development or democracy without education.

various countries, to strengthen the common intellectual basis of a united Europe through education.

Braudel noted previous commercial centers which had not been cultural centers. Venice was never a cultural center, though the great trade of Europe passed through it, whereas it was in Florence that the Renaissance began. The great literary figures of the time wrote in Tuscan. A European University has now been established in Florence, and other cities have followed suit.

The intent, like that of many intellectuals, is based on its resurgence as a cultural center that will continue to influence the rest of the world, without affecting the individuality of other countries of the European community.

Our continent has responded to the current trend toward globalization, first with the Free Trade Agreement between the US and Canada, then with the inclusion of Mexico, and finally with a project for a continental market to include all the countries in the hemisphere.

In addition, Mexico has signed an agreement with Chile and is currently negotiating with other South American countries. The trend toward uniting large regions in pursuit of "one world" is now a historic current that no event can change.

If the world is moving towards globalization, it must consider the importance of international organizations. The United Nations was created just under fifty years ago, to deal with the affairs of the time. But the resolution of our present problems, caused by regionalization and defense of the environment, requires that the UN be restructured.

I believe that one of the UN's greatest weaknesses and a feature that must be changed, is the right of "veto" in the Security Council, a privilege that contravenes the fundamental rules of international democracy.

Man's tendency to wage war has, surprisingly, been curbed by the destructiveness of modern weaponry. This century's wars have forced man to reflect on the horrifying cost of victory. As a result, international instruments have been established, by virtue of which the nations have formed a court in which judges from all of them sit to consider conflicts and propose peaceful solutions.

The splitting of the atom, the creating of the atomic bomb and the ensuing tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused man to react with revulsion at the destructive force of such modern weapons, and this revolution has forced us to live in peace. A nuclear world war would cause a "nuclear winter" in which "the living would envy the dead."

The logical consequence of the arms race is the destruction of the human race. History has proved that fundamental changes must be made if we wish to survive; we must forbid the use of nuclear power for war and use it for peace instead.

The old saying, "If you want peace, prepare for war," was invalidated by the discovery of nuclear power. If you want peace, prepare for peace, must be our motto for the next century. And it is education that will provide us with the means to prepare ourselves to live in peace.

The former Soviet Union and the United States spent astronomical sums of money on the production of ever more expensive, swift, lethal and destructive weapons. The arms race brought about the collapse of the former USSR's economy and many of the United States' current economic problems. We need education to sustain world public opinion against arms.

Edward Shevardnadze called his recent book, *The future belongs to freedom*. In it he advances the idea of freedom through democracy, an idea particularly significant at this moment, coming as it does from a survivor of communist dictatorship, particularly since it is shared by the majority of his compatriots.

Now, with the end to the "cold war" and the first steps towards disarmament of both conventional and thermonuclear weapons, the world has a historic opportunity to divert resources which were once wasted on arms to the benefit of culture and development for everyone. The next century will be the century of freedom based on education. An educated man is a free man VM

Latin America, the US, and the NAFTA

*Adolfo Aguilar Zinser**

Carlos Fuentes, one of the few Mexican or Latin American intellectuals who still believes that the power of social imagination can transform the order of things, has said that since the Conquest, "America has experienced a separation between dream and reality; the dichotomy between the just society we desire and the imperfect society in which we live."

"We feel obliged," writes Fuentes, "to preserve the ideal of a utopian America, an idea first conceived 500 years ago to compensate Europe for its own contradictions between the Humanist ideals of the Renaissance and the reality of corruption and political and economic conflict; and later, starting in the 19th century, to convince ourselves that our independent history, our republican history, formed a separate chapter in the history of human happiness." Latin America has lived, in fact, between the utopia of this dream and the cruelty of its realities.

We approach the end of this millennium, and we celebrate the 500th anniversary of the meeting of two worlds with a Latin American population which has doubled in the twenty years that have elapsed since 1970. During this period, Latin America has grown from two hundred to four hundred million inhabitants, and by the year 2000, will have twice the population of the United States.

It is no coincidence that Latin America's greatest contribution has been its culture. Despite the fact that the Conquest exterminated most of the indigenous populations of America, our culture has nurtured itself on the forms, colors, myths and beliefs derived from those peoples. In Mexico, the Indian population fell from 25 million in 1519 to one million in 1605, and in the Andean region, from 6 million in 1525 to 1.5 million in 1561. Despite this genocide, Latin America recovered, and rescued its pre-Hispanic, indigenous heritage, blending it in a racial and cultural mixture —*mestizaje*— which in turn blended with the European and African *mestizajes*, thus producing one of the richest and most diverse cultures in the world.

Our humanistic ideals are part of this culture; they acquire a definite form in many of our legal institutions and in the rights that have been incorporated into international law as specifically Latin American doctrines. We must not forget our great utopia of justice and equality; in this regard, Latin American political thought has nourished the way of thinking in many developing countries.

Latin America's great failure lies in the fact that, in 500 years, we have not been able to create a workable, integrative, democratic regime. Never, in the whole history of Latin America, has there been one single system of government which has managed to balance the enormous social needs of the population and its aspirations for liberty and democracy; political liberty and economic development have been at odds for centuries in our hemisphere. This is Latin America's great challenge, and its great failure.

Mexico, for example, is a country which, at the beginning of this century, lived through a social revolution that fought for justice and change. Today, however, 40 million of Mexico's 82 million inhabitants live in poverty, and 20 million of them are classified by the government itself as living in extreme poverty. When the 1910 Revolution broke out, Mexico had 26 million inhabitants; today, double that number live in marginal conditions. Despite the Revolution, Mexico's social conditions have not changed; they are the same as those in many other countries which did not experience a social revolution. The challenge represented by poverty in Latin America is the main source of social and political unrest, and will necessarily continue to be the main source of inspiration for new forms of social transformation.

During this search for identity and direction, the United States has been at the center of Latin America's contradictions. In the light of the expressionistic ideas of the Founding Fathers, Bolivar's idealism was a way of conceiving Latin America as a singular and separate entity where independence and regional unity were to be part of the utopia. US hegemony embedded itself in the rest of the hemisphere taking advantage of social conflicts, the ambition for power, factionalism and political bosses.

In this sense, our land has been the great testing ground for US foreign policy. All of the philosophies that support the ideological vision which the United

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States has of its role in the world were invented here. From the US's encounter with Latin America arose the American concept of "Manifest Destiny," the sense of "mission," the concept of a "just war," and the myth of North American democracy as a higher stage of civilization.

These are all historical themes which, in one way or another, have not yet been abandoned as acceptable justifications for expansion, hegemonic domination and interventionism on the part of the United States. Even today, when American leaders speak of a new world order, these old ideas take on extraordinary new force and vigor. The origin of such ideological concepts is to be found in the long and conflictive experience with Latin America; in distant events such as the Mexican-American War in the mid-1800's —the armed embodiment of Manifest Destiny— or in such recent conflicts as the invasions of Grenada and Panama. Thus, Latin America is the vessel in which the United States' hegemonic mentality is constantly forged and renewed.

The manifestations of this relationship are many and varied. In the 20th century, and particularly since the period following the First World War, the United States has tried out its cold war national security policies in Latin America.

The idea of the existence of an internal enemy as the bearer of political and ideological schemes for subversion and conquest originating outside the continent became the cornerstone of the ideological vision of US national security. This vision encouraged the rise of military regimes in Latin America and the strengthening of oligarchic political structures linked to certain ideological and military concepts.

In this era of enormous transformations, of the end of the socialist experiment, of the disintegration of the Eastern European nations and the fall of the Berlin Wall, little has changed in the United States. American society continues to feed on the same messianic conception of its role in the world, and still attempts to impose what are basically the same historical guidelines beyond its frontiers.

In Latin America, however, many things have changed. As regards our relationship with the United States, we have gradually gone from a state of national security to a state of financial security; from militarism to neo-liberalism. In this process, it is interesting to note how, within the last few years, Latin America has practically abandoned the utopian vision of justice, development and independence, in order to adopt as its political and economic plan, a collection of pragmatic notions about national fiscal and financial accounting designed by the economists of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Latin America's imagination appears to have lost its force in the face of the dissuasive power and mathematical soundness of the prescriptions of the monetarists, whose goal is to balance accounts and pay debts owed to foreign creditors. Economic adjustment programs have been tacitly transformed into national projects. The rank of philosophical propositions has been conferred, at least implicitly, on these accounting criteria.

Latin America's imagination has, in effect, surrendered under this wave of economic prescriptions. Thus we find that great Latin American thinkers such as Octavio Paz have converted to neo-liberalism, and in so doing have lost their capacity to make further proposals.

This drying-up of creation, this inability to oppose a theory of accounting with alternatives embodying a new vision of a national future, this prostration, has also led to a reevaluation of the United States.

In Latin America, the utopia of independence and sovereignty has given way to the illusion of US prosperity. Today, political leaders in almost all our countries place their trust in identifying, at all costs, with prosperity as represented by the United States. Thus, they have adopted policies which favor privatization, deregulation, foreign investment, free trade, cut-backs in social spending, etc.

Mexico is one of the most dramatic examples of this historical revisionism. For decades, Mexico was the only Latin American nation which defended its concept of sovereignty, and of national integrity and independence, as a historical constant and national obsession. However, these ideals have been abandoned, and we have exchanged them for neo-liberalism as a political philosophy and a historical perspective for the future. The core of the national project which the Mexican government is currently implementing is integration with the United States through a free trade agreement.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico is, today, the most ambitious US initiative in Latin America. The Initiative of the Americas is conceived in relation to this agreement. NAFTA is part of a process of integration which will join the US economy with the Mexican economy, from which it is hoped that a model may be derived for application in the rest of Latin America. NAFTA is an attempt to link and regulate the financial and commercial integration processes, in order to make them coincide closely with the interests of large corporations and conglomerates.

The North American Free Trade Agreement, from its conception and in its content, takes scant notice of social demands, environmental risks and damage, and labor problems; it makes a virtue of a colonial-style division of labor as a function of economic

interests and geopolitical concerns. At the NAFTA negotiating table, Mexico's cheap labor and natural resources (energy resources in particular) are traded for promises of investment and a certain degree of opening in trade with the United States.

It is interesting to note that Mexico has entered into this agreement precisely when the US shows its greatest competitive weakness; when it is experiencing difficulties in presenting itself as a real option for technological transformation, and when the American economy is least creative and dynamic. This is the moment which Latin America's elites have chosen as the time to abandon their historical ideals of social development as obsolete or unworkable, and to uncritically join forces with the hegemony of US capitalism.

In order to justify his commitment to NAFTA, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has made a statement which is tragic for both Mexico and the United States: "Without Latin America, without the free trade agreement, the United States will not survive." True as this may be, Mexico's foremost concern cannot, should not be the survival of the United States, but rather its own. An unequal and subordinate relationship with the US economy cannot guarantee the welfare of Mexico's people. The United States essentially seeks an economic link with Mexico and Latin America, which will give them the advantages which they have been unable to achieve in the field of productivity.

Certain sectors of American society are rapidly becoming pauperized. For the first time, some urban centers in the US are coming to resemble the Third World as a result of marginality, low income levels and symptoms of instability and unrest. At the same time, there are surprising symptoms of confusion and distrust in the nation's political system and leadership.

The Hispanic population in the United States —that is, residents of Latin American origin— is growing and acquiring significant weight in the American social mosaic. Hispanics already represent 9% of the total population, and it is estimated that by the year 2000, they will make up 13% of the total, thus surpassing Blacks, who are today the largest minority group in the US. By the year 2040, Hispanics will make up more than 25% of the population, and the percentage of Caucasians will have decreased to somewhere near 60%. The United States will gradually become a nation of Hispanics, Asians and Afro-Americans.

This demographic trend is reflected in a series of very noticeable and meaningful social changes. American society is aging quite rapidly. By the year 2010, between 20% and 25% of its population will be more than 60 years old. Thus, it is a society with growing limitations on its ability to renew its labor force at the pace required for economic growth. An ever greater portion of the new labor force will be made up of minorities, particularly Hispanics, who, above and beyond their normal growth, are being reinforced by a large number of immigrants.

From 1980 to 1990 the rate of growth of the Hispanic population was 54%; this was due, to a great extent, to migratory processes. It is estimated that at this rate, in the year 2000, 39% of the male work force and 20% of the female work force will be Hispanic, meaning that in the future, Hispanics will be more dynamic and productive components of US society.

These demographic realities are only a part of the neo-liberal calculations and expectations of economic integration between the United States and Latin America. The project for integrated development with the US is promoted by political and corporate elites, not by society itself and certainly not by the working class. This means that it is based on a series of premises which revolve around the corporate, commercial and political interests of these elite groups, and not those of society at large.

In view of the present economic situation, Latin America offers the United States nothing more than a supply of cheap labor and, in certain cases, natural resources. Underpaid labor is exploited by American businesses, not only in Latin America but in the Unites States as well.

In the current debate on integration, especially as regards the design of the Mexico-US-Canada Free Trade Agreement, the United States is interested in the possibility of transferring its businesses to regions where low salaries and weak environmental regulations prevail, as a means of achieving comparative advantages over their competitors in Europe and Asia. This is a 19th century view of integration. At the end of the 20th century, neo-colonial approaches still prevail in the US's view of Latin America: cheap labor, an unregulated environment and abundant natural resources.

Another key characteristic of this process of integration is the expectation that borders will be closed to immigration but remain open to trade and capital flows. As regards labor force immigration, the United States will try —as the American saying goes— "to have its cake and eat it, too." In other words, to have access to cheap labor from Mexico and Latin America, not through immigration, but rather thanks to the transfer of part of the US production plant to regions where this cheap labor is found. This means enjoying the benefits of this labor force, without paying the social cost of replacement, nor assuming responsibility for social welfare, working conditions, etc.

This explains why the free trade agreement which the United States is

Andrés Garay / Imagenlatina.

Latin America's great failure lies in the fact that we have not been able to creat a workable, integrative, democratic regime.

currently negotiating with Mexico excludes practically all social provisions relating to labor rights, working conditions and the environment. On the other hand, it includes a lengthy and variegated section of clauses governing economic liberalization, foreign investment guarantees and limits on the state's regulatory authority. These measures form a veritable economic constitution which derogates significant portions of the Mexican Constitution while raising a new model of integration with the United States to the level of a legal precedent.

Faced with this situation, Latin America has failed to develop and implement its own model of regional integration. Outside of the realm of official integration projects, Latin America's, and especially Mexico's, social relationship with the US has opened up new horizons. Continuous demographic, economic and political processes have given rise to a historically unprecedented degree of permeability between Latin American societies and the US.

In Mexico's case, this process is so intense that the debate surrounding NAFTA has provided, for the first time, an opportunity for the societies of both countries to hold a dialogue above and beyond, yet apart from, diplomatic relations. It has led them to seek a truly social and human understanding, as opposed to mere commercial interaction. The same is occurring with Canada.

Moreover, this debate is revitalizing civic movements in Mexico. The diversity and plurality of the United States have entered into the debate, as has the exercise of relatively broader political liberties in the United States. Latin American societies now have a real possibility of imposing effective limits on the United States' interventionist propensities and hegemonic plans.

This is a task which we have not been able to carry out through traditional diplomacy or through demonstrations of national resistance. An alternative proposal of hemispheric cooperation is a possibility; a proposal which has democracy, social change and environmental protection as its axis. This alternative arises as a possibility for Mexico, Canada and the US, whose societies, for the first time, wish to come into contact with each other as peoples, and not as governments. In fact, the official version of the agreement has already been seriously questioned by important social sectors both in the US and Mexico.

I would like to finish by quoting Carlos Fuentes once again. Speaking on the 500th anniversary of the encounter between America and Europe, this great writer said: "Let us, during 1992 and the coming century, encourage plurality in our cultures, so that it may be reflected in our public institutions, endowing them with vigor, substance and justice. But above all, let us go beyond discovery or an encounter, towards the unfinished, unfulfilled, challenging imagination of America; because we will only discover what we will become in the future if we are able to imagine it first" VM

HIGHLIGHTS OF EIGHT YEARS

March 1985
US President Ronald Reagan and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney meet. They agree to request their respective ministers to explore the possibilities for reducing and eliminating trade barriers.

September 1985
President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney exchange letters of resolution to negotiate a Free Trade Agreement (FTA).

October 1987
US and Canadian negotiators sign a draft of the Agreement.

December 1987
The heads of both delegations ratify the text of the Agreement. The final version is sent to the US Congress and the Canadian Parliament.

January 1989
The FTA between the US and Canada goes into effect.

March 1990
The Wall Street Journal publishes an article asserting that Mexico and the United States have agreed to initiate negotiations to develop a Free Trade Agreement.

April 1990
The Mexican Senate establishes a forum for consultations on the FTA.

June 1990
The US Senate opens hearings on a "fast track" bill that would allow President George Bush to negotiate directly with President Carlos Salinas. The two Presidents issue a joint communiqué announcing their intention to negotiate a FTA, and instructing their respective trade representatives to explore the possibilities.

August 1990
The Mexican Secretary of Commerce and the US Trade representative meet and issue a joint recommendation to President Bush, urging that the US and the Mexican President initiate FTA negotiations.

September 1990
President Salinas appoints an Advisory Committee for FTA negotiations and informs President Bush that Mexico intends to sign a Free Trade Agreement. President Bush sends a bill to Congress to open negotiations. Canada expresses its desire to join the largest trade bloc in the world.

February 1991
President Salinas, President Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney agree to start trilateral negotiations for a North American FTA.

May 1991
The US House of Representatives votes in favor (231 to 192) of approving the "fast track" for negotiating the FTA with Mexico. The US Senate also approves the motion (59 to 36) to give President Bush the authority to negotiate.

June 1991
Trilateral negotiations between Canada, Mexico and the US open in Toronto, Canada. The issues discussed include access to markets, trade regulations, investment, technology transfer, services and settlement of disputes.

August 1991
The Ministers of Commerce of the three countries meet in Seattle, Washington. They agree on a gradual reduction of tariffs, to be carried out in three stages, on all products

OF FREE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

to be imported and exported between the three countries. They resolve to make an in depth analysis of the restrictions on government procurement in the three nations. The governors of the fifty US states express their support for the negotiations.

October 1991
The Ministers of Commerce of the three countries meet in Zacatecas, Mexico. They review the progress of the working groups assigned to each of the nineteen major sections of the agreement and call for a draft by January of 1992. They agree to approach labor and the environment as parallel issues, but not to include them in the text of the agreement.

February 1992
Presidents Bush and Salinas meet in San Antonio, Texas. Progress was reported by 8 of the 18 working groups. Differences persist in such key areas as energy, agriculture and the automotive industry.

March 1992
Agreement on 14 subjects in the general text is sought at meetings held in Mexico, Canada and the US. Joint declaration, by the three heads of state, after a telephone conference call, to the effect that negotiations are proceeding as planned.

April 1992
Trade representatives meet in Montreal to discuss and eliminate differences in the key areas of energy, agriculture and livestock, automotive products and settlement of disputes, as a step toward the final phase of negotiations.

May 1992
Most working groups are closed, leaving only energy, rules of origin, and agriculture and livestock pending. The automotive sector is reported to be almost concluded.

August 1992
The end of negotiations is formally announced, after 200 meetings between negotiating teams and 7 ministerial sessions. Complete agreement is reached on the agenda's 22 points, and final revision of most chapters already closed is completed. In a three-way telephone conversation, the US and Mexican Presidents and the Canadian Prime Minister express their approval. They issue a message to their respective nations announcing the result of the negotiations.

October 1992
The trade representatives of the three countries "initial" the final legal text of the treaty in San Antonio, Texas. Presidents Bush and Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney are present as witnesses. It is agreed the NAFTA will enter into force on January 1, 1994, but the date remains subject to two further requirements: its signature by the heads of state of the three countries and ratification by their respective Congress.

December 1992
In their respective countries, Presidents Bush and Salinas, and Prime Minister Mulroney sign the final NAFTA negotiations.

January 1993
President Salinas and President-elect Clinton meet in Austin, Texas, where they agree that the NAFTA will not be renegotiated.

March 1993
The formal negotiation of agreements running parallel to the NAFTA starts up in Washington.

RADIO EDUCACION

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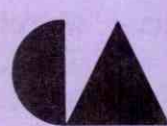
Culture with imagination



Consejo Nacional
para la
Cultura y las Artes

Archaeology and travelers in the Maya region

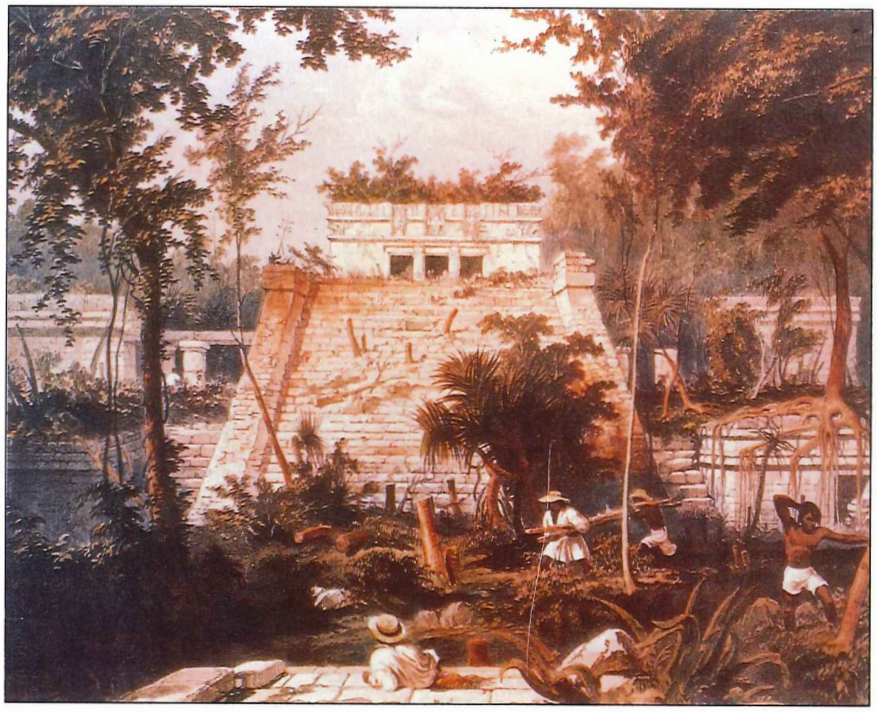
*Carlos Alvarez Asomoza**

The early archaeologists of Mayan ruins were a mixture of proto-scientists and romantics. European aristocrats, artists, doctors, soldiers, clergyman, diplomats and tourists shared a fascination for the mystery surrounding ancient Mayan relics and the light they could shed on a great and enigmatic civilization.

The fascinating world of 19th century amateur archaeology has captured the attention of many scholars of archaeological history such as Ignacio Bernal (1952; 1977; 1979). Important works about the Maya areas include those of Victor W. Von Hagen (1940; 1967; 1973), Robert Wauchope (1962; 1965), Elizabeth Carmichel (1973), Ian Graham (1963; 1977), Robert Brunhouse (1973; 1975) and David Adamson (1975).

For two hundred years after the Spanish Conquest, the only Westerners who occasionally described the ruins they saw in the jungles and mountains were clergymen and conquerors who thus laid the groundwork for future Mayan archaeology. Among these early forerunners are the works of Diego de Lada, Friar Lorenzo de Bienvenida [1], Diego García de Palacio and Friar Antonio de Ciudad Real (Bernal, 1979: 41-42).

The publication of the great works of Torquemada y Herrera in the second decade of the 17th century marks the end of a remarkable period of study of pre-Hispanic peoples. During the subsequent centuries of colonial rule, archaeological references were uncommon, although López de Cogolludo mentioned



F. Catherwood, Tulum Castle.

[1] In 1548, Friar Lorenzo de Bienvenida described Chichen Itzá and sketched the castle, as well as mentioning other settlements in ruins. The Judge of the Royal Tribunal, Diego García de Palacio, visited Copán in 1575 or 76. In 1558, Friar Antonio of Ciudad Real, in his account of the expedition of Friar Alonso Ponce, mentions the ruins of Uxmal.

* Center for Mayan Studies, *UNAM.*
Published in *Antropológicas*, No. 1, January-March 1992. Journal of the Institute for Anthropological Research, *UNAM.*

Chichén Itzá and Uxmal in 1688 and refuted the then fashionable theory of the Carthaginian origin of the Mayas. Fuentes y Guzmán described archaeological discoveries and the sites of Mixco, Utatlán and Zaculeu, of which he drew a map (Bernal, 1952: 35).

By the 18th century the philosophical movement of the Enlightenment had postulated the corrupting effect of civilization upon man and proposed looking to primitive peoples in the search for the pure man or "good savage". This idea produced a resurgence of interest in exotic worlds and stimulated travel and descriptions of "strange" customs and objects.

Carlos III, King of Naples and a member of the Bourbon dynasty, brought the Enlightenment and a curiosity for archaeology to the Spanish throne. He and his wife, María Amelia, shared a passion for antiquity and had a marked influence on both Americanist and ancient Mayan studies. Two basic trends emerged at this time: one of desk research and the other of travel and adventure (Bernal, 1952: 137; 1977: 25-26).

It became necessary to compile the many writings on ancient history that were lost in archives, a task undertaken by Lorenzo de Boturini. Juan Bautista Muñoz, Royal Chronicler of the Indies, was one such compiler whose vast collection of documents was published under the title *History of the New World.*

Also worthy of mention are such notable Jesuits as Francisco Javier Clavijero, Antonio Alzate and Pedro Jose Márquez (Bernal, 1952: 138).

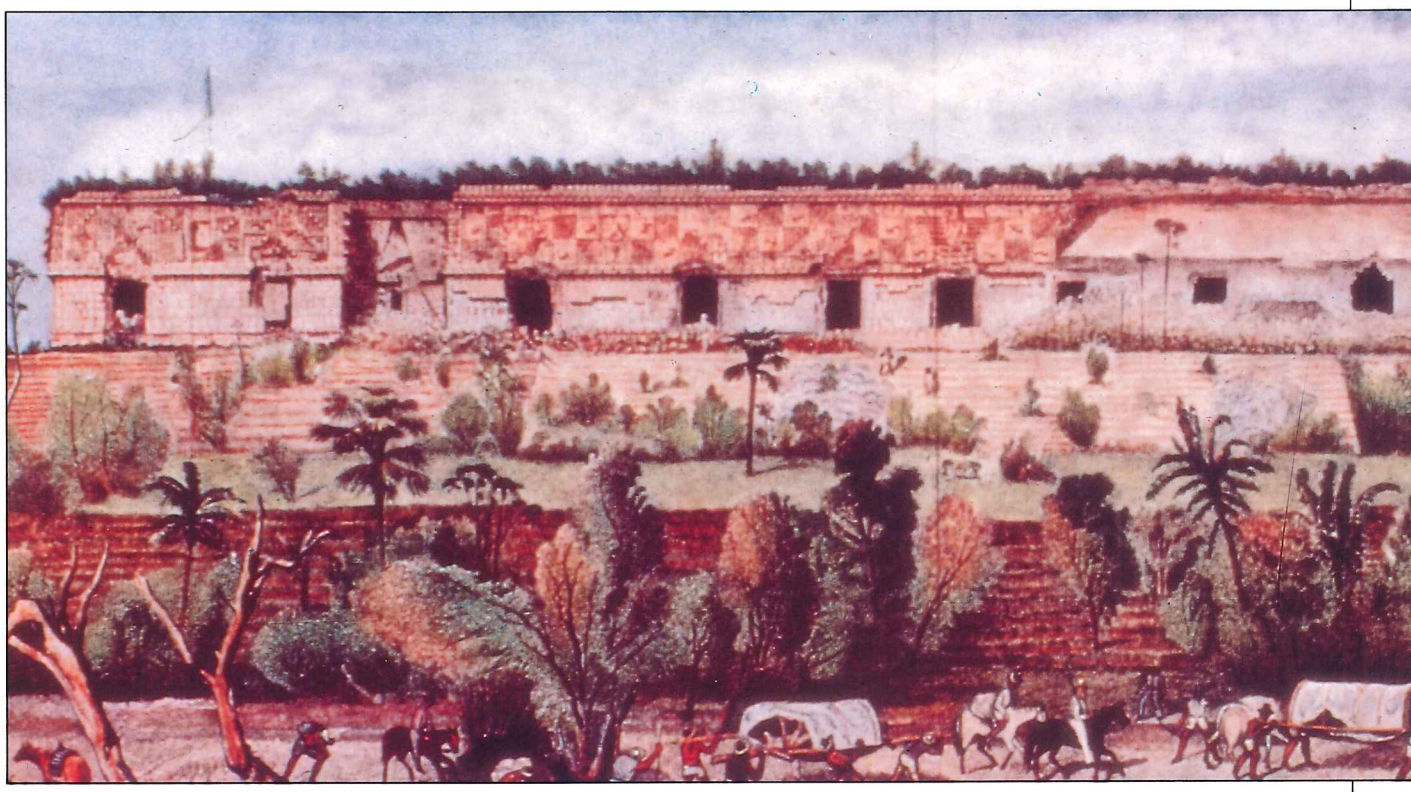
Many office-based writers worked from materials extracted from books and manuscripts, demonstrating the need for a "museum," in Boturini's use of the word.

An important event was Viceroy Bucareli's order to gather together, in the Royal and Pontifical University, all the historic documents on Mexico for scholarly reference. Shortly afterwards, Viceroy Revillagigedo ordered that two marvelous Mexican monoliths discovered in the city's main square, the *Zócalo*, should be preserved at the university.

This was the origin of the Mexican national museum; founded by Lucas Alaman in 1831 and moved to a palace in the present street of Moneda in 1865 by Maximilian (Bernal, 1979).

The dispersal of many collections throughout Europe due to the French Revolution made the early 19th century a particularly decisive moment for English collectors (Graham, 1977: 45).

Earlier writings were often simple chronicles that provide insight into the development of European perceptions about the unity of diverse Mayan groups, their origins, language, history, ethnology and physiognomy; as well as revealing the Europeans' great admiration for the Mayan buildings scattered across the territory.

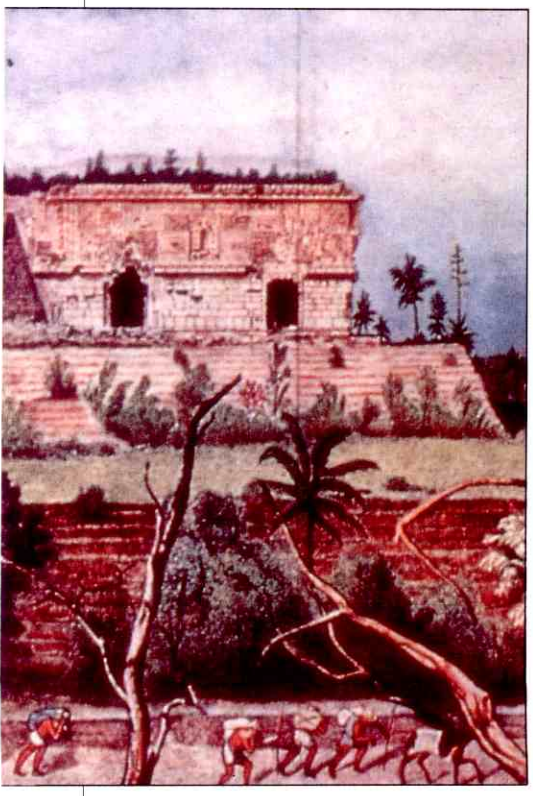


F. Catherwood, Governor's house, Uxmal.

At this time, scientific societies and some universities began to publish periodicals that occasionally included works on archaeology .

Various factors combined to determine the characteristics of this period. One was the so-called 'black legend' intended to belittle the Spanish triumph in America by minimizing the importance of the conquered. Another lay in the great changes postulated by Enlightenment philosophy (Bernal, 1977: 25). Some of these ideas were reflected in the opinions and works of late 18th and early 19th century antiquarians.

The successful explorations of Palenque by Antonio del Rio encouraged Carlos IV, follower of the policies of Carlos III, to order more research, this time throughout all of New Spain. Guillaume Dupaix, Captain of Dragoons, was commissioned to lead three expeditions between 1805 and 1808, only the last of which took him to the Maya region.



Publication of the works of Dupaix and Humboldt aroused increasing interest in pre-Hispanic archaeology and native peoples among European and North American travelers. French and Englishmen began to show interest in American antiquities, which soon were considered part of universal cultural development, comparable with India and Egypt, on the basis of objects and drawings discovered at new ruins (Bernal, 1979: 93).

The upheavals of the War of Independence were detrimental to archaeological research, preventing field excavations during the period (Bernal, 1952: 141).

After 1830 new figures emerged with a special interest in research, such as Juan Galindo, who between 1831 and 1836, visited Palenque, Utatlán, and Copán. The same period saw the publication of Count Frederick Waldeck's account of his travels through Yucatán.

The period in Mexican archaeology that I address below spans eight decades, from the early 1800's to the closing years of the past century. Although this appears arbitrary, it links preceding events to the consequences of a century characterized by scientific positivism.

It opens with the travels of Guillaume Dupaix (1805-1808) and culminates with the researches of Alfred Percival Maudslay (1881-1894), considered to be the founder of modern scientific Mayan archaeology, whose publications recovered valuable information for posterity.

During those years, Mexican archaeology could hardly be regarded as an academic or scientific discipline, for it was neither taught in universities nor studied at many research centers.

The random presence —at ruins in Mexico and Central America— of American and European travelers, who traveled more than Mexican scholars, was due to personal interest and curiosity rather than to any defined scientific or academic program. Most were not archaeologists but antiquarians; foreigners and Mexicans alike from all walks of life arrived in large numbers and some achieved renown.

Del Río and Dupaix were both military men, Galindo a politician and adventurer, Waldeck an artist, Stephens a lawyer, Brasseur de Bourbourg a clergyman, Catherwood an architect, Le Plongeon called himself a doctor but was involved in many mysterious activities, Thompson studied business and served as a diplomat, only Desiré Charnay was an archaeologist.

Their errors were often due to lack of professional training, but all shared a passionate desire to explain the mysteries surrounding the objects and monuments they discovered at the ruins.

Their main stumbling block was trying to interpret relics in the tradition of Western classical antiquity. They had to abandon their preconceived ideas and acknowledge an indigenous and original culture unrelated to ancient Egypt, Chaldea, Rome or Asia.

It was due to lack of knowledge about Palenque architecture that Captain del Río, visiting the area in 1787, thought the inhabitants of the city were of Greek, Phoenician, or Roman ancestry, although he had probably never seen a Roman building in his life.

Although most of Guillaume Dupaix's hypotheses were mistaken, two are worthy of consideration. First, he believed that the hieroglyphics engraved on Mayan stone tablets were quite unrelated to Egyptian or Central Mexican glyphs. Secondly, the characteristic cranial deformation depicted on stone reliefs convinced him that he was dealing with an unknown race.

While the drawings of Luciano Castañeda, the artist who accompanied Dupaix, appear clumsy and naive compared to the work of Frederick Catherwood, recent originals discovered by José Alcina French

F. Catherwood, Bolonchen cenote.

(1970) prove more faithful than subsequent reproductions published by English and French artists.

In the early 19th century, Doctor McQuy took back to England a copy of a report by Captain Antonio del Río containing illustrations by Ricardo Almendariz. The report, "Critical American Theater," was published in Guatemala by the Italian, Paul Felix Cabrera, later accused by Canon Ordoñez de Aguilar of plagiarizing his work.

In the second decade of this century, the London bookseller Henry Berthroud bought copies which he translated and published in 1822. Berthoud employed F. Waldeck to engrave Almendáriz' 16 illustrations, thereby assisting Waldeck's public debut as future artist and archaeologist (Brunhouse, 1973: 53).

Another important figure was Edward King, Viscount Kingsborough, who dedicated much of his life to the collection and publication of Mexican codices and classical manuscripts.

His nine volume *Antiquities of Mexico* was published between 1831 and 1837. Thanks to the artist Agustine Aglio, to whom he entrusted a copy of the Dresden codex, he was able to preserve numerous details that would otherwise have been lost. He also sponsored Waldeck and published his work (Carmichel, 1973).

When Juan Galindo visited Palenque in 1831, he discovered no difference at all between the ancient builders of the ruins and the Mayas living in the surrounding area at the time. He was also the first to consider the Copán and Palenque scripts unique Mayan cultural achievements.

Some writers argue that the publication of his *Description of the ruins of Copán* (around 1834-35) inspired John Lloyd Stephens to travel to Central America in 1839 (Graham, 1963: 11-36).

John Herbert Caddy, a career soldier and artist of Canadian descent living in England, was sent to British Honduras with the Royal Artillery garrison in 1838. His diary contains lively descriptions of rural life in Belize.

When Caddy's commanding officer, Colonel McDonald, learned that the American diplomat J.L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood were about to visit the Palenque ruins to compile a report, he quickly organized an inspection of the city on behalf of the British Crown (Carmichel, 1973).

Patrick Walker, an Englishman, was commissioned to guide the expedition which included J.H. Caddy because of his talent as a watercolorist. The group was able to reach Palenque before Stephens and produce good drawings of the monuments.

Frederick Catherwood, architect and artist, traveled through Greece, Turkey, and Egypt drawing fascinating architectural relics. In 1836, while in London, he met Stephens, a young well-traveled American lawyer appointed by his nation's president to lead a confidential mission to Central America (Hagen, 1967; 1973).

It is a matter of record that by the time they arrived at their destination, the Republic of Central America had been dissolved, leaving them no government to which to present their credentials. This allowed both men to devote more time to their main objective of exploring the entire territory for lost cities.

Besides being a talented artist, Catherwood was also equipped with the photographic instruments then available: a camera lucida and a daguerreotype, to record their findings.

One reason why Stephens' writing is accessible and not exclusively concerned with archaeology is that his descriptions of local native customs were to him ethnographic relics reaching back into the past.

He also compiled linguistic information, in many ways making him a pre-anthropologist. He was also interested in the Mayan chronology established by Juan Pío Pérez, with whom he had a close relationship (Bernal, 1952: 144).

One significant error in the work of Stephens and Catherwood is the mistaken association of the tablet of the Temple of the Sun at Palenque, designated House Number 3, with the jambs in the chapel of the Temple of the Cross (Stephens, 1841: 354-355).

In 1923, Franz Blom measured the sanctuary walls of the three temples in Palenque and discovered that the stone tablets embedded in the facade of the Church of Santo Domingo of Palenque could only correspond to those of the Temple of the Cross (Blom, 1923: 74-76).

During the 1952 dig at the Temple of the Foliated Cross directed by Rafael Orellana, it was proposed that the stone tablets, which had been fragmented when the wall into which they were set collapsed, be replaced in the jambs of the sanctuary (*Tlatoani*, vol. I (3-4), p. 43). This dilemma was mentioned in the section "Enigmas of the past" in the subsequent edition of the same journal (*Tlatoani*, vol. I (5-6) 1952: 44).

Modesto Méndez Flores, chief magistrate of El Petén, visited the Tikal ruins and refers, in his report of 1848, to the wooden lintels that Stephens also described at Uxmal (Bernal, 1979: 107).

After Stephens, there were other less distinguished visitors to the Maya areas who contributed little to studies of the area. One was Arthur Morelet who traveled through Central America, Cuba and Yucatan in 1846.

During the French Intervention, Napoleon III founded the Scientific Society of Mexico, as Napoleon I had done for Egypt. The soul of this society was Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, who during his stay in Mexico and Guatemala translated the *Popol Vuh* into French and published the work of Friar Diego de Lada (Bernal, 1979: 94).

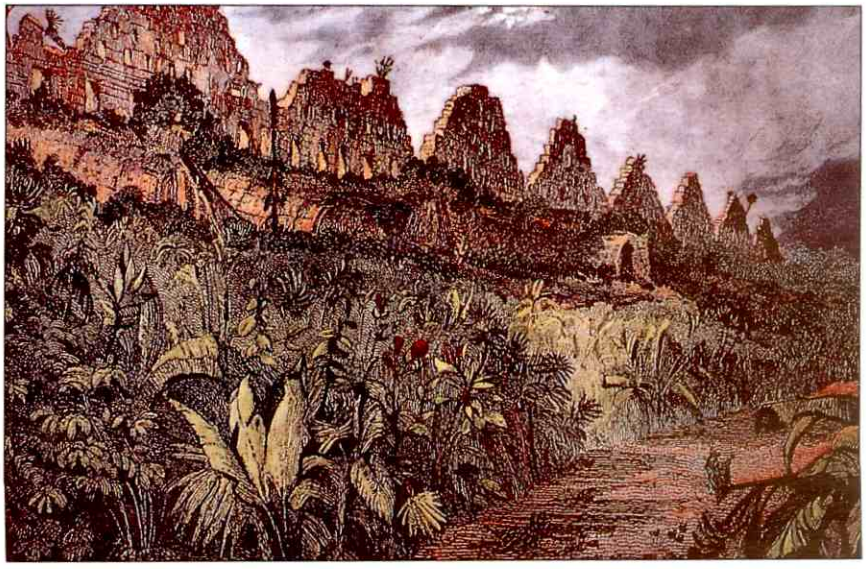
Cesar Daly, another noteworthy member of the society compiled catalogues of ancient documents to record the history of Mexico and Central America (Bernal, 1977: 36).

Desiré Charnay exploited a great invention of the time: the photographic camera. It should be remembered that these explorer-antiquarians forced their way through the rain forests, carrying heavy equipment that included delicate glass plates and chemicals. Each photograph was therefore a triumph and many of high quality have been preserved to this day.

A German baron, Emmanuel Friedrichstal, was actually the first to obtain reproductions of Mayan ruins with a camera lucida. They were exhibited in the United States and Europe but disappeared after his death.

Photographic comparison of monuments in different regions, convinced Charnay that they represented branches of the same civilization, with origins in Tula, and that the Toltecs had come from Asia or the Antilles. Desiré Charnay continued the tradition of Humboldt and Stephens, publishing his work in France in the form of travel journals between 1863 and 1885.

In 1870, Augustus Le Plongeon and his wife Alice made excavations in Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, where they discovered the famous sculpture of a *chac-mool*. Doctor Le Plongeon was the most mysterious of the antiquarians. He practiced medicine, parapsychology, tried out strange therapies and was a fierce defender of the Atlantis theory.



F. Catherwood, Doves' house, Uxmal.

Alice Le Plongeon was equally interesting, developing an extensive bibliography on the Yucatan Mayas and well known for her interest in music and the occult (Brunhouse 1973:136-165).

Numerous essays on Mexico's ancient history were published in France during the first half of the 19th century such as the works of Ternaux-Compans (1837-38) and J.M.A. Aubin (1849).

According to Bernal (1952: 149), several compendia of Mexican archaeology appeared in the second half of the century. These include E. Taylor's *Anahuac* (1861) containing a description of Xochicalco, Adolph Bendelier's *Archaeological Tours in Mexico* (1864), and the works of Bancroft (1882) and Nadaillac (1883) who argued that the ruins of Palenque predated those of Yucatan. The works of Daniel Brinton (1883) and William Prescott (1874) are also worthy of mention.

Another important figure is Adela Catherine Breton, a linguist, talented watercolorist and inveterate traveler who visited Mexico and Central America on three occasions (1894-1899). Alfred P. Maudslay proposed the task for which she is remembered today: the reproduction of the mural paintings at Chichén Itzá, including the Temple of the Jaguars.

Annie Hunter is another contributor who, under Maudslay's supervision, produced magnificent illustrations for the volumes on archaeology of the *Biología Centrali-Americana*.

Another noteworthy figure was the Irish physician Thomas William Francis Gann, who was assigned to British Honduras in 1894 and quickly developed an interest in antiquities, particularly the frescoes of Santa Rita Corozal, Lubaantún and other areas in the district of Cayo, Belize (Carmichel, 1973).

Edward Thompson was the last of the forerunners of Mayan archaeology. He was self-educated and through personal connections obtained a diplomatic posting in the Yucatan peninsula where he devoted himself to archaeology. He lived with the Mayas from 1885 and attained considerable knowledge of their language and customs. As a youth he promoted the theory of Atlantis, about which he accumulated extensive bibliographic material (Brunhouse, 1973: 166).

In the century between the publication of Leon y Gama's work and 1890, little was produced that was strictly archaeological. The founding studies of Mayan archaeology were based on the collection and publication of important manuscripts and documents. Travel also publicized, however superficially, the great cities in ruins and their relics. It could be described as a century of discovery rather than of analysis.

Important encyclopedists and collectors of ancient texts include Antonio García Buas, Manuel Orozco y Berra, and Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

Towards 1858, the latter, in his "Collection of Documents for the history of Mexico," stresses the importance of recovering all possible materials on the ancient history of Mexico. He also published Hernán Cortés' fourth documentary letter, the works of Motolinia, Mendieta and the Anonymous Conquistador, and *The history of the Mexicans according to their paintings*.

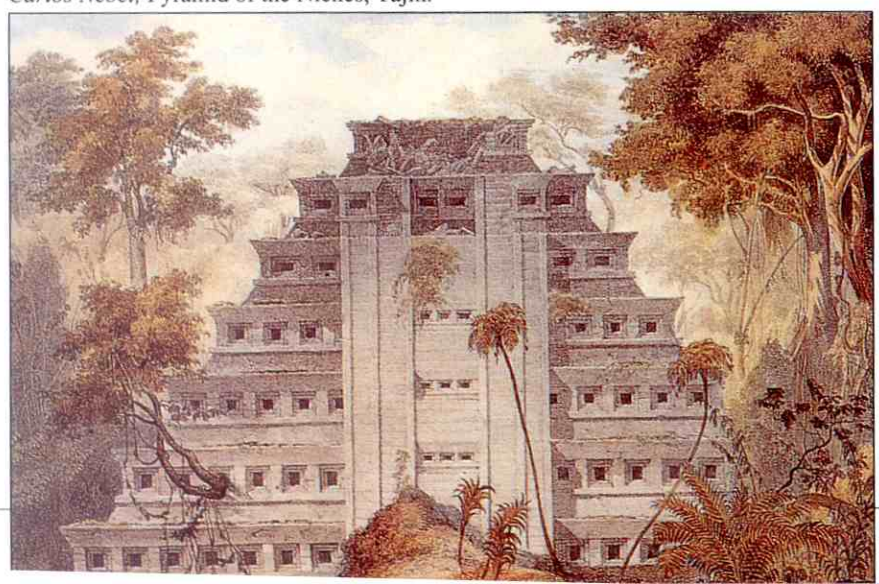
Carlos María Bustamente also collected important documents by Sahagún and fragments of Ixtlixóchitl, among others. Manuel Larraínzar, a lawyer, published five volumes of American historical studies in which he analyzed current ideas, particularly on the subject of Palenque.

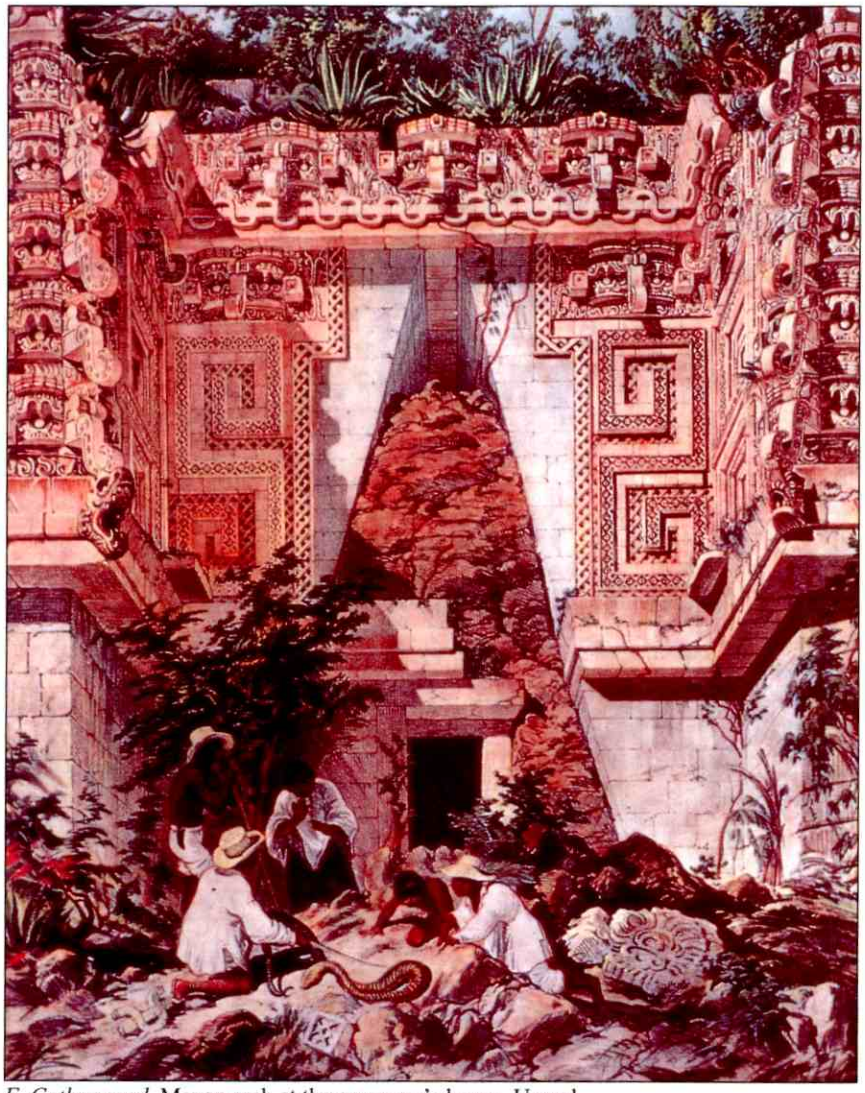
The politician José Fernando Ramírez kept a record of his visit to Uxmal and other Yucatan ruins with the party that accompanied Empress Carlota on her journey. He also collected pictographic writings now contained in more than twenty partially published volumes in the Library of the National Museum.

Ramírez recovered the Pilgrimage Strip, the Sigüenza Map and the Tolzin Map. He published the first volume of Diego Durán's work in 1867. Following his death, Alfredo Chavero published the second volume around 1880. Juan Pío Pérez was also interested in the ancient chronology of Yucatan and produced a dictionary of the Mayan language (Bernal, 1952: 147).

Two approaches to the past are evident during this period. The first was imaginative, exemplified by Le Plongeon, leading only into

Carlos Nebel, Pyramid of the Niches, Tajín.





F. Catherwood, Mayan arch at the governor's house, Uxmal.

labyrinthine confusion. The second method relied on documentation recovered from the 16th century on which, when increased by the wealth of new knowledge, studied architecture, art, records of hieroglyphics and published abundant written material. This was the archaeology of monuments that was preserved, until recently, in Mexico (Bernal, 1977: 39).

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Mexico, splendors of thirty centuries

Two female figures, probably from Teotihuacan (ceramic, mid 2nd-4th century).

Images are frequently very beautiful and do not need to be accompanied by text. ***Voices of Mexico*** has therefore decided to offer only the most relevant information regarding this important exhibition, allowing our readers to enjoy these works of art, so characteristic of Mexican splendor.

Pendant bell with eagle warrior, provenance unknown (gold, about 1500).

Yvonne Venegas.

Coatlicue, Mexica (1325-1521).

◀ *Plaque (possibly a mirror back), provenance unknown (slate, 7th-10th century).*

Yvonne Venegas.

Vessels with glyphs, Atzompa (grayware ceramic, 4th-5th century).

Palma with cloaked figure, Coatepec (basalt, 10th-12th century).

Feathered serpent heads, Chichén Itzá (limestone, 9th-13th century).

Yvonne Venegas.

Yvonne Venegas.

Sacristy wardrobe, Michoacán (carved gilded and painted wood, 18th century).

St. Francis with three spheres, Puebla or Tlaxcala (gilded and polychromed wood, about 1700).

Yvonne Venegas.

Table, Puebla (carved, gilded and painted wood, circa 1760).

Yvonne Venegas.

Choirs stalls (walnut, 1700), hall of the "Generalito", San Ildefonso College.

Background

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was designated to host the exhibition, consisting of approximately 400 pieces, which were loaned by museums, public and private institutions, churches and private collectors from Mexico, the United States, Canada, France, Spain, Britain, the Soviet Union (as it still was at that time), Holland and the Vatican.

The exhibition was originally planned for one year and to be staged exclusively in the United States. However, during its tour through other cities, 18 percent of the original exhibition was modified, since some works held by overseas collectors, were lent exclusively to the New York Metropolitan Art Museum.

Museography

The importance of the exhibition was based on the fact that it presented an overall panorama of Mexican culture in one place. The exhibition offered a highly representative selection of Mexican art, ranging from examples produced by the very first settlements up to the present day. It was divided into four historical periods: pre-Colombian (from 1,000 B.C., until the beginning of the 16th century), the viceregal period (17th and 18th centuries), the 19th century and the 20th century.

La Venta, Izapa, Teotihuacan, Monte Alban, Palenque, El Tajin, Chichen Itza and Tenochtitlan were selected for the exhibition of pre-Colombian art. The viceregal section was characterized by religious art. Among the works of art from the 19th century, portraits, folkloric and landscape works were particularly outstanding. The internationally renowned Mexican muralism developed during the 20th century. The exhibition also included easel paintings by the great muralists and outstanding painters from the first half of the present century.

Juan de Miranda, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (oil on canvas, 1695).

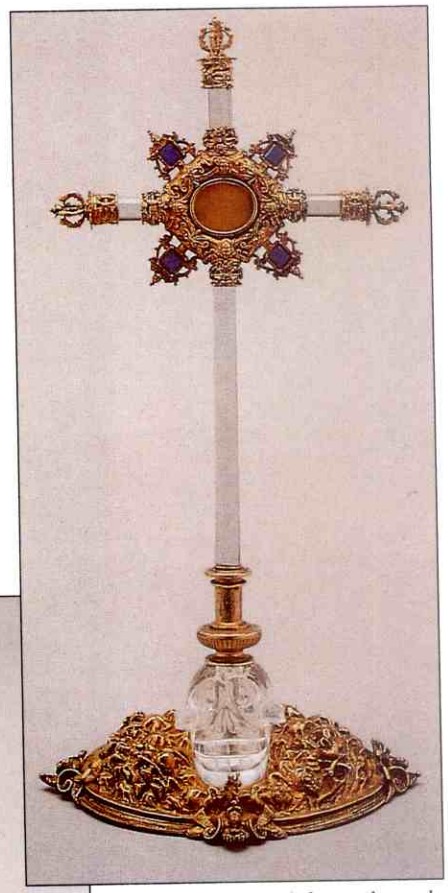
San Felipe de Jesús (gilded and polychromed wood, 17th century).

Virgin of Guadalupe (oil, gilding and mother-of-pearl on wood, 17th century).

Yvonne Venegas.

Baroque wardrobe, Querétaro (carved wood, 18th century).

Shawl (rebozo), Santa María del Río (silk fabric, and silk, gold and silver thread, about 1790).



Cross reliquary (silver gilt, rock crystal, blue stones and wax seal, 1575-78).

Christ with a rope around his neck (polychromed wood, hair and rope, 18th century).

Chasuble (embroidered Chinese silk, about 1795).

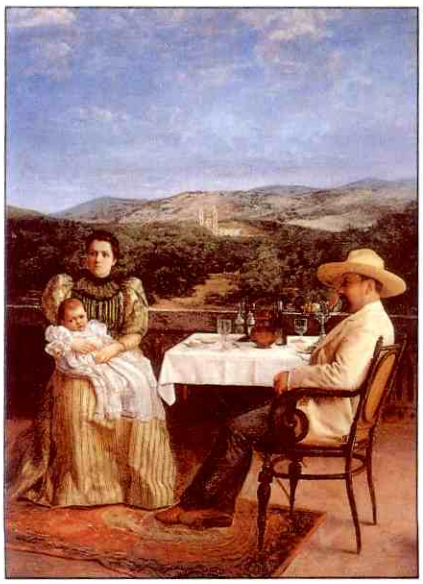
Manuel Tolsá, Model for the baldachin of the Cathedral of Puebla (1798).

Agustín Arrieta, Dining room with parrot, candlestick, flowers and watermelon (oil on canvas, 19th century).

Juan Cordero, Doña Dolores Tosta de Santa Anna (oil on canvas, 1855).

Agustín Arrieta, El Chinaco y la China (oil on canvas, 19th century).

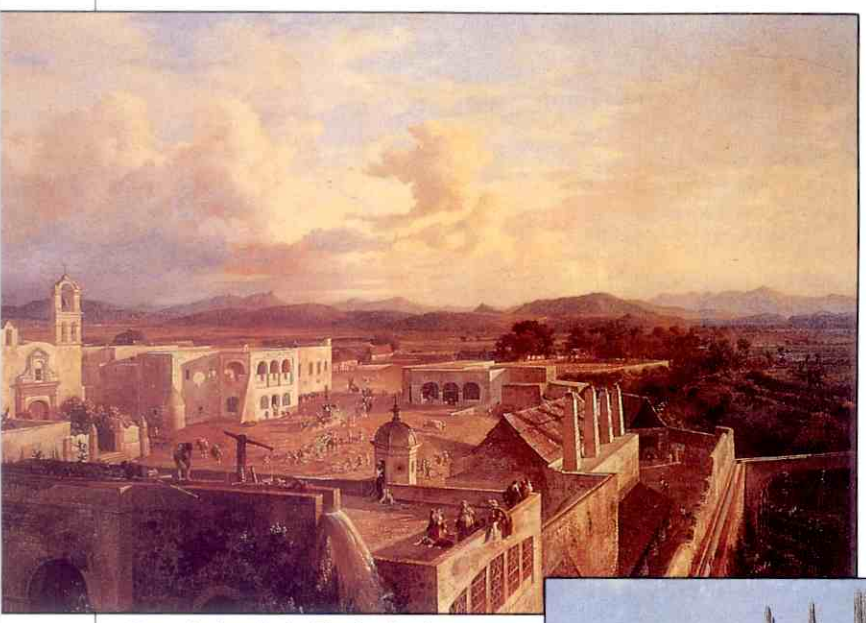
José Guadalupe Posada, Francisco I. Madero (hand bill, 19th century).



Antonio Becerra Díaz, Los hacendados de Bocas (oil on canvas, 1896).

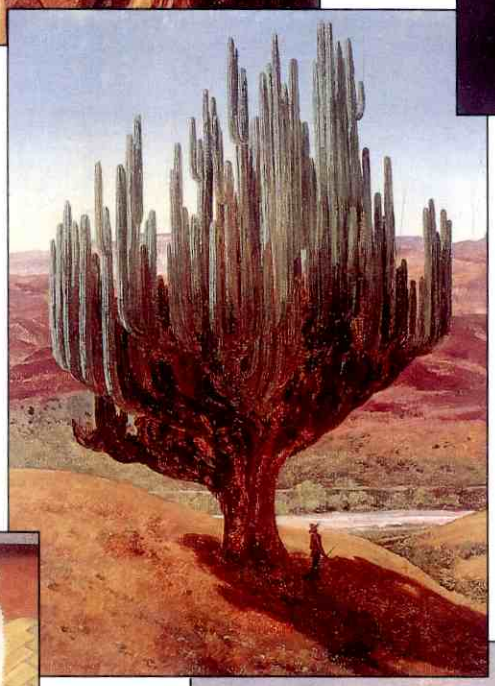
Pelegrín Clavé, Architect Lorenzo de la Hidalga (oil on canvas, 19th century).

Yvonne Venegas.



Eugenio Landesio, The hacienda of Colón (oil on canvas, 1857-58).

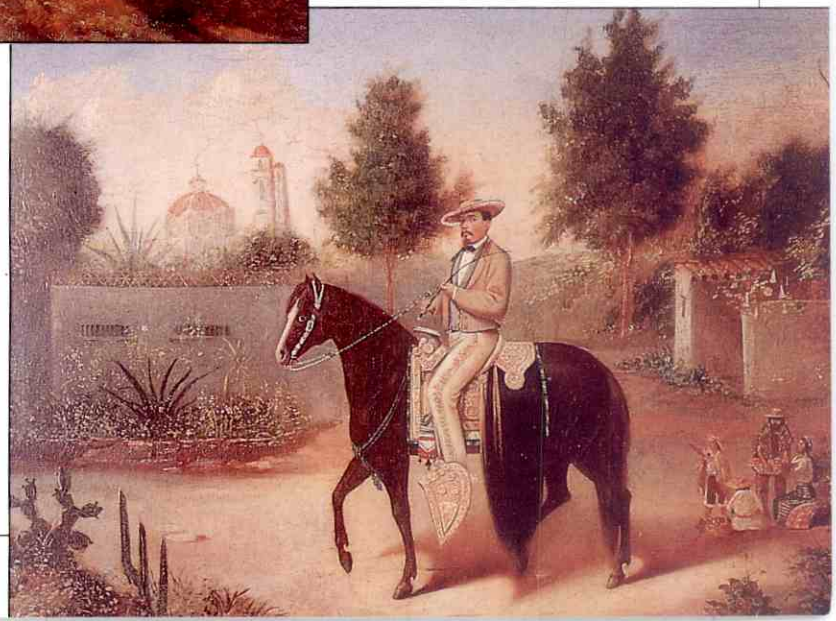
José María Estrada, The dead poet (oil on canvas, 1846).

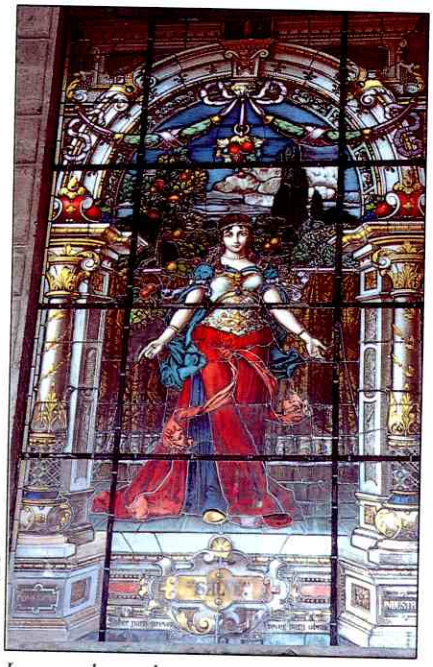


José María Velasco, The candelabrum of Oaxaca (oil on canvas, 1887).

Frida Kahlo, The deceased Dimas (oil on masonite, 1937).

G. Morales, The master (oil on canvas, 19th century).





Yvonne Venegas.

Love, order and progress (stained-glass window), San Ildefonso College.

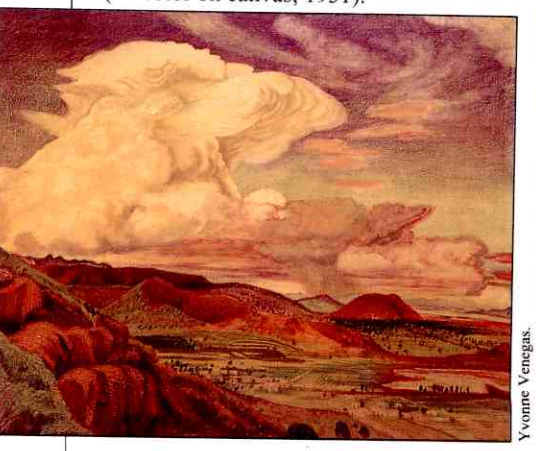
The exhibition in Mexico City

In Mexico City, *Mexico, splendors of thirty centuries* was held in a magnificent building that had formerly been the San Ildefonso College. The exhibition was therefore enriched by murals by Rivera, Siqueiros, Orozco, Fermin Revueltas, Ramon Alva de la Canal and Jean Charlot.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, Ethnography (enamel on composition board, 1939).

San Ildefonso's third patio with Orozco's mural painting.

Dr. Atl, The cloud (Atlcolor on canvas, 1931).



Yvonne Venegas.

The San Ildefonso College was founded by the Jesuits in 1577. However, the building we now know was built between 1712 and 1740, while the annex looking onto Justo Sierra Street was built at the end of the 19th century.

Atrial cross (stone, before 1556).

Yvonne Venegas.

Antonio M. Ruíz, The lottery ticket
(oil on canvas, 1932).

Antonio M. Ruíz, The soprano
(oil on wood, 1949).

Antonio M. Ruíz, Schoolchildren on parade
(oil on canvas, 1936).

Diego Rivera, Flower day
(oil on canvas, 1925).

Frida Kahlo, Frida
and Diego Rivera
(oil on canvas, 1931).

Itinerary

City	Date	Visitors (approx.)
New York	Oct. 1990 - Jan. 1991	650,000
San Antonio	Apr. 1991 - Aug. 1991	300,000
Los Angeles	Oct. 1991 - Dec. 1991	560,000
Monterrey	Apr. 1992 - Aug. 1992	200,000
Mexico City	Nov. 1992 - Mar. 1993 *	580,000

* Due to its success, the exhibition has been prolonged.

For the first time ever, the King Juan Carlos Prize for Economics was awarded to a Latin American. Towards the end of 1992, coinciding with the Quincentennial Year, Spain awarded this prize to a Mexican, Miguel Mancera, "for his fundamental contributions to Mexican economic policy over the last decade." Throughout Latin America, Mancera is considered an influential force in defense of monetary stability, and controlling public sector spending; he is a proponent of rigorous analyses of economic regulation, and a critic of economic protectionism. In the following pages we present a summary of the speech he delivered upon accepting the King Juan Carlos Prize.

The Mexican economy since 1955

*Miguel Mancera Aguayo**

Towards the middle of the 1950's, Mexico entered one of the most brilliant periods in its economic history, a period which would continue until 1970. From 1955 to 1970, the rate of real growth of the gross domestic product reached an annual average of almost 7%, while the rate of inflation, once the impact of the 1954 devaluation had been absorbed, fell to an annual average rate of 2.5% (1961 to 1970).

Paradoxically, during this period of stability with growth, which one of its most distinguished authors called "stabilizing development," certain policies —which today are out of fashion, if not discredited— were adopted or intensified. I am referring mainly to generalized industrialism, protectionism without regard to foreign trade, and the minute regulation of financial intermediaries.

As opposed to the majority of schools of Economics in the United States and Europe, where most scholars have had a relatively eclectic way of thinking, or a marked preference for economies free from State intervention, in Mexico those schools were dominated —since they were founded in the 1930's, and to a lesser extent today— by the radical left, Marxists included.

Graduates of these schools gradually came to occupy middle- and high-profile positions in public administration, in journalism, and in the universities themselves. The propagation of their ideas created an unfavorable climate for the acceptance of free market ideas, the merits of which, in and of themselves, are far from self-evident.

Quite a few of these students, however, upon having the opportunity to do post-graduate work and, above all, having contact with the real world, modified their views on economic questions. Thus, in a way, they became more moderate.

There were other influences which led to the abandonment of the market economy or which at least worked in favor of interventionism. The success which the Soviet Union appeared to be achieving and, in some aspects, did achieve during those years, was impressive. At the same time, research carried out by the Latin American Economic Commission (Comisión Económica para America Latina, CEPAL), created by the United Nations, was found to be very attractive.

Keynesian ideas also had a notable influence. They were appreciated not only for their recognized value in focusing on certain economic phenomena, but also because they were politically convenient. There was nothing better

* General Director of the Bank of Mexico.

than to find support in the teachings —or the supposed teachings— of a great capitalist economist to justify not only government intervention in the markets, but enormous public spending.

The recommendations made by CEPAL were, however, probably the most powerful factor in determining the course which Mexican economic policies, and Latin American economic policies in general, were to follow up until recent years.

"Investment in education is highly profitable. This has been proven by countries such as Germany and Japan"

The CEPAL, which for many years was headed by well-known Argentine, Raúl Prebisch, attempted to construct a whole theoretical framework to give protectionism in developing countries a scientific basis. It did not just try to justify protectionism for nascent industries; this had been done almost one hundred years before. The CEPAL's goal was to legitimize an almost permanent protectionism over a wide range of industries.

The CEPAL model was founded on the assumption of a secular decline in the terms of exchange of raw materials, and thus the need to further the development of national manufacturing industries, protecting them from imports.

Statistics on foreign trade, however, tend to be registered, in simplistic terms, by net weight of merchandise, or in units of the product in question, without taking into consideration the changing characteristics of these products. But how can one consider an automobile made in 1950 the same as one made in 1992, or that a ton of computers manufactured thirty years ago is equivalent to a ton of today's computers?

This model has another questionable side. Even if the permanent decline in the relative price of raw materials can be proved, we must still prove that technological advances are incapable of reducing costs to such an extent that the production of those commodities remains advantageous.

Something more decisive also remains to be proved: that industrialization is only feasible through protectionism. That theory has been completely refuted by nations such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, their meager reserves of natural resources notwithstanding.

Despite its weaknesses, the CEPAL model gained general acceptance throughout Latin America for close to thirty years, from 1955 to 1985. Perhaps those who questioned the model were too few, and their positions not prominent enough, for their voices to be heard.

Moreover, the CEPAL model gave rise to a certain degree of synergy between the ideas of some and the greed of others. By seemingly giving import restriction a theoretical basis, it justified a reduction in competition and, consequently, offered an opportunity to earn juicy monopolistic profits.

Today, most economists would tend to consider the market economy as something similar to that which, in the political sphere, Winston Churchill thought about democracy: it is the worst possible system, unless one considers the alternatives.

This kind of thinking was not prevalent in Mexico until ten years ago, especially among some governmental and intellectual circles which wielded a great deal of influence in designing economic policies. Their concept of a market economy was very different from that of Adam Smith. They thought that the forces of supply and demand should always be regulated, not just in exceptional cases; if these forces were left at liberty, they were usually detrimental to society.

Nor was there much confidence in the inherent goodness of the free market in the financial sphere. Financial intermediaries were highly regulated during those years, not only in Mexico, but all over the world. The bankruptcies among banks and other financial institutions which occurred before and during the Great Depression of the thirties inspired very strict and detailed regulations.

In this international context, and given the interventionist ideas that prevailed in Mexico, a controlled financial policy seemed quite natural. For many long years, Mexican credit institutions were highly regulated; this, not only as regards their financial soundness, but also in matters concerning the granting of credit and interest rates.

"For many long years, Mexican credit institutions were highly regulated"

It is not difficult to infer that numerous and serious distortions and inefficiencies necessarily had to derive, and in fact did, from extreme protectionism, a widespread control policy in industry, and close regulation of intermediary financial institutions. How then can one explain the extraordinary development, with relative stability in prices, which was achieved from 1955 to 1970?

An important factor in explaining such a complex phenomenon is that the economic intervention prevalent

during that period was not always unwise. Some of the measures were useful in reconciling certain social costs and benefits with private ones, or in breaking down certain instances of inertia and resistence which do in fact exist in the market, even if they lack a rational basis.

Certainly there were other decisive factors in the successful economic performance of those years. The labor force grew rapidly, at a time in which there were abundant natural resources still to be exploited. Thus, young people entering the work force were highly productive.

Moreover, the educational endeavors which began in the 1920's were beginning to bear fruit. Illiteracy was drastically reduced, the proportion of young people with some level of schooling increased, and the number of university graduates also rose. As a consequence of the relative scarcity of qualified workers, technicians, and professionals, their marginal productivity gain was enormous.

On the other hand, public investments during this period were highly profitable in micro and macroeconomic terms. Worthy of note in this respect are a considerable number of large joint electric energy and irrigation projects.

It is truly fortunate that when the majority of these projects arose in the fifties and early sixties, CEPAL's recommendations against producing raw materials had not yet spread sufficiently to inhibit such investments.

During the fifties and sixties, the world economy enjoyed one of the longest periods of prosperity in history. No doubt this was also a factor in the development of Mexico's economy.

Exports of manufactured goods began during this period. They were no longer merely occasional exchanges, such as those which occurred during the Second World War when traditional sources of supply were interrupted. These were exports by a few efficient companies, which were able to compete in international markets despite the obstacles arising from protectionism —difficulties in obtaining parts and supplies at international price and quality levels.

The favorable international situation and the high performance of the Mexican economy facilitated the opening up of foreign credit markets, which had been closed to Mexico for almost half a century. This financing, though modest in amount, was qualitatively very important, in view of the fact that it was wisely used in the aforementioned public works projects.

There were errors, as there always are, during this brilliant period of "stabilizing growth." Dissatisfaction always exists, and it is not always strictly economic in nature. Towards the end of this era there arose spontaneous, or consciously promoted, political conflicts; in particular, the convulsive student movements of 1968.

In part as a response to this unrest, the origins of which some attributed to overwhelmingly economic concerns, new policies were in order. To exaggerate a bit, and at the risk of overgeneralizing, the mistakes of "stabilizing growth" were continued, while the accomplishments were abandoned.

Protectionism, barring a few brief lapses, continued its upward trend, as did industrial control policies, and excessive regulation in general. Furthermore, during certain periods, political rhetoric became hostile to foreign investment and, in some cases, even towards domestic private sector investment.

"Towards the middle of the 1950's, Mexico entered one of the most brilliant periods in its economic history"

As private investments became more risky, businessmen's demands for greater protections of all sorts from the government grew; and the government, paradoxically, usually granted them. Any farsighted economist could predict the strange result of such policies: far from achieving the proposed "shared development," an even greater concentration of income in a few hands was produced.

Maxims such as "the production of raw materials is the work of poor nations" and "inflation is the price of development," and other such stock phrases which were quite popular then, reflect ideas which are bound to have serious consequences.

Public investment, which had once been successfully devoted to extremely useful infrastructure projects, was redirected towards industrial and service-oriented activities. Public sector investment ventured into producing steel, chemical substances, automobiles, capital goods, and a wide variety of other products, while service enterprises such as telephone and airline companies and even a nightclub or two, passed from private to government hands.

It is, in principle, feasible for government concerns to be well conceived and well administered. In Mexico, however, this was the exception rather than the rule. Thus, in spite of the increase in the proportion of the gross domestic product devoted to investment during the seventies and early eighties, the rate of economic growth was no longer as strong as before. Nevertheless, on the average it continued to be high, as a result of the enormous growth in demand triggered by the availability of foreign credit and by favorable developments in exchange rates.

One of the causes —and perhaps the most significant cause— of the ensuing foreign debt crisis, was the investment of large amounts of funds in barely profitable,

and in many cases, unprofitable projects. This debt became a heavy burden because interest payments could not be met, as they usually would have, with the profits that should have been generated by the respective investments.

Other disturbing factors came to the fore, particularly the attacks —verbal in some cases, but all too real in others— on the private sector and private businesses. Thus, an immensely valuable asset was eroded: Mexicans' confidence in their nation's economy, which had accumulated over the course of many years. More and more capital fled the country, and became an extremely serious problem over the ensuing period.

"Despite its weaknesses, the CEPAL model gained general acceptance throughout Latin America"

During the 1970's and early 1980's, Mexico had access to an enormous amount of foreign credit; but it was not able to rapidly maximize its ability to administer such abundant resources successfully.

The result was notorious waste, which was apparent not only in the public sector but in the private sector as well: given the protection against imports and other such sinecures, the private sector could afford to invest in poorly planned projects and still do a good business.

Thus, starting in 1973 and until the middle of 1981, Mexico had, and lost, a great opportunity. Enormous petroleum deposits were discovered at a time when the prices of oil and other Mexican exports were rising. During this same time, banks in industrialized countries had large sums available which they were willing to loan. These funds, the product of so-called "petrodollars" were enthusiastically offered by those banks in the hope of developing new petroleum-exporters.

This great opportunity, however, never became the wished-for reality. The aforementioned errors prevented this, reinforced by certain external elements which now came into play. Oil prices did not follow the trajectory which national and foreign experts had predicted.

On the other hand, interest rates in the main foreign financial markets began a dizzying rise. This placed an additional and unexpected burden on the debt-service payments contracted during a period of very low real interest rates —rates that were at times negative— which experts predicted might possibly continue.

The combination of errors and external factors unleashed a foreign debt crisis in August 1982, causing, at the same time, a chaotic situation in the nation's economy. The administration which began its term of office at the end of that year took immediate action by reorganizing the economy and reassuring the population.

Among the numerous measures undertaken by the new government, worthy of mention are the reform of public finances, the adoption of a workable exchange policy, the restructuring of the private and public sector's external debt, and the privatization of companies which had come under State control because they were affiliates of banks which had been nationalized in September 1982.

The national and international context was not conducive to rapid and beneficial results on all fronts, in spite of the efforts made by the administration. Large segments of the population were gripped by distrust. Abroad, Mexico's image had deteriorated to a greater extent than anyone had expected. This was due, among other things, to the resurgence of the right in the United States at that time.

The apprehensiveness of the general public was not the only problem which that administration had to confront. During its term of office, two cataclysms occurred. The first was a natural disaster —the 1985 earthquakes which left a trail of human suffering and material damage; the second was an economic one —the collapse of oil prices in 1986. The loss of income caused by this external event represented costs to the Mexican economy equivalent to a doubling of the interest on the nation's already large foreign debt.

When the bottom dropped out of oil prices, it became necessary to accelerate the so-called "slide" in exchange rates, that is, the small daily devaluation which had been in effect for several years. This had a tremendous impact on inflation, but enabled the nation to survive the crisis without causing a disaster in exchange rates; and in turn, made it possible to move decisively as regards the structural reform of the economy.

Already in July 1985, what could be called a watershed in Mexican economic policies had been reached. Starting that same month, a vigorous trade liberalization began, and the privatization or liquidation of companies belonging to the then unwieldy public sector was undertaken.

The liberalization of restrictions on imports was carried out with a determination which had few, if any, precedents. In two and a half years, Mexico went from a system of high tariffs, with a vast majority of its import categories requiring import permits, to a new situation in which the maximum tariff was reduced to 20%, and in which previous licensing requirements became the exception rather than the rule.

In just three years, nonpetroleum exports —chiefly manufactured goods— grew to such an extent that they

almost completely made up for the income lost through the collapse in oil prices.

Over the following years, these exports have continued to rise, to the extent that in 1991 they made up 70% of Mexico's sales of merchandise abroad, as opposed to 1985, when they represented only 32%, and 1982, when they were only 22%. However, the rapid downward slide in exchange rates in 1986 and 1987 was followed, as has already been mentioned, by a serious inflationary spiral which, at the end of 1987, had reached a point which could have been chaotic. This, paradoxically, in spite of the solid performance of the Mexican economy in several fundamental aspects, including public finances and the balance of payments.

"We have, gradually moved from a detailed regulatory banking system to a liberal regime"

The 1987 fiscal deficit was equivalent to 16% of the gross domestic product. But it was a deficit caused exclusively by the enormous inflationary effect of the interest rates prevailing in the country at that time. The primary balance in public finances, that is, the difference between income and expenditure without including interest, showed a substantial surplus of almost 6% of the gross domestic product.

For these reasons, a dramatic drop in inflation, coupled with a decline in nominal interest rates and service payments on the internal debt, could lead to the disappearance of the global budget deficit in public finances, as if by magic. Later on, this indeed happened.

In 1987, the balance of payments was also very healthy. Despite capital flight and the large-scale reduction of foreign debt, a net increase of almost 7 billion dollars in international reserves was achieved, while the economy became more competitive.

In the light of such basic strengths, it was necessary to take on the inflationary spiral. Wages rose because prices rose, and vice versa. This powerful spiral effect carried with it an especially important price: the exchange rate.

Under these circumstances, the government called together the employers, and the labor and farming sectors, in order to reach an agreement which would be called the Economic Solidarity Pact (Pacto de Solidaridad Económica). The parties to this agreement committed themselves to a concerted effort to stop, or at least moderate, the continuing rise in wages and prices and thus in the exchange rate.

Agreements of this type had been recently attempted in other countries, including some in Latin America. But not everywhere have they met with success. Thus, the Pact's credibility was precarious and the risks involved were high. However, as opposed to situations were this strategy had failed, in Mexico's case there existed solid bases, both fiscal and as regards the external sector— which augured well for the success of the plan.

The Pact was signed in December 1987, and has been renewed under different names and methods in accordance with the circumstances of successive stages. Its success is quite evident. The inflation rate, which in 1987 reached 160%, had fallen to 11.9% in 1992. The inflation rate will, in all probability, fall to single digit proportions this year, and it is not impossible that in 1994 it will settle at levels close to the average for industrialized countries.

Thanks to the relative moderation in wages which the Pact has provided, it has been possible to reduce inflation without falling into a recession. Rather the contrary, an economic recovery has been achieved. This, unfortunately, has lost some of its strength in the last few months as a consequence of the economic sluggishness of industrialized nations.

The success of the Pact is not solely attributable to its efficiency in weakening the inflationary spiral. Other decisive elements have been brought into play. I already mentioned the reform of public finances, which has now resulted in a surplus, without even counting the proceeds from the recent privatizations, as well as the opening up to foreign trade.

Many benefits have also resulted from such measures as the renegotiation and corresponding reduction of the foreign debt; the privatization of many, often very large, public sector enterprises; the use of proceeds from these sales to pay a considerable portion of the internal debt and some of the foreign debt; the negotiation of a free trade agreement with Canada and the United States; the reduction in taxation levels combined with a more efficient collection system; the reform of rural property-holding systems, and the improvement in the quality of economic regulation in general, a process which in many cases has implied extensive deregulation.

We have, for example, gradually moved from a detailed regulatory banking system to a liberal regime. Mexican banks, insofar as transactions in Mexican currency are concerned, are no longer required to reserve funds for credit nor are they obliged to grant credit along certain predetermined lines; interest rates are not fixed by the authorities.

Monetary control is primarily exercised through open market mechanisms which, thanks to the existence of a

significant market in public stocks, bonds and certificates, are easily put into effect. But, quite sensibly, economic policies have not only been liberalized; more attention has also been given to regulations on the financial solvency of the financial intermediaries.

At present, Mexico is at a stage in which it has already overcome serious difficulties; there are now excellent opportunities for progress. Despite this, we continue to face challenges from complex problems whose solutions are far from simple.

"Interest rates in the main foreign financial markets began a dizzying rise"

The strong inflationary pressures and trade imbalances which many nations, Mexico among them, suffer, have led government officials and academics to focus their attention on macroeconomic aspects at the expense of good microeconomic government, which is crucial in achieving an increase not only in productivity but in standards of living as well.

The markets are plagued by imperfections and undesirable practices. Perseverance and courage are required to correct them, since the work involved is often dull, and implies attacking an infinite number of special interests.

Saving is not one of the cardinal virtues today in most of the Western world. I have spent many hours thinking about how voluntary saving could be stimulated in my country, without arriving at a satisfactory answer. We know that price stability, the smooth functioning of financial markets, a sensible system of taxation, and a climate of security are all contributing elements. But they are not enough.

For proof of this, we need only look at the United States, where these factors are combined and reflect a higher level of quality than in other countries. Yet, the rate of saving is lamentably low. We should study Chile more carefully, because savings there have shown an impressive growth. The Far East, which is made up of a wide range of countries with different characteristics, has one thing in common: an extremely high savings rate.

One of the most serious consequences of monetary instability is high interest rates. Those who propose inflationary policies for the sake of a supposedly faster growth of the national product are not aware of the damage which such policies do to economic development in the long term. Once the populace has seen its savings decimated by inflation, it becomes distrustful; and distrust is not erased by decree. It only diminishes and, eventually, disappears, through perseverance in the application of proper economic policies.

In speaking of the significant problems which my country faces, I don't want to omit mentioning one in particular: the notorious inequality in the distribution of wealth.

The formula for attacking this problem which immediately comes to mind is the adoption of a system of taxation and subsidies tending towards a more equitable distribution of wealth. This would, however, have a relatively limited effect, since, in developing countries, the rich are relatively few. The amounts that could be taken from them through taxes would not be enough to substantially alleviate the poverty of the many.

But more important than this is another factor, eminently pragmatic in nature. Capital, as well as qualified labor, can easily travel over borders which separate one country from another, more so when those countries have a very close geographic and economic relationship, as is the case of Mexico and the United States.

Under these circumstances, high taxes measured against international norms give rise to damaging consequences: capital flight, and, worse still, brain drain. The damage which can be done by these phenomena are easily appreciated when we remember that economic underdevelopment is determined by a marked scarcity of capital and, specifically, lack of a qualified work force.

"Saving is not one of the cardinal virtues today in most of the Western world"

There is no doubt that the most efficient method for promoting equality and development is to extend quality education to include the whole of society. Without this, deep and undesirable differences among the various social groups are perpetuated. The marginal productivity of the few tends to remain large, and that of the many, small.

Investment in education is highly profitable. This has been proven by countries such as Germany and Japan, which from the ashes of a war that had destroyed almost everything in existence, except for the majority of their human capital, were quickly able to recover.

The development of the United States itself can be attributed in large part to the massive importation, over centuries, of human talent formed and educated in other nations VM

Topolobampo and the Pacific Basin

Arturo Retamoza G. *

A modern deep-water port

Topolobampo, 24 km from the city of Los Mochis in northern Sinaloa, became Mexico's second largest deep-water port last year, as result of decisive action and huge investments by both federal and state governments.

These sums far exceeded the amount needed for the port itself (with its two 225-meter long, 12-meter deep piers). They also financed an extension of the Chihuahua-Pacific railroad, linking Los Mochis to Topolobampo, and a four-lane highway, as well as creating a new industrial zone.

These features not only made Topolobampo a deep-water port, but the most efficient route between East Asia and the south central US. Using Topolobampo, as opposed to other ports on the West Coast, means a 30% reduction in necessary road transport.

Topolobampo is, therefore, a port offering magnificent shelter and navigational conditions, able to handle ships of up to 50,000 deadweight tons and provide an alternative site for in-bond plants and other export facilities.

Limitations on the establishment of in-bond industries

There are serious obstacles to the establishment of this type of plant. The in-bond industry started up after 1985, as a result of the boom in international trade and changes in Mexican economic policy that lowered trade barriers and provided guarantees for foreign capital.

The in-bond industry developed in what is now known as the Pacific Basin, the world's economically largest industrial area. It is a vast region accounting for over 45% of the world's exports and 40% of its imports, enjoying access to the US market, the largest in the world.

Mexico's presence in the Pacific Basin is due to the growth of its in-bond industry, whose main aim has been to export to the US. This market alone has drawn huge amounts of foreign capital, mostly Japanese, to the in-bond sector.

Thus, Mexico's proximity to the world's largest market has made it almost exclusively a springboard for exports.

As a result, the in-bond industry has tended to concentrate almost solely on assembly, producing little added value, and divorcing it almost totally from the nation's manufacturing industry, by virtue of the fact that it is labor-intensive. Hence the steep rise in Mexico's imports since 1985.

Topolobampo is a key element of the Mexican port system.

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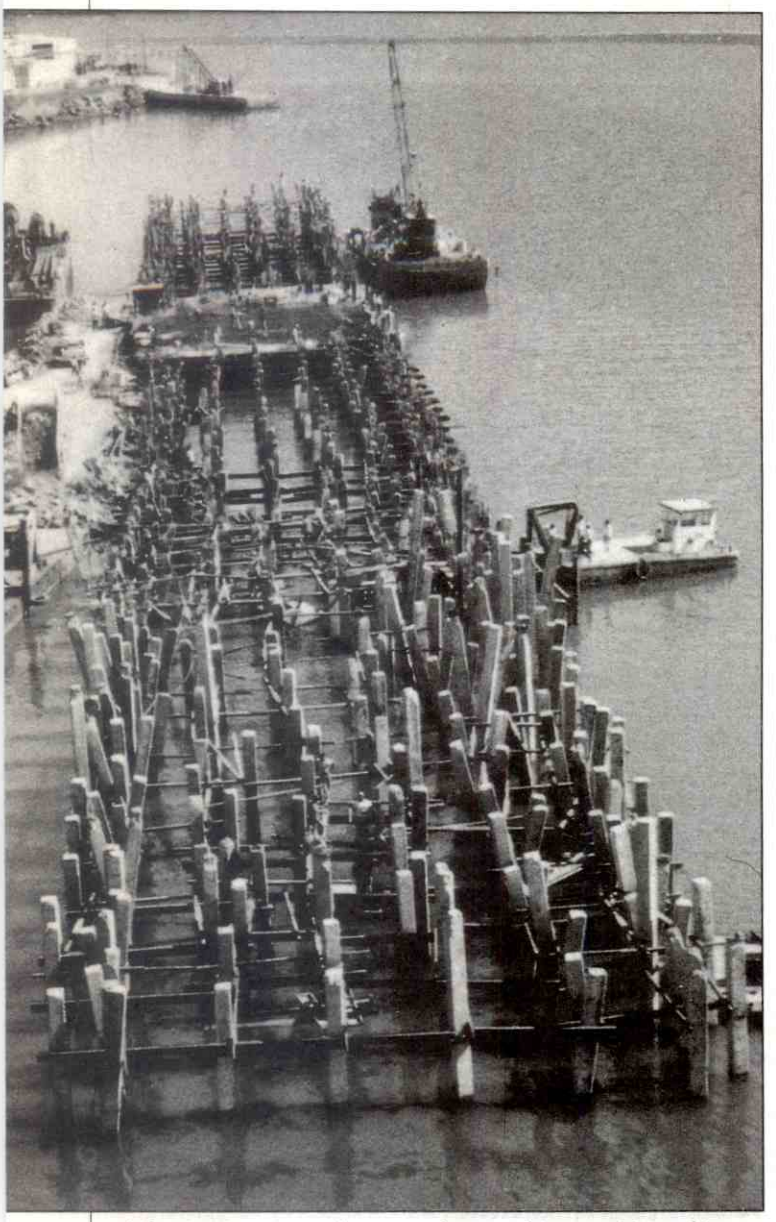

Infrastructure to receive general cargo ships, container ships and those specialized in agricultural and mineral bulk products.

A further disadvantage of this process, in countries like Mexico, is that it develops specific regions without involving the rest of the economy. A prime example of this is the impressive economic growth along Mexico's northern border over the past few years.

Although in-bond industries have created jobs and earned foreign exchange, the federal government's contention that their proliferation would encourage the transfer of technology to the bulk of the country's manufacturing industry has not proved accurate and is unlikely to do so in the future, since these industries tend to operate on a global rather than a domestic level.

In this respect, industry spokesmen themselves have said that their only interest in Mexico is its border with the US, which explains Topolobampo's great difficulties in attracting in-bond plants.

A new proposal

A proposal, offering a high probability of success, has been put forward in the in-bond industry sector advocating the installation of factories that would relate differently to domestic industry.

Their main purpose would be to use Mexican raw materials, as well as labor, thus providing greater links with domestic manufacturing industry, and supplying both the Japanese and American markets.

They would be traditional industries, on the grounds that this would reduce the cost of raw materials, as in Sinaloa which produces and exports tomato paste and other dehydrated products.

The export industries discussed here would be foreign-owned, though they would probably become associated with Mexican private capital. However, the signing of a Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, the US and Canada and the proximity of their markets might encourage entrepreneurs from all three countries to invest in this type of industry.

Sinaloa's abundant and varied natural and agricultural resources make it an ideal site for such export industries.

The huge sums invested to make Topolobampo a modern, efficient port should not be devoted solely to serving in-bond industries.

Instead, efforts should be made to stimulate and support the creation of private Mexican manufacturing industry, the only kind that might guarantee a national outlook on industrialization. In other words, the growth of a vigorous, forward-looking Mexican entrepreneurial class should be encouraged.

Countries such as Taiwan and South Korea, regarded as "economic successes" had a 6.2% share of the world's economy in 1978, and a 10.2% share a decade later. They did not depend on in-bond industries, but relied on domestic private capital to diversify exports.

Conversely, the greater integration of Mexico's economy into the world market, represented by manufactured goods for export, owes far more to the efforts of foreign private capital (the in-bond industry), than it does to Mexican private capital.

On the other hand, thanks to freer trade policies, the integration of imports has been spectacular, since they have grown and diversified more quickly than exports. The value of imports in 1989 was twice what it was for 1987, while exports grew only 10% over the same period.

It is, therefore, important to link Topolobampo's future to exports and trade developed by Mexican businessmen. Otherwise, Mexico's future and, in this case, Sinaloa's prospects, will be largely dependent on the relationship between the United States and Japan

Hispanics and poverty in the United States

*Elaine Levine**

Even though the United States continues to be the world's richest country in terms of total output, it hasn't been able to overcome poverty. In 1990, according to offical statistics, there were 33.6 million extremely poor persons in the US, 13.5% of the total population.

A particularly outstanding feature is the disproportionate poverty rates among ethnic and racial minorities. The percentage of persons living in poverty is over three times higher for blacks than for whites —31.9% and 10.7% respectively in 1990— and almost three times higher for Hispanics, whose poverty rate was 28.1%.[1]

Many recent studies suggest that the poverty rate for Hispanics in the US, and particularly for those of Mexican origin living in the Southwest, is increasing more rapidly than for any other sector, even more so than the rapid growth of the Hispanic population itself. If these tendencies continue, by the beginning of the next century there will not only be proportionally more Hispanics in the US but many more poor Hispanics.

Furthermore, one of the most striking results of economic policy over the past twelve years has been greater inequality in the income distribution and a relative as well as an absolute increase in poverty. However, it is also interesting to note that while blacks still have a poverty rate higher than that of any other ethnic or racial minority, it has been fairly stable over the past two decades —oscillating with the ups and downs of the economy— while the situation of Hispanics has deteriorated. Their average rate of poverty for the 70's was 23%, increasing to 28% in the 80s.[2]

Another disconcerting fact is that while the poverty rate for the elderly has declined systematically since the 1960s, even during the Reagan and Bush years, they are the only group that has had such luck. On the other hand there has been a marked increase in poverty among children. From a low point of 14.4% in 1973, the poverty rate for those under 18 has grown to 20.6% in 1990. Here as well, there is a strong racial and ethnic bias. In 1990, fifteen out of every hundred white children were living in poverty compared with 38 out of every hundred Hispanic and 44 out of every hundred black children.[3]

Statistics show that there is a disproportionate number of children living in poverty and even more so for minority children. Those under 18 years old make up 40% of the nation's poor and only 26% of the overall population.[4] Twenty-one percent of all poor children are of Hispanic origin while Hispanics represent only 11% of all children in the US. Furthermore, about 48% of all Hispanics living in poverty are under 18.[5] These figures plainly show that Hispanic children start out life in the US with enormous disadvantages.

The United States was among the last of the industrialized countries to establish nationwide social programs. It took the nation-wide depression of the 1930s to modify existing concepts about the role of the state. Franklin D. Roosevelt's election as president opened the way for more active federal government participation in certain aspects of economic life that had previously been the domain of state and local governments.

The social spending system that exists today is based primarily on the Social Security Act of 1935. This legislation established a pension plan administered by the federal government called social security. At the same time mechanisms were created to motivate and oblige state governments to set up their own systems for unemployment

[1] *Economic Report of the Presidente, 1991*, Washington, D.C., US Government Printing Ofice, 1991, p. 320.

[2] Committee on Ways and Means, US House of Representatives, *1991 Green Book*, Washington, D.C., USGPO, 1991, p. 1138.

[3] *Ibid.* and US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Poverty in the United States: 1990*, Current Population Reports, Serie P-60, No. 175, Washington, D.C., USGPO, 1991, p. 15.

[4] US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Op. cit.* CPR, Serie P-60, No. 175, p. 1, 16 and 18.

[5] US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *The Hispanic Population of the United States: March 1990*, CPR, Serie P-20, No. 449, Washington, D.C., USGPO, 1991, p. 5.

* Institute of Economic Research, *UNAM*.

insurance. Supplementary federal funds were also designated to help the individual states in providing public assistance, commonly known as "welfare", to women with children who had no other means of support.

However the profile of welfare recipients has changed greatly over the past few decades, mainly because of the changes in family structure that have taken place during the postwar period. Thus the question of public assistance has become a controversial issue. In the mid 1930s providing government aid to widows with young children was a noble and socially acceptable cause, while helping today's unwed or abandoned mothers seems not to be.

In fact the 1935 legislation is quite clear in its intentions. It was designed to compel state governments to provide temporary financial aid for those most affected by economic downturns. The underlying assumption was that later on, as the social security system matured and private insurance became more widespread, the need for direct public assistance would practically disappear.

The great depression had shown that the federal government had to provide a certain amount of economic stability for workers' families and protect them from severe economic changes. But providing for the marginal sectors of the population was quite a different question. According to conventional wisdom, it was better that "charity" be handled at the state and local level and best of all that it be provided by philanthropical organizations.

These concepts are reflected not only in the amounts assigned to welfare payments, but also in the fact that the federal government has never been willing to establish a national minimum for such payments. After 1939, federal outlays for public assistance diminished steadily for many years. As of 1942, this category amounted to less than 1% of the federal budget and didn't rise beyond that level again until 1967.

At the beginning of the 1960s, official calculations —which may well underestimate the situation— showed that there were about 40 million people living in extreme poverty in the United States; about 20% of the population. The fact that persistent poverty was discovered after more than ten years of economic growth —interrupted by only two brief recessions—, along with a surge of authors who denounced the plight of the poor and the general political climate of that time, set the stage for some new federal government initiatives in the area of public assistance.

The new policies were directed towards helping the poor —and more explicitly, recipients of direct government aid— to "make qualitative changes in their lives" through programs designed to help them become more successful in school and in the labor market.

Several amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935 were passed during the 60s and new government agencies were created to provide services designed to "rehabilitate" the poor and help them become economically self-sufficient. Federal spending on public assistance grew quickly in subsequent years and increased from 1.2% of the federal budget in 1967 to 7.7% in 1981.

The increase was due only in part to the new programs just mentioned. Most of the funding was still dedicated to the traditional forms of public assistance and a growing proportion was absorbed by the Medicaid program implemented in 1965. However, at the time, great expectations were generated around the possibility of reducing poverty and thus reducing, in the future, poverty-related government spending.

"Poverty rate for Hispanics in the US, is increasing more rapidly than for any other sector"

In fact the number of people with incomes below the official poverty line did decline significantly between 1960 and 1973, from 39.9 million to 23.0 million. But the weakest segments of the economy were the hardest hit by the recessive tendencies of the early 70s and the new phenomenon of stagflation, and the poverty rate rose once again after 1973.

Public assistance never reached more than 30% of the amount spent for social security but the growth of federal spending in that area and the rise in measurable poverty after 1973 —in the midst of growing concern over the federal deficit— inevitably raised serious doubts about the effectiveness of public assistance. Both supporters and critics hold that existing programs are ineffective in fighting poverty in the US but the explanations given in each case are diametrically opposed.

Traditionally blacks have been viewed as the most impoverished group and undeniably their poverty rate is still the highest. But their situation did improve significantly during the 60s and has stabilized over the past two decades. At present, Hispanics are the fastest growing minority in the US and they will most likely outnumber blacks by around 2010. Furthermore, the Hispanics' socio-economic situation has deteriorated in recent years and, according to some indicators, their position is more adverse than for blacks.

Labor force participation is slightly lower for blacks than for Hispanics, and unemployment tends to be higher among blacks. Median income for Hispanic males over 15 has been higher than for blacks, but the difference is

shrinking. 1990 figures show that Hispanic males with year-round full-time employment had a lower median income than blacks. Median income for Hispanic women was also lower than for black women. Thus the figures seem to indicate that in spite of the higher unemployment rate for blacks, Hispanics are both willing and obliged to work for lower wages.

It should be pointed out, however, that in spite of their common language and even though many Anglos tend to think of Hispanics as a single ethnic unit, they are in fact a very diversified group. Country of origin, different circumstances motivating migration, and time and place of settlement in the US are all factors that contribute to the existing economic, political and social differentiations. The Cubans' socio-economic situation, for example, is quite similar to that of the white non-Hispanic population, while that of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is much less favorable.

While Mexicans are the most numerous group of Hispanics in the US —they constitute approximately 64% of the total, Puerto Ricans about 10% and Cubans about 5%— they are in many respects the most disadvantaged. Mexicans hold proportionally fewer professional and managerial posts than either Cubans or Puerto Ricans and are more frequently employed as factory workers and laborers.

"The socio-economic situation of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is much less favorable than the Cubans'"

In terms of median incomes, the difference is striking. In 1989 the median income for economically active Mexican men was $12,527 and $8,874 for Mexican women, while the medians for Puerto Ricans were $18,822 for men and $12,812 for women, and for Cubans the figures were $19,336 and $12,880.[6]

In spite of the fact that Mexicans generally have lower individual incomes, other factors —such as the rate of labor force participation and family stucture— have negative repercussions for Puerto Ricans so that they have lower family and household incomes.

Obviously this means that in each Mexican family or household more people contribute to the unit's income and there are probably more adolescent children working instead of going to school, than for other groups.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 8 and 9.

Adolescent daughter are frequently obliged to neglect or abandon their studies to do household chores and take care of younger brothers and sisters while their mother works outside the home. However, even though female-headed household are much more frequent among Puerto Ricans —39 versus 20%— the labor force participation rate is significantly higher for Mexican women —53 as opposed to 41%.[7]

Hispanic families are usually larger than other families in the US and Hispanics have the lowest per capita income —$8,424 in 1990 compared with $9,821 for blacks and $15,265 for whites, including Hispanics. Furthermore, Hispanics' per capita income declined 4.7% in real terms between 1989 and 1990 alone, while blacks recorded an increase of 6.5%, due to the economic success of a small but growing number of blacks with high incomes. At the same time, overall per capita income declined 2.9% in the US.[8]

In terms of family and household units, Hispanics also experienced a slightly more significant decline in real median income than others. It should also be pointed out that only female-headed black families suffered a decline in real median income, while married-couple black families actually experienced an increase, but both types of Hispanic families showed a decline in real median income between 1989 and 1990.[9] It seems that many Hispanic childen, and particularly many Mexican children, have recently suffered a drop in their already precarious living standard, maybe even more so than other groups.

These changes are perhaps better explained in the light of the transformations that have been taking place in the US labor market over the past few decades. It is generally recognized that the increase in incomes for many middle-income families was achieved largely because of greater female participation in the labor force. Between 1980 and 1990, 7.2 million men and 11.4 million women entered the labor force. This phenomenon, along with the marked increase in indebtedness, helped sustain the increased consumption of the middle-income groups which was very important for the economic growth of the 80s. In fact, the trend towards increased female participation in the labor force and a decline in the rate of male participation can be observed throughout the post-war period.[10]

However, it was not until the 70s that female work became so indispensable, not only to maintain the growing number of female-headed households but also to

[7] *Ibid.* p. 8, 9, 14 and 15.

[8] US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Money Incomes of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1990*, CPR, Serie P-60, No. 175, Washington, D.C., USGPO, 1991, p. 3.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Economic Report of the President, 1992*, Washington, D.C. USGPO, 1992, p. 334 and 337.

supplement declining real wages for men. As of 1991 the real median income of all men with earnings, as well as those with year-round full-time employment, had not yet returned to its 1973 level. The real median income for women has continued to increase over the last two decades but on the whole it is only about 50% of that for men and 70% in the case of those who work full-time year-round.[11]

Even before the onset of the latest recesion in 1990, neither black nor Hispanic families had recovered their previous peak in terms of real median family income, which was that reached in 1973 for blacks and 1978 for Hispanics. It has been widely demonstrated that the gains from economic growth during the 1980s mainly benefitted the richest 1% of the population. The lowest income groups, and to a lesser degree some of the middle-income groups, suffered losses with respect to their share of total income.

Even though the evolution of real median family income is not a very precise measure it does allow us to observe roughly the fate of ethnic and racial minorities with respect to the economic expansion of the 1980s. Between 1980 and 1990 gross national product grew 28.1% in real terms. At the same time personal consumption grew 31.7% and disposable personal income 27%. However, real median family income grew only 9.14% for the entire white population (which includes most Hispanics), and only 5.87% for Hispanics and 5.95% for blacks.[12]

Nevertheless, large differences can be observed among the different subgroups of the Hispanic population and even some divergences with respect to the general tendency. The Puerto Ricans, who had the lowest level of median family income, showed the most significant increase fron 1980 to 1989, 18.6%. The Cubans' increase was 11.4%, slightly above that for the entire white population, mentioned above. The real median family income for Mexicans rose only 1.9% between 1980 and 1989, which in fact means that they suffered a significant decline with respect to the population as a whole, and with respect to the rest of the Hispanic population as well.[13]

Puerto Ricans continue to be the most impoverished subgroup in the US today, but in spite of the increasing polarization between rich and poor over the past decade, the Puerto Ricans' poverty rate did decline slightly from 35.4% en 1980 to 33.0% in 1989. The black population as a whole also showed a slight improvement in terms of the poverty rate, which dropped from 31.5% to 30.7% over the period mentioned; however, it rose again to 31.9% in 1990 as a result of the recession. The poverty rate for Mexicans which was 22.9% in 1980 rose to 28.4% in 1989.[14]

One factor which no doubt accounts to some extent for these differences is the recent change that has taken place in immigration patterns. The high point for Puerto Rican migration from the island to the continental US was during the 1950s. In the 60s this flow declined significantly and in the 70s a flow in the opposite direction began. As Bean and Tienda (1987) have pointed out "The persistent inability of many island migrants to secure steady employment on the mainland, coupled with the displacement of Puerto Rican workers from declining textile and garment industries in the Northeast during the decade of the 1970s, set in motion a return migration process whose scale and duration cannot be predicted."[15]

In contrast, in the US Southwest there is an ever increasing flow of Mexican immigrants, both legal and undocumented; the scale and duration of this flow is also somewhat unpredictable. The political and economic turmoil following the Mexican Revolution produced a strong flow of Mexican immigration during the 1920s. "However, the flow of immigrants from Mexico ebbed considerably during the 1930s, when widespread domestic unemployment contributed to a wave of anti-Mexican sentiment which culminated in a repatriation campaign that, unfortunately, affected native-born residents as well as the foreign-born."[16] Around the middle of the 1950s Mexican immigration started to grow rapidly, once again, and has reached unprecedented levels over the last decade.

This recent phenomenon is inevitably tied to the sharp decline in living standards suffered by many Mexicans during the 1980s —which has in fact been called "the lost decade" throughout most of Latin America. Thus the illusion that there is a better life waiting for them just across the border has motivated a growing number of Mexicans to migrate, legally or illegally, to the US. Even though Mexican immigrants can send dollars to their families back in Mexico, or sometimes bring their families with them to live in conditions that are apparently better than the ones they left behind, these people constitute one of the most impoverished groups in the US today.

The economic growth of the 1980s was accompanied by increasing hardships for the poor. Those most affected belonged to racial or ethnic minorities. The rapid growth of these groups with respect to the whole population affects the very nature of poverty in the US and lays bare the incapacity or lack of public will to solve this problem VM

[11] *Ibid.* p. 330.

[12] *Ibid.* pp. 300, 305 and 327. US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991*, Washington, D.C. USGPO, p. 454; *Op. cit.* CPR, serie P-20, No. 449, p. 14 and 15; Frank D. Bean and Marta Tienda, *The Hispanic Population of the United States*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1987, p. 346 and 7.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Op. cit.* CPR, Serie P-60, No. 175, p. 15 and 16; *Op. cit.* CPR, Serie P-20, No. 449, p. 10 and 11; *Op. cit.* Bean and Tienda, p. 371.

[15] Bean and Tienda, *Op. cit.* p. 25.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 19.

Puerto Rico vis-à-vis the globalization process

The language question

The history of Puerto Rico is very different from that of the rest of Latin America. To begin with, the island has never been an independent nation and certainly has never enjoyed sovereignty.

Before it was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493, it was inhabited by Tainos, who lived in small villages made up of huts. This peaceful group was forced to fight against the Caribs, who constantly invaded their villages in search of human meat and women.

More than ten years passed before the Spaniards returned to Borinquen, a Taino word which means "island of enchantment", and which Columbus later named San Juan Bautista. Since Puerto Rico became widely used in referring to the island, San Juan was reserved for the capital city.

In 1504, the Tainos welcomed the first Spaniards with open arms; but when they were subjected to over-exploitation, they rebelled. Before the end of the 16th century, the indigenous population had practically disappeared as a result of disease and battles against the conquistadores. The Spaniards then began importing slaves from Africa.

As in many other Latin America countries, no indigenous peoples remain in Puerto Rico today. The only testament to their existence is the island's racial mix of black, white and Taino origins.

In 1898, the island came under US control, when Spain lost the Spanish-American War. The following year, its name was changed to Porto Rico, for "linguistic reasons." In 1932, Puerto Rico was restored as its official name.

In 1902, Spanish and English were declared the official languages. In 1991, Rafael Hernández Colón —then governor of the island and a good friend of King Juan Carlos of Spain, and currently a university professor in Madrid— signed into law a measure that recognized Spanish as the island's only official language. As a result, the Spanish government awarded the *Príncipe de Asturias* prize to the people of Puerto Rico.

On the island, the "Spanish-Only" act brought forth protests from various sectors of independent professionals, because even though Spanish is widely spoken as the native language, many official documents are written in English. Translating them into Spanish would imply an increase in costs, and thus appeals and requests for exceptions to the law multiplied.

This situation was short-lived. At the beginning of this year, the island's new governor, Pedro Rosselló, reestablished English as the official language in Puerto Rico, together with Spanish.

The statement of reasons for the law now in effect emphasizes that: "For historical reasons, since Puerto Rico is part of the United States and Puerto Ricans are American citizens, our people have been using both English and Spanish indiscriminately for more than nine decades [in order] to facilitate communication in industry, commerce, finance and in the Puerto Rican government's dealings with the federal government, without renouncing or disregarding our vernacular, Spanish, nor surrendering our culture or our language."

The status question

In 1900, American President William McKinley signed the Foraker Act, which stated that the inhabitants of Puerto Rico were "citizens of Puerto Rico"; they thus acquired the

In the eyes of many Latin Americans, this beautiful little island has become the black sheep of the family. This is the result of misleading information and a lack of knowledge regarding Puerto Ricans.

status of citizens of a nonexistent country, similar to the status ascribed to Native Americans living in the US. Seventeen years were to pass before Puerto Ricans were granted American citizenship.

The island's current status as a Freely Associated State of the United States was established in 1952, and is open to subsequent modifications in the island's relationship with the United States, based on the free expression of mutual consent.

Fifteen years later, a referendum on Puerto Rico's status was held on the island. The Freely Associated State won 60% of the votes, while the vote for independence did not even win one percent. The rest of the votes were in favor of annexation to the United States.

Towards the end of 1991, ex-governor Rafael Hernández Colón held a referendum which consisted of voting "yes" or "no" on a law which guarantees democratic rights, that included six rights related to the island's political status.

The fact that six issues were to be voted up or down in one package (see *Voices of Mexico* No. 19, pp. 72-75) caused a great deal of confusion. The vote was against claiming democratic rights regarding the island's political status, not because Puerto Ricans are not interested in their rights, but because they feared losing their American citizenship.

That "no" cost Hernández Colón —who had been elected governor in 1972, 1985 and 1988— his reelection that year. Before the referendum, he had stated his intention of accepting nomination for a fourth term in office. However, shortly after the results were known, he announced, one year in advance, his retirement from public life.

On January 2, 1993, in his inaugural address as governor of Puerto Rico, Pedro Rosselló announced his intention of holding a plebiscite regarding the island's status when he said, "We are looking for a star... a star that we deserve... a star that is ours by right... won with blood and by justice."

The people of Puerto Rico have recently given signs of not wanting a change. But by setting the date for the plebiscite in November of this year, Rosselló attempts to take advantage of his popularity as incumbent governor in order to make Puerto Rico the 51st state of the Union.

The question of convenience

In 1960, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution regarding the "Independence of Colonial Peoples and Countries" which stated that an associated territory has the right to determine its internal affairs without outside interference.

Nevertheless, in 1967 Puerto Ricans voted in favor of continuing as a Freely Associated State. After 26 years, what motives can governor Pedro Rosselló have for holding a new referendum to define Puerto Rico's status?

Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code, which grants fiscal exemptions for a ten year period to American companies that set up operations in US territories —not states—, has led many of them to do so in Puerto Rico, thus creating jobs and developing manufacturing and service sectors.

Thanks to this exemption and to the federal aid which Puerto Ricans receive from the United States —housing, unemployment, food stamps, etc.— the islanders are not destitute. In fact, Puerto Rico has the highest per capita income in Latin America.

And this, precisely, is one of Rosselló's concerns in view of the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Canada and the United States. He foresees the possibility that many American companies may move to Mexico, since the minimum wage here is almost five times less than in Puerto Rico, and the geographical proximity to the United States is greater (the island's nearest point to the US is more than 900 miles distant).

Another source of concern is Cuba. The Puerto Rican tourist industry trembles at the prospect of Cuba without Fidel Castro. The decrease in Cuba's strategic importance since the end of the Cold War, has already had repercussions in Puerto Rico.

Those who favor strengthening the Freely Associated State argue against annexation, claiming that Puerto Rico would become the poorest state in the Union. But Rosselló maintains that "in 37 cases in which territories that were colonies of the United States became states, their economic level and social development improved."

On the other hand, Puerto Rican analysts have pointed out that the US Congress is not willing to grant more power and privileges to the Freely Associated State. In view of President Clinton's proposal of substituting "workfare" for "welfare," they think that the days of the Section 936 exemption are numbered.

And it is precisely within the current process of globalization that Rosselló hopes to make Puerto Rico more productive and competitive. His campaign slogan was *¡Se Puede!* (It Can Be Done!). In his inaugural address he said: "They will tell us, in Puerto Rico and abroad... that it can't be done. One can't be big, being so small... One can't progress, in the middle of the Caribbean... I say to you... and all of Puerto Rico will say it... It can be done!... Puerto Rico can be greater!"

It will be interesting to see, at the end of this year, how Puerto Ricans will vote on the referendum and, if they chose annexation —the statehood option—, to see if the United States will be willing to accept Puerto Rico as the 51st state of the Union

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

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1a. edición: 1992, 358 p.
Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas

COLOQUIO DE INVIERNO. LOS GRANDES CAMBIOS DE NUESTRO TIEMPO: LA SITUACION INTERNACIONAL, AMERICA LATINA Y MEXICO. Tt. 1, 2 y 3
1a. edición: 1992
Coordinación de Humanidades

LACANDONIA: EL ULTIMO REFUGIO
1a. edición: 1992, 151 p.
UNAM / Asociación Sierra Madre, S.C.

ACAPULCO: ARQUITECTURA FRENTE AL MAR
Alvarez Noguera, José Rogelio
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México Estados Unidos

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Proporcionar a profesionales los conocimientos necesarios para analizar y evaluar desde una perspectiva multidisciplinaria, los aspectos económicos, políticos, sociales, históricos y culturales de la relación entre México y Estados Unidos.

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- Promedio mínimo de 8.0 (indispensable).
- Currículum vitae en las formas elaboradas por el programa.
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Recepción de documentos y entrevistas: 12 de abril al 18 de junio de 1993.
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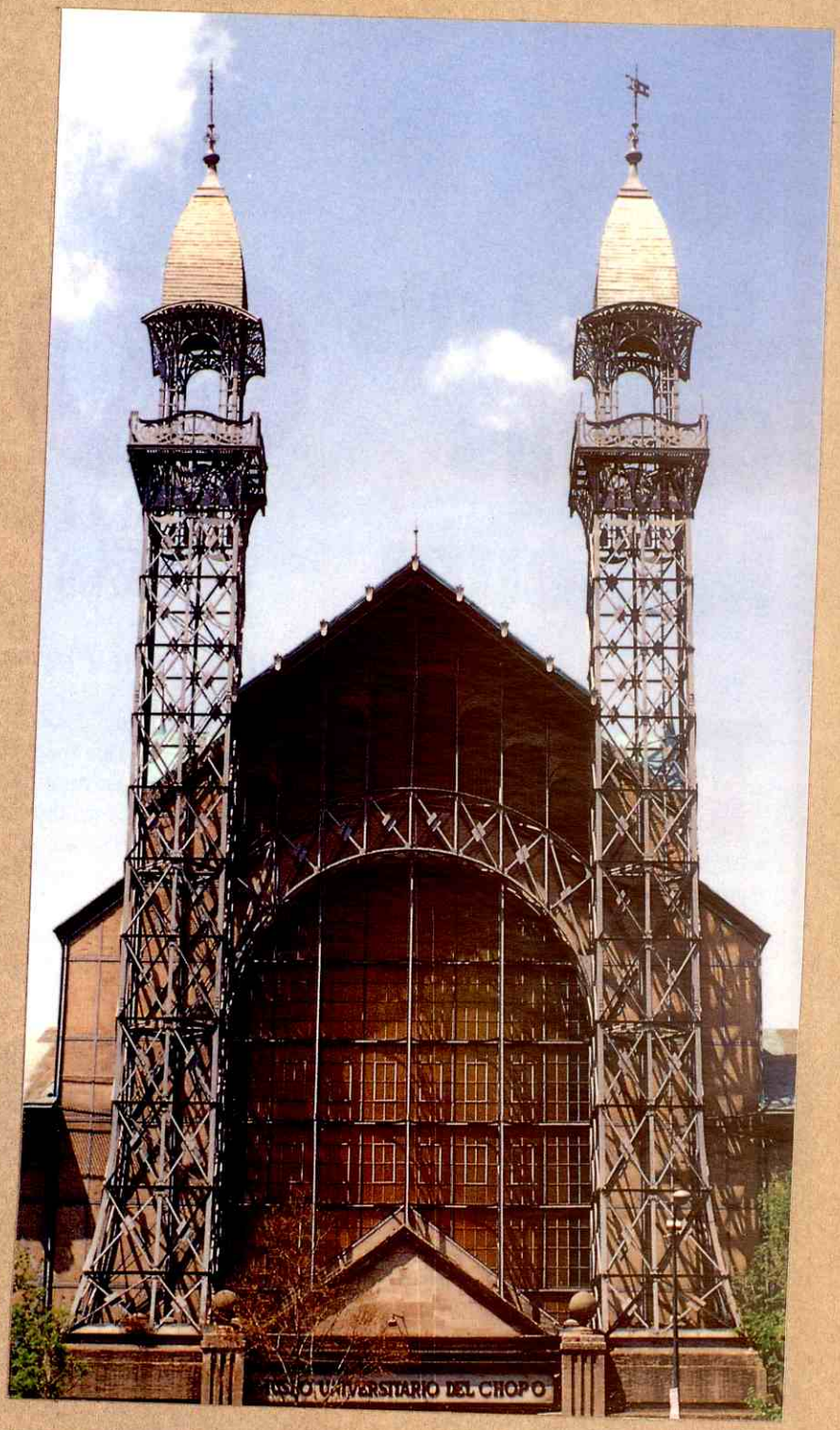

MUSEO UNIVERSITARIO DEL CHOPO

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MUSEO UNIVERSITARIO DEL CHOPO

The José Luis Cuevas Museum

*Martín Luis Guzmán Ferrer**

The José Luis Cuevas Museum is the happy result of a combination of wills and means. Fortunately, this was not done in the name of posterity, but in the interest of art and as a possibility of offering another cultural alternative to the inhabitants of Mexico City in particular and Mexican society in general.

The "means" which were brought together include Mexico City's Historic Center, colonial and modern Mexican architecture, urban planning, and, obviously, the art collection which painter José Luis Cuevas and his family —his wife Bertha, and his daughters Mariana, Ximena and María José— generously donated. This combination formed a work of art, a complex synthesis which speaks for itself. Whoever enters the museum is captivated by its beauty. There are those who say it is a magical place. It is, in reality, the result of rationality and efficiency; though creativity, like human existence itself, always contains a wonderful mystery.

Perhaps the best symbol of this antithesis between art and reality is "La Giganta," which, in my opinion, is Cuevas' masterpiece. This spectacular sculpture with a phantasmagoric face on one of its knees (Cuevas the enfant terrible, or the boy-artist who contemplated life with anguish?) is the museum's axis. From this sculpture, those strangely harmonic elements which weave the substance of this new museum radiate.

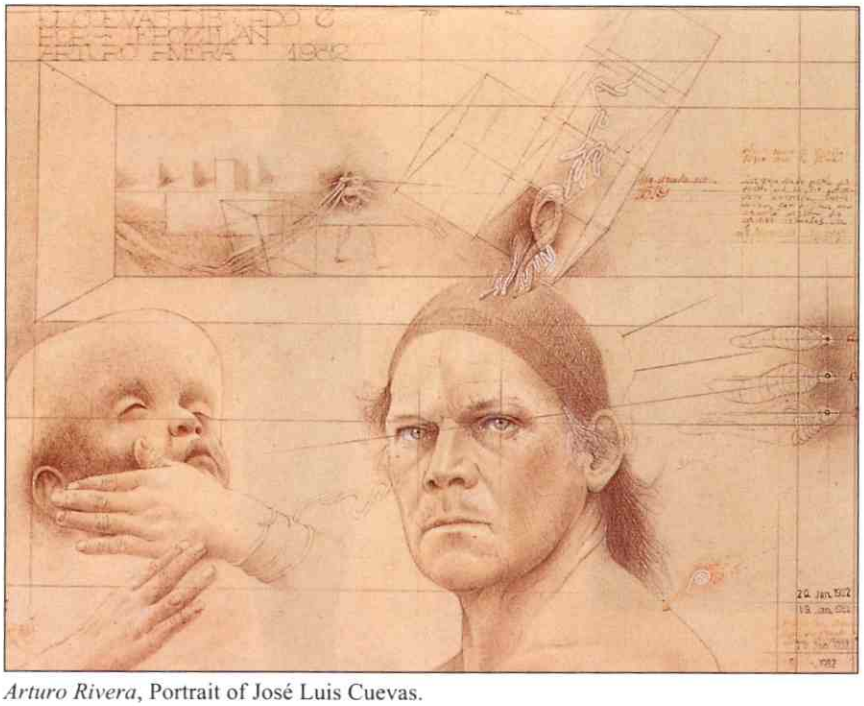
The museum is housed in the former convent of Santa Inés, in the heart of the city's Historic Center. The convent was built at the end of the sixteenth century, and by the beginning of the 1700's, it housed nuns of the Isabelline Order. Two hundred years later, the building was in danger of collapse; it was saved thanks to a reconstruction in which the famous Spanish architect Manuel Tolsá may have participated. Under laws enacted to curb ecclesiastical power (1859), it was disentailed and became government property; later it was owned by private concerns. As was the case with hundreds of other formidable buildings, it fell into abject disrepair and was turned into a tenement house and later a warehouse for old rags. But, miraculously, it was saved from being torn down.

Its rescue, however, was not spontaneous. It was part of the movement, sponsored mostly by private enterprise, to save Mexico City's Historic Center from decay. José Iturriaga, Fernando Benítez, Guillermo Tovar y Teresa and, in the

Yvonne Venegas.

The museum is housed in the former convent of Santa Inés.

* Director of the José Luis Cuevas Museum.



Arturo Rivera, Portrait of José Luis Cuevas.

case of the convent of Santa Inés, Bertha Cuevas, were among those who recognized that it was possible to save the ancient convent and transform it into a unique museum.

The José Luis Cuevas Museum was also conceptualized as an example of the importance of salvaging, for present and future generations, the historical and urban legacy of this megalopolis, the City of Palaces. Its restored beauty was thus linked to the chain of public buildings in downtown Mexico City —the National Palace, the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace, San Ildefonso (originally a Jesuit college, then an army barracks, and later the National Preparatory School), the Aztec Main Pyramid (Templo Mayor), and San Carlos (a sixteenth century hospital which was turned into a school of fine arts in the 1700's)—and the private Colonial and nineteenth century buildings which survive only precariously and are in constant danger of disappearing.

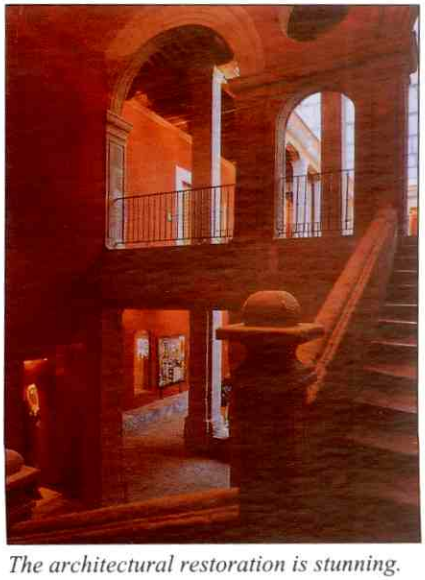
The Department of the Federal District was aware of the intrinsic value of the Santa Inés convent, and was convinced of its urban value to the community. Thus, it contributed funds, and assigned professional and technical personnel to work on the museum. The results have been exemplary: the architectural restoration is stunning; the museography is state-of-the-art, and the convent, as a whole, forms an efficient and artistic setting for the permanent collection.

The synthesis may be noted in the ancient walls, the stone columns, the remains of Colonial frescoes, the chapel (which was turned into a library), the ambulatory and the nuns' cells (now modernist museum spaces), the extraordinary but inornate cloister, dominated by the statue of "La Giganta", the contrasting but functional ultramodern dome, and the church cupola which provides a crowning touch to the whole. Good taste is evident in the work of architects, restorers, museographers, artists and artisans who contributed to this project.

The collection

All of this, however, would merely be a marvelous stage design without any practical purpose. Santa Inés' utilitarian function, if you wish, is the result of the Cuevas family's generosity: in donating their private art collection, they gave the building a new usefulness. Thanks to Cuevas, the museum was born with a clearly defined but flexible vocation, which reflects this artist's free spirit. José Luis Cuevas conceives the marriage of museum and collection in the following terms: "When [the convent] was the scene of religious callings, either genuine or those imposed by family intolerance, its cells echoed with prayers and sobs. Today, these same cells contain the colors and forms of artists I have chosen... because I admire them." For Cuevas, the artwork displayed in the museum is a sort of personal anthology, "Like a collection of poems edited by a poet."

The collection's aim, today and for the future, is to form a museum of contemporary Latin American art, both representational and abstract, emphasizing Mexico but also including the rest of America and Spain. It opens up into several independent parts. Throughout the gallery and in the storerooms, Cuevas has deposited a fundamental part of his own works, originals and engravings, which make up the best



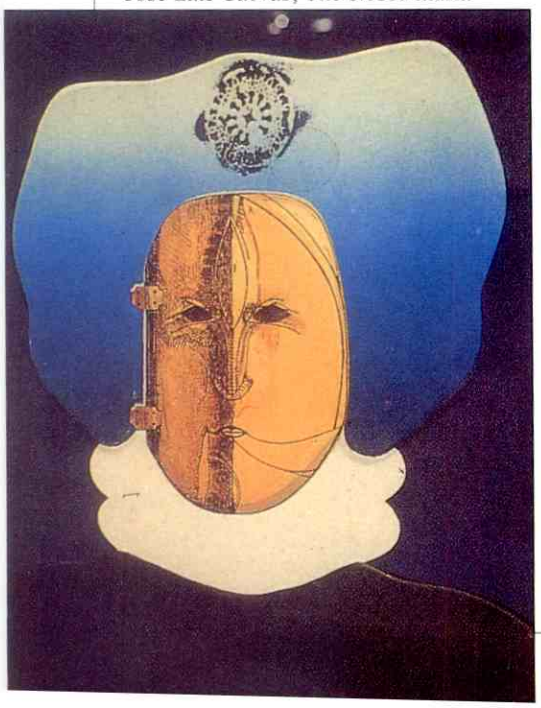
The architectural restoration is stunning.

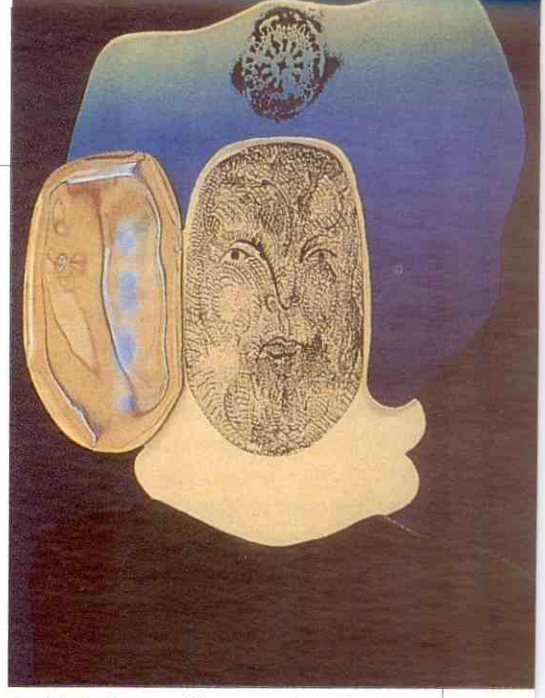
Juan Carlos Liberti, Mysterious cosmos.

María Eugenia Bigott,
Expelled from paradise #23.

Gonzalo Endara Crow, Staining dawn.

José Luis Cuevas, The closed mask.





José Luis Cuevas, The opened mask.

David Manzur,
Saint George in hell.

Yvonne Venegas.

The museography is state-of-the-art.

William Wagner Granizo,
Homage to José Luis Cuevas.

extant collection of his development over the course of several decades.

The collection also includes artists from the so-called "Break-Away Generation"; that is, those artists who in the mid-19th century, went against the impositions of the Mexican School in search of a multiplicity of styles that were modern, cosmopolitan and, at the same time, nationalistic. Works by Francisco Corzas, Manuel Felguérez, Alberto Gironella, Carlos Mérida, Benito Messeguer, Brian Nissen, Vicente Rojo, Arnold Belkin, and Matías Goeritz are examples of this trend; the museum hopes to enrich this part of its collection.

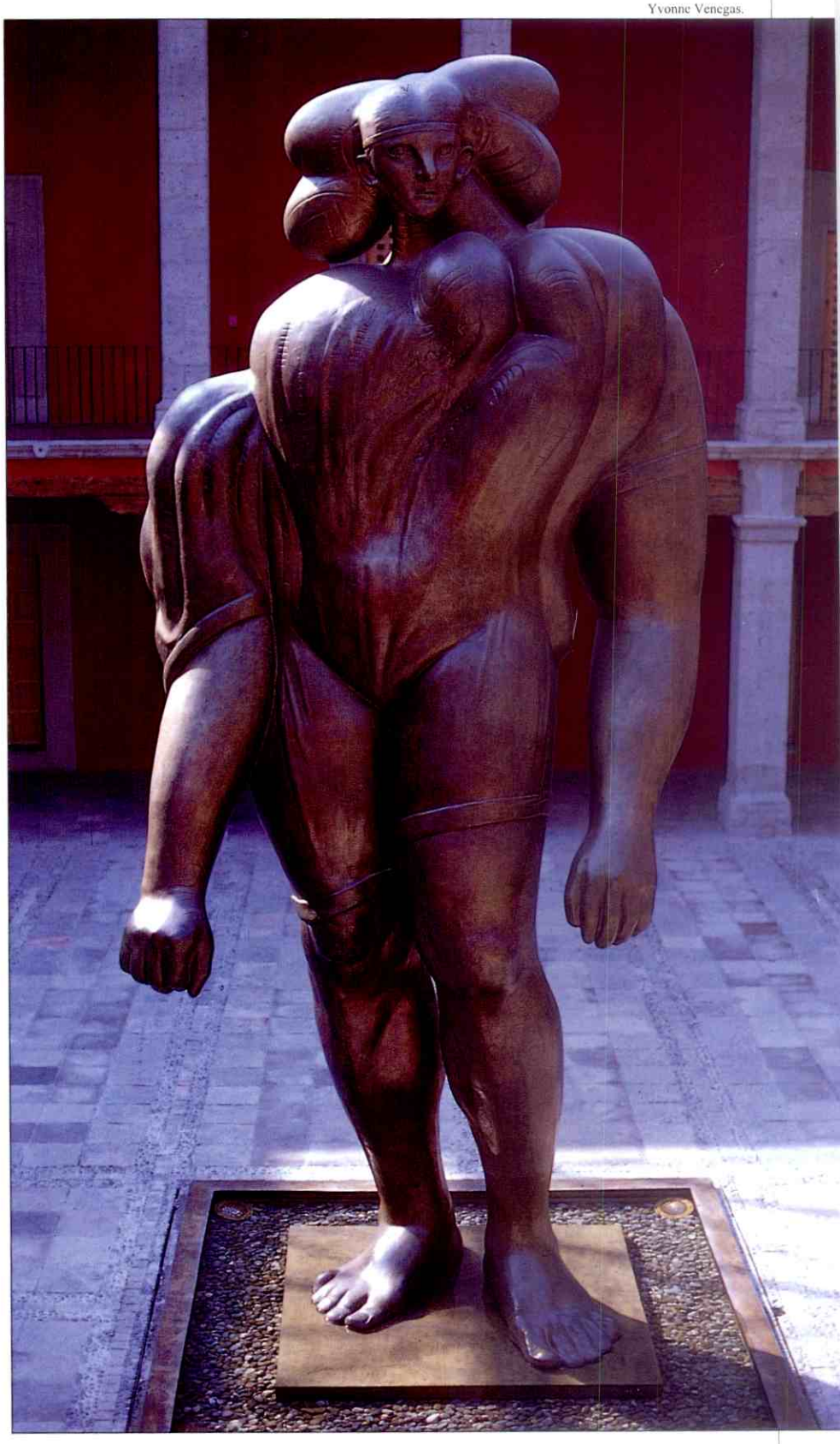
Cuevas, in his manifesto *Cortina de nopal*, opposed the dictate of Siqueiros that "there is no path but ours," and declared himself in favor of the *other* Mexico, "...the universal and eternal Mexico which opens itself to the world, without losing its essence."

"In the most heterogeneous spheres of artistic and intellectual life," writes Enrique Krauze, "Cuevas' generation imposed its critical boldness on the preceding culture." Indeed, the artists of that generation, many of whom are represented in the museum, "...were to transform Mexican culture, leaving their imprint through a rigor, an exigency and universality of themes and techniques which only the [generation known as the] Contemporaries and the solitude of Octavio Paz, [Rufino] Tamayo or [Juan] Soriano would have assumed."

But Cuevas, Krauze continues, "has always been generous. The fight between the "Break-Away" artists and the "academy" had been a clean one. The unanimous decision in favor of the former group did not establish a new cultural hegemony, but rather a liberation, an opening in which the muralists did not have a unique, exclusive position, but rather, their just position."

The work of young Mexican artists of the end of the 20th century is

Yvonne Venegas.



José Luis Cuevas, La Giganta (front view).

Yvonne Venegas.

José Luis Cuevas, La Giganta (rear view).

added on this basis, following no other canon than the talent that Cuevas discovers in them. Thus, Alberto Bellón, Alberto and Francisco Castro Leñero, Pedro Friedeberg, Enrique Guzmán, Gabriel Macotela, Irma Palacios, Susana Sierra, Eloy Tarcisio, and Jazzamoart Vázquez are included, as well as artists who do not belong to any specific generation: Abel Quezada, Lucero Issac, Vlady, Raúl Anguiano, and Jesús García Ocejo.

The international section does not seek to represent trends or currents; it contains exclusively contemporary art. Among the Latin Americans, there are Argentines —Carlos Gorrirena, Ricardo Gutiérrez Goñi, Juan Carlos Liberti, Ricardo Machado, César Paternosto, Rogelio Polesello, Francisco Ruiz, Kazuya Sakai and Lesner Tavarez—, Chileans —Roberto Matta and Guillermo Núñez—, Uruguayans —Ignacio Iturria and Clever Lara—, Paraguayans —Carlos Colombino—, Peruvians —Oswaldo Sagástegui, Fernando de Szyszlo and José Tola—, Ecuadorians —Gonzalo Endara Crow—, Colombians —David Manzur, Edgar Negret, Leonel Góngora and Gustavo Zolana—, and Venezuelans —María Eugenia Bigott.

While traveling through the rest of the continent, Cuevas acquired outstanding works by Guatemalan Rodolfo Abularach, Nicaraguans Alejandra Aróstegui and Armando Morales, and Salvadorean Margarita Alvarez. Contemporary Cuban painting is represented by Jorge Camacho, Miguel Cubiles and Baruj Salinas. As regards American artists, there are splendid works by James Sicner, Lucas Johnson and Leonard Baskin.

The Spanish part of the collection contains characteristic works by Josep Bartoli, Roser Bru, Josep Guinovart, José Hernández, Andrés Nagel, Antony Peyri and Albert Rafols-Casomada. In addition to these examples of European art, the Cuevas bequest included two collections of

engravings and prints: one of Pablo Picasso's works, and another of Rembrandt van Rijn's, with two hundred photoprints from the end of the 19th century.

The number of catalogued works totals 1,040, and will gradually increase. Besides their value as museum pieces, we hope that all these works of art will minister to the needs of art students.

Exhibitions

The José Luis Cuevas Museum was also planned as a space for temporary exhibits. The first of the 1993 season, is a posthumous tribute to Fernando Gamboa, one of the world's greatest museographers. The show, entitled *Mexican Painting: 1950-1980*, was one of his last works; it was exhibited at the IBM Gallery of Science and Art in New York. It includes 41 great Mexican painters, and painters who made Mexico their artistic home; 47 works of exceptional quality make up the display.

Lucas Johnson, Monument of the desert and its shadow.

Felipe de la Torre Villalpando, Ulama.

Two of the museum's larger rooms, the "Fernando Gamboa" and the "José Gómez Sicre," display works by artists such as Gilberto Aceves Navarro, Lilia Carrillo, Arnaldo Coen, Rafael Coronel, Olga Costa, José Chávez Morado, Enrique Echeverría, Enrique Estrada, Fernando García Ponce, Gunther Gerzo, Jorge González Camarena, Luis López Loza, Agueda Lozano, Ricardo Martínez, Guillermo Meza, Rodolfo Nieto, Luis Nishizawa, Juan O'Gorman and Francisco Toledo. Among the foreign-born artists are Leonora Carrington, Joy Laville, Brian Nissen, Wolfgang Paalen, Antonio Pelaez, Alice Rahon, Antonio Rodríguez Luna, Remedios Varo and Roger von Gunten.

Next on the 1993 calendar of events are two shows dedicated to José Luis Cuevas himself. The first is the inauguration of the "Erotica Room," thus designated because it contains Cuevas' sensual drawings, disturbing yet playful, which stand on their own merit. They will become part of the permanent collection donated by the artist. The second show is a large, temporary exhibit of his recent, large works on canvas and paper, which were enthusiastically received at the International Fair in Seville.

The Tamarind Institute's *Collaborations, Artists and Printers* exhibit will be shown in the "Alaide Foppa" room. The Tamarind Institute, of the United States, is one of the world's greatest engraving centers. This exhibit is especially important because one of the museum's goals is to become a forum for contemporary art on paper, and so contribute towards dignifying and increasing appreciation for this age-old material as a vehicle for artistic expression of the highest level.

Finally, the museum has programmed exhibitions on toys as *objets d'art* and Mexican women sculptors. Besides these, the museum plans to organize exhibits of Cuevas' art in Spain, Belgium, Chile and the Dominican Republic VM

Mexican press coverage of the US elections

(Final Part)

The aim of this article is to present some aspects of the coverage, by several Mexican newspapers, of the last stage of the US Presidential elections held on November 3. This analysis centers on news articles written exclusively by Mexican writers, and covers the period from September 1 to November 9, 1992.

Main characteristics of news coverage

600 news articles written by Mexicans were published in six newspapers on the subject of the last stage of the US Presidential elections; that is, an average of 60 articles per week. This represents the greatest number of references on the topic over the nearly 40 weeks comprised in the study.[1]

During September, the Mexican press' emphasis on the election campaign decreased after the attention devoted to the Democratic and Republican conventions.[2] The media's interest began to rise again in October, for various reasons: the return of independent candidate Ross Perot to the presidential race; the Democrat candidate Bill Clinton's support for the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Canada and the United States; the initialing of the Free Trade Agreement in San Antonio, Texas attended by Presidents Bush and Salinas de Gortari and Prime Minister Mulroney; and developments in the debates between Bush, Clinton and Perot.

Coverage reached its maximum level with articles on the November 3 elections and commentaries on Clinton's election as President of the United States (Table 1).

The topic of the elections remained in the first sections (national and international news) and on the front pages. The previously observed trend was reversed: six out of ten articles were datelined Mexico, and the remainder in the United States. This is explained by the fact that a greater proportion of the articles (four out of ten) fell into the category of opinions or commentaries. The newspapers which published the greatest number of references were *La Jornada, El Universal* and *El Nacional*, which, taken together, published six out of every ten articles.

As regards the opinions expressed in these articles, the positive trend increased (Table 2).[3] The main sources on which the articles' authors relied were the communications media, the Democrat Party and the Executive Branch.

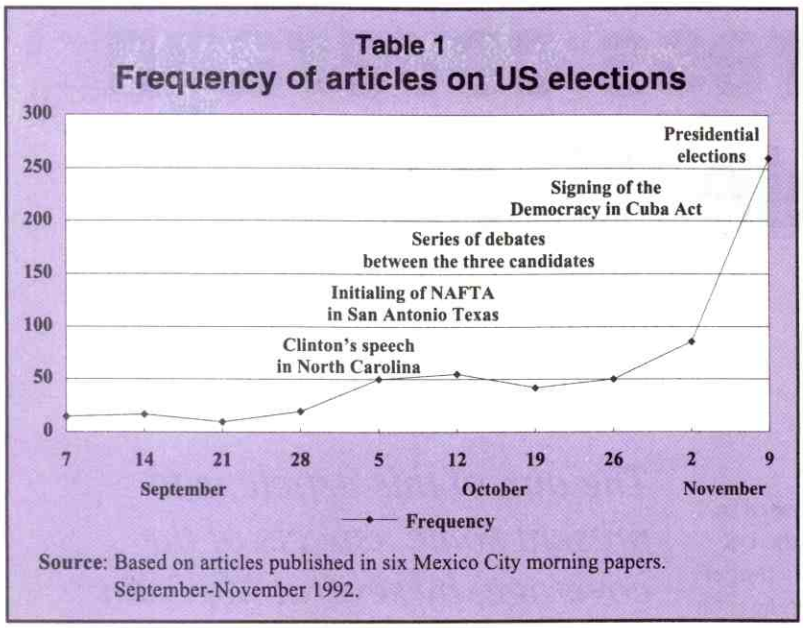
The NAFTA and the elections

In general, the Mexican press' perceptions of the US elections remained distorted by each of the individual candidate's positions on the Free Trade Agreement. Independent candidate Ross Perot, who maintained his opposition to the NAFTA agreement, influenced the repeated mention of the issue in the pages of the Mexican press.

[1] Articles written exclusively by Mexicans for six Mexico City dailies (*El Día, La Jornada, El Nacional, El Sol de México, El Universal and unomásuno*) were coded according to a guide which included 150 variables concerning the election campaign. The coded information was processed with the Statistical Program in Social Sciences (SPSS) software. Articles which mentioned the elections, but whose main concern was some other topic, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, or the Torricelli Law on Democracy in Cuba, were excluded from the analysis.

[2] For an analysis of the candidates and the Democrat and Republican party conventions, see the article "Mexican press coverage of the US elections, Part III", *Voices of Mexico* 22, January-March, 1993.

[3] Each variable considered in the analysis includes a series of values which quantify the way in which an issue or a public figure is perceived by the press. Favorable opinions were coded as positive values; critical opinions were given a negative value, and neutral values were assigned when the person or issue was reported on without comment.



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. September-November 1992.

President Bush adopted the NAFTA agreement as a campaign theme, with the aim of regaining his lead in the race. Correspondent Rodolfo Medina pointed out that "...with the Presidential race barely picking up steam, NAFTA is not only a hostage, but also a pawn in a game in which Bush uses the agreement as a means of harassing and putting pressure on Clinton, in the hope of winning the whole chess match." (*unomásuno*, September 7: 15).

From September on, the news media centered their attention on the possibility that Clinton might support NAFTA. For this reason, wide coverage was given to Clinton's October 4 speech in North Carolina, in which he supported NAFTA, but on the condition that parallel agreements be negotiated on labor and environmental issues.

In response, an editorial in *La Jornada* stated that Clinton's support for NAFTA "could be perceived as an attempt to gain campaign points in the race against Bush, who has made the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement a central issue in his re-election campaign." (October 5: 2).

In the same vein, *El Universal* correspondent José Carreño Figueras wrote that "according to Democrat sources, Clinton's announcement had several purposes, including taking the steam out of Bush's accusations before the round of debates, and diminishing the political-electoral significance of the NAFTA 'initialing' ceremony in San Antonio, Texas" (October 3: 21).

Once the Democrat candidate had come out in favor of NAFTA, the Mexican press' view of Clinton moved towards the positive side. As soon as the two main presidential candidates, Clinton and Bush, declared that they would work toward the signing of the Free Trade Agreement, the Mexican press tried to analyze other campaign issues. NAFTA regained force as an issue for the Mexican press when Clinton won the elections.

The candidates and the issues of debate

The analysis carried out reveals a highly positive view of Clinton (43 percent), much higher than the proportion of positive references for either of the other two candidates. President Bush, on the other hand, was the subject of the highest percentage of negative references (59 percent). Finally, Ross Perot received the highest percentage (52 percent) of neutral references (Table 3).

There were other issues of debate besides NAFTA. News media reported that the 1992 elections represented the first to be held since the end of the Cold War, from which the United States had emerged as the world's only superpower.

This meant that the old debate issues (the Communist threat, the Soviet Union, defense policies, etc.) gave way to new issues, stemming from the domestic problems which had not been solved by the preceding three Republican administrations. The economic crisis, unemployment, the loss of world economic dominance, and the deterioration of the nation's social fabric became the new issues on the political agenda.

In this context, the Presidential candidates designed their electoral strategies in the hope of emphasizing their advantages and discrediting their opponents. This could be seen in the three debates held on October 11, 15 and 19 between Bush, Clinton and Perot.

In general, the tone of the debates was set by what took place in the first one. Clemente Ruíz Durán wrote in *El Nacional* that the first debate was "unequal: on one side, the exhausted Republican President, who was unable to convince the American people why he should be re-elected.

Opposing him was a dynamic Democrat candidate capable of transmitting the idea of political change and coherence, with which he was able to consolidate his standing in the public opinion. Finally, an independent candidate who, by a series of perceptive remarks, attracted applause and gave an air of irony to the Presidential debate" (October 13:24). We shall now analyze the general performance of the Democrat and Republican candidates in the weeks before the elections.[4]

[4] For reasons of space, the performance of independent candidate Ross Perot is not analyzed here. This does not imply any slighting of the merit of his position on the two-party American political system.

President Bush. The Mexican press maintained its negative perception of the Republican candidate; it dedicated itself to criticizing the negative results of his presidency on domestic economic policies, and his supposed foreign policy victories. *La Jornada* correspondents Jim Cason and David Brooks noted that "the President has not been able to convince the voters that he has new economic proposals, or any proposal for creating jobs apart from his 'salesman's tricks' like the new sales of airplanes to Saudi Arabia". (September 21: 31).

The President's weakness began to become evident in the series of debates with Clinton and Perot. Bush attempted to divert the debate from the themes his opponents were stressing, and give it a new focus, centered on his supposed comparative advantage in foreign policy.

Manuel Lois Méndez commented that "President Bush's chances were doomed from the very first debate, as the Republican strategy could not be carried out; the President was forced to relegate his forceful arguments on foreign policy issues to the background, in order to enter

areas of debate which proved particularly thorny for him, given his inevitable responsibility for the country's prolonged recession; his rhetoric sounded shopworn, lacked conviction and reflected a high degree of uncertainty." (*unomásuno*, October 21: 22)

La Jornada stated in an editorial that "by continuing his McCarthy-style attacks on his Democrat opponent, and repeated criticism of Clinton's economic program, without enunciating one of his own, George Bush figured as the loser last night" (October 12: 2).

The media also criticized his stance of casting doubt upon Clinton and Gore's integrity, their character and their ability to run the country, as well as his attempt to sow fear among the American people about a series of changes proposed by Clinton; this reflected his inability to regain his standing in the polls.

Candidate Clinton. He oriented his campaign and his participation in the debates towards the issues which truly interested the electorate: the United States' domestic economic and social problems. In the same way as Perot, he stressed the importance of designing economic policies which would allow the Unites States to pull out of the economic recession, reduce the budget deficit, allow American industry to regain its competitivity and protect the environment.

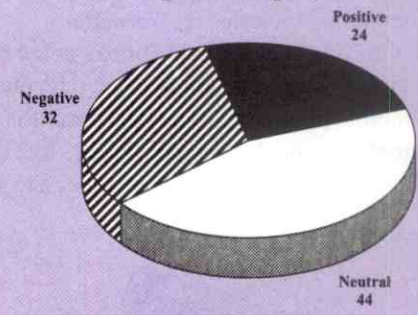
Clinton stated that the strength of the United States' position rested on the strengthening of its economy. Guillermo Castro commented that "At the close of the electoral campaign, the linchpin of Democrat strategy is now to attack the main column of support for the President: the military and the military-industrial complex. Clinton has, in effect, managed to link the twin problems of hegemony abroad and prosperity at home, in fact converting the US economy into a national security problem. As part of this, for example, he has proposed granting the economy greater importance in foreign policy, by creating a Council on Economic Security similar to the National Security Council" (*El Día*, October 22: 14).

La Jornada correspondents Jim Cason and David Brooks, however, considered that "beyond economic and commercial policies, it is difficult to obtain more than an outline of what a possible Clinton Administration foreign policy would be" (October 25: 46).

In foreign policy, a low-profile area in his campaign, he supported the embargo on Cuba and, in general, came out for continuing the policy directions adopted by the United States to date. Moreover, he proposed reforms in education, the health-care system, Social Security and abortion rights.

Clinton and Perot were the candidates who best perceived the mood of the American public and who adopted themes of immediate interest to them; themes such as the economic crisis, unemployment, American industry's loss of competitivity, and the budget deficit, among others.

Table 2
Mexican press rating of US elections
(percentages)



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. September-November 1992.

President Bush, on the other hand, was the least able to respond to the new situation, as he clung grimly to his defense of family values, his foreign policy record, and his attacks on Clinton and Gore. This was reflected in Clinton's lead over Bush in the opinion polls, and his subsequent victory.

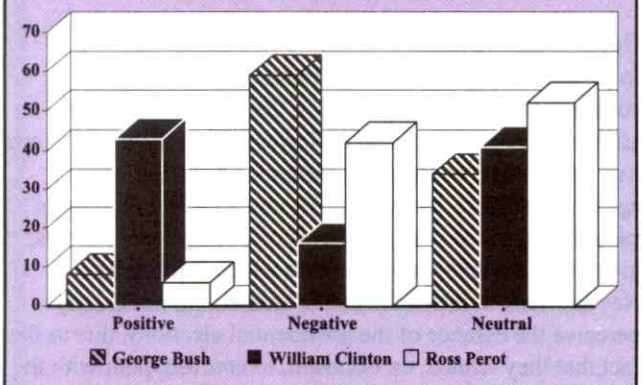
In an editorial, *El Día* stated that "though [the candidates'] speeches refer to unemployment, since here it is a question of winning over the electorate, the truth is that in the face of the loss of dynamism and the drop in family income over the last few years, the underlying issue is the way in which economic dominance can be regained; as, for them, it is clear that the loss of this leadership, if not reversed, will result in the questioning of the political and military dominance of the US" (*El Día*, October 19: 5).

The Mexican press coverage of these debate issues reflected the reasons for Clinton's triumph. The issues which received the greatest attention on the part of the media were, in descending order: NAFTA, the US economy, employment, foreign policy, economic policy, Mexico, commercial policy, and US-Mexican relations.

The issues mentioned here coincide with those which were most important for Bill Clinton, but not those of President Bush. Budget policy and social problems were more frequently mentioned than Mexico and US-Mexican relations.

The positive view which the media had of President Bush up until August disappeared in the area of foreign policy, and added to this were negative commentaries on his administration's record in the economic and social sphere. As regards Mexico, the positive consensus on Bush also diminished, but not to the same extent that occurred in foreign policy matters. Bush's image in the Mexican press became a negative one.

Table 3
Opinion Trends
(percentages)



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. September-November 1992.

In Clinton's case the opposite happened, since he was able to increase the number of positive views on the issues of the economy, social affairs and Mexico; only in the field of foreign policy did the tendency towards positive views decrease, and neutral references increase. In total, Clinton's image improved by decreasing negative commentaries, maintaining positive views and increasing neutral references (Table 4).

It is surprising that the media should have left President Bush and his relationship with Mexico to one side, transferring their interest to Clinton's agenda and analyses of the impact on relations with Mexico.

Clinton's victory: its meaning and challenges

With the above-mentioned agenda, Clinton was able to forge a new alliance with various sectors: he regained the support of conservative white Democrats, as well as segments of the middle class dissatisfied with the economic situation and who felt betrayed by the tax increases decreed by Bush; he also attracted the support of certain sectors of corporate America, which before had almost always given their support exclusively to the Republicans.

Some traditional Republican party voters went for Clinton in the light of his turn to the right on issues such as abortion; women supported Clinton for precisely the same reason. On the other hand, he maintained the support of sectors identified with the Democrats, such as labor unions, blacks and Hispanics.

Finally, Clinton benefitted from an unprecedented interest in voter registration and voting on the part of groups which, up to this time, had not shown interest in the electoral process; a fact which was reflected in the highest level of voter participation recorded in recent decades.

Sergio Aguayo Quezada wrote in *La Jornada* that "Clinton withstood all the blows while weaving a new network of alliances for the Democrats. And he displayed great political acuity: he distanced himself from controversial activist Jesse Jackson, but he cultivated hundreds of Negro leaders. He recovered moderate whites, without breaking ties with organized labor. Once again, he demonstrated that winning the Presidency in this country requires enunciating a message in various directions, with one central theme. His theme was change, and that was what a majority of Americans wanted" (November 4: 13).

Bush's defeat is explained by the disintegration of the conservative alliance which carried the Republicans to the White House in the 1980's. Bush lost the support of the so-called 'Reagan Democrats' —conservative Democrats who voted for the Republicans between 1980 and 1988. Moreover, he did not win the unanimous support of the large corporations. He also lost the support of moderate Republicans dissatisfied with his position on abortion, and other issues reflected in the Republican platform.

On the other hand, he never obtained the support of the unions, nor of the blacks nor the Hispanics, with the exception of Cuban-Americans who supported him based on his signing of the Democracy in Cuba Act, known as the Torricelli Law.

A factor which also explains Bush's defeat was the presence of independent candidate Ross Perot in the electoral race. His candidacy made 1992 an "odd year for politics". His participation in the debates indirectly aided Clinton and damaged Bush, due to his insistent focus on the issue of the economy.

In Joseph Hodara's view, "Perot has broken down the traditional American two-party system with the force of his personality and his money. He forced the Republicans and the Democrats to define their positions; and he polarized Bush in respect to Clinton. Perot, moreover, is the hero of these elections. His freshness (in both senses of the word) has provided a breath of fresh air for American society. And, if the traditional apathy which affects half of the electorate changed to feverish participation, then Perot is responsible" (*El Universal*, November 5: 6). In *La Jornada*, David Brooks and Jim Cason pointed out that "if Ross Perot wanted to shake up the system, he has done it" (October 28: 45).[5]

The media also began to write about the prospects and challenges which awaited the Democrat Administration of President-Elect Clinton. Emilio Zebadúa wrote in *La Jornada* that "the strategic objective of his governmental program is strengthening the US position in the world —a

[5] In earlier articles in this series, clues can be found to the determinative causes involved in Clinton's victory and Bush's defeat, as well as to the success and significance of Perot in the American political system.

position which has been undermined by a lack of competitivity in key sectors of industry, and by the consequences of the recession. Thus, domestic political policies are interwoven, more than ever, with international relations" (November 4: 5).

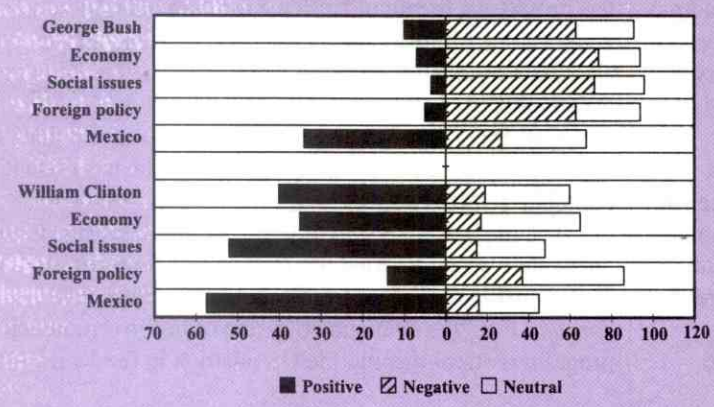
Clinton's victory gave rise to various types of interpretations on the part of the Mexican press; their common denominator is the sensation of something more profound, a new stage in the history of the United States and the international system: the end of Neo-Liberalism and the possibility of an improvement in the international sphere.

La Jornada points out in an editorial that "in the final analysis, US voters are proposing something more than just a generational changing of the guard. They are saying, in capitalism's very center and bulwark, free trade by itself is not enough to guarantee the standards of living of a majority of the population and that the State must intervene to ensure a better distribution of income, just as it did in the era of Keynsian economics, through the regulation of various economic activities" (November 4: 2).

Sergio Rodríguez writes that during the twelve years of Republican Administrations "An attempt was made to bury the old concept of the State as benefactor, inherited from the New Deal, without making serious progress toward a new type of State" (*El Universal*, November 5: 7).

Carlos Fuentes, in an article entitled "Bill Clinton, the Brave" estimated that Clinton and Gore " without doubt will know how to rerank priorities and , above all, put their house in order. The major problems for the US today are to be found within the United States. The US will have a respectable voice abroad only if it first takes care of its internal problems, and then gives up its indefensible arrogance and joins the world in the urgent tasks of economic cooperation, respect and the extension of international legality " (*La Jornada*, November 3: 1).

Table 4
Press rating of campaign issues
(percentages)



Source: Based on articles published in six Mexico City morning papers. September-November 1992.

General conclusions

In general terms, the Mexican press provided ample coverage of the 1992 elections in the United States. It attempted to give its readers information on the events from its own sources, as well as information from the news agencies and wire services. It demonstrated that the press cannot be ignored in any analysis of international politics, given the Mexican view of events which it presents. Nevertheless, some of the media studied did not clearly perceive the essence of the presidential elections, due to the fact that they tended, on occasion, to confuse them with the Congressional elections taking place at the same time.

Events do not yet justify a review of the possible consequences of Bill Clinton's victory for internal affairs and on the level of bilateral relations between Mexico and the United States. Even before the Democrats' victory, the press began to publish analyses of its possible concrete effects on Mexican society, economy and politics.

The importance given by the Mexican press to the US elections was reflected in an increase in interest on the part of the Mexican public, with the effect that this overshadowed the NAFTA.

Miguel Angel Granados Chapa wrote: "The extensive, intensive and unprecedented coverage which the news media have given to the early stages of the US elections to be held this Tuesday, and which election day itself so richly deserves, is a clear indication that this phenomenon has come to form a part of the nation's concerns. What is happening today beyond our northern border will have far-reaching consequences for our present and our future. Perhaps this is not the first this has happened, but it is without doubt the first time we are so clearly aware of it" (*La Jornada*, November 3: 1).

The aim of this series of four articles has been to identify and analyze the coverage of the US presidential and congressional elections provided by certain selected organs of the nation's press. We hope to have fulfilled our objective of documenting the Mexican view of the US electoral process. The last word is, of course, left to the reader VM

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

What do we expect from Bill Clinton?

*Raúl Horta**

I

It is difficult to predict what changes will occur as the result of the rise to political power of a new generation in the most powerful nation on earth.

Bill Clinton's administration begins at a crucial moment, not only for the domestic economy of the United States but for its commercial relations with other nations as well.

Recent frictions with the European Community require a great deal of caution and finesse if a trade war of unpredictable consequences is to be avoided and a balanced solution reached.

In much the same way, new strategies are needed in trade relations with the group of Asian nations that make up the Pacific Rim, a region with which the United States has a sustained trade deficit.

It is therefore clear that the attitude adopted by Clinton and his impressive new team of advisors towards the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Canada, and the United States, will be crucial.

Credit should be given to George Bush for the role he played in promoting the Agreement during his administration, along with President Salinas de Gortari and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

It should be remembered however, that this was not a personal project developed by three heads of state, but rather, between their respective governments, after long and careful negotiations. These facts account for the maturity of the Agreement as a durable document which while maintaining strict observance of international law, may well be in effect for many years.

The final approval by the respective legislatures of the three participating nations is of course still lacking. The fact that President Clinton has considered that the Agreement is an adequate instrument with which to create, in America, the largest market in the world, is encouraging, and it is reasonable to expect that this liberalization of trade relations may be extended to include other Latin American countries.

In view of the significant regional industrial blocs in Asia and Europe, our continent should become an example of flexibility, efficiency, and modernization. Therefore, we expect the following from Bill Clinton:

- That he recognize Mexico as the United States' second most important trading partner.
- That he accept the negotiations of the Free Trade Agreement concluded to date as a guarantee of progress for our three nations.
- That he emphasize the creation of jobs in the United States, Canada and Mexico as one of the most positive features of the Agreement, since each new job will not only benefit the families of workers and employees in each one of these countries, but will also strengthen what will become the largest market on earth.
- That he consider our common border not as a long wall that separates our two countries or a trench that divides us, but rather as a line of neighborliness, which joins us in the common search for prosperity.
- That the application of state-of-the-art technology, production, and the optimal use of raw materials and labor in our three countries form the basis of an articulate and coherent response to the aggressiveness of the huge commercial blocs in the Pacific and in Europe.
- That the Hispanic minority in the United States establish ties of brotherhood with all the other ethnic groups that are part of the most advanced nation on Earth.
- That the "Big Brother" of the past become, together with Mexico and Canada, a protagonist in the crusade for mutual understanding and shared effort.

II

The forthcoming Agreement is not only the cornerstone of a North American Common Market; Bill Clinton also sees it as a an excellent opportunity for economic recovery in the United States. Thus, we are confident that his administration will favor the rapid implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

It would be highly incongruous for President Clinton to attack NAFTA in order to take political revenge against the Republican administration which preceded him. In a plausible scenario, Clinton will recognize the Agreement as a covenant between nations, and not individuals.

In Austin, President Salinas de Gortari summed up the relationship which Mexico seeks with the United States, in a historic phrase: "We want trade, not aid" VM

* Editor-in-Chief of *Comercio*.

Awards

In February, Mexican president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari awarded the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle of Mexican-Americans Gloria Molina and Raúl Yzaguirre, for their long and ardent defence of our culture and the right of Mexican-Americans in the United States.

The government created the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle in 1933, with the aim of rewarding foreigners for services rendered to Mexico or mankind as a whole. These two recently-decorated celebrities bring the number of people of Mexican origin awarded this prize for different social activities to eight.

Gloria Molina was born in Montebello, California on May 31, 1948 and from a very early age, showed concern for the living conditions of the Mexican community. She began her political career during the Kennedy Administration, while still studying at university, taking part in the Chicano movement and the student activism that characterized this period.

She was named assistant director of the White House during the Carter Administration. In 1982, she was appointed to the State Assembly for District 56, a position never before held by a Hispanic woman. She currently works as supervisor for the First District of Los Angeles and also belongs to the steering committees of organizations such as the National Association of Latino Elected Officials and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Raúl Yzaguirre was born in Rio Grande, Texas, in 1939. Since the age of fifteen, he has worked tirelessly for human and civil rights of the Hispanic community, constantly fostering closer relations between Mexico and Mexican-Americans. He began his defence of civil rights by organizing the American G.I. Forum Juniors (a Mexican-American veterans' association) and since 1974, has directed the *Consejo Nacional de la Raza* (National Race Council), of which he is president.

Yzaguirre obtained a degree in science from the George Washington University in Washington, D.C. As part of his commitment to the Hispanic community, he founded the National Organization for Services to Mexican-Americans and Interstate Associates, the first Hispanic research association.

On several occasions, Yzaguirre has received recognition for his work, such as the Rockefeller Prize, awarded by Princeton University. He is an expert on immigration-related topics, an advocate of the promotion of Spanish in US schools, as well as a member of different governing bodies involved in the struggle to assure human and civil rights for Hispanics.

It should be mentioned that the Aztec Eagle was also awarded to Henry Cisneros, an outstanding public figure, ex-mayor of San Antonio, Texas and a fervent representative of the interests of the Mexican-American and Latin communities in the United States.

On receiving the news that he would be awarded the Aztec Eagle in October 1992, Cisneros showed great satisfaction and pride. Nevertheless, his recent appointment as Minister for Housing and Urban Development within the Clinton Administration, prevents him from receiving such decorations from foreign governments VM

President Salinas (middle) with Gloria Molina and Raúl Yzaguirre.

Raquel Villanueva
Staff Writer.

Canada is a singular and remarkable country, due to the complex and elaborate structures that this essentially bilingual society has created for itself. The United States originally aspired to becoming a way of life, rather than a nation within the traditional European definition of that word. Mexico has carried out a policy of integration and coexistence, defined by mutual respect and the right to differ. The history of each of these three countries points out how different forms of unity can arise out of diversity.

Reflections on a North American identity and culture

*Miguel de la Madrid**

We live in a world that is characterized, among other things, by a growing economic, cultural, and political interdependence. Modern communications technology promotes a synchronousness of life and human history which undoubtedly constitutes one of the most disturbing features of today's cultural revolution.

In a way, humankind sees itself, for the first time, in all its diversity. Now that telecommunications enable us to witness, first-hand, history being made on the spot we are all, to a certain extent, responsible for history. To quote a classical author, "Today, for the first time, nothing human is foreign to us."

Needless to say, this potential identification with humanity, in all its diversity, cannot be achieved without a certain loss of self-identity, personal or social.

Another phenomenon must be noted within this convergence of life and human history, one which is no less incisive and powerful: the technological civilization, whose effects and premises, together with those of a growing cosmopolitanism, advances the anonymity which characterizes modern society. These two phenomena favor the uniformity of cultures and lead to a mass consumption that goes far beyond any political or cultural frontier.

National and cultural identities must redefine their function in a universe of increasing interdependence. If an alternative formula which allows the redefinition of these identities within their own tradition is not found, the populace may, in the end, attribute the anonymity of modern society to a loss of control by the nation-state in question; that is, to a breakdown of their concrete and recognizable community.

This is why dialogue and reflections upon the processes of identity and culture are so timely; they cannot be postponed. The interaction between the two concepts is decisive.

To be precise, most cultural and national identities have been forged on the anvil of coexistence, peaceful or otherwise. They are the product, on the one hand, of the mixture and combination of different traits which model and influence them; on the other hand, they are also the result of geographical conditions which mark them with a permanent imprint: geography has always formed a physical dimension of culture.

In fact, these identities become apparent as a result of the interaction among peoples, and not only —as

* Former President of Mexico.

French thinkers of the eighteenth century believed (Montesquieu, for instance)— between humanity and geography.

Always dynamic, constantly evolving, this interaction favors some forms of behavior over others. It asserts material and moral values, it sustains orders of preference and direction in the physical world, as well as in the realm of emotions and ideas. Through repetition and persistence in a definite syntax, those values and behaviors add up to what are known as cultural identities.

If, by definition, such identities have always been —as mentioned previously— the fruit of cross-breeding and interaction, these cultures can only be understood in contrast to each other, always as a function of their differences, as in the classical model of Greek culture, confined but also nourished by the barbarian groups at its borders.

The pluralism of cultural identities in North America —Mexico, the United States, and Canada— is a topic that assumes a new and special relevance due to the fact that, in each of these nations, unique forms of social and cultural convergence and cohesion have resulted.

Indeed, the history of each one of these countries, their demographic, legal, religious, and cultural profiles illustrate, in a unique manner, how different forms of unity can stem from diversity.

They show how communities and institutions can be shaped and are able to survive, not only through spontaneous and instinctive processes, but also through choice and public decisions taken in the light of life-styles that a given society prefers or encourages, in spite of differences in relation to the prevailing norm.

When Jacques Cartier and the first explorers reached Canada, they soon discovered that the indigenous peoples —whom, for the sake of simplicity, they called Indians— actually represented a wide range of peoples and languages, such as the Huron, Iroquois, and Mohawks, to mention but three of the best known among the numerous communities which they encountered.

Arab and Islamic influence permeated the Spaniard culture

Upon that human cornerstone of native North Americans of Asian descent, numerous waves of Europeans —mostly British (whether Celtic or Anglo-Saxon) and French— would be superimposed. These would soon be followed by groups of Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Japanese immigrants, thus composing a human mosaic in Canada that has recently been further enriched by the immigration of Latin Americans and Southeast Asians.

The coexistence of these cultures, especially the English and the French, has given Canada the privilege of becoming a fully bicultural nation where not only two languages and two groups with different life-styles and moral values but two legal and judicial traditions live together on a daily basis. The consistency of such a unique amalgamation has, in some way, been responsible for the fact that Canada has been a mediator and neutral arbiter over the course of the whole of this hectic twentieth century.

The United States is no less illustrative an example of the pluralistic character of culture. In addition to the indigenous ingredients of the Athabascans,

Apaches, Chiricaguas, Dakotas, Cherokees, Hopis, Comanches, Cheyennes and other native peoples who have not completely succumbed to extinction, the American melting-pot has been enriched by more than just the predominant Protestant, Anglo-Saxon element.

There are, as well, a great many ethnic and cultural characteristics that came with settlers of different origins, such as Africans, Hispanics (Spaniards, Mexicans, Central Americans, and Caribbean Islanders), Latins (Italians), Slavs (Poles, Czechs, and Russians), Scandinavians (Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes), as well as Germans, Jews, and Asian peoples.

The United States became a nation not because it had a previous history as a community with a strong set of values and characteristics perceived as a unifying idea, but rather, in the words of Octavio Paz, "Their nation was not born out of the interaction of impersonal historical forces, but from a deliberate public act. They did not one day discover that they were North Americans, they decided to be so. It was not the past that founded them, they founded themselves."

The original political will to establish a nation and promote its self-creation has led the United States not only to recognize in that nation a unique set of characteristics and distinct customs linked to a certain national tradition —identified with the proclamation of and due respect for a body of legal rights and duties— but to conceive citizenship, at least in theory, as a civic practice founded on a belief in reason, on respect for the human being, and on an ethical public responsibility toward the individual. That is, opposed to the concept of citizenship as a spontaneous and gratuitous legacy handed down by the mere fact of belonging to a certain group.

The same impulse has forged the United States into a truly pluralistic and cosmopolitan nation: a country where a heterogeneous range of cultures, traditions, and communal identities has thrived around the common axis of Anglo-American culture. This mixture, far from becoming faded and diluted, has always benefitted from a certain interaction among different people and races.

At the same time, however, this plurality has created a network of mixtures, combinations, varied coexistence, and cross-breeding that comes to the fore most significantly in language itself, where words from all over the world are woven together by a syntax and grammar that are essentially English.

This, to some extent, follows the pattern of American society itself, where a wide range of national idiosyncrasies and peculiarities fit together and moderate each other through a political system based on democracy, reason, dignity and respect for the human being.

Without a doubt, this process of mixture, miscegenation and hybridity does have its dangers. The very idea of an American cultural identity demands legal, cultural and even scholarly recognition of minorities —ethnic, racial, sexual, religious, and cultural. It also favors the specter of national disintegration, the outward manifestations of which —racism and exclusion— are undesirable, and yet are unavoidable moments in the difficult dialectic of the immigrant's adaptation to a foreign milieu.

Nevertheless, and perhaps because of this process, the fear of a possible loss of identity —e.g. the Anglo-Saxon confronted by the qualitative and quantitative forces arising from a growing number of Hispanics— is unfounded; because, as we were reminded by scholars such as Mexico's Jorge Bustamante, the border between Mexico and the United States is unique, in the sense that outward signs of identity, that is, the respective life-styles and cultures in the two countries, have developed great vitality and persistency.

In this brief discussion of the national identities that make up the culture of each of the North American countries, Mexico is also a distinctive case.

From its origins in remote pre-Columbian times, Mexico has followed a policy of integration and coexistence; that is, an exclusive assimilation of the diversity of the periphery around its center, which is represented geographically by Mexico City, the country's most important political and commercial axis.

Of the nearly two hundred languages spoken here when the conquerors and missionaries arrived from Spain under the captainship of Hernán Cortés, only just over sixty are still in use today. Yet neither Mexicans nor foreigners are aware of this fact, which eloquently speaks for itself of the vastness and variety of that sometimes vanquished, at other times unbeaten Mexican indigenous legacy.

Nor is it often remembered that the so-called Aztec civilization was just one of a long chain of refined cultures and civilizations that flourished in Mesoamerica for more than a millennium, up to the year 1521, when Tenochtitlan —the famous political, religious, and commercial metropolis of the Aztec empire or confederation— fell to Cortés and thus to Spain and Charles V.

The Spaniards, in turn, were neither racially nor culturally a model of purity; their identity —motley, many-colored and diverse— was more complex than that of other medieval European knights whose values they shared.

As Carlos Fuentes points out in his book *The Buried Mirror*, their heritage included remote Iberian vestiges, Liguric and Roman strains, which were later permeated with and tinted by Arab and Islamic influences, Jewish ancestries, and African legacies.

Not only architecture, cuisine and language but forms of leadership and family, and community organization bear witness to the rich diversity of these intricate Spanish roots. The very emblem of Spanish religious identity, the symbol of Spanish Catholicism and, in a way, the seat of purity and Christianity of old, the famous cathedral of Toledo, contains and summarizes, in its aisles, arches and vaults, a variety of stylistic elements and architectural solutions that are proof of an eclectic profusion of builders and styles.

The monks, in turn, brought to New Spain not only the Christian religion, born in the Middle East and popularized and institutionalized by Rome, but also a set of skills, material abilities, aptitudes, technical and industrial progress which had evolved throughout the Middle Ages.

In addition, the religious orders —Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Augustinians— brought with them their rules, mysticism, and religious and psychological knowledge.

Fortunately, they managed to implant these skills and ideas in the territories and settlements of the newly discovered continent, thus preparing it for the adoption of future technological revolutions.

Likewise, the military and civil authorities sent by the Habsburg kings brought with them traditions and knowledge of varied origins. The art of metallurgy, to mention one of many examples, came from the heart of Germany; thanks to it, it was possible to extract and process the enormous wealth found in the Mexican subsoil using the native labor force.

The conquerors also brought a sense of pomp. The practice of turning festivities into public performances was nurtured at the Burgundian court, where Charles V was educated. This is one of the pillars of what Mexican historian Luis Weckman has called "Mexico's medieval heritage."

Early on, from the time of the conquest and the colonial period, our identity, first pre-Hispanic, then neo-Hispanic, and later Mexican, was defined as pluralistic and open. Our history is one in which many epochs come to life simultaneously, as in those poems by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz in which Spanish words alternate with Indian expressions, and stanzas of indigenous form combine with Italian meter.

Thus, over time and from its very inception, Mexico has been a pluralistic society. This is mainly due, as in Canada and the United States, to the existence of a geographical area that is isolated in the northern deserts and thus takes root in the south, and is assimilated in the domains of the Indian communities, our living past. On the Pacific coast it opens up to the cultures of the Orient and Africa; along the Gulf and Caribbean coasts, it is transformed, and becomes extroverted and permeable. Finally, in the Creole cities of the central plateau it finds an equilibrium and establishes a network of institutional centers.

Another surprising fact about the Mexican cultural process is that the multiplicity of traits, traditions, legacies, and peculiarities was recognized at an early stage as a veritable treasure, representative of a true community of language and culture.

This cleared the way for the emergence of a state which, as opposed to other so-called Third World countries, did not find it necessary to invent itself as a nation; the values and distinctive features which endowed it with life had long existed and, in a way, already defined its vision.

The birth of the Mexican nation after the struggle for independence, a birth resulting from a vast social and cultural process of alliances, interbreeding and ad hoc adaptations, represents an advantage that has not always been properly and sufficiently recognized as regards the history of its culture.

Let us keep in mind the elements that made the formation of this state possible: medieval and Renaissance Spanish law; the *Leyes de Indias* (Laws of the Indies), *Jus Gentium*, and medieval jurisprudence; ancient communal procedures and traditions inherited from the indigenous peoples; the vestiges of Castilian community organization, and municipal sovereignty as a basic form of political organization; knowledge (dating from colonial times) of the management of metal foundries and mints; functions of oversight and superintendency exercised by *audiencias* (tribunals); the teachings and administrative knowledge of the Catholic Church, the enlightened body of the so-called Bourbon reforms, and, last but not least, the decisive influence of the thirteen American colonies and their emancipation, as well as of the French revolution, with its bureaucratic inventiveness, civil law and secular doctrine.

These features of the Mexican state, which make it one of the richest creations of Mexican culture in particular, and of Hispanic culture in Latin America in general, were reaffirmed and renewed during the nineteenth century thanks to the Reform Laws of 1859. Two constitutional conventions, held in 1824 and 1857, were to culminate in the Mexican Constitution of 1917, offspring of the revolution that shook the country in 1910 and which revealed new facets of the national character.

The affirmation of national sovereignty and of the principles of respect and non-intervention, tolerance and respect for religious freedom, as well as the affirmation and defense of a body of social rights, and the doctrine of municipal autonomy all spring from a vast national and historic process characterized by tolerance and practice in the art of coexistence, guided by mutual respect and recognition of the right to differ.

However, although the state is one of the most important creations of our Mexican culture, it is not the only one; art, religion, painting, poetry, popular traditions, family life and its values, all of these make up a pattern, a framework of references, memories and precedents.

Within this model, as is natural and understandable, we Mexicans wish to carry on our own way of existence. However, this tenacity should not cause us to retreat, or diminish our participation in the new global culture, since any event, occurring in the most distant part of the planet, instantly affects us. This new global culture is mainly rooted in North America's powerful civilization, and includes many of the distinctive elements of that civilization.

To the extent that Canadian, American, and Mexican identities have, in spite of their many differences, a great deal in common —sharing not only their borders, but also part of their history (at the very least, the history of those borders)—, one of the most urgent tasks on the agenda of the Americas is to study and examine those histories.

Histories which at times are shared or run parallel, at times symmetrical or violent, yet always converging towards a new centrality in which North America is seen as more than the juxtaposition of three countries, as a vast zone of peace, a continental geography of human dignity capable —to quote Karl Deutsch— of sheltering a "secure community," where the rights of the lawful majorities and those of their stateless, under-represented minorities will be equally respected.

In the future, as at present, Mexico will surely be the recipient of cultural influences originating in other countries, especially the United States and Canada, but also from other parts of the world; certainly from the rest of Latin America, Mexico's most familiar geo-cultural sphere, where it has historical, yet permanently enduring, commitments. But we, the Mexican people, want to benefit from cultural contributions from all over the world.

In general, such is the destiny of cultures throughout the world. It is difficult to conceive of isolationism or barriers of any kind. The world will become ever more closely intertwined, and rigid standardization and globalization will surely continue to exist.

Humanity is inherently diverse and plural; thus, national cultures and identities will prevail, each with its own more or less distinctive traits according to the country in question. Culture and national identity are not static, nor frozen in time. They are, rather, in constant evolution. It is certain that Mexico will preserve a national culture and identity, with its own peculiar features, all blended together with creativity VM

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Images of novels on the Mexican revolution: Hippolytus' mirror

*Mauricio Molina**

Preamble

Santa: The flesh is full of sorrow

The history of the twentieth century Mexican novel begins with the publication of *Santa*, by Federico Gamboa, in 1902. This is the first genuinely modern novel written in Mexico, a paradigm of Mexican naturalism, an inventory of the taboos and fantasies of the Porfirian era, a portrait of Mexico City and its luxurious brothels; but it is, above all, the debut of one of the first truly vital characters in Mexican literature.

Because in spite of the evident mark of Emile Zola's *Nana* on Gamboa's novel, and notwithstanding the influence of the impressionistic prose of Flaubert, Gamboa was able to create a profoundly believable, real, almost tangible character: a woman of fatal curves and unyielding innocence, whose perversion consists of nothing more than the search for salvation through sin.

Santa is a novel which opened the universe of private life to Mexican literature. This disclosure is also a disclosure of the body, of desire and sexuality. It is no coincidence that the extended metaphor which Gamboa employs in the novel, its recurrent theme, is that of the flesh: flesh for sacrifice, ritual flesh, prostituted flesh. It is here that the new textual space comes into play; the metaphoric irruption of private life into the public arena, the predominance of lowness over more elevated ideals, appear in Santa's torn flesh.

A reversal of values: the underworld is enthroned and becomes the new décor of the Mexican novel. In his seminal work *Los bajos fondos* (The underworld), Sergio González Rodríguez explores the dialectic of low and high, while discovering the aesthetics of marginality in Mexican literature. Marginality is what has given meaning to Mexican literature: marginal desire, social marginality, and also the margination of elitism.

However, as I mentioned above, Gamboa was very much influenced by Flaubert's style and the themes of Zola. Despite the novel's setting —in Mexico City— and the numerous innovations which it introduced into Mexican literature, *Santa* is still very much a French work, too literary and too artificial.

The objections I have raised regarding Gamboa's novel notwithstanding, there is a character in *Santa* who deserves greater attention: Hippolytus, the blind piano player in the brothel where Santa works. Eternally in love with the heroine (an obvious projection of the author) and the archetype of the scorned lover, he is also the predecessor of Agustín Lara (again, it is no coincidence that Lara played Hippolytus in one of the film versions of *Santa*); this character is an allegory of Mexican literature, whose modernism still isn't completely defined. He is a blind man with character.

When Santa is dying of cervical cancer, she arrives at Hippolytus' house, where she finds a mysterious mirror. Here the reader might ask: What use would a blind man have for a mirror? The answer, perhaps, is not to see himself, but so that others might see him from the outside.

Not only does the mirror reflect the invisible face of a blind man in love with a prostitute, but also the undefined form of Mexicans at the turn of the century who did not yet know who they were or what they looked like.

Overture

Los de abajo (The underdogs): Living to die

Fourteen years later, Hippolytus' mirror is broken. Hitherto unheard-of characters begin to appear in Mexican novels, spawned by exploitation and barbarity. The downtrodden explode onto the scene as the new marginals, the disinherited: beings without archetypes, without models in other national literatures; profoundly Mexican characters who, like Hippolytus, search for a lost face.

If Federico Gamboa was a poet of the flesh who created the myths

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surrounding Porfirian prostitution, Mariano Azuela, with his novel *Los de abajo*, would be the Mexican Homer, the creator of what might be rightly termed the Mexican novel.

Without falling back on the Flaubertian or European legacy, Azuela created a new language and new characters for the Mexican novel. Without Azuela, the work of writers such as Martín Luis Guzmán, Augustín Yáñez, Juan Rulfo, and Carlos Fuentes, among others, would be unthinkable.

Azuela is the creator of twentieth century Mexican narrative writing. As Carlos Fuentes has said, *Los de abajo* is the ragged *Iliad*, the Mexican *Iliad*, the archetype of the modern Mexican novel.

The style of *Los de abajo* reflects a profound renovation. Written in 1916, during the military campaign of Francisco Villa, this novel introduces a new character in Mexican history: the disinherited peasant, exiled from his own land, who leaves his village to join the revolutionary struggle.

The novel is written in clean, fast-moving prose. It gets to the point. The spontaneity of this unadorned and unaffected style reminds one of the chronicles of the Conquest. Azuela's technique, on the other hand, is clearly up-to-date, a kind of primitive modernity. Images as fast as gunshots, short phrases interspersed like mortar shells: the dynamics of war.

If Santa provided a definitive end to the Porfirian era, Demetrio Macías, the hero of *Los de abajo*, who embodies the orphanhood of peasants at war, opens new horizons in Mexican literature. Just as Posada reinvented Mexican plastic arts from the ground up and supplied us with an equivalent to Goya, Azuela invented a new world for Mexican literature.

In *Los de abajo*, flesh appears again, as it did in *Santa*; but here, it is not the voluptuous flesh of a decadent prostitute, but the bleeding bodies of revolutionary guerrillas. Flesh bereft of desire, a pure image of death and decomposition. Cannon fodder.

Phantasmagoric novel of the Mexican revolution, *Los de abajo* offers a very different view of literature. Azuela is a writer committed to and involved in what he lived through and observed. His fragmentary proposition is profoundly modern.

The novel is written in an almost cinematographic style, with isolated shots like a mosaic of Talavera tiles. Each frame is structured like a puzzle, in which the final image is the chaos of revolution, the social cataclysm, the change from one geological era to another. Hippolytus' mirror would never be the same again; new faces are reflected on its quicksilver surface.

To paraphrase José Vasconcelos, Demetrio Macías is the American Achilles, a warrior whose only goal is death. At the same time as Thomas Mann and Martin Heidegger, Azuela discovered the concept of existing to die. The revolutionary soldiers knew that they had been born to die and that the only open possibility in their stories would be the manner of their death.

It is no coincidence that Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain* and Azuela's *Los de abajo* were written during the same period, both framed within the context of the First World War. *The Magic Mountain* narrates the tragic destiny of Hans Castorp and his existence-for-death in the same way that Azuela narrates Demetrio Macías' existence-for-death. Castorp and Macías were both expelled from their villages by the social explosions and the convulsions of war.

There is a scene in *Los de abajo* which merits a synopsis: Following the seizure of an hacienda belonging to the conservatives, Villa's soldiers enter one of the rooms in search of jewels and money. Not satisfied with this, they also let their horses into the house to sleep with them in the bedrooms and to join in the drunken celebration.

This scene bears a surprising resemblance to a sequence from Sergei Eisenstein's film *October*, in which the Bolshevik revolutionaries burst into the czar's Winter Palace and fire their weapons into the rooms, amidst the luxurious furnishings. Like the muzhiks, or Russian peasants, the Mexican revolutionaries enter into combat with another world when they burst into the bedrooms of their oppressors.

Azuela is a discoverer of characters and situations. His universe is that of the epic. While *Santa* bears a certain similarity to *Madame Bovary* or *Nana*, *Los de abajo* can only be compared to certain national epics such as *El Cid* or *The Song of Roland*. *Santa* is a universe of decadence; *Los de abajo*, on the other hand, is a universe of creation, the life-giving soil of the Mexican and Latin American novel.

Azuela's characters join the revolution seeking death. They know nothing of political, social or ideological motivations; they get into the *bola* (brawl) because this fiesta of blood and death offers them the possibility of looking into their own faces, which could be either the faces of death or of redemption.

One of the fundamental successes of Azuela's novel lies in the fact that he never presents a political statement or historical design; he narrates from within the events and does not attempt to explain them. He immerses the reader in the world of pure epic.

The final image of *Los de abajo* is that of the hero, Demetrio Macías, already dead, pointing towards the future, like a statue. He reflects a new image in Hippolytus' mirror: the being who confronts death.

Andante

¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa! (Lets go with Pancho Villa!): The alienness of barbarism

Rafael F. Muñoz wrote *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!* in 1931. While also a product of the author's revolutionary experiences, this novel shows a very

different face of the revolution than the one Azuela had portrayed writing in the immediacy of events.

The formal central idea, more polished and better finished, of *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!* does not make it a better novel than *Los de abajo*. In fact, the premises of the two novels are similar: both evoke a group of men with ties to the land, expelled from their villages, who join a revolution which they do not understand, but which nevertheless fascinates them.

A new character appears in Mexican literature: Tiburcio Maya, a member of the rough brotherhood of the Lions of San Pablo. Unlike Demetrio Macías, who exudes warmth and affection, Tiburcio is a character beyond comprehension, the pure alienation and otherness of the warrior, capable of giving his life for his leader.

Muñoz' style is elegant, descriptive and slow. *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!* narrates the saga of Pancho Villa from his beginnings as a revolutionary leader and confirmed follower of the democratic movement of Francisco Madero, up to what was the first —and so far, only— invasion of American soil. Tiburcio Maya is the "other," whose psychological make-up remains hidden to us; the blind follower of Pancho Villa, who is capable of sacrificing everything for him.

In Muñoz' novel, the revolution is a game of chance; anyone can win. This is exemplified when, after taking the city of Zacatecas, the revolutionaries decide to play a game which we might call Mexican roulette.

One night, Tiburcio Maya and his friends attend the game; there are thirteen players present. The game is played sitting around a table; a pistol is cocked, the lights are turned off, and the gun is thrown in the air, leaving fate to decide who shall die when the loaded pistol falls on the table and fires. The most cowardly will be the one to die. When Tiburcio and his friends join the game, they argue against the fallacy of saying that whoever is killed is the biggest coward. They argue with the other players until they are obliged to play. The game is played. The bullet wounds Tiburcio's best friend who, in order to prove that he is not the most cowardly, shoots himself in the temple with his own gun.

This is the other side of bravery, the other side of the will to die. Muñoz' characters not only look for death, as do those in Azuela's works, but they also desire it, much like the old prostitutes in *Santa*. For Azuela's characters, death was little more than a possibility, a contingency, a necessary evil. However, for the characters in Muñoz' novel, death is predestined.

The central scene of *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!* takes place when Tiburcio Maya, after having run away from Villa's troops, is married and has children. He meets his former leader outside the miserable shack where he has made his home. Fleeing from Venustiano Carranza's troops, Villa asks Tiburcio to rejoin his army. Having laid down his arms, Tiburcio has returned to his peasant origins and has lost the will to fight. He tells Villa that he cannot rejoin him now that he has a wife, a son and a daughter. Villa says he understands, but that he needs every man to fight against the Americans. After a brief exchange, Villa asks Tiburcio to introduce him to his family; Tiburcio gladly complies. Villa enters Tiburcio's home, and he kills the entire family; he then tells Tiburcio that he no longer has anything to stay behind for.

The crowning moment of alienation in the novel, when the revolution shows its true face, occurs when Tiburcio stands in front of his dead wife and children, showing no signs of a human reaction, which in this case would have been to rebel or seek revenge. He does none of this, but irrationally follows his leader's orders and submits to him.

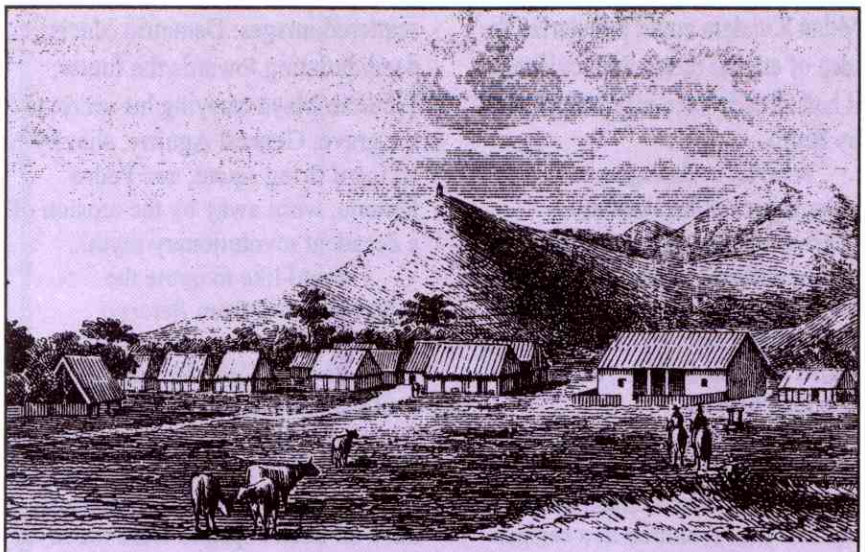
The finale of *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!* is another metaphor for the enigma of the revolution. Villa has been wounded in battle and is in hiding. Pershing's punitive expedition is closing in, and Tiburcio is captured as he goes in search of provisions. The Americans offer him money, but he —impassive— refuses. They ask him why he protects the man who executed his family, but Tiburcio remains silent. They torture him, but still he refuses to talk. He carries his silence and refusal to the grave. Tiburcio dies with his feet flayed, hanged from a tree by the bank of a river. The secret he carries to the grave is not that of Pancho Villa's whereabouts, but rather the deeper enigma of his own silence.

Fugue

La sombra del caudillo (The shadow of the caudillo): The syntax of power

As the smoke of the revolution cleared, leaving behind the corpses of its popular leaders and of those who wrote the constitution, only one problem remained: who would oversee the future of the revolution? The problem was no longer an epic one, it became a political problem: to define the rules of the game under the new order. At this point, Martín Luis Guzmán's *La sombra del caudillo*, perhaps the most successful and well-defined of all Mexican political novels, comes on the scene.

Written in 1931, the same year as *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!*, Guzmán's novel deals with the problem of the succession to power. Two candidates are positioned to battle for the presidency: General Jiménez, the man designated by the caudillo of the revolution —a combination of political boss and patriarch of the revolution— and the other, General Aguirre, the choice of the warring factions in the chamber of deputies. The social forces generated by the revolution enter into conflict;



Comala is a mythical place where the dead live.

one of the generals will have to step aside, or die.

As in Muñoz' novel, Martín Luis Guzmán's deals with the problem of submission; but while in the former it was submission to a military leader, in the latter it is political submission. As von Clausewitz stated in his classical aphorism, politics is defined as the continuation of war by other means.

Guzmán's novel portrays a tragic hero whose fatal flaw of pride is, as in the tragedies of Shakespeare, the quest for power. General Aguirre does not seek the presidency. However, he is chosen by the warring factions and must therefore confront the caudillo of the revolution. As in France, where all of the original authors of the revolution died under the wheels of the juggernaut which they themselves had set in motion, so the petty revolutionary chiefs were devoured by the political monster they had created.

While General Aguirre is not as vital a character as those of the other novels I have mentioned, Guzmán constructs a dearly loved character who in many respects reminds us of Danton in the French revolution. Aguirre has a wife, a mistress and a lover, a taste for cognac, and, above all, he loves to stay up all night in elegant saloons much like those depicted in *Santa*.

Jiménez, on the other hand, is the caudillo's servant, a kind of Robespierre: an absolutist ascetic, and an obsequious one. The caudillo's preference for Jiménez will ultimately bring about the downfall of Aguirre. Once designated as a candidate, he will have to eliminate his rival — permanently.

However, these characters are not Guzmán's greatest achievement. The main character of the novel is Axcaná, advisor to Aguirre, the candidate who will, in the end, be treacherously shot on the caudillo's instructions. Axcaná represents a new figure on this stage: an intellectual of power, a thinker, the Machiavelli which all power needs. Every regime requires a syntax; this is how intellectuals serve the state.

Guzmán's style is passionate and caustic. Each chapter in *La sombra del caudillo* is written in a different style and belongs to a different genre, so that the novel's structure seems to comprise several different novels. There are epic chapters, chapters which read like detective stories, and political chapters. Thus, Guzmán's novel is a profoundly multifaceted work in which different narrative forms intersect to form an all-encompassing whole.

Guzmán picks up the urban novel where *Santa* left off; he paints a picture of the revolution's new aristocracy, especially of their night life: from shady bar-rooms to their newfound taste for jai-alai. The novel introduces the detective story into Mexican fiction, but, above all, it is the first and best political novel ever written in Mexico. Novels such as José Revueltas' *Los errores* (The errors) or Héctor Aguilar Camín's *La guerra de Galio* (The Galio war) would have been unthinkable without the example set by Guzmán.

General Aguirre's death is symbolic; at one point, the caudillo says it all in a phrase: "get them before they get you" is the key to Mexican politics. They "get" General Aguirre on the highway to Toluca and they treacherously kill him at dawn. Before he is brought in front of a firing squad made up of inept soldiers, the caudillo's puppets, Axcaná, the narrator's alter ego, escapes and lives to tell the story.

Finale

Pedro Páramo: The curse of exile

The last image of the Mexican revolution to be etched onto the mirror of blind Hippolytus, Juan Rulfo's *Pedro Páramo*, closes the cycle of revolution novels in Mexican literature.

From this point on, the Mexican revolution is presented as a myth: the myth of death. Comala is a mythical place where the dead live; it is the equivalent of the Greek Hades, or the ancient Mictlán of Aztec mythology.

Like Odysseus visiting the dead, Juan Preciado, the main character in *Pedro Páramo*, returns to the place of his birth. He, like Santa, Demetrio Macías, Tiburcio Maya, and General Aguirre —all dead— is an exile from the land of the living.

Much has been written about Rulfo's work; there are too many interpretations of *Pedro Páramo*. Nevertheless, one must point out that

with Rulfo, Mexican novels acquire new features.

However, the masterful conclusion of *Pedro Páramo* does not obey the rules of traditional fiction as *Santa* does, or as *Los de abajo* or *¡Vámonos con Pancho Villa!* adhered to the rules of epic narrative. Nor does it follow the development of the political novel as in *La sombra del caudillo*. Rulfo's novel follows the logic of myth and poetry.

Rulfo knew how to close the cycle: *Pedro Páramo* is not only the best novel ever written in Mexico, it is the beginning of modern Latin American fiction. Without Rulfo's groundbreaking effort, novels such as Gabriel García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad* (One hundred years of solitude), Mario Vargas Llosa's *La casa verde* (The green house), or Juan Carlos Onetti's *La vida breve* (The brief life), would simply have been impossible.

Comala is the place where we go after we have been expelled from this world. *Pedro Páramo* is a teetering stone statue of the revolution. A dead revolution. We are inhabitants of Comala, condemned to live out the cyclical myth of a past revolution. The aridness of Comala symbolizes the erosion of a myth which has turned to stone.

Since Rulfo, one can no longer continue the cycle, except in the language of poetry and myth. It is no coincidence that Carlos Fuentes used the metaphor of death in *La muerte de Artemio Cruz* (The death of Artemio Cruz), or that more recently, Ignacio Solares, in his novel *Madero, el otro* (The other Madero), includes a dead man who communicates with the living.

Rulfo's style is unadorned like Azuela's, violent, like Muñoz', and profoundly political, like Guzmán's. Nevertheless, his greatest achievement lies in the cyclical structure of eternal return within which his characters are enclosed. Long before a writer like Milan Kundera could popularize the idea of eternal return and revisitation, it had already been masterfully done by Rulfo.

A novel of dialogues in which the monologues of the dead are interwoven like signals emitted from a mythical world, a novel of impossible love, like *Santa*; a novel of erosion and the impossibility of redemption, *Pedro Páramo* endures, a scar on Mexican fiction.

The dead speak the language of poetry, which is the language of the future, of the abandonment of the myth of the revolution as a central theme in Mexican fiction.

It is no coincidence that the two central works of the first half of the twentieth century in Mexico are *Pedro Páramo* and Octavio Paz' *El laberinto de la soledad* (The labyrinth of solitude). Both deal with the problem of Mexican identity: Rulfo holds that we are children of a dead chieftain; for Octavio Paz, we are beings whose identity is the identity of death. Both write of the impossibility of return. Expelled from a lost paradise, we point on towards the future like Demetrio Macías, watching with irony as the statues of Tiburcio Maya, the caudillo, and Pedro Páramo begin to crumble.

Comala is our only territory; we inhabit the posthumous universe of *Pedro Páramo*. After the revolution, Mexican fiction had to strike out along new paths, seeking new languages and settings. Thanks to Rulfo, the Mexican novel opened up a new, unheard-of vein, toward myth and poetry.

Coda

Once the revolution was over, its scars healed, and the distant plumes of smoke cleansed from the horizon, we became again the distant Hippolytus, the blind pianist of *Santa*: blind men who see themselves in a broken mirror, searching for fragments of a imaginary identity. This identity remains etched in scattered images: Demetrio Macías, dead, pointing towards the future; Tiburcio Maya carrying his secret to the grave; General Aguirre, shot by an inept firing squad, and Pedro Páramo, worn away by the erosion of a decadent revolutionary myth.

I would like to quote the following lines from *Retorno maléfico* (Pernicious return) by Ramón López Velarde, poet and contemporary of Azuela, Muñoz and Guzmán, who shared a deep sense of fraternity with Juan Rulfo. These lines exemplify the feeling that we have all been expelled from the myth of a revolution which no longer has anything to say to us except through the language of poetry and myth:

It is best not to go back to the village,
To that subverted Eden which is silent
Under the mutilation of the machine-gun VM

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The Volomandra youth

Rosamaría Casas

The museum guards had become accustomed to the sight of the old woman. She came every day with a handful of flowers, green branches or thistles. Indifferent to her surroundings, she walked to the room where the statue of the Volomandra youth stood. After placing her offering at his feet, and staring into his empty eyes, she would begin an incomprehensible monologue. Sometimes she would gesture, at others, she would laugh, and after a while, she would walk away with light, almost ethereal footsteps, clutching the black scarf which covered her from her head to the hem of her skirt.

I used to go to the National Museum of Athens every day to draw. I generally arrived early, before the influx of tourists could prevent me from working calmly. I was intrigued by the old woman's daily visits, especially because I thought I could distinguish some Spanish words amid her murmuring. My concentration faltered around nine o'clock in the morning, when my gaze wandered from the museum cases, in search of the old woman.

I decided to observe her there in the gallery of the Volomandra youth, near the spot where she always stopped to perform her ritual. I greeted her several times in Greek and in Spanish, but she never responded. Standing in front of the statue, she was in such a state of concentration that nothing around her seemed to affect her. She was like a specter illuminated by the tenuous light of the museum, which fell upon her in yellowish tones.

Her dark face and hands, and the brilliance of her black eyes spoke to me of life under another sun, in other latitudes. Although she was dressed like an old islander, something in her reminded me of the sempiternal small town Mexican grandmothers who also dress in black. This ancient woman wrapped herself in her scarf in the same way that Indian women wear their *rebozos*, and her movements had the light, dancing grace of the Toltecs, rather than the firm step of the Greek women, firmly rooted to the ground in their fight against the wind. This old woman held her head erect, eyes straight ahead; not like Greek women, who appear to hold their heads to one side, with a shifting glance, perhaps to avoid the island's luminous wintery brilliance or its cutting winds.

My interest was such that I wished to know something of her life, where she lived, how she filled her days. I decided to follow her, and discovered that her routine was the same each day. She walked with a surprisingly spry step through the streets near the museum until she reached the central market, a large building, much like an old railway station, with high roofs and opaque glass insets supported by steel arches.

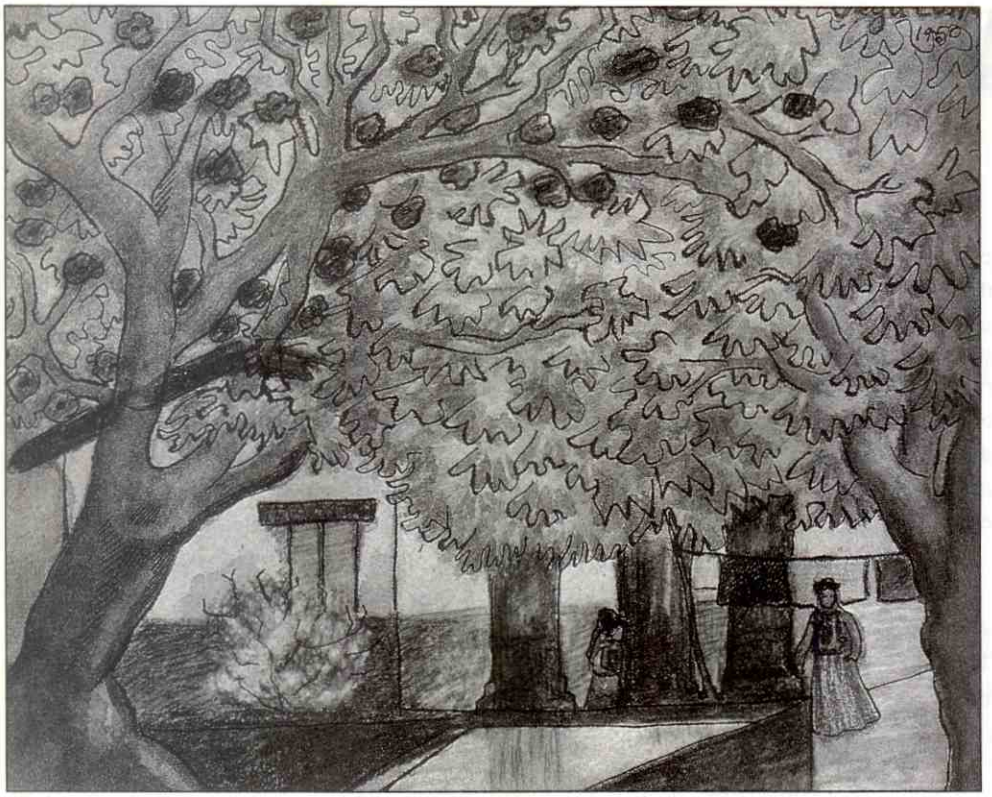
On entering the fish section, the old woman walked towards the rear, where the fishy odor was most intense. Without saying a word to anyone, she would take a broom from behind some crates of fish and begin to sweep under the marble counter. When she was finished, she went to a barrel of garbage and, without saying a word, took a few fish heads or tails. The first time I followed her, I walked behind her with a packet of shrimp bought from the fishmonger, who did not even glance at the old woman. When I asked who she was, he replied, "A crazy old woman who comes to sweep every day in exchange for a bit of fish," and went on with his work with hasty indifference.

The old woman did the same at several market stalls. From among her clothing, she produced a little net bag in which she put tomatoes, fruit and vegetables, all of which were still good but lacking the perfect freshness characteristic of produce in a Greek market. At the last stall she carried away a loaf of day-old bread, all without having spoken one word to anyone in the market, neither with the vendors nor with those who crossed her path. Nobody could tell me who she was.

From the market, she started off towards Plaka, the old quarter of the city. She reached the edge of the less fashionable Monastiraki quarter, punctuated with empty lots and half-crumbling houses. At the end of an alley bounded by a wall of trees there were the remains of a shack. The old woman removed a board which hid a section that still had a roof, and disappeared inside, followed by two striped cats.

Weighed down by the day's heat and surrounded by the silent, peaceful atmosphere which always descends upon Athens during the mid-afternoon siesta, one day I ventured to cross the little alley and peer through the cracks in the wall, inside her shack.

The old woman had removed her shawl and I could see her face framed by long, gray braids. She sat on the dirt floor cutting up the fish heads into pieces to give to the cats, who ate solemnly, each respectfully waiting its turn. She then turned to a pot that was simmering on a tin stove stoked with branches and removed bits of potato, vegetables, and fish which she ate



She was 18 when she meet Kostas, and the ardor of his kisses. Painting by Olga Costa.

between mouthfuls of bread soaked in the stew. When she had finished, she lay down between the two cats, smiling as she did during her monologues with the Volomandra youth, and the three of them slept with a satisfied air.

I was drawn to this woman because I felt a strange mixture of something unknown, but at the same time, familiar. I felt an almost physical pain in my chest when I thought of her there, in winter, with only the tin stove to warm her fragile body, the two cats her only companions.

Without knowing if she would understand me, I decided to speak to her at the museum. One morning, I put my drawings away and stood at the feet of the Volomandra youth at the same spot where she stood every day.

I heard her footsteps and felt her, disconcerted, behind me. Without giving her any time to react, I turned around and wished her good morning in Spanish.

She dropped the flowers, covered her face with her hands, and began to sob. I felt such guilt and shame for having dared to intrude upon her and having frightened her in this way, that I hugged her tightly; I couldn't think of anything else to do. I told her not to cry, that I was her friend, to forgive me, and other phrases in the same vein. She fled from me that day, scurrying away so quickly that I was afraid for her delicate bones of blown glass.

The next day, she entered the room hesitantly, her eyes fixed on the Volomandra youth. I approached her, told her my name and asked for hers.

"Lupe," she responded, without looking at me, and hurried away, frightened.

Little by little, adding one more phrase each day, by inches, I gained her confidence; until I heard, in bits and pieces, her story.

As a young girl, she had lived with her parents and seven brothers and sisters in Ciudad Madero, Tamaulipas. She was eighteen when she meet Kostas, a Greek sailor who was visiting the area while his ship was in port at Tampico.

Kostas' blue eyes, shining beneath his black curls, burned into her eyes and then into her heart. Her hands trembled when she was near him, and she cried at times without knowing why; not from sadness, but rather because she felt something new and unknown which disturbed her, filling her with happiness and making her want to sing.

Kostas spoke the Spanish he had learned in several voyages to Mexican ports, and his descriptions of the cobalt-blue Greek sea, his words of love and loyalty, all convinced her she should marry him. Her parents were opposed to her going so far away, but between the two of them, they convinced her parents to give them their blessing. When Kostas returned to Mexico the following year, they were married.

Kostas' arms, and his tender lips, told her more than his Greek-tinged Spanish. Without the least worry about what was to become of her in Greece, that faraway land of many temples, Lupe left Tampico.

They sailed on the *Venisselos*, a freighter of which Lupe's only memories were a hot cabin and an unbearable sea-sickness which only eased at night, when Kostas embraced her and his curly black hair tickled her skin.

The family farm where Kostas had told her they were to live with his mother turned out to be a patch of dirt with six olive trees and a few grapevines. In September, they only managed to fill one barrel of must, squeeze a few liters of olive oil on the communal olive press, and can two or three jars of small, wrinkled, green olives. The house consisted of a living room-bedroom-kitchen where the

young couple's bed stood behind a plastic screen. Kostas' mother slept at the other end of the room on a folding cot. Everything was poorer than in her parents' home in Ciudad Madero, and she missed the cheerful banter of her brothers and sisters.

The blue skies, the calm sea, the sweetness of the grapes and the figs, and the ardor of Kostas' kisses were the only truths she discovered in the Greek sailor's promises.

The most difficult times were when Kostas was absent; he was sometimes away at sea for seven months at a stretch, and the joy of his homecomings was mitigated by the iron control of his mother, Dímitra.

From the first time they went to church together and Lupe had crossed herself backwards, her mother-in-law had called her an ignorant woman. At first, Lupe did not understand the insult in Greek, but from hearing it so often, she learned it by heart. She also didn't understand why the wedding celebrated in Ciudad Madero was not considered valid and had to be repeated in Athens.

She remembered her Greek wedding with emotion, though she was ashamed to wear the crown of white flowers and the white veil which Kostas' mother had worn at her wedding. She spoke to me of the candle-lit procession through the streets and of the lambs roasted under the open sky, stretched on skewers, looking entirely like naked, helpless children; and of the sweets which three hours later still left a candied aftertaste in her mouth.

During Kostas' absences, Dímitra slept in the big bed where her son had been born. Lupe curled up on the cot, or on the earthen floor when she was too tired to unfold it. From the start, Dímitra treated her like her slave. Lupe had to perform all of the household chores, and when Kostas was at sea, she had to work in the orchard and the vineyard. To her husband, all of this seemed normal; it was only fair that his mother should rest at long last, and her orders were, for both of them, the law.

Lupe told me all this in a fluid Spanish marked with the sing-song rhythm of Tamaulipas, as rhythmic as the gait of the girls from the coast. Her speech became unintelligible as her story advanced through the following years. Her Spanish began to become sprinkled with Greek and was, at the end, a mixture understandable only to someone who spoke both languages.

I understood the reasons behind her isolation, her imprisonment in a linguistic, cultural and emotional bareness.

She missed her brothers and sisters, her mother, always kind and willing to help others, and her father, that strong tree which had always protected the family. Spanish was difficult for her, after having not used it for years, and her Greek was too sketchy to express her sentiments. Thus, she spoke only as much as was necessary, and had no friends. But her eyes, bright and full of lively glimmers, told me much of the fires that burned inside her.

When Yianis was born, Dímitra took charge of the baby and only returned him to his mother when it was time to nurse him. Kostas received her complaints with a mixture of surprise and indignation; to him, it seemed normal that the grandmother should take charge of rearing the boy. She had more experience, and Lupe had many things to do. When Yianis stopped nursing, she was only able to spend fleeting moments with her son. Dímitra never left their side for an instant, and the mother could only caress and play with her son early in the day and in the mid-afternoon.

In the marketplace and on the streets, Lupe slowly began to realize that this was the custom of the country; that the husband's mother was the authority in the family. Given the uselessness of trying to resist Dímitra and Kostas, she had to accept this tradition without protest. She lacked the courage to fight, and so hid herself away with her son to say tender words to him, singing him the same songs she had heard as a child, and kissing his face until it turned red.

As she told me about her son's childhood, her gestures were those of a mother comforting a child; her eyes were the eyes of every woman who has looked with mingled surprise, incredulity, and tenderness at her new-born child. Many times we cried together, both moved by these images which still fueled her life.

By the time Yianis was twelve, he was tall and slim, and clever, with his father's clear eyes and curly hair, and Kostas was very proud of him. He was a happy, obedient child who got good grades in school and spoke both languages very well. The light which emanated from Yianis erased any shadows which existed in his grandmother's or his parents' lives.

It was then that the *Venisselos* burned at anchor in the port of Piraeus and Kostas was among the victims. Lupe and Yianis went to his funeral. They did not see the body, which, like those of the other sailors in the disaster, was burned beyond recognition. Lupe thought of returning to Tampico with Yianis, but didn't know how to go about it. She had no money, and outside the small circle of distant relatives and neighbors, there was no one in Greece who could help her. Nobody understood her when she tried to explain her intentions.

She continued to live with her mother-in-law, working under her despotic control. Yianis grew, went to school and was the one delight in Lupe's life. When he was sixteen years old, he informed her that Dímitra and he had decided that he would enlist in the merchant navy. He hugged her, told her he would return soon, and when they parted Lupe almost did not see him: her tears blotted out his blue eyes and black

hair, which she kissed fiercely as he said, "Don't cry, mamma, I'll see you during my vacation."

Yianis would return for vacation dressed in his white uniform, and Lupe smiled once again. Ever since he had enlisted, Dímitra's domination over her grandson had ended; he was a man now and as such, he treated his mother with a great deal of tenderness. He always brought her a gift when he returned home. Shawls, dresses, combs, treats: "My son never came home empty-handed," she told me, her face full of pride.

When Yianis was home Lupe could rest, although later she would have to put up with Dímitra. Her mother-in-law died one Easter Sunday when Yianis was home; were it not for him, Lupe would not have known how to manage. Once she was alone on the farm she felt a peace she had not known since she stepped off the boat in Greece.

Lupe's story of her new life after Dímitra's death lasted several weeks, with details about how each grapevine and each olive tree began to bear more fruit, how she re-arranged the furniture and put up new curtains and, above all, she spoke gaily of the happiness which she felt each time Yianis visited.

Until the day when they came looking for her, to take her to the hospital. Yianis had had an accident which destroyed his hands and forearms.

With infinite sadness she visited him each day; she left the farm abandoned for weeks on end. The hospital was far away and, as it was summer, she slept in the park and ate what food Yianis left, since he never finished the food they gave him. She cheered him up, trying to distract his attention from the constant pain of his wounds; she sang to him as she had when he was a child.

One morning they gently led her away from his empty bed. They gave her explanations which she didn't understand, or didn't wish to understand. She thought that perhaps he had to return to school, for exams, perhaps. She waited in vain at the farm. Every evening she waited at the side of the highway, only returning to the house when night had fallen.

One Sunday near church, she found a group of students wearing school uniforms. She followed them in search of Yianis and found him.

"Ever since then, I come to see him every day," she said, her eyes resting upon the Volomandra youth, a statue with the sweetest of smiles and mutilated arms.

Intent upon the old woman's story, I had neglected my drawing. During our walks through the market and the Monastiraki quarter, I had bought reproductions of some of the museum pieces in order to sketch them later. Lupe was intrigued by my collection, but asked no questions. It was only with difficulty that she could talk about anything other than her arrival in Greece and her reunion with Yianis. Sometimes she would pick up a figure, look at it and return it to me.

"This is the prettiest one," she said once, referring to a small statue of a young man she held in her hands.

Winter was approaching and my concern for Lupe grew as I imagined her walking alone through the city streets swept by cold winds, or curled up with her two cats in a shelter riddled with cracks and chinks.

"Let's go back to Mexico together," I said to her one evening as we walked through the Plaka district.

She stopped, and her eyes searched mine. For an instant I saw them shine with a bright glow of enthusiasm. Then they clouded over. She lowered her eyelids and walked on without speaking. In her gaze I had seen astonishment, incredulity, but, more than anything else, her look was one of surprise at my lack of understanding. I left her with a heaviness born of sorrow and impotence. What could I do to alleviate her utter abandonment?

The morning she didn't come to the museum, my throat was gripped with anguish. I ran to her shack and, between the boards, I could see that she was there, a heap of shawls in one corner. I lifted away the board covering the entrance and immediately the two cats ran whining away, with that peculiar meow of a cat which has smelled death. The old woman seemed to be dying. I ran to look for help, but when we got to the hospital they told me she had died on the way.

I knew that the State would take care of all the formalities. I asked to have her cremated; I wanted to take her ashes back to Ciudad Madero, but at that time there was no cremation in Greece.

No one went to the cemetery. *You lived by yourself, Lupe, and now you will stay here, in this cold cemetery, far from the warm soil of your childhood.* Before they lowered the coffin into the grave, I opened the lid and placed the small statue she had liked beside her. *It will accompany you to another world, Lupe, so that you won't be alone, as you always were in Greece. It will bring you the happiness that, in this land, only existed in your imagination.*

I went to the remains of the shack where Lupe had lived. I thought of looking for an address in Mexico, to locate her family and tell them of her death. Near the entrance were the two striped cats, their intelligent eyes filled with disenchantment.

I found some photographs from her wedding day. A fresh young Lupe smiled at me from the yellowed paper. On the wall above the cot covered with the shawls her son had given her, I saw another photo in a wooden frame: Yianis, a youth of eighteen, whose clear blue eyes reminded me of the hollow eyes of a statue; his smile and his face were strangely similar, almost identical, to those of the Volomandra youth

From the mythology of the Tepozteco

Georgina Luna Parra

TEPOZTLAN is a sacred site, birthplace of indestructible and untouchable gods.

Once again on the night of September 7, as they had for the past four hundred years, the Tepoztecos, carrying flaming torches, climbed the huge cliffs toward a pyramid; the procession advancing like a luminous serpent.

On the following day, they represented the following story in Náhuatl, in their central plaza:

The kings of the surrounding dominions; Tlayacapan, Yecapixtla, Oaxtepec, Cuaunahuac, Cahuixtla, Ticumán, and Tepoztlán assembled, deeply worried.

A tribe from Aztlán, called the Aztecs, had settled on the shores of Lake Texcoco. After seven years of secret preparation, they had become a threat. With the battle cry of "Mexico!" they had set out to conquer their neighboring tribes.

They were ambitious and organized, and claimed the gods had ordered them to build a vast and powerful empire.

The kings decided to unite to counteract this threat. The king of Tepoztlán, to confirm the alliance, offered to give his youngest daughter in marriage to the prince of the Cahuixtlas who lived in the next valley.

One day, while she was bathing in a cool stream that came down from the rocks, she saw a white feather falling from the sky, and it made her pregnant. Postponing the wedding, the father locked up his daughter; when the baby was born, he placed it in a rush basket, and put it in the river.

Down the mountain, the river made a bend surrounded by bald cypresses, and this shady place was a sanctuary where the old men and priests pray. When it arrived at the bend, the basket caught in the roots of those ancient trees. The old men heard crying from inside the basket, and when they uncovered it, great was their astonishment, for in it they found a baby. His skin and hair were so white that the sun's rays dared not shine on any part of his body. He had red eyes like a rabbit, and fingers and toes joined by membranes like a lizard.

There was no doubt, this baby was a child of the gods; they would take care of him, he had been sent from heaven.

The child grew, and his wisdom was astonishing. In a year of drought, there was nothing to eat or drink. He told them to carry him, since he could barely walk, to a secret place, to save his people. Up the mountain they found a spring and enough animals to feed all of them.

Later he became the god-king of Tepoztlán. In the end, they were conquered by the Aztecs and forced to pay tribute and supply men for the imperial army, like many other subdued tribes.

When the King was old, the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, fell.

The first simple cathedral was built on the site of the great pyramid. An enormous bell arrived from Spain after the bell tower was erected. The tower rose higher as building progressed, creating a resounding problem. Several natives went for the god-king, so he could solve it.

They carried him to the Zócalo on a stretcher. The people gathered expectantly to see the recent arrival. Suddenly, a huge dust cloud arose, obscuring everything. When it settled, the bell was up in the tower. Friar Juan de Zumárraga came out to thank him for the miracle.

The king asked him who they worshipped in that strange building with a roof. The bishop took him into the church and told him the story of Christ. The king listened attentively, then said to him: "So the Virgin Mary is my mother, and I am the son of God, like Christ".

"Of course, the Virgin is your mother, and you are Christ's brother", answered the priest. "My son, I am going to give you a present: several friars will follow you and when you get to your town, you shall know."

In the center of Tepoztlán, the gift box was opened, and seven white

The Tepozteco.

pigeons flew out. The friars said: "Our bishop wants us to build convents where the pigeons perch".

King Tepozteco was baptized on September 8, day of the "Sweet Name of Mary", his mother. He celebrated with a great feast, and in the afternoon he slept. He was awakened by voices and shouts from outside.

The kings had come from their dominions to reproach him, each wearing his distinctive cape of deer, rabbit, jaguar, or sheepskin, or distinctive feathers; they were followed by their archers. They upbraided him, for he had turned to new gods brought by the foreigners!

The old man went out to speak to them, calmly and wisely: "I am amazed that you are disrespectful to me. You know that besides being a king like you, I am divine. God is, at the same time, sun and shadow; he is the power of lightning and thunder, love and hate, he does good and evil, he is birth and death, the very life of men and animals, he grants harmony to the heavenly bodies. Only in different times and places, he takes on other names. They call him Christ, he is my brother. Likewise, the Virgin Mary is my mother. The Christian Hueytlatoani will build temples. Let the friars, God's servants, come; they are good."

So, in the 16th century, they built seven convents, where the pigeons came to roost.

The place is surrounded by strange, giant crags. One of them is female. There, a pyramid was built for Tepozteco when he died. The one opposite is male. It is full of stone phalluses. This is the marvelous birthplace of the gods. Quetzalcóatl came first, born many years before, in a spring. He was a winged god, a plumed serpent who flew, visiting many different towns. It was also the birthplace of the god Tepozteco, who lived and died there.

It is a magnetic area, full of forces. The people are proud and have strange powers. Unexplainable things happen. It is a sacred place, indestructible and untouchable VM

The history of Mexico City

(Final Part)

*Luis Ortiz Macedo**

Yvonne Vazquez

Caballito Tower.

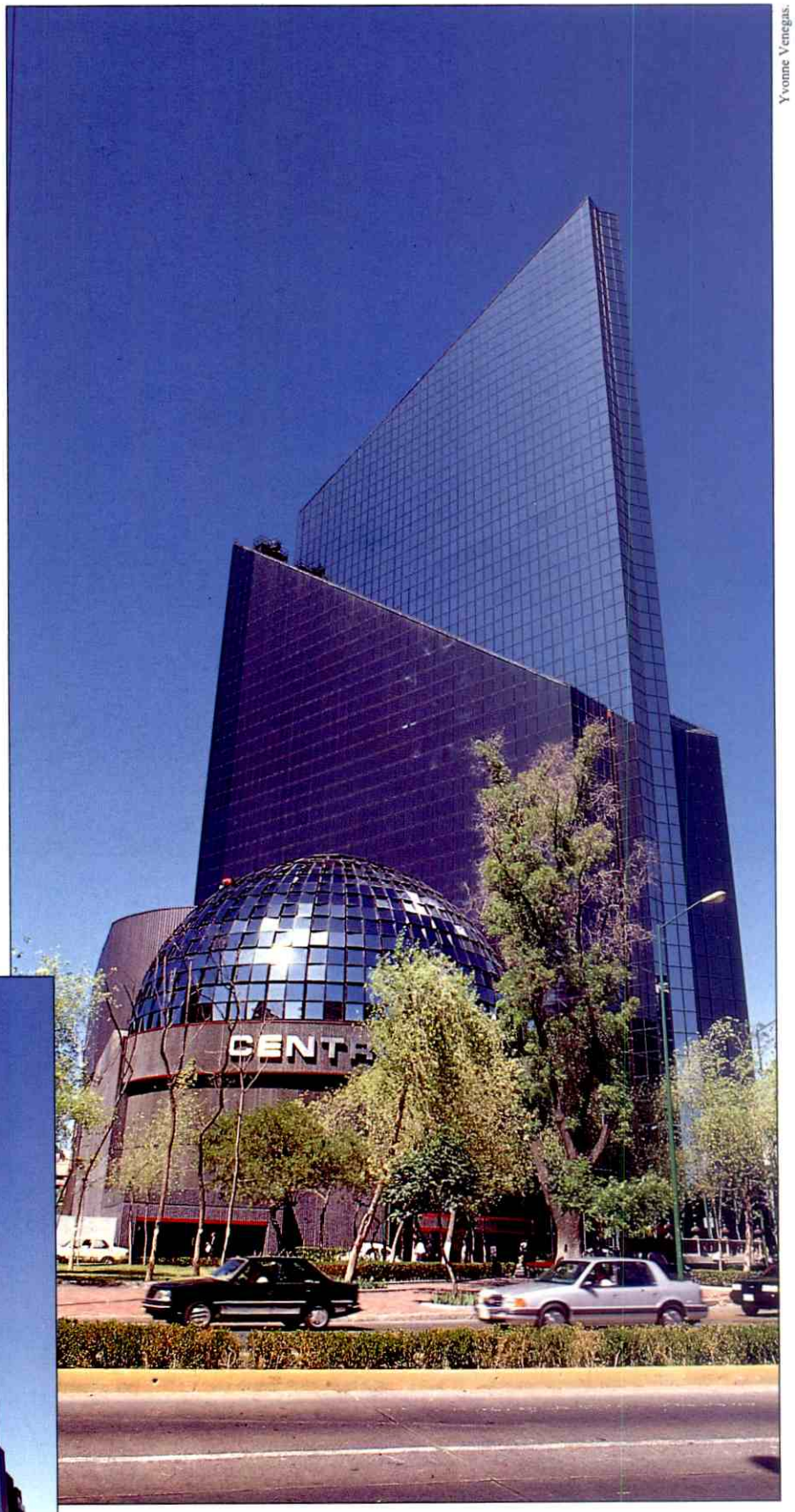
* Professor of Architecture.

The 20th century

The revolution broke out in 1910 at the end of the First Centenary of Independence celebrations. After the bloody episode known as the Tragic Ten Days (1913), people who still lived in the old part of town fled to outlying districts. Their former residences were turned into cheap housing, small businesses, warehouses and large shops.

Not until the 30s were conditions once again stable enough to allow public works to be undertaken that attracted or generated the capital necessary to rekindle the construction industry.

The presidential administrations popularly known as the Maximato (1928-1934) commissioned huge construction projects to activate the economy and fortify its official image. During the 30s, the so-called Legislative Palace was converted into a Monument to the Revolution, and work on the Bank of Mexico building and the National Theater, henceforth known as the Palace of Fine Arts, was completed. The impressive Department of Health was built opposite Chapultepec Wood.



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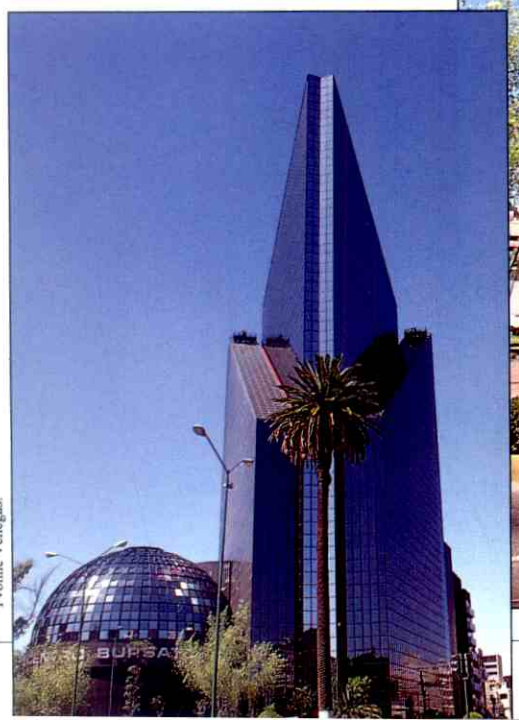
The Mexican Stock Exchange's building.



Yvonne Venegas.

Yvonne Venegas.

Mexico's City Main Square.

Yvonne Venegas.

This period also saw the flowering of *art-deco*. In Mexico, attempts were made to adapt this international style to a peculiar form of nationalism. Another style that emerged was neocolonial, attempting to reproduce baroque and neoclassical architecture of colonial times.

The Municipal Council ceased to function in 1929 and the city became the Department of the Federal District. From then on city planning was ill-conceived and erratic. In the early revolutionary years it favored the expansion of segregationist subdivisions and the creation or expansion of roads encouraging heavy traffic and swift,

uncontrolled changes in land use and population density.

All this gradually upset the aesthetic balance of the city's neighborhoods as they were forced to accommodate the constant influx of immigrants to the capital. Its population doubled from 1910 to 1940, so that there were now one million inhabitants and still no real city planning.

From 1940 on, urban planning became more professional, although still tended toward remedial measures rather than radical solutions to contemporary problems and urgently needed long term planning. Ever since then, despite the adoption of diagnosis and projection, professional city planners have experienced great difficulty in having their ideas and projects accepted.

The 50s brought industrialization and uncontrolled population growth. Authorities were patently unable to control the random settlements put up by rural workers drawn to the capital. Shanty towns built on farm-land at the outskirts of the city meant that crops had to be planted ever farther away from the city center.

The University City and large housing units were built to an urban model inspired by unsubstantiated optimism over high-rise buildings, some of which were even planted in the city's Historic Center. This misguided belief culminated in the construction of the Latin American Tower, the tallest skyscraper in America, outside of the US, thus beginning the congestion of the city center, a problem yet to be solved.

The same decade also saw the multiplication of urban centers, in view of the incapacity of the traditional center to contain the city's growth. Conurbation rapidly enveloped towns in the valley basin, a process that reached its peak 30 years later. Insurgentes Avenue, Polanco and the Juarez districts, designed to accommodate much smaller numbers, all became densely populated, upsetting the existing balance between population and services. Growing numbers of subdivisions began to spread outside the Federal District, as a response to attempts by mayor Ernesto P. Uruchurtu to curtail urban expansion in the capital.

At the same time as planning organizations proliferated and urban legislation changed, problems continued to multiply rapidly, accentuating city dwellers' feelings of dissatisfaction and displacement.

Protecting the city's monumental heritage

This essay attempts to assess what has happened in the historic parts of Mexico City and to make projections

Yvonne Venegas.

The National Auditorium.

The new urban geometry.

for the present and possible future. It concentrates on changes taking place since the 50s, when urban development was suspended owing to lack of space.

The fact that Mexicans have only recently become aware of the need to preserve their national heritage warrants some explanation. The nationalistic ideology that emerged from the Revolution emphasized the importance of appreciating our traditional values and recovering our indigenous cultures. Great interest was shown in pre-Hispanic monuments, and popular and indigenous art was highly valued.

At the same time, José Vasconcelos, from his positions as University Rector and Secretary of Public Education, drew up an ambitious educational plan. He also encouraged the establishment of the Mexican School of Painting and gave artists scope to paint on the walls of public buildings.

He encouraged architects to follow colonial architectural style and ordered schools to be built with this type of façade. Architects who designed buildings with neocolonial façades were actually exempted from paying city taxes.

With a few interesting exceptions, the results left much to be desired: ten-storey civic buildings faced with volcanic rock and dressed stone, gas stations with mixtilinear decoration and tiled panels, furnishing for city parks and public places made of stone and wrought iron, to mention but a few of the countless unlikely combinations.

The original idea of having new buildings blend in with traditional architecture in the historic center and the so-called typical areas of Tlalpan, San Angel and Coyoacan may have been valid in theory, but results were so mediocre that the scheme was soon abandoned.

The work of two architects, Carlos Obregón Santacilia and José Villagrán García provided new alternatives. The latter achieved success by incorporating elements of international functionalism into his work, devoid of nationalist features.

As a result of this trend in city planning, architectural forms were plain and well-defined. Bare materials, predominantly horizontal combinations, totally incompatible with traditional architecture prevailed, putting an end to hopes of an aesthetically pleasing city-scape.

As we have seen, city planning from the 40s on, concentrated on widening streets to improve traffic flow. San Juan de Letrán, 20 de noviembre, José María Izazaga, Anillo de Circunvalación and Pino Suárez Avenues, destroyed the maze of tiny streets around the Historic Center.

Revolución, Insurgentes and Universidad Avenues cut right through San Angel, Tlalpan and Coyoacan, permanently upsetting the balance of their visual harmony.

Proposals for high-rise buildings on either side of these avenues were approved. The growing number of contemporary architectural features inserted into these areas will

Yvonne Venegas.

The Angel of Independence.

eventually put an end to the balance of shape and form that, for a number of reasons, was preserved until the past decade.

Public opposition in 1958 prevented Tacuba and Guatemala streets from being turned into main thoroughfares. The 1934 Law for the Protection of Monuments and Typical Areas only catalogued outstanding monuments, without providing for the preservation of secondary ones that are constantly being demolished to make room for new buildings.

Two additional factors have contributed to the diminution of Mexico City's monumental groups; the 1945 Law on Freezing Rents, which hastened the decay of numerous buildings, and arbitrary changes in land use and population density.

Unquestionably the 1972 Federal Law on Monuments and Historical and Archaeological Areas, and the 1980 decree declaring the Historic Center a protected area, prevented the demolition of structures that are part of our heritage.

To them must be added the tragic 1985 earthquakes that provided the stimulus to finally enact laws limiting the height of buildings. The earthquakes also provided the opportunity to restore several residential buildings under the emergency plan known as Housing Renovation.

All this suggests that renewed interest on the part of authorities and increasing numbers of activist groups may suffice to guarantee the preservation of our historic buildings. However, the effect of all these good intentions will be minimal, unless certain measures are taken:

a) Controlled land use, to favor housing tracts.
b) Reduction of land use by small businesses and offices, that generate traffic greater than historic urban planning can accommodate.

c) Relocation of street vendors who have taken over whole streets, causing traffic jams, unsanitary conditions, and whose stalls block cultural and tourist routes.

d) Creation of parking lots peripheral to the Historic Center, as the only permanent solution to traffic congestion; provision of nighttime garbage loading and unloading, and containerized garbage dumps; establishment of collective gas stations, and use of concentrates in restaurants and soft-drinks stalls to avoid traffic jams caused by bottled soft drink delivery trucks and collection points for empty bottles.

In 1988, Mexico City's Historic Center was added to the list of Humanity's Heritage, along with Xochimilco and its surrounding lake areas. Incumbent authorities have so far carried out the following measures:

1. They have established fiscal and credit incentives for the owners of buildings declared monuments, as well as providing professional advice for their restoration.
2. The water in Xochimilco's canals has been cleaned and its residents encouraged to use plots and "floating gardens" again for agricultural purposes, to forestall further urban encroachment.

Although the Historic Center covers an area of only 10 km^2, consisting of 668 city blocks, just a fraction of the city's 660 km^2, successive administrations have found it surprisingly difficult to achieve their aims, testimony to how difficult it is to improve deteriorating urban conditions in Mexico.

Potential cultural and economic benefits accruing from preventive and corrective measures should be assessed in the light of the following:

1. Increased real estate and municipal rates value.
2. Fewer man-hours wasted in travel, and improvement of services.
3. Cultural use of space to complement current educational policies.
4. Utilization of tourist resources (including substantial economic benefits and international presence).
5. Balance between housing and services, proximity to the workplace, and the benefits of having cultural activities close at hand.

According to previous models, historic centers should not become museum cities, filled with expensive boutiques and devoted to the indiscriminate use of tourists.

Recent cultural festivals and the proliferation of museums and theaters have already affected the everyday lives of residents in the Historic Center and districts such as San Angel, Tlalpan and Coyoacan, that have managed to preserve their heritage.

Such changes have accelerated at the expense of certain values. Former orchards have been subdivided to make room for horizontal condominiums, and tall buildings have sprung up on the outskirts of these districts, where street parking blocks traffic.

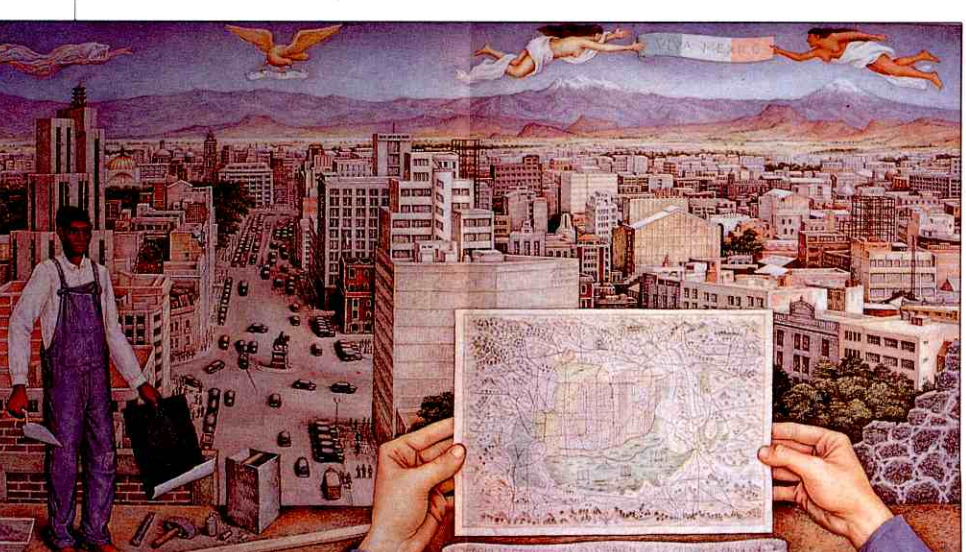
Current speculative real estate pressure on these privileged areas indicates that, unless rigorous controls are applied, it will become increasingly difficult if not impossible to halt destructive urban sprawl.

Universities have begun to produce specialists in diverse aspects of restoration and institutes responsible for preserving the national heritage have retained large staffs of such specialists. The private sector has also become increasingly involved, providing additional financial assistance for these purposes.

Mexico has signed a number of international agreements, placing her at the forefront in this continent in matters of cultural preservation and restoration.

Excellent results have been achieved in some cities, where the harmful effects of growth have been mitigated, as in the case of Zacatecas, San Miguel de Allende (Guanajuato) and Alamos (Sonora). However, numerous obstacles often make the possibility of restoration seem remote.

Efforts should not be limited to restoring the natural or man-made beauty of certain parts of the city, but enhanced until they match the success of similar undertakings in other parts of the country and the continent. It is essential to maintain the level of commitment to this task that increasingly requires the active involvement of all sectors of society VM



Juan O'Gorman, *The Upsala map and Mexico City in 1942.*

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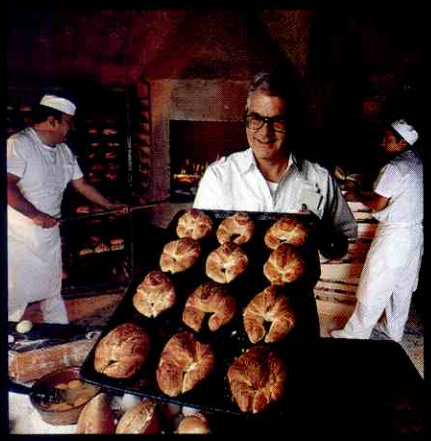

Contigo, que emprendiste un pequeño negocio.

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Para la Empresa de México.

Reviews

journalist, found in the novel a means to circumvent censorship and propagate his social and political ideas.

It was a titanic effort to find the peace of mind to write, to hire publishers who dared face censorship, to find ways to distribute and finance those writings. He was surely one of the first politically independent Mexican intellectuals. But he paid for it: he was twice incarcerated by the Colonial government, and later excommunicated by the Church.

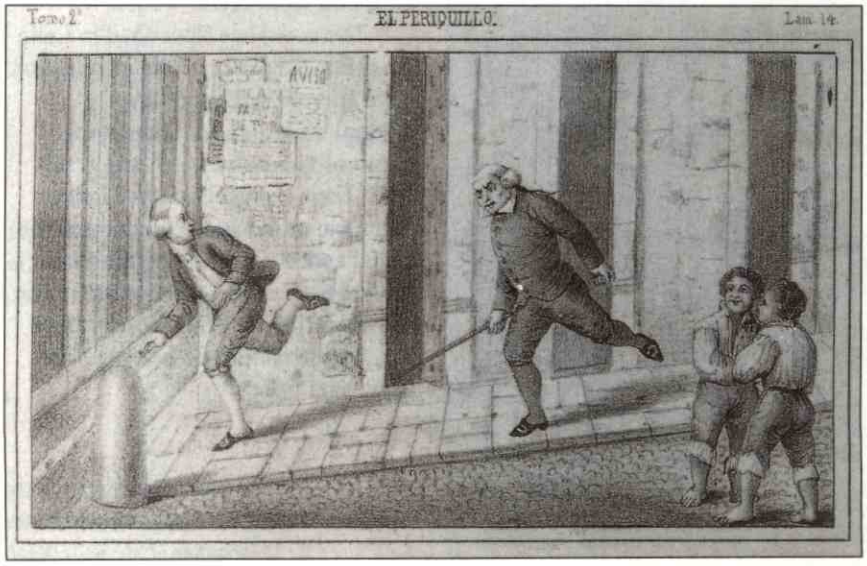
Those were the final days of Spanish domination; freedom of speech was out of the question. Like an unpredictable tornado, the independence movement increasingly involved all sectors of society. Fernández de Lizardi, dubbed "the Mexican thinker", was mostly interested in guiding public opinion on the events of the day, using thought-provoking and attention-getting devices in the catchy titles of his newspapers and pamphlets. He was widely read, and those who could not read could hear the street vendors hawking his point of view.

In November 1814, Lizardi was jailed for defending a pro-independence faction of the clergy as a matter of principle. By the end of December freedom of the press was revoked. This measure clearly ran counter to the spirit of the liberal constitution promulgated in Spain, but it was enforced by the Colonial government in self-defense. Lizardi's writings were quoted in official documents as examples of the excessive liberties native Mexicans were taking, and to justify the restrictions imposed. Soon the cries of street vendors were also banned.

After nine months in jail Lizardi clearly saw the need to disguise his advocacy of liberty and independence. He then produced a seemingly innocent novel, *El periquillo sarniento*, which had no apparent relation to the insurrection. He fooled the censors

El periquillo sarniento
(The first Latin American novel)
Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín
Obras XI. Folletos (1821-1822). Edited by Irma Isabel Fernández Arias, México, UNAM, 1991, and Obras XII. Folletos (1822-1824). Collected, edited and annotated by Irma Fernández Arias and María Rosa Palazón Mayoral, México, UNAM, 1991.

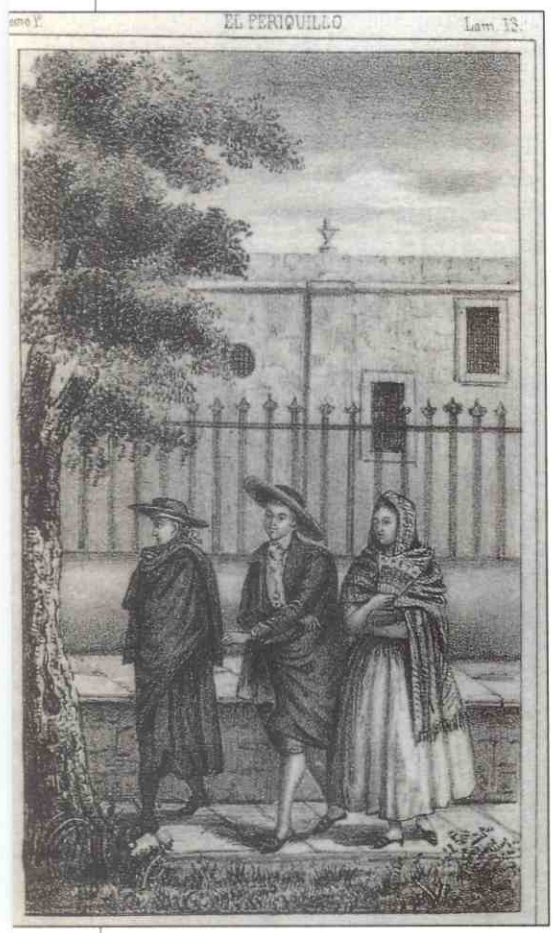
Latin American novels are read the world over. Few people know, however, that the first Latin American novel was written in Mexico in 1816. Its title, in the translation attributed to Katherine Anne Porter, is *The itching parrot*. The author, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, customarily a



responsible for authorizing the weekly installments, ostensibly offering them no more than tales of adventure in the Spanish picaresque tradition.

Pedro Sarmiento, the picaresque hero, has all sorts of adventures and misadventures due to his faulty education. For a reader conversant with the Anglo-Saxon tradition, the equivalent would be a literary rendition of the popular English engravings known as *A rake's progress*. In the opinion of the Board of Censors, the novel was educational and commendable in the light of its moral intent.

The chapters sold well as they appeared, until one, well into the fourth volume, discussed slavery. Abolition was recognizably part of the feared Insurgents' program. The censors now read the novel in a new light, as a radical critique of the state



of affairs in colonial Mexico. Publication of the novel was abruptly suspended and a complete edition was not available until 1830, three years after the author's death.

Literature as such was not Lizardi's main objective, though he wrote four novels, several plays, poems and fables to get his message across. Once Mexico was independent, in 1821, he went back to the expository and argumentative style of journalism.

The literary genre he boldly inaugurated in the Spanish dominions was essential to the making of independent Mexico. Freedom of thought and imagination are prerequisites for freedom of speech. The right to explore ideas freely, unfettered by political, historical or economic constraints is inherent in literature. It is not surprising that novels were banned from New Spain, as Plato had banned the works of poets from his ideal Republic.

A "nation-in-the making" —as all nations are— needs endogenous works of fiction to describe Utopia or its opposite, and life and human relations therein. Latin America in general, and Mexico in particular, has been prodigal with such proposals for alternative modes of viewing the world, the ethics of shared human life on Earth, amid divine forces.

The novel has flourished in Latin America; fireworks of the imagination have amazed readers of diverse cultural traditions, enriching their views of themselves and "the good life." From its inception, the Latin American novel has been imbued with social concern, with imagining what is not yet but can be. And in that we can see the influence of its founder, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, "The Mexican thinker."

Lilian Alvarez de Testa
Pre-Hispanic Studies Seminar for the De-Colonization of Mexico, *UNAM*.

Katherine Anne Porter and Mexico: The Illusion of Eden
Thomas Walsh
University of Texas Press, Austin Texas, 1992, 269 pp.

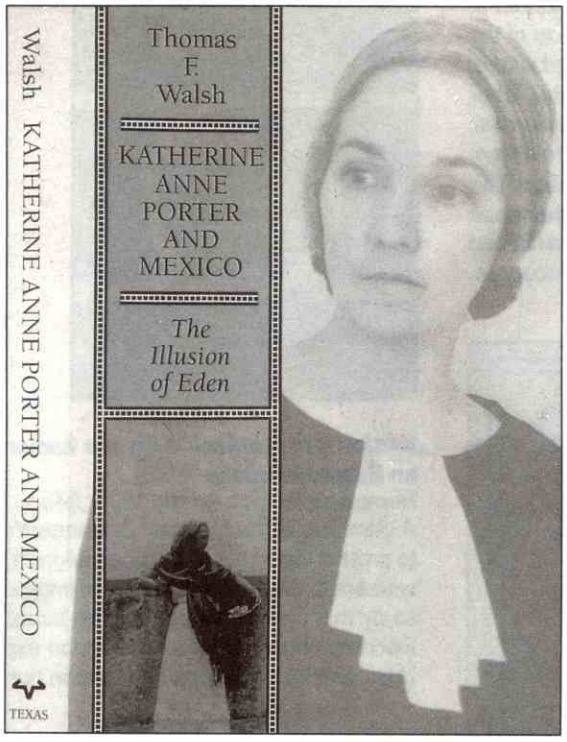
Thomas Walsh's book, *Katherine Anne Porter and Mexico*, is a carefully researched text, to be studied and savored as a source book of both Mexican history and literary analysis. The author has used Porter's fiction as a framework to tell the story of the world of politics and intellectuals in Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s.

Porter came to Mexico as a foreign correspondent in 1920, encouraged by the musician Tatanacho (Ignacio Fernández Esperón) and Adolfo Best Maugard, whom she met in New York, where Best studied anthropology at Columbia University under Franz Boas.

Walsh elegantly fuses Porter's experiences and the people she meets with passages taken from *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, *Flowering Judas*, and many other short stories.

Every person mentioned is meticulously identified. The author provides the reader with critical information about each individual's role in the overall scenario, his or her relationship to other significant figures, their field of action, and the period in which they lived. The reader is provided with an overview as well as detailed key information about the relationship each one of these persons had with Porter and his or her role in Mexican history.

The world of radical intellectuals in Mexico in the 1920s is described with extensive quotes from Porter's fiction, including portraits of figures such as Diego and Lupe Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Manuel Gamio, Dr. Atl (Gerardo Murillo), Xavier Guerrero, Roberto Montenegro, Carlos Mérida, Miguel Covarrubias, and Rufino Tamayo. The foreign cast of



characters includes, among others, Carleton Beals, Anita Brenner, Roberto Haberman, Alma Reed, and Bertram Wolfe.

Porter's motivation in coming to Mexico, like many other intellectuals in the early 1920s, was to participate in the building of an ideal society. She was a follower of socialist Eugene Debs, but never joined the Communist Party. The Mexican revolution's period of armed struggle was over; it was time to build a new society, one that met the expectations of the leading radicals who were at that time active internationally.

Beals, an American journalist, taught English to Venustiano Carranza and his troops. He helped Wolfe escape the persecution of radicals in the US by getting him a job, also as an English teacher. Wolfe's real mission was to organize the Communist Party in Mexico. Roberto Haberman, an important person in Porter's life, arrived in Mexico in 1916. He contracted with Felipe Carrillo Puerto to help transform Yucatán into an ideal society.

Although Tom Walsh's field of expertise is literature, his interest in, and research into, history provides the reader with detailed accounts of the period, including political intrigues, counterrevolutionary efforts, and Katherine Anne Porter's role in these events.

Walsh came across a letter mentioning General González while working on Porter's papers. He followed this trail, tracing the people and events until the pieces of the puzzle fell together. We are treated to information found in the Military Section of Mexico's National Archives, which sheds some light on this period.

The United States had not recognized the Mexican government when Porter first arrived in Mexico. There were many unresolved controversial issues, primarily those dealing with land ownership and the right to exploit Mexican oil reserves. The Constitution of 1917 called for land reform and government control of natural resources, at a time when many American citizens owned large tracts of land, and the oil industry was in the hands of foreign corporations.

Porter's role is not clear. She was interviewed by J. Edgar Hoover, she was watched and followed, and yet the Chargé d'Affairs at the US Embassy lent her four hundred dollars to bail a fellow radical out of jail in Laredo, Texas. The author's painstaking research provides facts which he contrasts with Porter's fiction. Walsh then identifies characters and events which Porter invents for dramatic effect, as she retells a version of Mexican history scantily veiled by changes in names and places.

Katherine Anne Porter and Mexico is the product of at least thirteen years of research. It is an unusual combination of American literature, Mexican history, and rigorous research, worthy of careful study by students and scholars in both literature and history.

Walsh's text reveals outstanding research methodology, new information about leading figures of the Mexican revolution, and an atypically unprejudiced analysis of facts and events. The author begins with Katherine Anne Porter, a radical feminist in constant conflict with herself and others, but she gently fades out of the limelight, and the passion of the inquiry into political history takes center stage in the material presented.

Tom Walsh's recent tragic death after a brief illness is a major loss for scholars interested in the relationship between intellectuals in Mexico and the United States.

Walsh's primary professional occupation was teaching English at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. His interest in, and love for, Mexico began with his wife María. It grew every summer, when he and his family returned. Tom loved the flowers, the food, the people — and unraveling political situations in Mexico and the US.

The hours he spent immersed in historical documents at the National Archives were the source of excited and enthusiastic discussions, even while delicately balanced on the roof of his home in Cuernavaca, taking pictures of the solar eclipse during the summer of 1991.

Rest in peace, Tom, and thank you for a major contribution to understanding between the peoples of Mexico and the US VM

Susannah Glusker
Free lance writer, working on a PhD on the relationship between US and Mexican intellectuals.

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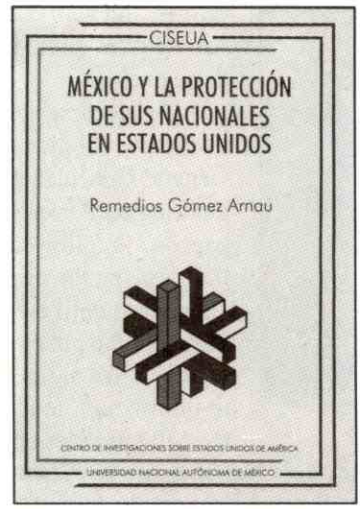

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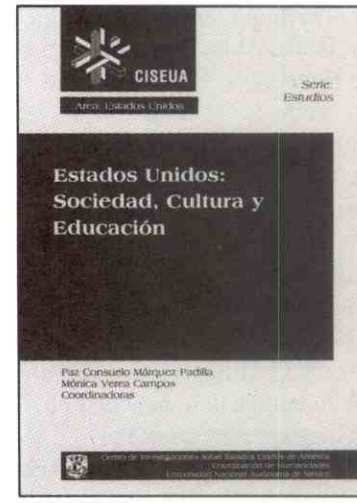

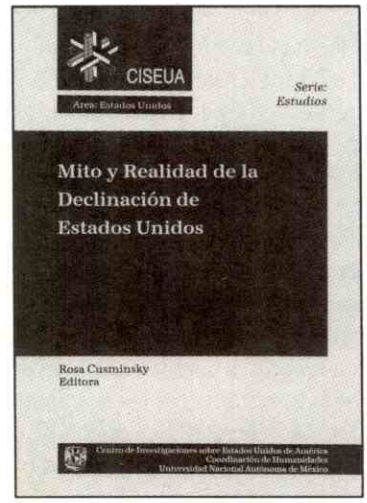

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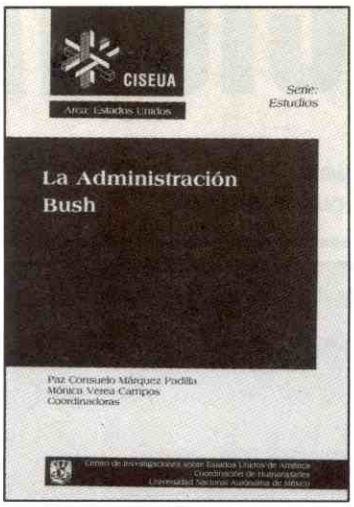

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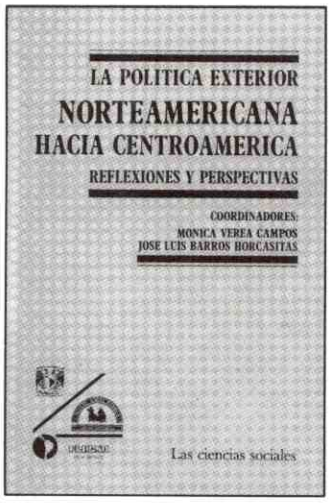

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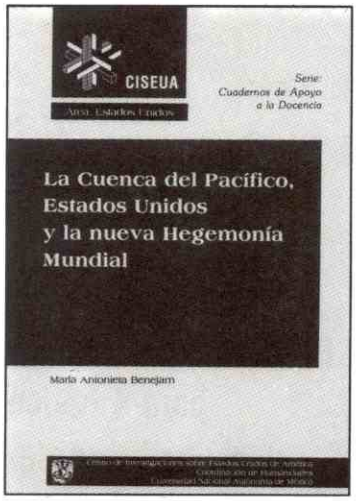

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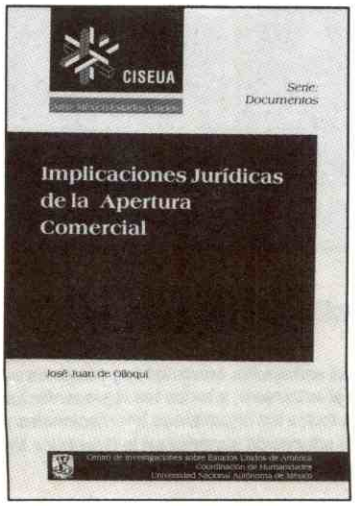

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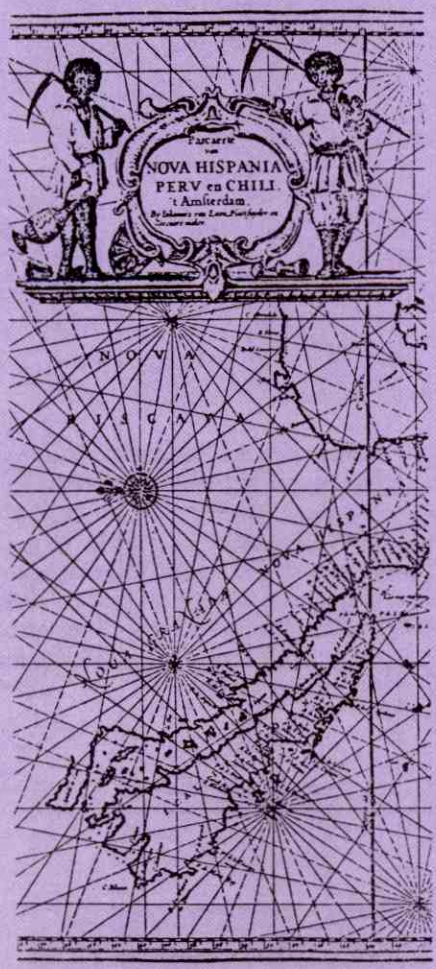

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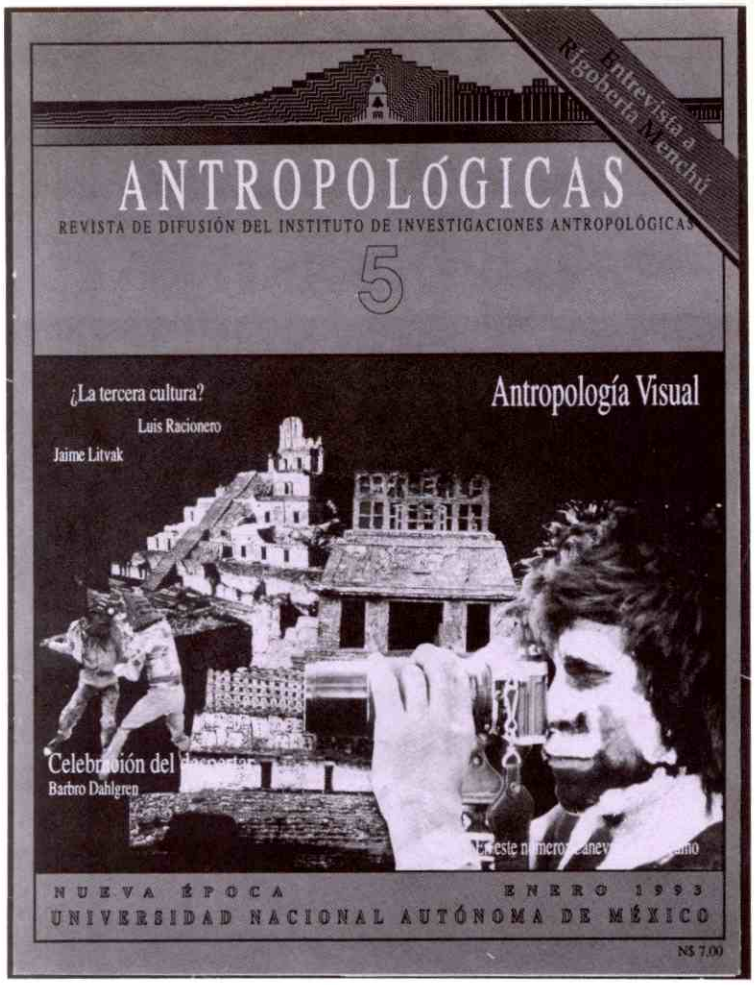

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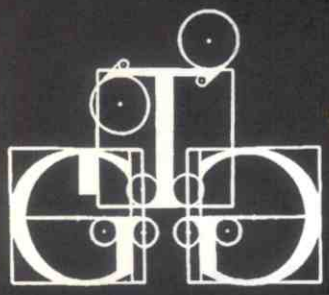

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