

# Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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University  
City

CISEUA • UNAM

AMERICA  
500  
EUROPE

The X  
in Mexico  
The first  
global  
revolution

A religious  
reconfiguring of  
Mexican society



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*Diamond Acapulco*

*the 21<sup>st</sup> century begins in the 90's*



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# Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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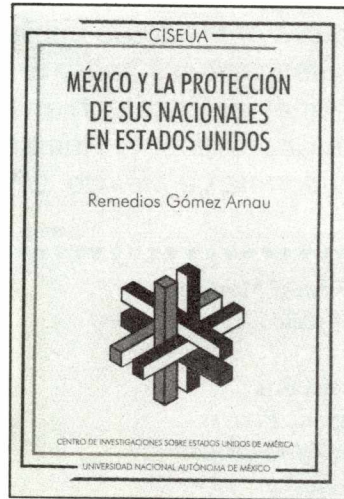
Mónica C. Gambрил y Bárbara Driscoll de Alvarado (Eds.), 1992, 283 p.

This book analyzes the feasible impacts of the FTA on: the energy industry, agriculture, geographical regions, in-bond industry; labor rights, immigration to the U.S., social classes; democracy, diplomatic relations; telecommunications and higher education. The FTA is focussed regarding other trade agreements, U.S. economic requirements and political processes.



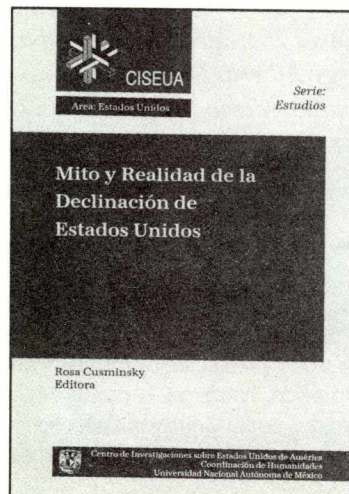
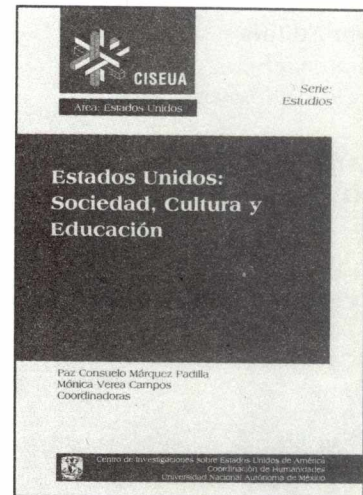
**México y la protección de sus nacionales en Estados Unidos**

Remedios Gómez Arnau, 1990, 245 p. A chronicle of the Mexican Government's effort to protect the rights of Mexican migrant workers in the United States. An impressive study that sheds new light on the issue. Recommended for experts and non experts in U.S.- Mexican relations and human rights.



**Estados Unidos: sociedad, cultura y educación**

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla, Mónica Vereá Campos (Coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 177 p. Thirteen Mexican and U.S. specialists analyze from different perspectives the socio-cultural components of the U.S. through a rich mosaic of cultures and their main ways of expression, the complex social fabric, and the highly debated U.S. education system.



**Mito y realidad de la declinación de los Estados Unidos**

Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner (Ed.), Serie: Estudios, 1992, 180 p.

This book has the contributions of lecturers from various countries who participated in the Seminar "The Myth and Reality of the Decline of the United States of America", on the present academic debate about the probable hegemonic crisis of the United States.



# Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Number 21 October • December, 1992

## EDITORIALS

- Our voice 6  
*Hugo B. Margáin*  
 Your voice 8



## MUSEUMS

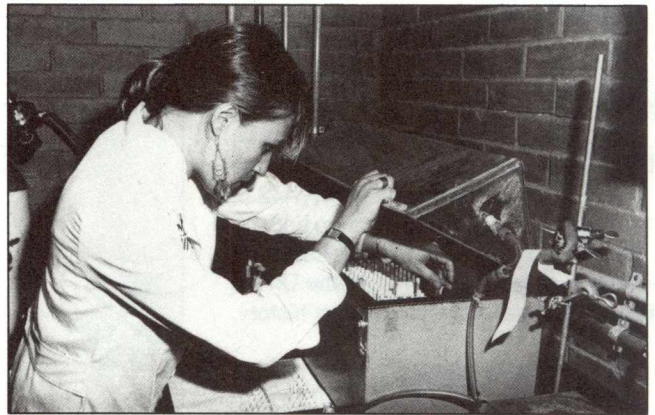
- The National Viceregal Museum at Tepozotlán 9  
*Gordana Ségota*

## QUINCENTENNIAL

- The ships that discovered America 12  
*Marybel Toro Gayol*  
 The X in Mexico 14  
 Christopher Columbus, self-taught geographer 19  
*Humberto López Torres*  
 America five hundred years later 27  
*Leopoldo Zea*

## MEXICAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

- An overview of the history of social security in Mexico and the United States 32  
*Silvia Núñez García*  
 Unions and the bracero program: the joint US-Mexican trade union committee 36  
*Bárbara Driscoll de Alvarado*  
 Mexican press coverage of the US elections (Part II) 39  
*Graciela Cárdenas, Marcela Osnaya and Miguel Acosta*



## FREE TRADE

- NAFTA negotiations come to an end 45

## METROPOLIS

- The history of Mexico City (Part II) 49  
*Luis Ortiz Macedo*







## SCIENCE, ART & CULTURE

- Mexico's University City  
*Luis E. Bracamontes* 52  
 A religious reconfiguring of Mexican society  
*José Luis González M.* 55

## FROM LATIN AMERICA

- Second Ibero-American Summit Meeting  
*Marybel Toro Gayol* 62  
 From the spirit to the letter: the Second  
 Ibero-American Summit  
*Alejandra de la Paz* 65  
 A medley of awards for Latin Americans  
*Raquel Villanueva* 67



## ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

- The Earth Summit: too many concessions  
*Elsie L. Montiel* 68

## WORLD AFFAIRS

- USSR (1982): CIS (1992)  
*Hugo B. Margáin* 73  
 The first global revolution: report from the  
 Board of the Club of Rome 81  
 Thoughts on sovereignty  
*Adrián Lajous* 87  
 Some observations on the building  
 of a new international order  
*Huang Hua* 90



## IN MEMORIAM

- Sergio Méndez Arceo:  
 a voice beyond the chorus  
*Elsie L. Montiel* 94  
 Ignacio Bernal  
*Jaime Litvak King* 98

## CURRENT WRITING

- The day of the dead  
*Georgina Luna Parra* 100

Cover: *Jorge González Camarena, The meeting, 1975.*



# Our voice

**I**n this issue we will visit the Viceregal museum housed in the convent of Tepoztlán. Mexico formed part of the Spanish empire for three centuries (1521-1821) a period that left indelible evidence of the fusion of two cultures: indigenous Mexican and Spanish that are visible in every expression of human intelligence. The indigenous cultures are interwoven with the European via Spain, in language, literature, music and innumerable other expressions, including architecture that developed a style exclusive to Mexico called the indigenous ultra-baroque. Mexico belongs to these great cultures and preserves them both.

Contemporary problems of sovereignty in a globalized world are the subject of several articles. Nineteenth century sovereignty is quite unlike the sovereignty of our day, due to world problems that overflow national borders. The latest book from the Club of Rome, *The first global revolution*, by Alexander King and Bertrand Schneider, emphasizes our enormous global problems. Their magnitude was unknown to national governments and international organizations in the past, requiring that both change in order to confront them. Preservation of the environment requires an organized, scientific approach by all countries. The beginning of disarmament reveals the possibility of solutions to global problems and of support for the development of economically disadvantaged populations.

The gathering of numerous heads of state at the Rio Summit was aimed at worldwide ecological defense. Worried by man's predatory

behavior so often due to reprehensible economic motives, they proposed worldwide efforts to save our planet. No wonder Goethe said "The gods should be feared by the human race!" As shown in "Song of the Fates", man's own will has brought about systematic ecological devastation. It is humanity that has destroyed the only planet known to sustain life.

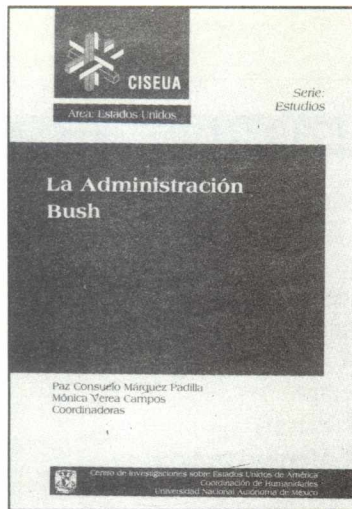
The fifth centennial of Columbus' first voyage is discussed by one of Mexico's foremost thinkers, Leopoldo Zea, who has dedicated his life to studying Latin American history.

The distinguished Chinese statesman, Huang Hua, refers to his country's viewpoint regarding the birth of a new world order. Our magazine closes a cycle with his article. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, of our continent, contributed to the first issue of our new era (Number 17); Valery Giscard D'Estaing, a prominent European, in issue 18; Olusegun Obasanjo, of Africa, gave his opinion on the movement toward world globalization in issue 20. In this issue we have an intellectual and politician from Asia. The National University of Mexico reaffirms its universal vocation, a sign of the times, while defending the national image.

Preliminary negotiations for the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, the United States and Canada have recently concluded. This historic measure, leading to the creation of the world's largest market, has been discussed by experts in number of articles. The current state of the NAFTA process is included in this issue.

The USSR was unable to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Lenin's accomplishment. This

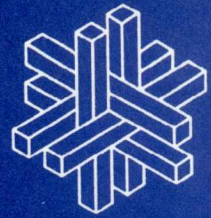




### La Administración Bush

Mónica Vereá Campos, Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla (Coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 210 p.

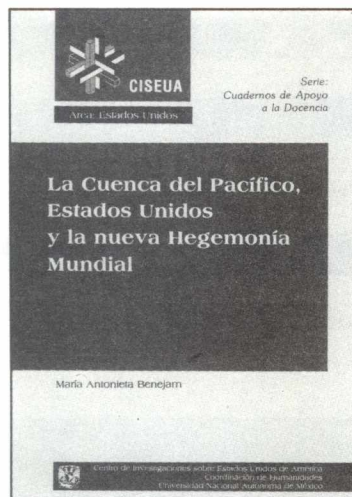
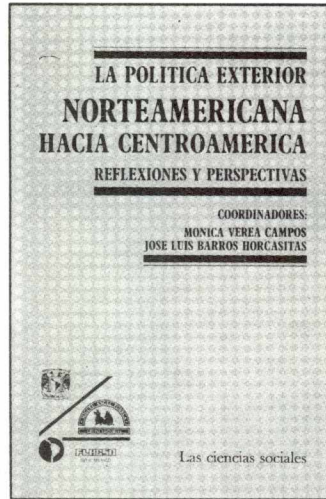
Fifteen Mexican and U.S. specialists examine the main events during the first year of the Bush Administration. This includes studies on minorities, arms control, the war on drugs, the economic crisis, foreign policy, and the Free Trade Agreement.



### La política exterior norteamericana hacia Centroamérica: reflexiones y perspectivas

Mónica Vereá Campos y José Luis Barros Horcasitas, FLACSO, CISEUA-UNAM, Editorial Miguel Angel Porrúa, Serie: Las Ciencias Sociales, 1991, 442 p.

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



### La Cuenca del Pacífico, Estados Unidos y la nueva hegemonía mundial

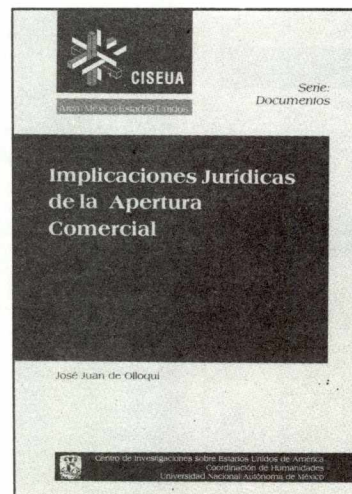
Ma. Antonieta Benejam, Serie: Cuadernos de Apoyo a la Docencia, 1991, 106 p.

A book on the leading role played by the United States in the geopolitical processes of the Pacific Rim countries, a region of nowadays decisive importance to the future World Order.

For further information contact: **CISEUA: CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOBRE ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA** Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Torre de Humanidades II, piso 11 Ciudad Universitaria 04510 México, D.F. FAX: (525) 623-0300

### Implicaciones jurídicas de la apertura comercial

José J. de Olloqui, Serie: Documentos, 1991, 42 p. An in-depth analysis of the legal issues concerning free trade. Olloqui examines the trade and legal developments under President Salinas' administration, within the frame of the Mexican Constitution, trade in Mexico, the internationalization of the financial system and other topics of interest.

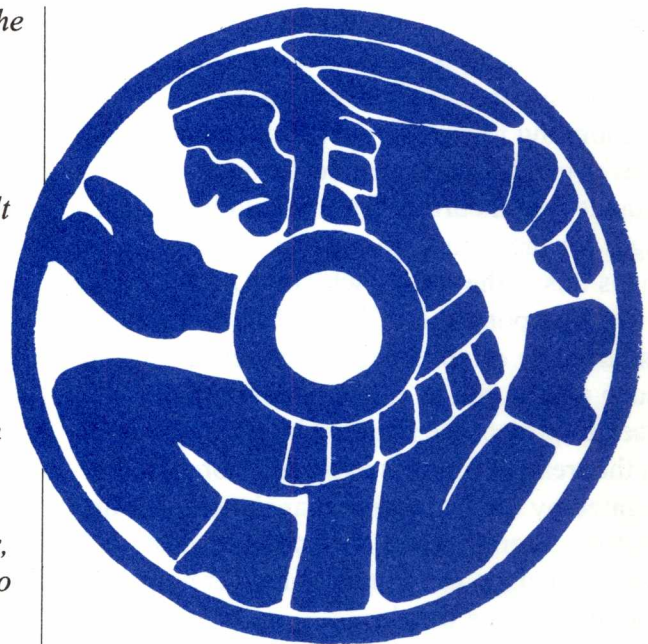




*great power disintegrated at the beginning of the year. An account of its 60th anniversary in December 1982 bears witness to one of its last celebrations in history.*

*November 20, 1992, will mark the fortieth anniversary of the University City campus, built to house the National University of Mexico, where education and research continue their lofty purpose of contributing to the nation's progress. The University is a descendant of the Royal and Pontifical University of New Spain founded in 1551, thirty years after Tenochtitlan was seized by Cortés' troops. The University was the result of the colony's first Archbishop, Friar Juan de Zumárraga's efforts as a teacher, and the support of its first Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza.*

*Nowadays, the University is autonomous; no authority outside the University is allowed to interfere in its decisions. It enjoys complete academic freedom; any doctrine may be taught, meaning that it is open to every current of domestic and universal thought. The University's fine buildings and beautiful surroundings provide an appropriate setting for its vital mission. The issue ends with an account written by one of its architects, of the extraordinary efforts involved in building the University City campus* ❧



**Hugo B. Margáin**  
**Editorial Director.**



# Your voice

It was an honor to see my article, "Free trade breeds new concepts in national sovereignty", published in your excellent magazine, corresponding to No. 20, July-September 1992. However in editing my article, an error of substance was incurred, that I would like to set straight for the record. In my original text it says: Perhaps this is the reason why the U.S.A., on the one hand supports the validity of its domestic legislation, by establishing in the treaties signed by such nation, the so called "grandfather clause" to protect the national law, inconsistent with the treaty, until it is expressly abrogated or derogated by the legislative branch, while at the same time, it embarks in one of the boldest moves to change the concept of sovereignty, by virtue of the same treaties.

However the published text in page 94, at the end of the first column (I have underlined the critical sentence) says: Perhaps that is why the US supports the validity of its domestic legislation, on the one hand, by including the so called "grandfather clause" in the treaties it signs, though that legislation may be inconsistent with them, *until the treaties are expressly abrogated* by the legislative branch, while at the same time, embarking in one of the boldest moves to change the concept of sovereignty by means of the very same treaties.

The correction to be published should express: Perhaps that is why the US supports the validity of its domestic legislation, on the one hand, by including the so called "grandfather clause" in the treaties it signs, though that legislation may be inconsistent with them, *until the domestic law is*

*expressly abrogated* by the legislative branch, while at the same time, embarking in one of the boldest moves to change the concept of sovereignty by means of the very same treaties.

I would also like to point out that although modern English does not recognize Roman numerals, the Constitution of the United States of America utilizes such numerals. Finally the official initials of the country are U.S.A. and not US as the country is commonly referred in the press.

*Alfredo Gutiérrez Kirchner*



Please let me know if the books *Antesalas del Poder* and *Antesalas del Poder 2* (Voices of Mexico No. 17, page 103) have been published in English.

It would help we poor unfortunates who do not read Spanish, if the reviews would note which books can be purchased in English and where.

Your reviews are very enjoyable. I look forward to reading more of them.

*Rita M. Mundt*  
Tucson, Arizona.

**Editor's note:**

Unfortunately neither of the books you ask about are available in English ❖







early missionaries. First the Franciscans and after them the Jesuits came to carry out their pastoral mission aided by their knowledge of native languages, and by concentrating the surrounding population in one settlement. The Jesuits began to teach basic subjects to the children of the most prosperous natives around 1584, which subsequently established their congregation in Tepozotlán.

At the beginning of the 17th century, after the Jesuit novitiate was moved from Puebla to Tepozotlán, construction of the College of St. Francis Xavier began, next to the existing seminary buildings. The construction was made possible mainly by funds bequeathed in the will of Pedro Ruiz de Ahumada, a wealthy merchant from Mexico City.

The cloister, with its simple closed galleries arranged around the Patio of the Cisterns, dates from that period. The corridors were later decorated with paintings by Cristóbal de Villalpando, show the life of St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus. A closed atrium in front of the cloister, now the museum entrance, and a domestic chapel displaying shields of the six congregations established in New Spain on their vaulted ceilings, are also from that period.

*View of the church nave.*

This was the site of the most important Jesuit school, which remained active until 1767, when the Society was expelled from New Spain by decree of King Charles III.

The completion of the College and the construction of the church were due to the Medina Picazo family, who employed a Creole architect, José Durán de Almendramejo, to complete the task in 1682. The church was designed in the shape of a five segmented cross, with typically 17th century architectural characteristics.

In 1690, the College was enlarged with a series of cells grouped around the Patio of the Orange Trees. The decorations in this segment, by Juan Rodríguez Juárez, were inspired by the life of the Virgin.

During the 1730's, the building was enlarged with the Loreto Chapel, the Virgin's Alcove, and the Reliquary of St. Joseph. Their altars were the first to be draped gilded baroque lace. After the chapels were redecorated, the St. Francis Xavier church was renovated by Miguel Cabrera, a famous Oaxacan painter, and by Higinio de Chávez, an expert carver.

Cabrera not only helped create the main altarpiece, he also decorated the vaulted ceilings of the presbytery and transept, and made paintings for the

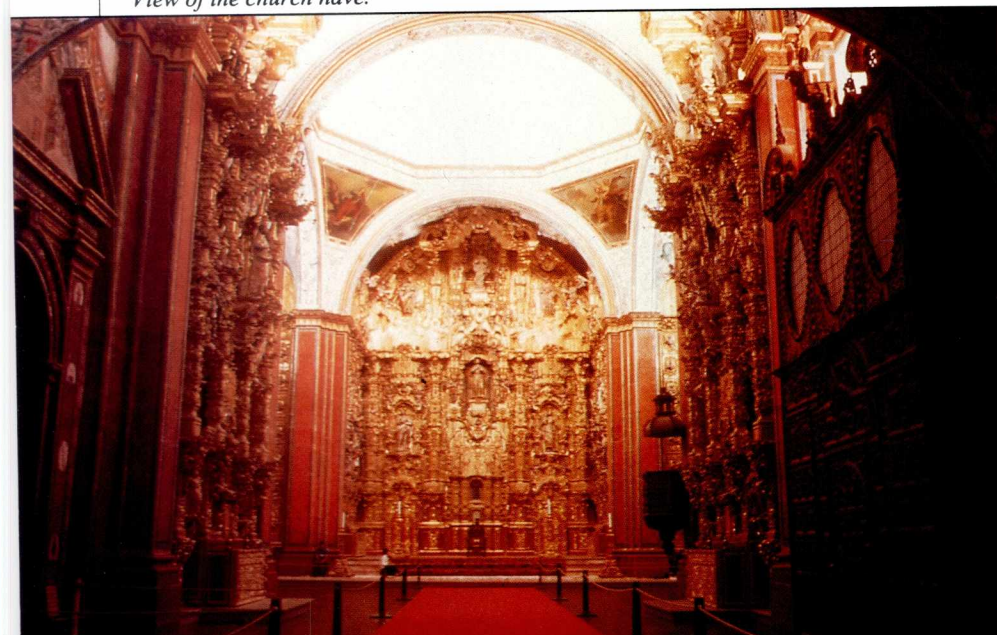


*Detail of the choir corridor.*

area under the choir and for the choir loft. He also did a sequence of eucharistic paintings for the sacristy, at the front of which he hung an enormous tapestry entitled *The Immaculate with St. Francis and St. Ignatius*.

The marvels of Tepozotlán are the fruit of churrigueresque baroque, an exotic variant of European baroque, born of the fusion of two mentalities differing in both imagination and sensitivity. It is difficult to describe the transformation of the nave with its three presbytery altarpieces: the central altarpiece dedicated to St. Francis Xavier and the Immaculate Conception, and the two lateral ones to St. Stanislas of Kotascka and St. Louis Gonzaga, both prominent Jesuits, in view of the numerous iconographic messages they contain. Like creeping vines, the altarpieces blossom and encompass the entire space, now celebrating the Virgin of Guadalupe, now St. Rosalie, now the Virgin of Sorrows and St. John Nepomucene.

The church was completely renovated with churrigueresque baroque pilasters an innovation that uses square or rectangular bases shaped like inverted pyramids, in





place of columns. But ornamentation, rather than architecture, dominates and surpasses the altars to spill out onto the façades, symbolically showing the creole desire to grow, prosper and to praise God.

The presence of these disquieting altarpieces then becomes understandable, born as they were in the midst of colonial excess, glorified by gold, abundance and what was perceived at the time as a future without limits. However, the churrigueresque style came and went, and with it, all of the utopias that, for a time, lived as reality in Tepozotlán.

By mid-18th century a new style made its appearance and together with the founding of the Royal Academy of San Carlos (1781), neo-classicism was considered the official style of the future, whereas the baroque was severely criticized for being presumptuous and frivolous.

Churches and convents were both plundered and destroyed in the years after the Jesuits were expelled. The Colonial system's deep fissures came to the surface, and henceforth, the Catholic church never regained its former splendor.



Virgen Apocalíptica by Juan Correa,



Gold plated silver chalice with coral inlay.

The Jesuits returned to Tepozotlán in the 19th century only to abandon it forever in 1914. The convent complex was declared a national historical monument, restored in 1960 by the National Institute of Anthropology and History, and inaugurated four years later as the National Viceregal Museum.

Today, due to recent changes, the museum offers, in the twenty-three rooms of its permanent collection, an overview of New Spain's society, beginning from its pre-Hispanic roots and covering the Enlightenment and the 19th century. However, it is the Viceregal atmosphere that predominates and envelops the visitor in the convent's splendor, through its corridors, cells and chapels, its broad patios, and vast flower and vegetable gardens.

The collections housed in the museum are surprisingly rich and varied, but its pictorial wealth best illustrates the Colonial period, particularly in its religious aspect. It should be noted that a painting's aesthetic value was often subordinated to the need to transmit a biblical message, the better to evangelize and spread Spanish culture. In any event

the best artists in New Spain decorated the College and the church at Tepozotlán, infusing them with original Mexican coloring.

Today the museum preserves paintings of all the styles prevalent from the 16th to the 19th centuries. It exhibits refined manneristic paintings by Flemish artists Simon Pereyans and Martin de Vos, as well as works by López de Herrera and Luis Juárez. All the periods of baroque painting are shown in works by Juan Correa and Cristóbal de Villalpando, masters of color and composition. The transition from the 17th to the 18th century is shown in paintings by the Rodríguez Juárez brothers and others, many of whom are anonymous; in their canvases they glorify Christ and the Virgin, saints and martyrs, angels and worthy friars.

Finally, other noteworthy collections include ivories, beautiful European and Oriental religious figurines; sculpture, ceramic, clothing, textiles and armor, as well as furniture and lacquer ware, all remarkable for their originality and state of preservation; all of them of interest to a broad range of taste and preference. **M**



Inmaculada Concepción, 18th century; carved wood from Guatemala



# The ships that discovered America



**T**o commemorate the Quincentennial of the discovery of America, Spain built replicas of the caravels Santa María, Pinta and Niña.

The research, construction and navigation of the discovery vessels was sponsored by the Spanish National Fifth Centennial Commission, and carried out by the State Fifth Centennial Company, in collaboration with the Spanish Navy through the Institute of Naval History and Culture, and the participation of diverse Spanish organizations, businesses and institutions.

The vessels that discovered a New World stepped pine masts and Scotch pine was cut for their Quincentennial reproductions. Due to the nature of the materials used aboard these vessels (sails of woven vegetable fibers, usually hemp, heavy blocks and sheaves, huge forged steel anchors with wooden shanks, etc.) all maneuvers were



Columbus' cabin, with portraits of King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia.



Two prows, two eras.

slow and heavy, demanding considerable experience and strength from their crew.

As a result, 500 years after the discovery of America, the Spanish Navy assigned a flotilla commander, three ship's captains and ten petty officers to man the replicas.

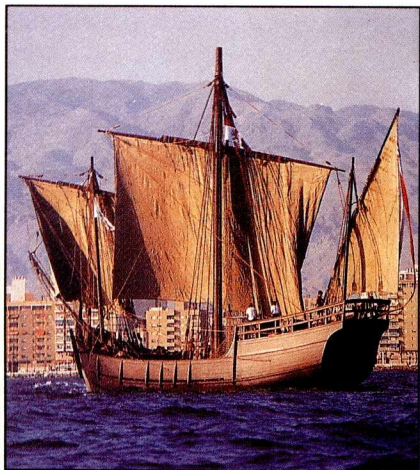
The civilian crew—all volunteers—were selected after a rigorous medical examination, a personal interview with the commanding officer, and tests of physical strength and navigational knowledge.

Everyday life on-board 15th and 16th century ships included no creature comforts. The crew slept on straw mats laid out on deck. Of the close to one hundred men in Columbus' first expedition, only the admiral had a very soberly decorated cabin, called "the roundhouse." It had a bed, a table, a monk's chair, two folding chairs and two chests.

## The crossing

The Quincentennial ships began their European voyage on August 3, 1990, setting sail from the same port, Palos





The Pinta abreast of Almería.

de la Frontera, as Christopher Columbus and the Pinzón brothers.

They went first to Almería, then to Torre Vieja, Alicante, Palma de Mallorca, Huelva, San Sebastián de la Gomera, Rota, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Sevilla, Rota, Cádiz, Rota, Benalmádena, Málaga, Alicante, Barcelona, and finally, arrived at Tarragona on December 17.

They resumed the voyage in 1991, stopping in the ports of Valencia, Cartagena, Barcelona, Palamós, Marseilles, Cannes, Genoa, Cartagena, Rota, Sesimbra, Bayona la Real, Vigo, Santander, Gijón, La Coruña and Lisbon. This voyage ended at Christine Island (Huelva), after covering 9500 miles, 6175 under sail and the rest under tow by a Spanish Naval escort vessel assigned to them for the entire voyage.

During the 103 days they were on exhibit in European ports, they received 2 million visitors.

**The ships in Puerto Rico**

The three vessels began their crossing from the port of Palos, on October 13, 1991, following the same route that Columbus took from August to October, 1492.

Arriving in San Juan on December 20, they entered past El Morro fort, escorted by private and official ships, to the thunder of a 21-gun salute.

Flotilla commander Santiago Bolívar remarked that, like Columbus, he found the Pinta fastest, the Santa María slowest and the Niña the most sea-kindly, quickest to come about and sail closest to the wind.

Luis Alberto Toro.



Inside a caravel.

He remarked that there were no difficulties during the voyage and that the 89 crew members in the three ships sailed confidently, without the

fear of being lost at sea faced by Columbus' crew. He added that the Atlantic crossing increased his admiration for those who sailed the seas in similar ships during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries.

After visiting other ports in Puerto Rico, the ships headed for the Virgin



El Nuevo Día.

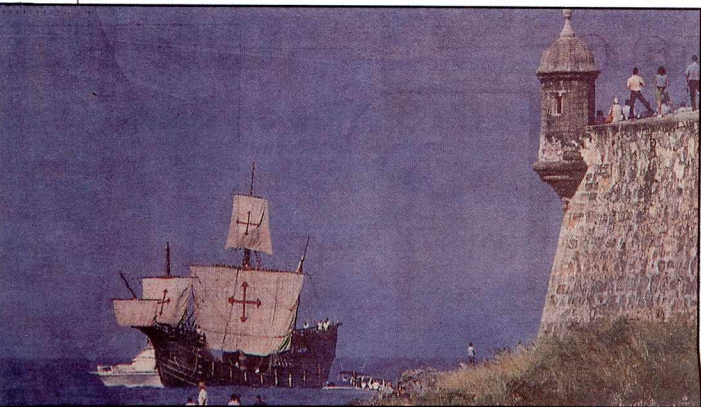
The caravels entering the bay of San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Islands to shoot a film about Columbus, co-produced by Spain and the United States.

Later, they sailed to Santo Domingo, the Bahamas, Florida and several American ports before returning to Spain.

In spite of their apparent simplicity, a visit to the ships that discovered America was well worth standing in long lines under a blazing sun ☼

Marybel Toro Gayol  
Managing Editor.



El Nuevo Día.

The Santa María, escorted by modern ships and El Morro fort.



A crowded visit.



# The X in Mexico

*Mexico opened my eyes and made me into a poet. Until then, I was lost.*

*Ramón del Valle-Inclán.*

*So, my dear Unamuno, the X in Mexico, that only a few years ago you thought a sign of American pedantry, attracted Valle-Inclán and made him a poet? Dear little X, so small and yet so great you indicate the four points of the compass; you were at the crossroads of destiny!*

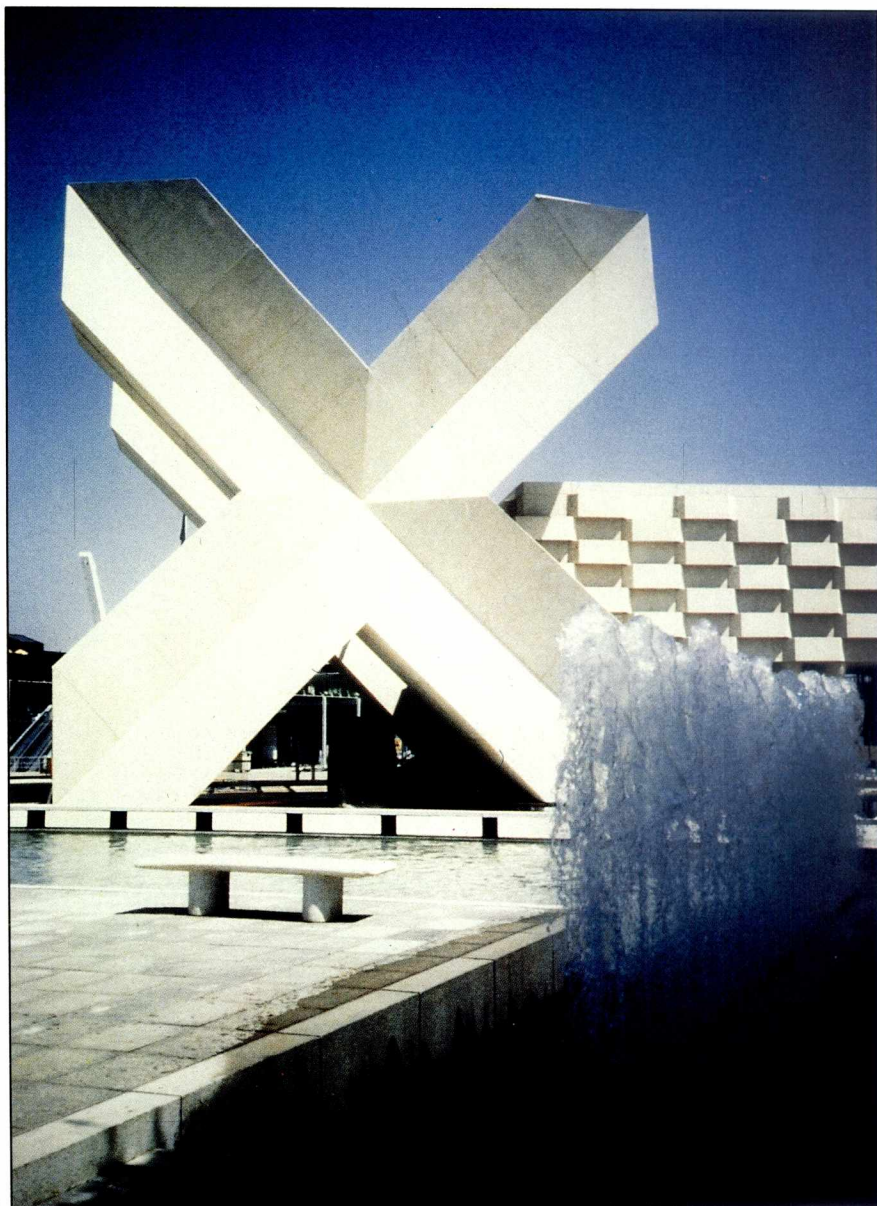
*Alfonso Reyes.*

**T**he Nahuatl and Mesoamerican worlds, like all other cultures in the history of human institutions, religious practices and customs, revolved around the intersecting axes of time and space.

When they measured time and eras, the Mesoamericans explored the relationship between all things, according to underlying order and harmony. As Miguel León-Portilla notes in *La filosofía náhuatl*, these concepts are key elements in the origin of the gods, created by a dual god. They are the essence of the balance between the heavens and the netherworlds, night and day; opposites that both devour and complement each other, enabling the universe to be destroyed and renewed. In each cycle of time, chaos is prevented and order restored once more.

According to the Mendocine Codex, order existed before chaos and was restored afterwards. The earth's

Text based on *Memoir and presence of Mexico in Seville (I)*. Mexico-Seville '92 Trust.



*The X in Mexico symbolizes both crossings, both crossroads and a fabric of differences.*

*Many conquered peoples' traditions were altered by the Conquest. Mexico's very name was changed. Spain chose to spell it Méjico, while we insisted on México. Five hundred years later we still regard the X as important; so much so, in fact, that it was chosen as the symbol of the Mexican Pavilion at Expo-Sevilla '92.*





The X was a sacred symbol for the Aztecs.

surface is an X centered at a point that is sacred and affects everything that occurs, all human beings and every aspect of men's lives.

The Mexicas, the Nahuatl people, took this to the extreme of regarding everything as the sum of crossed dualities, an exact replica of universal order.

México-Tenochtitlan, the great city of the so-called Mexica empire, lay at the center of the world and cosmos, while the earth reflected the sacred order of the universe. The center of the X, where the great city stood, was where the universe's paths crossed reproducing the constant duality of man's origin.

The center of the sacred X and the four areas of the Earth's equilibrium, is the point of vertical communication, like the branches of a tree with one area for the gods and another for life and death and the other opposites.

*Manuel Capetillo.*

**The Mexican Pavilion at Expo Seville '92**

Mexico's presence at the 1992 Universal Exhibition in Seville aims to provide a communications link. In

addition to bridging two shores it will also span thousands of years from ancient origins to modern nations. The X in Mexico symbolizes both crossings, both crossroads and a fabric of differences.

Mexico's space, the Pavilion, functions as a communications unit, enabling millions of visitors to be saturated with Mexico, a living presence of art and culture, and via satellite at the Pavilion, a continuous link between Mexico and Spain, and the rest of the Spanish-speaking world.

Expo Seville '92 offers the varied aspects of human intercourse and cultural and scientific development at the apex of a century declining and another rising.

The exhibition is also a show-case for the latest communications technology. Most important for Mexico, however, is the message—realities revealed, surprising facts, mutual contributions, historical coincidences and their legacy—that places Mexico in its historical context.

Mexican character is rooted in a splendid, ancient past expressed by the X in Mexico. This millenarian sign points to the challenges of the present



Lively colors at the Expo.

and the aspirations of the future, of a character that has been shaped by its cultural legacy and the sum of its successes and contributions, reflected in an original culture and a particular view of life.

We remember rather than celebrate 1992. We recall who we are, an ancient crossing of influences and numerous contributions that originated at this crossroad called Mexico.

**Pedro Ramírez Vázquez**  
**Designer of the Architectural Project in the Mexican Pavilion.**

The most outstanding features of the Mexican Pavilion include an 18 meter high sculpture of the letter X, in double silhouette, rising above the square at the main entrance to the



Model of the great city of Tenochtitlan.





*The Mexican Pavilion under construction.*

building, like a crossroad symbolizing the plurality of encounters, a long, highly original covered footbridge and an orthogonal building on landscaped taluses.

The Pavilion is situated on a corner between two of the fair's main thoroughfares: the Route of Discoveries and the Avenue of Water, opposite the lake and the Plaza of America housing the Latin American exhibits. It stands next to the Spanish

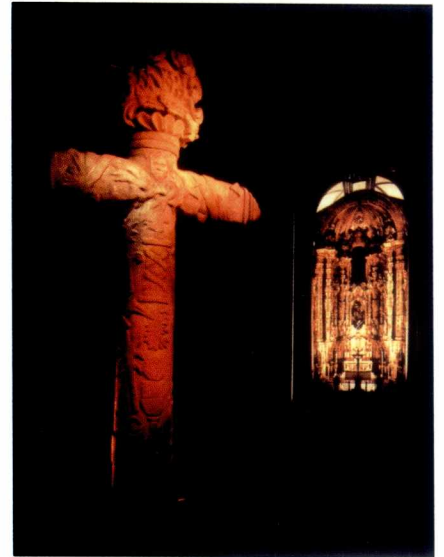
*View of Seville '92 with Mexico's huge X.*

Pavilion, along the same road as the United States exhibit, and to one side of one of the main entrances to the fair, the north gate, where there is a cable car link to Seville.

The entrance to the Pavilion is through the Square. There is an elevator for the handicapped and stairs and escalators leading from the *X* to the footbridge. Some 43m long and 8m wide, the footbridge affords visitors an introductory area as well as a lobby. Visitors then proceed to the top floor of the 12m high building, composed of a basement and two floors capped by a terrace.

Both floors were designed to hold a constantly moving multimedia show. This involves a series of scenes beginning at the top floor and leading down a moving double ramp to the exit on the ground floor.

This last area holds the information systems and a book-store,

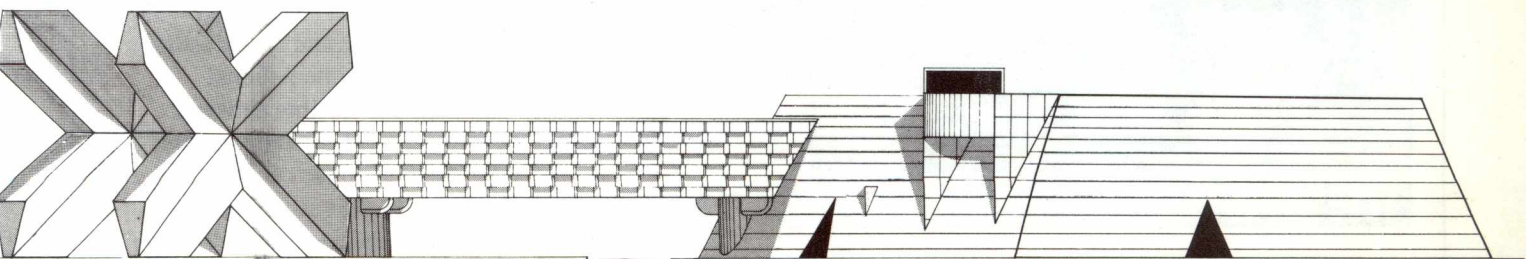
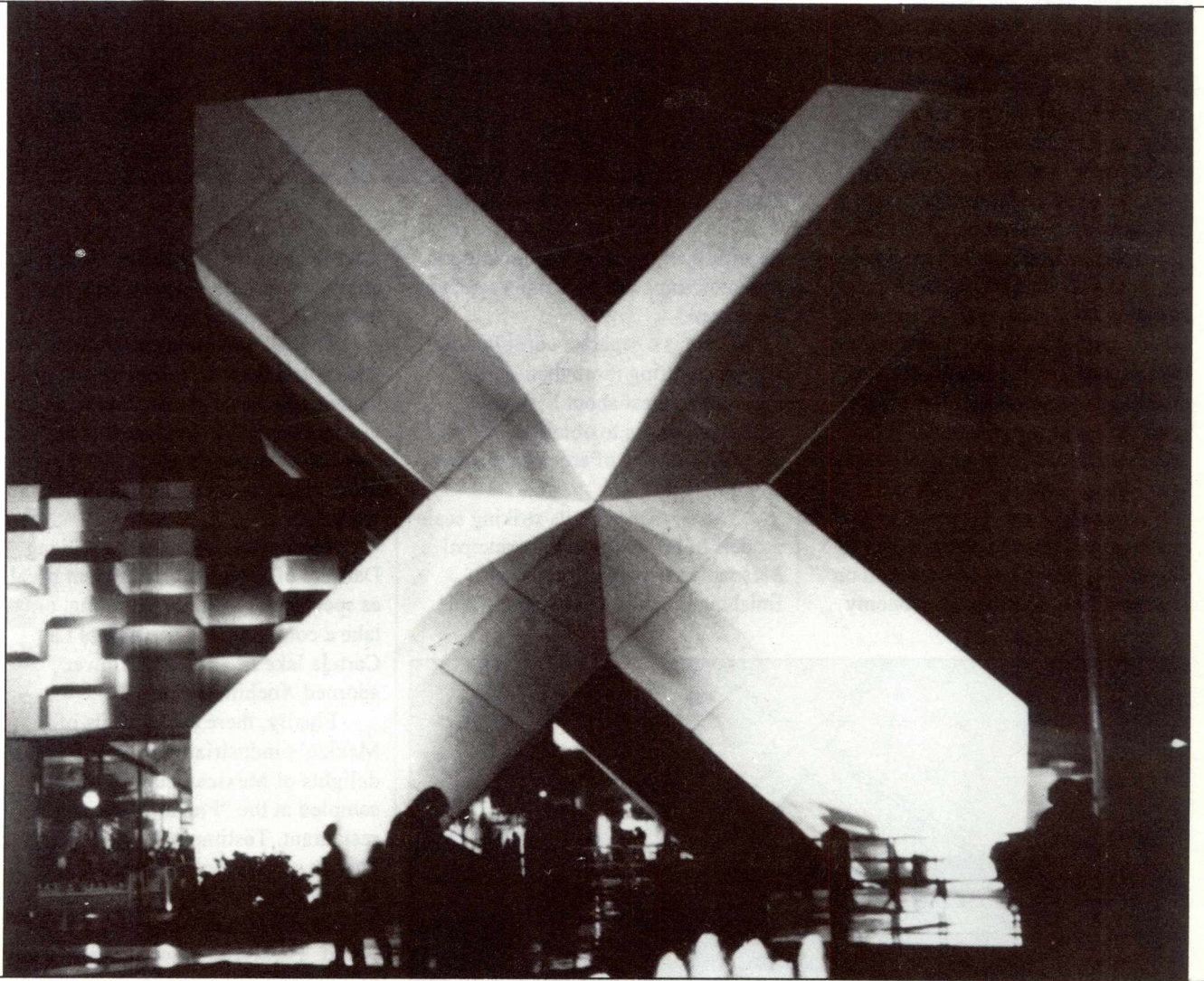
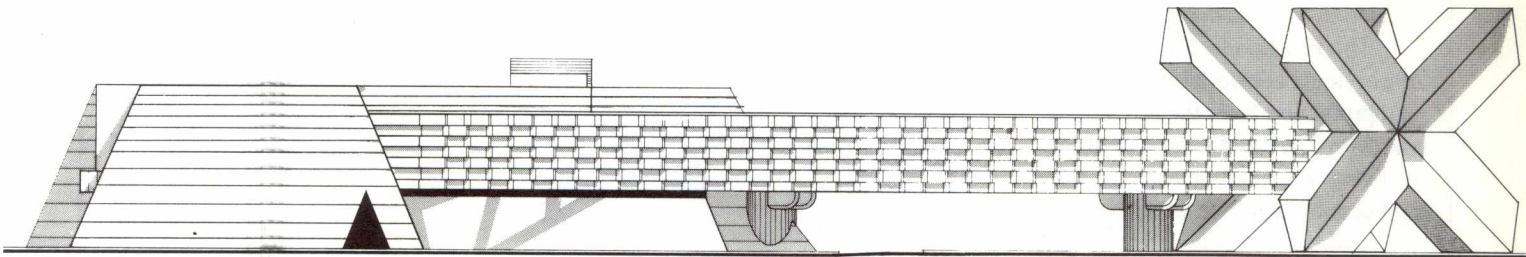


*The merging of two cultures.*

as well as the escalator and elevator leading to the upper terrace exhibiting models of Mesoamerica and an entertainment area. A television studio, offices, maintenance









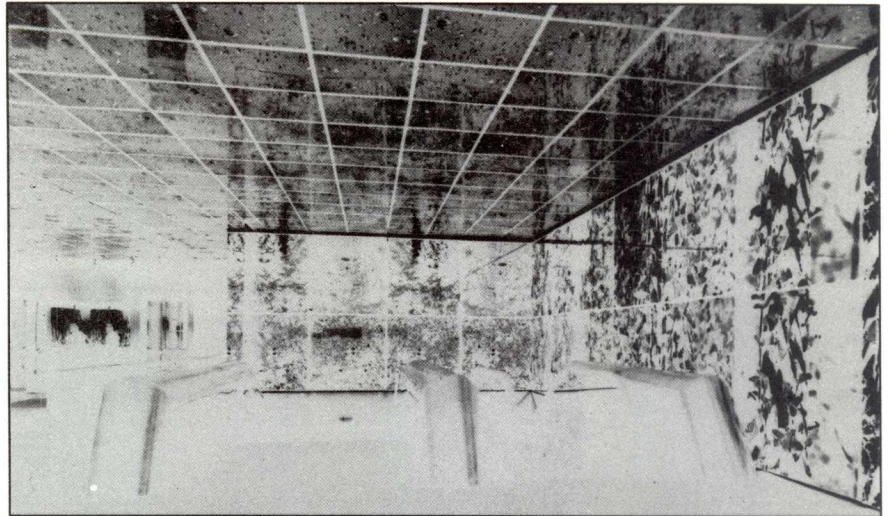
workshops and other services are located in the basement.

The Pavilion had to be designed to provide a comfortable environment and protection from the hot Seville summer. The architectural solution recreates a cool climate as naturally and economically as possible. Hence the covered footbridge and the sloping garden that lower the outside temperature by creating a layer of moist air. The cushion of air inside the double wall surrounding the building, and between the terrace floor and tiling, causes the temperature to drop even further. Finally, the moisture from the lakes and fountains has a natural cooling effect.

The Pavilion covers a total area of 4,800 sq m with 6,000 sq m of building and 2,000 sq m of greenery.

"Mexico: course and destiny" is the name of the multimedia show enabling visitors to discover Mexico's origins, and glimpse its multi-ethnic and multicultural present and future in less than an hour.

After the show, visitors can find out more about any subject they choose. Audio-visual information on anything from tourism, gastronomy,



*Walls covered with monarch butterflies.*

the arts, ecology, and foreign trade to economics appears by simply touching the screen.

There is a separate consultation system covering more than 2,500 topics of interest about Mexico enabling visitors to obtain an instant printed summary of any article they choose.

The terrace, with its striking scale models of buildings in the principal Mesoamerican cities, provides a finishing touch to the Pavilion. This

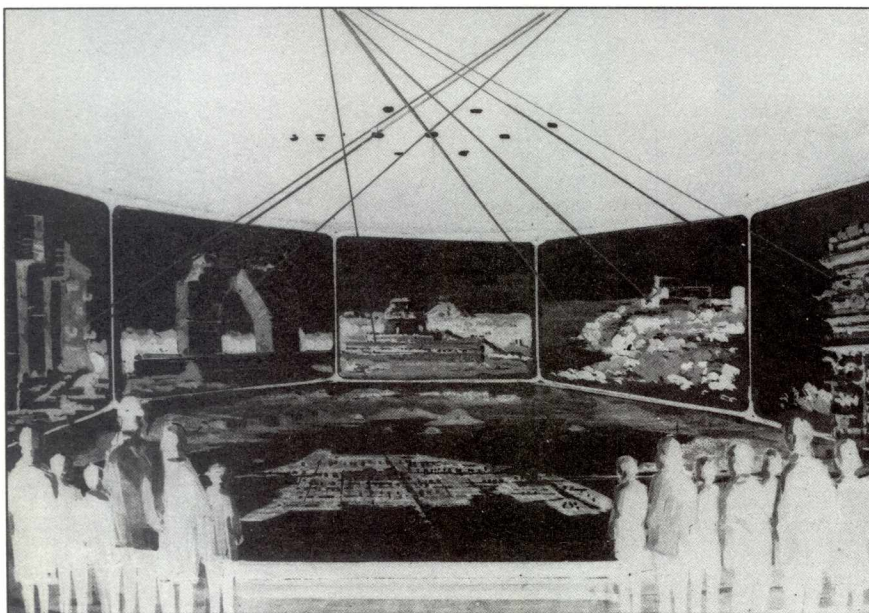
recreational area, accessible to visitors after the show, can also be seen from the aerial tramway.

The fair's auditorium, cock pit and central theater present music, theater and dance shows, literature, visual arts and the folklore that has come to be synonymous with Mexico's artistic and festive image the world over.

Visitors can also see the "Flying Dancers of Papantla", an ancient ritual as spectacular as it is enthralling, or take a cool, relaxing trip across La Cartuja lake in a colorful, flower adorned Xochimilco punt.

Finally, there are exhibits of Mexico's industrial products, and the delights of Mexican cuisine may be sampled at the "Flavor of Mexico" restaurant. Testimony to the high quality of Mexico's publishers are books, videos and posters on the subjects of Mexico's message to the world. These and other souvenirs are all available for purchase.

The Mexican pavilion provides a communications and broadcasting link through its international television and satellite network, covering the vast Spanish-speaking population of America, Europe and North Africa. Mexico's message is relayed by this means to millions of people daily **M**



*Model of Mayan culture.*



# Christopher Columbus, self-taught geographer

*Humberto López Torres \**



**I** Five hundred years after his arrival, Christopher Columbus and his personality are still objects of polemic, especially regarding his birthplace, the origin of his forebears and his exact landing place on October 12, 1492.

An English writer at the end of the last century started a legend that Columbus was Greek. In 1682, two hundred years earlier, another Englishman said Columbus was born in London. In the 1930s, Portuguese amateur historians devised the thesis that Zarco, the discoverer of Porto Santo and Madeira, and Christopher Columbus were one and the same person.

The city of Calvi, Corsica, still calls itself the admiral's cradle and a

plaque identifies a semi-ruined house as his birthplace. In Spain, there are versions (never validated) that Columbus was born in Plasencia, Extremadura; Tortoso, Catalonia; and even Pontevedra, Galicia. All serious researchers now agree, on documentary evidence, that Christopher Columbus was Genoese.

The question of his homeland resolved, a novel has been hatched about his family. The legend of a Jewish Columbus arose in Jewish circles in the 15th century, when someone named Colombo boasted of being related to the discoverer. Emphasis was placed on some of his features: his aquiline nose, his thorough knowledge of the Old Testament, his mystical or fanatical

character and his yearning for gold. All this was interpreted as a clear indication of his Jewish origin.

Columbus' great grandfather was a farmer from Moconesi, in the high valley of Fontanabuona. His grandfather, Giovanni, born in Moconesi, moved to Quinto. In the Middle Ages, Jews were neither farmers nor lived in rural areas.

Domenico Colombo, his father, was active in the Fregoso Party and was several times appointed guardian of the city gates, a title and responsibility forbidden to Jews and the sons and nephews of converted Jews at that time. Domenico bought and sold real estate, also forbidden to Jews.

There are four acceptable hypotheses about where he landed in the Bahamas: Guanahaní, Grand Turk-Caicos, Cat Island and the Samaná hypothesis about islands close to San Salvador.

The last three hypotheses can be discarded based on information provided by Columbus about the island where he landed on October 12.

*Christopher Columbus still inspires lively debate five hundred years after he demonstrated there was no abyss on the other side of the Atlantic, just more land. His efforts made the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa aware of each other.*



After very detailed research, experts agree that the landing was on Guanahani, the Taino name for the island Columbus called San Salvador. Later called Trianglo, then Guanahani again, and then Watling. More recently, the Bahamas government rechristened it San Salvador.

Insofar as his personality is concerned, Christopher Columbus had the psychological make-up of a modern man: concrete and practical to the last detail. He trusted only direct experience, which he always strove to acquire. He used it to map out his plans and from it conceived his grand project.

He was neither inept nor inefficient, but did not possess the principal political gifts of cautious

It was hard for him to convince scientists and officials about the viability of his plan. But specialists such as Friar Antonio de Marchena, Father Juan Pérez, both from La Rábida, and Father Diego Deza, professor at the University of Salamanca and prior of the monastery of St. Stephen, did believe in him.

Thanks to them, Don Enrique de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli, and Queen Isabella herself were interested in the plan, the queen becoming its official sponsor. Financing came from Luis de Santangel, a converted Jew and intimate friend of King Ferdinand, treasurer of the House of Aragon and general tax collector, but also a

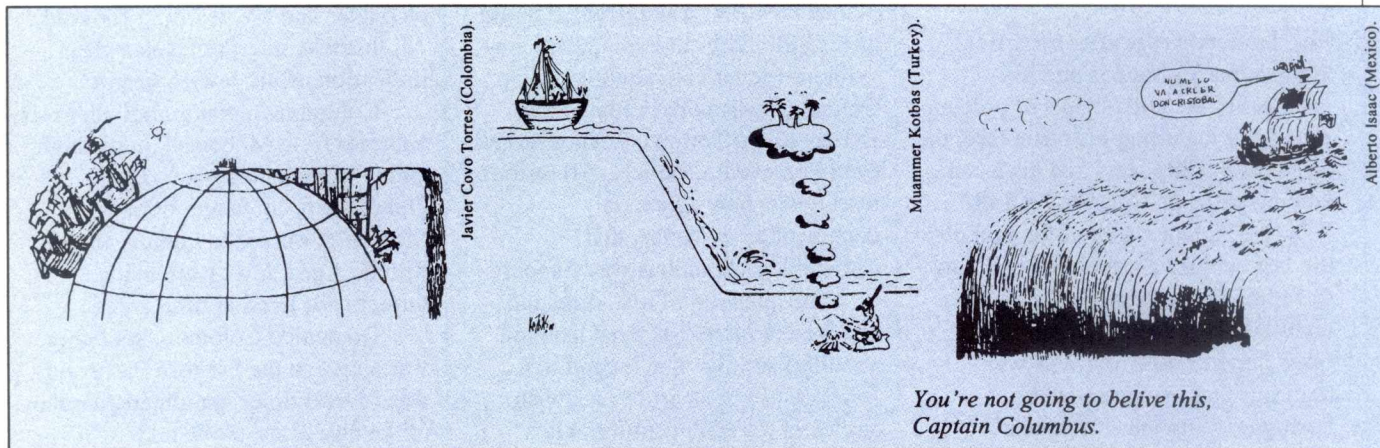
The king was unaware of his death. The chronicler of Valladolid did not record it, nor did Spain inform the world that its famous discoverer had died.

A forgotten Columbus was not the result of occasional negligence. It lasted three centuries, though he left in his wake an inescapable reality that modified the geography of the globe and the conscience of Europe.

His biography, written by Father Las Casas around 1550, was not published until 1875. A similar work by Andrea Bernaldez, Columbus' contemporary, was printed in 1870.

## II

Ever since he thought up his plan to reach the Orient from the west,



firmness in his decisions and a profound knowledge of men, the latter being essential for prudent selection when handing out posts.

The image of Columbus as a mere adventurer is false, though he never spurned and often or perhaps always pursued adventure. But his plan to reach the Orient by sailing west was neither impulse nor improvisation. It was the result of a rigorous study of geography, consulted, modified, discussed and finally accepted by those who believed in him: Isabella I of Castile and, grudgingly, her husband Ferdinand of Aragon.

businessman with ties to Genoese and Florentine merchants established in Seville and Cordoba.

While Isabella was alive, Columbus had access to the Court and four trips were authorized. When she died on November 26, 1504, he no longer had a sponsor and, though his son Diego belonged first to the queen's, then to the king's guards—and came to be a shrewd member of the Court, skillful at getting favors—he achieved nothing in his father's behalf. Afflicted with rheumatism and gout, Christopher Columbus died delirious and hallucinating in Valladolid on March 20, 1506.

Columbus had been wavering between Messianism (the conversion of thousands of souls to the Catholic faith), and materialism (searching for gold). To his arguments based on geography and cartography, he added substantial doses of fantasy to convince his sponsors.

During the riskiest first voyage, because they were heading into the unknown, Columbus shaved the number of miles<sup>1</sup> sailed daily to make the sailors believe they had covered a shorter distance than they really had.

<sup>1</sup> See Voices of Mexico. No. 18, Jan-Mar, 1992, p. 77.







giving his reasons, gradually lost him the confidence of the rulers. His third and fourth voyages were authorized "as the best way of getting rid of an irksome postulant rather than out of any interest in acquiring new lands."

Columbus always thought Cuba was the Malaysian peninsula. If he had sailed 100 miles farther, he would have realized it was an island. But he turned back. On the fourth voyage, he touched Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa

to the Spanish crown and questionable claim to have been the first white man to see the new continent earned him the honor of having his name attached to it.

### III

Columbus took 90 men with him in three ships on his first voyage. Except for four foreigners—a Portuguese, a Genoese called Jacobo Rimo, a Venetian and a Calabrese—plus

maneuverable and fit for coastal traffic, though not made for sailing on the high seas. Their triangular lateen sails were replaced by square sails bent to taller masts.

The third caravel, La Gallega—so called because it belonged to a Galician, Juan de la Cosa—was anchored at Palos awaiting cargo. Columbus chartered it and because it was larger than the other two, chose it as his flagship, christening it the Santa María.

The crew aboard the Santa María consisted of 39 men; 27 sailed in the Pinta and in 24 in the Niña.

Columbus, captain of the fleet, was also captain of the Santa María. The captain of the Pinta was Martín Alonso Pinzón, and his brother Vicente commanded the Niña.

Besides sailors, there was an interpreter, Luis de Torres, who knew Hebrew and Arabic; a master-at-arms; a notary and secretary; an accountant and a king's steward, Pedro Gutiérrez, who was suspected of being a spy for King Ferdinand and Columbus' enemies at Court.

The voyage lasted 217 days, from August 3, 1492 to March 15, 1493. During that time, they discovered the trade winds; the

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## “Experts agree that the landing was on Guanahani, the Taino name for the island Columbus called San Salvador”

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Rica and Panama, but clung to his belief that it was an island off the south of Cathay “and that exploring among them, he would find a strait leading him to the Indies.” If he had followed the coast northwest, he would have touched Yucatan.

In Columbus' lifetime, before the fourth voyage, other “discoverers” set forth, with royal consent, on the route Columbus had opened eight years earlier. Peralonso Niño, navigator of the Santa María in 1492, discovered the estuary of the Amazon River; Rodrigo de Bastidas sailed from Venezuela to the Gulf of Darien in what is today Panama; Pedro Alvarez Gouvea Cabral, a Portuguese navigator, discovered the coast of Brazil, while the Venetian, Giovanni Caboto, went north in search of the “Seven Cities” on behalf of Henry VII of England.

Alonso de Ojeda reached the Gulf of Paria at the mouth of the Orinoco, which Columbus had explored, and made a fortune of millions in pearls he found there. With him traveled a Florentine, the employee of a commercial bank in Seville, called Americo Vespucci. His later appointment as chief navigator

Columbus, all were Spaniards, mostly Andalusians. Only four were in trouble with the law: one Bartolomé de Torres, who fled Palos after killing a man in a fight; the other three, his friends, helped him escape. Of these, Juan de Moguer became navigator of his ship.

The expedition had powerful sponsors, like Luis de Santangel, the Duke of Medinacelli and Luis de la Cerda, so that Queen Isabella was

never in danger of having to pledge her jewels as collateral. On the contrary, the Crown, under pretext of African contraband recently discovered in the port of Palos, forced the municipality to pay for the construction and fitting out of two caravels for a twelve-month voyage. The Niña and the Pinta were fast,

magnetic pole, different from the geographical one; great banks of algae floating on the water's surface, making navigating enormously difficult, as well as heretofore unknown birds, vegetation and fruit.

On September 30, Martín Alonso Pinzón thought he saw something resembling an island. False alarm.

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## “His plan to reach the Orient by sailing west was neither an impulse nor an improvisation. It was the result of a rigorous study of geography”

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Something similar happened on October 7, when a bombard was fired from the Niña and a flag hoisted on the mainmast, a signal that land was sighted. The disillusionment added to discontent among the crew.

carrying grains, cereals, grapevines, horses, pigs and sheep. This was the voyage that began colonization, confrontations with natives, disputes between Spaniards and the enslavement of native peoples who,

eaten away by mollusks called “wood worms.” He remained shipwrecked in Jamaica for an entire year. He was rescued, transferred to Hispaniola and, from there, returned to Spain.

With his body devastated and his spirit humiliated, he arrived in Seville in October 1504. Though he was only 53 years old, he suffered from gout, and advanced arthritis caused him frequent fevers.

Although he was recognized as Admiral of the Ocean Sea, such was not the case with the titles of viceroy or governor. Only two percent of the rights and privileges from commercial operations were granted him.

Christopher Columbus’ life, thought and actions place him at the transition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. His theoretical, philosophical and theological views were medieval as were his scientific suppositions. In contrast, his inquiring mind, noteworthy love of nature, capacity —when the moment arrived— to attempt to explain hitherto unobserved phenomena and undefined facts were pure Renaissance.

“It was hard for him to convince scientists and officials of the viability of his plan”

On the night of October 11, Columbus believed he saw a light on the rough seas, not revealing it but writing it down in his diary. Pedro Gutiérrez, the king’s spy, also saw the light, but Rodrigo Sánchez, the royal inspector, did not.

On the morning of October 12, from the Pinta, seaman Antonio Rodríguez Bermejo cried out the long awaited words: “Land, land!” and won the 10,000 maravedis offered to the first man to sight land on the other side of the Atlantic. But, to the king and queen, Columbus said he had sighted it first and they believed him.

The landing was on the island called Guanahaní, which Columbus christened San Salvador, part of the Bahamas archipelago. Then he touched Cuba and Haiti. Columbus’ flagship ran aground on a coral reef in Caracol Bay, in what is now Haiti, on Christmas Eve 1492, and its timbers became part of the ill-fated fort and first settlement at Navidad. On the return voyage, two violent storms almost sank the Niña, with Columbus aboard, and the Pinta.

The admiral arrived in Barcelona on April 30, 1493, where the Court was at that time. He was rendered honors reserved only for the great figures of Spain. Two months after his arrival in the Gothic city of Barcelona, news of his discovery had shot all across Europe.

On September 25 of that year, Columbus began his second voyage. He took 1,200 men in 27 ships, also

sent back to Spain, were sold at the slave market in Seville.

On his third voyage, Columbus reached the Gulf of Paria, at the mouth of the Orinoco. There he founded Santo Domingo. But cruelty to the natives and uprisings among the Spaniards led the king and queen to send Francisco de Bobadilla to replace Columbus, who was sent back to Spain in irons.

On his fourth and final voyage, Columbus touched the coast of Central America, which he imagined to be an island. He was shipwrecked in one of his vessels, while the other two were



“Americae rectectio”, medallions with Christopher Columbus’ and Americus Vesputius’ portraits.

Joannes Stredan (drawing).  
Collaert (engraving).  
Antwerp, 1585.



## IV

Christopher Columbus' enterprise to enter the Atlantic proposed to demonstrate two things: to reach the Indies by the shortest route and prove the theory that the Earth was round, a truism accepted by all in the 15th century but that had remained unproven until then.

Columbus had studied geography, physics and geometry in depth, he had gone into the classical Greek scientists, he took Marco Polo's descriptions of Cathay and Cipango as dogma, and he considered himself the one to carry out Ezra's Old Testament prophecies.

Living in Portugal, Genoese Columbus voyaged to Iceland and, on the return trip, proved that there were 13-meter tides in the port of Bristol certain times of the year. Therefore, it was impossible for the sea around the continent to end in an abyss, as the Medieval Catholic Church contended. If the tide rose at Bristol, it would necessarily have to drop in another

part of the world and, as it dropped at Bristol, it would rise somewhere else.

Portugal far outstripped the rest of Europe in discoveries, subjugations and colonizations at this time. The Azores, Madeira and African territories from modern Senegal, including Mauritania, to Equatorial Guinea, were Portuguese territories. It had a

Alfonso V of Portugal about the viability of crossing the Atlantic westward as the shortest route to the Indies, to the east.

In an extensive letter accompanied by maps, cartographic reports, and measurements on parallels and meridians, Toscanelli stated that "crossing the Atlantic was the shortest

“The Genoese, besides being knowledgeable about the sea and science, was audacious and ambitious”

powerful fleet and its rulers were all interested in maritime expeditions. A Portuguese, Bartolomé Díaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, the southernmost tip of Africa, in 1488.

In 1474, Florentine Paolo Toscanelli, a humanist, student of codices, mathematician and geographer, was asked by King

way to reach Asia.” The maps were very detailed and graphically traced the route to Cipango and Cathay, with the possibility of finding islands on the way.

Neither Alfonso V nor his court gave that statement much importance, and the letter and maps were shelved in the royal archives. Though not totally confirmed, Columbus is said to have had access to the letters and knew how to take advantage of their content.

Columbus' detractors say that when he lived in Porto Santo with his Portuguese wife, Felipa Moniz Perestrello, the survivor of a shipwreck from an expedition that had crossed the ocean and found new lands was washed up on that coast. Columbus talked with him, got all the useful information he could out of him, and left him to die (some say killed him so that no one else would know his secret).

When he presented his plan for an Atlantic voyage to King John II of Portugal in 1483, the king did not reject it outright. He submitted it to the consideration of learned men such as cosmographer Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and to the Jewish experts in nautical geography, José and Rodrigo Vizinho. They were unanimous in their opinion that Columbus' calculations were incorrect. Following



Columbus meets New World Indians.

R. Bonatti (etching).  
P. Polaggi (printing).



this, the king officially turned Columbus down.

The circumstances of Ferdinand and Isabella's official rejection were similar. In May 1486, they received Columbus in Cordoba. Their impression was that the Genoese, besides being knowledgeable about the sea and science, was audacious and ambitious. The plan was presented to them as an instrument for obtaining gold and riches with which they could reconquer Jerusalem.

The proposal was placed in the hands of a commission of experts headed by Father Fernando de Talavera, superior of the Prado monastery and the queen's confessor. It was composed of scholars in different disciplines, almost all professors at the University of Salamanca.

Their judgement was rendered at the end of 1490, more than four years later, and was negative. Columbus' hypotheses were considered "senseless": the distance calculated between Castile and the Indies was just as unlikely as that "there might be a place the existence of which

who vaguely promised support but without confirming anything.

Once again, the monks of La Rábida intervened: Father Diego Deza, Beatriz de Bobadilla, Marquise de Moya and lady-in-waiting to the

or gray eyes, with a steady gaze. His air, as a whole, was quite noble, with a certain solemnity and a marked willpower. Obstinate and silent, with an enigmatic mien. But when he wanted to be persuasive, he expressed

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*“In 1982, at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 71 portraits of the navigator were placed side by side, and no two were alike”*

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queen, her husband Andrés de Cabrera, and the merchant Luis de Santangel, Columbus once again presented his plan to the Spanish king and queen at Santa Fe, the Christian camp near Granada.

The Castilian bureaucracy took three months to draw up the contract between the Crown and Columbus. It was signed on April 17, 1492, the date on which preparations officially began for the voyage that was to change the world.

himself with ease and this happened when he wanted something.

As far as we know, he was never obsessed with women. Many different passions bound his heart. But, though he was attractive, he had an almost impassive lack of concern for the opposite sex, a kind of cold disposition to let women throw themselves at him. He had love affairs, but awaited them unmoved, searching and not searching, a prisoner of desires that were not exactly his own.

His wife, Felipa Moniz Perestrello, whom he married in Lisbon in 1468 and who bore his son Diego, belonged to a family of some nobility related to courtly circles. Her father, a cultivated man of the sea, belonged to a circle of young men educated by Henry the Navigator at the famous school at Sagres.

He participated in the discovery of Madeira around 1437 and headed the expedition that occupied Porto Santo. For that, he received the title of governor and the right to govern. Later, he was a municipal advisor in Lisbon.

Felipa's father had already died when Columbus met her and the family's rank and fortunes were somewhat diminished. But for Columbus, the marriage meant a step upward in Portuguese society. Felipa died around 1485 and, so it appears, without the widower showing much despair.

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*“Although of medieval spirit, Columbus was a Christian and a Catholic in the modern sense”*

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could still be unknown so many millennia after having been created by God.”

Columbus was almost not received at Court in 1491. His insistence became bothersome for rulers concerned with fighting their final battle against the Moslems and their stronghold in Granada. They had little interest in maritime adventures and discoveries.

Columbus made representations to Charles VIII of France and Henry VII of England, but to no avail. He again approached John II of Portugal,

**V**No one can say with certainty what Christopher Columbus was really like. At the 1982 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 71 portraits of the navigator were placed side by side and no two were alike. With and without moustache, differing skin tones, a face sometimes long, sometimes oval.

His biographers describe him as having a Nazarene air, hair dishevelled, reddish, a flaming blond that soon turned white. A man of good stature, “taller than average,” lively clear-blue



In pursuit of the king and queen, Columbus resided in Cordoba from the end of 1485 and all of 1486. There he met the beautiful Beatriz Enríquez de Harana, fifteen years his junior. Stunned by the warm words of the Genoese, by his fantasies and dreams of wealth, she was fascinated by him. She became his lover, giving birth to his second son, Fernando, in August 1488.

wanted. And Columbus, though no conquistador of women, was not used to saying no either.

It has also been said that Queen Isabella's pulse quickened when Columbus appeared at Court. Isabella was the same age as Columbus, had honey-colored hair, light-colored eyes and white skin. She was not tall and her figure was rather round. All told, there was a mixture of softness and

and apostasy were one and the same thing.

There is likewise evidence of his negative characteristics: his fondness for money and privilege, his mistrust, miserliness, nepotism, indifference to the terrible practice of slavery and, above all, pride. In the final years of his life, he felt he was the man to initiate the Third Era: the era of the Holy Spirit.

No one can deny that Columbus was a great geographer: self-taught, but sensitive, sharp and inspired. Having just arrived in the New World, he was an attentive observer of the land, plants, animal behavior, distribution of heat and variations in the Earth's magnetism.

His was not the case of a fortunate traveler become discoverer by chance. He was the inventor of a hitherto unheard of idea.

From the Late Paleolithic on, 20 or 25 thousand years ago, the Americas had been populated by men who crossed the Bering Strait. When Columbus landed in San Salvador, there were millions of inhabitants on the continent. Great civilizations prospered and others had already disappeared.

“No one can deny that Columbus was a great geographer: self-taught, but sensitive, sharp and inspired”

Beatriz came from a family of vintners with their own lands near Santa María de Trasierra, near Cordoba. Beatriz was well-to-do, knew how to read and write, qualities infrequent in women not of the nobility. The relationship with Columbus differed little from marriage, though the navigator never married her.

Christopher Columbus was a poor man who knew how to choose well-to-do women. First his wife Felipa, then Beatriz. There is talk of others, but no historical proof.

The intervention of Beatriz de Bobadilla, Marquise of Moya, was very important in getting the queen to authorize Columbus' plan. Some say that Columbus never married Beatriz Enríquez de Harana so as not to awaken the marquise's jealousy and lose the benefit of her access to the Court.

When Columbus began his first voyage, he put in at Canary Islands and stayed from August 12 to September 6 on Gomera Island, where Beatriz de Bobadilla was governor. The Marquise of Moya was young, beautiful, energetic and impetuous. She knew what she

arrogance, but a sensitive spirit with a propensity to give reign to fantasies.

To judge from his encounters with different women throughout his lifetime, Columbus must have been a fascinating man. He was pleasant-looking upon first appearance and women instinctively opened their arms to him more than he did or probably had intentions of doing.

“Columbus' merit rests on the fact that his voyage proved there was no abyss on the other side of the ocean”

Although of medieval spirit, Columbus was a Christian and a Catholic in the modern sense. He had a solid, sincere, inexhaustible faith, free of superstition and hypocrisy at all times. He was never a clergyman nor did he hesitate to confront clerics in defense of his plan and to demonstrate its viability at a time when, in the eyes of the Inquisition, dissent from dogma

Columbus' merit rests on the fact that his voyage demonstrated that there was no abyss on the other side of the ocean. There was more land. Only because of his voyage, Europe, Asia and Africa became aware of the existence of a new world. And the Americas became aware of the existence of three other continents. It was a mutual encounter that deeply changed the course of history ✕



# America five hundred years later

*Leopoldo Zea \**

## America, a projection of Europe

"Are the Americas a periphery, a cortex of Europe?" asked Fernand Braudel. Both notions reflect how since 1492 the New World's goods and people gradually entered the European arena of thought, past, present and future. Thus it was that the New World became integrated into Europe and achieved a wonderful new significance.

Was America, which Wallenstein never hesitated to include in the economic world of 16th century Europe, not the fundamental explanation of Europe? Surely, America was discovered and invented by the same Europe that regarded the voyage of Columbus as the most important historical event since Creation. America is the work of Europe, patiently constructed in its image to respond to its desires.

<sup>1</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilización material, economía y capitalismo. Siglos XV-XVII*. 3 volumes, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1984.

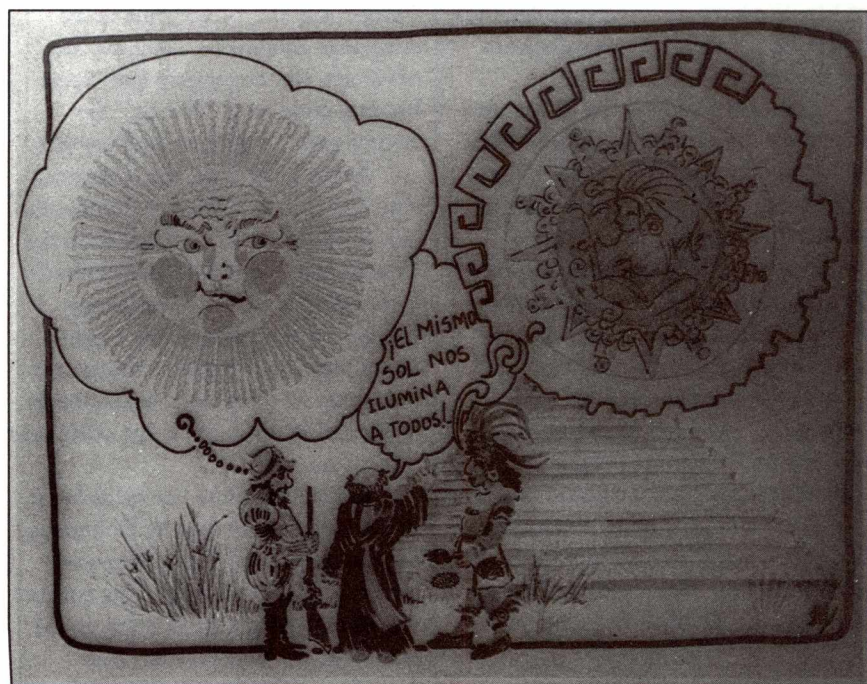
\* Coordinator of the *Cátedra de América Latina* (Permanent Forum for Latin American Affairs), UNAM.

America was like an open space in which Europe could fulfill its desires, a fallow, Utopian, land of dreams. But to remain so, added Braudel, the men of the region had to remain solidly "shackled to it, imprisoned in its mission; servitude and slavery, those ancient self-perpetuating chains, rising again like a need or curse imposed by the excess of space. But it represented freedom and temptation as well."<sup>1</sup>

In 1492 Christopher Columbus departed westward to fulfill a European dream born in the rich and splendid lands of the Great Khan: Cathay and Cipango, wondrous places brought to life by the tales of Marco Polo. On October 12 of that year Columbus invented the Asia of Marco Polo. He also created the object of his quest, "The Indies", which he would later have to see labelled "The West Indies." This discovery, accident or invention led to the universalization of history. In the European mind the histories of Europe, Asia, Africa and the New World became one, a universal history.

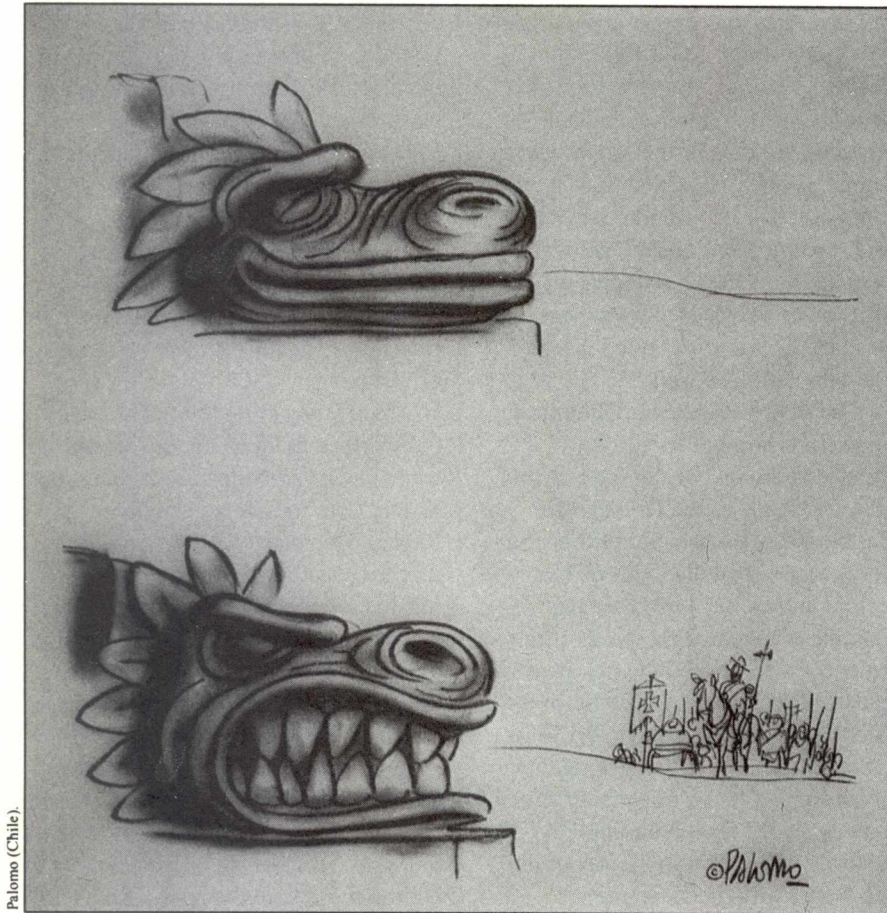
George William Frederick Hegel would give meaning to this history in the early 19th century, a meaning that was intrinsically European and Eurocentric. In it, Europe was both the culmination and conclusion of universal history. Asia was the unrepeatable past of a history that culminated in Europe. America and Africa were mere spaces for Europe to fill in order to fully realize its mastery of history.

Hegel was never so naïve as not to believe that those regions would some day be protagonists in that same history. But they represented the future of a history that was reaching its conclusion to advance itself in infinite progress. "America," said Hegel, "is the nation of tomorrow. In the future it will reveal its historical importance, perhaps in a war between North and South America." But in order to achieve this, "America must distance itself from the land on which universal history has unfolded until today. What has happened there so far is little more than the echo of the Old World, the reflection of a strange way



*The same sun shines on us all.*





Palomo (Chile).

*A meeting of two worlds.*

of life. We have no interest in America as a future, the philosopher does not prophesy.”<sup>2</sup>

But what was growing in America to make it the land of the future? What was it creating that would, when the time came, revert upon the world that made it? To conquer and colonize America went the peripheral peoples of Europe, the Spanish, Portuguese and British. In Spain, in that year of 1492, Granada fell, ending almost eight centuries of Islamic domination imposed by the Arab world, during which time the Iberian peninsula experienced racial and cultural mixture.

An accident of history made the Spanish King, Charles I, the Fifth Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Whereas this Spanish hegemony of

Europe was short-lived, not so the American Empire on which the sun never set. Her hegemony lost, Spain became peripheral. “Africa,” the saying goes, “begins at the Pyrenees.”

At the same time, the Normans, who had shaken Christian Europe, the heir to Rome, were expelled from the Continent at the end of the Hundred Years War. Under their influence England would become the island realm that Shakespeare immortalized in “Henry II”. England was no longer interested in what lay on the other side of the Channel.

England’s future lay in the West, in the lands discovered by Columbus, contesting Iberian domination and with it global hegemony. This conflict would materialize in America, in the war of which Hegel spoke. Two Americas with two concepts of the world emerged on the continent

discovered in 1492. Two utopias, two inventions that would eventually revert upon Europe.

### **The double American utopia**

On one hand there is a “White America,” Anglo-Saxon and Puritan, with a mentality as insular as its origins in Great Britain. Thomas Jefferson spoke of this America, saying, “Fortunately separated by nature and a broad ocean from the destructive chaos of a quarter of the globe; of a spirit too elevated to tolerate the degradation of others; possessors of a country chosen as fit space for our descendants for a thousand generations.” Fashioned by honorable men, sincere, temperate, lovers of their fellow beings, “worshipping a Higher Providence, that with all its blessings shows that the happiness of man in this life and his good fortune in the next pleases it. What more do we need,” he asked, “to be a happy and prosperous nation?”<sup>3</sup>

A nation time and again blessed by its leaders. A nation that gave the world its most extraordinary declaration of liberty and democracy: “All men are born equal and their Creator has granted them certain inalienable rights. To guarantee these rights men form governments that derive their powers from the consent of the people. A nation with the right to reform or abolish, to institute a new government founded on these principles that in their judgement better guarantee its security and felicity.”<sup>4</sup>

Paradoxically, these rights are not universal. Their insular, and even selfish, conception restricts them to one nation that embodies all virtues and leaves the rest of the world to its defects by which to judge it.

On the other hand, there is the America labelled Latin so as to

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *First Inaugural Address*. March 4, 1801.

<sup>4</sup> *Virginia Bill of Rights*. June 12, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> Hegel, “Lectures in Philosophy”, in *The Philosophy of History*.



contrast it with the Saxon. Simón Bolívar, Father of Nations, wrote: "We are a small people; we inhabit a different world, surrounded by vast seas, new in almost all the arts and sciences, yet in a way old in the practice of civil society."<sup>5</sup>

Bolívar coincides with Jefferson in his awareness of insularity, but distinguishes himself by making this the point of departure for universality. The people in this region of America differ from the people of the United States. "Our nation," Bolívar continued, "is neither European nor North American, it is a combination of Africa and America rather than a product of Europe. Even Spain herself, with her African blood, her institutions and her character, ceases to be European. Here everything is mixed: European, Indian and African. This difference brings with it a most important challenge."<sup>6</sup>

Here Bolívar does not concern himself with insularity but rather with the capacity to integrate diverse races and cultures. Consequently, "it is a grand idea, this aspiration to unite the New World in a single nation with a solitary bond that links its parts to the whole. In the course of the centuries," added Bolívar, "we could find a single nation spanning the universe."<sup>7</sup> Another utopia, another American invention, a race of races, a culture of cultures, a nation of nations; a race, culture and nation purely and simply of men.

The US, however, affirmed its insularity. In the words of George Washington, "A free people must be

constantly alert to the cunning of foreign powers since history and experience show that foreign influence is one of the most dangerous enemies of the Republican Government. Our real policy is the avoidance of permanent alliances with any part of the outside world."<sup>8</sup>

The primary concern of the US was to be the preservation and security of its liberties and democracy. Paradoxically, to that end they would implement the frontier policy of which Frederick Jackson Turner spoke. They pushed forward their frontiers so that their barriers would impede foreign interference. In this way they would extend the frontiers of liberty, but an exclusively United States liberty. They would thus fill the spaces of which Braudel spoke, pushing their walls forward in a policy of conquest distinct from the European version identified by Hegel. The conquest of space as a defense of US liberty and democracy.

In Bolívar's America there is a different conception of liberty and democracy. They are generalized,

accessible to all men and all nations. Consequently, conquerors cannot arise in this region, only liberators. For Hegel the great men of universal history, those who liberated the spirit through conquest, were the Alexanders, Caesars and Napoleons. Hegel wrote of these heroes: "Perhaps achievement of their goals was bitter, for at the very moment of accomplishment, they either died young like Alexander, were assassinated like Caesar, or were exiled like Napoleon."<sup>9</sup>

Simón Bolívar replied: "According to those gentlemen the only way to be great is in the manner of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon. I do not wish to be like them. I want to surpass them all, in my own way, for I cannot surpass their feats. Liberator or dead! Only liberators can arise from this region that history entered with the Conquest. The examples of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon seem unworthy of my glory. The title 'Liberator' is superior to all those bestowed on human pride. Therefore, it cannot be degraded."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Simón Bolívar, *Letter from Jamaica*. Kingston, September 6, 1815.

<sup>6</sup> Simón Bolívar, *Angosturan Address*. February 15, 1819.

<sup>7</sup> Simón Bolívar, *Letter from Jamaica*.

<sup>8</sup> George Washington, *Farewell Address*. September 17, 1796.

<sup>9</sup> Hegel, *Philosophy of History*.

<sup>10</sup> Simón Bolívar, *Letters to Generals Santander and José Antonio Páez*. February and May, 1826.





### American expansionism

The US' insularity, justified by its puritanism, led its people to a view of themselves as a nation predestined to impose its own, exclusive brand of liberty on the world, for the very protection of that liberty. They were a predestined nation, with a manifest destiny, expressed by their victories over American barbarity west and south of their frontiers. In 1847 the US tore more than half its territory from Mexico, and in 1855 the pirate William Walker intervened in Central America on her behalf. "The US," wrote Bolívar, "seems destined by providence to plague America with miseries, all in the name of liberty."<sup>11</sup>

From this same insular conception rose the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which, put simply, called for "America for the Americans," that is, for US Americans. This is the same US that in 1776 achieved independence from Europe and became the first nation in America, and the world, to break out of colonialism.

With the West and Mexico's former territories assimilated, the US

began its colonialist policy. Europe would have to be expelled from the continent, leaving the US free to impose its own, exclusive, hegemony. This neo-imperialism began in 1898 with the expulsion of Spain from its last outposts in the Caribbean and the Pacific. America had to decolonize itself, but only under US colonial protection. All European colonialism was to be displaced as soon as possible. "America for the Americans."

Latin America experienced the aggression against Spain as an attack on its own peculiar identity, at least as expressed in the thought of Rodó and Vasconcelos. There arose an anti-imperialism that Vasconcelos defined as the battle between Monroeism and Bolivarism. "When after a decade of wars and agitation," write Morison and Commager, "things settled down, the US found itself a potential world power with territories in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Midway, Guam, Tutuila and the Philippines, protectorates over Cuba, Panama and Nicaragua, and with interests and influences in the Far East."<sup>12</sup> William McKinley and

Theodore Roosevelt had forced the insular US utopia upon a major part of the planet.

### Europe, a projection of America

With her hegemony over the American continent established, the US entered the First World War in the name of the defense of freedom. Providence rewarded this intervention by making her the great creditor for both the winners and losers of the war.

A destroyed post-war Europe could not compete with the US which, from a safe distance, had escaped the brutality of the war and consequently reaped the benefits. The America that Hegel had sent into the future was now in Europe, and its presence would grow during the Second World War. Once again this would be in the name of liberty, only this time against Nazi-fascist totalitarianism and Japanese militarism.

The promises made in the 1941 Atlantic Charter between Great Britain and the US, and the participation of nations of what was to be called the Third World, forced Europe to decolonize its African and Asian dependencies. But the US, allegedly securing the liberty of the Free World, would occupy the "power vacuums" left by Europe, in accordance with the doctrine of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. But in relation to whom? In relation to the USSR whose sacrifices in the war made it another of the great victors. The US would have to defend the Free World from perverse Soviet ideology. It therefore assumed the task of keeping the USSR within its frontiers, thereby initiating the Cold War.

In 1945, at the end of the Second World War, Western Europe was occupied by US troops as a defense against aggression while Eastern



E. Gómez (Mexico).

<sup>11</sup> Simón Bolívar, *Letter to General Patricio Campbell*. Guayaquil, August 5, 1829.

<sup>12</sup> S.E. Morison and Commager, *Historia de los Estados Unidos*. Tomo II, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1951.



Europe was occupied by the Soviet Union, so as to assure its own security.

Five hundred years after its invention by Europe, America ceased to be the work of Europe. Europe is now the work of the US. Europe was to be reconstructed in the image of the US and according to its interests. There was no longer a vacuum in America, the US had already filled it, and it was prepared to fill whatever vacuums Europe left anywhere in the world, including Europe itself.

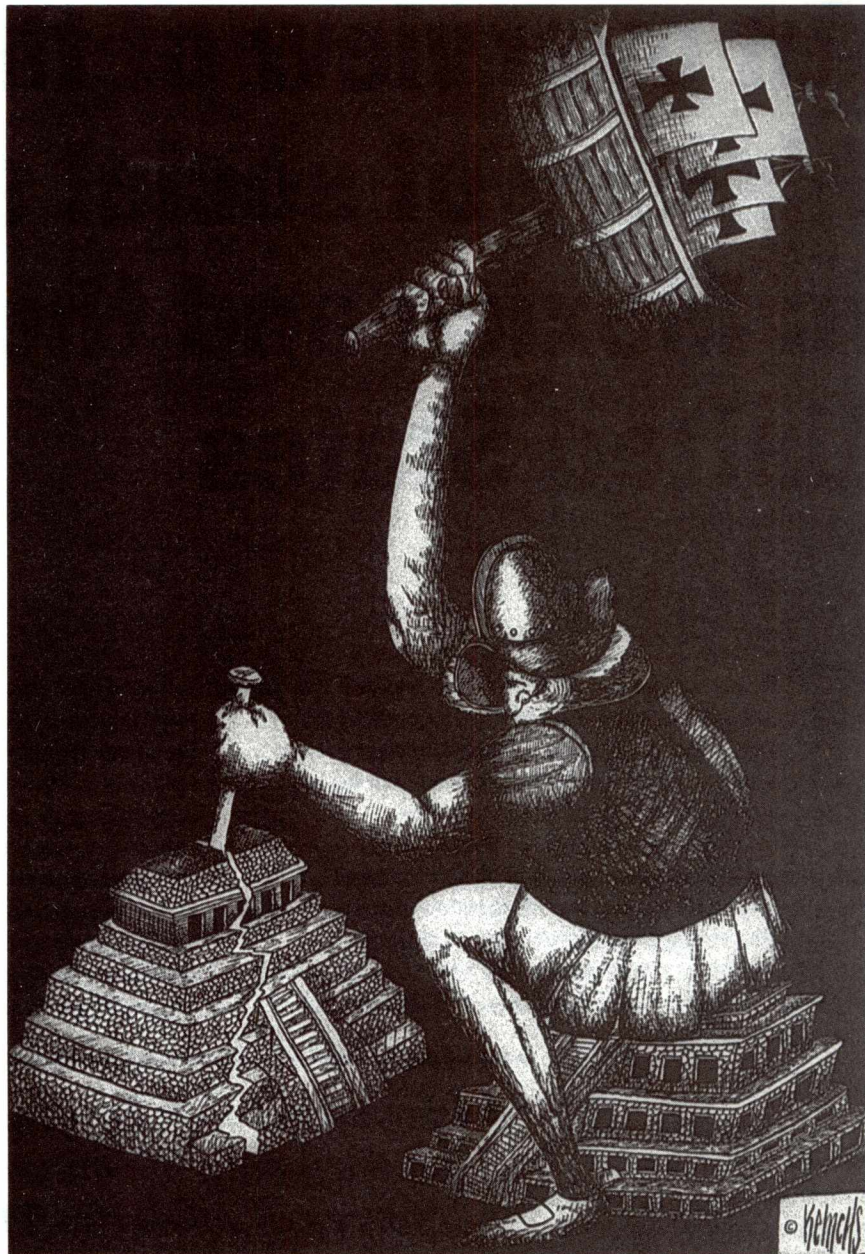
However, in 1989 a great change seemed to be under way. The political reforms carried out in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachov seemed to render US and Russian armed presence in Europe unnecessary. Nevertheless, recent events in the Persian Gulf may endanger this grand project. The US, with its immense stockpile of arms to intimidate the Soviets, has installed itself in the area of energy resources in the world. Without these resources the market economy being imposed on Europe will grind to a halt.

Now established in the Persian Gulf, the US can proclaim its hegemony over the world. "The US," says President George Bush, "assumes a large proportion of the leadership in this initiative. Only the US among the nations of the world has sufficient moral stature and means to sustain it. We are the only nation on the planet that can unite the forces of peace. God bless America."<sup>13</sup>

After Hegel, history reaches a new end according to American Francis Fukuyama: it culminates and ends with US ascendancy, just as Hegel's ended with post-revolutionary Europe.

It is the triumph of America's insular message. But what has happened to the other message, to mestizo America and its vision of a world in which all races and cultures live together in one great nation? This

<sup>13</sup> George Bush, *Address to the US House of Representatives*. January 19, 1991.



America has deeply penetrated the soft underbelly of the other America, coming in under its barriers. White, Anglo-Saxon, Puritan America is now in retreat. There is now an outline of a great nation from one end of the American continent to the other, a nation of multiple and diverse races and cultures, but united in the knowledge that it is a concrete and therefore diverse expression of humanity.

Thus, five hundred years after the arrival of European caravels in America, cruisers, armored ships, aircraft carriers and nuclear bombers make the return journey to Europe. But a message validating that which is mestizo and therefore America's own, sets out in the same direction. It makes its presence powerfully felt in the rest of the world, validating the dreams of American liberators who take the place of the conquerors **M**















setting a historical precedent. Article 123 specifically includes the right of all Mexican citizens to work; and the 1929 amendment establishes the legality of social security under a unified, federal structure.

Numerous projects and bills were presented for more than a decade, leading to the creation of the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS) in 1943, a legally constituted decentralized public entity, responsible for organizing and administering social security funds.

Social security became compulsory for the entire nation and consisted of a three-way system of contributions from the state, employers and workers, with rates fixed according to the salary and earnings of those involved.

Benefits were divided into two categories: subsidies and pensions. The latter could, under exceptional circumstances, be replaced by a one time severance payment.

Workers' original legal benefits covered work-related accidents and illness, workman's disability, retirement or death and family coverage for maternity or illness benefits, widow's or orphans' pensions or life insurance.<sup>5</sup>

These privileges, which covered the legal beneficiaries of the insured worker, became non-transferable, compulsory and tax-free.

Over time, Mexico's increasingly complex social structure has required that a number of changes be made to the country's social legislation, to keep pace with changes that have occurred. They have been carried out thanks to a flexible legislative authority, under a powerful executive.

The Mexican government has acknowledged social security's institutional character and its contribution to economic expansion by improving workers' living standards and reducing labor conflict, hence it has been forced to extend and consolidate social security benefits.

While the 1943 law basically covered salaried urban workers, it was amended in 1954 to include wage-earning farm-workers and small farm owners. From 1931 on, employers were obliged to provide day-care services for female workers' children, a remarkable advance, considering the uncertain economic situation prevailing in Mexico at the time.

In 1962, the IMSS itself was authorized to provide this service, including meals, grooming, health care, and education for infants and children from a month and a half to four years of age.

This type of assistance, together with three months' paid maternity leave starting six weeks before the baby is due and ending six weeks after birth, and shorter absences

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed analysis of social security benefits in Mexico, see the *Ley de Seguro Social, México*, Coordinación de Comunicación Social, IMSS, 1989.

#### Social service institutions with paying contributors

		1989 membership (thousands)
IMSS	Mexican Social Security Institute	37,213
ISSSTE	Social Security Institute for State Employees	7,845
SDN	Department of National Defense	239
SM	Department of the Navy	160
PEMEX	Petróleos Mexicanos	1,421

#### State-subsidized public assistance institutions

SS	Department of Health
DIF	National System for Integral Family Development
DDF	Federal District
INSEN	Senior Citizens' Institute
CIJ	Centers for Young People's Development

Source: *México Social, 1990-1991, Indicadores Seleccionados*. México, Banamex, pp. 275-276.

to look after sick children, reflect society's recognition of the role of working women.<sup>6</sup>

Various measures, such as the option of joining the social security system by request of the beneficiary and direct payment of his or her fee, and voluntary membership after resignation from a job, inclusion of state university students in the system and extension of social services to the country's marginal communities through solidarity programs, illustrate the complexity of the Mexican social security network. The IMSS also promotes cultural and recreational activities by subsidizing the building and management of theaters, and sports and holiday centers.

Of the country's 81 million inhabitants, 49 million (60% of the population) are covered by social security, while the economically active population numbers only 24 million in absolute figures, according to the 1990 census. To cope with these numbers, alternative institutions to the IMSS have been established as demonstrated in the Table.

#### Conclusions

- The social security systems of both nations are part of workers' and society's achievements aimed at making social justice a legal obligation.
- Social security benefits in both countries reflect the growing influence of the labor movement.
- Taking into account the two countries' different stages of development, it may be that, in qualitative terms, the US social security system has been the model for its Mexican counterpart, while the reverse is true as regards the variety of services offered. **M**







challenge for the unions; they had to present their arguments within the context of a diplomatic agreement. Moreover, they did not directly represent the farm workers, those most affected by the bracero program, nor did their jurisdiction extend beyond the US border. Yet the existence of the bracero program challenged the very foundation of organized labor in the United States. In effect, under cover of a diplomatic agreement, powerful agricultural employers avoided negotiating with domestic workers and the unions that might represent them in order to develop a foreign source of labor.

American organized labor chose a strategy to broaden its influence, with the potential of redefining its role in US political life. The leadership sought more open and official collaboration with Mexican organized labor to insert its position into domestic and international public discussions.

#### **Joint United States-Mexican trade union committee**

In 1953, the AFL-CIO and the *Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos* (CTM) began discussions regarding their mutual interest in problems associated with the bracero program and attendant illegal migration; in December of that year, delegates from both countries held a "Conference of US-Mexican Trade Unions on Agricultural Labor" at the CTM headquarters in Mexico City.

The bi-national conference was the first meeting of what would be the Joint United States-Mexican Trade Union Committee. While short-lived, the organization's activities expressed union concerns in both countries about the bracero program and the fate of Mexican migrants, both legal and illegal. Moreover, it is significant that the bracero program coincidentally provided a vehicle for both US and Mexican unions to present a joint position in an international context.

Indeed, the 1953 conference issued a statement that reflected an accurate analysis of the bracero program and its implications, and highlighted their agenda. The Joint Committee acknowledged that the traditional migration of Mexican agricultural workers, both legal and illegal, had profoundly affected both countries and that, in fact, some US employers had become dependent on Mexican farm workers.

The World War II bracero program intensified this dependence, and reinforced long standing, unsatisfactory living and working conditions for Mexican farm workers. Moreover, the loss of agricultural workers in Mexico had already affected the availability of certain products, and the unsupervised emigration of other workers, such as *ejidatarios*, and skilled workers, caused by the bracero program, threatened serious repercussions for the Mexican economy. The Joint Committee also made it clear that Mexican and American union representatives should participate in any negotiations concerning the recruitment

of Mexican labor for the United States. Lastly, the Joint Committee was to strengthen relations between the unions of both countries and "seek the solution of common problems affecting them."

The Committee, further, resolved to request strict enforcement by both governments of individual work contracts under the bracero program. Both countries should review their labor legislation and adopt the better of the two to guide the bracero program. The Mexican government should take a more assertive role in monitoring and controlling the emigration of its workers to minimize adverse domestic economic ramifications. The unions also suggested that Mexican workers who left gainful employment to join the bracero program be sanctioned. The Joint Committee also insisted that undocumented migration be controlled by agencies of both countries, and that officials that did not cooperate be punished.

The Joint Committee suggested that "prevailing wages", the concept used in the bracero program to establish pay schedules, be determined through Department of Labor hearings. The implication being that those who negotiated the agricultural bracero program had no basis on which to fix fair wages; in non-unionized industries, such



Renzo Costoli

*Open borders... a mirage?*



as agriculture, "prevailing wages" fluctuated according to supply and demand, local conditions, etc.

The unions wanted to force the US government to account for the wages it established for agricultural braceros. Nevertheless the effect of the bracero program was to cede the power to establish "prevailing wages" to powerful, agricultural employer associations. It should be noted that in the short-lived railroad bracero program of World War II the "prevailing wages" were defined by negotiations between the Maintenance of Way Brotherhood and the railroads.

The following April, the American committee members, supported by Walter Reuther of the CIO, George Meany of the AFL, John Owens of the UMW and George Leighty of the Railway Labor Executives Association, requested President Dwight Eisenhower to grant the Joint Committee official consultative status.

In fact, the union leaders accused Eisenhower of completely abrogating the bracero program with his signature to a bill authorizing unilateral recruitment of farm workers at the border, and questioned his motives for, in effect, cancelling an international agreement with a friendly, contiguous nation.

The US members of the Committee attributed it to pressure from "...the big growers who employ Mexican contract workers and wetbacks (and) are heavy financial contributors to political campaigns of national party candidates and that these large-scale corporation farmers .... demand and get their pay-offs."<sup>1</sup>

Department of Labor witnesses at House Agriculture Committee hearings considered unilateral recruitment at the border a measure to force the Mexican government to cooperate with the United States in the recruitment of Mexican workers. But unilateral recruitment became entangled in Republican Congressional and Vice-President Richard Nixon's criticism of the State Department, which had backed away from the measure, thereby making them and Congress as a whole "look foolish."<sup>2</sup>

The US Joint Committee delegation, along with religious leaders, proposed to Attorney-General Herbert Brownell that sanctions be imposed against employers of undocumented workers as a measure to guarantee the living and working conditions of Mexican workers in the US. They insisted that sub-standard conditions for Mexican workers would inevitably result in sub-standard conditions for domestic workers, an observation confirmed by officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

<sup>1</sup> Press Release, *US Members of Joint US-Mexican Trade Union Committee*, issued by Gardner Jackson, for release April 15, 1954. Documents pertaining to this committee can be found in the Irwin De Shetler Collection at the Labor and Urban Affairs Archives of Wayne State University in Detroit.

<sup>2</sup> "Statement by US Members, Joint US-Mexican Trade Union Committee on Migratory Labor," April 14, 1954, p. 2.

Brownell indicated that the Department of Justice was already drafting a bill to that effect, although it should be noted that employer sanctions were not instituted until the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

Clearly, the American delegates were using the Committee not only to improve the lot of the Mexican braceros but also to draw the attention of American public opinion to the plight of domestic farm workers as well.

The Committee recognized the relationship between the free availability of Mexican farm workers and the deteriorating prospects for American migrant workers.

Although the Joint Committee had developed its own agenda and identity, the Third International Conference in San Diego in August of 1955 focused basically on the same issues that had originally brought the Committee together.

The Committee condemned United States efforts to fence certain parts of the international boundary, claiming that "artificial barriers" were useless in preventing illegal immigration; the labor movements of both countries should promote an open border where citizens of both countries could cross legally.

Organized labor in both countries should collaborate to improve working conditions and strive to eliminate wage differences, recognizing in particular the Texas State Labor Federation and Mexican border state CTMs.

Most significant of all, the Joint Committee adopted a position on the bracero program. It agreed in principle with the concept of the bracero program, that is, administered migration, when properly carried out.<sup>3</sup>

The Committee commended the efforts of the INS to reduce illegal migration, and insisted that Congress allocate more funds for the INS and for contract enforcement. It recommended that state labor organizations be consulted to verify "prevailing wages" that according to Public Law 78 would now be established with input from workers and employers. Finally, the Committee again insisted that they be given consultative status regarding future developments of the bracero program.

The activities of this Committee constitute undeniable proof that organized labor in both countries was, indeed, concerned with the plight of Mexican workers employed under the bracero program. Its establishment, moreover, demonstrates that unions could be innovative in developing bi-national channels to force both governments to seriously consider their positions. Although the Committee was short-lived, and its influence on the bracero program limited, it remains a significant precedent in the history of Mexican migration to the United States ❧

<sup>3</sup> For more information, consult *Merchants of Labor* by Ernesto Galarza. A classic study of the bracero program by a member of the Joint Committee, *Merchants* remains one of the most informative and readable analyses.



# Mexican press coverage of the US elections (Part II)

“Poor America, so far from God and so close to Perot.”<sup>1</sup>

## General features

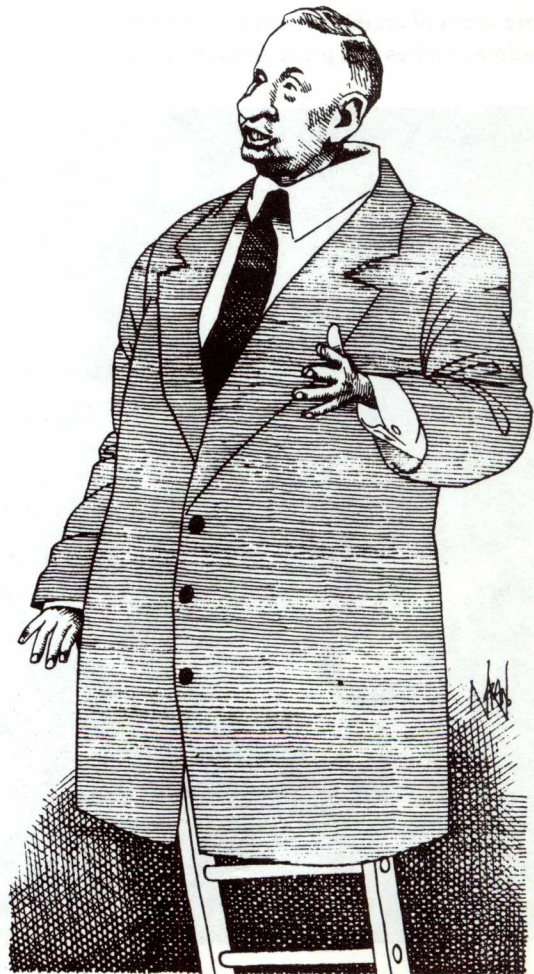
The Mexican press published a total of 696 items on the US elections during the second quarter of 1992, an average of 53 items per week and a slight increase over the minimal coverage of the first quarter.<sup>2</sup>

During the period analyzed, primaries were held in New York, Wisconsin, and Kansas (April 7), Virginia (April 11), Utah (April 20), Pennsylvania (April 28), Indiana, North Carolina, Ohio, and the District of Columbia (May 5), West Virginia and Nebraska (May 12), Oregon and Washington (May 19), Kentucky and Arkansas (May 26), California, New Jersey, Alabama, Montana and New Mexico (June 2), and North Dakota (June 9).

Ross Perot's presence gave rise to greater coverage of the electoral process (see Graph 1), although articles on the subject still appeared only on inside pages of international sections.<sup>3</sup> These were mainly translations of international press agency articles and photographs (69%), while another 16% included opinion pieces, editorials and caricatures with the remainder based on information from Mexican correspondents and staff reporters in the US.

The present analysis is restricted to the 219 articles by Mexican journalists. Their opinions rated the elections and their context negatively in 52% of the articles and positively in only 8% (see Graph 2). *La Jornada*, *El Día*, and *Excélsior* published the largest number of articles by Mexican journalists.

*Mexican press coverage of the final stages of US primaries and attitudes towards Ross Perot's sudden rise in politics, from April to June 1992.*



The huge Perot.

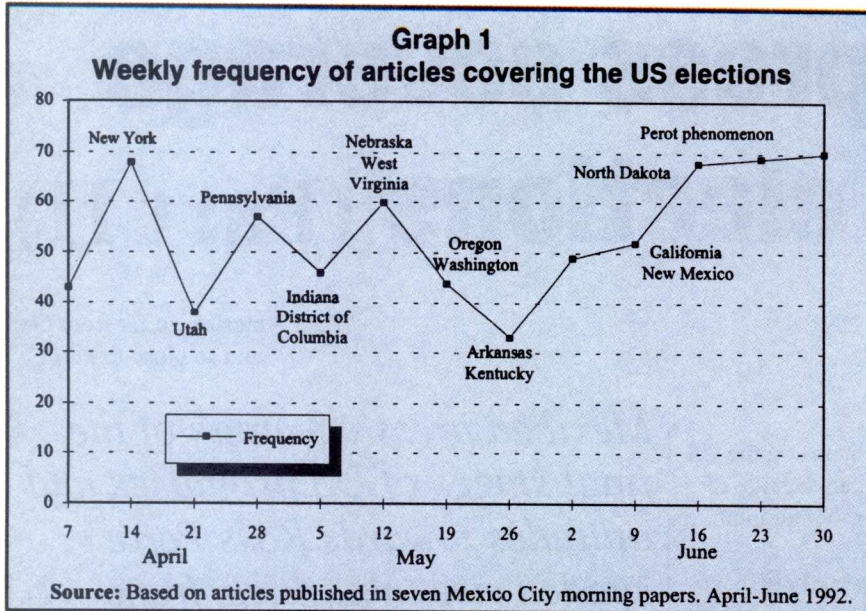
Naranjo

<sup>1</sup> Rayuela column, *La Jornada*. June 10, 1992: 48.

<sup>2</sup> The methodology adopted for this study is based on content analysis of news items appearing in seven Mexico City dailies. Items were classified according to 87 variables from a code manual and processed using the Statistical Program on Social Sciences (SPSS). Each variable for topics or persons includes a series of values classifying the tendency of the comments analyzed. Favorable opinions were given a positive value, criticisms were given a negative value, and a neutral value was given when the person or topic was mentioned without opinion. Newspapers analyzed included *El Día*, *El Heraldo de México*, *El Nacional*, *El Universal*, *Excélsior*, *La Jornada*, and *unomásuno*.

<sup>3</sup> Two events explain the reduced election coverage. On the one hand, the outbreak of racial violence in Los Angeles on April 30 and on the other, the US Supreme Court decision regarding the Alvarez Machain case on June 15.





this is that negative ratings for the political system, public opinion, and absenteeism all exceeded 80%. Moreover, both the Republican and Democratic party were perceived negatively to a similar extent (see Graph 3).

Enriqueta Cabrera writes in *El Día* that "US citizens' dissatisfaction with domestic policies grew under George Bush, as political alternatives diminished ... political mobility is so limited and the Democrats' and Republicans' proposals so similar that US politics are more like a one-party system" (June 21: 14).

**Candidates**

Antipathy toward the political system spread to include candidates of both parties, with George Bush, Pat Buchanan, Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown all rated negatively. The press expressed its disapproval of candidates' efforts in the presidential race. Bush and Buchanan received the most negative comments,

**Crisis in the US political system**

In Mexican press opinion the US political system still faces a severe crisis of credibility among its citizens, affecting institutions, parties and presidential candidates. Proof of

parties, with George Bush, Pat Buchanan, Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown all rated negatively. The press expressed its disapproval of candidates' efforts in the presidential race. Bush and Buchanan received the most negative comments,



Texas billionaire Ross Perot shares his views, on the "Donahue" show in New York.





Reuter.

Ross Perot's independent candidacy became increasingly powerful.

while Bush even topped his party's negative ratings (see Graph 4).

A *La Jornada* editorial commented that "Bush represents those politicians trained during the Cold War who are more concerned with establishing America's control over the world than with petty domestic affairs" (May 31: 2).

While Clinton had more neutral ratings he was also perceived negatively. Enriqueta Cabrera points out that "What some have called Bill Clinton's charisma has not been translated into electoral support. Before he began competing for the Democratic nomination, Clinton was considered a background figure. After that, he devoted himself to deflecting accusations about his personal life. Since then, he seems to have had neither the time nor the ability to explain his ideas" (*El Día*, June 21:14).

In an editorial note, *La Jornada* alluded to difficulties faced by both parties in choosing their candidates, regarding these as an expression of "a lack of serious

proposals to solve the country's persistent economic recession and the identity crisis it has suffered since the end of the Cold War in the absence of a clearly-defined enemy" (April 13: 2).

Nevertheless, as the nomination process advanced, so Ross Perot's independent candidacy became increasingly powerful, finding a surprising degree of support among voters. This was dubbed the "Perot phenomenon" by the Mexican press.

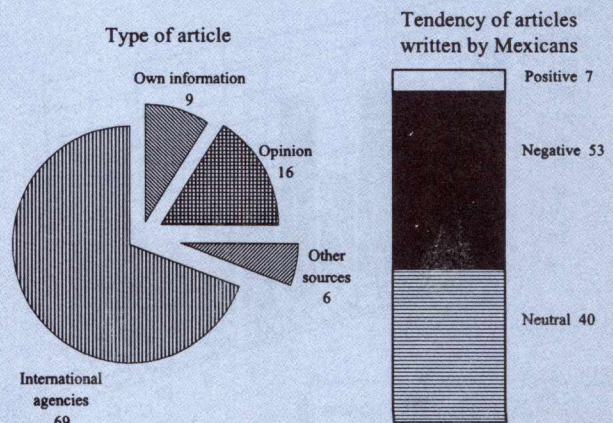
**The Perot phenomenon**

Perot's rise during this period placed him on a par with official candidates Bush and Clinton. Perot received considerable attention from the press, almost as much as Clinton and only less than Bush. However, two out of every five comments on Perot in the Mexican press were negative and only one in five was favorable.

How does one account for the Perot phenomenon? In the press' view, Perot's independent candidacy can be explained by the economic and political crisis. Other factors included the uninspiring Republican and Democratic candidates and the increasingly important role of the mass media. Lastly, there is the fact that the world has changed during the postwar period.

The reasons for Perot's rise can be found in general US voters' discontent with the crisis in their political institutions. The Los Angeles violence in early May was proof of this crisis and people's rejection of Bush. For Enrique Almendares, the message, "Go home, you lying hypocrite," aimed at Bush on his tour of Los Angeles only days before the end of the primaries, "seems to be what many citizens would like to say not only to Bush but also to

**Graph 2**  
Type of article and tendency of articles written by Mexicans



Source: Based on articles published in seven Mexico City morning papers. April-June 1992.



the Democratic pre-candidates and the political system with which they are becoming increasingly disenchanted" (*La Jornada*, June 2: 47).

This dissatisfaction influenced the electoral process and contributed to Perot's popularity. In the words of Jorge G. Castañeda, "Ross Perot is a presidential candidate to be reckoned with because he steals votes from both Bush and Bill Clinton, the right and the left, men and women, and rich and poor alike. He deserves to be taken seriously because he derives his strength from the heart of society and the US electorate" (*La Jornada*, June 8: 1).

The Mexican media's attitude towards Perot varied according to his stance on NAFTA and relations between Mexico and the US. Crossing opinions attributed to Ross Perot with important topics reveals that in most cases, attitudes toward Perot were negative or only slightly positive.<sup>4</sup>

Perot obtained the highest negative ratings in politics (30%), economics (27%), Mexico (27%), and slightly lower negative ratings in social problems and mass media (see Graph 5).

- a) *Politics*. This is where Perot was most severely criticized by the Mexican press, which found fault with his authoritarian, conservative policies. According to an editorial in *La Jornada*, "...so far Perot, renowned for the extremely authoritarian and ultraconservative style he has imposed in his firms, has said little about his plans for government" (June 9: 2). Moreover, Perot is no stranger to politics and therefore an expert in using political influence.
- b) *Economics*. Perot's political proposals were somewhat sketchy and included measures for a "dynamic,

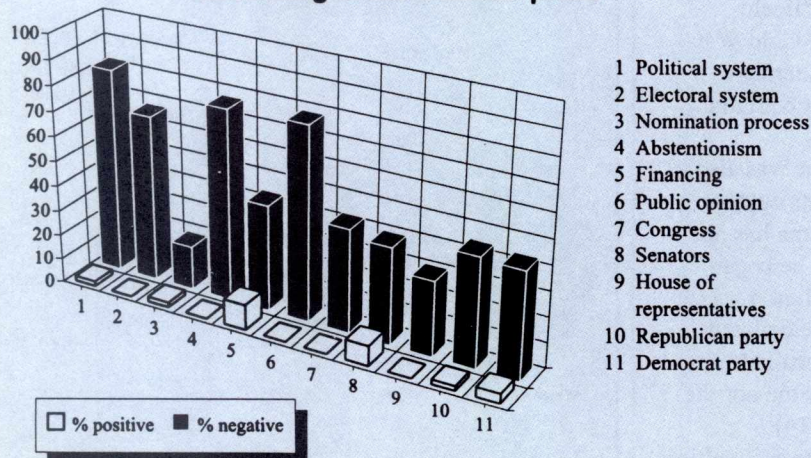
vigorous economy." Renward García Medrano notes that, while his aims were faultless, "Perot has given no clear indication of how he proposes to achieve them. In addition, some of these aims are contradictory, such as reducing the public deficit and reactivating employment" (*El Nacional*, June 21: 8). Perot was also criticized for his protectionist trade policies, summarized in the phrase "America first."

- c) *Social problems*. Perot's vision of political problems is tinged with authoritarianism and conservative moral values. Renward García observed that Perot "tolerates abortion while demanding that young girls' parents be consulted and criticizing irresponsible pregnancies. He supports homosexuals' rights at the same time as he proposes to bar them from government or the armed forces" (*El Nacional*, June 1st: 8).

Similarly, the press noted that Perot's high-handed proposals for solving delinquency and drug-trafficking caused him severe problems with Hispanics and blacks. Adolfo Sánchez Rebolledo criticized his solutions as being part of a "technocratic, populist discourse proposing fantastic solutions for problems such as drug addiction, in the best James Bond tradition" (*La Jornada*, June 5: 11).

- d) *Media*. His campaign was severely criticized since his popularity relied heavily on use of the media, especially television. Perot took advantage of live programs with phone-ins to gain support. Armando Avila Sotomayor wrote that, "it is a recognized fact that Perot owes his success to his excellent use of the press and other mass media. He has achieved a positive public image through triumphant press campaigns that have provided the basis for his strength. Perot pioneered the use of

**Graph 3**  
Tendencies in the US political system,  
according to the Mexican press



Source: Based on articles published in seven Mexico City morning papers. April-June 1992.

<sup>4</sup> The Ross Perot variable was crossed with the most frequently occurring topics from the code manual. This produced a chart showing the number of times a positive mention of Perot coincided with a positive mention of the selected variable, e.g. the political system. This procedure was repeated for negative and neutral values of each significant variable. Results were grouped under five main areas: a) Politics, including the political system and nomination process, campaign financing and absenteeism; b) Economics, including domestic economy variables and US trade and budget policies; c) Social problems (minorities, racism, violence and civil rights); d) Mass media (newspapers, radio and TV); e) Mexico, including the country's internal situation, the Free Trade Agreement and relations between Mexico and the United States.



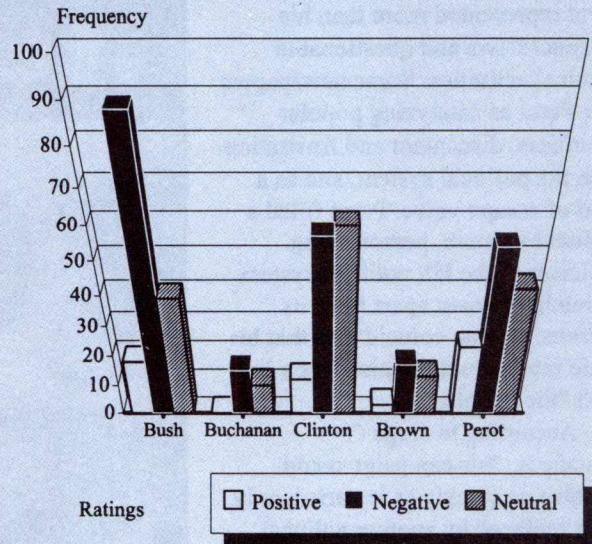
live appearances on popular programs, shifting the focus of messages and propaganda from mass outside rallies to people's living rooms, through newspapers, radio and TV" (*Excelsior*, June 11: 6).

- e) *Mexico*. During his attempts to gain followers, Perot was criticized for changing his opinion on various campaign issues. However, his position on NAFTA remained unchanged from the outset, setting him apart from Bush and Clinton. Perot's stance on this matter influenced Mexican press attitude towards him. The possibility of Ross Perot's becoming president alarmed both the Mexican government and the press because of its potentially negative economic repercussions on Mexico. Perot was regarded as an obstacle to NAFTA. Jorge Bustamante, director of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, suggested "drawing up a contingency plan for Mexico in case the next US president is Ross Perot who is outspokenly against a free trade agreement with Canada and Mexico" (*El Heraldo de México*, June 8: 1). The Mexican stock market crash was even attributed to Perot's remarks against NAFTA.



A rising candidate talks to the media, getting ready for the race.

**Graph 4**  
US presidential candidates' ratings



Source: Based on articles published in seven Mexico City morning papers. April-June 1992.

In short, the press rated Perot negatively. The combined results of all five areas show 68% of the results were negative and only 5% positive. However, a similar study on Bush and Clinton revealed that both candidates were perceived negatively, with 77% and 67% ratings respectively.

**Lessons from the "Perot phenomenon"**

The press saw Ross Perot's rise, which continued through the end of June, as a product of the overall situation in the US political system. Perot was not the solution to the country's problems, but neither were Bush or Clinton. Nevertheless, there was still speculation about the consequences of Perot being elected.

Enriqueta Cabrera argued, "If Perot maintains a strong position, this will cause a crisis in the two-party system not on election day but for government as well. If Perot were to win and be declared president, a possibility we must not discount, how could this anti-political, authoritarian man govern a two-party Congress that would probably be controlled by Democrats?"

"If Congress declared Bush president, which seems most likely, what would happen under an obviously weakened president who had to govern with a hostile Congress? And if Congress declared Clinton president, which seems unlikely, if, as currently predicted, he obtains the lowest number of votes, would he be able to govern, even with a majority in Congress, if the presidential figure were that clearly weakened?" (*El Día*, June 21: 16).



It was thought unlikely that Perot would reach November. However, this was not the issue. Perot represented more than his personal flaws and questionable political activities. Some newspapers saw Perot as catalyzing popular weariness, discontent and frustration with the political system, and as a kind of escape valve. Perot filled a political vacuum, personifying criticism of the US political system which had grown apart from its citizens. It is no coincidence that his basic intellectual premise was a link with "the people."

According to Jorge G. Castañeda, "his campaign could dissolve as quickly as it started, only to be replaced by another political expression of the same phenomenon: the tremendous political, social and economic crisis of a nation adrift" (*La Jornada*, June 8: 1).

Perot is proof that the American Dream is over. Adolfo Sánchez Rebolledo argues that, "Perot represented a reaction to the decline of the North American political class that reached its peak when the outside enemy, Soviet Communism, disappeared.

"The Perot case is part of the Fujimori syndrome sweeping the whole world: with professional politicians facing a credibility crisis, party systems facing a



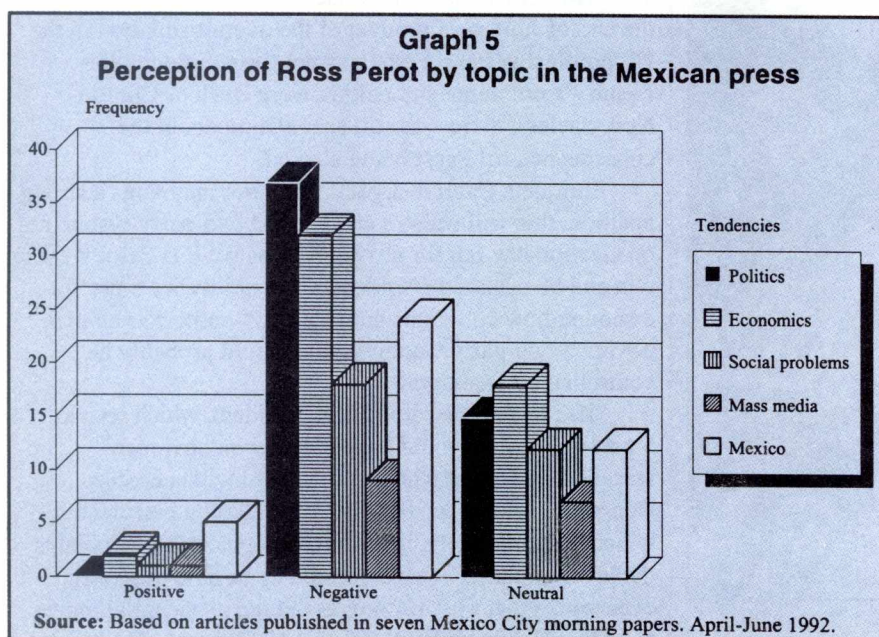
At the Kentucky State House, where Perot presented his petitions as an independent presidential candidate.

representation crisis and finally the inability of institutionalized forms of representation, i.e. democracy, to confront the new reality of the modern world" (*La Jornada*, June 5: 11).

Perot is part of an anti-political, anti-establishment phenomenon sweeping American society, expressed in social movements, such as women's and ethnic minority

groups, not represented in traditional politics but seeking political expression through presidential candidacies such as those of the former mayor of Irvine, California, Larry Agran or Ron Daniels and the formation of third parties which the system tends to discourage.

For these reasons, the US political system no longer answers the needs of important social groups other than WASPs. Therein lies the true dilemma facing the US political system and its presidential candidates X



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# HIGHLIGHTS OF SEVEN 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. Both 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 George Bush, urging that the US and the Mexican President initiate FTA negotiations.

## September 1990

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

## February 1991

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

## May 1991

The 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 begin in Toronto, Canada. The issues discussed include access to markets, trade regulations, investment, technology transfer, services and settlement of disputes.

## August 1991

The ministers of commerce of the three countries meet for a second time in Seattle, Washington. They agree on a gradual reduction of tariffs, to be carried out in three stages, on all products to be imported and exported between the three countries. They resolve to make an in depth analysis of the restrictions on government purchases in the three nations. In addition, a working group is created to strengthen the Mexican assembly plant program. The governors of the fifty US states express their support for the negotiations.

## October 1991

The ministers of commerce of the three countries meet for a third time

compete to immediate competition. For others in which we are less efficient and are working to improve our quality, we have negotiated a transition period of 5 and up to 15 years before they are freely traded.

Thus we will have more time to modernize technologies and production methods, and be able to compete with imports in our domestic market. The United States and Canada also asked us for more time for products in which we are more efficient and better than they.

I want you to know that the negotiations recognized the difference between Mexico's level of development and that of our neighbors. That is why 70% of our exports will immediately be free to enter their markets, while we will free only about 40% of the products they send us.

Thus these negotiations give us the time we need to continue our support for small and medium enterprises and producers of agricultural products who need it, thereby permitting all of us to take

advantage of the opportunities provided by the Agreement.

What advantages and challenges will the Agreement bring? First, it links us to one of the world's economic centers, and precisely because of that, it has caught the interest and attention of the other large areas of the world: Europe and the Asian Pacific, and makes us a bridge to our Latin America.

Second, the Agreement will guarantee broad and permanent access for our products to the great



# OF FREE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

in Zacatecas, Mexico. The meeting is attended by US negotiator Carla Hills, Canadian Minister of Commerce Michael Wilson, and Mexican Secretary of Commerce Jaime Serra Puche, along with their respective negotiating teams. They review the progress of the working groups assigned to each of the nineteen major sections of the agreement and call for a draft by January 1992. They agree to approach labor and the environment as parallel issues, but not to include them in the text of the agreement.

## February 1992

The presidents of the United States and Mexico, George Bush and Carlos Salinas de Gortari, meet in San Antonio, Texas, to discuss progress at the 7th plenary negotiating session held at Dallas. Progress was reported by 8 of the 18 working groups. Differences persist in such key areas as energy, agriculture and the automotive industry.

## March 1992

Agreement on 14 subjects in the general text is sought at meetings held in Mexico, Canada and the US. Joint declaration, by the three chiefs of state, after a telephone conference call on May 17th, to the effect that negotiations are proceeding as planned. 23-27, 8th Plenary Meeting with chiefs of

negotiating teams Julius Katz, US, Herminio Blanco, Mexico, and John Weeks, Canada. Note taken of points pending and of those settled.

## April 1992

6-8, Trade representatives Jaime Serra Puche, Mexico, Michael Wilson, Canada, and Carla Hills, US, join in 5th ministerial meeting in Montreal to discuss and eliminate differences in the key areas of energy, agriculture and livestock, automotive products and conflict resolution, as a step toward the final phase of negotiations. 27-May 1, 9th Plenary Meeting with chiefs of negotiating teams. Progress is made on energy, automotive products and agriculture, nevertheless differences remain.

## May 1992

10th Plenary Meeting in Toronto. Most working groups are closed, leaving only energy, rules of origin, and agriculture and livestock pending. It is reported that high level political decisions will be required to surmount the obstacles remaining in these chapters. It is rumored that the US and Mexico may sign a bilateral agreement on agriculture in view of Canadian insistence on maintaining current marketing systems for agricultural products. The automotive sector is reported to be almost concluded.

## June-July 1992

The three nations' chief negotiators meet in Washington, D.C. on several occasions to overcome differences on six of the most controversial issues: financial services, energy, agriculture, the automotive industry, government procurement and trade practices. The 6th ministerial meeting is held in Mexico City, hoping to conclude negotiations. No final text emerges in the light of persistent differences in key sectors.

## August 1992

7th ministerial meeting in Washington, D.C., headed by the ministers of commerce of the three countries, with chief negotiators also attending. Following two weeks of anticipation, the end of negotiations is formally announced at daybreak on August 12, 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.

North American market consisting of more than 360 million people. This is very important because our companies can profit by the advantages that come from the size of this enormous market and therefore, as they produce for more people, they will create jobs for more Mexicans, lower their costs and be more efficient.

Third, the Agreement establishes clear rules and assurances for Mexico's trade with its northern neighbors, long the

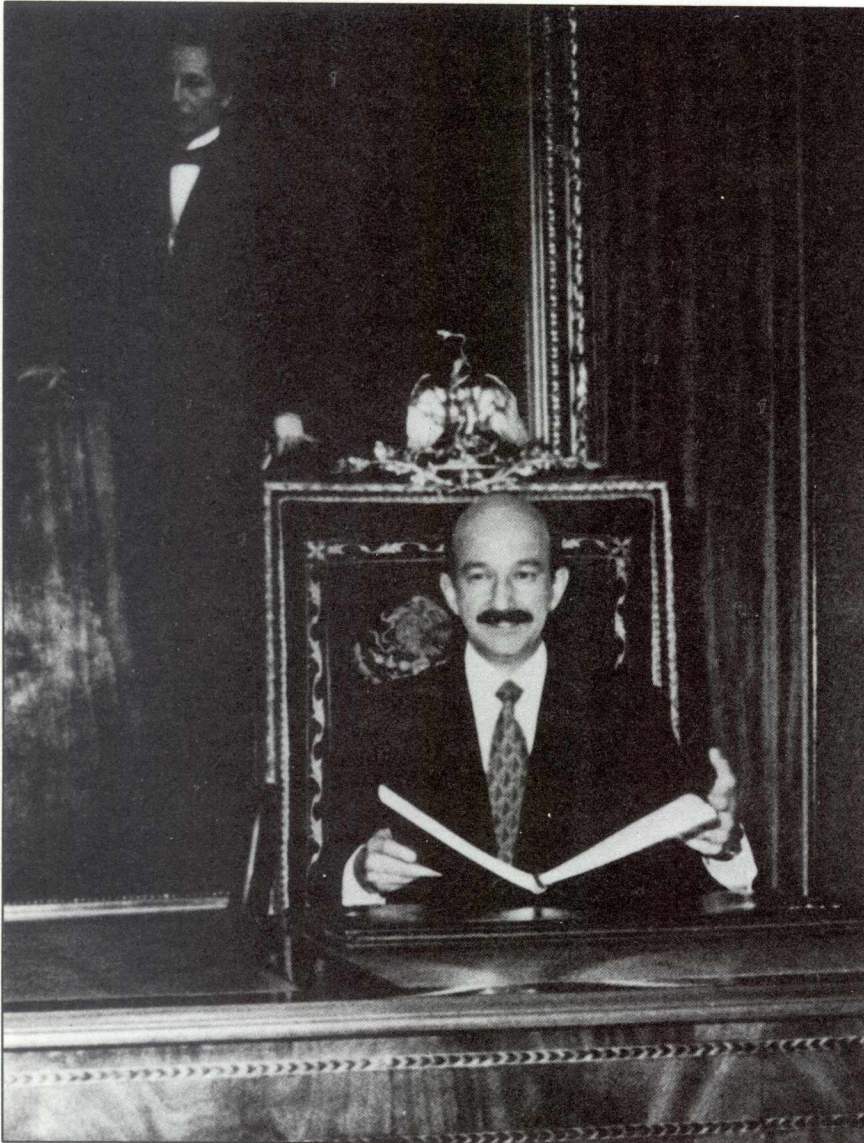
source of our country's most active and voluminous commerce. We must not forget that we are now the United States' third largest trading partner, and that it is with the US that we do most of our business. This trade has more than doubled over the last three years.

Fourth, we will also be able to specialize production in areas in which we have the advantage of climate, resources or know-how, and apply technologies that make better use of what we already have.

Fifth, you as consumers will benefit from a larger variety of better quality products at lower prices.

But, above all, the Agreement means more and better paid jobs for Mexicans. That is what is most important, because we will attract more capital, more investment, which means more job opportunities here, in our own country, for our fellow countrymen. Simply stated, we will be able to grow at a faster rate and then concentrate our efforts on helping those who have less.





*President Carlos Salinas delivering his message to the nation.*

Clearly, the Agreement represents challenges to us all. It means that producers, merchants, workers and service enterprises will have to try harder to compete effectively, offer quality products at good prices and learn to adapt, because we will be measured against the best in every area.

We will also spread the benefits of the Agreement to every region of the country, every productive sector; in short, every Mexican family. And to do this, we must continue restructuring our economy and building our communications, highway, and services infrastructure

so that enterprise and industry reach all the people. This will further more balanced development, strengthen our domestic market and, most important, further justice throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

The Agreement is therefore very important for Mexico. But we must not think that its benefits will be seen immediately, nor that it is a magic formula to solve all our problems.

Let us not forget that we have already made considerable progress without the Agreement, thanks to everyone's effort. For example, our economy has grown during each one

of the last three years and in July inflation was at its lowest in the last 20 years. These are accomplishments that we have achieved together. But in the future the Agreement will allow us to grow faster, have more and better jobs, and above all be more competitive.

As Mexicans, we have demonstrated that we can do things well and secure our position in the world. We have shown that we accomplish what we set out to do. Two years ago when we began to promote an agreement with the United States and Canada, some thought that it was an impossible goal.

Now, having concluded the negotiations, restored growth and lowered inflation, we are proving that we achieve our aims and this renews our self-confidence. That is why Mexico is respected abroad and seen as a united country, determined to better itself and play an important role in the 21st century.

Fellow Mexicans: International trade negotiations are only one part of the nation's life. Mexico's great strength comes from our millenarian culture of which we are very proud and which you can be sure we will strengthen. Our vitality comes from you, our people, from our ability to work together and excel.

Today, by concluding these negotiations, we have taken another step forward. I repeat, another step that will enable us to benefit our children and our children's children. Because it is for them that we labor, for them that we strive; today's efforts, including the Agreement itself, will unquestionably contribute to their well-being.

We will continue to advance unequivocally because we are united, because we are willing to work harder and together, to join our efforts and contribute each individual's part to a new national grandeur. Fellow Mexicans, it is worth the effort, it is for the good of our great nation... for Mexico **M**



# The history of Mexico City (Part II)

*Luis Ortiz Macedo\**

## A capital for the Spaniards

Strategic factors led the Spaniards to lay their new metropolis upon foundations made precarious by excessively soft subsoil, the ebb and flow of water, and frequent earthquakes. Many of the misfortunes that have plagued the capital since have been due to this irrational choice of location, accentuated by progressive desiccation of the lakes as well as urban sprawl over the entire expanse of the original basin.

Estimates of Tenochtitlan's population vary between 120,000 and 300,000, making it the world's most densely populated settlement at the beginning of the 16th century. This would refer to the total population of all the conurbated settlements on or around the basin, as the repopulation of the Spanish city brought in only 20,000 dwellers at the end of that century and 140,000 by the end of the viceregal administration.

The layout adopted henceforth was centered on the Plaza Mayor, which harbored much of the city's commercial activity in such markets as the Parián, Volador, Alcaicería and the Portal de Mercaderes. Around it stood the colonial government's administrative buildings, the city council, the management of the Marquisate of Oaxaca and, with pride of place, the Metropolitan Cathedral. To these were added the Metropolitan Chapel, the Seminary and the Cathedral Archbishopric.

Other subordinate centers were opened at the same time in the shape of plazas in front of the original convents and parish churches of Santo Domingo, San Agustín, Santa Veracruz, Santa Catalina, Loreto (the center of the students' quarter), San Miguel and the Rinconada del Conde.

From the 17th century on, the neighborhood of San Juan Moyotlán sheltered an active native market that survived as such until the end of the 19th century and, like Tlatelolco, had its own *tecpan*. The civic centers of the city's remaining divisions were attached to church atriums, also used as cemeteries.

The extremely generous land distribution policy established by the original planners quickly crumbled under the constant pressure of growing demand for building sites. Furthermore, the church and religious orders absorbed so many lots that by the middle of the 18th century they were administering more than half of those not belonging to the city or the Crown. Dwellings offered for rent were classified into two basic categories:

1. Multifamily structures, usually around two or three interconnected patios that provided sleeping space and large



*The Main Square, with 1238 personages, painted by Villalpando in 1695.*

\* Professor of Architecture.





Moorish-Renaissance fresco,  
Jesus Hospital.

areas for communal living, including cooking and washing, activities carried on collectively and strictly segregated. Only Spaniards were allowed rooms facing the street, inner quarters were left to creole, mestizo, mulatto and indigenous families, the lower their social status, the farther they lived from the street.



Jesus Hospital (16th century).

This apparent segregation was mainly strategic, guaranteeing protection of main arteries in case of revolt by native Mexicans or black slaves.

- The second category included dwellings and shops destined for craftsmen and merchants, in outbuildings known as *cup and plate* from the fact that the living space was on a loft over the shop



Jesus Hospital.

floor at street level. Structures of this sort were built on most property inherited by primogeniture, in numerous institutional buildings, and even in palaces of the nobility, in order to earn additional revenue.

The survival of the open air pre-Hispanic *tianguis* market, soon overflowed the structures designed to contain such trade. The municipalities of New Spain fought constantly to curb burgeoning street vending on pavements and in city squares, a

residences of heirs and noble families, whose architectural style ultimately imposed the increasingly homogeneous and grandiose formal traits that became the characteristic urban image of the metropolis. Separate mention must be made of the often immense convent and monastery complexes that spread over several blocks, enclosing an alternative urban model to the city's, closer to the Islamic than to the Renaissance tradition imposed upon the metropolis since the Conquest.



17th Century folding screen.

problem that has not been eliminated to this day.

Apart from some growth over time, the viceregal metropolis brought about few changes in urban structure, the original settlement managing to accommodate whatever social requirements arose.

Religious buildings stood out like urban milestones by virtue of their towers and high peaked roofs, and also with vaults and cupolas, indicating the key points around which city life developed.

Next in importance were government, educational and welfare buildings, and the sumptuous

During the administrations of viceroys Croix, Bucareli and above all Revillagigedo, municipal services improved considerably. Pavements and drains were renewed; water flow was regulated by channeling it through vaulted conduits; night lighting was installed, and the original street layout was enforced.

Most of the city's early structures crumbled or were engulfed in the mud of the 17th century's great floods (the one in 1629 lasted 3 years), causing the city to be almost entirely rebuilt. By the next century this had given the city the elegance and grandeur so admired by travelers who have described it



since the voyages of Alexander von Humboldt, until one of them called it the "City of Palaces".

The changes made by Ignacio Castera, the city's master builder during the Count of Revillagigedo's tenure, coincided with the advent of neoclassical and the end of baroque style, and began to change the face of the city. Neoclassical models were first executed by builders schooled at the brand new San Carlos Academy of Noble Arts of New Spain, and began

recently drawn Paseo de Bucareli, a broad avenue lined with trees and embellished by three roundabouts with monumental fountains.

Similar expansion ensued in the conurbated settlements of the basin and its surroundings, which by then were surrounded by fertile agricultural land and pastures that supplied the city's foodstuffs.

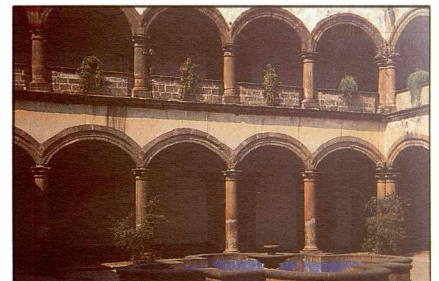
Crafts and preindustrial trades multiplied under the administrative reforms imposed by Charles III



*St. Jerome church (17th century).*



*Façade and convent doors, Franciscan convent of Xochimilco (16th century).*



*Cloister of the Franciscan convent of Xochimilco.*



*Cloister of the Augustinian convent of Culhuacán (16th century).*

to appear in the remaining cities of the vast viceregal domain as well.

New architectural styles and methods of construction were generously contributed by the many academics and military engineers who came to Mexico.

Many of the most outstanding buildings bequeathed by the Colonial period were erected at this time. The Royal Court of Mines, built by Manuel Tolsá; the Loreto church, built by architect José Paz, based on a Tolsá project, and the Royal Tobacco Factory, the work of Manuel Constanzo, are some examples.

During this period, the city began to expand westward, around the

through his agents sent to accelerate the process.

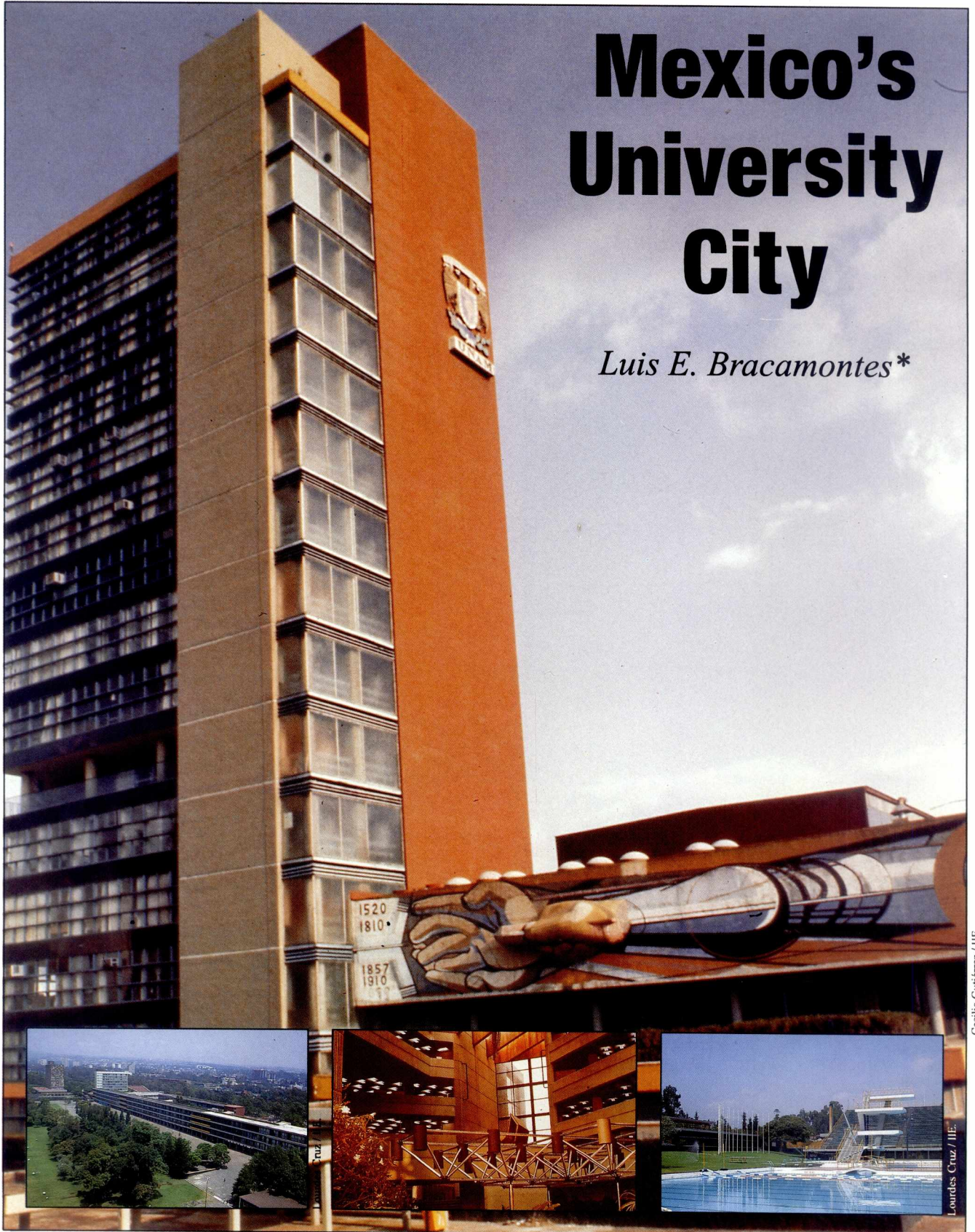
In spite of the economic and political centralism stemming from the viceregal administration, provincial capitals and tribunal seats, mining towns, ports, and commercial centers benefitted from the great concentrations of capital that developed toward the close of the 18th century.

Metropolitan influence did not attempt to impose urban models or implant styles in the remaining towns, so that each town in New Spain developed a strong personality and growing autonomy in the decisions of its municipal council.



# Mexico's University City

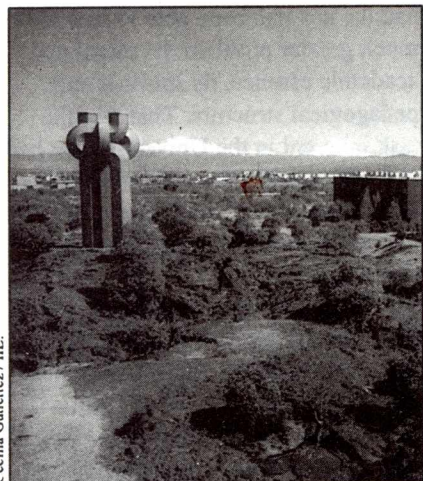
*Luis E. Bracamontes\**



Cecilia Gutiérrez / IIE.

Lourdes Cruz / IIE.





Cecilia Gutiérrez / IIE.

University City with volcanoes in the background.

**M**exico's University City (CU) was inaugurated forty years ago, in November 1952.

Some historical determinism may be said to have played a part in its location. The foundations of the newest "City of Learning" were laid on the site where the continent's most ancient civilization had flourished, in the incomparable landscape of the Pedregal de San Angel where the remains of "Pedregal Man" were found under rivers of petrified lava.

The University City campus was built on a 7,300,000 square meter tract in the southern part of Mexico's capital. Its axis coincides exactly with the continent's, the Pan-American Highway, and its center is the frontier between two races and two cultures, a crossroad and synthesis of peoples.

The uniqueness of the landscape, its wide-open spaces, its climate and multiple communications

◀  
Rectory Tower.

Panoramic view of the University City (below left).

National library (below center).

Olimpic swimming pool (below right).

\* Construction Manager, University City (1950-1955).

opportunities all come together to create what Alfonso X, the Wise, recorded in the 13th century with respect to the University of Salamanca, "the villa where the university shall be established should enjoy clean air and handsome walks, so that the teachers who expound and the students who learn may live a healthy life, relaxing and enjoying themselves in the afternoon when they rise weary from their endeavors."

Both Mexican and foreign critics and commentators praised the coordination, quality, and low cost at which the first stage of the campus was built (1950-1952); they all agreed that a record had been set in this type of effort.

The University City's construction was approached as a problem of integral planning on an appropriate scale, starting from such basics as physical, human, financial and politico-administrative factors. The goal was to build a real city with all the characteristics and problems of an urban complex enclosing an agglomeration of human beings.

Mexico's University City was not just a change of locale, but a genuine structural transformation of physical, social, pedagogical, and moral proportions. A transformation capable of furthering the integration of university life, of an authentic community of professors and students that, as it combined the humanism of classical education with the dynamic scientific knowledge of our age, would influence not only future university generations, but the country's destiny as well.

A distinguished nucleus of Mexican scientists, technicians, and specialists worked in close coordination with the best assortment of building contractors, all graduates of the National University, who had presented winning bids for their contracts. More than 140 engineers, architects, and specialists in different areas, took part in this great enterprise.

Close to 10,000 laborers worked day and night, Sundays and holidays for 28 months. All were imbued with a spirit of noble emulation and healthy competition. CU would not have become a reality had it depended only on technology. Its construction was powered by faith and creative mystique that overcame all obstacles and difficulties.

The new University City campus organization was established on April 1, 1950, at a time that was far from promising. There was actually no definitive overall project. Not even in the last two years previous had the architects in charge of partial projects reached the point where the construction of buildings could begin. The only exception was the group assigned to the Science Faculty and Institutes.

The University City was a small organization in terms of the number of its members. The success of its labors stemmed from planning, efficient distribution of functions, and individual and overall dedication.

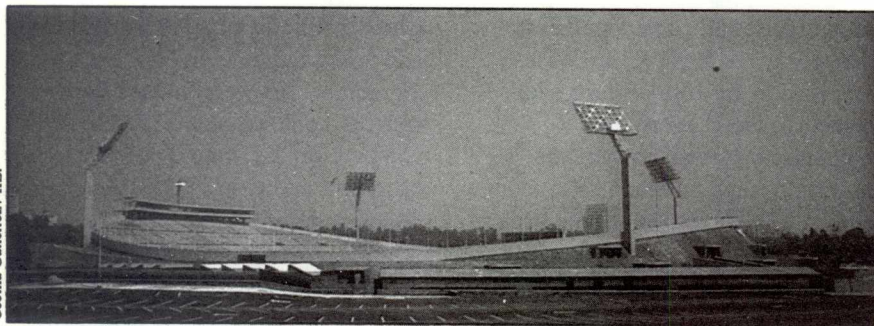
The symbolic beginning of construction on the first edifice took place on June 5, 1950. Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, then Secretary of the Interior, represented President Miguel Alemán, who was away from Mexico City at the time. Ruiz Cortines stated that the event was symbolic of the best expression of Mexico's will to demonstrate combined effort by people and government, both lovers of culture, and he underlined that Mexican university graduates were part of the people.

The event held special emotional importance, because an old dream that had seemed unattainable was becoming reality.

From that day on, the doors of the University's new home were practically open. The move to its new abode would leave a Colonial past and two stages of its life behind: its founding in 1910 and its autonomy in 1929.



Cecilia Gutiérrez / IIE.



*Olympic Stadium "Mexico 68".*

Bordering on the San Angel residential area to the north and the Cuicuilco archaeological zone to the south, Mexico's University City was built on both sides of the city's longest avenue, Avenida de los Insurgentes.

The academic and administrative areas are located east of the avenue, along with sports facilities. The great botanical garden, including both Mexican and foreign plants donated to the University, and the spectator sports installations are located on the west side of the avenue.

The first stage was built on approximately two million square meters. It was planned to provide classrooms for 30,000 students. In 1950, the National University of Mexico enrolled 8,500 undergraduates. The large area that remained at the end of the first stage was reserved for further growth. Today it is populated by a total of 87,415 undergraduate and graduate students.

CU represented a change of attitude in Mexico's way of doing things. It was striking not only architecturally but in the novelty of its structural design. In order to stay within a budget far below the necessary for conventional concrete construction, the stadium was built of earthworks consolidated and then covered with the lava rock that abounds in the area. Lava rock was used wherever it was advisable and logical. New materials were manufactured to replace imported ones, and they later became export products.

Mention must be made of the exterior murals that cover large surfaces, and the painted sculpture on the stadium façade (unfinished since the death of its creator), and other sculptures. The walls of the Main Library were decorated with multi-colored stones, specially sent from diverse parts of the country, which helped to create a harmonious whole.

That November 20, anniversary of the Mexican Revolution, was the date chosen to inaugurate the campus was not accidental. The idea of a new university, alive in this setting, was both product and legacy of the Revolution, without which it would never have taken shape.

A revolution is not only an armed movement to subvert and transform a given political and economic order. It is, above all, a permanent longing for human creativity, for peace and justice, animated by an incomparable and eternal mystical force.

Thus, Mexico's political, industrial, and spiritual revolutions came together to round out their symbolic significance, to make their highest ideals a reality, and to shed inextinguishable light on and give voice to their initial aspirations.

November 20, 1950, marked the beginning of a new cultural calendar. It also created the need for a new life, in thought, purpose, action and conduct. Because having solved one of the university's fundamental problems—that of its physical space—would have solved nothing

had we not also been able to face a much greater problem: its moral and academic essence, its spiritual and pedagogical structure. That was the task inherent in the University that had to be fulfilled so that it would always be an enclosure of civilization and culture upon which a better Mexico could be built.

With lofty spirit and great generosity, President Ruiz Cortines furthered this great project, the pride of all Mexicans, bastion of Latin culture and wonder of visitors. That is why, like Miguel Alemán before him, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines deserves Mexico's and particularly her university students' and graduates' unending acknowledgment and gratitude, for quietly continuing the overall plan and program for the University City by investing the large sums necessary to do so.

The National University began operations on its new University City campus for the 1954 school year. Surely Mexico has never made such a fruitful, beneficial and lasting investment. It will maintain scholarly tradition and infuse Mexico's young with those elements of faith, intelligence, and culture that have so far endured.

Forty years after the University City's inauguration, I offer my memories and acknowledgements to those who, on April 1, 1950, made that new organization possible: Carlos Novoa, President; Carlos Lazo, General Manager, creator and director of the new organization; Gustavo García Travesi, Planning and Investment Manager; Almiro P. de Moratinos, Public Relations Manager; Enrique del Moral, in the Master Project, and many others who, like them, are no longer with us, and were dear friends and colleagues all. University rectors Luis Garrido and Nabor Carrillo, and presidents of Mexico Miguel Alemán and Adolfo Ruiz Cortines earned an unforgettable place all their own **M**



*The growing number of Protestant denominations and their converts combined with constitutional changes granting legal rights to all churches have permanently altered traditional Roman Catholic religious dominance of Mexican society.*

were needed for Huitzilopochtli to stay alive and for the Aztecs to stay in power.

However, in the same manner that Tula and Quetzalcóatl lost legitimacy to the new emerging power of Huitzilopochtli and the Mexica, the latter were displaced by the "returning Quetzalcóatl", who turned out to be the Christian God brought by the Spaniards. And so the conqueror's

#### **An interplay of contradictions**

Instead of Emile Durkheim's hypothesis that the fundamental principle in relations between society and religion is a reciprocal harmonious incompatibility, today's preference is to consider them dialectic realities. A dialectic that is a component of both, considered separately, and also a determining factor in relations between them.

Therefore, historically and sociologically speaking, no religion exists in total "innocence" in society. A never ending dialectic between the functional and the dysfunctional is involved.

According to P. Bourdieu, the religious sphere is "generated" as a specific social realm different from the rest, due to a concentration of sacred power in an elite. Religion thus becomes part of the social dialectic. That is why, for example, the ideological justification of the Aztec's sacred mission guided by Huitzilopochtli, both legitimized their power over the other tribes while committing the members of those tribes to the role of sacrificial offerings.

The same religion that was functional for the dominant power was dysfunctional in the lives of the dominated. Surely those men would have preferred to die while hunting rather than during the solemnity of an Aztec ceremony. But their hearts



Patricia Ardujís.

*Mexican society is generally religious and primarily Catholic.*

# **A religious reconfiguring of Mexican society**

*José Luis González M.\**

\* Vice-president of the Center for the Study of Religions in Mexico.



## Changes in State-Church relations

### Some historical considerations

The Church lost wealth and material resources during the Reform era (1855-1876), but benefitted from the loss by distancing itself from economic matters while concentrating on spiritual affairs, and not necessarily being impoverished by expropriatory measures.

Furthermore, the Church's confrontation with the state enabled it to dissociate itself from the successes as well as the failures and downfall of the Díaz regime. Similarly, its defeat in the armed *Cristero* insurrection (1926-1929) distanced it from the fluctuations of the state and its changing regimes.

The state achieved its historic goals by enforcing the religious restrictions laid down in the Laws of Reform and the Constitution of 1917. It could not accept the presence of an entity more powerful than itself within its own territory.

After witnessing the post-Franco Spanish Church's difficult transition, the Mexican Church has no intention of seeking official status. As an international institution, the Church has promoted activities that have gained it independence from the various states. Proof of this is the revision of the Spanish, Italian and Colombian concordats, to cite recent examples.

The Catholic Church is presently in strong competition with other very dynamic churches, also viewed by it as sects, that take away its parishioners. These are often the most active parishioners and those most involved in spiritual matters.

Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists arrived in the heat of the Reform era and the Revolution, along with groups of Pentecostals, Mormons, Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses who, though not convoked, were protected by freedom of worship.

Paradoxically, the state is uncertain with whom to negotiate where non-Catholic religious groups are concerned. It does not know who its interlocutors are although it is aware of their existence and explosive growth.

### The context of the reforms

The current Mexican state, now taking steps to introduce changes that imply class change and change in social groups affiliated to the state itself, cannot circumvent an institution capable of mobilizing 15 million people. Nor can it ignore a multiplicity of religious institutions, known as churches, that have millions of adepts, solid organization and responsible memberships.

### Preparing for change

Public opinion was shaken on December 1, 1988, when five appropriately attired prelates attended the change of administration. It was there that the president presented terms for the transformation of state-

God legitimized another method for oppressing the vanquished to benefit the victors.

It is an interminable interplay between religious legitimization of political power and political definition of religious institutions. Mexico is no exception. All of Latin America has, to some degree, gone through a long process of conquests and resistances involving men and gods.

All considered, few societies display the diverse modes that relations between society and religion

successively adopted in their social and economic formations in such an exemplary manner as the Mexican (at least from Tula to the present).

In modern Mexico, these relations are characterized by two constant features:

- The secular nature of the state.
- The Roman Catholic configuration of Mexican society and culture.

The Catholic Church is framed between the defining features of these two positions. The clergy were denied political presence by the secular nature

of the state; and this same clergy preserved their presence in society, and perhaps, their political pretensions, by virtue of Mexican society's Catholic composition.

### The changes

The 1980s marked an important change in the religious configuration of Mexican society, because it was during that decade that the country's Catholic uniformity was broken. Although Protestant presence in Mexico dates from the 19th century



Church relations: the separation of Church from state, lay education in public schools, and freedom of worship.

Months later, a seminar was held in the National University's Law Department, on the participation of the clergy in politics. There, Monsignor Reynoso, Bishop of Cuernavaca, considered the Church's jurist, stated that the Church had been participating in a joint committee with government representatives for the past seven years to amend the Constitution.

Other churches expressed concern that they had not enjoyed the same treatment. The historically informed know, however, that the only reconciliation possible is between the Catholic Church and the state. The other churches arrived essentially as a state strategy to countervail the weight of the Catholic Church. They too met to define new ground rules and terms of interaction.

Liberal factions were kept waiting; these were the historical heirs of the organizations that implemented the Reform and wrote part of the Constitution of 1917. Today they find outlets for expression in the realm of Freemasonry, whose varying tendencies have also progressively accepted the new ground rules.

It is noteworthy that the main political parties had also expressed their support for a change in state-Church relations, to the point of even doing so before the fact.

An awkward subject remained to be discussed, the ever touchy question of money. It seems that the rules were laid down as follows: only funds needed for the maintenance of worship were allowed, there would be no claims for property expropriated by or donated to the state, and priests would be subject to taxation.

The achievement of a consensus does not, of course, imply the disavowal of positions or matters of principle. All factions maintain their differences and express them: the Catholic Church would like more space, but is willing to take what it has received; the anticlerical are unwilling to relinquish any space but know it is inevitable; the Protestant churches are intimidated by the new order and liberals are trying to rescue their principles.

The diverse churches and factions prepare to fight new battles. The Protestants are regrouping, bringing in Luis Palau to preach and fill football stadiums. Integrationist and fundamentalist groups grow stronger in all churches.

The two alternatives for the future are the secularization of Mexican society, which some sociologists claim to foresee, or the development of Algerian style integrationist movements, or both concurrently, depending on time and place. We are in a tunnel with a presently unknown exit.

Elio Masferrer Kan. *Revista Antropológicas, UNAM, No. 2, April-June 1992.*

(clearly established by published studies of P. Bastián, R. Ruiz and C. Garma, among others), it was not a statistically significant presence until recently.

The present day growth in size and importance of non-Catholic Christian groups, particularly of Protestant sects and churches since 1950, has now made them a significant sociological factor.

Figures from the 1980 Population Census alarmed some groups, because they showed the highest percentage of

non-Catholic Christians in Mexico's history: 3.7% of the total population.

However, census figures indicated unequal distribution of that percentage, since the "borders" were clearly identified as key points for this progressive change. On the northern border the proportion was 7%, and on the southern border from 7 to 12%.

More recent studies (1989) clearly show that this tendency has continued throughout the 1980s. For example, in a section of the city of Tapachula, Chiapas, of the 4,000 inhabitants

studied in 1989, non-Catholic churches reported 1,066 members (26.6%).

In a study began this year in Río Bravo, Tamualipas, we found more than 40 non-Catholic places of worship established in a population of approximately 65,000 inhabitants.

Obviously, Mexican society's religious makeup is shifting toward an increasingly accentuated plurality more in line with modern principles. While important groups in the Catholic hierarchy, with what looks like nostalgia for the Crusades, keep



relating the "assault by the sects" to a perverse international conspiracy, to primarily explain the phenomenon, the always more practical general public has learned to live with neighbors and even family members who go to other churches.

Understanding the phenomenon, however, is even more complicated and profound than the quantitative statistics suggest. These data require more qualitative analysis. In Río Bravo, for example, we found that the "sects" grew, but the Catholic Church, far from losing ground during the same period, grew from one to three parishes and that each one of them has posted increases in regular churchgoers.

What happened, it seems, was that they lost statistical Catholics registered by the census and gained actively affiliated Catholics. This is clearly confirmed by the improved quality of pastoral techniques.

On the other hand, the Philadelphia Evangelical Church, oldest non-Catholic denomination

with more than 100 years in Río Bravo, acknowledges that 70% of the present-day faithful came from Catholicism. Does this mean it is difficult to create generational tradition among the faithful in some of these churches?

being Catholic is an inseparable part of being Mexican makes it easy to disqualify all other denominations as "anti-Mexican".

The problem with this argument lies in its supposition that a people's identity begins with the arrival of

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## “Mexican society and culture are strongly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church”

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However the information is interpreted, it is clear that we are confronted with a process of change, and any modification affecting profound levels of a cultural system provokes society's forces. In this case, change in the religious make-up of Mexican society has been related to supposed "natural Catholic identity" that is being threatened. Granting that

Catholicism, which is historically untrue and sociologically detestable.

Another big change in the process we have been analyzing took place recently and may have significantly marked the 90s: this was the recognition of legal status for churches and the corresponding constitutional changes that made it possible.

*Popular Spanish Catholicism and indigenous beliefs developed over centuries into popular mestizo Catholicism.*









## Society and changes in religious legislation

**M**exican society is generally religious and primarily Catholic, as a consequence of the country's social evolution throughout several well defined periods of its history.

In pre-Conquest Mesoamerican societies, religion as the prevailing ideology formalized the explanation of the cosmos and dictated the rules of society. The individual was predestined in his everyday life and committed to the community, its leaders and its gods; thus, his behavior preserved the cosmic balance for the benefit of all.

The Spanish Conquest crushed Mesoamerican cultures. Part of traditional indigenous organization was maintained in the interest of political control by establishing the *Republic of Indians* which guaranteed tribute as well as forced labor.

Ecclesiastical organization, in the hands of the various religious orders in New Spain, carried out the conversion to which the Spanish Crown was committed, imposing Catholicism as the official religion.

Even so, the indigenous population remained true to its world view in the domestic sphere and sometimes at the community level, where its traditional priestly healers were severely persecuted. The Black population brought other religious ideas to New Spain which, combined with popular Spanish Catholicism and indigenous beliefs, developed over centuries into popular mestizo Catholicism.

Throughout history, the church as an institution has been forced to change in order to adapt to diverse political realities. As the ideological organ of the state, empowered to regulate and punish society, it sometimes dominated kings as well as peoples, but there were times when it was forced to negotiate its control over the populace.

The church acquired great power in New Spain. As a capitalist institution it controlled vast and numerous properties, accumulating enormous capital in the process. Besides controlling education it oversaw the reproduction of Catholic cultural patterns, maintaining a firm grip on the popular conscience.

The Laws of Reform redefined the Church's social functions and its relation with the state. They are clearly expressed in the Constitution of 1917. Nevertheless, the Church and its ministers maintained their dominance over believing Catholics. Constitutional restrictions forbidding the Church from political activity were ignored in defense of both its spiritual and material interests, as happened during the armed Catholic insurrection known as the *Cristiada* (1926-1929).

Even today the Church is intransigent and loath to change, witness its rejection and repression of priests who follow the Theology of Liberation. With this attitude, will it respect the limits still applicable to it in the Mexican Constitution? With the changes in Article 130, how can we make sure the Church will not try to regain control over the masses and manipulate them politically in pursuit of its leaders' interests? Does not the right of the clergy to vote carry with it the risk of moral pressure on the vote of the faithful as it does with other political and trade union leaders?

With these questions in mind, we should consider an important factor that may lie at the root of these changes.

As we have seen, Mexico is predominantly Catholic. The changes in Article 130 may insure the defense and cohesion of Mexican culture in the face of US Protestantism by making it possible to counteract the proselytism of diverse Protestant churches whose adepts increase daily. This may derail or delay cultural integration while economic integration seems inevitable.

If this is not the case, we must assume that in their unremitting struggle for power, Church and state have once again achieved an accommodation of sorts to submerge the populace in a religious catharsis that will forestall or mitigate social movements, hoping in this way to perpetuate the prevailing order, as they did during the three centuries of Spanish domination.



*encomenderos*, neither could they prevent Friar Bartolomé de las Casas from speaking out.

The numerous social movements inspired by Christian motivation in the Middle Ages, the first Protestant reform movements, the multiple denunciations of abuses suffered by indigenous inhabitants during the Colonial era, today's Liberation Theology movement, the death of Monsignor Romero and the more recent deaths in the Jesuit community

The fact that on many occasions and in many historical contexts Christianity's unrenounceable prophetic vocation has been momentarily silenced or co-opted by existing powers in no way means that it no longer exists. Among the lessons left by Western history is that the essence of Christianity unflinchingly returns to reclaim its prerogatives. Modern states must realize that Christianity will never accept banishment to the private sphere.

“Throughout Mexican history, the conqueror's God legitimized oppression of the vanquished”

in El Salvador, are all clear testimonies that Christianity contains deeper and more long-lasting forces than the hierarchy itself.

No pact with the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church (or with those of any other Christian denomination) can presuppose their renunciation from participation in public affairs, because it is precisely at the public level of social, economic and political structures that the human quality of life is built or destroyed.

All this is reformulated from another complementary perspective in the context of the crisis of post-modernism. Although there are a variety of concepts of post-modernism, for us it means the phase that begins when contemporary man and his institutions perceive the disillusionment that modern rationality has caused by its unfulfilled promises.

The economic and political rationale that grew out of the 19th century has been unable to fulfill its

### Mexico establishes diplomatic relations with the Vatican

**T**he Mexican government and the Vatican formally announced the establishment of diplomatic relations on September 20, with a Mexican ambassador to be sent to the Vatican and an Apostolic Nuncio to come to Mexico City.

The Department of Foreign Affairs declared that the decision had been reached in accordance with the provisions of the Mexican Constitution which recognizes the legality of churches and other religious groups. It is also in the interest of establishing diplomatic relations with members of the international community committed to the preservation of peace and harmony among nations.

The step's immediate precedent was the designation of personal representatives by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Pope John Paul II on February 16, 1990.

Only 38 of the 157 members of the United Nations do not maintain diplomatic relations with the Vatican.



Marco A. Cruz / Imagenlatina.

*The Spanish conquest crushed Mesoamerican cultures.*

grand promise: unlimited progress and well-being for all mankind. Today we know this to be impossible, at least within the current world system.

We know that this modern rationale of Western culture has not only left its promise unfulfilled, but has fatally harmed the planet. The recent Earth Summit bore witness to the magnitude of the damage.

With the planet devastated and a growing and uncontrollable gap between poverty and wealth in the human family, the least that can be said is that the professional and secular management of policy and economy has failed.

This is not an invitation to return to an “enchanted” world, nor to flee to pre-modernity. It does mean taking note of flaws in a model whose narcissistic, ethnocentric and totalitarian imposition of its own paradigms locked it into “its own rationality,” causing it to overstep the limits of universal human rationality.

Under these conditions, it behooves the nations to respect the spaces where all social groups may express their proposals for a new utopia and a new struggle for world justice **M**



# Second Ibero-American Summit Meeting

**T**he Second Ibero-American Summit was held in Madrid, July 23-24, 1992. Nineteen heads of state attended and four—the presidents of Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, and Portugal, present at last year's summit in Guadalajara—were absent, although Portugal sent its prime minister.

The meeting's final document commits the signatories to petition the 47th UN General Assembly to obtain a consultative opinion from the International Court of Justice on the US Supreme Court decision virtually authorizing suspects to be kidnapped on foreign territory, as in the case of Humberto Alvarez Machain.

The 30-page document insists on the "need for absolute respect for the full and exclusive exercise of a state's sovereignty over its territory," and considers "any judicial decision countervailing the principles and norms of international law to be highly alarming."

The document also reasserts its support for UN reform to "further the organization's role in the new phase of international relations," and for the "reform, strengthening and modernization of the Organization of American States." The heads of state further confirmed their "commitment to representative democracy," to free, open, and plural societies that do not persecute or exclude any of

## United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic

Participants: 106 countries.

US Representative: Ann B. Wroblewski, Assistant Secretary for international Narcotics Matters, Department of State, accompanied by 29 experts.

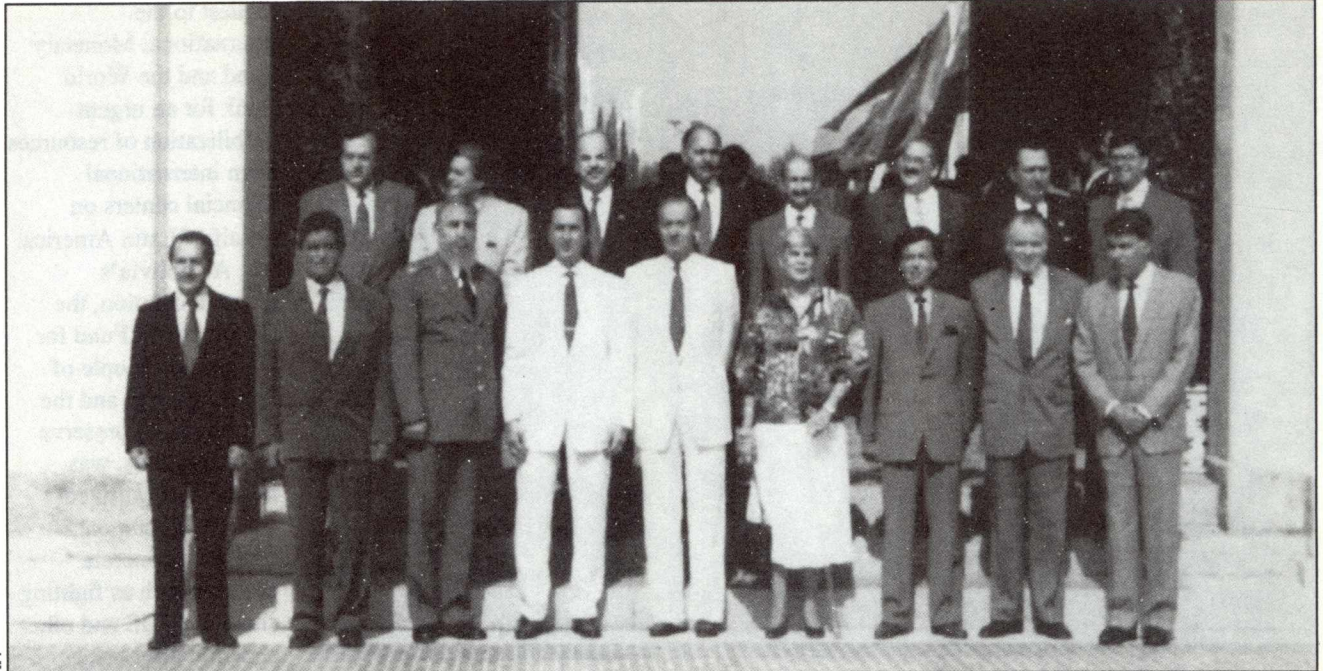
### Article 2: Scope of the Convention

2. The Parties shall carry out their obligations under this Convention in a manner consistent with the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States and that of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States.
3. A Party shall not undertake in the territory of another Party the exercise of jurisdiction and performance of functions which are exclusively reserved to the authorities of that other Party by its domestic law.

### Article 6: Extradition

2. Each of the offenses to which this article applies shall be deemed to be included as an extraditable offense in any extradition treaty existing between Parties. The Parties undertake to include such offenses as extraditable offenses in every extradition treaty to be concluded between them.
3. If a Party that makes extradition conditional on the existence of a treaty receives a request for extradition from another Party with which it has no extradition treaty, it may consider this Convention the legal basis for extradition in respect of any offense to which this article applies.  
Parties requiring detailed legislation in order to use this Convention as legal basis for extradition shall consider enacting such legislation as may be necessary.
5. Extradition shall be subject to the conditions provided for by the law of the requested Party or by applicable extradition treaties, including the grounds upon which the requested Party may refuse extradition.
6. In considering requests received pursuant to this article, the requested State may refuse to comply with such requests where there are substantial grounds leading its judicial or other competent authorities to believe that compliance would facilitate the prosecution or punishment of any person on account of his race, religion, nationality or political opinions, or would cause prejudice for any of those reasons to any person affected by the request.





AP.

Ibero-American leaders pose for their official portrait in the patio of Seville's Expo '92 Royal Pavilion.

## in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances

### Article 7: Mutual legal assistance

15. Mutual legal assistance may be refused:

- b) If the requested Party considers that execution of the request is likely to prejudice its sovereignty, security, public order or other essential interests.

### Article 9: Other forms of cooperation and training

1. The Parties shall cooperate closely with one another, consistent with their respective domestic legal and administrative systems, with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of law enforcement action. They shall, in particular, on the basis of bilateral or multilateral agreements or arrangements:
  - c) In appropriate cases, and if not contrary to domestic law, establish joint teams, taking into account the need to protect the security of persons and of operations, to carry out the provisions of this paragraph. Officials of any Party taking part in such teams shall act as authorized by the appropriate authorities of the Party in whose territory the operation is to take place; in all such cases, the Parties involved shall ensure that the sovereignty of the Party on whose territory the operation is to take place is fully respected.

### Article 32: Settlement of disputes

1. If there should arise between two or more Parties a dispute relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention, the Parties shall consult together with a view to the settlement of the dispute by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, recourse to regional bodies, judicial process or other peaceful means of their own choice.
2. Any such dispute that cannot be settled in the manner prescribed in paragraph 1 of this article shall be referred, at the request of any one of the States Parties to the dispute, to the International Court of Justice for decision.
3. If a regional economic integration organization referred to in article 26, subparagraph c) is a Party to a dispute which cannot be settled in the manner prescribed in paragraph 1 of this article, it may, through a State Member of the United Nations, request the Council to request an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in accordance with article 65 of the Statute of the Court, which opinion shall be regarded as decisive.

Viena, December 20, 1988.

Ratified by Mexico and the United States in 1989.





AP.

*A day before the presidents began the Ibero-American Summit, their foreign ministers discussed the details of agreements.*

their inhabitants, and to the human rights and fundamental liberties "that are the pillars of our community."

At Mexico's suggestion, those present expressed their solidarity with Colombian President César Gaviria and the Colombian people in their on-going struggle against drug-trafficking and drug-related terrorism.

The final document reaffirmed the commitment to "intensify cooperation and the fight against drug-trafficking, which is a multilateral problem." It condemned all acts of terrorism and proposed to increase Ibero-American cooperation to eradicate this problem.

The document warned that Latin America is still beset by levels of poverty that "may lead to political instability, therefore requiring more effective action to protect the disadvantaged." It also stressed the need for the Uruguay Round of the GATT to "conclude quickly and satisfactorily."

The *Madrid Declaration* included a

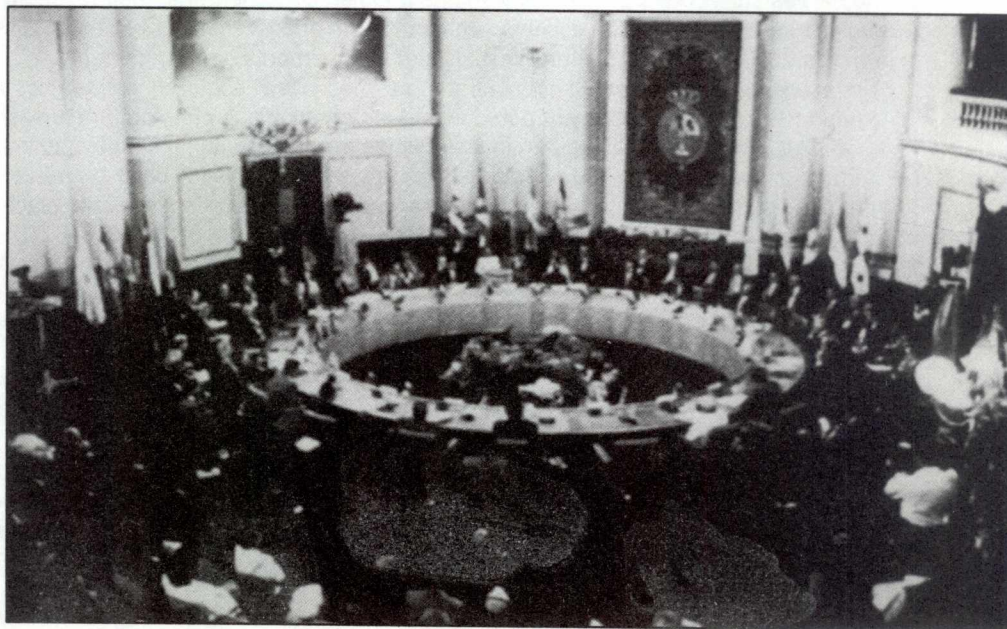
request to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for an urgent mobilization of resources from international financial centers on behalf of Latin America.

At Bolivia's recommendation, the Development Fund for Indigenous People of Latin America and the Caribbean, to preserve ethnic cultures, was formally constituted.

The document considers concrete projects such as fighting cholera, AIDS and other endemic diseases, as well as literacy programs.

In adjourning the Second Ibero-American Summit Meeting, King Juan Carlos declared: "My best wishes to those presidents who were unable to share this summit, which I now bring to a close with our eyes and hearts set on the city of Bahia" ❖

*Marybel Toro Gayol*  
Managing Editor.



*The meeting's final document insists on the need for absolute respect for a state's sovereignty over its territory.*



In Jorge Luis Borges' short story "Ulrika" a Norwegian woman asks the protagonist what it means to be a Colombian, to which the latter replies: "It is an act of faith." This anecdote illustrates how the Ibero-American community has so far been an emotional reality rather than an area of cooperation and constructive dialogue. An emotional reality that, even after a long history of fruitless attempts at self-realization, has unquestionably preserved the motives that gave it origin and purpose.

For the idea of community to exist, its members must participate on the basis of backgrounds assumed to be their own, but that are at the same time distinct from others. In the case of the Ibero-American community, these elements are rooted in the undeniable substratum of common culture and shared historical legacy.

What is currently taking place within this community? In the last few years the consolidation of regional economic blocs seems to point to an international situation in which established mediation and cooperation groups are losing ground and purpose.

Spain and Portugal have been integrated into the European Community. Sub-regional agreements, such as Mercosur, the Andean Pact, the Cartagena Agreement, have been established in the South. Central America is establishing its own system of integration, and Mexico has successfully concluded negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement with its northern neighbors. All display gravitation toward exclusive regional definitions.

Taken together, this would mean a *coup de grace* to the political viability of an Ibero-American community. Nevertheless, though paradoxically, in this context the idea and the need to achieve political articulation of the vast and contradictory flow that nourishes Ibero-American cultural identity begin to be visible.

The first and fundamental step in this direction was taken in 1991 when, for the first time in history, the twenty-one heads of state and government of the countries constituting the Ibero-American community met in Guadalajara, Mexico.

What is known as the Guadalajara Summit became the concrete expression of the search for better communication between the members of the community, the creation of a network of integration and discussion around the diverse problems that face them: respect for international law, and sovereignty, peaceful conflict solution and the broadening of mutual concern for democracy, economic and social development, the environment, technology and culture.

The Guadalajara meeting was not intended to exclude other steps toward integration, whether regional or extra-regional, but to strengthen them as well as to establish a dialogue with other regions.

\* International affairs historian.

# From the spirit to the letter: the Second Ibero-American Summit

*Alejandra de la Paz \**

The Second Ibero-American Summit was held in Madrid a year later, on July 22 and 23, 1992, thereby consolidating this forum and confirming that its agreements will be backed by political will and translated into specific action.

Not all heads of state and government were present on this occasion. The absence of some of them emphasizes the need for sustained political and economic cooperation between the forum's members. Hence the first benefit to be noted is the resolution by those present to work positively toward solutions to problems such as the instability of democratic institutions, drug trafficking and terrorism.

It should be emphasized that there has been a significant change from the First to the Second Summit. What clearly came out of the Guadalajara Summit was a declaration of principles and intentions. Its importance was that an agreement had been reached regarding the problems to be faced, clearly the first step toward action.

The Madrid Summit took a step beyond the declarative stage to the definition of cooperative programs





*Ibero-American Summit leaders mingle minutes before the official photo.*

that are already in operation. The principal areas of action are in the sphere of education and culture. It is no accident that these are the first issues to be addressed, for they are precisely where the earliest historical paths and shared values exist, suggesting the defense of cultural identity against the flattening effect of globalization. At the same time, these programs require a realistic awareness of the need for greater competitiveness in the global context.

Social and human development is the second area where specific goals have been defined. The end of bipolarity has once more brought inequalities between North and South into sharp focus. It is particularly important for Latin America to develop forms of cooperation that rapidly address the area's most pressing problems. The signing of the agreement to establish the Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean is particularly significant in this respect.

In conjunction with these specific agreements, provision for the respect and preservation of sovereignty in accordance with the rules of international law as the principle that should regulate relations among the nations of the community was universally accepted. In this sense, the heads of state and government undertook to condemn any judicial decision that violated these principles.

Finally, though the participating nations differ greatly in terms of ideology, and political and economic development, they have reached specific agreements on common problems and established new forms of mutual support.

But its most important achievement is that the Ibero-American Summit has established itself as a forum for political mediation whose implications go beyond the Ibero-American sphere to relevance for the international community as a whole.

It is to be hoped that the answer to Borges' question will soon cease to be so devastating **N**

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# A medley of awards for Latin Americans

**The National Museum of Anthropology and History receives a prize.** The Mexican National Museum of Anthropology and History was awarded the Onassis Foundation's Olympia Prize last May for its contribution to the preservation of culture in Central America. In a ceremony at the Music Palace in Athens, Greek President Constantinos Caramanlis also awarded the museum's director, Mari Carmen Serra Puche, the "For Mankind and Culture" prize. One of the members of the international prize committee rated the museum an admirable, living example of Central American society and culture.

**The Prince of Asturias Art Prize.** On May 8, at Oviedo, Spain, Chilean artist and architect Roberto Matta was awarded the Prince of Asturias Art Prize for his work, which explores the links between verbal and illustrative language. The prize committee pointed out that Matta is one of the youngest men of the first surrealist group to contribute in a leading way to the spread of North

American art during the Second World War, when emigration to New York of European writers and celebrities occurred. The committee also underlined the fact that his art could be considered an exemplary illustration of the beginning of psychic automatism so cherished by the surrealists.

**A Chilean is awarded the Queen Sofia Prize for Ibero-American Poetry.** In June, Chilean poet Gonzalo Rojas received the Queen Sofia Prize for Ibero-American Poetry founded by the Spanish National Foundation and the University of Salamanca. It is the first award of this prize, its purpose being to distinguish poets in any of the languages of the Iberian Community of Nations, be they derived from Latin or indigenous tongues. Mexican Nobel prize winner, Octavio Paz, was a member of the prize committee **M**

*Raquel Villanueva*  
Staff Writer.

## CUADERNOS AMERICANOS 34 NUEVA ÉPOCA

### CONTENIDO

DE UN AYMARA DE CHILE A UN ZAPOTECA DE MÉXICO

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LEOPOLDO ZEA Y LA FILOSOFÍA LATINOAMERICANA

*Arturo Ardao* La filosofía como compromiso de liberación  
Leopoldo Zea, ¿profeta irritante?

*Charles Minguet* América en la historia  
Discursos desde la marginación y la barbarie

*Fernando Ainsa* El maestro Leopoldo Zea

*Charles Minguet* Prólogo

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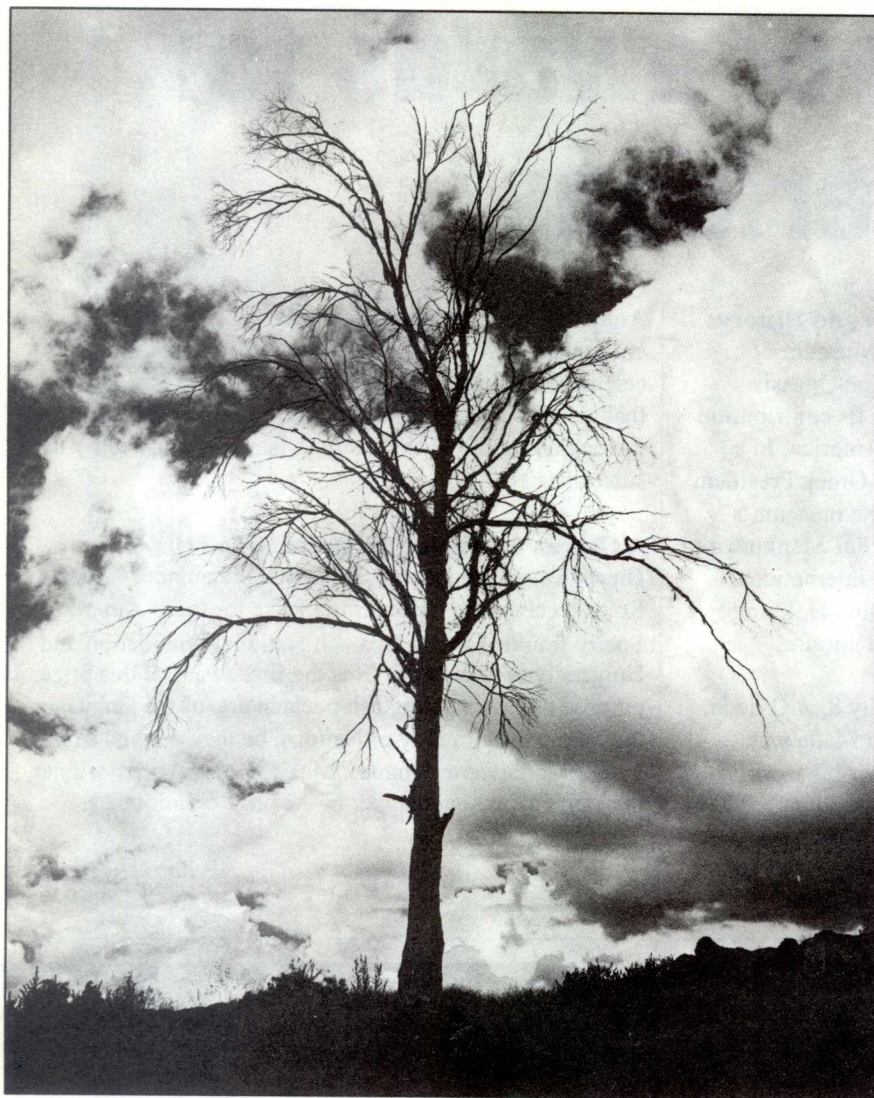
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## CINCUENTA AÑOS





renewable natural resources; extinction of species and damage to human mental and physical health. Poverty was also brought up as the cause of many environmental problems. Finally, 25 principles were agreed upon to confront the problem.

However, ten years later, at an evaluation meeting held in Nairobi, it was decided that the results obtained had not produced sufficient international response and environmental deterioration had already reached alarming proportions, endangering vast areas of the world.

In December 1989, the UN General Assembly approved the organization of a United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, also called the Earth Summit, with headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. In two years four preparatory meetings were held to define bases for common action to reach sustainable development without leading the planet to ecological catastrophe.

#### **The starting point**

The conference was organized under the basic assumption of the need for a new type of international cooperation, in matters of financial resources, clean technology and the struggle

#### **Background**

Before the Earth Summit came the 1972 Stockholm UN Human Habitat Conference. Under the "One Earth" slogan, the representatives of 110 countries sought a way to develop awareness of the speedy destruction of the environment and its worldwide effects.

In the Stockholm declaration, attention was drawn to the harmful effects of the indiscriminate application of scientific and technological advances: water, air and earth pollution; ecological imbalance of the biosphere; destruction and depletion of non-

# **The Earth Summit: too many concessions**



*The UN Environment and Development Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro, June 3-14 this year, considered the most ambitious meeting recently called by the UN, concluded without commitments or agendas that might reflect concrete answers to the environmental problems caused by development.*

against poverty, as conditions to reconcile development with environmental protection.

The principle obstacle in the attainment of these agreements was having to overcome the confrontation between poor and rich countries. The former believe they should make the latter pay the cost of destruction as they were the first to adopt a destructive model of anarchic development centered on the depletion of resources which they export to other parts of the world through transnational industries.

Furthermore, economic inequality in relation to the North, Northern exploitation of natural resources, the weight of foreign debt and internal economic and social problems, prevent the Southern countries from channeling resources into environmental programs.

The Northern countries refuse to take greater responsibility for concrete financial and technological commitments to the Southern countries.

By insisting on the need to modify economic relations between nations as a condition to striking a harmonious balance between environment and development, the conference undertook

the most trying exercise in multilateral diplomacy ever attempted.

Unfortunately, expectations far outdistanced the tenuous results obtained.

#### **Organization of the conference: facts and figures**

The Summit was amazing, if not for the results obtained, then for the record attendance, the cost of its organization and the chaos of information generated. In two weeks, more than 400 official as well as non-official meetings, conferences, cultural activities and demonstrations were held.

According to press data,<sup>1</sup> the Summit lured more than 30,000 visitors, of which 8,100 took part in the

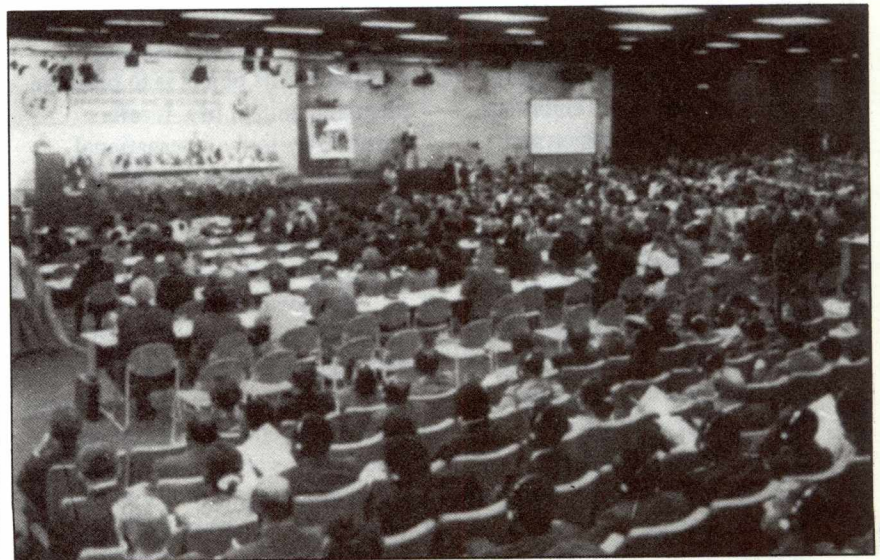
event organized by the UN, 7,222 were accredited journalists from various parts of the world and the rest were tourists and members of more than 2,000 non-governmental organizations, representing more than 116 countries.

The latter participated in alternative forums held at the same time: the International Non-Governmental Forum, the Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders, and the Earth Parliament.

The organization of the Summit cost nearly 95 million dollars. The UN contributed 40 million and the Brazilian government contributed the rest in expenses directly tied to the event, as well as collaborating, along with various European governments, in financing the International Non-Governmental Forum.

The Brazilian government and its agencies invested more than a trillion dollars in "cosmetic surgery" for the headquarters city: construction of a fast route from the airport to the convention center, cleaning and improvement of beaches and parks as well as the removal of "street children" from the streets and beaches.

Paradoxically Brazil's total 1992 budget for environmental affairs was 60 million dollars, and environmental



*A record number of world leaders participated in the two-day Summit.*

<sup>1</sup> The figures quoted were taken from Mexican newspapers, *La Jornada* and *El Financiero*, and from *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*.



monitoring has almost been paralyzed due to lack of resources.

Delegates from more than 175 countries participated, including government, social sector and international and regional institution representatives, as well as more than 110 chiefs of state and government. For the Brazilian government this meant more than 20 million dollars expenditure to prepare the conference headquarters and to provide its visitors with security, according to standards requested by the UN. The army and police patrolled Rio de Janeiro streets for two weeks turning it into the safest city in the world.

In the end, the Summit was not spared ecological destruction. Damage was reported to Flamengo park where various non-governmental events took place. Tons of fish died in Lake Jacarepagua as a result of sewage from the conference's main buildings. It is also said that the Kuwaiti delegation left the country with more than 100 cages containing tropical Brazilian birds in spite of laws prohibiting the sale and export of such fauna.

### Objectives, disagreements and results

From the time it was convoked, the Earth Summit was considered the most important global gathering in history, due both to the number of countries represented as well as the ambitious agenda offered for discussion and approval, which included:

1. Three international conventions describing specific measures to protect the atmosphere, biodiversity, and forests: *Convention on Biodiversity*, *Convention on Climatic Change* and *Convention on Forests*.
2. Signature of a world environmental plan for economic and environmental action aimed at achieving sustainable development, known as *Agenda 21*.



José Antonio Trejo.

*The destruction of the environment has worldwide effects.*

3. A declaration of basic global principles on environment and development called *The Earth Letter*.

For two weeks the vast gulf separating North and South was made abundantly evident. The most controversial points, the ones that would determine the results obtained were: the responsibility and financing of sustainable development programs; which international agency would be responsible for assigning resources and following up the programs; and North-South commitments on technical assistance and transfer of technology.

The *Convention on Biodiversity* was, from the outset of preliminary negotiations, one of the most conflictive. Its object is to preserve plant and animal life. It refers particularly to the international treatment of genes, species, biotic populations and ecosystems, and control of the technologies to improve them.

The document prevents the industrialized nations' biotechnological industries from having unlimited access to the Third World's genetic wealth; it states that natural resources are the exclusive preserve of each nation's sovereignty and proposes Third World access to new technologies for ecological preservation.

The US compared this document to signing a blank check, because it forces the industrialized nations to direct millions in resources to environmental aid for Third World countries. Furthermore, it does not provide for recognition of intellectual property in the use of biotechnology.

It was for these reasons that President Bush refused to sign it in spite of the isolation and unanimous criticism it earned him from all participating nations (including such traditional US allies as Great Britain), non-governmental organizations and sectors of US society.

The final document maintains that the Northern nations be allowed a level of access to the biological resources of the South as long as the latter have access to the technological resources of the former. In spite of the fact that all other industrialized and Third World nations signed the document, the US' lone refusal endangers the fulfillment of the commitments agreed upon, displaying the weakness of attempts at international cooperation when they are contrary to the particular interests of powerful states.

The *Convention on Climatic Change* also provoked heated debate and sad results. After two years of negotiations, the proposed document stressed the adoption of commitments and specific targets to regulate carbon



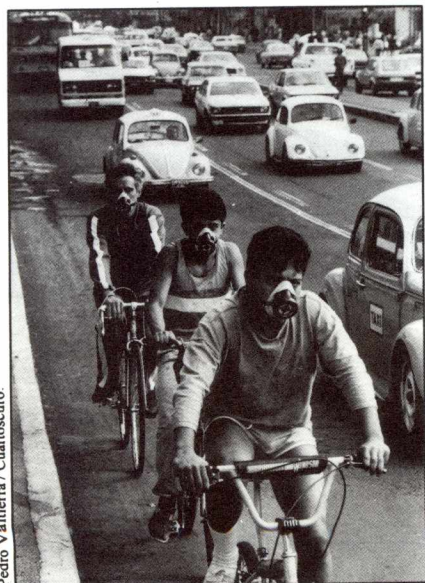
dioxide emissions which produce the greenhouse effect and destroy the ozone layer, severely affecting climate and agriculture.

The industrialized nations were the most compromised considering they generate three quarters of the world's gas emissions, with the US responsible for 25%. The US, defying the commitment made by the EEC, warned that it would not sign a document forcing it to take on a concrete commitment to reduce emissions by the year 2000, due to the cost to its already weakened economy. The final proposal, aimed at gaining the inclusion of the US was ambiguous, as neither specific targets nor agendas were set.

The *Convention on Forests*, resolved at the last minute, reflected divergent interests at play. The wood-producing developing countries rejected the developed nations' position on the protection of forests, calling it interventionist.

In one of the few victories for the South, it was determined that fiscal or trade barriers could not be raised against the wood trade.

Agreement was reached on the promotion of international cooperation



Pedro Valtierra / Cuartoscuro.

Cyclists in Mexico City.

in the handling of forests, without including an instrument of judicial force, as the industrialized nations wished. In harmony with the rest of the Summit, the declaration neglects to mention specific targets to reduce deforestation.

The other fundamental document that caused disappointment was the *Agenda 21*. It contains 115 programs in 900 pages that define the financing sources and mechanisms to attain world development with environmental criteria. Like the previous documents, its main obstacle is lack of definition of financial commitment to make the proposals real.

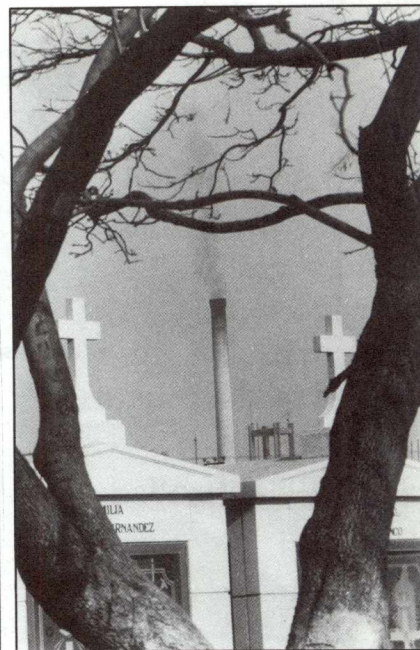
The Group of 77, which includes 128 developing nations, plus China, proposed that the industrialized nations increase their aid to developing countries from 0.35% to 0.7% of their GDP, setting the year 2000 as the deadline.

According to the UN, 125 billion dollars would be required annually between 1993 and 2000, a figure considered unrealistic by the industrialized nations (Germany, Canada, the US, France, England, Italy and Japan). They refused to accept the commitment and it all ended with a text qualified as rhetorical, which states the increase will take place "as soon as possible", without setting limits or deadlines.

The industrialized nations promised financial aid to the Third World for 6 to 7 billion dollars, causing deep disappointment among delegates from poor nations.

Furthermore, the Group of 77 set aside its demand for the creation of a new fund to administer financial support (substituting the Global Environment Fund,) in exchange for guarantees of democratization in the assignment of resources, for until now these criteria have been defined by the donors.

Finally, the *Rio Declaration*, approved at the Summit's last plenary session by heads of state and



Herón Alemán / Imagenlatina.

*Is this the future we want for our planet?*

government, contains 27 basic principles on states' rights and obligations regarding the environment.

Reference is made to the struggle against poverty as a guarantee of sustainable development, the sovereignty of states over their natural resources, and the importance of their ecologically responsible exploitation; it also apportions responsibilities on the principle that whoever pollutes will have to pay to fight the pollution.

On the whole, taking into account present patterns of consumption and styles of development that determine the deterioration of the environment, as well as the reigning inequality between North and South, it is difficult to say that big steps were taken by the Summit toward a more balanced world order aimed at retarding ecological deterioration and accelerating development.

Even for the most optimistic, the Rio Summit culminated in a series of ambiguous resolutions, devoid of concrete commitments, goals and agendas ❖

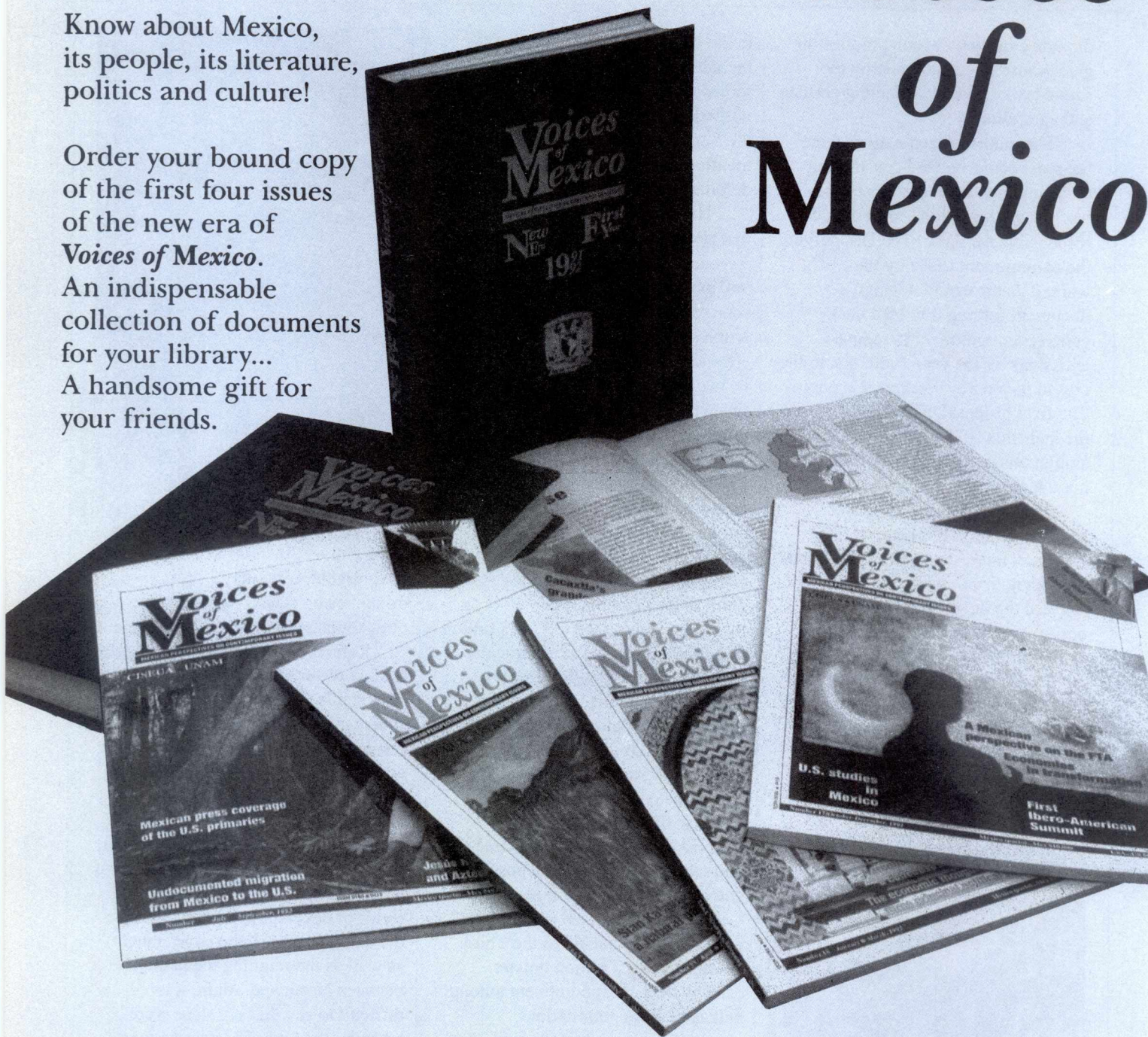
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Invitation card to the 60th anniversary celebration of the founding of the USSR.

*Hugo B. Margáin was twice Mexican Ambassador to the United States. As senator, he was appointed Mexican congressional representative to the 60th anniversary celebration of the founding of the USSR, in December 1982. At that time, no one imagined there would be no 70th anniversary celebration. The Soviet Union was dissolved in 1992. These are his impressions of that historic journey.*

## USSR (1982): CIS (1992)

*Hugo B. Margáin\**

**V**asili Kuzmick Okulinsev, Sergei Nikiforov and Yuri I. Yurov, representatives of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, met me at the Moscow airport.

We got into the automobile that had been assigned to me and was at my disposal during my entire stay in Moscow. We started off on the 60 kilometer trip to the capital, on a dark, foggy afternoon. The new fallen snow lay on the fields and forests, as the thermometer dropped to minus 7 degrees Celsius.

The wide highway, in excellent condition, was flanked by young forests. "The old ones—I was informed—were burned down during the war. As you know, during our history, we have suffered the constant devastation of the capital and its environs. The aggressors have caused countless fires and mutilations."

A guard saluted, every 500 meters, as we passed. They were posted all along the route and I could see them communicating by portable radio.

Thick fur lined uniforms and heavy boots insulated them from the cold.

The Rossiya Hotel, close to Red Square, is enormous and considered the largest in the world. It takes up an entire square block and, on each of its four streets, there is an entrance to its four different buildings. For reasons of administration and upkeep, each of the four sides has its own services. Public rooms and dining halls are in the central tower.



The Palace of Congresses.

\* Editorial Director.





I had a small but comfortable suite on the eleventh floor. The foyer had armoires against the wall on the right, and on the left, a comfortable roomy bathroom. Next, a dayroom with a small desk, refrigerator, television and a long couch, that could be converted into a bed. The center table held fruit and drink. A large window facing the street gave me a view of the illuminated city through the night mist. A door led to a small bedroom, with two narrow beds, an armoire, desk and nightstand, also with a large outside window. Simple unadorned wooden furniture gave the impression of sobriety.

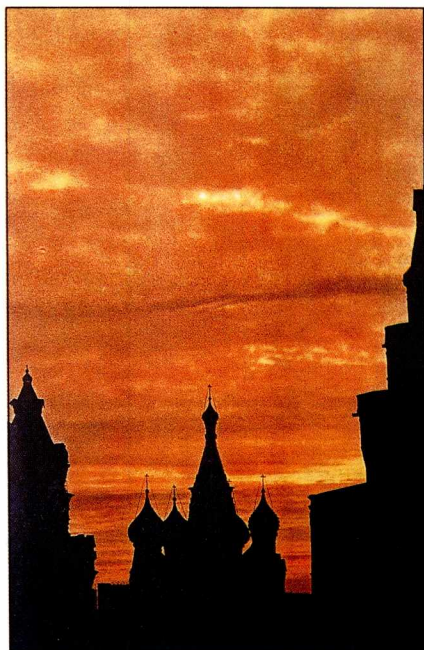
We arrived tired from our twenty-four hour trip, including close to twenty hours of flight time. However, I went down to the lobby at 7 pm to go to the theater. They had planned for us to go to the Bolshoi. We saw three excellent ballets with contemporary Russian music of the highest quality.



The ballerinas and ensembles were equal to their great prestige. During the intermission, people went to various salons in the spacious theater for refreshment. There were special tables for invited guests. Everything there came from the fifteen republics of the union.

### Opening ceremonies

Celebrations for the 60th anniversary began officially on the morning of Monday the 20th. Representatives of foreign countries, accompanied by their interpreters, were called to Red



*The twilight of a system...  
an uncertain dawn.*

Square to place a floral wreath on the mausoleum where Lenin lies. At 11 am, we could see groups of twenty guests file by to pay homage to the founder of the Soviet Union. Accompanied by high-ranking military officers, floral wreaths were placed against the mausoleum, covering its entire façade.

Next, we went inside, where the embalmed body of the leader is displayed, guarded by soldiers from the various armed services. We returned outside by the stairway leading to the Kremlin's red-brick wall, at the foot of



which are the tombs of the most important dignitaries of Russia's recent history. Bedecked with flowers and still without tombstone or bust, we could see Brezhnev's tomb. Having recently passed away, he was not far from the tombs of Stalin, Kalinin and other high ranking members of the Soviet hierarchy.

We continued along the wall, heading toward the adjoining garden. In the Square of the Revolution, there is a monument to the Unknown Soldier, some 500 meters from the mausoleum. There we waited for the changing of the guard. Our group went in to lay a floral offering on the Unknown Soldier's simple tomb. Heading the group, an officer and two soldiers carried the wreath, marching up to the monument to the cadence of a band playing a funeral march.

The program of celebrations that had brought us together began with these ceremonies.







**Interview with deputy Shitikov**

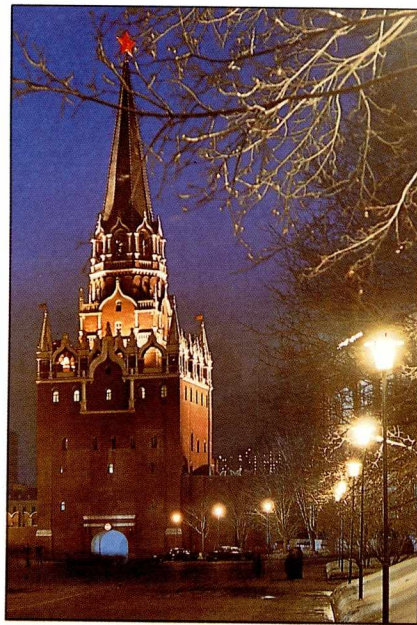
On the same day, December 20, I had a talk with deputy Shitikov. It was held jointly with the delegation from the Republic of Syria. As officials of the Soviet explained to us, this was due to the large number of delegations they had to receive during the celebrations.

Shitikov opened the talk with some words of welcome and spoke broadly on the political-administrative structure of the USSR, composed of individuals of one hundred nationalities with their own language and dialects in fifteen Soviet socialist republics, twenty autonomous republics and ten autonomous districts.

The two-chamber system consisted of the Chamber of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, both constituting the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with soviet meaning council.



The explanation given for the two chambers is the need to have one representing the populace in general, in which deputies are elected from their electoral districts—one deputy for every 350,000 inhabitants—making up the Soviet of the Union. The second chamber balances quantitative differences between different ethnic groups in the USSR, varying in number from several thousand to tens of millions, as is the case of the Slavs, Ukrainians and White Russians. The Chamber of the Soviet of Nationalities fulfills this function, thirty-two



*CIS: Ethnic flowering of 15 republics?*

deputies being elected per republic, five from each autonomous region and one from each autonomous district.

Passage of a law requires the consent of both chambers, helping to balance differences among ethnic groups involving their specific weight in the legislative branch.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is elected at a session of the Supreme Soviet. It is made up of a president, fifteen vice-presidents—one for each republic—, a secretary and twenty-one members, that is, a total of thirty-eight members. One



of the vice-presidents is the first vice-president, the one who carries out the functions of the president in his absence, incapacity or death. After the death of Brezhnev, the post of president remained vacant, with his functions being exercised by V.V. Kuznetsov, current first vice-president.

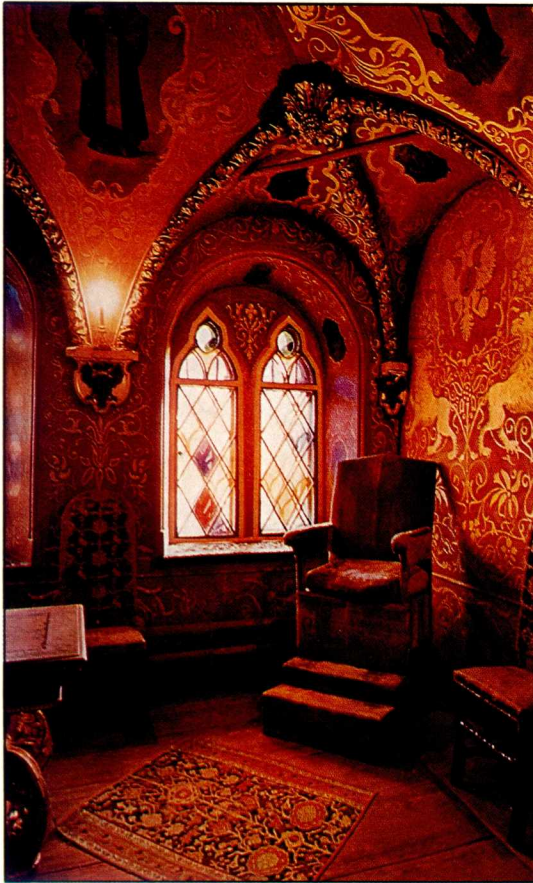
It was explained to us that there are no “professional deputies.” Rather, they must continue their everyday jobs. They receive 200 rubles a year for mail expenses, in addition to having free transportation within the USSR.

The meeting lasted from 5 to 5:30 pm in Shitikov’s office in the Kremlin’s Soviet building. They presented mementos of the anniversary being celebrated and some informative material in Spanish on Soviet parliamentary organization and a list of republics making up the USSR, along with the autonomous republics, autonomous regions and



autonomous districts. Current policy tends to accelerate rapprochement between different parts of the immense Soviet territory and to achieve more balanced development which favors equality.





*The Rose Throne.*

### **The Palace of Congresses**

On Tuesday the 21st, the solemn sessions of the 60th anniversary of the USSR were inaugurated at the Palace of Congresses, located inside the Kremlin. A modern unadorned rectangular building, the main hall holds 6,000 spectators.

Several floors with wide hallways permit groups to move easily. There are escalators, several smaller meeting rooms, and a good air conditioning system. Lighting could be called excessive: thousands of ceiling lights produced a radiance that was brighter than our cloudy day.

Among the well-dressed people attending, the women stood out in particular, with their thick winter coats and fur hats. Foreign friends pointed out how carefully their hair and make-up were done, highlighting their facial lines, something not so customary previously. The band gave the impression of any grand party in the best capitals of the world.

Outstanding were the uniforms of the different armed services. High-ranking officers were everywhere, showing off their numerous decorations and medals on both sides of their chest, for heroic deeds during the last war.

Those distinguished for numerous activities that serve as examples for others are also awarded medals: such as producing the best crops in each region; outstanding industrial production, as well as outstanding composers, artists and intellectuals. Add to all this, the Lenin Peace Medals and those awarded by the united republics, in addition to foreign ones, suggests the spectacle to be seen in the passageways,

vestibules and hall during the celebration.

Seating for invited delegates was close to the stage, with enough staff for simultaneous translation to some ten different languages. Each seat, comfortable and wide, had a small folding table for note-taking. On the stage were representatives of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the chiefs of state of allied countries. Before us were around 300 people. Behind and above them was a huge head of Lenin in white marble. The size of the face, from chin to forehead, may well have been four meters.

Upon arrival, like all participants, we left our coats in a great hall divided into numbered sections for quick service. The strictest discipline was evident in every detail. It is noteworthy how crowds are avoided when the public rushes to pick up its coats. There is no bottleneck when cars leave and, throughout the city, traffic flows unhindered because of the wide avenues and strict traffic laws. There is

military-like organization, especially where crowds are involved.

The Soviet national anthem, played by a huge military band, brought us all to our feet. At exactly the appointed hour, top Soviet leaders came in and took their seats on the stage, to the applause of the public. Not a single seat in the great hall was vacant.

When an invited head of state went up to the stage, he was given a standing ovation. And so, for example, the heads of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, socialist Germany, Bulgaria and Rumania filed by. The head of state of Poland, General Jaruzelski, was particularly applauded. From Asia came, among others, North Korea, North Vietnam and Kampuchea. Several African countries also went up to the stage. The representative of the Afghan Parliament also received a huge ovation.

### **Speeches**

The structure of the speeches can be summarized as follows: czarism was the oppressor and the prevalent plutocracy, clergy and noblemen



*Yuri V. Andropov.*



mercilessly exploited the people who were mired in poverty, fanaticism and ignorance. Lenin emerged to save them with the new ideas of liberating communism, both individually and nationally.

Russia was under the control of European capitalists, allied with national exploiters. This was eliminated by the historic revolution of October 1917. The USSR triumphed and is now a great power because of the "voluntary" union — with a great deal of emphasis placed on this term— of the fifteen Soviet republics on December 21, 1922.

They spoke again and again of how good the USSR's system of government was: "the best man has created in millennia. The best society on the face of the Earth. Free, egalitarian and just, unprecedented in history. The danger to this historic triumph is the blind threat and constant aggression of capitalism, exploiter of man and society."

As can be seen, the foregoing ideological process, based on puppetism, is not much different from the ideology of the other pole of power. It starts with how good the system is and accuses the other side of embodying error and unrestrained diabolical forces. The same arguments I heard expressed, with identical

in Washington— consists of the Soviet region, provocateur of a general holocaust, in the absence of a viable way out, something its errant system is incapable of offering."

Now, in Moscow, I was hearing the same theme in speeches and conversations, only substituting the words "oppressive and aggressive capitalism" for "oppressive and aggressive communism." Such is the ingenuous central argument of these two powers, followed and supported zealously by their peoples. Humankind does give the impression of being infantile on occasion.

#### **Yuri V. Andropov's address**

The Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Yuri V. Andropov, was to give the keynote address at this solemn joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

That address was the major event of the solemn meeting in the Palace of Congresses at the Kremlin. It was an opportunity for international projection for the new leader of the Party and he used it to set down domestic and international guidelines



*Lower productivity, evident defect of the system.*

speeches during the meeting, and commentary by specialists were devoted to broad reflections on this major address, not only because of its effects on the direction of domestic policies, but also because of its repercussions in the international arena.

Andropov centered his speech on the 60th anniversary of the union of the fifteen republics making up the USSR. He underscored the voluntary nature of the republics grouping into a type of federation respectful of local freedoms and realities. The union was the response, he said, to oppressive capitalism.

He pointed out that, faced with the different nationalities of the bygone czarist empire, it was the genius of Lenin that found the solution he called "socialist federalism." It differs from US federalism by the adjective "socialist," with political and social aspirations different from those of the US: a voluntary association of nationalities, equality of rights for them, suppression of social inequalities, freedom of development for each republic, internationalist education with its sights on

### “ Lenin placed special emphasis on avoiding domestic conflicts provoked by rivalry between nationalities ”

symmetry, during the eleven and a half years I lived in Washington, but the other way around. What we might call "mirror logic."

"Democracy is the best system ever created by man. It is founded on respect for individual freedom. Its enemy is communist tyranny. The present danger —I heard many times

for the new era opening with the recent death of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

Expectations were high, since the Brezhnev era of Soviet development was drawing to an end with the address, and since a stage full of unknowns was beginning with Andropov. Soviet mass media,



propaganda, and close-knit mutual help among the group of united republics.

Lenin—he said—placed special emphasis on avoiding domestic conflicts provoked by rivalry between different nationalities. For him, this was the major obstacle to union. Justly—Andropov emphasized—Lenin strove to instill mutual confidence among different republics.

Afterward, Andropov examined what had been achieved in the sixty years of the union of the fifteen republics. Along with the achievements, he pointed out its errors and deficiencies. Analysts underscored, as something new, the objective and bold examination of the achievements and failures in the address. The political tendency in the past was to reiterate successes and, if

errors were not concealed, at least they were not manifested publicly.

Andropov went on to delineate the large headings of “what still has to be done” to reach “developed socialism.” In the economic order, he said, it will require “a more sensible use of natural and labor resources.” With that, he touched one of the evident defects of the system: low productivity.

The most important part of the address, because of its international relevance, was when Andropov made a double declaration: one pacifistic and one of preparedness for war. The arguments used contain a parallelism, an undisputable symmetry with those of US leaders, but the other way around.

Bipolar powers declare themselves to be peace loving and, at the same time, they arm themselves. Instead of destroying accumulated nuclear arms, they increase them and do not stop investments in new and improved weapons.

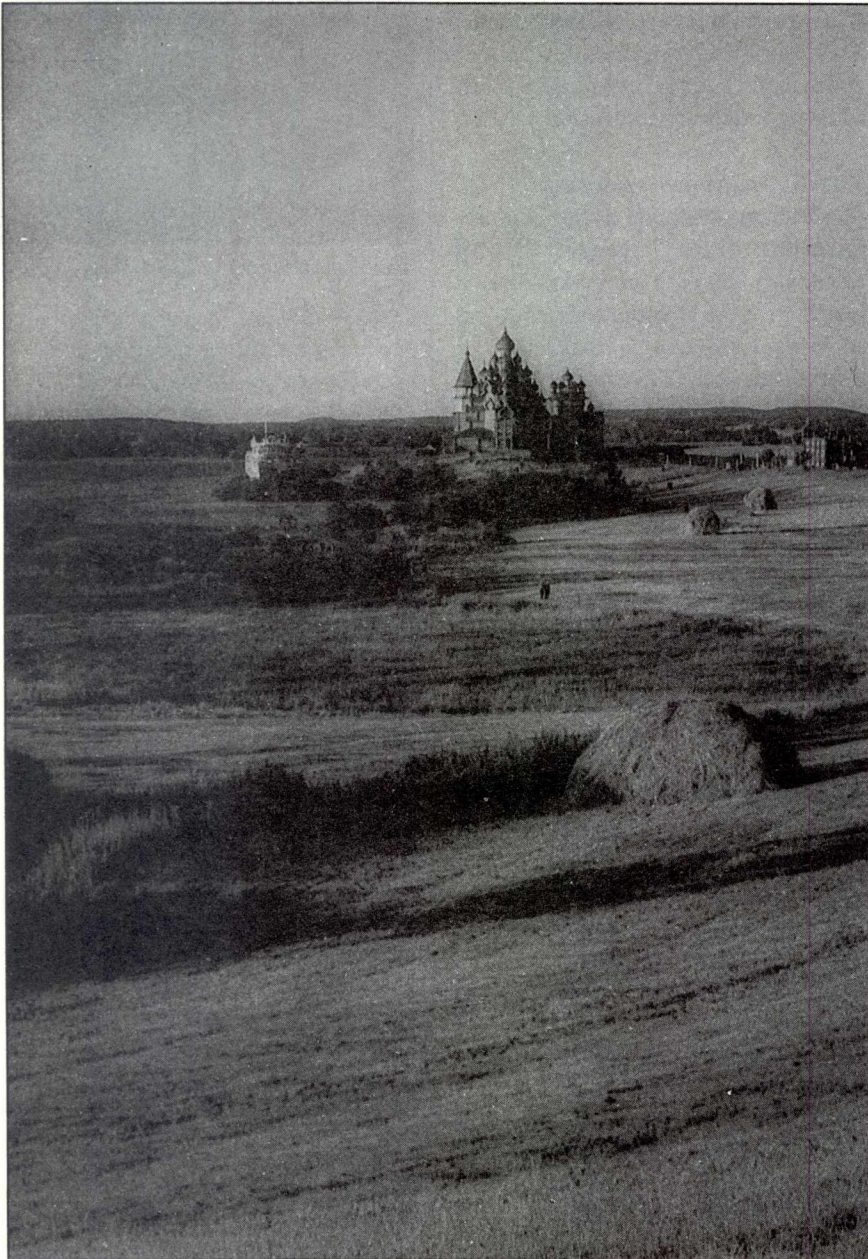
They mutually accuse each other of being imperialists and oppressors, of expansionism, and of having obsolete and inoperative systems. Each side accuses the other of adopting war-like attitudes, without giving an inch to the universal desire for peace. They say the opposite of what they do.

The threat hanging over humanity since the end of the Second World War has not abated. We should redouble our efforts at pacifism and, as the task is arduous, the 1982 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Mexican Ambassador Alfonso García Robles takes on all the more meaning.

#### **Participation of young people**

At midday, the speeches were halted. We went to the dining hall on the upper floor of the Palace of Congresses where we were offered a splendid luncheon.

Speeches continued in the afternoon, all in the same mode:



*Andropov underscored the voluntary association of the republics.*



exalting the progress of this enormous country and, at the same time, manifesting their adherence to Andropov's address. All of a sudden, as if it were an intermission, the band struck up a snappy march, and the passages to the grand hall were completely filled with youngsters of both sexes, some fifteen or twenty years of age, representative Soviet students from all the republics.

The leaders of the group, likewise youngsters, filled the lower part of the presidium. All good looking, dressed in almost military uniformity. As everyone sang choruses allusive to the ceremony, the girls walked up the ramps of the presidium with bouquets of flowers and handed out red roses to the dignitaries amidst applause.

The spectacle was stirring and the confidence of the youngsters in their system was evident. They sang with obvious patriotic enthusiasm for being able to participate in a political act of such importance.

The stationary marches, the songs and the presence of youngsters relieved the monotony of the inevitably tedious repetitive speeches and left a air of pleasant surprise in the hall when they left.

### Participation of the military

The following day, Wednesday the 22nd, during the solemn session at the very same Palace of Congresses, something similar happened: speeches were interrupted and, this time, the various armed services, the backbone of the system, made their appearance in the great hall and filled the passageways and the area right in front of the presidium with marching.

Several military bands sounded triumphant marches composed for the occasion. Soldiers carrying flags and pennants filled the air with color. They gave short speeches in support of the government. At the end of the program, the services there present swore loyalty to the institutions guiding them.

When the chief of the army called for them to swear loyalty, the response of the young soldiers was earsplitting. They swore to defend socialism inside and outside the Soviet Union, in the midst of applause by the participants. We could distinguish the uniforms of the different armed services and we could see they were made up of youngsters of both sexes. They departed the huge hall, leaving the air electrified. Routine speeches from the most renowned participants continued afterward.

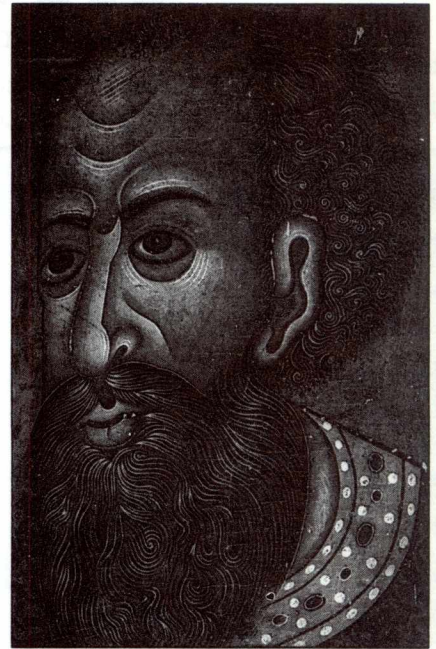
### Cultural activities

There were special programs every night celebrating the 60th anniversary, with select performances in many theaters. We saw the Bolshoi and regional dances from the fifteen republics, and visited the most outstanding museums, according to the visitors' wishes.

I visited the Kremlin on Thursday the 23rd. The former bed chambers of the czars, with paintings covering the walls and ceiling in Oriental style. The czar's chambers looked out on the patios open to the public, so they could deposit their complaints in a suggestion box lowered directly from his bed chambers through a window decorated with the imperial coat of arms. "Communication with the people was theoretical and insubstantial, as we now know," said our guide.

We also went through the famous Hall of the Facets, the Grand Salon of St. George, where the czar received foreign dignitaries; the most modern apartments of the last czar; and the Plaza of the Cathedrals.

They told us of the close tie between religion and politics in the past, which explains the profusion of churches within the Kremlin: "The clergy served as an instrument of submission. In the face of misery, they asked the people for resignation. We reject resignation as a response to injustices and suffering of life. This



*Ivan the Terrible (16th century portrait).*

great country was produced by demanding justice and respect for human dignity. From being backward and poor, it has become a great power," our guide explained to us in these or similar terms.

He recalled the descriptions of how religious people were in *The Brothers Karamazov*, one of so many examples of past fanaticism. The cathedrals—we saw all five—are covered with exquisite icons and, where there are none, are painted with frescoes of religious scenes, still well preserved.

I visited the Pushkin Museum and the Tretyakov, where most of the different schools of Russian painting are displayed. The painting of Ivan the Terrible, at the moment he beat his son to death over a minor argument, is extraordinary. The dying son lies stretched on the floor, covered with blood, and the czar, realizing his horrendous crime, hugs him and raises his supplicant gaze toward the horizon.

Peter the Great also watched his own son Alex die as he succumbed to torture applied to discover the conspiracy he lead. Tragedy has been Russian history's assiduous bedfellow ❧



**Malasia: cooperación, etnicidad y desarrollo**

CARLOS USCANGA, página 8

**Nacionalismo y seguridad**

DAN SMITH, página 17

Celso Lafer

**La nueva política exterior de Brasil**

ERICK FERNANDEZ SALDAÑA, página 24

Jaime Serra Puche

**Impulso al libre comercio entre México y Centroamérica**

página 11

Luis Donaldo Colosio

**Se están fincando las bases de una nueva etapa del desarrollo del país**

página 12

Pemex

**Adecuada política de precios**

página 15

Genaro Borrego

**Debe cambiar el PRI con fidelidad a su origen y de cara al futuro**

página 14

**Normas sobre la competencia en la CEE**

Disposiciones aplicables a las empresas (Arts. 85 a 90)

CECILIA SUSANA HERNANDEZ PUENTE, página 4

**La transición política española**

LEONARDO CURZIO GUTIERREZ, página 2



Grabado en madera del siglo XIV

**El ámbito internacional de la reforma democrática**

CARLOS GONZALEZ MARTINEZ, página 21

**Neoliberalismo: hacia un nuevo modelo de desarrollo**

FRANCISCO JAVIER CARMONA VILLAGOMEZ, página 22

**La labor de Alfonso L. Herrera y la biología mexicana a cincuenta años de distancia**

GUILLERMO AULLET, página 16

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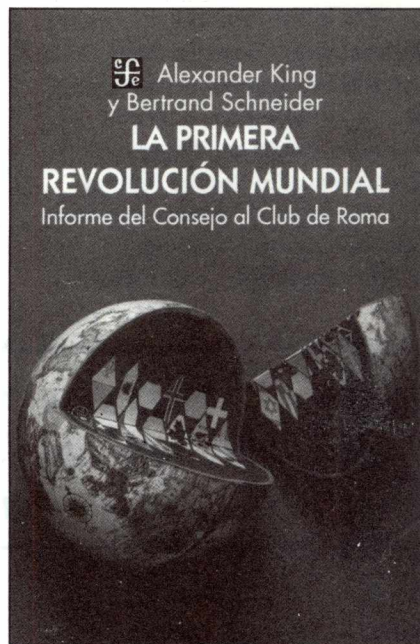
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# The first global revolution: report from the Board of the Club of Rome



Mankind may have to choose between the two extreme alternatives of committing genocide or learning to live henceforth as a single family.

*Arnold Toynbee.*

## What is the Club of Rome?

The Club of Rome was founded in 1968. Currently, it is made up of some one hundred independent individuals from fifty-three countries. Members represent a wide variety of cultures, ideologies, professions and disciplines, united in a common concern for the future of humanity. Their objectives are to:



*The Club of Rome with its one hundred members from fifty-three countries concerns itself with the complex long-term problems of an increasingly interdependent world.*

1. Adopt a global approach to the vast and complex problems of a world in which the interdependence of nations in a single planetary system is constantly growing.
2. Focus attention on issues, policies and options in a longer-term perspective than is possible for governments, which respond to the immediate concerns of an insufficiently informed constituency.
3. Seek a deeper understanding of the interactions within the tangle of contemporary political, economic and environmental problems for which the Club of Rome has adopted the term "the world problematique."

Since 1972, the Club has published eighteen reports on a variety of issues. The most recent, *The first global revolution*, was written by Alexander King and Bartrand Schneider in 1991.

## Mexican section of the Club of Rome

The Mexican section was founded on April 22 of last year. It consists of thirty-one members, among them two former presidents of Mexico, political figures, government officials, professors and researchers from institutions of higher learning, as well as representatives of the mass media and business community.

Among its objectives is to contribute to the examination of humanity's problems and provide ideas and recommendations for finding viable solutions to these great global challenges.

## Report on *The first global revolution*<sup>1</sup>

The main theme of recent meetings of the Club of Rome has been "The great transition," since we are in the initial phases of shaping a new type of global society. It will be as different from today's as was the society announced by the Industrial Revolution from the society of the long agrarian period preceding it.

<sup>1</sup> Summary of the introduction to the book published by the *Fondo de Cultura Económica*, 1991.







by an unprecedented mixture of geostrategic upheavals, as well as social, economic, technological, cultural and ethical factors. Combinations of these factors lead to unpredictable situations.

Therefore during this transition period, humanity faces a double challenge: it has to grope its way toward an understanding of the new world, many of whose facets are still hidden, and, in the mist of uncertainty, learn how to manage the new world and not be managed by it.

Our objective should be essentially normative: to visualize the type of world in which we would like to live; to evaluate the material, human and ethical resources; to make our vision realistic and sustainable and then to mobilize human energy and political will to forge a new global society.

One aspect of the contemporary situation is the growing perception that the human species, in its search for material benefits by exploiting nature, is heading speedily toward the destruction of the planet itself.

The threat of nuclear destruction, though less imminent, remains with us. The possibility of irreversible

will to initiate common actions toward the survival of humanity. Therefore, we call for the creation of global solidarity.

We make no attempt to lay out a detailed plan of concrete actions for saving the world. However, our analysis of the situation encourages us to formulate some practical

change. Time is running out. Some problems are already of such a magnitude that dealing with them successfully will be hard. But the cost of delay will be monstrously high. If we do not wake up and act quickly, it may be too late.

The report on *The first global revolution* is organized in two parts,

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“Center attention on issues, policies and options with a longer-term outlook than governments can have”

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proposals, suggest possible lines of action, and indicate the changes in attitude needed.

Never has humanity had, as it has today, the knowledge and the methods, the resources and the cohesion, to permit it to shape a better world. This should generate great hope for everyone.

However, there is a general sensation of uneasiness and fear in the face of imminent change. Added

The first deals with the issues and presents the main changes over the last two decades, describing the malaise they have caused and showing some of the most important issues and dangers humanity must face together. The second part deals with solutions and presents diverse actions that must be initiated in this phase.

The report is addressed to all those concerned about the future of the planet and humankind, and hopes to sharpen their concern. But it may also awaken concern in others. It is, above all, directed to young people, so they can assess more coherently the state of the world they have inherited from previous generations and to inspire them to work to build a new and defensible society.

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“Never has humanity had, as it has today, the knowledge and the techniques, the resources and the cohesion, to permit it to shape a better world”

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#### Comments of the Mexican section on the report <sup>2</sup>

The Mexican section of the Club of Rome is fully cognizant that partial solutions to global problems are not enough. As the report says, main issues of the problem should be attacked simultaneously, studying the reciprocal effects some would have on others and insisting on seeking results.

<sup>2</sup> Summary.

climatic change, with consequences only vaguely foreseeable, constitute an imminent threat.

These ingredients of the problems of today are global in nature and not even the biggest world powers can tackle them successfully alone. Only when all inhabitants of the planet understand they are facing immediate and common dangers can they generate a universal political

to changes not yet assimilated in the last few decades, they will increase uncertainty. The tragedy of the human condition lies in the fact that we have not yet managed to grasp all our potential.

We see that the world and its resources are used poorly, but we let ourselves be lulled into a stupor by the self-complacency of our leaders and by our own inertia and resistance to



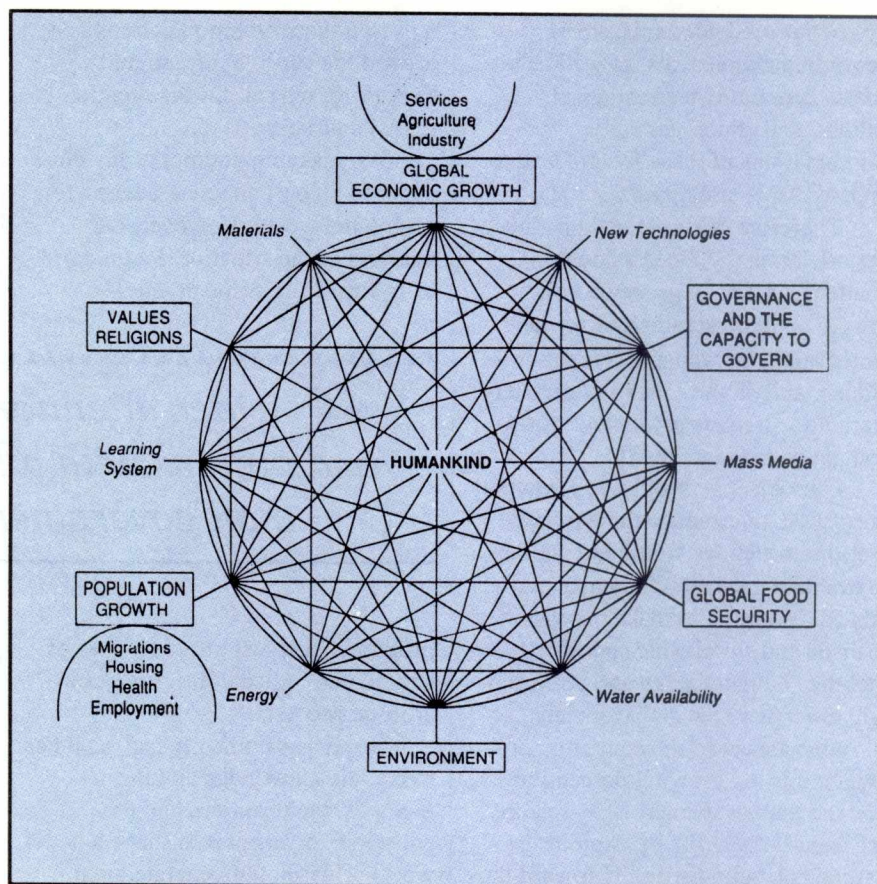
Moreover, the section shares in the focus of the report, in the sense that collective and individual levels should be compatible, that what is local and regional is just as important as what is global, that ethical values should be defined in relation to current conditions, and that it is possible to create consciousness of an international ethic that will positively affect national ethics.

Without neglecting the wide range of proposals and recommendations the report posits at almost every level, the Mexican section prefers to underscore two far-reaching issues: the environment and development versus underdevelopment.

#### ● *The environment*

We must recognize that the destruction of the environment knows no boundaries. Although the greatest incidence has historically been in highly industrialized countries and has spread throughout them (acid rain, fresh and salt water pollution, atmospheric pollution, deforestation, toxic industrial and nuclear wastes), its reach has been worldwide.

International industrial and transportation activity, the use of fossil fuels as the main energy source, the rapid pace of extraction of renewable and non-renewable resources, desertification and, finally,



begun to appear throughout the biosphere in both southern and northern hemispheres.

There are abundant examples of environmental deterioration in developing countries that have not begun major programs to correct them.

deterioration in the quality of urban life in the major cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and even in those in the northern hemisphere; toxic waste in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, on the US-Mexican border, in the Colombian and Peruvian jungles, in the main watersheds and in the largest metropolitan areas of the globe; disappearance of species; soil erosion and permanent loss of productivity; pollution in coastal areas and marine fauna and so on.

To the preceding may be added damage of a global nature, mainly the greenhouse effect and its future consequence for ocean levels and unpredictably sharp changes and climatic irregularities, the destruction of the atmosphere's protective ozone layer, and the effects of acid rain.

Foreseeable solutions involve profound changes in the use of available fuels and the administration and use of forests at all latitudes. They

“Worldwide economic differences, scandalous inequalities, the vast and extreme poverty contrasted with excess wealth produce all sorts of tensions and conflicts”

the developing countries' adoption of technological standards and consumption patterns of goods and services similar to those of industrialized countries have meant that the main factors and symptoms of environmental deterioration have

Modern means of telecommunication make them visible to everyone on the globe: desertification of the Sahel; deforestation in the Amazon and Borneo; air pollution in Mexico City, São Paulo and Santiago de Chile;





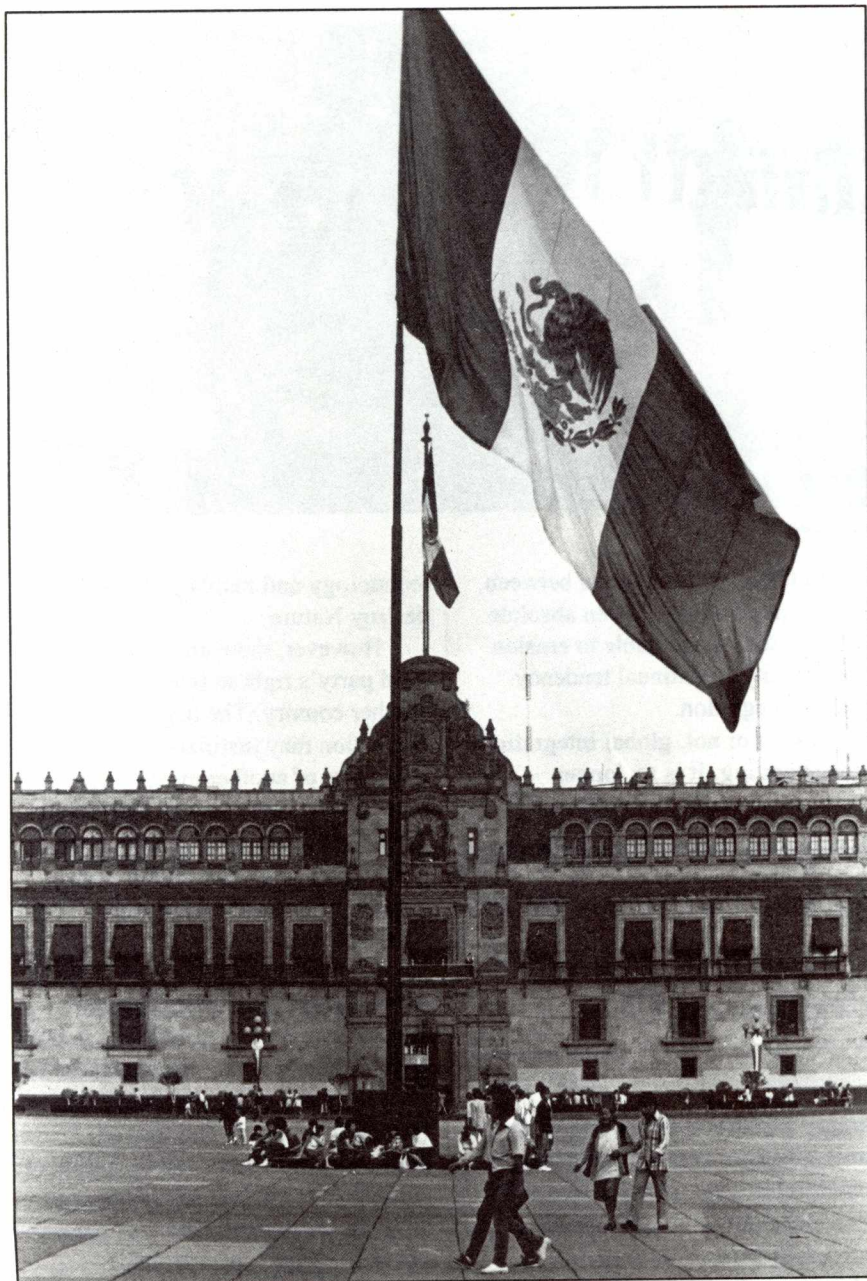






# Thoughts on sovereignty

*Adrián Lajous\**



*Will the global revolution eliminate sovereignty?*

**L**aw is a living system that gradually evolves to fit the vicissitudes of human nature and, in particular, the development of society. However, not all branches of law develop at the same rate.

International law is perhaps the most obscure and least integrated area of law, precisely because it involves sovereign states that interact less frequently or intensely than the inhabitants of a single country. However, it is, at the same time, the branch of jurisprudence that is developing most rapidly.

There was, in the past, a tendency to doubt the very existence of international law, or at least question its validity, because its rulings appeared powerless against the sovereignty of the states whose conduct it was intended to govern. Its detractors alleged that rules without sanctions did not constitute law. It was a commonplace that the corpus of international law was little more than a collection of rules of etiquette for the community of nations.

It would be pointless to speculate on the validity of that statement. The fact is that international law has gradually become more vigorous, since over the past fifty years, contact between sovereign states has increased almost exponentially.

## **International law, sovereignty and interdependence**

International institutions, the laws emanating from them and, especially, the growing political desire to implement the latter, have eroded the very concept of national sovereignty. Many critics envision the disappearance of sovereignty as a consequence of greater international integration that could even lead to the creation of a single state governing the entire planet.

\* Writer on contemporary affairs.





*Sovereignty is the freedom of a state from external control.*

Regardless of whether we accept this world view, we must recognize that changes limiting the sovereignty of nations are taking place and that we will have to decide to what extent we are prepared to accept their speed and scope.

The truth lies somewhere in between. Sovereignty has never been absolute or unlimited, and is liable to erosion by humanity's continual tendency toward integration.

Like it or not, global integration is accelerating. It is no longer

technology and man's propensity to destroy Nature.

However, there are limits to a third party's right to intervene in another country. The degree to which one nation may justifiably interfere in the affairs of another must be assessed on a case by case basis. Nevertheless, before undertaking such an evaluation, it behooves us to take a brief look at the origins and the concept of sovereignty.

#### **Sovereignty: a historical review**

Our ancestors very early had a notion of sovereignty. Once they established a territory as theirs, strangers were forbidden to enter. The idea of nationality was preceded by a kind of xenophobia, i.e. fear of, aversion to or scorn for anyone who was not a member of one's group. When a band of intruders appeared, it was a foregone conclusion that they were

“Many critics envision the disappearance of sovereignty as a consequence of greater international integration”

The neoreactionary left opposes the Free Trade Agreement on the grounds that it implies selling or giving away our sovereignty. Conversely, the government assures us that our sovereignty will remain pure and intact. Both overstate the case.

simply a question of learning to live among nations claiming sovereignty equal to our own. Our concern with their behavior within their own borders is daily more justified by advances in business, transport, communication, contagious diseases,



after women, and out to kill men in the process. Strangers were dangerous and evil. They were to be driven away or killed.

It was only in the 16th or 17th centuries that the concepts of sovereignty and international law began to be described and defined by legal scholars. Sovereignty is a broad and complex notion, difficult to summarize in a few words. I shall, therefore, limit myself to an aspect that, today, concerns neoreactionaries who wish to return to a fictitious past. I shall base my remarks on the simplest and most radical definition of which I am aware, namely that: sovereignty is the freedom of a state from external control.

Long before it had even been defined, the concept clashed with the reality that the world was inhabited by many, very different groups with conflicting interests, and there was no way to govern without taking them into account. Sovereignty, and its offshoot, international law, are imperfect instruments for controlling mankind's aggressive instincts.

Current global changes tend to speed the waning of the concept of

sovereignty and replace it with the idea of interdependence. In spite of difficulties, obstacles and negative attitudes, we are gradually moving toward a single world government and a world without borders. In human terms, sovereignty's waning is still a slow process, but historically it has been swift and is now accelerating.

localized events that will not alter mankind's trend toward integration.

**Interdependence vs. interference**

Nonetheless, the trend has created a dichotomy between interdependence and interference. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

All nations are contributing to the destruction of the ozone layer,

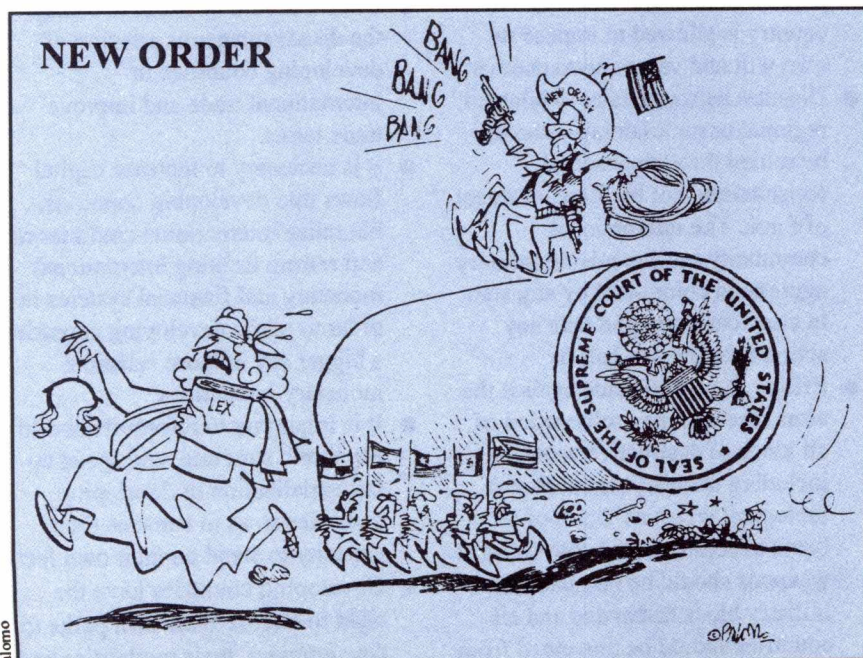
“The neoreactionary left opposes the Free Trade Agreement on the grounds that it implies selling or giving away our sovereignty”

These advances have taken place in spite of regional setbacks, such as the centrifugal forces currently pulling apart the majority of the Slavic states: the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Similar forces are threatening to dismember India. However, in historical perspective, these regressions are only temporary

which filters out ultraviolet rays and thus protects us from skin cancer. It would be unacceptable for one country to decide it could do as it pleased within its own borders, including emitting gases that destroy the ozone layer. Such a decision would harm all other nations.

In the interests of survival, the community of nations would be entitled to recourse to the concept of interdependence and demand that the degree of damage be determined, and solutions be found to prevent further damage. Quite apart from the simplistic concept of sovereignty, we have a right to apply sanctions to those who cause damage. The same is applicable in many other cases of destruction, whether of the biosphere, or animal and plant life.

Conversely, what right has a powerful nation to impose its own rules of government on the rest? Can it even judge how far less developed countries have progressed towards democracy? Does it have the right to impose sanctions on a nation that refuses to implement the same laws that govern its own people? My answers to these questions are firmly negative. **M**





# Some observations on the building of a new international order

*Huang Hua\**

## **The basis of a new international order**

Today the world is highly diversified and will continue to be so in the future. The planet holds more than a hundred independent sovereign states that differ greatly in their historical and cultural traditions, social systems, ideologies and values, and economic development.

Nations confronted with diverse problems and circumstances often do not share immediate and long-term interests. History tells us that the old international order characterized by power politics and hegemony undermined world stability, security and development, bringing serious consequences. What kind of new world order should we therefore establish?

## **Major elements of the new international order**

A new political order is closely related to a new economic order. The following principles should therefore be adhered to:

- It is imperative to oppose hegemony, power politics of all descriptions, and the manipulation of international affairs by a few

large powers. All countries, large or small, must be treated as equal and thereby entitled to discuss and make decisions on major international issues.

- People of all countries have the right to choose their own social, economic, and political systems as well as their path to development, according to their historical and cultural traditions and current national conditions.
- Countries should seek common ground and work for mutual benefits while reserving differences of opinion and respecting differing popular beliefs and customs. No country is allowed to impose its own will and values upon another.
- Disputes between states—bilateral, regional or multilateral—should be settled through peaceful consultation, not by force, or threat of force. The international community must condemn military aggression committed by any state in clear-cut terms and take any action necessary to halt it.
- Efforts should be made against the arms race and the proliferation of all kinds of destructive weapons including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Sales of all types of sophisticated conventional weapons should be restricted, all military blocs disbanded and all countries should be prevented from

establishing military bases and deploying military forces abroad.

The Declaration and the Program of Action concerning the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the Sixth Special Session of UNGA in 1974 reflects the aspirations of developing countries to forge new international economic relationships characterized by fairness and mutually beneficial cooperation for common development and prosperity. Under current circumstances, it is even more necessary and urgent to set up a new international economic order, based on the following:

- Efforts should be made to change the disadvantageous position of developing countries in international trade and improve trade terms.
- It is necessary to increase capital flows into developing countries, liberalize international credit terms and reform existing international monetary and financial systems in order to allow developing countries a bigger say in those selfsame monetary institutions.
- It is important to reform the world economic structure, and speed up industrialization in developing countries so as to enhance their capacity to stand on their own feet.
- Developing countries have the right to choose their own paths to development, their modalities and

\* Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and the UN Security Council.



strategies according to national conditions. No country, or international organization, has the right to restrict or interfere with the exercise of such rights. In recent years, certain developed countries have tended to use official aid for development as a means to interfere in the internal affairs of recipient developing countries and force them to adopt Western political and economic systems. Such a tendency is very harmful to normal state-to-state relations.

World economy is an integral whole with interdependent national and regional economies. The widening gap between North and South, as developing countries become poorer and more backward, not only constitutes a grave threat to the subsistence and development of the latter, but makes it hard for developed countries to ensure their own sustained growth and prosperity. To facilitate common economic growth, developed countries have a great responsibility to help developing countries overcome their difficulties.

#### **The role of the United Nations**

In its early years, the United Nations contributed a great deal in opposing racial discrimination and oppression, while supporting national independence and liberation movements.

Recently the UN has played a major role in facilitating the peaceful resolution of regional disputes. It has also made remarkable achievements in issues of disarmament, North-South dialogue, population activities, environmental protection and drug control.

Since the late 1980s, when bipolar world structure was disintegrating and moving towards multipolarization, there has been a realignment in the global balance of power. The decline and disintegration of a superpower is coupled with the relatively reduced

ability of the other superpower to manipulate world affairs.

Now, even a few big powers have stated their willingness to see the UN playing a "central role" in building a new world order. The question is whether these countries will place themselves on an equal footing with other member states, discharge their responsibilities seriously, and respect the rights and interests of other countries, or put themselves above the UN and attempt to dominate the new world order. This poses a great challenge to both the UN and those particular world powers.

The present complex and volatile international situation brings the UN new opportunities while increasing its responsibilities. People the world over hope that the UN, in seeking consensus while maintaining differences of opinion, will continue to work for political solutions to regional conflicts and play a more significant role in the establishment of a fair and reasonable new international order. So long as every member state is treated equally and the aspirations and interests of all nations respected, the UN can surely play a more important role in this diversified world.

#### **International arms control and disarmament**

Due to a general relaxation of international tensions and the evolution of US-Soviet relations, considerable progress has been made in the field of disarmament in the past few years.

At present, the international community is very much concerned about the control, or decontrol, of thousands of nuclear weapons located in the former Soviet Union republics. There is also concern over the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the world's conflict-ridden areas.

Prospects of arms control and disarmament have a direct bearing on peace and security in the world and

are therefore essential to the establishment of a peaceful new international order. In my view, much remains to be done, building on past triumphs, to achieve the following objectives:

- The United States and Russia (or the new Commonwealth) should implement the nuclear reduction treaties signed so far. They must continue to make major cuts in their nuclear arsenals, which still account for 90% of the world's total, even after the prescribed reduction, and end the qualitative arms race between them, to create conditions for the convening of a broadly representative international conference on nuclear disarmament.
- Military capabilities should be used only for the purpose of self-defense and no country should seek an armament level in excess of reasonable needs. The international community should therefore, through extensive consultations on an equal basis, formulate fair, reasonable and effective measures to control arms sales, including those of various sophisticated weapons.
- It is necessary to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regulations and call upon all states to undertake a commitment to nuclear non-proliferation. The National People's Congress has just approved the decision of the Chinese Government to accede to the NPT.
- Conditions are ripe for all nuclear powers to declare non-first-use of nuclear weapons and assumed commitment not to use or threaten to use such weapons against non-nuclear powers and nuclear-weapons-free zones.
- Efforts must be made to accelerate negotiations on chemical weapons at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva for an early conclusion to a global convention on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all chemical weapons.







imposition of Western values as the basis of a new world order would only create a new world disorder.

The concept of human rights has now been fragmented and double standards followed. Attempts have been made to glorify personal preferences at the expense of the opinions of others. The former have been set up as criteria of human rights while those basic principles stipulated in many international conventions, declarations and legal instruments, and the actual conditions of other countries, have been disregarded.

In essence, human rights are under domestic jurisdiction. Therefore human rights issues should be handled by sovereign states themselves without external interference, except for acts of gross violations of human rights such as apartheid, racial discrimination, foreign aggression and occupation.

In the latter cases, direct intervention by the international community is permissible under the provisions of the Charter of the UN, international law and international human rights documents. With regard to human rights, a new international order should promote international protection and cooperation based on respect for state sovereignty, while forbidding abuse of, and interference in, other countries' internal affairs.

Nowadays human rights often refer only to individual civil and political rights in the West. As a matter of fact, according to international legal instruments on human rights, these include the right to national self-determination, to subsistence, development and other economic, social, and cultural rights.

Equal importance should be attached to all such rights. One must not emphasize some while belittling or even denying others. As far as developing countries are concerned, the most fundamental human right is the right to subsistence and development.

### Regional stability vs. a new international order

To resolve regional conflicts for regional stability is of vital importance to the establishment of a new international order. Conflicts and local wars continued over long periods against the backdrop of US-Soviet rivalry throughout the world,

through mutual understanding, accommodation, and friendly cooperation.

Those external countries concerned, and the great powers in particular, should refrain from meddling in intra-regional affairs for their own interests or from playing one country off against another.

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## “A new political order is closely related to a new economic order”

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thus seriously undermining regional and international security. The world is not yet tranquil. Emerging imbalances of power in the international arena have led to the outbreak of new conflicts and disturbances. Interwoven conflicts over territorial, nationality and religious issues, access to resources, etc., previously hidden in the context of the US-Soviet contention, are now surfacing.

The Gulf War, the civil war in Yugoslavia and the unrest in East European countries and former Soviet republics are cases in point. The situation in the Asian and Pacific region is relatively stable. The region continues to lead the world in economic growth with intensified regional and sub-regional economic cooperation. On the political scene, the last year has shown some encouraging developments—an all-round political settlement of the Cambodian question, followed by the recent breakthrough in North and South Korean relations.

Building a new world order on a regional basis is no easy undertaking, each area has its own problems and contradictions. Countries in a given region should play a primary role. It is essential for them to iron out differences and resolve conflicts

Rather, they should do everything possible to facilitate good neighborly relations between regional states.

In short, a new stable regional order is an integral part of a new peaceful world order.

In conclusion, I would like to say a word or two about China. After three years of economic readjustment, China has succeeded in achieving steady economic growth and sociopolitical stability. The Chinese Government has been making steadfast efforts to reshape the country into a modern socialist state with unique characteristics. It has unswervingly persisted in an open policy aimed at reform, and followed an independent foreign policy for peace, good neighborliness, mutual benefit and cooperation. China needs a stable and peaceful international environment for national reconstruction while the world needs a stable and developing China for peace in Asia and the world. As a developing country with a population of 1.1 billion and as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, China will continue to cooperate with the world community in the building of a peaceful and equitable new international order that will ensure prosperity for all mankind. ❧



# Sergio Méndez Arceo: a voice beyond the chorus



Luis Borboa.

Pope Pious XII appointed Sergio Méndez bishop of the city of Cuernavaca.

*Sergio Méndez Arceo, Christian, priest and socially involved bishop, a free man who broke untrodden ground in the Mexican Catholic church, died at 84, on February 6, in Mexico City.*



**S**ergio Méndez Arceo was always committed to the defense and support of the poor, persecuted, displaced, and to the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Latin America.

Deemed the only free-thinking bishop of the Mexican Catholic Church, open to any initiative on behalf of liberation from within or outside the Church. He was harshly criticized by the Church itself since his actions contradicted its traditionally conservative and institutional spirit. The bishop, however, never considered himself a rebel, "I have never been rebellious. I have been free, not rebellious."<sup>1</sup>

Méndez Arceo was born in Mexico City on October 28, 1907. He completed his first ecclesiastical studies in the Council Seminary of Mexico. In 1927 he travelled to Rome to study at the Pious Latin Pontifical College and at the Gregorian University of Rome where he took a degree in Sacred Scripture and a Doctorate in Philosophy and History. At 27, he was ordained in the chapel of the English College in Rome.

He delivered his first mass in Mexico in the Cathedral of Zamora, Michoacán, and remained in the city as assistant to the parish of St. Joseph. He was appointed spiritual director of the Minor Seminary of Mexico, and professor of ecclesiastic history, Latin, Greek, and Greco-Roman history in the Major Seminary in 1940.

Until then, Méndez Arceo moved with satisfaction along the paths of the traditional Church, "with authority and even authoritarianism, with ecclesiastic pomp and the exquisiteness of a cultured bourgeois gentleman."<sup>2</sup> As a model ecclesiastic governor within a conservative clergy, it was no wonder that Pope Pious XII, relying on Méndez Arceo's ability to maintain harmony in his diocese, appointed him bishop of the city of Cuernavaca, Morelos, in 1952.

Henceforth, as a result of diverse experiences in the Church, he became a socially involved bishop. Two of his basic endeavors were his participation in the Rome 1962 efforts of Vatican II and the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held in Medellín, Colombia in 1968.

Vatican II represented a change in the church's stance. Summoned by Pope John XXIII to question the church's role in a modern world, after three years of regular conferences, Vatican II replaced a static church with a church in motion. It also accepted that the church should serve humanity through history, that it be open to dialogue and religious liberty, enter into a dialogue with the sciences, in an atmosphere of liberty and creativity.

<sup>1</sup> Videla, Gabriela, *Sergio Méndez Arceo, un señor obispo*. Mexico, Editorial Nuevomar, 1984, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

According to Méndez Arceo, the results of the council would reveal "the direction of his possible participation in the church's destiny,"<sup>3</sup> and would be fundamental to an understanding of the conclusions of the second General Conference of Latin American Bishops, whence the model for a people's church and base communities arose. The Latin American church transformed itself in Medellín by adopting the principles of Liberation Theology which unequivocally chose the defense and liberation of the poor.<sup>4</sup>

The changes begun by John XXIII did not put Méndez Arceo on the path to renewal but rather confirmed his adherence to it. A determined promoter of the poor peoples' church, his loyalty to ecclesiastical principles would never prevent him from clearly expressing his differences of opinion with the powers dominant in the Catholic hierarchy.

His interest in sustaining a critical conscience led him to develop friendships with officials and intellectuals, believers or non-believers, such as David Alfaro Siqueiros, Alfonso Reyes, Ignacio Chávez, Silvio Zavala, Francisco Julião, Salvador Allende, Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega.

“Méndez Arceo expressed regret for the Pope's lack of understanding for the popular Christian movement”

In 1960 he allowed activities in the monastery of St. Mary of the resurrection, directed by the Benedictine Gregorio Lemercier, where psychoanalysis was undertaken in a religious setting and liturgical renovation was promoted.

He also authorized the foundation of the Intercultural Training Center (CIF), which later became the Intercultural Documentation Center (CIDOC), directed by the Austrian priest, Ivan Illich. Here, priests and Catholic lay clergy participated in the study and analysis of the Catholic church and education.

Don Sergio backed both of these experiments when they were attacked and their leaders forced to appear before the Holy Office, where they were defeated by the forces of intolerance and their projects cancelled.

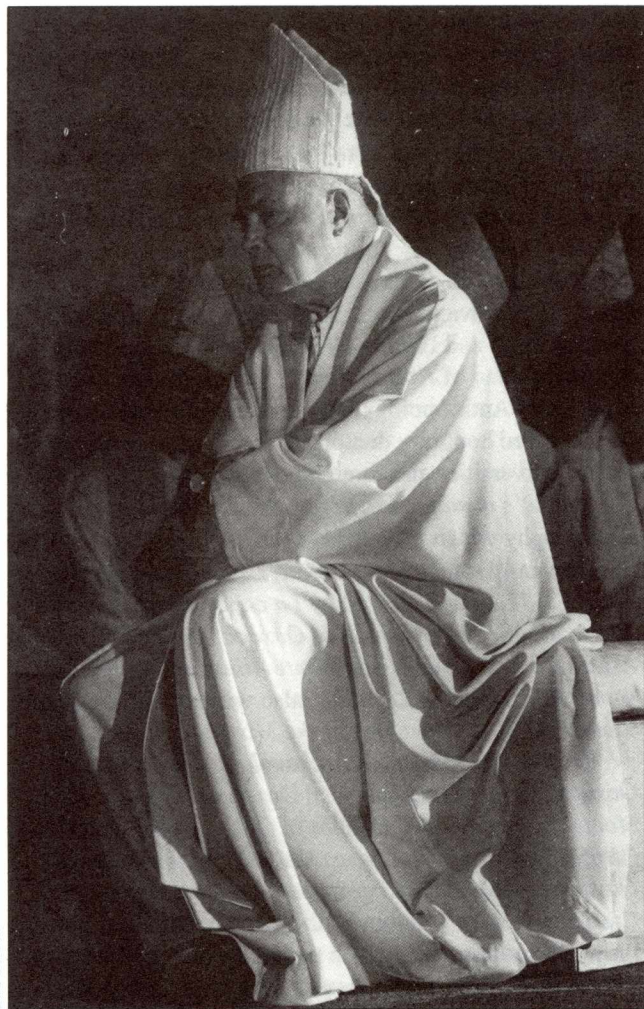
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> The progressive posture of Medellín was vehemently criticized and opposed by the most conservative elements in Latin American Catholicism. As of 1972, they decided to reestablish the Church-state alliance and launched a conservative offensive to silence the critical voices of priests and laymen.









Luis Borboa.

*I have been free, not rebellious.*

Institute, the Ibero-American University and the National University, among others.

In 1976, in his efforts to "evangelize the outsiders," he participated in a public dialogue on ideological pluralism, Christianity, Marxism, and social change with representatives of the Mexican Communist Party. His homily broached the possibility of Christian participation in the Mexican Communist Party in pursuit of common objectives.

That same year he attended the Meeting of Progressive Bishops, in Ecuador, where he was detained for several days by the authorities along with 16 Latin American bishops. He denounced Latin American government complicity with imperialism. Under the pretense of preserving national security, they persecuted the Church when it "set out to promote human dignity."<sup>9</sup>

He traveled to Cuba again in 1978 and, with Ernesto Cardenal and Alfonso Camin of Spain, he signed the

Havana Declaration, which identified the similarity of Christian and socialist aims.

Because of his defense of the Cuban socialist system, and of the Sandinista revolution, the Conference of Mexican Bishops and conservative groups from the private sector unleashed an intensive campaign against what they considered to be a dangerous move towards Marxism.

In 1979 he was denied authority by the Presidential Council of the Mexican Episcopal Conference. The reproof was ratified by the Vatican; however, Don Sergio was able to show that no act of his merited dismissal from his post as bishop. Students, townspeople, and sectors of the progressive Mexican and Latin American church came to his defense.

The incident did not slow his activities in support of Latin American liberation movements. In 1979 he visited Nicaragua as a guest of the Sandinistas. In 1980 he condemned the murder of Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero. In 1981 and 1982 he promoted the First and Third International Oscar Arnulfo Romero Meetings in the cities of Mexico and Cuernavaca.

In 1983 he criticized the attitude of Pope John Paul II during his visit to Nicaragua where, in spite of popular demand, he refused to pray for the youths murdered by the Contras. Similarly, Méndez Arceo expressed regret for the Pope's lack of understanding of the popular Christian movement.

He retired from the Diocese of Cuernavaca at 75, in a ceremony held on March 15, 1983. It was there that he read the letter of resignation which he had tried unsuccessfully to deliver to the Pope in person during his 1982 trip to Rome.

After his resignation, he continued his efforts on behalf of peace in Central America. He traveled to Nicaragua, Cuba, Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela, Madrid, Portugal and Holland, where he took part in ecclesiastical, cultural, and political events. He was in the United States on several occasions to give lectures at universities and to discuss with Catholic groups the role of American Christians in Latin American liberation processes.

After his death, more than two thousand people bid him personal farewell at a ceremony held in the Cathedral of Cuernavaca. Members of base communities, independent workers, former political refugees, progressive clerics and nuns, artists and intellectuals, all united to say goodbye to the bishop, to the man who always defended his right to dissent, and for whom justice was the foundation upon which the peace of peoples really rests ✕

*Elsie L. Montiel*  
Assistant Editor.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.



# Ignacio Bernal

Jaime Litvak King\*

**W**hen invited to attend archaeological conferences, Dr Bernal would rarely sit down with the rest of the gathering to listen to papers being delivered. Instead he would position himself just outside the door, so he could both hear the dissertation inside and supervise activities outside. The latter, a melange of anything from trade politics and gossip to the mating game, were as interesting to him as the more formal, academic proceedings.

His usual response when asked for an explanation was that it was a good position from which to see if he liked the paper. If so, he would get a copy. As to the lobby madhouse, it was there that one met with colleagues to discuss things. The background noise he dubbed "the future history of archaeology."

Ignacio Bernal passed away recently, at almost 82 years of age. During his long life he lived the roles of family man, diplomat, public servant and administrator. But for his professional colleagues he was a man who made a fundamental and lasting contribution to archaeology.

Bernal began his professional education as a law student at the Free Law School. Archaeology began to attract him a few years later, first attending lectures at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (UNAM) and later graduating from the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH).

A student of Alfonso Caso, Bernal's relationship with the great archaeologist developed beyond that of teacher-pupil into a life-long friendship. Caso's interest in Oaxacan archaeology was shared by Bernal and other talented contemporaries such as Jorge Acosta; both participated in Caso's pioneer work at Monte Albán. But excavations were not just limited to Oaxaca. Bernal also dug in Guerrero, Colima, and Michoacán.

On graduating, he taught at the National University (UNAM) and Mexico City College (MCC), where he chaired the Anthropology Department from 1951 to 1959. Here Bernal and professor Eduardo Noguera played a

crucial role in shaping a generation of young Americans, many of them on the Korean War GI Bill, who have since made their reputation in Mesoamerican studies.

Bernal was later to teach at many other schools. Among the best known were the University of Texas at Austin, the Sorbonne, the universities of Puerto Rico, Miami, Tucson and Oregon, the *Colegio de México*, UC Berkeley, Harvard, Cambridge, and London.

His role as an administrative director of Mexican archaeology is well known. At the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), Bernal was variously appointed Head of Archaeology, Director of the National Museum of Anthropology, and Director of the Institute. He also received honorary doctorates and decorations from a host of universities and foreign governments.

Bernal's *oaxaqueño* background is echoed in his bibliography which reveals his deep interest in the area from the early stages of his career. *La cerámica de Monte Albán* (1947), was followed by *La cerámica grabada de Monte Albán* (1949), *Urnas de Oaxaca* (1952), written with Alfonso Caso, the *Guide to Monte Albán and Mitla* (1957), *Monte Albán and the Zapotecs*, also written with Caso and others (1958), *Archaeology of the Mixtecs* (1958).

He went on to publish *Archaeological synthesis of Oaxaca* (1965), *Architecture in Oaxaca after the end of Monte Albán* (1965), *Ceramics of Oaxaca*, also with Caso (1965), *The Mixtecs in the archaeology of the valley of Oaxaca* (1966), and *La cerámica de Monte Albán* with Caso and Acosta. Combined, these publications comprise a most authoritative manual on the archaeology of the area.

Bernal will be remembered along with Caso and others, not just for his fundamental work in establishing the Monte Albán sequential horizon as a basis for knowledge about a Mesoamerican region. Another line of work, albeit unfinished, is represented by his celebrated *El mundo olmeca*, published in 1968, the first full-length analysis of one of the great problems in Mesoamerican archaeology, the Olmec culture.

Many partial papers accompany the major work. These include *Views of Olmec Culture* (1968), and three lectures delivered at the National Museum of Archaeology: *Las capitales olmecas*, *Los olmecas en Oaxaca*, and *Olmecas y olmecoides* (1968). He had intended to approach other Mesoamerican archaeological problems in a similar fashion but unfortunately lacked the opportunity.

But Bernal also had wider concerns, focusing beyond the regional to create a general definition of Mesoamerica. His work in this field can be compared with that of such great scholars as Caso, Noguera, Paul Kirchhoff, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, and Román Piña Chan. His general statement on the subject finally became formulated when he was commissioned by the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History to write a program for the teaching

\* Institute for Anthropological Research, UNAM.





His written works show him to have been a pioneer in theoretical archaeology.

of the pre-Hispanic sequence, in 1953. Research into any aspect of Mesoamerican archaeology is inconceivable without reference to his work.

Bernal's first full-length book on this theme was his highly readable *Tenochtitlan en una isla* (1959). This masterwork was followed by *II evolución y alcance de las culturas mesoamericanas* (1959), *Toynbee y Mesoamérica* (1960), *Inventory and Future Program of Archaeology in Mexico* (1960), and *La arqueología mexicana en 1960* (1961).


For many Bernal's most important work, although he did not consider it so, was his *Bibliografía de arqueología y etnografía. Mesoamérica y Norte de México, 1514-1960*, a production encyclopedic in its conception and magnitude. Such a database, composed without computer aid, has been referred to as Bernal's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* and can be compared with the magnificent 19th century bibliographies of Colonial publications.

One of Bernal's great themes was his interest in the history of archaeology. His saga of Mesoamerican archaeology probably starts with *Cien años de arqueología mexicana (1780-1880)* (1952), and *La arqueología mexicana de 1880 a la fecha* (1952), followed by

*La arqueología mexicana del siglo XX* (1953), and *Humboldt y la arqueología mexicana* (1962).

His entrance address to the Mexican Academy of History, in 1974, was the charming *Arqueología ilustrada y mexicanista en el siglo XVIII*, a combination of good archaeology and good history, delivered with a sense of humor. It was the prologue to one of his most important and well-known works, *Historia de la arqueología en México* (1979).

Bernal's graduate work at the National University focused largely on historical theory and method. His studies also helped him in his overriding concern to define archaeology, a topic that was one of the most important themes in his classroom. His written works on the subject show him to be a pioneer in theoretical archaeology. His *Introducción a la arqueología* (1952), which actually precedes Caso's magnificent *A un joven arqueólogo mexicano* (1968), is a very good example of a well-grounded approach to this branch of the subject. Other theoretical works by Bernal include *Archaeology and written sources* (1962), and *Elogio a la arqueología* (1963).

For students and co-workers, Ignacio Bernal was a great archaeologist. But he was also a patient listener and a courteous communicator. Perhaps the words that best sum up the man are "a gentleman and a scholar" 



# The day of the dead

Georgina Luna Parra

We should... as always, make an offering to the dead.

Oh! It's going round and round in my head.

Instead of hurrying to do my chores.

Gosh! Just remembering when Benito brought me those long, long rushes from the river, and made me the arch... how we filled it with fruit, bananas, tangerines, loquats, even open pomegranates, so you could see their bright red seeds. Everybody came by to look. Those trails of fruit with the green leaves of the rushes shooting out all around the arch, like pointed stars...

It was really pretty. My mother-in-law said that's how offerings were in her native Huastec land; poor thing, she was still alive then. How good she was to me. She knew so much. She would light all the candles and dance in front of them to the rhythm of her chanted prayers, holding the fragrant smoking copal dish in her hands.

What chocolate we made...! And the *zacahuil* she knew how to cook, that huge tamale that was so good; it was enough for everyone. She called it the little departed, because she laid it out on a little bed, and then began to uncover it, peeling back the steaming banana leaves, and there: it was ready to eat.

How did we manage it? Today there's not enough money, it's worthless. Benito works twice as hard. What time does he have now for such things, to enjoy these moments!

However humbly I can, this time the offerings to our dead will be all right. As they deserve; my parents, my mother-in-law, my dead baby, my little angel...

Oh! And here I am sitting on the patio step and I haven't cleaned up the kitchen. Really late! When I start thinking, time flies.

If they could see me... they'd say I'm crazy. When I remember, I can't stop the tears...

Quick, pick up the dishes. Yes, I've got time to go to the market.

If they've got that glazed pottery, the one that looks like burnt honey, I'll buy a casserole and a pitcher...

Or the green ceramic, with pigeons. I'll buy them two candlesticks and candles covered with flowers. And a basket! This one is very old. No way can I put it in the offering. I need a new one, the kind with a woven braid on the edge. I'll fill it with oranges, green lemons, clove leaves. Later, I can use it for going to market.

The market! I've got to run... just let me take off my apron, and I'm off. I'm going to take those coins for sure; why not, what else are they for? If we need something later, God will provide. Where's that knotted bandanna? Where did I hide it? Ah, yes! Behind the wardrobe. There it is! Great!

It's hot! I'm even sweating. But it's great! I had enough for everything. The bag is really heavy! And these candles in my hands, so delicate I

daren't even graze them. What beautiful white wax flowers, they're completely covered.

I'm almost home, it's only a little farther, I'll take a rest...

I'm going to lay the tablecloth I embroidered with purple forget-me-nots on the table, it hangs down to the floor. Then I'll put the crates on top, to make a little altar, and on top, the paper cut-outs of dancing skeletons, how pretty! The strip of eight will be enough.

The Virgin of Guadalupe in the center, in front of Christ; with the candles at the sides. Pictures of my dear dead all around the Virgin on the wall.

My casseroles below, the *mole*, corn-on-the-cob, *tortillas*, chocolate. My father's cigarettes and his tequila.

It's great I've got these pretty napkins with lace borders I made! They're to line the baskets.

I'll open the window, so the neighbors can see when they go by; for sure they'll turn to look, because the yellow of the marigolds will stand out lit by the candles, and they'll smell the aroma of copal, and want some *mole* with sesame seeds.

With just a little cash; it will all be done, as it always is, as it should be, with a will, and effort! I'll sure finish late tonight.

How my son and grandchildren will enjoy it, when they come tomorrow! I've got sugar-skulls for the kids. And how proud Benito will be...! **M**



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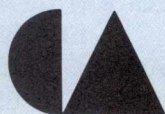


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Modernizing Visions, *Chilango* Blueprints, and Provincial Growing Pains:

Mérida at the Turn of the Century Gilbert M. Joseph and Allen Wells

Schisms in the Mexican Political Elite and the Technocrat/Politician Typology Juan D. Lindau

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Measuring Legitimacy in Mexico: An Analysis of Public Opinion during the  
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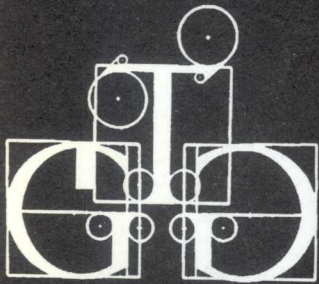
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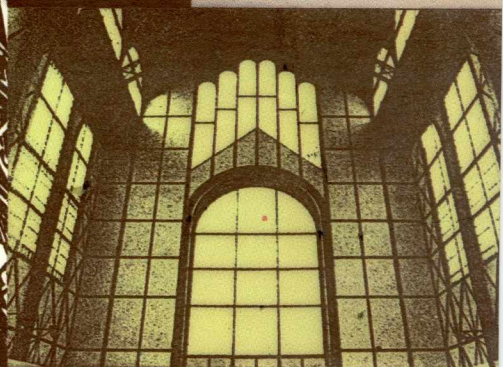
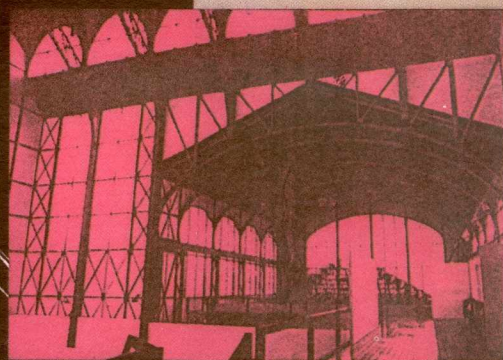
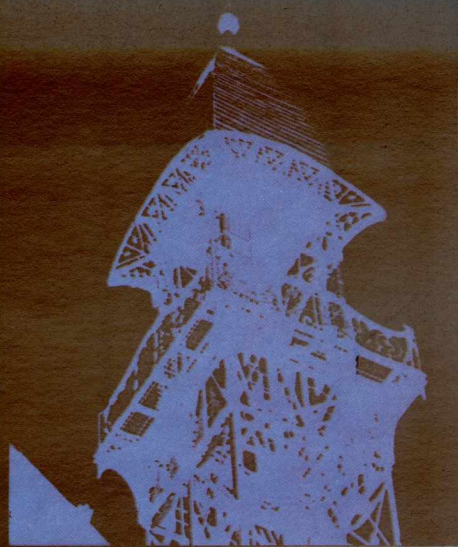
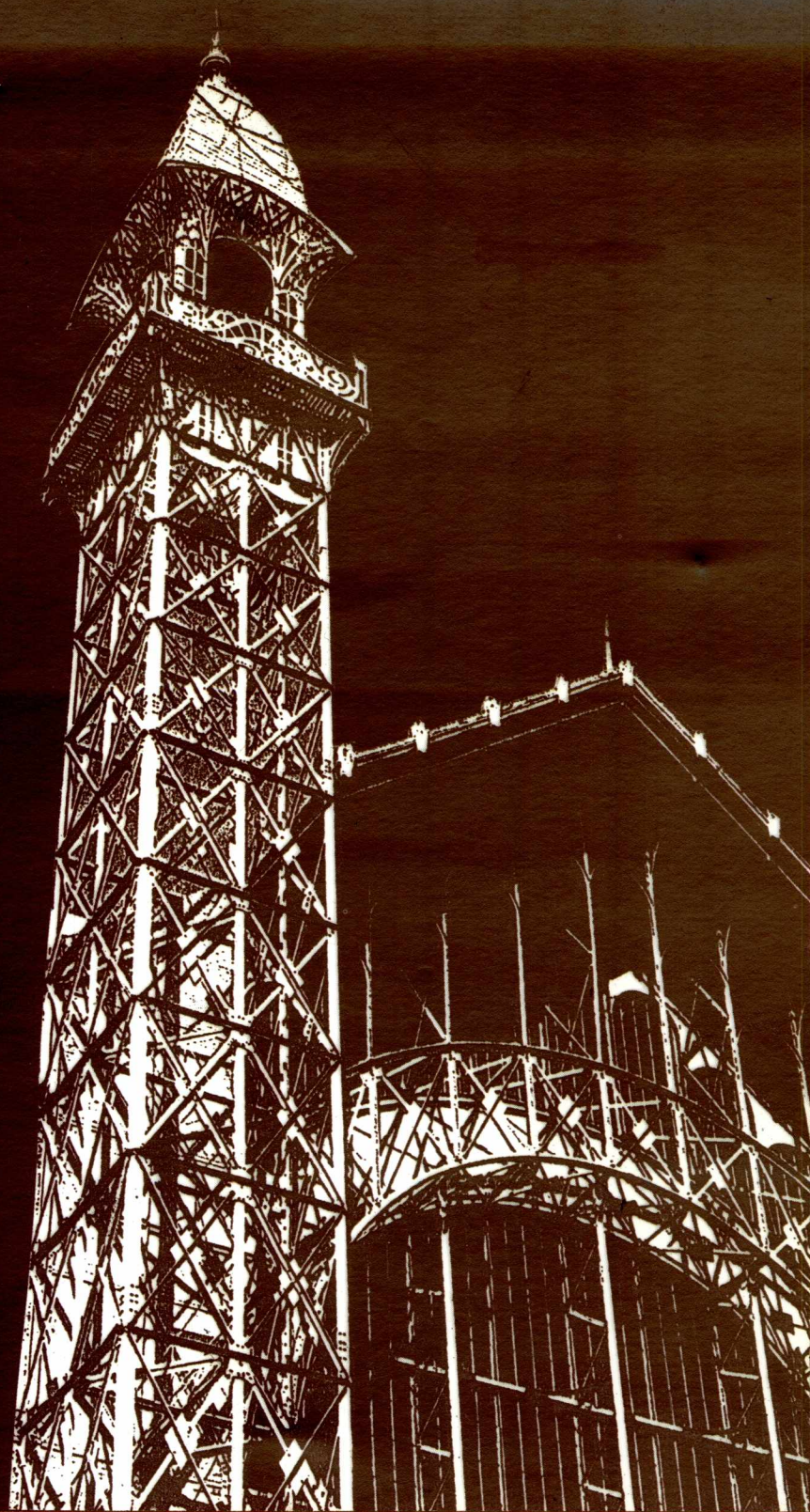
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