



# MEXICO POLICY NEWS

The Consortium of U.S. Research Programs for Mexico

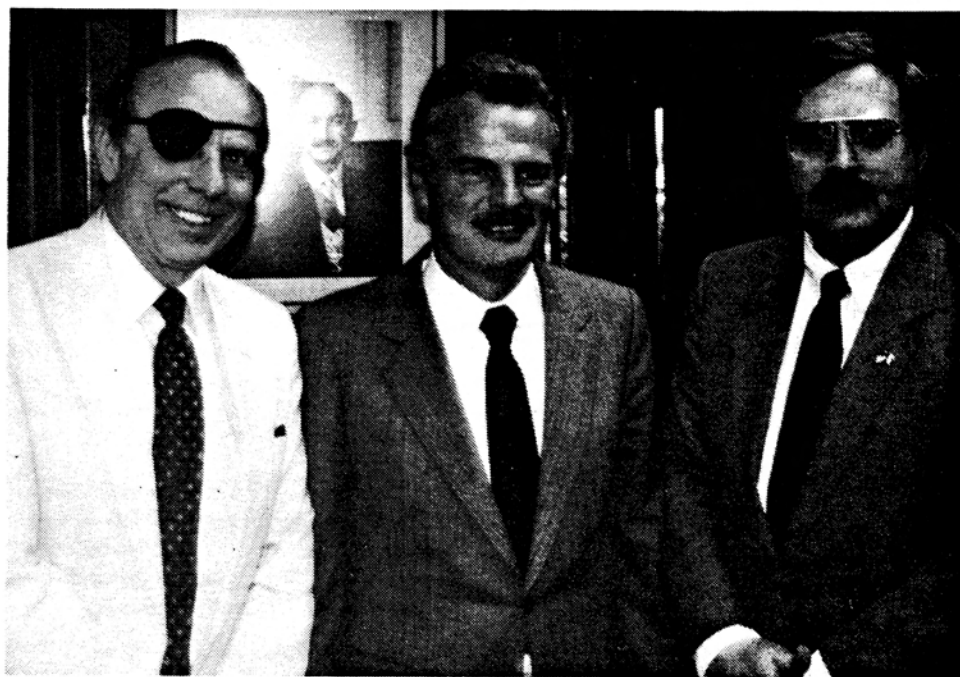
No. 4 Spring 1990

## VI PROFMEX- ANUIES Symposium Set for Mazatlán, Oct. 3-6, 1990

The VI Symposium of PROFMEX and ANUIES has been set for Mazatlán, Sinaloa, October 3-6, 1990. The theme of the meeting is "Changes in U.S.-Mexican Economic Relations: Beyond the Border." Program chairs are **Paul Ganster** (San Diego State University) for PROFMEX and **Arturo García Espinosa** (Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León) for ANUIES.

The schedule for the Mazatlán meeting is as follows:

(please turn to page 3)



James Wilkie, Governor Labastida, and Paul Ganster

## PROFMEX Interview with Sinaloa Governor Labastida Ochoa

*[While in Sinaloa in February to negotiate local arrangements for the 1990 VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium, PROFMEX President James W. Wilkie and Vice-President Paul Ganster interviewed Governor Francisco Labastida Ochoa. In his offices in Culiacán, the state capital, Governor Labastida offered to support the VI Symposium which will be held in Mazatlán October 3-7.]*

*Midway through his six-year term, Labastida has undertaken significant initiatives in the areas of culture, education, economic development, and reform of the police forces. A native of Los Mochis, Sinaloa, Labastida studied economics at Universidad Nacional*

*Autónoma de México in the Federal District, where he received the licenciatura degree in 1964. Subsequently he occupied a series of increasingly important posts in the following central government agencies: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público (1962-1965), Secretaría de Educación Pública (1965-1966), Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Transportes (1966-1967), Secretaría de la Presidencia (1968-1975), Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público (1976-1979), Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto (1979-1982). He served as Secretario de Patrimonio y Fomento Industrial (1982) and as Secretario de Energía y Minas (1983-1986).]*

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## Governor Labastida

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**Q:** In some regions of Mexico, particularly the border states, there is great emphasis placed on attracting new maquiladora investment as a means of generating employment and economic growth. How has your administration approached the maquiladora option for growth and development of Sinaloa?

**A:** The population of Sinaloa is growing slightly faster than the national average and we need to create about 25,000 jobs per year. The maquiladora is one option for attracting foreign investment to help develop job creation and to stimulate economic growth. However, certain negative impacts of the maquiladora industry elsewhere are well known, including pressure on the available infrastructure and the characteristic high turnover rate of employees. Thus in Sinaloa we need to make sure that there is adequate social investment to support new maquiladores, including housing and land for housing, water, and other infrastructure. We need to have controlled growth of the maquiladora.

**Q:** What is the economic outlook for your state?

**A:** Sinaloa's economy is quite healthy and diversified. The southern part of the state is the center of the fishing industry and tourism, focused in Mazatlán. That city's tourism industry, now with a capacity of nearly 10,000 rooms, is unique in Mexico in that it was built mainly with local capital, beginning 40 years ago. Only in recent years have multinationals and significant foreign investment started to move into the area. For example, the Costa Dorada project immediately to the south of Mazatlán and near the airport is 100% foreign owned. To date some \$40 million has been invested and the eventual investment total will be \$700 million. I should point out that the recent loosening of federal restrictions on charter flights to Mexico has been a help to the tourism in Mazatlán and elsewhere.

Fishing, of course, is the traditional strength of the economy of the southern part of the state and is concentrated in the port of Mazatlán where there are also fish and shrimp processing plants. Capital generated by the fishing industry was an important source of funds for the development of the tourism industry of the region as well as for other features of the state's investments.

The middle part of the state, focused on the capital city of Culiacán, is where

the service sector and processing of agricultural products are particularly strong. Production of cement is also important in the economic makeup of this subregion. This area is rich in crops and cattle ranching.

The northern sector of the state, characterized by level fertile ground and abundant water, is the region of intense agricultural production and processing, the source of a significant percentage of the winter vegetables consumed in the United States. The Los Mochis-Topolobampo region has a growing manufacturing and maquiladora sector. The significant Topolobampo port development project will turn that city into gateway of northern and western Mexico with the Pacific Rim countries. Connected with Mexico's central plateau by the Chihuahua-Pacific Railway, Topolobampo will also serve as an important link to the growing manufacturing sectors of Chihuahua City and Ciudad Juárez. Further, Topolobampo will offer the geographic advantage of a shortcut for the U.S. midwestern and eastern markets to trade with Asia. A containerized port in Sinaloa and the railway connection on to El Paso will give a speedier, low-cost alternative to more expensive U.S. west coast port and railway connections.

In short, Sinaloa has a unique infrastructure and a diversified economy.

**Q:** Do the new tourism developments in Mexico at Huatulco, Los Cabos, and traditional centers such as Acapulco or Puerto Vallarta present a strong challenge to the tourism of Sinaloa?

**A:** Not really. Mazatlán has four decades of experience as a tourist center and never depended upon multinational chains of hotels to bring in business. Today, Mazatlán's foreign tourism originates in Los Angeles, Denver, Dallas, and the Pacific Northwest. Increasingly, charters from New York are important. Further, Mazatlán is distinguished from other Mexican beach resorts by its traditional urban center which dates from the last century and is now being restored in a major historic redevelopment project. As well, Mazatlán has a nearby hinterland of historic colonial towns including Rosario and Concordia. Thus, tourists to Mazatlán have the opportunity to enjoy beaches and sportfishing, but also have the chance to visit traditional Mexico.

**Q:** Some five years ago, the U.S. State Department issued a traveller's advisory for Sinaloa due to a number of robberies and violent crimes directed against U.S. tourists. What is the situation today?

## Mexico Policy News

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A: In 1986, for example, there were some 57 violent crimes against tourists reported and only a few of these were solved. In contrast, last year there were only 8 violent crimes reported against the more than 300,000 tourists who visited the state. Only one of those cases has not yet been solved. So, you can see, there has been a very dramatic improvement of law enforcement and the administration of justice in the state.

One of my priorities has been to establish a training academy and to expand our prison capacity. Three thousand police have been fired and three hundred arrested and prosecuted for various crimes. At the same time, a new structure of salaries and merit recognition has been established for the police. All of these efforts have served to increase the professionalization of the law enforcement officials of the state.

Q: What about the problem of drug trafficking?

A: The brunt of the anti-drug campaign has been borne by the Mexican federal government. The Mexican army has been very active in Sinaloa and indications are that they have made good progress in combatting both drug production and movement of, or transshipment, of drugs through the region.

Q: When the President of PRI, Senator Luis Donaldo Colosio, visited UCLA and San Diego State University, he discussed the process of democratization in Mexico and mentioned as an example recent electoral victories by the opposition in Sinaloa. Would you care to comment?

A: PAN won the municipal presidency of Mazatlán in a hotly contested election. That city has been a traditional center of PAN strength, but it should be pointed out that PAN won by only several hundred votes. If PRI works very hard, we hope to win in Mazatlán next time.

In the meantime, the working relationship of the PRI at the state level with the PAN government in Mazatlán is very good. For example there has been very close cooperation on the project to restore the theater and surrounding district in the historic center of Mazatlán.

Q: What about internal democratization within the PRI in Sinaloa?

A: Last year in Sinaloa, the PRI candidates for the municipal presidencies were selected democratically. This was done in two ways. In the smaller

municipalities, PRI party members voted directly to select the candidates. In the large municipalities, delegates from different corporate sectors voted. In both cases, the ballot was secret. Delegates were used in the larger cities due to economic reasons as the cost of a direct vote of all *Priistas* would have been prohibitive.

Q: Part of the changes in contemporary Mexico concern decentralization of budgets and administrative control. Are these issues that are of concern to your administration?

A: Yes, they certainly are. Greater decentralization of budgets and administrative control are needed for states such as Sinaloa to meet the needs of its population. Both state government and municipal government need to be strengthened and an important part of that is increasing state and local finances. More taxes need to remain in the regions where they are generated. Also, increased efficiency in administration of taxes will help. For example, property taxes cover some 50% of income of municipalities, yet record keeping and collection methods need to be improved significantly so that all property owners are paying their fair share of taxes.

The challenge of government reform in Sinaloa is very important because of the complexity and importance of the state economy. With 2.5 million persons (350,000 in Mazatlán), the state has 3% of the national population to go with 3% of the country's territory. Although 57% of the state's GDP is generated by services and only 14% by agriculture, it is important that Sinaloa ranks first in the country in production of rice, soy beans, safflower, and vegetables. Sinaloa is second in wheat production, third in beans and sorghum, and fourth in sugar cane. The state has 1.5 million head of beef cattle. The fishing industry is based on sardines, tuna, and shrimp, and sport fishing is part of Mazatlán's tourist attraction. To take into account all of these activities, my government is carrying out the *Plan Estatal de Desarrollo de Sinaloa, 1987-1992*. We will be happy to send copies of the document to your readers if they write to Lic. Sergio Orozco Aceves, Secretario de Promoción Económica, Palacio del Gobierno, Culiacán, Sinaloa, FAX (671) 44508.

## VI Symposium

(continued from page 1)

### October 3, Wednesday

Arrival and reception with welcoming remarks by Governor **Francisco Labastida Ochoa** of Sinaloa and Ambassador **John D. Negroponte**.

### October 4, Thursday

Panel 1. *Regional Development and Economic Relations with the Pacific Basin: The Case of Sinaloa*

Panel 2. *From Maquila to Production- and Market-Sharing?*

### October 5, Friday

Panel 3. *International Investment, Technology Transfer, and Debt Service*

Panel 4. *Trade and Industrial Policy*

### October 6, Saturday

Panel 5. *Cooperation for Education and Training*

Panel 6. *The Trinational Equation: Japan, the United States, and Mexico*  
Reception and Closing Banquet

### October 7, Sunday

Departure

The VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium will be preceded by a workshop for the private sector that will fold into the academic meetings. The schedule for the workshop is as follows:

### October 2, Tuesday

Arrival and Reception with Welcome by Lic. **Sergio Orozco Aceves**, Secretary of Economic Development for the State of Sinaloa

### October 3, Wednesday

Panel I. *U.S.-Mexican Economic Relations*

Panel II. *The New Maquiladora Decree and Recent Regulatory Changes*  
Working Luncheon. *Economy, Trade, and Investment in Sinaloa*

Panel III. *Mexican Tax Reform*

Panel IV. *The Technology Transfer Decree and New Investment Regulations*  
Evening Reception

The site for both meetings is at El Cid Resort, a full-service resort complex on the beach in Mazatlán. With two swimming pools, an 18-hole golf course, numerous restaurants, a disco, and excellent meeting facilities, the meeting site promises to be the best yet for PROFMEX and ANUIES. Attractive rates are being negotiated and will enable participants to arrive early or stay after the conclusion of the meetings.

The details of the VI Symposium and the private sector workshop will be sent



out to PROFMEX members in the near future. If you want to receive additional information and the registration forms, please write to the PROFMEX Program Chair: Paul Ganster, Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0435.

## PROFMEX Monographs Available at Discount for PROFMEX Members

The University of Arizona Press is pleased to announce a 20% discount on all PROFMEX monographs to members of PROFMEX. To place an order, members should identify themselves as PROFMEX members and enclose payment, including \$1.50 to cover postage and handling (U of A Press, 1615 E. Speedway Blvd., Tucson, AZ 85719).

Discounted titles and prices are as follows:

*Politics and Ethnicity on the Rio Yaqui: Potam Revisited*, **Thomas R. McGuire**, 1986, \$19.95 list, \$15.96 discount.

*The State of the Rio Grande / Rio Bravo: A Study of Water Resource Issues Along the Texas / Mexico Border*, **David J. Eaton and John M. Anderson**, 1987, \$24.95 list, \$19.96 discount (List price will be raised to \$29.95 effective July 1. The 20% discounted price will be \$23.96).

*Professions and the State*, **Peter S. Cleaves**, 1987, \$19.95 list, \$15.96 discount.

*The People of Sonora and Yankee Capitalists*, **Ramón Eduardo Ruiz**, 1988, \$35 list, \$28.00 discount.

*Troublesome Border*, **Oscar J. Martínez**, 1988, \$9.95 list, \$7.96 discount.

*Escalating Disputes: Social Participation and Change in the Oaxacan Highlands*, **Philip C. Parnell**, 1988, \$25 list, \$20.00 discount.

## PROFMEX Board Election

In the 1990 PROFMEX Board election, representatives of the 13 directing institutions elected two new members. As representative of UTEP, **Richard C. Bath** replaced **Jeffrey Brannon**; and as representative of ODC, **John W. Sewell** replaced **Cathryn L. Thorup**. The important roles of Brannon and Thorup are gratefully acknowledged by the Board, which is pleased to welcome Bath (Director of the UTEP Center for Inter-American and Border Studies) and Sewell (President of ODC).

With regard to election of officers, **James W. Wilkie** (UCLA) was reelected to the presidency, and **Paul Ganster** (SDSU) was elected vice-president and treasurer. Ganster replaces **L. Ray Sadler** (NMSU), who remains on the Board. Thanks are due to Sadler for the major organizational work accomplished under his direction while the PROFMEX Secretariat was located at NMSU.

The PROFMEX directors now are:

**Richard C. Bath** (UTEP)  
**John Coatsworth** (Chicago)  
**Theo Crevenna** (New Mexico)  
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**L. Ray Sadler** (New Mexico State)  
**John W. Sewell** (ODC)  
**Sidney Weintraub** (Texas at Austin)  
**James W. Wilkie** (UCLA)

## PROFMEX Secretariat Moves to California

Activities of the Secretariat have been moved to Berkeley from Las Cruces, where the Secretariat was hosted by New Mexico State University. With the term of NMSU's hosting of PROFMEX having ended, Executive Secretary **George Baker** determined that his offices could be located advantageously in California where he can commute to the offices of the PROFMEX presidency in Los Angeles and Vice Presidency in San Diego.

## Individuals and Institutions Invited to Join PROFMEX

PROFMEX is the international organization established to improve communication and cooperation among the many projects, programs, and individuals involved in Mexico-related studies. PROFMEX is the permanent administrative mechanism that provides liaison with Mexico project directors, Mexico study programs, and scholars everywhere interested in Mexico.

PROFMEX coordinates its programs in Mexico with ANUIES, some of whose members have become PROFMEX institutional and individual members. Members are invited to attend PROFMEX-ANUIES conferences.

PROFMEX members receive: *Mexico Policy News*, ANUIES-PROFMEX Conference Volumes, and *Comercio Exterior* (Mexico City). Members receive group discounts on: PROFMEX Monographs (Arizona Press), *U.S. Mexico Report* (selections from the current Mexican press), published monthly, and *El Cotidiano* (Mexico City), published bimonthly.

Individual dues (tax deductible) are \$30 faculty, \$50 general, and \$18 student. Institutional dues are \$100 Associate Institutions and \$150 Special Dues for Mexican Associate Institutions.

Contact: PROFMEX Secretariat, 1440 Euclid Ave., Berkeley, CA 94708, tel. (415) 486-1247, FAX 486-0338; 548-0609.

The PROFMEX Board is grateful to NMSU for having hosted the Secretariat for the period 1986-1989. Special thanks are due to **James E. Halligan**, **Harold Daws**, **Thomas Gale**, **L. Ray Sadler**, **María Telles-McGeagh**, **Rosa de la Torre**, and **Patricia Sullivan**.

Executive Secretary Baker may now be reached at 1440 Euclid Ave., Berkeley, CA 94708, tel. (415) 486-1247, FAX 486-0388; 548-0609.



# PRI Regroups in Baja California After Loss of Governorship

by Bernard R. Thompson

*[Bernard R. (Barney) Thompson is a freelance journalist, consultant, and analyst of contemporary Mexican and Latin American politics. A resident of San Diego, he was educated in California, Mexico, and Central America. His work appears primarily in newspapers and magazines in the United States and Mexico. Currently he is working on the Mexican electoral process and the upcoming Guatemalan presidential election.]*

On July 2, 1989, long after the polls had closed, PAN held a news briefing during which gubernatorial candidate Ernesto Ruffo Appel stated, cautiously, that there was a true probability that PAN had won the governorship. With unveiled animosity, an inimical and contentious press corps challenged and attacked Ruffo and PAN, certain in their belief that the government's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) would not lose the election.

By the next day, relenting to emerging fact and difficult to dispute evidence, those same journalists had obviously come to the conclusion that Ruffo had won and that his victory just could be respected. During PAN's afternoon press conference on July 3, the reporters' manner was respectful and subdued, many of their questions even patronizing, and their amazement could not be disguised. But that astonishment was small compared to the shock waves that exploded through the up-to-now ruling PRI, which had never acknowledged defeat in a gubernatorial election.

With claims and counterclaims of victory raging in Baja California, on Tuesday night, July 4, the president of PRI's National Executive Committee (CEN), Senator Luis Donaldo Colosio announced on nationwide television: "We must recognize that the trend of the results in the gubernatorial [race in Baja California] is favoring the candidate of the National Action Party." and the PRI lost. The shock and surprise immediately went to genuine trauma among many of the party faithful.

Almost before the smoke had cleared, roadblocks were fired south from the im-

portant border state, and north from imperious Mexico City. Responding to claims of division within the PRI's apparatus in Baja California, local party leaders said that the party was not fractionalized in the state, although there were a myriad of opinions over why the PRI had lost. State party officials embarked on a study, which among numerous other reasons concluded that the CEN's special delegates sent to the state "did not know the political reality of Baja California." They, along with other *chilangos* sent from Mexico City, where responsible for the loss of the governorship, two municipal presidencies, and PRI control of the state Chamber of Deputies, charged party spokesmen.

The CEN of PRI made its response in a two-part internal document that was published in the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* on July 31 and August 1, 1989. Ostensibly an analysis and diagnosis of what had led to the party's defeat in Baja California, it included harsh and extraordinary criticism of past and present party practices and individuals.

According to the CEN's document, 1958 was the "historic point" when PAN became the second electoral force in Baja California. That was the year that PAN's presidential candidate, Efraín González Luna, carried the state over PRI candidate Adolfo López Mateos. The document stated that since that time PAN has been developing in the state, but not as an ideological or political option—more as a refuge for those who are dissatisfied with the undemocratic selection of PRI candidates, "as well as due to the inefficiency, abuse of power and dishonesty of practically all of the state and municipal governing (officials), excepting Milton Castellanos Everado (governor from 1971 to 1977)." Former governor Roberto de la Madrid Romandía (1977–83) was severely criticized for "the nepotism and corruption that were two essential characteristics of his government." The document said that his administration was when the PRI in the state truly experienced broad decomposition of its innermost political power, when the separation from the party's bases began, and when the labor, *campesino* and popular sectors broke away from the party, each initiating political ties and commitments at the margin of the party.

"In spite of the wounds caused to the social body and to the party structure by the administration of Roberto de la Madrid, the PRI of then named Xicoténcatl Leyva Mortera as his successor, without imagining that once in office he would convert the Baja California government into a personal political fief of his family and friends," continued

the document. "Like Roberto de la Madrid, the ex-governor Xicoténcatl Leyva continued the infamous task of destruction of the party and of the intermediate political framework, preventing the development of the new values of Baja California Priism," it said.

With respect to Leyva Mortera's administration, the document referred to it as "an unending succession of inept, arbitrary, and greedy officials, at the state and municipal levels, who tore the PRI organization in Baja California to pieces, stirring up popular sentiment against them and, of course, they created all of the conditions necessary so that the PRI was defeated by PAN in the July 2 elections." Criticizing the failure of "the last two presidents"—José López Portillo (1976–82) and Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado (1982–88)—to meet their responsibility of correcting the problems in the Baja California governments, the document said that on January 5, 1989, Leyva Mortera was forced from office in an action that was promoted by the PRI and supported by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, in order to reconstruct the party in Baja California.

Interim governor Oscar Baylón Chacón spent his first two and one-half months in office virtually on the campaign trail, stumping for the party and its forthcoming candidates, but it was too little too late. The PRI finally named Senator Margarita Ortega Villa (de Romo) as its gubernatorial candidate, an articulate woman who ran a fairly traditional campaign, but one that was notable in the more often than not absence of longtime party leaders and local bosses, and she seemed doomed from the start when up against a popular Ruffo.

On March 29, 1989, at PAN's gubernatorial candidate nominating convention in Mexicali, Federal Deputy Alfredo Arenas (PAN) was asked what he thought of Margarita Ortega having been named the PRI's candidate. "They (PRI) did not want to burn their good cards. They know that they can lose the Baja California governorship, with indications being that President Salinas will issue instructions that the true results of the election be honored. They had to name a candidate who could lose but not lose face, and subsequently return to her same position as the six-year term senator from Baja California. She will ask for a leave of absence from the Senate, and the only way she could lose her senate seat would be if she won the governorship. This way they do not burn their good cards, by naming a relatively unknown candidate," he said.

On election day, according to the document published by PRI's CEN "AL-

Priistas did not believe," and "the wounds of 11 long years were still bleeding on the inside of many." But what happened in Baja California was many things, including a vote against the hardships of Mexico's economic crisis and "the system" that has created and perpetuated the continuing socioeconomic and political problems of today. With chronic abstentionism, a definite vote against the PRI, a heavy vote for the popular Ruffo, and a vote for the party itself, PAN was awarded its first governorship in the history of Mexico.

Coupled with the PRI's charges and recriminations between Baja California and Mexico City, following the elections, was a sense of not only loss but of foundering among party members in the state, from the highest level of the hierarchy on down. Last September, prior to his current appointment to be the general delegate of the CEN of PRI in Baja California, José Ortiz Araña was in Tijuana to give a speech on Mexican federalism. At a private lunch with ten party members, plus this observer who was an invited guest, Ortiz was told that the PRI in Baja California, at state, municipal and sectoral levels, was experiencing an acute internal political crisis which had progressively gotten worse since the July 2 electoral losses.

Party members expressed their consternation and resentment to Ortiz, especially criticizing a lack of leadership in the state and the failure of the PRI's national officials to resolve the growing number of problems. They said that Eduardo Martínez Palomera, then president of the state executive committee of the PRI, had lost prestige and been discredited as a result of the poor showing in the past elections. He was providing no leadership or direction to the party, a complaint they extended to local party leaders in the state's four municipalities as well. And they asked repeatedly why instructions for change had not been received from Mexico City.

Also in September, in a Mexico City interview with PRI President Colosio, this observer asked if the party's losses in Baja California had created discord within the party, especially with respect to the back and forth bickering between Baja California and Mexico City. Colosio said: "The results of the elections in Baja California have definitely created new circumstances and situations within the party. These are not only at the local level, but at the national level as well. And this is understandable when you take into consideration that this is the first gubernatorial election that our party has not won in a long period of time.

"However the reality is, both at the

national and local levels, that we must face this new circumstance and proceed, not so much in search of who was guilty, but in pursuit of the democratic reorganization of our party in Baja California ... so that the orientation of political and social struggles in Baja California conforms to those same Priistas of Baja California. There is not a serious conflict. What there is, I think, is irritation— which is even justified. But I do not think that this will be manifested in a crack or fracture between the Priism of Baja California or Priism nationally," he said.

But as time went by nothing happened, nothing was done, and the concern and dismay of PRI members in Baja California reached crescendo levels. In December a high-level PRI official in the state told this observer that "the party is rudderless, without direction, and without leadership. We do not know what to do at this time, and we feel as if we have been abandoned." Eugenio Elorduy Walther, Governor Ruffo's Secretary of Finance, a member of PAN's national executive committee and an astute political analyst, was asked in January for his opinion of the PRI's situation in the state, and about expected changes in the PRI's local leadership. "PRI members," he said, "here in Baja California, still have not decided internally how to settle their disputes over last year's defeats. They keep going back and forth, with internal denunciations and confrontations, blaming each other—locally and from Baja California to Mexico City. This is keeping them from restructuring in the state—they continue to blame people for the past and not work towards the future. Their broom keeps sweeping in back of them and not in front of them." And he added: "PRI [members] in Baja California have not been able to get their act together, and they are afraid to call a convention because they fear [negative repercussions] over last July's defeats."

On January 19, interviewed during an official PRI visit to San Diego, this observer asked party president Colosio: "What about Baja California—the PRI seems like a ship without a rudder in the state, in disarray and with members fighting among themselves. What will be done with Baja California? How can you move ahead with modernization and democratization nationally if Baja California's problems have not been resolved?"

"There has been a lack of proper direction and firmness in Baja California," said Colosio, "and following the defeats I had commitments that regrettably distracted my attention. Baja California was a traumatic shock to many people.

But 1990 will be different," he said.

"There will be democratic reorganization of committees in Baja California," plus the addition of the new "restructuring" committees, Colosio said.

"Moreover, we have to represent the citizens of Baja California better. The PRI is the historic party of Mexico, and in the 'new PRI' you will see new and younger faces, hear different voices, and hear different feelings expressed," he stated. Pressed on when this all might begin, he said "possibly within a week."

Four days later, on January 23, Baja Californian and Federal Deputy René Treviño Arredondo was named coordinator of the PRI's newly created "State Restructuring Council (CER)." Martínez Palomera was removed as state chairman, thus making Treviño the party's chief executive in Baja California, and the elation of local party members was immediately heard. The party's long awaited move forward and towards recovery, with a strong and popular leader, had finally been made in the eyes of the party faithful.

The CER is made up of 24 men (no women at this writing), and it has six months to accomplish its duties and goals of party reconstruction and revitalization. At the end of the six months a state convention will be held, when democratically elected delegates will themselves elect a new state president. Under the CER, there are four "Municipal Restructuring Councils" (Tijuana, Mexicali, Ensenada, and Tecate) of undeterminable membership numbers. It should be noted that women are active on these municipal councils.

To get a perspective on how the restructuring councils are being set up, the following comments were made at an early February lunch with Héctor Lutteroth Camou, chairman of the Tijuana restructuring council, and Javier Camarena Salinas, its executive secretary.

Camarena explained that, in Tijuana, seven district committees have been set up under the pyramidal structured council, corresponding to the electoral districts. Each district committee, in turn, is forming sectional committees, and from these sections will come the party's future delegates who will be democratically nominated and elected by the local membership. In addition, the municipal council has 23 special committees, including fiscal issues, legislative affairs, sports, social issues, ideological dissemination, etc. The committees will report to the municipal council, which in turn reports to the CER and Treviño.

The restructuring network has been established under a six month plan, according to Camarena. At the end of the six month rebuilding period the state

PRI will hold a convention, then it will elect the state president, secretary and other party officers in a democratic manner, he said. This observer challenged the use of the word democratic, and asked how people can expect change when René Treviño was named by Mexico City in a classic *dedazo*?

Lutteroth took the question and his response was animated. "This situation was, is, different because the party was in an emergency situation," he said. "The party's statutes, Article 55, allow for the party to name someone in a case like this, when an emergency exists and when it is on a temporary basis." He said that as of right now the PRI, in Baja California, is not prepared to elect someone to head the party in the state, and that right now the PRI is a party without the delegates necessary to hold an assembly or convention. He pointed out that the restructuring system has been established in order for each district to elect its delegates, and then the party will hold state elections.

Following up on the theme of democracy, Camarena said "the PRI is striving to build a truly democratic party, creating a base so that members will have a real vote. The new PRI wants the people to name their candidates, and for the people to know that they have elected their choices. We do not want candidates who are named from Mexico City or by so-called party bosses." Lutteroth added that all party members must have their say and their vote, and that delegates must be elected by the rank and file of their sections. "This is a total change or reverse from the traditional system, and we do not know as of yet how this will work or turn out," said Lutteroth, pointing out that these are historic times that have never been experienced before.

As for general elections and the citizenry, Camarena observed that the PRI wants its vote acknowledged and respected in such a way that people will believe in the party, believe and recognize that it is a true and proper political party. The goal is to create the base so that the people will have a real vote, and that the vote cast in favor of the PRI is not always in question. Obviously the party hopes to move away from what has become almost a maxim—the PRI seems to win public support only by losing elections, and loses it by winning elections.

On this point, Lutteroth said that a basic problem of the party is credibility with the people, and that the PRI must gain that credibility by showing the public that the party is serious about moving forward with true democratization. As for more pragmatic objectives, both men said that the party seeks to

win the one Senate and the federal Chamber of Deputies' seats in the 1991 national elections, and to recapture all municipal president and state Chamber of Deputies' posts in the 1992 state elections.

Considering the high levels of hostility that have surfaced since the July 2 elections, Lutteroth was asked if PRI members in the state would accept this new system, and if it could be implemented and successful by 1991. His reply was that it is really too soon to tell, although some 80 percent of the party members have been enthusiastic in their support, expressing very positive opinions about the forthcoming changes—"to the degree that we have been surprised at the high level of acceptance," he said. With respect to René Treviño's appointment, Lutteroth said that he was selected only after research showed that he is the majority's choice, and the best man for the job. Lutteroth added that Treviño's appointment won applause from the entire state, without the usual bickering between Mexicali and Tijuana over who should run the party in Baja California.

As the "new PRI" prepares to go into its so-called fourth phase, subsequent to its founding in 1929 and the reforms of 1938 and 1946, the situation in Baja California takes on even greater significance. It would seem that Baja California's problems (which are also Mexico City's) would have to be resolved before the party as a whole holds its XIV National Assembly later this year, when major reforms, democratization, and modernization are supposedly to be initiated. But whatever the case, both nationally and in Baja California, the PRI seeks to close festering wounds and to win back that which has been lost as soon as possible.

Of course this may prove easier said than done, considering the growth of opposition parties nationally, and the 1988 and 1989 election results. Following last July's Baja California elections, Héctor Santillana, chairman of PRI's "Critical Current" in Tijuana, commented on the public reaction to PAN's victories in the state: "First, and most importantly, the people were very happy that their vote was respected. Second, the people in general support Ernesto Ruffo Appel, and they look forward to a change in government. Third, there was widespread dissatisfaction with the past administration of Xicoténcatl Leyva Mortera." Obviously future change will have to more than skin-deep, and not just the type of change that ensures that everything will return to what it was before.

## Mexican Institution Joins PROFMEX

Centro de Investigación para el Desarrollo, A.C., has recently joined the consortium as an institutional member. The Centro, initially known as IBAFIN and now as CIDAC, was created in 1985 as the result of the transformation of Instituto de Banca y Finanzas, A.C. from a teaching into a research institution. Originally created in 1980, IBAFIN was given an endowment by Banco Nacional de México so that it become an independent research and training facility for the financial sector, as well as for top financial executives of government, banking, the private sector, and of government-owned corporations. After the banks were nationalized in 1982, IBAFIN became a completely independent and self-sufficient institution.

In 1985 a new board of directors was formed and the institution shifted towards full time research. Today CIDAC has a research staff of nine professionals with formal training in various disciplines: political science, economics, sociology, history, education, and human development. The Center produces a series of books on critical issues of policy in both politics and economics and its members publish in all sorts of professional journals and periodicals. The first four books of the series (on issues ranging from industrial policy to the Pacific Basin) were published in 1988, while two others (one on the impact of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement upon Mexico and the other on technological policy) are in print. Currently, two projects are underway, one on housing and the other on separation of powers.

For more information contact the director of CIDAC, Luis Rubio F, at Jaime Balmes # 11, Edificio D, Col. Polanco los Morales, 11510, México, D.F. (For international mail: c/o International Messengers, P.O. Box 60326, Apdo. 218, Houston, TX 77205). Telephone: (905) 395-5402; 395-8844. FAX: (905) 395-9174.



## UCLA Program on Mexico Activities

The Program on Mexico is pleased to announce the award of a Hewlett grant to fund its policy research project "Cycles and Trends in Twentieth-Century Mexico, 1990 to 1992." The grant underwrites three years of conferences and scholarly exchange programs leading to the publication of research and reference volumes on Mexican history and U.S.-Mexican relations. The first of two inaugural conferences of the project (uniting half of the 80-member group) was held February 1-4 in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas; a second inaugural meeting is slated for early June in Puerto Escondido. A series of small, working conferences will follow during the next three years. The emphasis of the project is on creating quantitative bases for analyzing long-term trends in Mexican development, U.S.-Mexican relations, and general policy issues.

The staff of the Program on Mexico experienced a major change in August of 1989. **David Lorey** replaced **Jeffrey Bortz** to coordinate research for the Program when Bortz accepted an appointment at Appalachian State University in North Carolina. As Research Coordinator, Lorey is responsible for organizing research efforts on Mexico at UCLA and directing the research projects on the Program. Lorey is an expert on the Mexican university; he is currently completing his study *The University and Economic Development in Mexico since 1929*. Lorey has also been active in research on the U.S.-Mexican border, editing *U.S.-Mexican Border Statistics since 1900*, published by the UCLA Program on Mexico. Additionally, Lorey serves as a visiting assistant professor in UCLA's department of history, teaching a new survey course focusing on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexico.

**James Wilkie** and **David Lorey** attended the first presidential *informe* of Carlos Salinas de Gortari for the Program in November. While in Mexico, they were invited to separate, hour-long interviews with **Alberto Dalal**, director of Radio UNAM, on the show "¿Qué Dijeron?" James Wilkie spoke about Mexican leaders and conceptions of the Mexican Revolution. Lorey discussed quantitative history of Mexico and the economic history of the Mexican university system. The interviews were broadcast on November 20 and December 4, respectively.

The Program on Mexico continues to expand its series of visitors and guest lecturers. Recent visitors to UCLA in the Program's speakers and colloquia series have included **Sergio de la Peña**, **Herberto Castillo**, **Carlos Martínez Assad**, **Jorge Castañeda**, **Ricardo Pascoe**, **Porfirio Muñoz Ledo**, **Luis Donaldo Colosio**, **Adolfo Gilly**, and **John Negroponte**. Visitors typically take part in Program-sponsored research activities as well as participating in graduate seminars and other organized gatherings for discussion and debate.

## Inaugural Conference of UCLA Cycles and Trends Project

The UCLA Program on Mexico held its inaugural conference in the "Cycles and Trends" project series in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, February 1-4. The conference brought together one half of the large group of scholars and policymakers that will participate in the three-year, Hewlett-funded project. The conference featured two and a half days of meetings revolving around several small working groups. The conference focused on the global context of U.S.-Mexican relations, Mexican economic development, and the social impacts of policy.

The "Cycles and Trends" project was directed by **James Wilkie** and **Sergio de la Peña**, with the assistance of the UCLA Program on Mexico's **David Lorey**. Advisors to the project are **Enrique Cárdenas** (Universidad de las Américas), **Jorge Castañeda** (UNAM), **John Coatsworth** (University of Chicago), **William McGreevey** (World Bank), **Jesús Reyes Heróles** (SRE), **Clark Reynolds** (Stanford), **Francisco Suárez Dávila** (Banco SOMEX), **Clint Smith** (Stanford University and the Hewlett Foundation), **Javier Villa** (*Informe de Gobierno*), and **Fernando del Villar** (BANOBRAS).

Participants at the San Cristóbal conference included **Edur Velasco** (UAM-Azcapotzalco), **George Baker** (PROFMEX), **Bernardo González Aréchiga** (COLEF), **Héctor Mata** (Banco SOMEX), **Carmen Aguilar** (*Expansión*), **Sergio Ortiz Hernán** (*Revista de Comercio Exterior*), **Francis-**

**co Colmenares** (Contraloría), **Marcel Morales** (Com. Nac. de Alimentos), **Miguel Sandoval Lara** (BANOBRAS), **Arturo Anguiano** (UAM-Xochimilco), **Ricardo Pascoe** (*El Universal*), **Carlos Martínez Assad** (UNAM), **José Luis Soto** (SPP), **Javier Aguilar García** (UNAM).

A second inaugural conference will follow in June in Puerto Escondido. The second meeting will emphasize economic history of Mexico, economic policy, and economic relations between Mexico and the United States.

Future meetings of project participants are scheduled for Oaxaca in November of 1990 and Guanajuato in early 1991. Conferences will be organized as "working conferences" in which small working groups can meet intensively during a two-day period for critique of work in progress.

## PROFMEX Monograph Series Invites Manuscripts

The PROFMEX Monograph Series, published by the University of Arizona Press, invites manuscripts for publication. Scholarly works that focus on Mexico, or on U.S.-Mexican border relations, in all areas of the social sciences will be considered. Typescripts of 250 to 350 pages (including notes and bibliography) are appropriate to the series. The series has seven volumes to date (see related advertisement of PROFMEX monographs).

Inquiries should be directed to Professor **Michael C. Meyer**, Editor, PROFMEX Monograph Series or to Professor **Oscar J. Martínez**, Associate Editor PROFMEX Monograph Series, both at the Department of History, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721.

# Negroponte Visits UCLA and SDSU

U.S. Ambassador to Mexico **John D. Negroponte** visited PROFMEX institutions SDSU and UCLA late in 1989 and early in 1990 as part of a series of interactions with academic institutions in the United States and Mexico. On December 14 he was the guest of honor at a luncheon at SDSU where he was welcomed to the campus by President **Thomas B. Day** and Dean **Paul Strand** of the College of Arts and Letters. In his welcoming remarks, President Day noted that SDSU had a long and active record of concern about the importance of the U.S.-Mexican relationship and of active collaboration with Mexican institutions, both in the region and nationally.

In informal remarks at the SDSU luncheon that was attended by campus faculty as well as guests **Jorge Bustamante** (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte) and **Jorge Vargas** (Director of the Mexico-U.S. Law Center at the University of San Diego), the Ambassador stressed a number of points about the U.S.-Mexican Relationship. Highlights included:

- Trade and economic issues are a key element in the relationship between the two countries. Appropriate trade policies by the United States can assist significantly in stimulating development and resumption of growth in the Mexican economy. The economic policies of the Salinas government are an important improvement and will contribute to recovery.

- The area of education and cultural exchange is quite important. There is need for more U.S. students to study in Mexico and a need for more academic exchanges. The recently announced Border Fulbright is an example of the importance that the Embassy ascribes to academic interactions in the overall bilateral relationship.

- His trip to the border region has made him very aware of difficulties residents face in crossing the border on a daily basis. It is important to take steps necessary to facilitate the free flow of goods, services, and people between Mexico and the United States.

The luncheon concluded with a free-flowing discussion that touched on a number of topics. In response to a question about the effect of events in Eastern Europe on the relationship with Mexico, Negroponte indicated that there was little chance that Mexico would be neglected in light of new developments elsewhere. A question about border environmental problems, prompted the



*SDSU's President Thomas B. Day and Ambassador John Negroponte*

Ambassador to refer to the 1983 Border Environmental agreement between the two countries and to cite its numerous successes.

Negroponte was accompanied on his visit to SDSU by his wife, **Diana Negroponte**, by Consul General **Larry Colbert** of the U.S. Consulate in Tijuana and Mrs. **Christina Colbert**, by **Robert L. Earle**, Minister Counsellor for Public Affairs, and by Border Affairs Officer **Anne Callegan**.

Speaking to guests of the UCLA Program on Mexico in Los Angeles on January 9, Ambassador Negroponte recounted Mexico's many successes in developing a modern economic system capable of competing in the world's new private economic environment. Further, he noted that Mexico has not only attacked vigorously the corruption that has hindered Mexican development but also has developed new laws and regulations that welcome U.S. investment. He noted that the 1989 CBS television special on the Camarena Case does not represent the present but the past in U.S.-Mexican relations—he sees the attack on drug smuggling as having been intensified since 1989 to the benefit of both countries.

At a reception hosted by **Betsy Link** (president of the UCLA Latin American Center Associates) and **George Link** (former regent of the nine-campus University of California system), Negroponte said that Mexico has been forthcoming in resolving many issues that previously had been points of contention with the United States. Yet he stated that there will always be specific disagreements between two countries that share such a long common border and a complicated history of interrelations. According to Negroponte, however, the key U.S. and Mexican officials now realize that such disagreements need not and must not harm friendly relations. "We have agreed to disagree," said Negroponte, "and we must refuse to let momentary tensions damage our larger relations."

Minister Counsellor for Public Affairs, **Robert L. Earle**, who also accompanied the Ambassador in Los Angeles, told UCLA groups that a new generation of competitive Mexican entrepreneurs has emerged which is quite different from the protectionist-oriented entrepreneurs who dominated the Mexican economy prior to 1982. "We should not think that the Mexican in-

dustrialists of pre-1982 are the industrialists of post-1982," said Earle.

Speaking to **James Wilkie's** graduate seminar on Twentieth-Century Mexico, Negroponte discussed the way in which policy is developed in the U.S. Embassy. Officials from each section of the Embassy meet as a "cabinet" almost on a daily basis to apprise each other of events and issues in their area. The cabinet develops policy by consensus, with frank discussion encouraged to ascertain points of disagreement.

Private-sector guests who came to know Negroponte at UCLA and SDSU said that they were surprised to meet a charming and very effective diplomat who is not the figure portrayed in the international press. One guest noted that "given the negative reaction in the Mexican press to the February 1989 appointment of Negroponte as U.S. ambassador to Mexico, a stereotypical view of the new ambassador soon emerged in both countries which suggested that another Henry Lane Wilson had been

sent to Mexico in order to impose Washington's discipline. After all, had not Negroponte served in both Vietnam and Honduras during U.S. troop build-ups in Asia and Nicaragua, respectively." But, said another private-sector representative after meeting Negroponte, "the Ambassador seems, however, to be an affable, open, and frank articulate representative of U.S. foreign policy that does not represent a threat to Mexico, but a help."

## Overseas Development Council Update on U.S.-Mexican Programs

After a decade of successfully helping to establish U.S.-Mexican relations as one of the central issues on the U.S. policy agenda, the U.S.-Mexico Project of the Overseas Development Council (ODC) is moving into a new phase. The Project has now been incorporated into the broader research and program agenda of the ODC. Given the continuing importance of Mexico and the issue-specific expertise at the ODC, a U.S.-Mexican dimension has been integrated into each research area.

In addition, the Overseas Development Council is focusing its outreach program to address the specific informational needs of Congress by creating the U.S.-Mexico Congressional Dialogue. Congress is increasingly involved in shaping U.S. policy toward Mexico, in issues ranging from narcotics certification to trade and immigration. There is a growing need for both members and their staff—the heart of the Congressional information system—to be adequately informed and involved. The U.S.-Mexico Congressional Dialogue will design its agenda to meet their needs by holding an ongoing series of seminars on Capitol Hill focused on specific issues of concern to decision makers.

Furthermore, many of the activities that were developed by the U.S.-Mexico Project will continue. The ODC will be holding seminars on U.S.-Mexican issues as part of its broader meetings series focused on U.S. relations with developing countries. The ODC will also emphasize a Mexican dimension within its research agenda, not only through the provision of briefing papers accompanying the U.S.-Mexico Congressional Dialogue seminars, but also as part of ODC's broader research activities.

**Cathryn Thorup**, the long-standing Director of ODC's U.S.-Mexico Project has moved to the University of Califor-

nia, San Diego, to become the Director of Studies and Programs at the Center for U.S.-Mexico studies. **Laura B. Rawlings** has been appointed Project Coordinator for U.S.-Mexican issues. She will be administering the U.S.-Mexico Congressional Dialogue and working closely with other ODC staff on integrating Mexico in other issue areas.

## Bildner Center Receives Grant

The City University of New York has been awarded a grant of \$200,000 over two years by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation in continuing support of the Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Affairs' program on United States-Mexican Relations. The Bildner Center started the program in 1987 with an initial grant from the foundation. Over the next two years, this program will strengthen its research and publications activities and provide a "window" on New York for Mexican scholars and U.S. scholars of Mexico to participate in program activities and meet with experts in the city's financial, academic, and media communities. The program will develop exchanges with other research centers in Mexico and continue the Academic Seminar Series and annual conference. Particular attention will be given to the process of national economic restructuring and political liberalization as well as the urban and environmental challenges facing Mexico and the United States. The U.S.-Mexican Relations program is co-directed by **Ronald G. Hellman** (Political Sociology) and **Matthew Edel** (Economics and Urban Studies).

The Bildner Center is an integral part of The Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York (CUNY). The Center sponsors research, seminars, forums, and publications that address the practical resolution of public policy problems facing the nations of the Western Hemisphere. It promotes increased collaboration among the faculties within CUNY and serves as a link between CUNY's intellectual community and other experts and policymakers working on contemporary issues in Latin America, North America and the Caribbean.

All those interested in the Bildner Center's United States-Mexican Relations program are encouraged to write for more information: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, Graduate Center of CUNY, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036.

## Border Art Internship

The La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art is offering a 2-year curatorial internship, available immediately. \$15,000/yr. plus stipend for research and travel. BA, MA preferred in art history with emphasis in modern/contemporary art or commensurate museum experience. Fluency in Spanish mandatory. Work with curatorial staff on various projects, including exhibitions research for major binational project on U.S. and Mexico involving other local organizations. Send resume, three references, transcripts, and statement of interest by April 30 to Internship Program, La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, 700 Prospect Street, La Jolla, CA 92037.



# The Emergence of Interest Groups in U.S.-Mexican Relations

by Cathryn L. Thorup

*[Thorup is the Director of Studies and Programs of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego. Previously, she was a Senior Fellow and Director of the U.S.-Mexico Project at the Overseas Development Council in Washington, D.C. Her undergraduate training is at El Colegio de México and the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; her graduate studies were at the London School of Economics and Political Science and Harvard University. A more lengthy version of this essay appeared in the February 1990 issue of NEXOS. Thorup is editor of the collection of essays The United States and Mexico: Face to Face with New Technology (New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1987).]*

One development in particular stands out as likely to redefine the bilateral agenda in the 1990s, and was highlighted by President Salinas' visit in October 1989 to the United States: domestic interest groups will play a much larger role in defining the nature of U.S.-Mexican relations. Included here are individuals and groups directly affected by decisions taken at the national level in each country, but who have not previously demanded participation in that policymaking process, as well as union leaders, community organizers, environmentalists, and others in both countries who though their daily activities help determine the parameters of the bilateral relationship. The impact of these groups will be felt both in terms of their direct contacts with the U.S. and Mexican governments (through lobbying, for example) and by their interactions across the border outside formal government-to-government channels.

Due to this growing dispersion of contacts, it may be that the flash points of tension in the bilateral relationship in the future will not emanate so consistently from Washington, D.C., and Mexico City, but rather from within the ranks of domestic interest groups in both countries. This rogue conflict will be *ad hoc* and resistant to quick policy fixes. By the same token, future coopera-

tion across the border (transcending infighting among interest groups on each side of the border) also will frequently originate outside of government-to-government channels—reflecting a growing recognition of a commonality of interests among some groups.

Given this new pluralization of the contacts between these two societies, it will not be enough that the two governments understand each other. A key challenge for policymakers in both countries will be to develop domestic political support within the public at large conducive to coherent, long-range planning on U.S.-Mexican relations. Public education in both countries regarding, for example, the linkages among issues (debt and development or trade and immigration, for instance) will become increasingly important if effective policy trade-offs are to be achieved.

The importance of domestic interest groups will be especially evident in the immediate term in the United States, where grass roots organizations are already well established and influential, and it also will become increasingly clear in Mexico as emerging interest groups (particularly at the grass roots level) gather strength. In both countries, these groups may tend to be regionally based (as in the case of the environment or immigration) or they may be sector specific (as in the case of trade).

The growing autonomy of the above groups will be challenged by both governments. Reluctant to relinquish the level of control they currently maintain over the management of bilateral relations, U.S. and Mexican administrations will be forced to expand their contacts with these entities in an attempt to channel their activities. Despite these efforts, it is possible that over time conflict may become more class, issue, and interest-based than bilateral in nature.

Increasingly, government decision-makers in the United States and Mexico will attempt to tailor their policy initiatives to take advantage of potential cross-national coalitions organized around the benefits to be derived from certain policies. This will strengthen the bargaining position of the two governments vis-à-vis the vested interests in both countries that stand to lose from these initiatives. Such an approach will enhance the ability of each government to manage the bilateral relationship. If these emerging liaisons go unrecognized, conflict management in U.S.-Mexican relations—already complicated in the United States by bureaucratic fragmentation at the national level—will become even more intractable as the two governments find their ability to channel, avoid, or otherwise control con-

flict limited due to the involvement of a multitude of non-governmental actors.

On the Mexican side, the Salinas administration seems quite sensitive to the emerging importance of non-governmental actors as independent agents for change, as potential investors, and as instruments for lobbying in the United States. The possibility of extending explicit quid-pro-quo offers of special investment opportunities in exchange for support within the United States for Mexican policy objectives is being explored. The meetings held by President Salinas with representatives of the Mexican-American and Jewish communities during his trip in October 1989, to Washington, D.C., and New York are indicative of this new attitude on the part of the Mexican government. The definition of what constitutes involvement in the domestic affairs of a neighbor is slowly changing as it becomes increasingly difficult—and irrelevant—to draw a clear distinction between certain aspects of the domestic policy and the foreign policy of these two nations. As the line is crossed—both literally and figuratively—millions of times each day, it tends to lose a portion of its symbolic weight.

Thus it is likely that the Mexican government will complement its efforts to cultivate and nurture its relations with official Washington with a more vigorous pursuit of direct communications with a variety of non-governmental actors throughout the United States. Efforts have already begun to move beyond strengthening Mexico City's ties with Washington, D.C.—an arduous and extremely important task in and of itself—to bolster the activities of Mexico's consular offices around the country. The decision to complement traditional diplomacy with a direct approach to the U.S. public at large constitutes a major departure from past policy, but it is right on target in terms of the emerging trends in this bilateral relationship.

These efforts by the Mexican government and private groups in Mexico to establish contacts with different sectors of U.S. society will in all likelihood be mirrored by similar efforts on the U.S. side. Already many think tanks, academic institutions, and other private, non-profit groups in the United States are exploring ways to increase their knowledge about and their ties with the newly emerging civic organizations in Mexico. While in some cases these non-government mediated societal contacts may serve as a catalyst for conflict, in other cases they may ameliorate the impact that such conflict will have in terms of government-to-government relations. In other words, as cross-national coalitions of U.S. and Mexican citizens

together lobby in pursuit of their particular interests, the two governments may find that, overall, the ties that bind are far stronger than those that divide. Increasing public exposure to and knowledge about the issues that link these two countries eventually may provide the solid underpinnings for a more effective and resilient bilateral relationship, that will better withstand the periodic ups and downs of government-to-government relations.

## Wingspread Program on Research and Action Agendas

Under the auspices of the Johnson and Hewlett Foundations, 19 leaders of academic programs and institutions treating U.S.-Mexican relations met at the Wingspread conference facilities in Racine, Wisconsin, February 14-16, 1989. Attending the meetings hosted by **Charles W. Bray** of the Johnson Foundation and **Clint E. Smith** of Hewlett were **Ruth Adams** of the MacArthur Foundation and **Diana Veliz** of Tinker Foundation.

Discussions addressed two main questions, according to the Conference Report by **Dalal Baer** (CSIS). The first dealt with how the analysis and findings of scholars might better be developed to reach the policymaking communities in Mexico and the United States. Concerning policy analysis itself, however, a number of the participants expressed disappointment with the report by the Bilateral Commission on the Future of U.S.-Mexican Relations. The Bilateral Commission Report was expected to have a major impact because it would bring academic findings into the policymaking realm. However, one critic noted that "the Commission fired a cannon and out came a ping pong ball."

Participants discussed the need for scholars to find innovative ways to make their findings known to the U.S. educational community of teacher associations, textbook publishers, and other producers of educational materials.

The second question concerned how to improve the infrastructure for efficient development of the discipline of U.S.-Mexican studies. In this decade budgetary cutback in Mexico has been such that it has crippled the scholarly infrastructure there. Further, it would take a 30 million dollar fund to attain once again the pre-1982 level of enroll-

ment of Mexican students in U.S. universities.

Other discussions centered on research agenda topics such as inter-governmental relations, U.S.-Mexican economic relations, and integration. The border was seen to be in the frontline of global economic integration.

PROFMEX institutions represented were Brown University, CSIS, CUNY, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, UCLA, University of Chicago, and UT Austin.

For more information on the Racine Conference, see *Wingspread Supplement*, July 1989; and "Wingspread Special Section," an insert to the *Wingspread Journal*, 11:1 (July 1989). For future U.S.-Mexican activities of the foundations involved, contact Johnson Foundation, Inc., Racine, WI 53401, tel. (414) 681-3325.

## UNM to Train SRE Lawyers

Lawyers from Mexico's Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE) will be trained in United States legal procedures under an exchange agreement signed November 10, 1989, at the University of New Mexico.

**Fernando Solana Morales**, Mexican foreign minister, completed the accord with **Gerald W. May**, UNM president. The training is needed, Solana said, because foreign ministry lawyers are working more closely with their counterparts in the United States and need more detailed understanding of U.S. legislation and court procedures.

Administrators and staff of UNM's Latin American Institute assisted the law school in coordinating the negotiations, reviewing the English translation, and providing logistical arrangements for the foreign minister's visit. The new agreement follows a successful pilot program in which **Adriana González**, a Mexican foreign service lawyer, is completing work equivalent to a master's of laws program at the UNM law school.

Costs are being shared by the School of Law and the Mexican foreign ministry. Law school administrators will train at least one Mexican lawyer each year. In exchange, staff of the Mexican foreign minister's office will give specialized lectures to UNM students at the ministry's Instituto Matías Romero de Estudios Diplomáticos, Mexico City.

## UAM in the News: Silvia Ortega Appointed Rector



UAM's Silvia Ortega

At the time of her appointment in 1989 to the rectorship of the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM), Dr. **Silvia Ortega Salazar** was dean of social sciences at the Azcapotzalco Campus and the UAM's institutional representative in PROFMEX. Dr. Ortega's appointment was widely noted in the Mexican press. She is the first woman appointed to the top job at a Mexican university. The UAM's programs include the publication of *El Cotidiano*, a bi-monthly journal of political and economic analysis that is consulted by scholars in both Mexico and abroad. Dr. Ortega, who is a demographer, strongly encourages faculty research ties with U.S. scholars. She can be reached at (525) 382-4310 or (525) 382-5000 x127. The UAM's FAX number is (525) 382-4057. (The UAM address is Apdo. 16-136, CP 92000 México, D.F.)

# PRI President Visits PROFMEX Institutions

Senator **Luis Donaldo Colosio**, President of the Comité Ejecutivo Nacional (CEN) of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), visited PROFMEX institutions San Diego State University, UCLA, and Stanford as the central focus of a trip to California in mid-January 1990. Senator Colosio visited the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of California, San Diego, and also met with groups of Hispanic leaders, leading business persons, and local government. Accompanying Colosio were several other members of the CEN including **Romeo Flores Caballero** (formerly Consul General of Mexico in Los Angeles and currently PRI Secretary of International Affairs), **Santiago Oñate** (PRI Secretario de Divulgación Ideológica and member of the newly created Assembly of Representatives of the Federal District), **Luis Morones** (PRI Coordinador General de la Unidad de Comunicación Internacional), **Rafael Resendes** (PRI Secretario de Información y Propaganda), and **Mónica Echeverría** (PRI Unidad de Comunicación Internacional).

The Senator's San Diego itinerary included a closed session at UCSD and a briefing by San Diego Hispanic leaders that was coordinated by the County of San Diego Department of Transborder Affairs. At a luncheon attended by San Diego business and community leaders, Colosio presented his views on the challenges facing Mexico and discussed PRI's policies to meet those challenges. Colosio then entered into an extended discussion with those in attendance including **Ron Fowler** (San Diego Gas & Electric), **Al Araiza** (San Diego Gas & Electric), **Jess Haro** (President, Chicano Federation), **Augie Bareño** (County Department of Transborder Affairs), **Art Madrid** (Pacific Telephone), **Oscar Padilla** (Chief Commissioner, Commission of the Californias), **Barney Thompson** (independent journalist), **Paul Ganster** (SDSU), **Ubaldo Martínez** (urban development consultant), **J. Michael McDade** (Sullivan, Cummins, Wertz, McDade & Wallace), and **Elliott Moses** (Deputy District Attorney, County of San Diego).

SDSU's Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias arranged for Senator Colosio to tour camps of documented and undocumented migrant workers in the northern part of San Diego County. These camps, which house perhaps ten thousand Latinos, lack all basic services and are juxtaposed with some of the most affluent communities in the United States, such as Rancho Santa Fe



*Senator Colosio at North San Diego County Migrant Camp with Migrant Leaders and Reporters*

and Del Mar. The camps provide short- and long-term shelter for day laborers and agricultural workers for San Diego's significant truck gardening, cut flower, orchard, and nursery industries. Daily gatherings of large numbers of Mexicans and Central Americans along streets and in shopping centers seeking work have produced strong negative reactions in North County communities.

Senator Colosio was briefed on social and political aspects of the camps by Rev. **Rafael Martínez**, President of the North County Migrant Ministry. Colosio was then taken on a tour of one camp of some five hundred residents. There, migrants met with the Senator and discussed with him difficult living and working conditions, and detailed alleged abuses by some employers. For example, one large grower was reported to restrict access to the camps, only permitting entrance to catering trucks with which the grower has a special arrangement. Thus, charges for food and drink are excessive.

On January 22, after a meeting with SDSU's President **Thomas B. Day**, Senator Colosio delivered on the campus of San Diego State University the first ever public address by a PRI president to an audience in the United States. Speaking to an enthusiastic crowd of students, faculty, and invited members of the community, the senator addressed the theme of political reform in Mexico and within the PRI.

The Senator's busy schedule in San Diego also included meetings with local elected officials. For example, in an interview with **Leon Williams** and **Susan Golding**, San Diego County Supervisors, local border issues were discussed. Supervisor Golding noted the growing interactions between Tijuana and San Diego and briefed the Senator on the recent establishment by the County of Transborder Affairs to take the lead in better coordinating efforts by county government to work with Tijuana. Colosio stressed that in the new modernizing Mexico, old taboos have to be discarded and Mexico's border cities must be given the opportunity to work with counterpart entities across the border to solve regional problems that both federal governments have traditionally ignored.

In Los Angeles, responding to a query by **James Wilkie** at UCLA about the PRI's new primary system for selection of its candidates, Colosio noted that the system now involves electing delegates to represent territorial units of the country as well as electing delegates traditionally elected by PRI corporate units (which represent labor, peasants, and the popular sectors). According to Colosio, the delegates from both groups now meet in conventions to cast secret ballots for all major electoral positions, the weight of the groups varying according to the needs of each region. While Colosio argued that the advantage of



the new system is to institute the secret ballot which prevents the delegates from being pressured by traditional corporate groups, Wilkie argued that the drawback to the secret ballot is that the delegates will not be accountable to the new territorially-based voting groups. Colosio admitted that this contradiction still must be resolved.

At UC Berkeley, **Raúl Hinojosa** asked Colosio to comment on the PRI's position on extending voting rights to Mexican citizens living outside Mexico. Colosio replied that the PRI has not closed the door to such a possibility but sees several practical obstacles to its realization: 1) many Mexicans live in

the United States illegally and do not have a formal address; 2) most Mexican citizens living in the United States are not registered in Mexico and hence would be ineligible for absentee balloting even if it were permitted by Mexico.

During these university appearances, Colosio responded to demands by some Chicanos that they be given the same right to vote in Mexico that they have in the United States. Colosio responded that the PRI and the government of Mexico do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States. Further, Oñate wondered if U.S. laws would permit U.S. citizens to vote in foreign elections, let alone permit foreign

governments to set up their own electoral districts in the United States—Mexico's voting laws require that voting stations be monitored by representatives of parties who live in the polling circumscription.

Colosio's visit to California marked the first visit of a PRI president to the United States. Despite the passion of recent elections in Mexico, Colosio's warm reception in California was not offset by the few protesters who occasionally appeared with placards.

## UT Pan American Center for International Studies

At the beginning of the Fall 1989-90 semester, Pan American University, which recently became an institutional member of PROFMEX, a state university of 12,000 students in Edinburg, Texas, was merged into the University of Texas system, to become the University of Texas—Pan American. Chancellor **Hans Mark** committed the system to assist in the development of a strong inter-American emphasis for UT Pan American, particularly in U.S.—Mexican and border studies. This commitment was preceded one month earlier by the initiation of the Center for International Studies as the coordinating unit for this emphasis.

One of the strengths of UT Pan American is its unique location. "The Valley" is a four-county area along the Rio Grande and the Gulf Coast located 100 miles from Monterrey, Mexico. It is closer to Guatemala than to either Washington, D.C., or Los Angeles, California. The Texas side of the river is one of the few places in the United States where Hispanics form the overwhelming majority (over 80%) of the population. It is the winter home for over 100,000 migrant and seasonal farmworkers and approximately 125,000 elderly "Winter Texans," as well as large numbers of short-term residents from Mexico.

economy of the Valley's rich delta soil and the rapidly expanding tourism of South Padre Island, one finds some of the most extensive poverty in the U.S. Rural "colonias" of the Valley are home to nearly 75,000 poor who often lack even the basics of potable water, sewage, and paved streets. Their poverty, along with the increasing influx of immigrants and Central American refugees, creates severe strains on the limited resources of the Valley. Nevertheless, the area defies the general pat-



*Chad Richardson, UT Pan American University*

tern of high rates of crime, alcoholism, suicide, and divorce generally found in low income areas.

The Center is an association of key faculty, administrators, and a community advisory group of local, national, and international leaders. The staff of the Center is housed in newly created offices in the Liberal Arts Building. The objectives of the Center are to develop and facilitate scientific and cultural research, promote student and faculty exchange programs, and sponsor conferences and course offerings—all in relation to the South Texan/Northern Mexican border region and other regions of Latin America and the world.

The director of the Center, **Chad Richardson**, returned in 1988 from a three-year absence in Spain. As a sociologist, his primary research interests and publications are in immigration and border issues. He is currently conducting ethnographic research in the Lower Rio Grande Valley for a book on profiles of such key border communities as migrant farmworkers, refugees, folk health practitioners, maids, smugglers, and colonia residents.

# Senator Luis Donaldo Colosio, President of PRI

by Samuel Schmidt

[Samuel Schmidt is a political scientist from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México who is a visiting professor in the Political Science Department at San Diego State University. His current research interests are political humor and the Mexican political system. Schmidt's recent works include studies on border elections and a book-length manuscript on political humor. Currently, he is translating into English his book *El deterioro del presidencialismo mexicano*.]

Only at the end of a long and hectic day with Senator Luis Donaldo Colosio, president of the PRI's National Committee, and after visits to a camp of Mexican migrant workers in San Diego's North County, and after a luncheon meeting with a group of San Diego journalists and faculty from San Diego State University, did we finally have a chance to start the tape and begin a formal interview.

During the day we had covered a wide range of topics, from the Senator's personal life—the way he sees the role of his wife in their marriage and in his sons' education—to her role as an actor in a significant political project. Senator Colosio even discussed anecdotes about members of his committee. In one case, when he made some changes in late 1989 in the National Committee, one of the appointees came to his first "acuerdo" (meeting) and told him "look President, the tradition is that the new appointee speaks about all the evil done by his predecessor, and I am not going to be the exception." The appointee then began a long attack against his predecessor.

This informal interchange with one of Mexico's most important political figures gave me a number of insights into the character of the man at the center of political change in Mexico and raised many topics for further discussion. However, I decided to concentrate my interview on the party's policy making.

Q: Decisions are made within the PRI at many different levels of the party's structure. My impression is that the National Council makes the policy decisions on general principles. How does the Council actually make those decisions?

A: Today more than ever the decisions are made with ample participation



Senator Colosio at SDSU

of the regional structures and organizations of the PRI.

Q: Does the PRI have a lobbying system and how does this system work?

A: PRI definitely has an internal lobbying system that functions through our basic cadres such as our deputies and senators, not only federal but also local, and through delegates to the National Committee who pressure the president and secretary general of the party. Through the "fuerzas vivas" and organizations, for instance, we had an intensive working period for the acceptance of the 1990 tax law (*miscelanea fiscal*). We received lobbying visits from a large number of producer organizations, not only *ejidatarios* but also small businessmen who were members of the party and who came to express their arguments and to convince the party leadership and the PRI federal deputies.

Q: What is the influence that non-party forces can have on the party's policy making?

A: We have to be very careful and to watch closely to avoid this. From one side, the decisions to modernize and transform the party must be taken by the *Priistas* and external forces must not be allowed to intervene in these decisions. At the same time, today more than ever, the PRI must open more the communication channels with national *Priismo* and must receive with authen-

ticity, realism, and objectivity the proposals of the *Priistas* from everywhere in the country.

Q: How does the president of the PRI learn about the opinions, concerns, and priorities of the membership?

A: In this time of accelerated changes in the party each situation is different, presenting a different picture of the political scenery. The party is now giving more importance to its territorial and regional organization. Each region, state has important experiences from which not only the president of the party but all of us are learning. Recently we determined that the party must respond more to regional causes. For example, in tobacco growing regions where the industry is in a crisis, the party's regional organization must be able to defend the tobacco growers' interests.

Another example is where huge increases in electrical rates have hit some regions such as the north of the country more than other regions. Thus the party in those cities needs to be involved in addressing these concerns. These are learning experiences. These are new passages in the country's political life.

Q: Today you were talking to immigrants in a migrant camp in the northern part of San Diego county. Was this a learning experience?

A: Absolutely. Traditionally, the party did not approach some important problems like that of the undocumented Mexican workers in the United States. To come to the United States, to be in touch with these people, to talk to them, and mostly to hear from them what their experience was when they arrived in an economic, social and political system foreign to them is an experience the party values highly.

Q: To what extent do you think this visit may lead the PRI to establish a policy on undocumented migrants?

A: More than a policy in the government what we have to do as a political party in government is to provide our objective view and to impel the government to adopt more effective policies. For example, today's experience taught me that the Mexican government must support the border consulates, not only with more economic resources but it must design a policy and must give them other functions. I think that the consulates in cities such as San Diego, El Paso, San Antonio, and others must

have an infrastructure to support Mexicans without documents coming to work here as well as the regular functions of issuing passports and paperwork that they usually do. This was an important learning experience for me today.

Q: You speak of modernization of the party. Pragmatically, what does it mean or imply to modernize the PRI?

A: It means to democratize the party, to practice internal democracy more systematically and with more intensity.

Q: This implies a system of primary elections?

A: This implies a system to select our candidates such as the one we used in Chihuahua to select PRI municipal candidates or the system we utilized in Aguascalientes, Durango, and Sinaloa.

Q: What was the system used in Chihuahua and how did it function?

A: In Chihuahua, there were two aspects, geographical and sectoral. One, which we call direct democracy, utilizes reception centers for *Priista* votes in each one of the electoral districts in a city such as Ciudad Juárez. In each district we had a reception table for the *Priistas* to vote for their candidate. The second is that of assemblies made up of delegates elected or selected in different ways. Before this new practice, the party used to allot to the agrarian or labor sector a certain number of seats in this assembly. Now the situation has changed, we have so many seats in the assembly to select our candidate and we are going to apportion these according to what we call the "convoking power" of each sector. The convoking power is the strength of the organization assembly of each sector audited politically by the party at the state, national or municipal level.

Q: This determines the precandidates?

A: No, because we have balanced the sectors and the organization's participation with democratically elected delegates by each one of the election districts in the cities. So we reach an equilibrium between the territorial delegates and the organizational delegates. There is a series of requirements for the person who wants to be a candidate and all these rules are changing. The times when it was decided in Mexico City who would be the municipal president in Laredo are over.

Q: Doesn't this practice diminish the power of the president of PRI?

A: No, I think it strengthens his power and that of the party. However, the objective of this is not to reinforce the president's power, the objective is to enhance the unity and cohesion of the party. We are getting real results because there is nothing in these modern days to stop the will of the PRI communities wherever they are.

Q: How long do you think it will take to reach a democratic party in the sense that you describe?

A: In 1991 our candidates for federal deputies must be elected this way. I hope we will be able to have general assemblies in each one of the 300 districts. This is our objective and is why we are working so hard. But let me tell you that internal democracy also means to select the base leadership in the same way. In Veracruz, Nuevo León, Sonora, and elsewhere where we didn't have elections this year we are concentrating on the party's democratic reorganization for the reelection of our representatives in each one of the electoral sections and in each one of the municipal and state committees. Some organizations in certain states are being reorganized under this procedure. For instance, the secretary general of the League of Agrarian Communities in Veracruz was elected in this fashion.

Q: This implies the necessity of confronting old caciques, political bosses.

A: Yes, not only caciques but also regional political power groups.

Q: Who traditionally supported the PRI?

A: Yes, and they will continue to support the party, but without the power they once held.

Q: What can they gain supporting the PRI?

A: Regional power groups who traditionally have handled local politics have to disappear and be replaced by internal democracy, which is the only way local political bosses can be overcome by the majority will of the people living there. An interesting phenomenon is happening. For many years we noticed in the party that our middle cadres were deteriorating and there was a shortage of new, young, middle, and regional cadres. With the new democratic practices, new faces, new voices, and new im-

pulses are appearing throughout the country's different regions. Internal democracy in the party implies overcoming those who oppose a series of new attitudes of political participation in the party.

Q: Does it mean that the PRI needs to present a new proposal for its traditional constituents?

A: The PRI needs to represent better the interests of workers, peasants, middle and urban classes, and emerging urban classes. The party doesn't have to present a new political plan but to represent better the interests of the popular classes.

Q: What has to be the role of the PRI as an opposition party, as in the case of Baja California?

A: First, to organize the party in a different way so that we'll be able to compete for power. Second, to articulate and give coherence to the communities where we are in opposition to be more effective in our political presence in front of the constituted authorities who govern for all but belong to another party.

Q: Is it possible that the PRI, where it is the opposition, will have a campaign against something the PRI as government is doing in another place, such as the attack on the increase of costs of some public services in Baja California although this increase is a national policy? Isn't this a serious contradiction?

A: Each region has its own circumstances and the political struggle will need to be defined according to each region's circumstances. I don't see any incongruity in having in Baja California the fair application of the law in favor of the Baja Californian. I think that there the party has, or must have, the technical, legal, and political elements to propose alternatives.

Q: What do you think about the domino theory in the sense that after the defeat in one governorship others will follow?

A: No, each region, state, and even city has substantial differences and I don't believe in this theory. It would be true only if the opposition were homogeneous all over the national territory and also if the PRI organization were uniform and did not evolve, did not learn through its mistakes and successes in other parts of the country.



Q: Some analysts suggest that the national leadership in the country is becoming closed. To what extent what the PRI is proposing means an opening for new leadership?

A: I can answer with concrete examples. Internal democracy in Chihuahua has allowed us to identify a group of young municipal presidents whom I doubt we would now have if the traditional political practices of selecting candidates had continued. We also have a large group of local deputies who represent a new generation and who emerged in spite of non conformities provoked by the internal democracy itself.

Q: Will this change the nomination of presidential candidates?

A: This is something we haven't discussed in the party but we have to think seriously about the new practices we are implementing. We are doing it at the municipal level, at the local deputies level, and we want to do it to select our candidates to federal deputies and senators in 1991. We also want to test it in our selection of gubernatorial candidates. Only time will tell if it goes beyond that.

Q: You have a long working relationship with President Salinas. You worked with him in the Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto (SPP). How has this influenced your designation as president of the party?

A: It is a relationship of some years now, a relation of great mutual respect, fluid communication, of collegiality, and of sharing ideals to perfect democracy in Mexico. We share concerns about the existence of inequalities. We share the vision that one day prosperity will come to a large number of Mexicans as a result of serious work and congruent decisions between what is said and what is done. This framework has enabled us to participate in different activities but always with a splendid personal communication.

He was my boss in SPP and when I went to the legislative power as federal deputy our lines of communication continued to be open. Even more, I chaired the budget and programming commission in the house of representatives. When I was elected senator and he president, it was also a coincidence in our political activities. Besides, he invited me to manage his presidential campaign. All this led us to agree that it was not only convenient but necessary to carry out the transformation of the party—its transformation and modernization. The

role of the head of the party has been expanded this past year. I have made presentations to the national membership in two national councils, one in May and the other in November, and also through numerous visits to different states and through something new for the party, the direct involvement of the president of the party and the national committee in local elections.

Q: Since your election as president of COPPAL, the Latin American organization of political parties, you began to be attacked in Mexico with charges that if you are unable to have success in the party then why are you playing international politics. What is the reason for these attacks?

A: We have to understand the context of the critics, some are with good faith others not so. Involvement in international matters, communication with other parties, other organizations, and with other individuals at this stage is part of the modernization of the political organization that I belong to.

There is a process of globalization of the world economy but this is a process of the people coming closer together through technological advance, communications, and the flux of ideas and opinions which are more and more necessary. Also important are the experiences of other political parties in other latitudes, not that we will try to adopt them but I think that we have a lot to learn and to teach from our own experiences and life as a political party. This is the reason why we want to return to involvements the party had in the past. Some people are amazed that we are reaching out. In the past, PRI was strongly involved in Latin American causes. Today we are making our own new proposals.

Q: But the Mexican government is retreating from its past active politics in Central America.

A: That is not true. To the contrary, Mexico in the past years promoted the creation of the Contadora process. Under Salinas de Gortari's presidency, Mexico has been calling for and realizing the dialogue between different forces in Latin America and Central America. Mexico is in a perfect position and situation towards the rest of Latin America and the world but we are also aware that to better align ourselves with other causes we need to solve our internal problems. Joining with other peoples in Latin America also implies solidarity of the Mexicans to solve ancient problems of misery and marginality. I think this is one of the fundamental questions the

Salinas government is promoting. The PRI not only supports but applauds and complements the president's own work.

As a senior Mexicanist, I was impressed at listening to a lecture in English delivered by the president of PRI at a U.S. university. Luis Donaldo Colosio walks slowly, pays attention to conversation, is very well informed on national and international political affairs, and gives carefully elaborated responses. In a way, he is a prototype for the new Mexican politician.

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## UNM— Guanajuato Law Summer Program

The University of New Mexico School of Law and the Facultad de Derecho of the Universidad de Guanajuato, in cooperation with UNM's Latin American Institute, are offering a summer institute in international law at Guanajuato.

The June 11–August 3 programs include: 1) Civil and Criminal Law and Practice in Mexico, with a combination of classroom teaching and placement with a Mexican federal or state judge; 2) International Business Law, emphasizing Mexican business law; and 3) Latin American Comparative Law, emphasizing Mexican legal history, legal doctrine, and substantive law.

Each program is supplemented by courses in Spanish legal terminology; the history, cultural, and social developments of Mexico; and the role of lawyers in Mexico. The summer institute is the result of a four-year partnership between UNM and Guanajuato, which is one of the leading centers in Mexico for the study of law.

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# Refocusing Interpretation on the Mexican Political Economy

by James W. Wilkie

The renegotiation of the Mexican foreign debt in early 1990 raises the question not only of the meaning of how financial matters have been settled but how the debt settlement fits into the larger Mexican political and economic scene. Let us reexamine some major issues.

With the January 1990 U.S. Treasury Department having facilitated renegotiation of Mexico's public sector debt to some 450 commercial banks around the world, the March 1989 Brady Plan (developed by U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady) finally came to fruition after ten months. The amount negotiated with private banks was 48 billion dollars (rather than the 54 billion proposed) as follows: Banks holding 49 percent (24 billion of the 48 billion dollars) opted to take bonds at interest reduced to 6.25 percent; banks holding 41 percent (19 billion) took bonds worth 65 percent of their nominal value, or 12.4 billion; and banks holding 10 percent (4.8 billion) agreed to increase by 25 percent, or 1.2 billion, their loans at higher interest rates.

The results of the Mexican debt agreement have been interpreted differently by U.S. and Mexican financial observers. A major U.S. view holds that the 48 billion negotiated will not be much reduced because new loans to Mexico are required—see Peter Truell, "Mexico-Creditor Banks Complete Talks Covering \$48 Billion of Debt," *Wall Street Journal*, January 11, 1990. If the figures in this view are correct, the result would be a net reduction of only 3 or 4 billion against the 48 billion total. Although Mexico will make a substantial saving in reduction of interest and will gain 1.2 billion in fresh loans, then, it will also have to borrow 3 billion in international agency and Japanese loans to buy United States-backed zero coupon bonds as well as acquire the 1.2 billion in new private bank debt.

In a major Mexican view, however, Mexico will cut its interest payments by 1.7 billion dollars and effectively gain a reduction of 18 billion dollars, 7 billion being immediately available to acquire 30-year zero coupon U.S. bonds which are to be used as collateral for reduction of principal on the debt—see León García Solar, "A la mitad del foro," *Excelsior*, January 14, 1990.

That the Brady Plan results can continue to be interpreted so differently

north and south of the border has been its chief advantage since it was proposed in 1988. The United States can claim to have negotiated with toughness but compassion. Mexico can claim a favorable settlement that yields a windfall of funds that gives time to privatize industry and stabilize the economy.

Although images are being used to make both countries "winners," one reality is clear: Mexico has gained more time than money. Mexico will also have to renegotiate its debt sooner than it wants—unless oil prices and/or the Mexican economy make a dramatic rise. Other realities have yet to be determined.

In the meantime, "settlement" of the foreign debt has not led to the repatriation of Mexico's flight capital as hoped by the Mexican government. What must be noted is that there is always some 10 billion dollars moving into and out of Mexico depending upon momentary circumstances, but there is a "hardcore" pool of up to 80 billion dollars that has not returned to Mexico. High Mexican officials have told me that they fear that those funds will not return until the banks are deregulated. "How," they ask, "can Mexico modernize the economy without modernizing the banking system?" Needless to say, these officials are working from within the government to change the banking laws.

During 1990 the governing Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) also faces the need to modernize the way in which it operates. The PRI is now attempting to end criticism that it is an "official party," with President Salinas stating that it must operate without government subsidies. Too, PRI President Luis Donaldo Colosio and PRI Secretary of Foreign Relations Romeo Flores Caballero argue that they have to establish policies manifestly different from those of the government, otherwise the party cannot develop credibility of independence. Meanwhile Colosio has attempted to shift the party's role from that of a presidential electoral machine active mainly at six-year intervals to take an active role in the country's day-to-day life. (For example, in 1989 he intervened in the Cananea copper mine strike to mediate between the government, which wanted to privatize the mine, and the workers who feared loss of jobs—the compromise negotiated was to "sell" the mine to the workers.)

The PRI may well be advised to

change its name, as it has done twice to reflect changes in its orientation and structure. In 1938 the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR, organized around political strongmen) became the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM, organized on its present corporatist basis) and in 1946 became the PRI (which continued the corporate system but eliminated the military sector to rely only upon its labor, peasant, and popular sectors). Clearly this corporatist system has become increasingly irrelevant especially because it has never given any weight to the capitalist sector that really counts. If Mexico's governing party insists on maintaining its "revolutionary" image, it should consider changing its name to, for example, Partido Moderno de la Revolución (PMR). The emphasis on "modern" would be appropriate because that is President Salinas' code word for ending the party's historic expansion of the state power at the expense of the private sector. Salinas' massive sale or closure of non-strategic industry run by the state and his "overthrow" of the old corporatist order, which supported the expansion of costly and inefficient statist industry, could be recognized explicitly through creation of a modern party with a modern name. The new party would be based on the secret vote by geographical region. Salinas and Colosio have already moved to give territorial voting a footing in party affairs equal to or exceeding the voting power of the corporate sectors; therefore, the time has come to push ahead for explicit party reform under a new name. The Salinas change of Mexico's political economy is indeed far advanced and justifiably could be called "revolutionary" in the Mexican context. Too, secret and honest party primary elections would constitute a major revolutionary step for Mexico.

It is my view that as President Salinas explicitly privatizes the economy and implicitly disestablishes the corporatist system in Mexico, he is reestablishing the power of the presidency. The presidency had lost power because, in covering the deficits of parastate agencies from steel to airlines, the president saw all his discretionary funds diverted from projects he wanted. With the sale and or closing of hundreds of money-losing parastate agencies which spent their funds without any real oversight by the government, the Mexican presidency may regain the ability lost since 1982 to put money into socially relevant priorities.

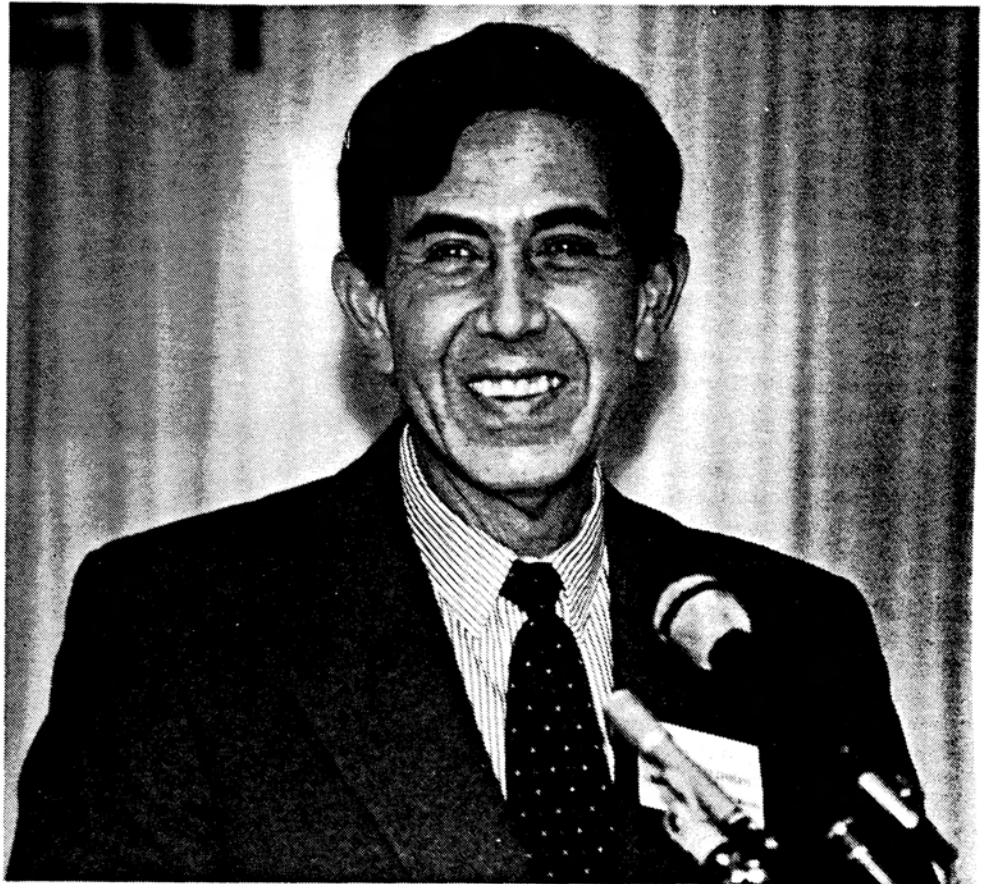
# Cárdenas Visits PROFMEX Institutions in California

During November 1989 Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas made a goodwill tour of a number of California universities. The former Michoacán governor (1980–86) and presidential candidate (1988) was invited by Mexicanists to speak at UCLA and in the San Francisco Bay Area. At UC Berkeley, Cárdenas was greeted by over a thousand students and a band of musicians dressed like mid-nineteenth century Mexican soldiers. Following the address, he had lunch with students and faculty, after which he took the metro across San Francisco Bay to meet other appointments.

At Stanford, Cárdenas was given a dinner reception prior to his talk to a packed auditorium of students and faculty. In San Francisco, he met with local elected officials, including the mayor, state assemblymen, and leaders of Mexican and Chicano organizations.

Speaking to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, Cárdenas was introduced by Professor **Henry H. Keith** (SF State), who placed the visit into historical perspective. In his Bay Area tour, which began in Oakland, Cárdenas met first with representatives of labor unions. Cárdenas' group included labor economist **Ricardo Pascoe**, who spoke eloquently about the dramatic fall of real wages suffered by Mexican workers since 1982.

Cárdenas brought a twofold message to California: (1) that Mexicans living in California (and in the United States generally) have not been forgotten by his Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)—nor should Mexicans living here lose sight of political and economic issues in Mexico; (2) that the American public should view political developments in Mexico, not as a poten-



Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas

tial threat of Mexican civil unrest, but as the natural evolution of a society toward democratic forms of government—much like the evolution that is taking place in Eastern Europe.

At UCLA, Chicano students organized Cárdenas' talk for over one thousand persons. Responding to Cárdenas was Prof. **Lisa Fuentes** (formerly of UCLA, now of Boston College), who spoke with great effectiveness on the important bicultural role of stu-

dents of Mexican descent in the United States.

While in Los Angeles, Cárdenas met in a small seminar hosted by *La Opinión* to discuss intensive issues facing Mexico and the PRD. Moderated by **Sergio Muñoz**, the seminar featured **James W. Wilkie** (PROFMEX), **Juan Gómez-Quirón** (UCLA), **David Ronfeldt** (Rand), **Murray Fromson** (USC), and **Nathan Gardels** (*New Perspectives Quarterly*).

## CSIS Mexico Project

The CSIS Mexico Project seeks to present timely and informative analysis of political and economic events in Mexico to the policy community and a wider general audience. The Project's Mexico Monograph Series, established as a source of in-depth analysis on socioeconomic and political issues in contemporary Mexico, is a primary tool of this endeavor. The Series currently comprises five volumes, with ongoing plans for further titles. The five are: *Mexico and the United States: Leadership Transitions and the Unfinished Agenda*, edited by **M. Delal Baer**; Director and Fellow, CSIS Mexico Project; *Mexican*

*Trade Policy and the North American Community*, **Sidney Weintraub**, Dean Rusk Professor, University of Texas at Austin; *The Mexican Labor Machine: Power, Politics and Patronage*, **George W. Grayson**, Class of 1938 Professor, College of William and Mary; *Between Bailout and Breakdown: A Modular Approach to Latin America's Debt Crisis*, **William Guttman**, Consultant, International Monetary Fund; and *The Congress and Mexico: Bordering on Change*, CSIS Congressional Study Group on Mexico.

*Mexico and the United States: Leadership Transitions and the Unfinished*

*Agenda*, is the product of a conference that incorporated the views and participation of representatives from the U.S. Congress and executive branch, regional community actors, and Mexican leadership. It was written in light of the 1988 presidential elections in both countries and contributes significantly to a better understanding of the most critical factors in the management of the binational relationship. The monograph includes discussion on topics such as narcotics trafficking, migration, Mexican economy and democracy.

In the second title, *Mexican Trade Policy and the North American Com-*



munity, Sidney Weintraub deals with two main issues. The first examines the profound changes in trade policy in Mexico during the six-year term, or *sexenio*, of President Miguel de la Madrid. It analyzes the bilateral trade relationship and the trade industrial policies of Mexico since World War II. The second essay examines the implications for Mexico of the proposed free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. It discusses the existing and projected trade arrangements in North America along with each country's objectives. Lastly, and crucially, it raises the question of Mexico's willingness to enter a North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA).

An important component of the Mexico Project is the CSIS Congressional Study Group on Mexico co-chaired by Senators **Lloyd Bentsen** and **Pete Wilson** and Representatives **Ronald Coleman** and **Jim Kolbe**. The Group assists the legislative community by generating the realistic thinking that issues in the bilateral relationship deserve. *The Congress and Mexico: Bordering on Change* is the culmination of several working sessions during the 100th Congress. The report focuses intensively on four key issues that dominated the year's agenda: narcotics, trade, immigration, and Mexican political developments. Views of representatives from Congress as well as selected leaders from the executive branch, business, and academic communities are incorporated, outlining the basic factual dimensions of each issue and offering a range of conceptual options and practical approaches.

Grayson's monograph, *The Mexican Labor Machine: Power, Politics, and Patronage*, fills a conspicuous void about Mexican trade unionism, a movement whose support is a vital component to the success of Salinas' proposed changes. The author explores the history of the labor movement, analyzes its major components, describes its symbiotic ties to the "revolutionary family," and discusses its prospects in a troubled and rapidly evolving political system.

The debt crisis remains one of the most serious and stubborn policy challenges confronting U.S.-Hemispheric relations. William Guttman, in his monograph *Between Bailout and Breakdown: A Modular Approach to Latin America's Debt Crisis*, provides a good inventory of realistic and pragmatic proposals to move the debt crisis toward resolution. Guttman does not come down in favor of one all-encompassing design, but instead provides a rich menu of concepts and techniques that might be utilized, enabling policymakers to pick and choose among alternatives on a

case-by-case assessment.

The CSIS Mexico Monograph Series is a continuing effort to provide the academic, policy, and media communities with current information and analysis. For further information on the Project please contact M. Delal Baer,

Director and Fellow, CSIS Mexico Project, 1800 K Street NW, Washington, D.C., 20006. Titles in the series may be purchased from **Heidi Shinn**, CSIS Publications Director, telephone (202) 775-3119.

## Border Governors Briefed by ANUIES-PROFMEX-UAC



*Fernando Contreras, James Wilkie, and Arturo García Espinosa in Saltillo*

The first joint U.S.-Mexican academic briefing for border policymakers at the state level was held in Saltillo, Coahuila, on February 15, 1989. The briefing, which took place in conjunction with the VII Meeting of the U.S. and Mexican Border Governors, was co-sponsored by ANUIES, PROFMEX, and the Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila (UAC).

The briefing, hosted by Gov. **Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto**, suggested topics for analysis at future meetings of the border governors. One such topic was public health services along the border. **Andrew Nichols**, M.D. (University of Arizona), who, at the time, was president-elect of the U.S.-Mexico Public Health Association, spoke of the need for coordinated public health policies along the entirety of the border. He emphasized that the kind of coordination in the area of public health that presently takes place between Arizona and Sonora needs to be extended to include the other eight states along the border. **Michael Ellis** (NMSU) amplified the discussion in giving an economic analysis of border health infrastructure.

Beyond health, scholars pointed to a number of topics needing attention such as education, communication, population growth, and infrastructural problems. Speaking on education were **Oscar J. Martínez** (University of

Arizona) and **Honorato Teissier** (UAC). Addressing population and housing issues were **Jeffrey Brannon** (UTEP) and **Roberto Ham** (COLEF). **Fernando Contreras** (UNAL) spoke on economic policy.

Moderators for the briefing panels were **Michael C. Meyer** (University of Arizona), **Arturo García Espinosa** (UANL), and **Onésimo Flores** (UAC).

The program, which was attended by the presidents of seven Mexican universities, featured an address by **Jorge Bustamante** (COLEF) on the idiosyncratic, often humorous, state of "foreign policy" that exists on the U.S.-Mexican border. Attending the briefing were ANUIES leaders (**Juan Casillas G. de L.** and **Ermilo Marroquín**) and PROFMEX officers (**James W. Wilkie**, **Louis R. Sadler**, and **George Baker**).

Funding for the briefing came from both sides. U.S. participation was funded by the Ford Foundation/New York. Mexican participation was funded by ANUIES and its members, with publication of the proceedings being prepared by UAC.

To follow up this first Saltillo briefing, Mexican institutions (ANUIES, UAC and UANL), held a second Saltillo meeting on November 23-24, 1989, which concerned the commercial opening of the U.S.-Mexican border.

## PROFMEX President Visits Research Institutes in Jalisco and Tabasco

Traveling in Mexico during February 1990, PROFMEX President **James Wilkie** was hosted at research institutes in Guadalajara and Villahermosa.

As part of PROFMEX plans to expand contacts with research institutions in Mexico, Wilkie met in Jalisco at the University of Guadalajara (UdeG) with the Instituto de Estudios Económicos y Regionales and its Centro de Estudios México-Estados Unidos. Institute Director **Jesús Arroyo Alejandro** told Wilkie about the following research projects: "The Restructuring of Agriculture: Biotechnology in Mexico and the United States," coordinated by **Gerardo Otero**; "The Status of U.S.-Mexican Relations as Influenced by Problems in Western Mexico," coordinated by **Adrián de León Arias**; and "Mexico's

Economic Crisis and Out-Migration from Western Mexico," coordinated by **Arroyo and De León Arias**.

At UdeG Wilkie also met with **Víctor Manuel González Romero** (Director General Académico), **Jocelyne Gacel** (Director de Intercambio Académico), and **José Abelino Torres Montes de Oca** (Director de la Facultad de Economía). For information, contact Arroyo at Apdo. Postal 2-738, Guadalajara 44280; TEL (36) 24-28-03; FAX (36) 23-37-94.

In Tabasco, Wilkie met researchers in Villahermosa at the Centro de Estudios de Investigación del Sureste, A.C. (CEIS). With contact arranged by **Miguel Sandoval Lara** (BANOBRA and UCLA), Wilkie was hosted by **Firdaus Jhabvala**, Director of CEIS. Jhabvala discussed with Wilkie the

revenue-sharing situation in the Mexican States and told about the foundation of CEIS as the first research institute in Mexico's southeast. Research being conducted by CEIS includes projects on: "Impact of Oil Production on the Economy, Society, and Ecology of the State of Campeche"; "The Social Situation of Tabasco"; "Transportation in Ciudad del Carmen"; and "The Agricultural Development of Tabasco."

With regard to publications, Jhabvala won the 1989 National Prize for Financial Research for his study entitled *La Deuda Externa: Modelo, Renegociación y Perspectivas*. Jhabvala may be contacted at La Ceiba 119, Colonia 1° de Mayo, 86190 Villahermosa; TEL (36) 3-66-60.

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## Hewlett Supports U.S.-Mexico Research Programs

Since 1982, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation located in Menlo Park, California, has supported growing efforts both in the United States and in Mexico to build a research base for the collaborative study of economic and social relations between the United States and Mexico.

Total grants in the U.S.-Mexican studies field, according to **Clint E. Smith**, Program Officer at the Hewlett Foundation, have amounted to almost eight million dollars over the past eight years.

Grants have gone to eight comprehensive programs at U.S. institutions and three in Mexico. These programs are located at UCLA, UCSD, CUNY, Columbia, Johns Hopkins/SAIS, UNM, Stanford, and the University of Texas. Mexican programs being supported include El Colegio de México, Universidad de las Américas, Puebla, and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana.

In addition to these comprehensive programs, Smith explained, a number of smaller project grants have been made to institutions whose work is more focused but is complementary to the more comprehensive research being undertaken in the field. Examples of institutions receiving such one-year project support are the Americas Society, the Amundsen Institute, the

Pacific News Service, Brown University, the University of Chicago, Harvard Law School, Meridian House, the North American Institute in Santa Fe, the Centro de Tecnología Electrónica e Informática in Mexico City, and the University of Southern California.

The Hewlett Foundation was the initial funding source for PROFMEX, Smith noted, with grants in the 1982-84 period to Stanford, the original location of the PROFMEX Secretariat, and there Smith served as the founding coordinator before moving to the Hewlett Foundation in 1986.

"Despite a recent favorable trend in the nature of the official bilateral relationship," Smith said, "the United States and Mexico continue to face serious problems in such areas as narcotics trafficking, migration questions, and trade and financial problems. A major purpose of the Hewlett program to support collaborative policy research in this field is to help policymakers on both sides of the border to better manage this complex and growing economic and social interdependence."

Smith, who served for four years in the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City as head of the economic affairs unit, remains a Consulting Professor of Latin American Studies at Stanford, where he teaches a popular seminar on problems

in U.S.-Mexican relations. His responsibilities at the Hewlett Foundation include education and international affairs.

For further information on the Hewlett program, PROFMEX news readers can write to: **Clint E. Smith**, Program Officer, Hewlett Foundation, 525 Middlefield Road, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

## Mexican Conference on Maquiladoras

With the support of the Freidrick Ebert Foundation, the first national academic conference held in Mexico on the maquiladora industry took place in Mexico City, June 5-7, 1989. The academic cosponsors were El Colegio de México (COLMEX) and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF). **Bernardo González Aréchiga** (COLEF) provided the academic coordination for the meetings held at COLMEX and **Kirsten Appendini** (COLMEX) provided administrative coordination; conference organizers were **Adalberto García Rocha** (COLMEX) and **Jose Carlos Ramirez** (COLEF).



Conference Organizers Adalberto García Rocha and José Carlos Ramírez

The conference, which included panelists from the United States and Great Britain, considered a broad range of issues ranging from the comparative study of export processing zones in Mexico and the Far East to the assessment of trends associated with Japanese investments in the maquiladora industry. The meeting included the participation of numerous officials from the Mexican government and the U.S. Embassy, who spoke on issues such as the handling of toxic wastes generated by the maquiladoras.

Two PROFMEX directors participated in the conference: **Sidney Weintraub** (UT, Austin) and **Jeffrey Brannon** (UTEP). Four of the papers appeared in the October 1989 issue of *Comercio Exterior*, which is devoted to the maquila industry. The selected papers are by **George Baker** (PROFMEX), **Bernardo González Aréchiga**, **Leslie Sklair** (London School of Economics), and **Kurt Unger** (COLMEX).

## Recent Publications on Mexico from UCLA

Two recent publications from UCLA represent the work of scholars working at UCLA on quantitative aspects of Mexican history. Both books will be available from UCLA Latin American Center Publications by early summer.

*Society and Economy in Mexico*, edited by **James Wilkie**, is a collection of essays on quantitative approaches to Mexican history. Wilkie's opening chapter updates his periodization of the Mexican Revolution, identifying six basic periods of presidential ideology and bringing his analysis of federal expenditure and social change up through the 1970s and 1980s. In chapter two, **David Lorey** addresses issues of the fits between Mexico's university system and historical economic development by analyzing data on university graduates in engineering fields. In chapter three, **Aída Mostkoff** and **Enrique Ochoa** use long-term series on food production, food exports, and food imports, to challenge the orthodoxy on the Mexican "food crisis." In chapter four, **Aída Mostkoff** and **Stephanie Granato** examine Mexico's changing class structure through a critical analysis of past work and an interpretation of the problematic 1980 census data. In chapters five and six, Wilkie reprints two articles from the *Foro Mexicano*, one showing Mexico's foreign borrowing compared to income tax, the other measuring the size of the Mexican state apparatus.

**David Lorey's** *U.S.-Mexican Border Statistics since 1900* is the first comprehensive collection of statistics on the society and economy of the U.S.-Mexican border region in the twentieth century. Statistics and time series are organized into four thematic parts containing 19 chapters. Part I, "Life on the Border," focuses on the basic dimensions of daily existence in the region—how many people inhabit the borderlands, the state of their health, their access to education and communications media. Part II, "Work and Migration," presents data on employment, unemployment, wages, prices, border crossings, and legal and illegal migration along the border. Part III, "The Border Economy," explores data on economic production in the border region by sector—agriculture, mining, industry—and includes chapters on maquiladoras and gross product for states and municipalities. The final Part IV, "Trade, Tourism, and Finance," details legal and illegal commercial relationships between the two countries at the border, tourism in the border region, banking, and state income and expenditure. A second basic section of the book contains three articles by noted scholars of the U.S.-Mexican border; **Paul Ganster** and **George Baker** of PROFMEX contributed essays to this section.

## UNM Research Papers

The twin problems of undocumented migration and its result, undocumented residents, are addressed in two studies published at the University of New Mexico.

In "Mexican Immigrant Labor: An Alternative Analysis and Policy Proposal," (No. 23, November 1989), **Thomas U. White** proposes an alternative to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 regarding Mexican immigrant labor. White proposes a comprehensive bilateral agreement on the issue, emphasizing the legalization and unionization of immigrant workers and grass roots development in sending communities. White, a lawyer, believes his proposal would also expedite the entry of workers into economic sectors where demand exists in the United States.

**Peter Gregory** reviews, from an economist's perspective, measures that

can be taken to influence the flow of undocumented workers. In "Undocumented Migration to the United States: Can the Flow be Stemmed?" (No. 22, May 1989), Gregory reviews an economic model of migration that identifies elements in sending and receiving countries that are considered to determine migratory flows. He then explores short- and long-run impacts of developmental strategies for sending countries, policy initiatives available to the United States, and a possible research agenda.

Research papers are \$3.00 each. Contact the editor; Research Paper Series; Latin American Institute; University of New Mexico; 801 Yale NE; Albuquerque, NM 87131.



# Occasional Papers from Brown and UCON

The Latin American Studies programs at the University of Connecticut and Brown University have recently published a series of papers presented at the conference on "Mexico in Crisis," held at the University of Connecticut on April 22-23, 1988.

#3 "Mexico: Crisis Within the Crisis," by **Roger Bartra**, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, UNAM

#4 "Spain and England in the New World: A Note on Colonialism and the Global Economy," by **W. Dirk Raat**, State University College, Fredonia, NY

#5 "Long Waves, Postwar Industrialization and the Origins of Mexico's Economic Crisis," by **Jeffrey Bortz**, UCLA

#6 "The Mexican Economic Crisis: Dialectic Boom and Doom," by **Raúl Fernández**, UC, Irvine

#7 "The IMF Austerity Program, 1983-84: Miguel de la Madrid's Legacy," by **Miguel D. Ramírez**, Trinity College, Hartford, CT

#8 "Urbanization Revisited: Inner-City Slum of Hope and Squatter Settlement of Despair," by **Susan Ekstein**, Boston University

#9 "The Crisis in Mexican Agriculture: The Case of the Isthmus of Tehantepec," by **Leigh Binford**, University of Connecticut

#10 "Some Potential Impacts of the Mexican Crisis on Mexican Commuter Workers in the Segmented Labor Market of the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas," by **Joseph Spielberg Benítez**, Michigan State University

Copies of these papers may be ordered for \$3.00 each, to cover postage and handling, from the Center for Latin American & Caribbean Studies, 241 Glenbrook Road—Room 241, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-2161.

# Recent Publications

■ *U.S.-Mexico Border Governors Second Finance Summit: Briefing Book and Final Report*. Edited by **Stephen Jenner** and **Paul Ganster** (San Diego, CA: Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias 1989. Pp. 101. \$30.00, plus California State Sales Tax of 7.25% for residents). This pair of publications documents one of the planning meetings held in San Diego, California, November 9-10, 1989, for the U.S.-Mexico Border Governors 1990 Summit, with particular emphasis on private sector financing of Mexican infrastructure. The Briefing Book contains articles on Investment and Finance Mechanisms, Industrial Development, Bridges, Roads, Ports, and Related Infrastructure, Environmental Projects, Housing, and Developing Opportunities in Tourism, Petrochemicals, Telecommunications, and Transportation. The Final Report summarizes panel discussions on each of these topics, and lists participants.

■ *Vehicular Traffic and Air Pollution in El Paso—Cd. Juárez*. By **Robert Gray**, **Jesús Reynoso**, **Conrado Díaz Q.**, and **Howard Applegate** (El Paso: Texas Western Press, The University of Texas at El Paso, 1989. Pp. 50. \$12). This study is the latest in a series of reports on air pollution in the El Paso—Ciudad Juárez area undertaken by a team of engineers from the United States and Mexico. The authors describe the problems of vehicular air pollution in this largest metropolitan center on the U.S.—Mexico border, detail the sources in statistical tables, and assess the difficulties in correcting the situation.

Robert Gray is with the City of El Paso Engineering Department and Jesús Reynoso is in charge of the El Paso City—County Health District air pollution control program. Conrado Díaz, former laboratory head at the Instituto Tecnológico de Cd. Juárez, is now in private industry, and Howard Applegate, professor emeritus of civil engineering at UT El Paso, is special advisor for environmental affairs at UTEP's Center for Interamerican and Border Studies. The text is both in English and Spanish.

■ *Las Maquiladoras: Ajuste estructural y desarrollo regional*. Edited by **Bernardo González-Aréchiga** and **Rocío Barajas Escamilla** (Tijuana, B.C.: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte—Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1989. Pp. 339). This volume is a collection of sixteen works originally presented as papers at an international seminar on maquiladoras.

The papers were later revised, incorporating the benefits obtained from eight months of group discussion and analysis. The essays attempt to establish the relationship between structural change and regional development within the context of the maquiladora industry.

■ *The Mexican-American Border Region: Issues and Trends*. By **Raúl A. Fernández** (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989. Pp. 147). This book is a concise and innovative interdisciplinary account of the U.S.—Mexican border region. After a brief history of the border region, the author examines its long-term economic functions. He shows how the availability of water has been a determinative factor in the process of economic growth and established the links between large scale irrigation, mass migration, and border urbanization. Fernández sketches the major phases in the history of Mexican immigration and places the 1986 IRCA in perspective. He concludes by offering a forecast for policy for the region.

■ *Border Literature. Literatura de las Fronteras*. Edited by **José Manuel Di-Bella**, **Paul Ganster**, **Sergio Gómez Montero**, **Harry Polkinhorn** and **Gabriel Trujillo Muñoz** (Mexicali, B.C. and San Diego, CA: Dirección de Asuntos Culturales de la Secretaría de Educación Pública y Bienestar Social del Gobierno del Estado de Baja California and Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0435, 1989. Pp. 503. \$10.00). This large volume brings together materials presented at the Border Literature Conference in Tijuana in 1989. Over one hundred writers whose work touches on the theme of the border are included in this publication under major sections for poetry, narrative, and essays. The richness and variety of the works presented in Spanish and in English in this collection constitute an important statement about the evolving cultural and intellectual life in one of the most dynamic border regions of the world.

■ *Literatura de la Frontera México-Norteamericana: Cuentos. U.S. / Mexican Border Literature: Short Stories*. Edited by **José Manuel Di-Bella**, **Rogelio Reyes**, **Gabriel Trujillo Muñoz**, and **Harry Polkinhorn** (Mexicali, B.C. and Calexico, CA: Binational Press of Universidad Autónoma de Baja Califor-

nia and San Diego State University, 1989. Pp. 144. \$10.00). This work is the second volume published by the Binational Press of UABC and SDSU, a unique collaborative effort of writers and institutions on both sides of the border. This collection of narrative texts is a display of the literary creativity of several fictioneers who for some time have been working in the short story and novel forms. Included are works, both in the language in which they were written and in translation, by **Margarita Luna Robles, Sergio D. Elizondo, Juan Felipe Herrera, Luis Humberto Crosthwaite, José Manuel DiBella, and Edgar Gómez Castellanos**. This work may be ordered from Binational Press, 720 Heber Avenue, Calexico, CA 92231.

■ *La Fecundidad en México: Cambios y perspectivas*. Edited by **Beatriz Figueroa Campos** (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1989. Pp. 454). This volume contains works addressing population growth in Mexico. It begins with a detailed presentation of fertility rates in Mexico from 1940-80, followed by an analysis of the socioeconomic factors contributing to the fertility levels. Predictions of future population trends are offered for Mexico based on the extensive collection of statistical data presented in this volume.

■ *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880*. By **Thomas D. Hall** (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989. Pp. 287). This work examines the process of social change through an in-depth study of European expansion in what is today the American Southwest. It attempts to show societal change brought on by state organiza-

tion, looking for patterns in the reaction of groups and tribes to this incorporation. Thomas D. Hall is associate professor of sociology at the University of Oklahoma. His interest in the Southwest dates from his experiences working for the Navajo Tribe at Navajo Community College in Arizona.



■ *Maquiladora Resource Guide: Exploring the Maquiladora/In-Bond Option in Baja California, Mexico*. By **Norris Clement, Stephen Jenner, Paul Ganster, and Andrea Setran** (San Diego, CA: Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias 1989. Pp. 169. \$30.00, plus California State Sales Tax of 7.25% for residents). This is the most up-to-date reference source for the maquiladora industry in Baja California and Mexico. With more than 160 pages of text, figures, tables, appendices, and a map, the *Guide* includes an overview of the maquiladora industry, its promise

and problems, an annotated bibliography of maquiladora-related publications, and how to establish an in-bond plant step-by-step. The book also lists organizations and firms servicing the industry, and a directory of more than 600 maquiladoras in Baja California with listings by city and products and an index of parent firms and plant names.

■ *Water Quality Issues of the San Diego-Tijuana Border Region*. By **Clifton G. Metzner, Jr.** (Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0435, 1985, 17 pp. \$3.00, plus California Sales Tax of 7.25% for residents). This publication is a report and summary of the Second Water Quality Workshop held in San Diego, May 22, 1989. This workshop was a follow up of assessments and recommendations presented at the first meeting in June 1988 and focused specifically on transboundary sewage flows in the Tijuana-San Diego area and joint efforts between the two countries to solve these long term problems.

U.S. and Mexican environmental and water authorities and experts were brought together at SDSU under a neutral forum for frank and open discussions of these issues. Recommendations were made for long range solutions including installation of a binational wastewater treatment and disposal system as well as cooperation and coordination on long term reclamation and wastewater reuse projects in the region.

The third workshop in this Water Quality series will deal directly with wastewater reclamation projects and water conservation that could be jointly discussed and planned by the U.S. and Mexico for this region.



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