IMAGENES RECIPROCAS

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CONTENIDO/CONTENTS

PREFACIO/PREFACE: PAUL GANSTER 1

PALABRAS DE APERTURA/OPENING REMARKS 11
Discurso de bienvenida: *Dr. Juan Casillas G. de L.* 13
Images and the context of U.S. policy relations with Mexico: *James W. Wilkie* 17

DISCURSOS PRINCIPALES/KEYNOTE ADDRESSES 57
Hacia un entendimiento básico entre México y Estados Unidos: *Mario Ojeda* 59
Education and the Formation of Images: *Julián Nava* 65

I. EDUCACION FORMAL/FORMAL EDUCATION 69
La imagen de Estados Unidos en los libros de texto mexicanos: *Josefina Zoraida Vázquez* 71
México, Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Secondary-School U.S. History Textbooks: *Linda K. Salvucci* 105
Escuelas de la frontera, vecinos desconocidos: *Miguel Antonio Meza Estrada* 123
Images of the United States in Mexico's *Libros de texto gratuitos: Vesta F. Manning* 145
Comentarios: *Abelardo Gorena* 189
Commentary: *Michael C. Scardaville* 197

II. EDUCACION E IMAGENES MUTUAS/EDUCATION AND MUTUAL IMAGES 203
Educación y construcción de la nacionalidad: *Regina Cortina* 205
Critiquing the Image of the University in Mexico: Quantitative Dimensions of the University Production since 1929 and the Problems of Quality and Employment: *David E. Lorey* 211

III. MEDIOS DE COMUNICACION E IMAGENES MUTUAS/MEDIA AND MUTUAL IMAGES 233
The Convenient Arena: Mexico in U.S. Motion Pictures: *Carlos E. Cortés* .. 235
Crossed Wires: the U.S. Press and Mexico: *Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte* 245
Commentary: *Richard R. Cole* 271

IV. PROCESOS SOCIALES Y CULTURA POPULAR/SOCIAL PROCESSES AND POPULAR CULTURE 275
Sons and Daughters of the Cisco Kid: Images of Mexicans in American Popular Culture: *William H. Beezley* 277

Identidad, regionalismo y la imagen de los estadounidenses: *Enrique Contreras Suárez* 287
Images of the United States in Selected Mexican Comic Books: *Charles Tatum* 299
Commentary: *David G. LaFrance* 311

V. IMPACTOS: FRONTERA, OPINION PUBLICA Y QUIENES TOMAN LAS DECISIONES/IMPACTS: BORDER, PUBLIC OPINION AND DECISION MAKERS 315
Interacción transfronteriza e interbilateralidad; el narcotráfico y la migración indocumentada como problemas de comunicación: *Jorge A. Bustamante* 317
La problemática de las imágenes recíprocas: *Lisa Fuentes* 335
El estudio de los auto y hetero-estereotipos en siete naciones: *Héctor M. Capello* 339
Mutual Images: Past and Future: *Oscar F. Martínez* 347

CONFERENCIA DE CLAUSURA/CLOSING REMARKS 351
The PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium and Mutual Images: *Juliet Antunes Sablosky* 353

PREFACE

PAUL GANSTER

This book makes available the proceedings of the V Symposium of Mexican and United States Universities held at El Colegio de México in Mexico City, April 17-18, 1988. Sponsored by PROFMEX (Consortium for U.S. Research on Mexico) and ANUIES (Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Institutos de Enseñanza Superior) with support from the Mexican government, the United States Embassy, and the United States Information Service (Private Sector Programs), the meetings continued the tradition of scholars and policy makers from the two countries meeting jointly to discuss important topics in the bilateral relation. As in past years, this symposium was held within the general framework of the program of U.S.-Mexican Bilateral Cultural Cooperation. Program chairs were Paul Ganster and Jorge Bustamante.

The theme of the V Symposium, decided at a planning meeting of the Organizing Committee at the Hacienda Cocoyoc in the State of Morelos in the fall of 1987, was "Reciprocal Images: Education in U.S.-Mexican Relations." Over the course of the V Symposium, participants asked the following questions: What patterns and institutions in the two neighboring countries shape their respective perceptions of each other? How do curricular and extracurricular programs influence national views? What are the social processes, means of communication, and impacts involved in U.S.-Mexican relations?

The V Symposium was inaugurated by Juan Casillas (Secretario General Ejecutivo of ANUIES) and James W. Wilkie (President of PROFMEX). The keynote addresses were delivered by Mario Ojeda Gómez, President of El Colegio de México, and Julián Nava, Professor of History at California State University, Northridge, and former U.S. Ambassador to Mexico. Ojeda addresses the topic "Toward a Better Understanding between Mexico and the United States." Ojeda's comments highlight key aspects of the relationship, stressing the complexity of U.S.-Mexican relations which he analyzes through a discussion of particular issues such as undocumented migration, Central

American policy, and drug trafficking. He notes that the relationship is too important to neglect, that our task should be to educate opinion makers to be better informed and have a clearer understanding of the other country. Nava, in his address, discusses "Education and the Formation of Images," and decries the distortions that appear in the mass media of each country about the other and points to the need to dismantle stereotypes that harm the bilateral relationship. Nava notes, however, that better understanding between the peoples of the United States and Mexico is advancing on numerous fronts, from the hundred or so different forums involving Mexican and U.S. participants to the PRI presidential candidate's meeting with some one hundred fifty Mexican-American leaders in Tijuana in the spring of 1988.

I

The first panel, "Formal Education," was chaired by Héctor Franco Saenz of the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León and dealt with the content of textbooks in public schools and also with the characteristics of Mexican school teachers in the border region. The first study, by Linda K. Salvucci of Trinity University, examines the content with respect to Mexico and Mexican Americans of ten high school American history textbooks recently adopted for use in the State of Texas by local school districts. She concludes that their "treatment of Mexico, Mexicans, and Mexican-Americans is, for the most part, inconsistent, idiosyncratic, incorrect, or nonexistent."

Vesta Manning (University of Florida), in her presentation on Mexican textbooks reports on a content analysis of the Mexican government *libros de texto gratuitos* that are used in all elementary schools in Mexico. Her analysis shows that these textbooks' portrayal of the United States is not only marred by occasional factual inaccuracy, but is also notable for a lack of balance and equity. Negative references to the United States, both explicit and implicit, far outnumber positive references. Further, significant positive contributions to world affairs and to advancement of science by the United States are not attributed to the United States. Manning also criticized the textbooks for failure to include mention of events such as the 1968 student uprising, considered by most observers as a watershed in modern Mexican history.

Concerning "The Image of the United States in Mexican Textbooks," Josefina Vázquez of El Colegio de México notes that the dichotomy of admiration for the United States for its early achievement of independence and democratic institutions along with resentment for the war with Mexico have made it difficult for Mexicans to objectively judge the United States. Vázquez discusses the history of Mexican textbooks and their portayal of the United States and concludes that in the most recent Mexican textbooks there is a lack of consistency, due to the resentment of the loss of territory.

The final paper of this panel, by Miguel Antonio Meza Estrada of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, is on "Schools of the Border: Unknown Neighbors" and analyzes diverse themes of public education in the Baja California-California border region. These include education of migrant children, education of undocumented children in the Imperial Valley, California, and the shortage of bilingual teachers in Californias attempts to resolve these problem with Spanish and Mexican teachers. As well, he discusses a survey of Mexican border teachers.

Following comments on these papers by Alberto Gorena of the Universidad de Monterrey and Michael C. Scardaville of the University of South Carolina, there was a spirited discussion by the audience and the panelists. Josefina Vázquez vigorously defended the *libros de texto gratuitos* and attacked the analysis by Manning. Vázquez pointed out, for example, that it was the historian's obligation to be selective and thus events such as those of 1968 were omitted from the Mexican textbooks.

II

The second panel, chaired by Isabel Schon of Arizona State University, dealt with additional themes of formal education. Regina Cortina of Brown University, in her presentation "Education and Construction of Nationality" examines the institutions important in the formation of teachers in Mexico, a group that has played a key role in development of nationality and social reforms in the country, not just intellectual development. She concludes, however, that the Mexican normal schools have not changed sufficiently as the Mexican polity and society have evolved and there is a critical need to modernize the training of teachers.

Ana Pricila Sosa, of the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, discusses "The Context of New U.S. Perceptions of Mexico," and provides a periodization of U.S. perceptions about Mexico. She notes that Mexico's political stability has long been a preoccupation in the United States and events in Mexico such as the 1968 social conflict, the Echeverría presidency, and the post-1982 economic crisis strengthened in the United States the perception of Mexican political instability.

The presentation by UCLA's David E. Lorey examines the dominant image of Mexican university education held by scholars in both Mexico and the United States. He does this through presenting the quantitative dimensions of professional training since 1929 and analyzing some aspects of the economics of higher education in Mexico. Lorey concludes by noting that "if the public university is to be an active force in producing professionals for social modernization and in providing social mobility, it will have to bring its fee, admissions, and achievement policies in line with the structure and growth of the Mexican economy."

Session commentator Ludwig Lauerhass, Jr., of UCLA observed that both Lorey's and Cortina's papers deal with perceptions; Cortina emphasizes the nationalist role of the teacher, Lorey treats the developmental role of professions. Furthermore, both talked about production of quality and problems of decentralization and centralization as well as the problem of different social groups, including gender gaps. Lauerhass closed his remarks by mentioning that Cortina's suggestion that the education of teachers be incorporated into the university system was similar to reforms recommended by Justo Sierra in the last century. The final commentator of the panel, Guillermina Valdéz of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, commended Sosa for her excellent analysis of how Mexico has been perceived in the United States in recent years. Valdéz also pointed out that many of these perceptions were clearly portrayed in the U.S. media.

III

"Media and Mutual Images" was the subject of the third session. The paper by Carlos Lozano of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte is on the subject of "Cultural Identity on Mexico's Northern Border."

Carlos E. Cortés, of the University of California at Riverside, presented a work on "The Convenient Arena: Mexico in Hollywood Motion Pictures" in which he indicates that an element that has pervaded U.S. films that deal with Mexico has been the reiteration of U.S. superiority, combined with Mexican incompetence. That theme has become so pervasive and effective that it has become a stereotype available for filmmakers to draw upon. With few exceptions, Mexico and Mexicans have had little intrinsic importance in U.S. films, and Mexico has been little more than a convenient arena for the examination and expression of American concerns, little more than a metaphor. Hollywood's cavalier treatment of Mexico and Mexicans as well as of Mexican history led the Mexican government in 1922 to begin banning U.S. films that it considered derogatory. Thus, *Viva Villa* and the 1968 *Three Amigos* were banned from Mexico. Cortés closes his paper by noting that despite continued problems of negative stereotyping by Hollywood, recent films such as *El Norte, The Milagro Beanfield War, Stand and Deliver, Born in East L.A.,* and *La Bamba* deal with themes relating to Mexico and Mexicans in a far more sensitive manner.

Carlos Rico, of El Colegio de México, explained that the purpose of his research was to determine how much the internal political reality of Mexico and of the United States limits the options available in the management of the bilateral relationship. As a first step, he investigated the perceptions in the United States about Mexico and the perceptions in Mexico about the United States. This paper focuses on how Mexicans view the United States and is based on U.S. sources such as surveys carried out for the United States Information

Agency. Rico concludes that the opinion of the Mexican public towards the United States is favorable, increasingly so in recent years, but at the same time is very critical, particularly regarding U.S. foreign policy in Central America and in the role of the United States in Mexican economic problems.

"Mexico in the U.S. Press" is the theme of the essay of Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte of the University of Texas at Austin. Uriarte observes that the U.S. press has played a key role in formulating U.S. public opinion about Mexico and a key role in the bilateral relationship, from the war between Mexico and the United States, to the Mexican Revolution, and to the present time. The education of U.S. journalists has changed little the past century and a half and thus today the U.S. press is still broadcasting the same image about Mexico and Mexicans.

Richard Cole of the University of North Carolina, in his comments on this session, largely supports the conclusions and findings of Uriarte and Cortés. He makes suggestions for broadening the scope of their research and refers to the work of John Bailey which shows that attention to Mexico in the U.S. media (leading newspapers and television networks) increased substantially during the years 1979-1986 although much of the attention was inadequate, superficial, and unbalanced. Cole concludes his remarks by pointing out that despite negative images conveyed about Mexico in the media, recent public opinion polls demonstrate that the U.S. public basically has strong sympathies for Mexico and sees that country in friendly, positive terms.

Following the presentation of formal comments, a lively question and answer session explored a number of aspects of the media and its coverage of Mexico. In response to a question, Uriarte noted that there is an anti-academic bias among U.S. journalists which is compounded when academics refuse to write for newspaper editorial pages; thus journalists transmit and interpret the findings of scholars to the general public, often distorting the message in the process.

IV

In the panel on "Social Processes and Popular Culture," chaired by Henry C. Schmidt of Texas A & M University, William Beezley writes on "The Sons and Daughters of the Cisco Kid: Images of Mexico in U.S. Popular Culture." Beezley, then of North Carolina State University and now of Southern Methodist University, notes that popular culture can best be defined as the common sense of any society that finds expression in epigrams, jokes, anecdotes, and so forth, and he also indicates that since the 1960s scholars have increasingly turned to the study of popular culture as a means to understand the ordinary people and marginal people of societies. Humor, according to Beezley, provides the most sophisticated measure of popular notions about ethnic groups in North American popular culture, and through examples of popular humor he details

popular attitudes in the United States towards the Hispanic minority and vice versa.

Charles Tatum, of the University of Arizona, presents an analysis to some ten Mexican comic books against the backdrop of imperialist theories of cultural relations between the United States and Latin America. These theories were popularized in Latin America by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, who asserted that U.S. comic books and other aspects of North American culture transmitted by the media served the purposes of the United States and enhanced cultural dependency to the detriment of developing countries. Tatum concludes that "a case can be made that the titles discussed above portray the Giant to the North as a materialistic, corrupt society intent upon dominating Mexico and the rest of Latin America . . . . Collectively they defy the popular belief that all Mexican cultural industries are controlled by nefarious foreign economic interests."

Also on this panel, Enrique Contreras of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México writes on "Identity and Regionalism: The Image of the United States." Based on a survey of cultural promoters and others in Mexican border cities, his work had several objectives. First was the association of opinions about people from the United States with self identification as Mexicans; second was the determination of the level of understanding of Mexican culture of the interviewees.

Guillermina Valdéz pursues somewhat similar themes with her presentation of a study of the perceptions in central Mexico about the border and also perceptions about the region in the border city of Ciudad Juárez. On the one hand, there has been the tendency of people from the capital to see Ciudad Juárez as a center of corruption and vice, the "pozo del mundo." On the other hand, defenders of the city have often taken the opposite position, just as extreme and just as inaccurate. The reality lies somewhere in between, particularly as the economic and cultural life of the city has evolved.

Panel commentator David G. LaFrance, Oregon State University, initiates his comments with a discussion of the sources utilized by Tatum and Beezley. He observes that the printed comic books have an inherent class and socioeconomic bias since significant resources are required to publish them, they must be purchased, and are consumed by literate individuals. Oral humor, however, requires neither the ability to read nor funds and to be distributed depends on no one other than the teller and the listener. LaFrance then goes on to raise several questions regarding Tatum's research, including concerns about the selection of the comics studied and whether Mexico is appropriate to test theories formulated in Chile. With respect to Beezley's paper, LaFrance questions the assertion that the presence of more Mexicans in the United States means less stereotyping. As well, LaFrance asserts, some definitions need to be clarified, including the distinctions between jokes and pejorative labels and the difference between mass and popular culture. Finally, LaFrance raises several

questions regarding the paper by Contreras: What are the differences between northern and central Mexican perceptions? Who conducted the interviews? Who, precisely, were the *promotores culturales* studied?

V

In a panel discussion to examine from diverse perspectives the impacts of mutual images, including views of the border, the nature of public opinion, and decision making, Manuel Luna Calderón of the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas moderated the interchanges. Jorge Bustamante of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte leads off with a discussion entitled "Transborder Interaction and Inter-Bilateralness: Drug Trafficking and Undocumented Migration as Problems of Communication." This paper indicates that public opinion polls in the United States demonstrate that drug trafficking is viewed by the public as the number one problem, which is not reflected in official policy, which instead is concerned with communism and national security issues. Although the drug problem is the result of supply and demand factors, the U.S. public tends to view action taken towards the supply of illicit narcotics as the appropriate means of combatting the problem. Bustamante also notes that a number of attacks on Mexico by U.S. politicians regarding drug trafficking were for domestic political purposes. Furthermore, as Mexico has underestimated the political importance in the United States of the drug trafficking issue, so has the United States underestimated the anti-U.S. reaction that could occur in Mexico as the result of unilateral actions in the United States such as decertification by Congress of Mexico as a country not cooperating in the efforts against international drug trafficking.

"Some Thoughts Concerning the Formation of Expectations about Mexico: The Importance of Economic Factors" is the title of remarks by Arturo García Espinosa of the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León. He first mentions that it is necessary to remember that there are individual images and collective images of Mexicans that often are different. With this in mind, the central question that he asks in his research is: Are the images perceived by people in the United States regarding Mexico consistent with the reality dictated by economic variables? García Espinosa concludes that although the solution of economic problems is the province of economists, it is the task of the formal education system to make the public aware of the complexity of the economic and social systems and the interaction of two peoples and to encourage formulation of opinions for the decision-making process.

L. Ray Sadler focuses his comments on newspaper reporters, a group frequently mentioned and frequently criticized in these meetings. He contrasts the difficult time constraints under which reporters work with the more measured pace of academics who are obsessed with perfection. Sadler also

responds to criticism made in the conference that reporters who cover Mexican issues are not well informed by citing a number of very well informed newsmen, including Art Golden of *The San Diego Union,* Francisco Romero of *The San Diego Tribune,* Richard Iriarte from the *Arizona Republic,* David Marcus from the Mexico City bureau of the *Dallas Morning News,* and Guillermo García of the *Austin-American Statesman.* He concludes by saying that although there are problems in the press of both our countries, the alternative are unthinkable.

Oscar J. Martínez, then at the University of Texas at El Paso and now at the University of Arizona, acknowledges that the U.S.-Mexican relationship has been plagued by negative images, some originating in our English and Spanish heritage, others coming out of a long history of conflict at the border, and others generated by domestic factors in each country. He states that although there has been progress in the bilateral relationship and a decrease in negative images, partly due to efforts of U.S. Hispanics, scholars have not done enough. Specifically, Mexican specialists need to become involved in the writing of textbooks in the United States, instead of writing for each other and for university students. PROFMEX should also increase its efforts to disseminate the results of its work outside of academia, particularly at the popular level. Finally, Martínez suggests that PROFMEX organize some seminars on myths and realities of Mexico that could be offered on a regular basis to writers of textbooks, to teachers, and to journalists in the United States.

Panelist Héctor Capello of the Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas discusses a study that examined perceptions and stereotypes of undergraduate students in six Latin American countries and in California, in an attempt to better understand how self perceptions and stereotypes are formed. Among other conclusions, he notes that the quality of interaction between people of two countries is important in influencing stereotypes and he also points out that conflict between two countries is a key element in formation of mutual images, irrespective of other factors,

To sum up the panel, Lisa Fuentes, of UCLA and Boston College, reminds us of the complexities of the U.S.-Mexican relationship, citing as an example the well known saying, "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States." As well, she indicates, an additional complicating factor is that the border between the two nations is the only location where the First World meets directly the Third World. Like Oscar Martínez, Fuentes raises the subject of the U.S. Latino population as a factor in the U.S.-Mexican relationship. She notes that although the Mexicans in the United States have been culturally and economically marginated, this has merely duplicated the patterns these people experienced in Mexico prior to migrating to the United States. Thus, the discriminatory features of the United States and Mexican societies present a problem in the overall bilateral relation.

VI

The Symposium was closed by comments by representatives from the two governments; Ambassador Jorge Lozoya from Mexico and Juliet Antunes Sablosky of the United States Embassy in Mexico. Sablosky underlines the importance of PROFMEX-ANUIES in the process of study, analysis, and discussion that will lead to a better understanding between Mexico and the United States. She notes that the topic of the V Symposium was particularly important for it was discussed at the Foreign Minister level in January 1987 when Secretary Schultz and Secretary Sepúlveda met in Washington, D.C., and it also loomed large at the Sixth Bilateral Cultural Commission meeting held by representatives of the two governments in Washington, D.C., in June of that same year.

As the U.S. Embassy's Sally Grooms noted, the theme of mutual images is important in the bilateral relationship. The papers and discussions of the meetings not only document the reciprocal images, both positive and negative, but expose the processes of formal and informal education behind those images, perceptions, and stereotypes. The results of the V Symposium are remarkable not only for the clear delineation of the problems, but also in the candor with which the participants were able to openly discuss the problems and possible solutions. Also impressive is the ability of the participants to disagree with each other, irrespective of nationality. Although, traditionally the PROFMEX and ANUIES interactions have included as participants policymakers of different levels and an increasing wide net of scholars and teachers from the United States and Mexico, the V Symposium begins to develop the results of our joint efforts more broadly. The challenge facing PROFMEX and ANUIES is to communicate the collective expertise on Mexico, the United States, and the U.S.-Mexican relationship to the publics in both countries. This will be a difficult and complex task and will involve working with the media, textbook writers and publishers, educators, and policymakers at all leves.

PALABRAS DE APERTURA / OPENING REMARKS

DISCURSO DE BIENVENIDA

DR. JUAN CASILLAS G. DE L.

Al dar inicio esta mañana a los trabajos de la Quinta Reunión de Universidades de México y de los Estados Unidos de América, sobre Estudios Fronterizos, deseo expresar, a nombre del Comité Organizador del evento, nuestro más sincero agradecimiento a todos aquellos que han aceptado participar en el mismo, ya sea en forma directa como ponentes o comentaristas o bien como asistentes a la reunión para escuchar y, en su caso, opinar sobre los planteamientos que en esta reunión se presenten.

Desde luego, nuestro agradecimiento especial al Lic. Mario Ojeda Gómez, Presidente de El Colegio de México, por haber puesto a nuestra disposición las magníficas instalaciones de esta distinguida Casa de Estudios, cuya importancia en la docencia y la investigación en Ciencias Sociales es internacionalmente reconocida.

El origen y la evolución de esta serie de reuniones entre investigadores de instituciones de educación superior de México y de los Estados Unidos de América sobre Estudios Fronterizos son ampliamente conocidos por gran parte de los asistentes a esta V Reunión. Sin embargo, en atención a quienes ahora asisten por primera vez a estas reuniones, he considerado oportuno referirme en forma breve a esos aspectos, para recordar los objetivos esenciales y el contexto académico en que se desarrollan estas reuniones, y para señalar el sentido de la intervención de la Secretaría General Ejecutiva de la ANUIES en la organización de estos encuentros.

Como parte de las funciones que le señala su Estatuto, la Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Institutos de Enseñanza Superior realiza una serie de acciones para representar a sus instituciones asociadas en el medio académico internacional, con el fin de propiciar la colaboración y el intercambio con instituciones de educación superior de otros países. Estas acciones se han llevado a cabo, principalmente, con países de América y Europa, aunque algunas de ellas se han realizado también con Japón y Australia.

Dichas acciones comprenden, principalmente, el apoyo a profesores, mediante becas complementarias, para cursar estudios de posgrado en el extranjero; el intercambio de profesores; la concertación de visitas de rectores y funcionarios universitarios de alto nivel para la negociación de acuerdos y convenios de colaboración, ya sean bilaterales o multinstitucionales; la difusión entre sus asociadas de programas internacionales que propician el intercambio académico; reuniones con asociaciones internacionales de universidades, como la UDUAL y la OUI y con asociaciones nacionales similares a la ANUIES, como el Consejo de Rectores de las Universidades Brasileñas (CRUB) y la Asociación Colombiana de Universidades (ASCUN) para impulsar el conocimiento y las acciones de colaboración entre las respectivas instituciones de educación superior y entre las mismas asociaciones entre sí; y, finalmente, la organización de simposios sobre temas académicos específicos, con la participación de expertos en el campo, como es el caso de la reunión que hoy se inicia.

Al agradecer la presencia del Sr. Embajador Jorge Alberto Lozoya, Director en Jefe de Cooperación Internacional de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores y representante personal del Sr. Secretario, Lic. Bernardo Sepúlveda Amor, deseo hacer mención específica del gran apoyo que la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores ha brindado a la ANUIES en lo general, y directamente a las instituciones asociadas que conducen sus propios programas, en lo particular, a través de los programas de cooperación internacional y, concretamente, de los programas de intercambio cultural y educativo que se inscriben en el marco de los convenios bilaterales con alrededor de 50 países. También deseo destacar y agradecer la presencia de la Sra. Sally Grooms, Agregada de Asuntos Públicos de la Embajada de los Estados Unidos de América y representante personal del Sr. Embajador de los Estados Unidos de América, Sr. Charles Pilliod, que muestra el interés y el apoyo del gobierno de ese país a nuestras reuniones.

Precisamente, derivado de una propuesta de la ANUIES para realizar un simposio de carácter académico con universidades de los Estados Unidos de América que se habían asociado para formar el Consortium for Research on Mexico (PROFMEX), la Comisión Mixta Cultural integrada por representantes de ambos países para la negociación del Programa Cultural y Educativo correspondiente al año de 1979 que aprobó la realización de dicho simposio. Este se llevó a cabo en La Paz, Baja California Sur, en febrero de 1980. En esa ocasión la institución sede fue la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur y el temario se circunscribió a los Estudios Fronterizos.

Como resultado de esa primera reunión, se decidió que sería aconsejable consolidar esta plataforma académica que, con el apoyo moral de los gobiernos de México y de los Estados Unidos de América, y con un respeto irrestricto al principio de libertad de cátedra y de investigación, podría constituirse en una instancia muy valiosa para el conocimiento y el análisis de los problemas, la orientación de la investigación sobre los mismos, la síntesis y la proposición de soluciones y recomendaciones para la compleja temática de los asuntos

fronterizos, en un primer plano, y de las relaciones entre ambas naciones en el fondo mismo de la cuestión.

A la reunión en La Paz, siguió la de Austin, en la Universidad de Texas, en febrero de 1982. Luego Tijuana, en el Colegio de la Frontera Norte, en octubre de 1983, posteriormente, Santa Fe, en la Universidad de Nuevo México, en abril de 1986 y, ahora, por primera ocasión en una de las capitales, en el Distrito Federal, bajo los auspicios de El Colegio de México.

Han sido ocho años de trabajo y colaboración que nos han llevado al tratamiento de temas tan amplios y diversos como: una retrospectiva de las cambiantes fronteras, la evolución de sus comunidades, sus nexos culturales y económicos y la lucha por sus identidades; los fenómenos del desarrollo y la migración; sus recursos hídricos de superficie y subterráneos; los marcos jurídicos y los juegos sin reglas; el medio ambiente; la relación de su vida cotidiana y las políticas de Washington y del Distrito Federal, y la cooperación en la solución de problemas comunes, también la unilateralidad o el desacuerdo en dichas soluciones. Ha sido, en suma, una revisión del convivir de dos vecinos diferentes, con distintos orígenes históricos, étnicos, linguísticos y educativos, realizado por académicos convencidos de la necesidad de conocernos mejor, para colaborar en la solución de problemas mutuos.

Ahora, en esta Quinta Reunión, investigadores de ambos países habrán de presentarnos sus estudios sobre un aspecto trascendental para el conocimiento de nuestras sociedades: "Imágenes Recíprocas: La Educación en las Relaciones México-Estados Unidos". Sus trabajos, con toda seguridad, habrán de significar un punto de partida para un nuevo enfoque del proceso que sigue una sociedad para conocer y entender a la otra. Y, quizá tan importante como conocer el proceso mismo, será analizar el contenido. El cómo, el qué y el por qué cobrán aquí una singular importancia.

Los trabajos formales y los comentarios de esta Quinta Reunión, como los de las cuatro anteriores, serán publicados en forma conjunta por PROFMEX y ANUIES. Es oportuno reiterar que las opiniones y planteamientos son de la exclusiva responsabilidad de sus autores y no reflejan, necesariamente, los puntos de vista ni de los gobiernos de México y de los Estados Unidos de América, ni el de las instituciones que organizan este acontecimiento académico.

Para finalizar esta intervención, al reiterarles la bienvenida a este evento, a nombre de la Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Institutos de Enseñanza Superior, les expreso, señores participantes, nuestros sinceros deseos por el éxito de este diálogo académico, que habrá de contribuir a una mejor comprensión entre los pueblos de ambas naciones y, en consecuencia, a una mejor convivencia entre vecinos que, manteniendo su identidad propia, desean resolver los problemas que la vecindad genera y colaborar en el desarrollo social y económico de ambas naciones.

IMAGES AND THE CONTEXT OF U.S. POLICY RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

JAMES W. WILKIE
PRESIDENT OF PROFMEX

It is my pleasure to write on behalf of PROFMEX to preface these procedings of the V Symposium of U.S.-Mexican Universities. PROFMEX owes a debt of gratitude to Secretary General Juan Casillas García de León for the fine organizational work done by ANUIES. In addition to thanking Dr. Casillas and his Director of International Programs Ermilo J. Marroquín, we owe our appreciation to President Mario Ojeda Gómez, who put El Colegio de México at our disposition for the symposium.

The fact that we meet in Mexico City is important because it marks the first time that the PROFMEX-ANUIES symposia does not meet near the the border. Our purpose in changing the locale to a national capital is intended to place our earlier focus on the border within national affairs. Yet an important component of this symposium tokes up life on the border, life which has shaped the images of so many U.S. Americans who have made one-day visits across the border into Mexico or seen visits portrayed in film and fiction.

U.S. images of Mexico are in the process of changing dramatically. These new images contribute to a more complex view of larger U.S. official and unofficial international relations with Mexico, U.S. views of its southern neighbor began to change in the mid-1960s, before Mexico's "oil boom" (1976-1981) and "debt bust" (1982-present) about which U.S. public opinion simplistically has risen and fallen. Although images of Mexico are changing in the United States, then, the process is slow and often seems to show as many losses as gains.

Let me take this opportunity to review here:

One. Traditionally Negative U.S. Images of Mexico;
Two. Changing U.S. Images of Mexico: the Case of the U.S.-Mexican Border;

Three. Recent History of U.S. Policy Toward Mexico: Simple and Complex Images;
Four. Realities Versus Images.

It is my view that although negative U.S. images often have seemed to predominate in relations with Mexico, the context of solving real problems between the two countries has begun to cumulatively, and quietly, overcome stereotypes. (Mexico's images of the United States are also important, but I leave analysis of those images to others.)

ONE.
TRADITIONALLY NEGATIVE U.S. IMAGES OF MEXICO

The rise of a new U.S. image of Mexico has been handicapped by the fact that new understandings must continue to overcome a series of negative and incredibly thoughtless remarks about Mexico expressed through time by some influential U.S. leaders.

Let me review selected infamous quotes by U.S. public figures whose following words have complicated relations:

> You never have to bother about an American President being shot by a Puerto Rican or a Mexican. They don't shoot very straight. But if they come after you with a knife, beware.
>
> -FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover (1970) [1]

> [We denounce] Mexico's slide to Communism under President Echeverría . . . The present one-party government of Mexico is following [Cuba's] path. For moral and humanitarian reasons alone, we should prefer not to see 65 million Mexicans forced to choose between slavery and exile. And for overwhelmingly important strategic reasons, we should prefer not to see what some Mexican writers can already visualize–a Cactus Curtain along the Río Grande.
>
> -Seventy-Six U.S. Congressmen (1976) [2]

> The main threat against the United States is from the "have not" nations of the world, such as Mexico, rather than from the Soviet Union . . . The doubling of the population of Mexico by the end of the century

. . . [will lead to an] extra 60-odd million Mexicans [and] 20 are going to end up [in the United States.]

Former CIA Director William E. Colby (1978) [3]

President López Portillo and I have, in the short time together on this visit, found that we have many things in common. . . . We both run several kilometers every day. As a matter of fact, I told President López Portillo that I first acquired my habit of running here in Mexico City. My first running course was from the Palace of Fine Arts to the Majestic Hotel, where me and my family were staying.

In the midst of the Folklórico performance, I discovered that I was afflicted with Moctezuma's revenge.

-President Jimmy Carter Toast,
February 15, 1979,
at close of state visit to Mexico [4]

The Communist-led student uprising in Mexico City in 1968, a well-documented operation of the Soviet K.G.B., was surpressed by President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. However, many of the "leaders" of that uprising, who had allowed themselves to be manipulated by the K.G.B., have been made officials of the Mexican government. . . . In addition, the Communist and other ultra-leftist parties have been encouraged by recent "political reforms" of President López Portillo. And, in addition, tens of thousands of Marxist terrorists from Latin America and elsewhere have been admitted to Mexico.

Any takeover threat in Mexico today comes, obviously, from the extreme left. We cannot stand aside. . . . [Our government] must take appropriate action to ensure that a new Mexican government headed by President-elect Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado does not continue–or even bring to completion–the program carried out by the previous two administrations. That program is demonstrably disastrous for Mexico, and potentially so for both Mexico and the United States. Mexico in chaos, or Mexico under Communism, would present extremely difficult problems for the United States. We are within our rights to attempt to prevent the development of a disastrous situation. That is one of the things any government is paid, by its citizens, to do.

-Twenty-One U.S. Congressmen (1982) [5]

[Political unrest in Mexico could turn it into another Iran].

-Former U.S. Nation Security Advisor
Zbigniew Brzenzinski (1983) [6]

[Mexico is] the most corrupt government and society in Central America. [and it could become the U.S.'s Number One security problem within the 10 years].

-Chief of the U.S. Southern Command
General Paul Gorman, (1984) [7]

[Corruption in Mexico is so widespread that I assume that any Mexican official is dishonest unless proven otherwise.]

-U.S. Customs Service Commissioner
William von Raab (1986) [8]

[I don't] have a problem with the term 'Mex.' I don't think our officers and dispatchers use the term in a derogatory manner, they use it in a descriptive manner."

-Santa Ana [California] Latino City Councilman
John Acosta (1988) [9]

The position that Communism will never conquer Mexico because the United States will not permit it, is absurd. On the contrary, the White House itself could fall in the the absurdity of supporting Marxist revolutionaries to power [sic] just as it did in 1979. Jimmy Carter helped the Sandinistas achieve power even though he had received proofs that Sandinistas were Communists trained in Havana and that the nine comandantes were chosen by Fidel Castro himself. Mexicans can only hope that the American media that has already given Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo such good platform to speak against [our] democratic and friendly country will investigate the other side of

> Cárdenas. The United States cannot afford a repeat in Mexico of the Cuban (1958) and Nicaraguan (1979) fatal errors.
>
> -Anonymous "Committee for Improved U.S.-Mexican Relations" (1988) [10]

> [The DPBSEPADD (Dual-Purpose Border Security Enhancement Project and Drainage Ditch) is aimed at preventing illegal immigrants and drugs from crossing from Mexico into California near the port of entry at Otay Mesa.]
>
> -Unnamed Bush INS Administration Official, quoted by State Department Spokesman Charles Redman (1989) [11]

If such views about Mexico were not harmful enough to U.S.-Mexican relations, some U.S. "patriots" have stated or abetted in the statement of reckless views about Mexico and the border, thus complicating international relations because they provide a framework in which government officials must justify their actions:

> Tijuana is the toughest, roughest, gaudiest, filthiest, loudest–the most larcenous, vicious, predacious–the wickedest bordertown of them all. It is all border towns wrapped into one smelly reefer and freaked out on its compulsion to "skin the gringo."
>
> -Ovid Demaris (1970) [12]

> [There is a] rising flow of color washing over our border, washing away our culture, our racial fabric and changing America as we know it. . . . [We will proceed with our plans to patrol the border against entry by illegal aliens.]
>
> -Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (1977) [13]

> Mexico's debt has not stopped it from bidding for power in the Western Hemisphere, and it is naturally the United States that Mexico considers its rival. . . . Whereas the United States has little influence over leftist regimes like the Sandinistas, Mexico gets on splendidly with them, is their link to the Western world, and becomes their diplomatic protector.

Mexico and the United States are both playing their own games in Central America, and it is a mistake to assume that because the Mexican position is more discreet than that of the Reagan administration, it is therefore any more ethical. The United States [at least] . . . . has made democracy the key to its regional strategy.

Mexico, on the other hand, . . . is not a truly democratic country: It is corrupt and repressive, and has no interest in establishing democracy in Central America.

-Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, (1984) [14]

"Mexican National Anthem," sung to the tune of "She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain" (with the words tortilla, Taco Bell, ¿qué pasa? and Frito-Lay heard in the background):

They'll be coming across the border
when they come.
They'll be coming across the border
when they come.
They'll be coming across the border,
cause there is no law and order;
they'll be coming across the border
when they come.
They'll be carrying drugs and
handguns so they can have some
real fun; they'll be carrying drugs
and even handguns when they come.
They will not have a green card
but they will sure know how to run
hard; well, they will not have a
green card when they come.
Now, all they know is Spanish
and if you don't they will vanish;
well now, all they know is Spanish
when they come.

-San Diego Radio KS-103
disc jockey Randy Miller (1986) [15]

[We should take reprisals against the Mexican illegals. We should deport five Mexicans for every illegal Mexican captured in the United States.]

-Telephone caller to Los Angeles Radio KIEV
talk-show host George Putnam (1986) [16]

The brown tide lapping against our southern border has led to an eye-opening proposition. By the turn of the century, the babies of Mexico could be a greater threat to the United States than the (presumably unused) nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union.

-Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta (1987) [17]

Also jokes, ads, and rumors have played an insidious part in shaping the image of Mexico in the United States:

Did you hear about the two Mexicans on the TV show "That's Incredible"?
One had auto insurance and the other was an only child.

-Anonymous (1978)

Have you heard that Mexico will not be sending a national team to the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games? Every Mexican who can run, jump, and swim is already in the United States.

-Anonymous (1984)

IF, GOD FORBID, L.A. IS NEXT [TO SUFFER A MEXICO CITY-TYPE EARTHQUAKE], OUR COMMITMENT WILL REMAIN UNSHAKEN. We shall be instantly available to disaster relief and other government authorities. . . . without a prior reimbursement agreement.

-Rose Hills Mortuary and Forest-Lawn Mortuaries,
full-page ad (1985) [18]

Q[uestion]: O.K., Reverend [Moody],
explain [the earthquake in] Mexico City.
A[nswer]: Three views:

1. *God did it.* His moral standards are lower than mine.
2. *Physics did it.* Atheistic or deistic idea. Not good enough.
3. *Satan did it. My view.* If you don't believe in Satan, you must be an atheist or believe in a Sadistic God. I choose neither.

Satan causes tragedy.

-Reverend Jess Moody,
First Baptist Church,
Van Nuys, California, ad (1985) [19]

[Watch out for that Mexican Beer called Corona, 73% of its bottles are contaminated with urine–those Mexican workers relieve themselves in the beer vats.]

-Anonymous (1987) [20]

Just like Panama, drug corruption in Mexico remains deep and pervasive, and in almost every part of that country there is a local Noriega, a commandante, a general, a governor getting rich dealing with Colombian drug bosses.

-Reporter Brian Ross, NBC News Special
"Drug Wars: Tonight," following broadcast of the first
part of the NBC three-part miniseries entitled
"Drug Wars: The Camarena Story," January 7, 1990

Although many people in the United States and certainly a number of legislators and presidential assistants located in Washington still seem to believe some of the above negative images, let us note the change regarding the case of the border image.

TWO
CHANGING U.S. IMAGES OF MEXICO: THE CASE OF THE U.S.-MEXICAN BORDER

The traditional U.S. prejudice against the Mexican border with the United States was summed up in Ovid Demaris's 1970 view which failed to see that such an image was already in the process of becoming more positive. According to Damaris:

> Of a long string of ancient, squat, forlorn, sun-dried, neon-lit cases [on the Mexican side of the border] . . . a dozen qualify (in gringo terminology) as bona fide hellholes. To Mexicans in the interior, the border is *pozo del mundo* (idiomatically, the lowest hole of the world). It is an old opprobrium, gained by some cases back in the days of longhorn cattle and cowboys along the Río Grande . . . Other bordertowns earned their mark later, in the days of revolution and the traffic in guns, gold and adventures. It was the Twenties and Prohibition that earned the border its national reputation and it was the GI of World War II who popularized it on an international scale . . . . [as involving a] pleasure trip measurably oriented to gringos with low libidinal thresholds. [21]

Contrast the Demaris negative interpretation of 1970 with the positive, new view of Daphne Overstreet boosting in 1981 the expansion of in-bond production sharing between maquila (or "twin plants") [22] established along the Mexican side of the border. In the words of Overstreet:

> The in-bond business on the U.S.-Mexican border is booming. When Mexico passed enabling legislation permitting [U.S. plants to set up a Mexican branch, thus making "twin plants" across the border] in the mid-1960s, 12 U.S. companies set up operations in the first year. Now, 15 years later, more than 650 companies have [twin plant] production facilities . . . . There are a number of reasons for this phenomenal growth. [First,] companies in high technology countries are being forced to cut production costs to stay competitive while maintaining their quality. Mexico offers all the advantages of an "offshore" location plus proximity to U.S. markets, materials, and technical support . . . . [Second, in Mexico] competition for jobs is keen and the work ethic is thriving [because of high unemployment and a rapidly developing middle class]. The labor force is characterized by high productivity, low absenteeism and turnover, and an ability to adapt to technological transfers. American twin plant managers report an average productivity improvement of 10 to 15 percent in their Mexican facilities compared to the states, and absenteeism and turnover are reduced to two percent on the average. Quality is also reported as being better overall. [23]

Yet new images of the Mexican border with the United States are still in the process of displacing old views. For example, it is only since the late 1970s that the region has emerged through private U.S.-Mexican relations as an area to be taken into major account by scholars in the two countries, [24] as well as by Mexican and U.S. government officials in Mexico City and Washington, D.C.

Before 1980 the border region tended to live "undiscovered" except by an

articulate few serious observers who gradually have won an audience to their view that the region plays a crucial role in larger international relations between Mexico and the United States. [25] During the 1920s and 1930s the border was identified as a concept of academic study notably by historian Herbert E. Bolton (who stressed the role of acculturation), economist Paul S. Taylor (who studied socio-economic conditions and immigration), and geographer Carl D. Sauer (who treated culture and ecology).

A big step in U.S.-Mexican cross-border studies came in the area of sociology under Charles P. Loomis. Loomis (who wrote, for example, in 1942 on "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," [26] generated substantial funding for research during the 1950s. [27] Out of that' research the following examples of studies came to fruition:

1955 William H. D'Antonio and William H. Form, "The Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities" [28]

1959 William H. Form and Julius Rivera, "Work Contracts and International Evaluations: The Case of a Mexican Border Village" [29]

1960 Charles C. Cumberland, "The United States-Mexico Border: A Selective Guide to the Literature of the Region" [30]

1961 Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "Catastrophe and Crisis in a Flooded Border Community" [31]

Further, Julián Samora, a student of Loomis, directed later the doctoral studies of the Mexican scholar Jorge Bustamante, whose classic account entitled "Through the Eyes of a Wetback: A Personal Experience," would be included in Samora's 1971 volume on *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story.* [32]

To shift the Mexican axis of research on the border from Mexico City to the border itself, in 1982 Jorge Bustamante founded a research and teaching institution in Tijuana, Baja California. First called the Centro de Estudios Fronterizos del Norte de México (CEFNOMEX), in 1986 it became El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF). Bustamante has developed an excellent research group which works closely with scholars on both sides of the border. COLEF is now co-publisher of the yearly *International Guide to Research on Mexico,* originally established by UC MEXUS in 1982.

With regard to conferences dealing with the U.S.-Mexican border, in 1975 Stanley R. Ross called the first major international meeting to make a concerted bilateral scholarly analysis of the region. The results were published as *Views Across the Border: Mexico and the United States,* which remains one of the most important volumes on the region. [33]

Since the early 1980s the PROFMEX-ANUIES symposia have sought to refocus the image of the border in order to bring it into consonance with reality. The results of these symposia have been published in Mexico City by ANUIES:

1. *Estudios Fronterizos*
   (proceedings of the I Symposium, La Paz, Baja California Sur, 1980), edited by Mario Miranda, 1981
2. *Ecology and Development of the Border Region*
   (proceedings of the II Symposium, Austin, Texas, 1982), edited by Stanley R. Ross, 1983
3. *Rules of the Game and Games Without Rules in Border Life*
   (proceedings of the III Symposium, Tijuana, Baja California, 1983), edited by Mario Miranda and James W. Wilkie, 1985
4. *One Border, Two Nations: Policy Implications and Problem Resolutions*
   (proceedings of the IV Symposium, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1986), edited by Oscar J. Martínez, Albert E. Utton, and Mario Miranda, 1988

This series continues with our analysis of reciprocal images here in this V Symposium held in Mexico City.

Research growing out of symposia and conferences such as the above on the U.S.-Mexican border soon began to reveal the extent of change that had been spurred by changes in society in both countries. Let us recall that the United States had undergone social upheaval in the late 1960s and early 1970s when so many of its youth rejected the War in Vietnam as an "illegal and immoral" act. Indeed the United States had faced near civil war as students fought police from Berkeley to Chicago and New York City. This massive questioning of U.S. politics was accompanied by a questioning of all U.S. social values by many groups. Because such questioning was accompanied in the United States beginning in the 1960s by sexual "liberation" and drug culture, soon U.S. citizens could find more licentious activity in their own country than in Mexican border towns.

Mexico also changed during the 1960s. Even as the border economy based on prostitution, pornography, and drugs began to decline, the Mexican maquila industry began to rise. Too, at the same time as U.S. divorce laws began to weaken during the late 1960s, the Mexican government had become increasingly concerned about the country's image as a divorce mill catering to the United States; thus in 1971 Mexico City outlawed the "quickie border-divorce."

By 1970, illicit and suspect activities enticed few U.S. Americans to Mexico, except in the area of alternative and experimental medicine still outlawed in the United States. For a time rational alternatives (for example, the use of laetrile to ease the pain of cancer) predominated. Soon, however, Mexican physicians delved into "irrational" medicine, such as "fighting" cancer with staggered enemas of coffee, celery juice, and seaweed.

With legalization of alternative cancer therapies in the United States by the 1980s, the Mexican border "health industry" at Tijuana turned from treating cancer to offering semi-religious programs designed to "rejuvenate and

reactivate" the immune systems of sick persons, who often continued to receive staggered enema therapy. Health experts in the United States even began to take the border health industry seriously by studying its "alternative system of medicine" and its sometimes zany cures so opposed by U.S. medical authorities.

Meanwhile, for Mexicans the border came to mean modern industrial activity and trade with the United States. By the 1970s, analysis of life on the border and cross-border interactions began to enter into the mainstream of scholarship.

A number of significant border studies have been published, led by Oscar J. Martínes': three major works: *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez Since 1848* (1978), *Fragments of the Mexican Revolution; Personal Accounts from the Border* (1983), and *Troublesome Border* (1988). [34] Martínez's works were preceded by John Price's *Tijuana: Urbanization in a Border Culture* (1973) and Niles Hansen's *The Border Economy: Regional Development in the Southwest* (1981). [35]

Subsequently, scholars at UCLA examined the border from various angles: Peter L. Reich edited the first *Statistical Abstract of the United States-Mexican Borderlands* (1984) and Thurber Proffitt III wrote his prize-winning dissertation "Tijuana: History of a Mexican Municipio" (1988). [36] A much expanded follow-up to Reich's *Statistical Abstract* is *United States-Mexico Border Statistics Since 1900* (1990), edited by David E. Lorey and published by UCLA Latin American Center Publications. At present, Norris C. Hundley is readying for publication the *Historical Atlas of the United States-Mexico Borderlands*, edited under a grant from the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities.

Other important aspects of the border are examined in César Sepúlveda and Albert E. Utton, eds., *The U.S.-Mexico Border Region: Anticipating Resource Needs and Issues to the Year 2000* (1984); Jesús Tamayo and José Luis Fernández, *Zonas Fronterizas México-Estados Unidos* (1983); Ellwyn R. Stoddard, *Maquila: Assembly Plants in Northern Mexico* (1987); and Arturo García Espinosa, ed., *Maquiladoras: Primera Reunión Nacional Sobre Asuntos Fronterizos* (1988). [37]

THREE
RECENT HISTORY OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD MEXICO: SIMPLE AND COMPLEX IMAGES

Let us turn to a review of the development of U.S. Policy toward Mexico and the context in which images have become simple and complex. Images have become more important to the world of propaganda as developed by persons who wish to influence the way in which U.S.-Mexican problems are defined.

Interpretation is complicated by the fact that foreign relations are formulated and conducted in complex ways between countries and between actors within each country's policy-making apparatus. With regard to the latter, policy is often made in "distrust" of factors which theoretically should be taken into account. For example, Washington (read President and his Secretary of State) has always

tended to view border interests as forming part of its larger foreign policy (just as has Mexico City treated its border in the same way). Thus both capitals too ofter have not seen it necessary to consult border officials and residents about laws and decrees that may deeply affect them.

To further complicate matters, Washington has often disregarded its embassy in Mexico City (just as foreign ministries everywhere often disregard their embassies) for the reason that ambassadors and resident staff, not knowing the "global picture," are thought to become "overly sympathetic" to their host country's unique positions. Thus in Washington's view, the recommendations of its officials in Mexico City often must be subordinated to larger U.S. concerns.

EARLY CONTRADICTIONS IN U.S. POLICY

Trouble between Washington and its embassy in Mexico City began early in this century when Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson (no relation to Woodrow Wilson) assisted in the overthrow in February 1913 of President Francisco I. Madero, whose anti-electionist campaign touched off the Mexican Revolution of 1910. President William Howard Taft refused to believe his ambassador's reports that the overthrow and murder of Madero was justified and left the matter to his successor, President Woodrow Wilson, who took office in March and removed Ambassador Wilson in July, 1913.

In a later example of trouble between Washington and its embassy in Mexico, Ambassador James R. Sheffield (1924-1927) personally took it upon himself to reprimand the Mexican government for its support of Sandino in Nicaragua and its rhetoric about the rights of Mexican workers to strike and peasants to receive land. Acting upon his racist beliefs, he brought Mexico and the United States to the brink of war. Sheffield in 1925 saw himself as a man beseiged by Mexicans of inferior blood:

> There is little white blood in the [Mexican] cabinet . . . Calles is Armenian and Indian; León almost wholly Indian and an amateur bullfighter; Sáenz, the Foreign Minister is Jew and Indian; Morones more white blood but not the better for it; Amaro, Secretary of War, a pure-blooded Indian and very cruel. [38]

Once President Calvin Coolidge realized his mistake in sending Sheffield to Mexico and replaced him with Ambassador Dwight Morrow (1927-1930), relations warmed considerably with Morrow, who is seen to this day as a friend of Mexico by Mexicans. The image of Morrow and President Plutarco Elías Calles sharing "ham and eggs" breakfasts became famous in the U.S. press, which ignored the fact that Calles ate popcorn balls lightly powdered with chocolate.

But one can ask if Morrow can be thought to have been good for either

Mexico or the United States. For Mexico's leftists who sought land reform and nationalization of foreign-owned industry, Morrow may have been "bad" for the Mexican Revolution because in the short term his quiet voice and kind words were influential in helping to stop such "radical" processes. In the long term, however, Morrow could be considered to have been "good" for the Revolution because, having put a lid on steam escaping from the "revolutionary pot," explosion would come under President Lázaro Cárdenas. Thus Cárdenas could allow more worker strikes, grant more land to peasants, and nationalize more industries (including oil) than all presidents in Mexico's previous history. For Washington (for Mexico's rightists), Cárdenas's programs could hardly be what was desired for Mexico.

During that Cárdenas upheaval during the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt personally sent Josephus Daniels as U.S. ambassador to Mexico City, 1933-1941. That special role enabled Daniels to report to the White House rather than to the Department of State, which (along with the Departments of Treasury and Commerce) often opposed his backing of the Cárdenas programs.

Based upon the good will established by Daniels and the desire of Mexico to cooperate against the Axis threat to the Western world during the period from 1941 to 1945, struggle between Washington and its embassy in Mexico City was minimized as U.S.-Mexican relations entered into an "Era of Good Feeling." This era lasted for the next thirty years. [39]

Era of Good Feeling, 1940-1970

The Era of U.S.-Mexican Good Feelings was made possible in large measure also because the Mexican government turned from a dynamic phase in its "Permanent Revolution" to a phase emphasizing economic rather than social change. Cárdenas had argued that to justify the continued rule of one political party (established in 1929), the ongoing implementation under state aegis of "revolutionary goals" outlined in the Constitution of 1917 required a high level of state activity for his period in the presidency beginning in 1934. By 1940 Cárdenas had succeeded to such an extent that he realized the dynamic pace he had set would have to change or else the official party of the revolution would fall.

U.S. presidents, engaged in a Cold War against the Soviet Union and Communist China, were pleased to see that between 1940 and 1970 Mexican presidents were content mainly to digest, carry out, and modify the Cárdenas programs. With regard to modifications, President Miguel Alemán (1946-1952) favored "trickle-down" development rather than the immediate social benefits emphasized by Cárdenas. Alemán favored state support of the private sector, in contrast to Cárdenas proclivity to establish state operated enterprises and to fund worker-run industries. Although the Mexican state did not give up any of

its power after 1940, the way in which it used it did not pose major new threats to U.S. interests, [40] and U.S. presidents were grateful.

Indeed it seemed to observers that Mexico and the United States had finally revolved their problems. Thus Professor Howard F. Cline painted the following image in 1950:

> An exchange of ceremonial visits [in 1947 by Truman in March and Alemán in April], each unprecedented, gave conclusive evidence that officially at least the boundary-sharing nations . . . were closer in mind that at almost any time in earlier history . . . The high point of the trip, for both nations, was President Alemán's address to a special joint session of the United States Congress. Alemán's address was a polite, firm, and successful reaffirmation of Mexican and Latin American views of the Good Neighbor policy. That their president had personally and successfully enunciated to the United States Congress so clearly, forcibly, yet unprovocatively the basic feeling of most Mexicans gave Alemán hold over his people that eased all his subsequent domestic problems. On his return from Washington the greatest demonstration ever given a Mexican president greeted him . . .
>
> [One prominent Mexican critic], who had not long before published a controversial essay on the "failures of the Revolution," publicly retracted most of his statements in face of the "miracle" represented by Alemán's address to the American Congress. Of greater import was a group visitation that the living ex-presidents of Mexico made to Alemán on May 14, 1947, to give their collective backing to the new administration. [41]

Further, in 1960 Cline saw these 1947 ceremonial successes (including the earlier meeting of Presidents Roosevelt and Manuel Avila Camacho to discuss mutual cooperation for the Second World War) as establishing an institutionalized ritual. Incoming presidents are invited to visit each other, partly as a symbolic affirmation of continuing cordiality and willingness to let bygones be bygones, partly to clear up any potential difficulties before they become serious. In Cline's words:

> From these visits have often come unexpected small gestures that reveal the sincere attempts by leaders of each country to remove barriers to understanding and bury the past: President Truman's spontaneous placing of a wreath on the monument to the Boy Heroes (Cadets in the War of 1848 who wrapped themselves in Mexican flags and leaped to their deaths rather than surrender Mexico City) evoked an almost hysterical wave of favorable public emotion in Mexico; mutual return of captured battle flags, and the Mexican government's generous offer

> of fellowships to North American students have all come as by-products of the presidential conferences... Mexico and the United States are [by 1960] long-standing friends.
> Divergencies between the policies of each... do not affect this basic circumstance. [42]

During the Era of Good Feeling it seemed that nearly all outstanding U.S.-Mexican diplomatic problems were solved, beginning with the General Agreement of November 19, 1941. Land claims dating back to the nineteenth century were cleared with Mexico's promise to pay 34 million dollars in addition to the 6 million already paid. A reciprocal trade treaty was authorized, which was implemented as a war measure in 1942. The United States agreed to stabilize its purchase of silver, buy directly from the Mexican government and pay world prices; it agreed to help stabilize the value of the peso; and it pledged to make available long-term, low-interest U.S. Export-Import Bank loans.

A significant part of the General Agreement provided a mechanism for both countries to resolve the claims of U.S. oil companies. The claims were settled in 1942 when two special commissioners (one from Mexico and one from the United States) reduced by over 95% the value of U.S. expropriated properties, from the 450 million dollars claimed by the companies to 24 million, which Mexico agreed to pay. [43]

Sinclair Oil had already settled in 1940 by reducing its claim from 32 to 13.5 million dollars, [44] 3.2 million more than experts of the U.S. Department of the Interior estimated as being fair; [45] Mexico's agreement to pay this extra 3.2 million in absolute terms had been well calculated to bring pressure on the other oil companies to settle and for less a percentage demand than the 42% won by Sinclair. The Mexican government had learned to become an agile player in the chess-game of international relations.

Results of the Era of Good Feeling

Capitalizing on the Era of Good Feeling, the Mexican government was able to protect and advance its national interests through successful negotiations with its much more powerful northern neighbor. Operating in the hostile and often violent atmosphere of the mid-twentieth century world, policymakers in Washington had found a friendly neighbor and a secure southern border.

Amid the signing of many arrangements between the two countries (including cooperative programs in hydroelectric and irrigation projects as well as scientific cooperation in public health, malaria control, sanitation, narcotics controls, and migrant labor), Mexico was able to win a number of conditions that tested the ability of the United States to be a "good neighbor." Major agreements focusing on cross-border issues included: [46]

1. Bracero Labor Agreements of 1942-1951, whereby the United States agreed to serve as the primary contractor for farm labor until 1947 after which the Mexican government took over supervision of contracts. [47]
2. Treaty of 1944 On Utilization of Waters of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers and of the Río Grande, which provided for dividing the waters and jointly constructing, operating, and maintaining dams and channels. [48]
3. Cloven-Footed Animal Foot-and Mouth Disease Agrement of 1947, in which the United States provided assistance to eliminate the disease in Mexico so that the U.S. border could be reopened (in 1954) to import of Mexican animals.
4. Bilateral Cultural Convention of 1948, which provided for extensive educational and cultural exchanges.
5. Migrant Labor Agreements of 1951-1964, in which the United States acceded to contract for bracero labor and guarantee fulfillment of contract terms by employers.
6. Chamizal Convention of 1963, which resolved the boundary dispute caused by the nineteenth-century shift of the Río Grande. (In 1967 a net amount of 437 acres was legally transferred from the north to the south side of the border.) [49]
7. Water Salinity Agreements of 1965, which provided for jointly funding resolve the high salt content of the Colorado River (affecting the Mexicali Valley of Baja California) and the Río Grande (affecting mainly U.S. land in Texas's Lower Río Grande Valley). The former case was not finally settled until 1973 when the International and Boundary Commission Minute 242 ("Permanent and Definitive Solution to the International Problem of the Salinity of the Colorado River") was adopted under which the United States guaranteed that U.S. water flowing into Mexico would be suitable for irrigation.
8. Screwworm Fly Eradication Agreement of 1966 (delayed in implementation until 1972), in which the United States offered to share in costs to establish a fly barrier in southern Mexico. [50]
   (Mexico wanted to pay only 20% of costs while Washington claimed that each country should pay half; in 1972 a new agreement was signed setting the U.S. share at 80% of costs plus the providing of ships, planes, and travel and per diem of the U.S. personnel involved).
9. Coastal Fisheries Agreement of 1967, in which the United States accepted Mexico's claim to exclusive control over fishing rights in a 9-mile coastal zone (12 miles after 1973).

After thirty years of U.S.-Mexican stability in policy relations, the government of Mexico had proved its ability to negotiate concessions which tended to favor its positions.

Perhaps these successes helped to encourage a new generation to take power of Mexico's official party in 1970, but in any case the new leaders took office with a call for undertaking another phase of dynamic statist activity. This dynamic activity was to be reflected in Mexico's expansion of foreign policy into the world arena, much to the discomfiture of the United States.

YEARS OF TENSION IN U.S.-MEXICAN RELATIONS, 1970-1988

The seeds of a new Mexican foreign policy had taken firm root during the 1960s. Mexico City had objected to Washington's interventions in the Dominican Republic (1965) and Vietnam (especially with escalation after 1965). Further, Mexico City had never agreed with Washington's policy that the countries of Latin America should break relations with Cuba; and Mexico had successfully offered an air/sea bridge to that Caribbean island during its time of adapting to life under economic embargo by the United States. Then, as President Luis Echeverría was preparing to be inaugurated for the period 1970-1976, the U.S. interfered in Chile (if unsuccessfully) to try to turn voters against the leftist presidential candidate Salvador Allende. Many influential Mexicans were appalled at such U.S. actions.

If in foreign policy the times seemed to require fresh outlooks, the times also demanded changes in Mexico's domestic policy. Newly inaugurated President Echeverría, faced unprecedented mass resentment over the way he, as minister of the interior, had brutally quashed student protesters in 1968. To live down his tarnished reputation, Echeverría sought to mold himself in the Cárdenas image by undertaking renewed social programs and expanded state involvement in the economy.

Under pressure to redeem his reputation, Echeverría recognized that between 1940 and 1970 Mexico had become in major ways a very different country. The real size of the Mexican economy had more than trebled while its population had more than doubled. During the same period, the enrollment of students in Mexico's two major universities had grown nearly seventeen times.

Discovery of these realities led Echeverría to appoint to important government posts some of the very students he had crushed in 1968. And with his approval, they began a legal revolution to bring myriad aspects of national life under government control. Laws filled the press concerning such diverse topics as auto usage (autos being subjected to "luxury taxes"), population control (including birth control and population settlements), reorganization of government, foreign investment, and international transfer of patents and technology

(even including a ridiculous requirement that English trademarks be translated into Spanish). [51]

The reaction of the Mexican and U.S. private sectors in Mexico was predictable. Mexicans began withdrawing money from the economy to invest abroad, and many U.S. and Mexican investors were concerned by the fact that Echeverría's programs could not win over the left, which tended to back the guerrilla activity that had emerged to try to topple the political system. [52]

Frustrated in Mexican politics and stung by increasingly vocal criticism from important sectors in the United States (including some newspapers and congressmen), [53] Echeverría realized that in only one area could he easily use his influence to immediately advance his goals: foreign relations. By taking as his own major aspects of the Club of Rome platform (except for "no-growth" theory), [54] Echeverría found an effective way to show leadership in the Third World.

To strengthen his claim on Third World leadership as well as to support a "just" cause, Echeverría accused the United States of engineering the fall of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973, admitted as exiles hundreds of Allende's supporters who had to flee Chile in fear of their life, and broke relations with the new government of Augusto Pinochet. This last act violated the venerable Estrada Doctrine, Mexico's contribution to international legal concepts. The doctrine had been named after Foreign Minister Genaro Estrada who stated in 1930 that Mexico would not follow the interventionist U.S. practice of non-recognition of countries with which it does not agree but instead would simply recall its envoy, without pronouncing on the legitimacy of other governments. [55]

Echeverría was bitterly disappointed by the United States 1974 vote in the United Nations General Assembly against his Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of Nations, which called for billions of dollars to be turned over to the developing countries by the developed countries. In this matter Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (who supported Mexico) lost out to Secretary of the Treasury William Simon, and the United States did not even compromise with Mexico by abstaining in the vote. [56]

Regarding Mexico's official relations with the United States, Echeverría apparently wanted to sign a new bracero or guest-worker treaty with Washington, and may have arranged to do so during his 1974 meeting with President Ford. But nine days before that meeting word was leaked through the *Washington Post* of October 12 about Mexico's rich oil discovery in its southeastern Gulf coast region. Echeverría did not seek to resolve the bracero issue because he did not want to engage in negotiations that might inevitably lead to a figurative exchange of oil (which in Echeverría's view should be retained for Mexico's own development and should not be exported solely to the United States) in exchange for a farm labor agreement (that would fairly protect Mexican citizens while working in the United States). In any case, Echeverría did not want to help the

United States break the OPEC oil cartel, as those who leaked the information in Mexico may have hoped. [57]

When President José López Portillo took office for the period from 1976 to 1982, he focused on the foreign-policy arena where the country could flex the power of its new oil wealth and soon found himself at odds with Washington. Given his activist ideas about Mexico's foreign role and statist ideas about Mexico's development, López Portillo may have been destined to run afoul of Washington, but trouble arose immediately because of the embarrassment suffered in 1977 at the hands of the Carter administration over the sale of Mexico's national gas to the United States.

López Portillo had entered office as the "savior" of the official party from the political disaster wrought by Echeverría (who had marked the end to twenty-two years of economic growth and exchange-rate stability by devaluing the currency before leaving office). To restabilize the economy as well as obtain new development funds, López Portillo negotiated an 800 mile, 45 inch natural gas pipeline to the U.S. border, in the face of near violent opposition from Mexico's radical left. The proposed energy agreement involved the sale of two billion cubic feet of gas to the United States at a price of $ 2.60 per 1,000 cubic feet, which would have yielded to Mexico an estimated 1 billion in the first year of operation and up to 5.2 billion when the pipeline reached capacity, thus providing significant amounts to help cover continuing balance of payments deficits with the United States. However, U.S. Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger rejected as inflationary the $ 2.60 price because it was 44 cents more than the Canadian price. He also noted that the price was to be pegged to the value of a fuel oil (No. 2) subject to price manipulation by OPEC. [58]

When two top Mexican officials (Foreign Secretary Santiago Roel and State Oil Company Director Jorge Díaz Serrano) appeared in Washington in late 1977 to discuss the price with Schlesinger, each side apparently thought the other to be pompous and arrogant. The meeting turned out to be a disaster for U.S.-Mexican relations, as is revealed in the following account by a senior Mexican official in the Foreign Secretariat: [59]

> [Roel and Díaz Serrano] went to Washington prepared to explain President Echeverría's predicament, that he had made a promise [to Mexico to sell the gas for $ 2.60] and had to deliver.
>
> There was a great sense of urgency. It was only a few days before the expiration of the letter of intent [signed between Mexico and the U.S. oil companies], [60] but the Mexicans met absolute haughtiness and arrogance.
>
> Here were two foreign ministers of state with an appointment in a country where punctuality is highly valued. Yet they had to wait. How long? Ten minutes? Fifteen?

> No. More. Much more. They didn't time it, but it was more than enough to make them hungry.
>
> Was Schlesinger busy? They don't know. When they went in, he had his feet up on his desk and was puffing his pipe.
>
> What shocked the two Mexican officials was his total lack of comprehension of Mexico's position and the predicament of the president of Mexico. There was no understanding that in making this offer López Portillo had boxed himself in politically in Mexico.
>
> When Schlesinger coldly rejected this offer he left the Mexicans no dignified way out . . .
>
> The Mexicans [then] talked prices, terms, length of contract, you know, something that would have allowed the Mexicans to say, 'We got $ 2.60,' but would allow the North American to say, 'Yes, but we got a guaranteed supply for X years.'
>
> Schlesinger said no to it all.

Subsequently natural gas negotiations were shelved for sixteen months and when they finally came to fruition in 1979 Mexico agreed to make only 300 million cubic feet available to the United States, at a cost of $ 3.625 per 1,000 cubic feet, 30 percent lower than the price announced in 1979 after accounting for inflation. [61]

Having failed in the 1977 natural gas negotiations with the Carter administration, López Portillo bitterly turned away from the United States and sought to diversify Mexico's trade, as had Echeverría after President Nixon's 1971 imposition of a 10% surcharge on dutiable U.S. imports. Further, López Portillo moved to assume full leadership in the emerging North-South dialogues which pitted the poor countries of the southern hemisphere against the rich countries of the north.

For the Carter administration's part, some officials took the occasion of Carter's March 1978 trip to Venezuela and Brazil to circulate a plan that would make those two countries (rather than Mexico) the linchpin in U.S. hemispheric politics. Such a scheme came to naught, however, because it ignored some crucial realities: Venezuela not only founded of OPEC and thus was already compromised but also the Venezuelan government has been highly critical of the U.S. amendments to the Panama Canal treaties; the Brazilian economy was weakened seriously in 1973-1974 and again in 1979-1980 by its needs to import expensive oil dominated by OPEC prices; and Brazilian relations with the United States were strained over U.S. criticism of human-rights violations. [62]

By 1979 the Carter administration had decided that Mexico's importance to the United States in terms of immigration, petroleum, and trade would make Mexico the linchpin in U.S. hemispheric affairs. Unfortunately this conclusion was reached in a confidential Presidential Review Memorandum (PRM 41), leakage to the press in November 1978 [63] revealed that an interagency group

implicitly recommended the granting to Mexico of the status of a special relationship. Once the document became public, however, President Carter was forced to distance himself from what seemed to be "secret planning" with regard to Mexico.

In reassessing U.S.-Mexican relations during late 1978, Carter officials focused Washington's full attention on the border. They argued that the ten-year period from 1978 to 1988 would see serious problems of transboundary air and water pollution as well as crime leading to much tighter U.S. border controls, unless the Mexican government could slow the growth of border cities.

The problem of fishing rights off Mexico's coasts fully faced the United States in its relations with Mexico during the late 1970s. In 1976 legislation, López Portillo established Mexico's claim as of 1977 to a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone and control of fishing within it. [64] He set out to use oil revenues to build one of the largest and most modern fishing fleets in the Western Hemisphere, thus assuring Mexico's position as the world's leading tuna exporter. These actions led to Mexico's seizure of U.S. tuna boats fishing in the Exclusive Economic Zone, development of the tuna canning industry in Ensenada, and a campaign by the Mexican Fisheries Department to encourage the migration of San Diego's tuna fishing fleet south of the border. The United States responded in 1980 with a embargo on import of Mexican tuna that lasted August 1986. [65]

In the Gulf of Mexico, the Mexican government's inability to control the 1976 Ixtoc I oil spill strained U.S.-Mexican relations. [66] The new U.S. special coordinator of Mexican affairs, Robert Krueger, demanded that Mexico assume financial responsibility for damage to the Texas and Louisiana coasts, thereby causing López Portillo to remind the United States that it had never been compensated for salinity damages from river water flowing into Mexico at the border. This incident crippled Krueger's diplomatic role from the outset, effectively ending the idea that the United States should have a special office to coordinate Mexican relations.

In 1980 Robert H. McBride, who had served as U.S. Ambassador to Mexico from 1969 to 1974, decided to examine problems generating friction in U.S.-Mexican relations. [67] Although he took up such themes as Mexican irritation at the 1976 U.S. Tax Reform Act (which limited tax exemption privileges for conventions held abroad by U.S. groups), U.S. grievances over Mexico's 1980 decision not to join GATT–the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (a joining that did not take place until 1986), and U.S. anger over Mexico's 1980 refusal to permit the exiled Shah of Iran to return to his home in Cuernavaca after he had received medical treatment in New York, McBride saw the most serious problems between the two countries as being diplomatic in nature.

For McBride, the main problem between the two countries is Mexico's historical image of the U.S. diplomat as a complicating factor. For McBride this is a long term problem and not easily solved. U.S. ambassadors, then, face a "no-win" situation with the Mexican press, which criticizes the role of each in

a framework that links every new U.S. representative to the role of only a few overbearing predecessors.

According to McBride the second problem complicating U.S.-Mexican relations often involves personalities, and he cites the case of the apparent incompatibility from 1977 through 1980 of Presidents Carter and López Portillo:

> Those who saw the two together are convinced [that there was] a lack of understanding that became near phobia. This is unfortunate . . . [because presidential meetings normally have been] a positive element in the bilateral relation . . . The thesis that the immigration issue, for instance, cannot be settled by negotiators seems correct. Nor can trade problems be amicably terminated to everyone's satisfaction. Nevertheless it does seem necessary to flag the incompatibility on a personal level of the two Presidents as an unnecessary added handicap. [68]

In light of John Gavin's controversial ambassadorship to Mexico (1981-1986), however, perhaps Mexico's press is justified at least in its initial suspicions. Clearly each new U.S. ambassador must overcome an unfortunate past that seems to have extended into quite recent times. Also, McBride's insights need to be supplemented by the development of an understanding of the complicated internal workings of U.S. policy.

Reagan's Washington and His Ambassador to Mexico Versus the U.S. Embassay in Mexico City

With rising tensions between Washington and Mexico City over such matters as Mexico's opposition to President Reagan's intervention in Central America from 1981 through 1988, it was perhaps inevitable that friction develop, on the one hand, between Washington and the U.S. Embassy in Mexico, and, on the other hand, between the U.S. Embassy and the ambassador in charge of it. Embassy officials were too often not telling Reagan and Ambassador Gavin what they wanted to hear, namely the simplistic ideas that:

1. "Passage of U.S. legislation intended to bar work in the United States by illegal aliens would not harm Mexico, nor would implementation of the 1983 CBI–Caribbean Basin Initiative (which allows one-way, duty-free import of certain goods into the United States from the whole Caribbean and Centralamerican regions)." [69]
2. "Mexico has never understoo d the true nature of the Communist menace to the free world."
3. "Central America falls in Washington's sphere of influence."

4. "Mexico could be pressured into supporting U.S. intervention in Central America."
5. "Mexico could be an unstable domino ready to fall to the Communist onslaught should the vulnerable countries of El Salvador and Guatemala fall to the Havana-Managua axis."

In arguing that these Washington clichés were inaccurate, the U.S. Embassy in Mexico city became suspect in its loyalty and efficiency. To counter this distrust, embassy political officer Perry Shankle went to Washington to argue against the idea espoused by the CIA that Mexico was an unstable political domino. His mission carried risk to his career, but his arguments were successful and he was eventually promoted to become the Mexico Desk Officer in Washington, a vantage point from which he could argue as a voice of reason within the unreason of the Reaganites who sought to politicize so many foreign-policy decisions.

For U.S. embassy officials, then, life became more complicated than it had been during the Era of Good Feeling. Let us take two examples to contrast the spirit of issues facing the embassy staff in the 1960s compared to the 1980s. In the early 1960s, one U.S. political officer at the embassy told me how easy it was for him to get along with Washington:

> Without many troublesome U.S.-Mexican issues to worry about, all I have to do is, first, read the books Washington sends (such as Robert J. Alexander's *Communism in Latin America*, 1957) and use the ideas therein when writing cables back to Washington–that way Washington officials thinks that I am on their wave-length.
>
> My second 'important' activity is to read and clip the Mexico City daily press and then stamp the clippings 'secret.' So Washington wants us to identify communist activities, so we will overwhelm Washington with useless detail, all marked 'secret.'

In the 1980s, however, life for U.S. Embassy officials involved foiling the simplistic ideological bent of Washington seen in such a document as President Reagan's National Security Decision Directive 124. About that Directive, an investigative journalist wrote in 1984:

> President Reagan already has signed National Security Decision Directive 124 ordering the State Department to draw up a master plan to pressure Mexico into shifting its political position in the [Central American] region . . .
>
> The directive instructs the CIA to arrange for Central American leaders supportive of the United States to call on Mexican officials. It also requests our ambassador to Mexico, John Gavin, to assemble

> a list of those aides to [President Miguel] de la Madrid who could be influenced.
>
> National Security Council members also advocate using economic leverage to force cooperation from Mexico, though State Department officials say such moves would not be in our self interest, according to a source at the department . . .
>
> [The Reagan administration]–even during de la Madrid's [1984 visit to Washington]–has made no secret that it is unhappy with Mexico's refusal to support U.S. policies, warning that "responsible governments of this hemisphere cannot afford to close their eyes to what is happening."
>
> In reply, de la Madrid said he rejects "interventionist solutions" and argued the right of "people to decide their own destiny." [70]

Meanwhile, U.S. Embassy officials in Mexico City focused their efforts on the day-to-day needs of real life and the increasingly intricate nature of relations with Mexico. To keep serious relations on an even keel, for example, the U.S. Embassy strengthened its U.S.-Mexican Border Affairs Office and signed a Bilateral Cultural Convention updated to specifically include for the first time the border as a focus for cultural activity. [71]

In contrast to the late 1930s when there was division between the U.S. Department of State and its embassy in Mexico City and when the President sided with the latter, in the early 1980s the President feuded to make his own policy which was at odds with the embassy and to a lesser extent with the State Department. Such changing duality also is reflective of much of Washington's "world view."

Washington's World View

The contradictions of Washington's world view are seen in two statements by Henry Kissinger. In 1973, as President Nixon's newly appointed Secretary of State, Kissinger flew to Mexico City to attend a wedding anniversary party for Mexican Foreign Secretary Emilio O. Rabasa. According to Rabasa, when Kissinger asked him for advice on Latin America, as Foreign Secretary he answered: "We want you to love and understand us." Kissinger's response was: "The former you have, the latter we shall work hard to develop." [72]

But in 1969, as Nixon's National Security Council Director, Kissinger made a now famous statement to Chilean Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdés which helps to reveal a major strand of thinking that has governed so much U.S. policy since the late 1940s. According to Valdés, Kissenger said to him:

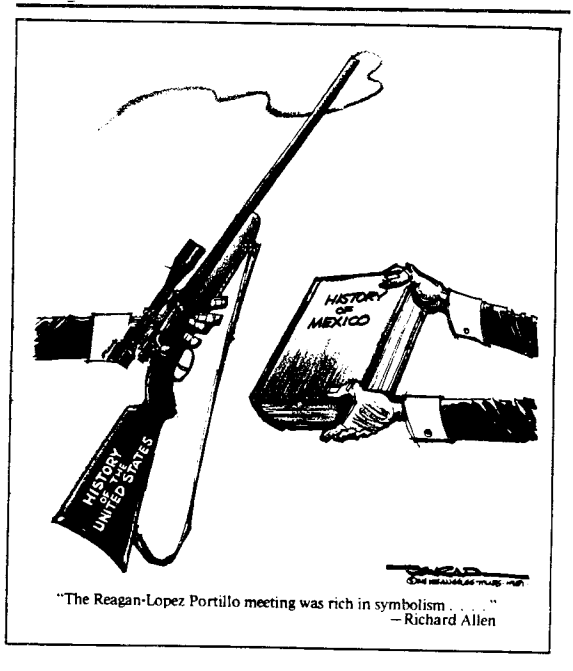
> Mr. Minister . . . you come here speaking of Latin America, but this is

> not important. Nothing important can come from the South. History has never been produced in the South. The axis of history starts in Moscow, goes to Bonn, crosses over to Washington, and then goes to Tokyo. What happens in the South is of no importance! [73]

Fourteen years later Kissinger was appointed in 1983 as the Chair of President Reagan's Commission on Central America partly to counter Mexico's emerging leadership in the region as well as to subtly undercut the mediating role there of the Contadora Group (Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela).

Apparently what so much of Washington does not fully comprehend is that Mexico, now the world's eleventh largest country in terms of population, one of the five largest producers of petroleum, and one of the three most important U.S. trading partners, is no longer a small, unimportant country that is incapable of playing a primary role in hemispheric and world affairs.

This is not to say that Mexico need become a hostile neighbor, rather if it is treated with deference that is its due and not insulted., as with U.S. National Security Decision Directive 124, it will remain a friend seeking to solve mutual problems. If it was unrealistic to think that the United States and Mexico could always live in an Era of Good Feeling, it is not necessary that the two countries live under continued serious tension.



Los Angeles Times, January 7, 1981

As the perceptive Mexican foreign secretary Antonio Carrillo Flores noted even before the end of the Era of Good Feeling:

> There will always be problems between Mexico and the United States–they arise from living together. [74]

President Reagan could not understand how Mexico could disagree with his policies of trying to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and sending arms to El Salvador. Reagan was furious that so many Mexicans saw his "anti-communist heroes" in Central America as murderous military thugs and leaders of right-wing death squads. Reagan and his advisors failed to remember Mexico's consistent stand against U.S. intervention dating back to the United States invasions of Mexico in 1846, 1914, and 1916.

That Reagan would always misunderstand the Mexican position on foreign policy is caught in the accompanying political cartoon by Paul Conrad, [75] which depicts irony in the exchange of gifts at the 1979 meeting of the U.S. and Mexican presidents. presidential advisor Richard Allen seemed unaware of that irony.

FOUR
REALITIES VERSUS IMAGES

Despite many highly visible misunderstandings and tensions in U.S.-Mexican relations, and in spite of divisions between U.S. officials in Washington and U.S. representatives in Mexico City, at least twelve major openings have been achieved to enhance relations since the mid-1980s. [76]

First, developments in the dimension and structure of trade have gone far to advance relations between the two countries. Relations had soured in 1980 when Mexico decided not to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), membership in which had been encouraged by the U.S. government to preclude complaints by U.S. industry about Mexico's unfair competition. The U.S. government was especially annoyed by Mexico's decision not to join GATT because the United States had in 1974 unilaterally eliminated tariffs on some imports from Latin America by establishing a Generalized System of Tariff Preferences (GSP). Despite Mexican export subsidies to industry and prohibition on U.S. imports, the United States put GSP into place for Mexico in order help Mexico's economic development, and from 1976 to 1985 Mexico saved 300.2 million dollars under the GSP program. [77]

Trade tension was eased in 1985 when the United States and Mexico signed a bilateral trade agreement on subsidies, the first commercial document since cancellation of the Accord on Reciprocal Commerce in 1950. In return for implicit protection against potentially restrictive U.S. tariff legislation, Mexico agreed to negotiate with the United States about complaints by U.S. companies

that Mexican government subsidies constituted unfair trade practices. Further, Mexico agreed to eliminate in stages its subsidies on goods exported to U.S. markets. Thus, Mexico was able to lay the basis for expanding its non-petroleum exports to the United States.

In 1986 Mexico joined GATT and began in 1987 to dismantle its system of import licenses and high tariffs that had effectively barred U.S. imports. In 1987 the two countries signed a U.S.-Mexican Framework Agreement to provide for routine procedures for consultation and improved access to the U.S. market. Hence, Mexico's weighted-average tariffs would fall from 100 percent in 1986 to below 10 percent by 1989. (The weighted-average U.S. tariff is 3.1 percent). [78]

With regard to tension over U.S. prohibition on import of Mexican meat, in 1988 the United States ended its 1984 ban. Mexican meat had been banned until Mexico developed the capacity to test its exports for toxic residues.

Second, concerning tourism, Mexico finally agreed in 1988 to add 74 new civil aviation routes between the two countries. As long as Mexico's two international carriers (Aeroméxico and Mexicana) were government-owned, they had resisted revision of the U.S.-Mexican Accord on Air Transportation not only to limit competition with U.S. carriers but to fight expansion of routes. Their resistance lay in the fact that they lacked the equipment to match U.S. flight capabilities. [79] With privatization of Mexican airlines, however, they could no longer in effect selfishly sacrifice the expansion of Mexico's tourism industry in order to maintain for themselves their so-called "national control of Mexico's skies."

Third, with regard to customs and border-crossings, the United States and Mexico agreed in 1987 and 1988 to standardize forms and computer programs, coordinate procedures and hours, and expand U.S. border-crossing points and personnel. Further, Mexico agreed to permit without reinspection transfer of in-bond materials between U.S. plants in Mexico and gave U.S. Customs authorities permission to inspect U.S. in-bond plants in Mexico as part of the U.S. interdiction of drugs from Mexico. [80]

Fourth, the two countries agreed in 1988 to coordinate the regulation of television and radiotelephone broadcasting within 72 kilometers of the frontier to minimize interference.

Fifth, with regard to border environmental problems, the governments agreed in 1983 and 1986 to cooperate in the monitoring and control of air, land, and water contamination. Because of limited funding made available by Mexico City and Washington, D.C., real gains have yet to be made in preventing, for example, Tijuana sewage spills which continue to plague the San Diego region.

Sixth, realizing the limits of national policymakers to understand and implement change along the border, the four U.S. border governors and the six Mexican border governors organized since the 1980s to meet and exchange views in order to develop regional policies as well as to influence national policies. The U.S. border states have commissioned the detailed research that provides the basis for new policy. For example, the San Diego State University

Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias and the UCLA Program on Mexico prepared for the Governor's California a report on California-Mexico Trade and Commercial, Agricultural, and Environmental Relations: Recent Developments, Problems to Solve, and Options." Following recommendations in this and other reports, California opened in 1989 an office in Mexico City to facilitate its relations with Mexico's national, state, and local governments. Although in 1986 California imported 2 billion dollars from Mexico and exported 1.8billion, [81] it hopes during the 1990s to capitalize on Mexico's liberalized trade and investment laws to increase its economic relations with Mexico.

Further, the governors of the ten border states have invited ANUIES and PROFMEX to brief the border governor's meetings. For example with funds provided by the Ford Foundation in Mexico City, ANUIES and PROFMEX were hosted by Governor Garrey Carruthers at the border governor's briefing in Las Cruces, New Mexico, December 1987, and by Governor Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto at the border governor's briefing in Saltillo, Coahuila, February 1989.

Seventh, in May 1989 the Mexican government modified its foreign investment rules to attract the capital desperately needed to restart the country's economic engine. [82] Although U.S., Japanese, and European investors had long requested change in Mexico's highly restrictive 1973 foreign investment law (which effectively had set a 49 percent limit on foreign ownership of companies established in Mexico), the government delayed its post-1987 plan to revise the law until it had to reinterpret rather than change it. Because the Official Party unexpectedly lost sole control of the Chamber of Deputies in the July 1988 elections to a strong-leftist bloc that swept into office with the capability to limit the government's previous maneuverability, by 1989 the government chose to "jury-rig" the existing foreign investment law's regulations rather than to request that congress change the law.

The new regulations permit foreigners to buy up to 49 percent of ownership in secondary petrochemicals, autoparts (40 percent), fishing, explosives and fire arms, financial leasing, and mining not shielded by the National Reserve Status. Yet to be defined are terms of investment foreign investment in Teléfonos de México (probably permitting a controlling interest in voting shares) and banking (probably)–no single foreign company being allowed to hold then 30 percent of shares in any bank.

In the areas not specified above, foreigners may invest up to 100 percent, including the automobile and capital goods industries, textiles, agriculture and agroindustry. They may also now invest in sectors previously excluded to foreigners, including: iron, steel, cement, glass, and cellulose.

Under the new regulations, foreign investments in permissible activities are approved automatically under the main conditions that the amount invested in fixed assets not exceed a maximum of 100 million dollars and not be invested in Mexico City, Guadalajara, or Monterrey [83] Although the National Foreign

Investment Commission had the authority to permit ownership up to 100 percent in nonprohibited activities, it was locked into bureaucratic inaction that could seldom be overcome and then only arbitrarily.

Mexico's investment regulations also create new trust-fund approaches to attract capital. One eases access to the Mexican stock market through trusts that give access to profits but not administration; one gives temporary 20-year trusts to allow foreigners to own 100 percent ownership in some sectors that had been closed to non-Mexican investors; and yet another sets liberal rules for acquiring 30-year trusts (and renewing them for 30 years) for lands leased in coastal and border areas where investors are constitutionally prohibited from land ownership.

The new regulations prohibit private investment (be it domestic or foreign) only in petroleum and hydrocarbons, primary petrochemicals, mining of uranium, mining of shielded minerals (now sulpher, phosporus, and potassium), nuclear energy, electricity, railroads, and telegraphy. Further, only Mexicans may invest in radio, television, motor transport, national air and maritime transport, logging, distribution of gas, credit organizations, exchange and investment businesses, fishing cooperatives, and storehousing of goods.

Eighth, in 1990 the U.S. Treasury Department facilitated renegotiation of Mexico's public sector debt to some 450 commercial banks around the world. Under the March 1989 Brady Plan (developed by U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady), Mexico finally reached accord after ten months with private banks on 48 billion dollars (rather than the 54 billion proposed for negotiation) 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. [84]

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. [85] 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 gain 1.2 billion in fresh loans, then, it will also have to borrow 3 billion in international-agency and Japanese loans to buy U.S.-backed zero coupon bonds as well acquire the 1.2 billion in new private bank debit.

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 U.S. bonds. [86] (The zero coupon 30-year bonds are to be used as collateral for reduction of principal on the debt).

That the Brady Plan results can 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. [87]

Ninth, the United States and Mexico have begun to overcome the numerous obstacles that have hindered relations to interdict drug trafficking. By 1989 the Bush government admitted that Mexico cannot be blamed for the high consumption of drugs in the United States; and the Salinas government began to arrest and discharge corrupt police officials.

Cooperation between the two countries finally began to overcome the sluggish Mexican prosecution of the persons involved in the 1985 kidnap-murder of U.S. Drug Enforcement agent Enrique Camarena, tortured to death by Guadalajara drug dealers in 1985. An NBC miniseries entitled "Drug Wars: The Camarena Story," broadcast January 7-9, 1990, caused some momentary concern Mexico that was unfairly portrayed, but U.S. Ambassador John D. Negroponte and other officials spoke out to remind viewers in both countries that the Camarena case was an event that no longer reflected reality. Moreover, an important number of Mexicans did not rally to nationalist criticism of the NBC miniseries, [88] perhaps because they wanted to help bring pressure on their government to step up pressure against corruption.

In the meantime, during 1989 the Mexican government escalated its war on drug dealers by cooperating with U.S. authorities to make two major arrests in one week. First came the arrest October 26 in San Diego of Luis Fernando Mejía Paláez. [89] Then came the capture October 31 in Ciudad Juárez of Rafael Muñoz Talavera, alleged head of the Mexican drug smuggling ring hired by Colombian drug cartels to ship three tons of cocaine each week into the United States. According to U.S. officials, Muñoz's 21.4 tons of cocaine was the largest cache ever seized in a single location, and the finding of such a cache means that the extent of U.S. cocaine trade has been vastly underestimated. [90]

Tenth, six U.S. cabinet level officials–the largest such U.S. delegation ever–met with their counterparts in Mexico City to develop agreements to crack down on drug money laundering, build new bridges across the Río Grande, and speed plans to build a joint sewage treatment for the San Diego-Tijuana region. [91]

Eleventh, the legal situation of Mexicans in the United States has made major gains despite some losses. Although many undocumented Mexicans in the United States have seen their possibilities restricted generally by the unilaterally adopted U.S. Immigration and Reform Control Act of 1986 (and specifically in one California place by the Costa Mesa City Council effort to block funds being used to benefit illegal aliens), [92] Mexican citizens have made advances in other spheres. For example, the new chief of the Immigration and Naturalization

Service, Gene McNary, announced in October 1989 that he opposed the building of the proposed ditch along the border, [93] and the Service effectively stopped raiding certain street corners in Los Angeles where undocumented workers gather to solicit day work from employers seeking temporary laborers. Further, the following headlines in the *Los Angeles Times* suggested that the courts will provide new remedies to injustice:

> "Five Latinos Settle Poll Suit for $ 400,000" (This article of December 28, 1989, reported on the settlement of a major lawsuit against Republican Party officials who posted uniformed guards at predominantly Latino polling places in Santa Ana, California);
>
> "Mexican Official Hails Jury Verdict" (This article of January 20, 1990, quoted the Mexican Consul General in Los Angeles, José Angel Pescador, as hailing the $ 1-million award to three men in Victorville as a victory for all Mexican citizens abused by U.S. law enforcement officials.

Twelfth, Mexico has made windfall gains in public relations with the United States. For example, in 1987 its beers clearly won in the *Los Angeles Times Magazine* beer-tasting competition among the 25 best-selling domestic beers and top ten imports–Mexico won five out of the top ten places as follows: [94]

1. Bohemia;
3. Dos Equis;
7. Chihuaha;
8. Hussong's;
9. Tecate.

Beyond the public relation success brought by beer, the U.S. Navy implicitly gave Mexico a prize of sorts when it announced that none of 357 Tijuana prostitutes tested were infected with the AIDS virus. A previous bilateral AIDS test of Tijuana prostitutes had found only two cases out of 415 women tested. [95] The U.S. Navy concluded there was a low-risk factor for U.S. sailors who go from San Diego to Tijuana seeking sex. Because such a conclusion may be fleeting, U.S. and Mexican health authorities have agreed to continue monitoring the situation.

Table I
U. S. and Mexican Public Perceptions of Bilateral Relations,1986
(Percent)

	Evaluation by	
	U. S. Citizens [1]	*Mexicans* [2]
Very Friendly/Close	20	7
Friendly	55	59
Not Friendly/Unfriendly	17	30
Very Unfriendly	1	3
Not Sure	7	[1]
Total	100	100

[1] Harris Survey Press Release 44 (August 1, 1986).

[2] *New York Times,* November 17, 1986.

Source: Adapted from table 1-1 assembled in the 1988 Report of the Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States-Mexican Relations, *The Challenge of Interdependence* (New York: University Press of America, 1989), pp 32 and 176.

With regard to U.S. and Mexican public perceptions of relations between the two countries, table 1 suggests highly positive views. Despite the many negative statements by "influential" U.S. citizens quested at the ontset y this study, 75 percent surveyed in 1986 thought U.S.-Mexican relations to be friendly or very friendly. The score for Mexicans questioned in a similar survey was 66 percent, which may have been even higher had it included Mexicans living in the United States.

By the late 1980s, then, the status of official and unofficial U.S.-Mexican relations was quite good. To citizens in both countries the 1988 full-page advertisement in U.S. newspapers by the so-called Committee for Improved U.S.-Mexican relations was hysterically ridiculous:

> The United States cannot afford a civil war in Mexico by means of a Communist Insurrection. A Soviet-dominated Mexico will force the United States government to mobilize the necessary troops to defend over, 2,000 miles of border and to re-deploy personnel from other threats. [96]

The Committee did not seem to stand for "Improved Relations," but rather the opposite.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although problems have seemed to dominate U.S.-Mexican relations, the context of resolving real issues has begun to cumulatively and quietly overcome stereotypes. This is not to say that many problems will not always remain, but as Ambassador John D. Negroponte stated in his visit to UCLA in January of 1990:

> To address the many serious issues that face U.S.-Mexican relations, officials in both countries recognize that we must not let small irritants deflect us from our task of focusing on major issues. Rather than react to irritants after they arise, we now seek to anticipate problems and begin negotiations from active rather than passive positions.

Some major issues that the two countries face in the future include the possible development of a U.S.-Mexican Free Trade Agreement to match the 1989 inauguration of the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, not to mention the possible formation of a North American Free Trade Area encompassing the United States, Mexico, and Canada. While such plans may not come to fruition in the immediate future, it is now possible to speculate that they might someday become a reality.

These and other issues will generate much controversy but hopefully the dissection of images by scholars and policymakers, who cooperate at meetings such as the ANUIES-PROFMEX Symposia, will contribute to analyses that facilitate effective U.S.-Mexican relations.

FOOTNOTES

[1] J. Edgar Hoover is quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1970.

[2] Seventy-six U.S. congressmen, quoted in full-page ad, *New York Times*, August 16, 1976.

[3] Colby quoted in interview with Robert Scheer, *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1978.

[4] Carter is quoted in *New York Times*, February 16, 1979. Carter was responding indelicately to López Portillo's toast of questionable etiquette in which the Mexican leader had said: "Among permanent, not casual, neighbors, surprise moves and sudden deceit or abuse are poisonous fruits that sooner or later have a reverse effect."

[5] Twenty-One U.S. congressmen quoted in full-page ad sponsored by the Committee for Freedom and Justice, *New York Times*, October 1, 1982.

[6] Brzenzinski is paraphrased in the introduction to an interview with Cipriano Rangel by Rose Arrieta, *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, May 12, 1983.

[7] Gorman is quoted and paraphrased by Richard Sayre, "Mexico: No Death Squads, No Sandinistas," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, April 20, 1984.

[8] Paraphrase based upon article by Don Shannon, "U.S. Aide Links Mexico Governor to Drug

Crops: Customs Chief Calls Nation's Graft so Pervasive That He Presumes Any Official to be Dishonest," *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1986.

[9] Acosta quoted by Donn Walker, "Latinos Call Use of Term 'Mex' by Santa Ana Police Degrading," *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 1988.

[10] Full-page and in *Wall Street Journal*, October 7, 1988.

[11] Jim Mann, "A Ditch by Any Other Name? Oh Yes, Please!" *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1989.

[12] Ovid Demaris, *Pozo del Mundo [Hole of the World]* (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. 12.

[13] Quoted and paraphrased from Robert Kistler, "No Effort to Block KKK 'patrol' of Border Planned," *Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 1977.

[14] Vans-Pritchard, "Who Can we Trust to Tell us the Truth About Central America? Mexico is Playing a Duplicitous Game," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, June 7, 1984.

[15] Quoted by H.G. Reza, "Disc Jockey's Parody of Illegals Hits a Sour Note; Latinos Complain to FCC," *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1986.

[16] Quoted and paraphrased from George Putnam radio program, July 24, 1986.

[17] Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta, "The Mexican Time Bomb," *Penthouse*, May 1987, p. 41ff. Quote is from 42.

[18] Quoted in *California Magazine*, December 1985, p. 64.

[19] Moody advertisement in *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1989.

[20] Paraphrase developed from information in Jonathan Peterson, "Loose Lips Can Sink Sales; Rumormongers Damage Company Images," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1987.

[21] Demaris, *Pozo del Mundo*, p. 2.

[22] The parent plant (or shipping point on the U.S. border for the parent plant anywhere in the United States) brings together the raw materials, ships them to its plant in Mexico for assembly by workers (who earn about one-fifth less than their U.S. counterparts), and receives the finished goods back in the United States for distribution to the U.S. market. Mexican law allows duty-free importation, under bond, of parts, components, raw materials, machinery, and other tools of production for items that are exported; the United States charges duties only on the value added to raw materials of U.S. origin through processing and assembly abroad. Of the Mexican *maquila* (in-bond) plants, 85 percent are located on the border.

[23] Overstreet quote is from her edited booklet *An "Offshore" Manufacturing Opportunity; Production Sharing and the In-Bond Industry From an Arizona-Sonora Perspective* (Nogales, Arizona: U.S.-Mexico Business Information Service, 1981), p. 3. (Publisher: P.O. Box 804, Nogales, Arizona, 85621)

[24] On this point, see James W. Wilkie, "Problems and Processes of Developing Research on a 'New' Area: The United States-Mexico Border," in Stanley R. Ross, ed., *Ecology and Development of the Border Region II Symposium of Mexican and United States Universities* (México, D.F.: Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Institutos de Enseñanza Superior and PROFMEX, 1983), pp. 301-308.

[25] For this discussion of the emergence of border studies, I rely on unpublished notes provided graciously by Jorge Bustamante. See also Bustamante's bibliography edited with Francisco Malagamba, *México-Estados Unidos: Bibliografía General sobre Estudios Fronterizos* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1980). For Ellwyn R. Stoddard's published view, see "Border Studies as an Emergent Field of Scientific Inquiry: Scholarly Contributions of U.S.-Mexico Borderland Studies," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 1:1 (1986), pp. 1-33; and Stoddard, ed., *Borderlands Sourcebook: A Guide to the Literature on Northern Mexico and the American Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

[26] *Rural Sociology* 7:4, pp. 384-395.

[27] Charles P. Loomis, "History and Results of the Michigan State University Cooperative Border Project," paper presented to the Southwest Sociology Association, Dallas, 1974.

[28] *American Sociological Review*, 24:6, pp. 804-814.

[29] *Social Forces* 37:4, pp. 334-339.

[30] *Rural Sociology* 25:2, Supplement.

[31] (East Lansing: Ph.D. dissertation in sociology).

[32] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

[33] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978).

[34] (Austin: Univesity of Texas Press); (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press); and (PROFMEX Monograph Series; Tucson: University of Arizona Press); respectively. See also, Oscar J. Martínez, ed., *Across Boundaries: Transborder Interaction in Comparative Perspective* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1986).

[35] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press) and (Austin: University of Texas Press), respectively.

[36] (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications) and (Los Angeles: Ph.D. dissertation in history, 1988, winner of the Herring Prize for 1989), respectively.

[37] (El Paso: Texas Western Press); (México, D.F.: CIDE–Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas); (El Paso: Texas Western Press); and (Monterrey, Nuevo León: Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León and ANUIES); respectively. See also *U.S.-Mexico Transborder Resource Issues*, a volume published as *Natural Resources Journal* 26:4 (1986).

[38] Sheffield to Nicholas Murray Butler, November 17, 1975, quoted in James J. Horn, "Diplomacy by Ultimatum: Ambassador Sheffield and Mexican-American Relations, 1924-1927" (Buffalo: Ph.D. dissertation in history, State University of New York, 1969), p. 89.

[39] The term "Era of Good Feeling" was popularized by Howard F. Cline in his *The United States and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), chapter 15.

[40] Although the Mexican government nationalized a number of foreign-owned industries during the Era of Good Feeling (for example, in 1960 the electric power industry), the compensation was negotiated in such a way that it generally amounted to a "buy-out" of the foreign investment.

[41] Cline, *The United States and Mexico*, pp. 313-315.

[42] Cline, *Mexico: Revolution to Evolution: 1940-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 304-305, 307.

[43] E. David Cronon, *Josephus Daniels in Mexico* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), pp. 261-270; and Cline, *The United States and Mexico*, pp. 248-249.

[44] Lorenzo Meyer, *México y Estados Unidos en el Conflicto Petrolero (1917-1942)* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1968), p. 245.

[45] Cronon, *Daniels in Mexico*, p. 261.

[46] On these agreements, see Lyle C. Brown and James W. Wilkie, "Recent United States-Mexican Relations: Problems Old and New," in John Braeman et al., *Twentieth-Century American Foreign Policy* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp. 378-419; and *Joint Projects of the United States and Mexico Through the International Boundary and Water Commission* (El Paso: United States Section, International Boundary and Water Commission, 1981).

[47] On the rise of the U.S.-Mexican Bracero agreements, see L. Manuel García y Griego, "The Bracero Policy Experiment: U.S. and Mexican Responses to Mexican Labor Migration, 1942-1955" (Los Angeles: Ph.D. in history, 1988). On the whole problem of migration, see García y Griego and James W. Wilkie, "Mexican Migration to the United States and the Possibilities of Bilateral Cooperation: Four Conceptual Frameworks," in Daniel G. Aldrich, Jr. and Lorenzo Meyer, eds., *Neighbors in Crisis: Joint Solutions* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991).

[48] See Norris C. Hundley, Jr. *Dividing the Waters: A Century of Controversy Between the United States and Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

[49] With disposal of the Chamizal problem so favorably for Mexico, the Mexican government could settle in 1967 the Pious Fund dispute, which was favorable to the United States position. Dating from the eighteenth century, the Pius Fund issue concerned Jesuit funds entrusted for missionary work in the Californias. When the Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuits from Mexico in 1767, it took

over the funds until 1821, after which they were administered by the Mexican government. The United States became involved after 1848, when under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Upper California became part of the Union and when, on behalf of two California prelates, it sought a settlement before the United States-Mexican Claims Commission asking that the Upper California share of the Fund and its accumulated interest be transferred to the Church in California. (See Brown and Wilkie, "Recent United States-Mexican Relations," pp. 393-394.)

[50] The screwworm fly lays her eggs at the edges of wounds of warmblooded animals or people. When the eggs hatch, tiny white worms enter the wound and feed on the flesh, usually causing death. On the history of the U.S.-Mexican campaign against the screwwork fly, see Jaime Baldovinos, "Flies and Screwwork," *Caminos del Aire; Revista Oficial de Mexicana*, January 1989, pp. 45-53, who notes that by the end of 1988 some 26 of Mexico's 32 political divisions were free of the screwworm parasite.

[51] But Coca Cola Bottling Company, for example, did not laugh when it was legally required to manufacture two entire new sets of millions of bottles, the first to carry the Mexican translation in equal size to the U.S. name, the second to eliminate the U.S. name. In the end, this legal provision was not implemented.

[52] On the legal revolution, see James W. Wilkie, *La Revolución Mexicana (1910-1976): Gasto Federal y Cambio Social* (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978), pp. 331-332.

[53] For examples of negative U.S. press coverage, see ibid. Indeed on August 16, 1976, seventy-six U.S. congressmen organized their complaints against Echeverría in a full-page ad published in the *New York Times*–see quote in the text above at note 2.

[54] Echeverría told the Club of Rome in 1973 that the Third World would never "catch up" economically to the First and Second Worlds if it adopted a strategy of "no growth"; and in 1976 the Club changed its position to favor "selective growth." See Wilkie, *La Revolución Mexicana*, pp. 426-427.

[55] On the illogic of the Estrada Doctrine, the famous Mexican historian Daniel Cosío Villegas made the following statement in his oral history interviews with the Wilkies: "I suppose that the Estrada Doctrine was justified when it was proposed for the first time by Genaro Estrada, and it had a very clear meaning: that is, it was a possible defense against the interventionist inclinations of the United States. But . . . it is an unsupportable doctrine which Mexico has not been able to defend with any congruency . . . No matter how much Mexico insists upon saying that if it maintains its diplomatic agents this does not represent approval, and that if it recalls them it does not represent disapproval, these actions, of course, represent approval in one case and disapproval in the other." Cosío's oral history with James W. Wilkie and Edna Monzón de Wilkie is quoted in translation here from the interview of January 26, 1965. The Estrada Doctrine had been violated notably by President Cárdenas with his nonrecognition policy toward Franco's Spain. The text of the Estrada Doctrine is given in Brown and Wilkie, "Recent United States-Mexican Relations," p. 407. The Estrada Doctrine stands in contrast to the Tobar Doctrine (after Carlos R. Tobar of Ecuador) which hold that no government should be recognized which comes to power through revolution.

[56] For an inside insight, see Robert H. McBride, ed., *Mexico and the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981), p. 4. McBride, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico from 1969 to 1974, believed that controversy over the Charter started the deterioration in Mexico's relations with the United States: The U.S. voted against the Charter in principle but was especially annoyed because Echeverría chose Santiago de Chile (where Allende was in power) as the place to announce in 1971 that Charter.

[57] John Stone, "Heat and Fuel: Cutting our Mexican Connection," *New West*, November 8, 1976, p. 15.

[58] George W. Grayson, "The Mexican Oil Boom," in Susan Kaufman Purcell, ed., *Mexico-United States Relations* (New York: Praeger, 1981), p. 148.

[59] Quoted in Leonard Greenwood and Frank del Olmo, "The Gas Fiasco: U.S. Hardnoses and Mexican Honor," in *Mexico: Crisis of Poverty/Crisis of Wealth*, supplement to *Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 1979, p. 5.

[60] The letter of intent involved conditional U.S. Export-Import Bank financing of the Mexican pipeline (to be constructed within 24 months) and special permission from the International Monetary Fund to exceed a borrowing limit of three billion dollars imposed by the Fund as part

of Mexico's plan to restabilize the economy. Schlesinger argued that there was no urgency about the pipeline because a U.S. natural gas shortage was still several years away. Although Robert Pastor argues that it was not in Schlesinger's purview to control the price natural gas, Schlesinger's voice was critical in the negotiations; for a defense of Schlesinger by the then Director of Latin American Affairs on the U.S. National Security Council, see Pastor's discussion in Robert A. Pastor and Jorge G. Castañeda, *Limits To Friendship: The United States and Mexico* (New York: Knopf, 1988), pp. 100-102. In any case, according to Grayson, "The Mexican Oil Boom," pp. 148-149, U.S. officials had sent repeated warning signals to Mexico about the potential pricing problems.

[61] The price was later increased to $ 4.47. For further discussion of these matters, see George W. Grayson, "The Mexican Oil Boom," p. 150, and Jesús Puente Leyva, "The Natural Gas Controversy," p. 166 in Purcell, ed., *Mexico-United States Relations*. See also, Grayson, *The Politics of Mexican Oil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980); Richard B. Mancke, *Mexican Oil and Natural Gas; Political, Strategic, and Economic Implications* (New York: Praeger, 1979); and Judith A. Teichman, *Policymaking in Mexico* (Boston: Allyn and Unwin, 1988).

[62] For discussion of problems facing Carter on his 1978 trips to Venezuela and Brazil, see James Nelson Goodsell, "Carter Toughness Begins to Take Hold," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 27, 1978.

[63] David Binder, "U.S., Alarmed at Decline in Ties with Mexico, Drafts New Policy," *New York Times*, November 20, 1978. For Robert Pastor's explanation and defense of the process in which PRM 41 was developed, see Pastor and Castañeda, *Limits to Friendship*, pp. 102-107.

[64] See Patrick H. Heffernan, "Conflict Over Marine Resources," in Purcell, ed., *Mexico-United States Relations* pp. 168-180; and Thomas Wolff, *In Pursuit of Tuna: The Expansion of a Fishing Industry and Its International Ramifications* (Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1980).

[65] See B. Timothy Bennett, "Cooperación y Resultados en las Relaciones Entre México y Estados Unidos," pp. 205-217 en William [P.] Glade and Cassio Luiselli, eds., *La Economía de la Interdependencia: México y Estados Unidos* (México, D.F.: publicado por la Comisión sobre el Futuro de las Relaciones México-Estados Unidos por el Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989). See also, Diana María Konupek, "[Mexico] Tuna Industry Troubled Despite High Exports," *Mexico City News*, April 20, 1988.

[66] Puente Leyva, "The Natural Gas Controversy," p. 164. On Carter administration policy, see Donald Lyman, "U.S.-Mexican Relations: Time for Change," in Susan K. Purcell, ed., *Mexico in Transition: Implications for U.S. Policy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1988), pp. 134-146.

[67] Robert H. McBride, ed., *Mexico and the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981). pp. 23-24. To develop his analysis, McBride brought together a conference in October 1980 under the auspices of the American Assembly, held at the Arden House, Harriman, New York. Since the early 1980s a number of important edited volumes have developed interesting studies of U.S.-Mexican relations, among the first being: Clark W. Reynolds and Carlos Tello, ed., *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Economic and Social Aspects* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981); and Richard D. Erb and Stanley R. Ross, eds., *United States Relations with Mexico: Context and Content* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981). The Erb-Ross volume is especially noteworthy for the essay by Leopoldo Solís on "Integral Development" (pp. 276-291). In suggesting that the focus on classical economic development is "wicked," Solís made perhaps the final call for expanded statist policy before Mexico would have to turn away from statism beginning in 1982. Not only did Solís still believe that Mexico could afford to reallocate Mexican government expenditure to balance social and economic needs, but he also called, ironically, for Mexico to follow the Chinese Model of development wherein investment is made in people not industry.

[68] McBride, ed., *Mexico and the United States*, pp. 23-24.

[69] Ambassador Gavin may have stood against the Reagan administration on legislation to penalize U.S. employers of undocumented aliens.

[70] Marlene Nadle, "Mexican Foreign Policy [of the United States is] Result of Complex Balancing Act," *Fresno Bee*, May 27, 1984.

[71] On these border activities, see *UC MEXUS News*, #5 (Spring 1983, p. 16) and #10 (Summer 1984, p. 1).

[72] *Los Angeles Times*, August 26, 1973.

[73] Kissinger's statement is reported in Seymour M. Hirsh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (New York: Summit Books, 1983), excerpted in *The Atlantic*, December 1982, p. 35.

[74] *El Día*, January 9, 1969. For discussion of problems built into the relationship, see James W. Wilkie, "Conflicting 'National Interest' Between and Within Mexico and the United States," in Vásquez and García y Griego, eds., *Mexican-U.S. Relations*, chapter 1.

[75] Conrad in the *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1981, quoting Richard Allen.

[76] For a most insightful later summary, and refreshing approach which complements my view, see B. Tim Bennett, "Cooperación y Resultados en las Relaciones Entre México y Estados Unidos."

[77] U.S. International Trade Commission, Report, November 1986, p. 57, cited in Pastor and Castañeda, eds., *Limits to Friendship: The United States and Mexico*, p. 206. On the trade agreement of 1985, see ibid., pp. 207-209. For background discussion, see also Sydney Weintraub, *A Marriage of Convenience: Relations Between Mexico and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[78] According to Bennett, "Cooperación y Resultados en las Relaciones Entre México y Estados Unidos," p. 207; also Mexican licenses to import fell from 50 percent of tariff-schedule entries in 1985 to 3 percent in 1989. In 1987 Mexico abolished its policy of artificially over-valuing import products.

[79] On U.S.-Mexican civil air transport agreements, see James H. Qualls, "Aspects of Recent U.S.-Mexican Relations: A study of Civil Air Transport, Technological Assistance, and Scientific Cooperation Agreements" (Waco: M.A. in political science, Baylor University, 1968), chapter 2. Qualls examines struggles between U.S. carriers for routes to Mexico in the 1950s as well as resistance by the Mexican carriers to expansion of routes during the 1960s.

[80] Bennett, "Cooperación y Resultados en las Relaciones Entre México y Estados Unidos," pp. 210-211.

[81] The importance and diversity of this trade is seen in the following figures for 1986 when California's principal imports (over 100 million dollars) from Mexico were: television sets (196 million), electrical transformers and switches (188 million), rubber and plastic goods (123 million), television picture tubes and electronic chips (120 million), vegetables and fruits (111 million). Mexico's principal imports from California were: electrical transformers, relays, printed circuit boards, television tubes (323 million), petroleum products (132 million), metal foundary machinary, pumps, power operated hand tools, valves (108 million). See Jeffrey Bortz and Edur Velasco, "Briefing Paper on California-Mexico Economic and Business Relations," in San Diego State University Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias and the UCLA Program on Mexico, Report Prepared for the Governor's Office of California-Mexico Affairs, *California-Mexico Trade and Commercial, Agricultural, and Environmental Relations: Recent Developments, Problems to Solve, and Options*, November 1987, Appendix A-1. With regard to California's ability to attract tourism from Mexico, 36 percent of all Mexico's tourists went to California, where Mexicans made up 35 percent of all of the state's foreign tourists. See Aída Mostkoff, "California-Mexico Tourism Trade Relations," in ibid., Appendix G-1.

[82] This discussion of Mexico's 1973 foreign investment law and 1989 redefined regulations is drawn from Alfredo Márquez and Noé Cruz, "Autorizan Inversiones 100% Extranjeras en México," *El Financiero*, May 16, 1989; Daniel Alder, "SECOFI Announces Modified Foreign Investment Rules," *Mexico City News*, May 16, 1989; Vic Riley, "Not a Panacea," *Mexico Journal*, May 29, 1989, p. 11; and Matt Moffett, "Japanese Investors Tred Warily in Mexico," *Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 1989.

[83] Other conditions for up to 100 percent automatically approved foreign investment are that (a) funding be entirely external and come through intermediation by Mexican financial institutions; (b) export and import of foreign exchange be kept in balance during the first three years; (c) the investment provide permanent jobs and training; (d) the investment provide adequate technologies that satisfy existing environmental requirements.

[84] See Peter Truell, "Mexico, Creditor Banks Complete Talks Covering $ 48 Billion of Debt," *Wall Street Journal*, January 11, 1990.

[85] Ibid.

[86] See León García Soler, "A la Mitad del Foro," *Excelsior*, January 14, 1990.

[87] On interpretations which attempt to put the debt settlement into realistic perspectives, see a Mexican view in Jorge G. Castañeda, "Mexico Counts on Image, Not Reality, of Debt Rescue," *Los Angeles Times*, June 30, 1989; and a *Wall Street Journal* editorial view (January 23, 1990) which suggests that the settlement may be complicated by the interest rate authorized at an inflated rate by the U.S. Treasury Department in order to save Mexico 350 million in up-front money needed to buy the U.S. zero-coupon 30-year bonds, the rate constituting an illegal subsidy by U.S. taxpayers because it is not based on the market rate. (This *Wall Street Journal* editorial calls for President Bush to issue a specific finding that the rate is necessary to the national interest because of Mexico's importance in U.S. international relations.)

[88] See Jorge G. Castañeda, "The 'Mature' Relationship Takes a Bruising," *Los Angeles Times*, January 24, 1990.

[89] See H. G. Reza, "U.S., Mexico Quash Money-Laundering Ring Linked to Colombian Drug Lords," *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1989.

Authorities alleged that Mejía laundered as much as 70 million dollars in drug profits and shipped a ton of cocaine to Southern California each month.

[90] Louis Sahagun and Stephen Braun, "Arrest Called Key Break in Sylmar Drug Bust Inquiry," *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 1989. The *Los Angeles Times* of October 7, 1989, reported that Muñoz may have transported an astounding 60 tons of cocaine and 80 million dollars in cash through the San Fernando Valley during 1988, ledgers seized there suggesting that official U.S. estimates of the volume of drug trade have been vastly understated.

[91] See Doyle McManus and Marjorie Miller, "U.S., Mexico Basking in New Era of Warmer Ties," *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 1989.

[92] Only health clinics were exempted from the Costa Mesa law; see *Los Angeles Times*, August 9, 1989.

[93] Idem, October 26, 1989.

[94] See the full-page Bohemia advertisement in *Los Angeles Weekly*, December, 3, 1987. Mexico also placed two other beers among the total of 35 places: Corona (21) and Carta Blanca (24).

[95] Patrick McDonnell, "357 Tijuana Prostitutes Test for AIDS Not Infected, Navy Says," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 1990.

[96] For example, see the *Wall Street Journal*, October 7, 1988, for the adverisement by the Committee for Improved U.S.-Mexican Relations entitled "State of Insurrection in Mexico: A Major Threat to the United States."

DISCURSOS PRINCIPALES/
KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

HACIA UN ENTENDIMIENTO BASICO ENTRE MEXICO Y ESTADOS UNIDOS

MARIO OJEDA

Existe la idea muy difundida en el mundo diplomático de que es posible construir o fomentar las buenas relaciones entre países en base a un mejor conocimiento mutuo. Esta es una idea casi tan antigua como la propia diplomacia. Miles de páginas han sido escritas sobre el tema para demostrar algo que muchos consideran enteramente obvio.

Sin embargo, y sin pretender originalidad al respecto, me atrevería a decir que la ecuación no es tan obvia como parece a simple vista: un mejor conocimiento no conduce necesariamente a una buena relación. Es realista suponer el caso de una sociedad a la que conociendo de cerca otra cultura, ésta le resulte repugnante conforme a sus propios valores. La ecuación contraria, en cambio, es más clara: una mal conocimiento genera o acrecenta los prejuicios y éstos, a su vez, generan mala voluntad.

Lo importante, en consecuencia, es tomar conciencia de estas diferencias y procurar el respeto por los valores culturales y las tradiciones de otros país. Uno no puede imponer sus propias creencias y valores en otros. Constituimos un mundo plural y en consecuencia debemos ser tolerantes con todos aquellos que son diferentes a nosotros. A nivel operativo, lo importante es liberar la discusión de las relaciones entre países de mitos y estereotipos, a fin de no contaminar la atmósfera de una relación y poder tratar los problemas reales con objetividad y ecuanimidad. En el caso particular de las relaciones México-Estados Unidos, esto parece ser lo más urgente hoy día.

Por ejemplo, ver a México solamente a través de un enfoque que acentúa aspectos negativos, como es el caso de la mala administración o la corrupción, puede significar una forma de desahogo para muchos en los Estados Unidos. Un desahogo a sus propias frustraciones con relación a sus propios problemas, como es el caso del fracaso en la campaña en contra del consumo de drogas. Sin embargo, este enfoque no nos dice la historia completa acerca de México

y definitivamente no contribuye a un mejor entendimiento y comprensión de lo que es México y mucho menos a fomentar una buena relación entre los dos países.

Igualmente, empeñarse en ver a los Estados Unidos solamente como una sociedad arrogante e imperialista, movida únicamente por los deseos de poder político y de utilidad material, es a su vez una desviación de la realidad. Esta constituye una explicación muy parcial de lo que de hecho es Estados Unidos y no contribuye a fomentar una buena relación con ese país.

Las relaciones de México y Estados Unidos son muy importantes como para dejarlas a merced de los mitos y los prejuicios o de los oportunistas y los demagogos; merecen una consideración especial. Debido a la vecindad geográfica y a la intensidad y complejidad en la relación bilateral, mucho de lo que ocurre en cada uno de los dos países tiende a tener repercusiones importantes en el otro. Estas repercusiones son, en la mayoría de los casos, de carácter negativo. En consecuencia, puede decirse que en este caso tanto la geografía, como lo complejo de la relación, demandan la necesidad de un entendimiento básico y de un espíritu de cooperación.

En efecto, las relaciones México-Estados Unidos son tan intensas, que rebasan muy sobradamente el marco formal de los contactos oficiales entre los dos gobiernos. Paralelamente al proceso formal de relaciones diplomáticas existe otro que cubre las relaciones entre las dos sociedades y que se expresa diariamente en forma intensa. Esto es lo que de acuerdo con la teoría de las relaciones internacionales constituye la relación de pueblo a pueblo. En el caso México-Estados Unidos este fenómeno es particularmente intenso en el nivel fronterizo. Baste mencionar el hecho de que más de 200 millones de "cruces" fronterizos tanto de ciudadanos mexicanos como norteamericanos se lleva a cabo anualmente. La intensidad y complejidad de esta relación informal "pueblo a pueblo" es la razón que explica en gran parte el porqué muchas de las iniciativas que toman los dos gobiernos para regular el proceso de la relación bilateral surten efectos parciales únicamente. De aquí entonces la necesidad de un mejor entendimiento y una mayor cooperación entre los dos países.

Claro está que un mejor entendimiento y una mayor comprensión de los problemas y necesidades del país vecino no es la clave para la solución de los problemas de nuestra relación. La mayor parte de estos problemas son de naturaleza estructural y por lo tanto no pueden ser enfrentados únicamente en base a la buena voluntad. Sin embargo, un entendimiento básico y una mayor comprensión mutua pueden ayudar a crear una atmósfera de cooperación en base a la cual pueda florecer un diálogo más constructivo entre nuestros países.

Pero tratar de generar un entendimiento y comprensión generales entre nuestras dos sociedades es, quizás, una tarea utópica imposible. Nuestro objetivo debe ser más modesto, y en consecuencia más realista y pragmático. La idea debe ser tratar de educar en este sentido al mayor número posible de formadores de opinión tanto de México como de los Estados Unidos. A través de este

tipo de arreglo, los formadores de opinión de cada uno de los países podrían obtener un mejor conocimiento y una mayor comprensión de los problemas, valores y políticas del otro país. Ellos, a su vez, podrían ayudar a difundir en sus propias sociedades un mejor conocimiento y una mayor comprensión del país vecino, en beneficio de un más general entendimiento entre nuestras naciones. Lo importante en este caso, como se decía, es ayudar a desarrollar una buena atmósfera de relación que sirva de apoyo a un diálogo más constructivo entre nuestros gobiernos y nuestras sociedades.

Las relaciones bilaterales constituyen un proceso en el cual las responsabilidades existen en ambos lados de la frontera. En consecuencia, la solución de los problemas que surjen de ese proceso no pueden ser afrontados con éxito en base a acciones de tipo unilateral y peor aún, acciones que estén basadas en percepciones igualmente unilaterales.

Por ejemplo, en Estados Unidos prevalece la idea de que los trabajadores mexicanos emigran a ese país debido a la pobreza de México y a la incapacidad de nuestra economía para generar empleo suficiente. Esto es verdad, pero no es sino parte de la historia completa. Los mexicanos emigran a los Estados Unidos debido también a que la economía norteamericana requiere de mano de obra barata. Los trabajadores mexicanos constituyen una especie de reserva de mano de obra, que ayuda a regular la oferta y la demanda en el mercado de trabajo norteamericano.

Otro ejemplo es el siguiente: en Estados Unidos una mayoría tiene la percepción de que el narcotráfico entre los dos países existe porque México es productor de drogas. Esta percepción tiende a pasar por alto el principio económico de que generalmente es la demanda la que estimula la oferta y no lo contrario. Si la producción de drogas existe en México –y en mucho otros países– se debe principalmente a que en los Estados Unidos hay una gran demanda de ellas.

Respecto del problema de las drogas hay que señalar también que la sociedad estadounidense no es la única víctima. La sociedad mexicana es igualmente víctima de este fenómeno. La gran demanda de drogas en Estados Unidos ha tenido un efecto pernicioso en la producción agrícola de México. Muchos campesinos abandonan el cultivo de alimentos básicos para dedicarse al más lucrativo negocio de la siembra de mariguana y amapola. En algunas regiones de México la vegetación natural ha sido dañada por el uso de herbicidas y otras sustancias químicas para destruir las plantaciones de drogas.

Otro efecto adverso en México, derivado de la gran demanda de drogas en Estados Unidos, es la aparición de mafias rivales que luchan por controlar el mercado de narcóticos. La consecuencia de ello ha sido que en ciertas regiones se haya generado una situación de continua violencia e inseguridad pública. La población de estas regiones resulta así ser víctima inocente de un problema originado en un país extranjero.

En Estados Unidos ha prevalecido la percepción, tradicionalmente, de que

en México existen muchas restricciones para el comercio de importación. Esta es una idea equivocada. Durante los gobiernos de Echeverría y López Portillo prevaleció, en efecto, una alta barrera arancelaria y otros tipos de restricciones a la importación de bienes. Sin embargo, esta política restrictiva se vio prácticamente cancelada en la práctica por otra política que mantuvo subvaluado el peso mexicano por largos periodos, con cargo al endeudamiento externo. Hoy día México ha ingresado al GATT y ha desmantelado en alta proporción la barrera arancelaria. Lo irónico de todo esto es que México ha liberado significativamente su comercio en un momento en el que en Estados Unidos prevalece un espíritu restriccionista.

En los Estados Unidos, dentro de algunos círculos del Congreso y del Ejecutivo, prevalece la idea de que México ha sido poco cooperativo con Washington en ciertos asuntos clave. Aducen como ejemplos la política en Centroamérica, el patrón de voto de México en las Naciones Unidas y el combate al narcotráfico.

Habría que empezar por señalar, a este respecto, que no es de amigo exigir un comportamiento idéntico frente a terceros. Sin embargo, el punto a resaltar aquí es que otra vez se trata de una percepción parcial, que tiende a destacar las discrepancias, pasando por alto las coincidencias.

México, en efecto, ha discrepado con frecuencia de la política exterior norteamericana en Centroamérica y en otras latitudes, pero por otra parte ha tenido muchas coincidencias en otras áreas. Por ejemplo, México ha sido un exportador de petróleo, independiente de la OPEP, lo que ha significado un gran beneficio para Estados Unidos. A más de constituir un abastecedor más seguro, México contribuyó indirectamente a que la OPEP perdiera el control de los precios en el mercado mundial, favoreciendo con ello, una vez más, a los Estados Unidos. México ha sido también un pagador puntual y ortodoxo de su deuda externa; ha ingresado al GATT, y ha desmantelado en alta proporción su sistema de protección arancelaria.

Por otra parte, cabe decir que difícilmente podría Mexico estar al lado de Washington en su política hacia Centroamérica, si esto va claramente en contra de su interés nacional de mantener la paz en la región. México ha procurado la estabilidad política de Centroamérica, auspiciando la negociación y el desarrollo. Ha tratado también de evitar la generalización del conflicto, auspiciando la inclusión de todas las partes en las negociaciones. Washington, por su parte, ha buscado imponer sus puntos de vista mediante presiones económicas y militares, generando con ello mayor inestabilidad. Ha llegado al punto de producir en la región el efecto dominó que tanto temía, al desestabilizar, con acciones temerarias, países que hasta hace poco tiempo eran sus aliados incondicionales, como son los casos de Panamá y Honduras.

Respecto del combate al narcotráfico, cabe recordar que México ha pagado un alto precio en vidas por ello. Cientos de agentes y miembros del Ejército han muerto en acción. Por otra parte, debe subrayarse que México destina para

este efecto el 45% de los recursos económicos presupuestados para combatir el crimen, en sacrificio de otros frentes importantes, como es la seguridad pública en el campo y las ciudades. Este es en verdad un precio muy alto para un país con tantas carencias, carencias agravadas hoy día por la crisis económica.

Para terminar es pertinente recordar algo que con frecuencia se olvida: la frontera México-Estados Unidos constituye el punto de encuentro entre el mundo industrializado y el mundo en vías de desarrollo. He aquí una razón más para que esta frontera sea un ejemplo de cooperación para el resto del mundo.

EDUCATION AND THE FORMATION OF IMAGES

JULIÁN NAVA

This fifth symposium of Mexican and American universities could not come at a more opportune time. Almost every day we can witness in the mass media evidence of distortions about each other. How far the peoples of both nations have to go in order to understand each other better! "Getting to know you," as sung by Anna in "The King and I," is a process, and rarely can it be said to be a finished product. Therefore, this symposium will advance the process many of us support in hope that both nations will benefit from the progress.

Lately, issues like drugs, immigration, and foreign policy in Central America serve to illustrate how images of each country affect policy formation related to the other. The political figures of each country are tempted to use false perceptions in the minds of the public in order to distort realities for political gains. Such opportunism tends to worsen the conditions. All aspects of bilateral relations suffer long-term harm from such cheap tactics. It pains me to observe that most of these harmful tactics are coming from the U.S. lately. I have heard many fellow Americans wonder whether conditions in Mexico are like U.S. critics of Mexico claim. Plans for tourism and study as well as commerce suffer from so-called "Mexico Bashing" like that of Senators Helms or Wilson.

Those of us in the academic world can recall that since the days of Bartolomé de las Casas and the Protestant Reformation the "Black Legend" has warped northern European views of Hispanic America. Later, U.S. relations with Mexico since the early 19th century have added a special character to bilateral relations. Thus today we can still feel the weight of history on our shoulders as we try to improve understanding about each other. Not everyone on both sides of the border favors this improvement in understanding, and so we must bear in mind that dismantling stereotypes can be unpopular. Some superpatriots or political ideologues gain benefit from popular ignorance and prefer to live in ignorance which they can control.

It is curious that we are trying to know each other better at a time when the

value of nations appears to be diminishing. You will recall that Arnold Toynbee said in his monumental work, *The Study of History,* that by the time the majority of a people caught up with an idea proclaimed earlier by the creative minority, conditions could have changed enough that the idea was now outdated. Out of the confusion created from such a lag in time we find the forces of decline affecting a given civilization, he suggested. Does Toynbee's thinking suggest that we look to broader understanding today, rather than confine our thinking to narrow bilateral lines that assume nations can stand alone, free from all the world forces at play?

Today we all take for granted that our world is fast shrinking due to communications and ease of travel. Economic interests transcend patriotism and wealthy groups and firms lend or invest across borders, regardless of their nations' interests. I refer specifically to things like fugitive industries, flight capital, and so forth. Even ideological motivations, like anti-Communism do not impede Western firms and banks from investing heavily behind the Iron Curtain. Have you ever wondered what the difference may be between massive U.S. investments in European Communist countries and the Peoples Republic of China, while so many Americans believe it is unthinkable to trade or work with Cuba or Nicaragua? One possible answer lies in the special images Americans have about Latin America. Somehow this region is different. Since Mexico is next door, and it is affecting the U.S. profoundly, it is central to the question of how images of other countries are formed and how these images affect international relations.

Better understanding between our two peoples is advancing on numerous fronts. A recent survey made by the Consejo Nacional de Población under the Secretaría de Gobernación, disclosed that we find over a hundred different forums involving Mexican and U.S. dialogues or exchanges. Just last week for the first time ever, while still a candidate of the P.R.I. for the presidency of Mexico, Carlos Salinas de Gortari met with some 150 leaders of the Mexican-American community coming from 15 different states. We met in Tijuana and heard excellent papers that will be published soon. Labor people, merchants, and youth groups are also engaged in such "acercamientos."

Your most important contribution will be made when upon returning to your institution you contribute to specific changes that advance the improvement of understanding. Textbooks and other readings in both nations leave much to be desired about the other. So much of teaching at several levels is chauvinistic and negative. In the U.S. for one, Latin American studies should be a requirement or at least strongly recommended for all students at the level of general studies. How can any college graduate these days be prepared for living in an interdependent world in ignorance about Mexico and Latin America? Surely the fact that Mexico is Mexicanizing the U.S. and the U.S. is Americanizing Mexico cannot be denied. Shall our students be simple observers of this irrepressible social movement or help direct it along mutually beneficial lines? While some

lament and others welcome the impact of each country on the other, no one can stop it. Fortunately, the many forms of forums like this at several levels will help channel the ever more extensive relations between the U.S. and Mexico.

It is fitting that we in the academic world make our special contribution to this drawing together. So many good people in both nations look to us for knowledge and skills in this vital area. There is so much more to do; therefore, I want to congratulate you for being here and offering your contribution to this process.

I. EDUCACION FORMAL/FORMAL EDUCATION

LA IMAGEN DE ESTADOS UNIDOS EN LOS LIBROS DE TEXTO MEXICANOS

JOSEFINA ZORAIDA VÁZQUEZ

Hacer un análisis de libros de texto apareja una serie de cuestiones que vale la pena adelantar. En primer lugar hay que tener conciencia de su naturaleza para no exigirles lo que no nos pueden dar. No son tratados sobre ningún tema, sino compendios destinados a proporcionar información básica, despertar interés en el conocimiento, sugerir temas afines, enseñar a pensar y formar conceptos y conductas también básicos. Sus explicaciones por ser someras y sintéticas tienden a ser simplistas en especial en aquellos libros destinados a la enseñanza elemental pero hay que recordar que sólo intentan ser cimientos sobre los que se construirá más tarde el verdadero conocimiento. Esto no puede, por otra parte, justificar libros mal hechos, mal escritos o plagados de datos erróneos. Los textos están limitados por espacio, vocabulario, necesidad de relacionar las diversas áreas de conocimiento con etapas de crecimiento e interés, y por qué no, hasta circunstancias más pedestres como las posibilidades presupuestarias -como en el caso de los libros de texto gratuitos mexicanos.

En segundo lugar están las diversas capacidades que exige un estudio de esta índole. El sentido común es de utilidad, pero sin duda se requiere un mínimo de información sobre métodos desarrollados para hacer este análisis, que nos alerten a no cometer errores frecuentes en estudios pioneros. Hay que tener presente también el contexto en que se han producido y conocer el material sobre el que versan para no juzgarlos fuera de foco. Los sistemas cuantitativos, a los que se avocan los nuevos estudios exigirían para dar resultados óptimos, series completas de libros a los que se les aplicaría en forma sistemática, el mismo tipo de cuestiones, de manera de analizar los temas tratados, la extensión que se les otorga y el vocabulario utilizado, única forma que permitiría cuantificar los resultados. [1] Este camino no sólo requeriría un estudio laborioso

[1] Véase el respecto Davis Pratt, *How to find and measure bias in textbooks,* Eaglewood Cliffs, Educational Technology Publications, 1972.

y por tanto largo, sino también la existencia de esas series completas, que sabemos que en el caso mexicano son inexistentes, pues sólo recientemente se les ha concedido cierta importancia a los libros de texto. Al no haber tiempo ni posibilidad para seguir este camino, nos consolamos con el decepcionante resultado de un estudio semejante alrededor de la serie de libros de texto gratuitos vigentes[2].

La presente ponencia se limitará a hacer un análisis de contenido, con directrices derivadas de trabajos propios[3] y otros elaborados por historiadores, tales como los de Frances FitzGerald[4] y en especial Ray Allen Billington.[5] La preocupación por los libros de texto de historia me ha acompañado por largo tiempo y por ello estoy familiarizada con ellos, aunque la experiencia de haber escrito algunos pudiera considerarse una desventaja.

El supuesto de partida es la idea comúnmente aceptada de que, a partir de las revoluciones norteamericana y francesa, la educación ha sido el instrumento favorito del Estado para formar ciudadanos y de que los libros de texto de historia y ciencias sociales han sido utilizados para estimular lealtad entre los niños.[6]

La ponencia se reducirá a analizar libros de historia y ciencias sociales y sólo ocasionalmente se referirá a otras áreas (lecciones de cosas, libros de lectura, español, civismo o geografía), cuando sea posible y pertinente. Se tomarán en cuenta las menciones directas a Estados Unidos y no las referencias indirectas, para no caer a los errores de algún estudio reciente.[7] Cuando se incluye una selección literaria en un libro de lectura, el objetivo es el de modelar el gusto y es absurdo, por ejemplo, exigirle la identificación nacional de los autores.

Estas advertencias no obstan para estar de acuerdo con la afirmación de Gillian Klein de que "no existe algo que sea un libro objetivo. Toda comunicación

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[2] Vesta F. Manning. "Images of the U.S. in México's Libros de Texto Gratuitos. A report prepared for the U.S. Information Agency". University of Arizona, 1985 mecanuscrito.

[3] *Nacionalismo y Educación en México,* México, El Colegio de México, 1970; "La enseñanza de la historia. Un intento de reforma" en *Los estudios históricos de América Latina,* Caracas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1979, pp. 216-222.

[4] *American Revised. History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century.* Boston, Toronto, Little, Brown & Co., 1979.

[5] *The Historian's contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding. Report of a Committee on National Blas in Anglo-American Textbooks.* New York-Buenos Aires, Hobbs, Dorman & Co., Sucs., 1966.

[6] Gladys Wiggin, *Nationalism & Education, An Historical Interpretation of American Education.* New York-San Francisco-Toronto-London, Mc Graw Hill Book Co., Suc., 1961; Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education since 1798. A Social and Political History of Modern Education.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1922.

[7] Vesta F. Manning expresa esa queja (p. 42). En realidad no hay consistencia en el procedimiento, de algunos se dice su nacionalidad y de otros no. Agrega que al hispanizar el primer nombre de Bell (Alejandro) "an unsophisticated student might easily conclude was Mexican" (p. 42). Se queja también de que en la inclusión de las ilustraciones literarias no se aclare quiénes son norteamericanos, aunque tampoco se hace con los otros. Suena esta actitud a la mezquindad que implica decir cuantos norteamericanos mueren en un avionazo, como si fueran los únicos que deban lamentarse.

expresa los puntos de vista de un individuo o grupo de individuos".[8] Los libros de texto empezaron a ser objeto de preocupación como trasmisores de incomprensión e intolerancia a partir de la Primera Guerra Mundial. La enseñanza de la historia llegó a considerarse dentro de asociaciones de maestros y organizaciones internacionales como generadora del belicismo europeo.[9] La preocupación disminuyó hasta que volvieron a sentirse los aires de guerra en la década de los 30. En el prólogo a un estudio sobre libros de texto, el historiador norteamericano Arthur Schlesinger expresaba su preocupación porque se mantuviera el concepto de historia como registro de política y guerra,

> En cuanto se trata de otras naciones, sólo se presta atención a ellas para periodos de tensión y puntos de conflicto... Por eso no debe sorprender que los escolares tengan la noción de que los países extranjeros existen principalmente para causar problemas a los Estados Unidos.[10]

No fue, sin embargo, sino hasta fines de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en que la preocupación se constituiría en un proyecto sistemático a cargo de la UNESCO. Los libros y artículos que produjo dieron lugar a artículos y libros que han subrayado la necesidad de modificar la forma tradicional, etnocéntrica y de glorificación nacional, de enseñanza de la historia.[11]

Esta conciencia de lo delicado de la materia que transmitían los textos, involucró a profesionistas en su elaboración, lo cual ha dado por resultado como dice Billington, a que los juicios sean menos explícitos y por tanto más difíciles de detectar.[12] FitzGerald expresa algo similar, al explicar la ingenua seguridad con que los textos norteamericanos anteriores a la década de los 60 consideraban a los E.U. la más grande nación del mundo, siempre en camino recto hacia el progreso. Mas con la admisión de la complejidad social y la adopción del concepto de "cambio", en lugar del de "progreso", los juicios y estereotipos se volvieron más velados. Es muy probable que con los libros más sofisticados mexicanos suceda algo semejante, aunque en general los juicios sobre los Estados Unidos parecen ser muy directos.

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[8] *Reading into racism. Bias in Children's Literature and Learning Materials.* London, Boston & Henley, Routhledge & Kegan, 1985, p. 1.

[9] Jonathan Scott, *The Menace of Nationalism in Education.* London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1926; J.Z. Vázquez, *Nacionalismo, 14-17.*

[10] Arthur Walworth, *School histories at war. A study of the treatment of our Wars in the Secondary School History Books of the U.S. and in those of its former enemies.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, p. XVI.

[11] William Buchanan y Hadley Contril, *How nations see each other. A Study in Public Opinion.* Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1953.

[12] *Op. cit.,* p. 2.

Los libros de texto mexicanos

El nuevo y endeble Estado mexicano independiente se dio cuenta de la debilidad que representaba en un país tan grande, la heterogeneidad cultural y lingüística; desde los primeros momentos consideró indispensable educar a los niños para convertirlos en buenos ciudadanos y enseñarles historia y civismo para fomentar su lealtad a la patria y a las nuevas instituciones. Las Cortes españolas habían iniciado una tarea semejante con la publicación de cartillas que explicaban la Constitución de 1812.[13] Así, a pesar de la inestabilidad política y las agresiones extranjeras, durante las primeras décadas de la república aparecieron dos cartillas cívicas y dos auxiliares para la enseñanza de la historia.[14]

Pero fue la herida profunda que produjo la derrota ante las tropas invasoras de los Estados Unidos la que tornaría en urgente la tarea de fomentar el patriotismo, de ahí que apareciera el primer texto de historia en 1852 y el himno nacional en 1854. En el Compendio de la historia de México desde antes de la conquista hasta los tiempos presentes, extractada de los mejores autores para la instrucción de la juventud, Epitacio de los Ríos no supo sortear el problema de explicar la dolorosa derrota y evitó toda referencia a la guerra y a los Estados Unidos, por lo que se limitó a ofrecer una lista de gobernantes, con la explicación de que "el estudio de la minuciosa historia de esas épocas no es para los niños".[15]

> Mas la necesidad de infundir patriotismo estaba en el ambiente y en 1854 se empezaba a exigir la enseñanza de la historia "universal y de México" en la educación secundaria y en 1856, en la Normal.[16]

Con el triunfo republicano en 1867, la trasmisión del pasado adquirió verdadera importancia; el gobierno liberal la consideraría indispensable para modelar ciudadanos republicanos y los conservadores para justificar y perpetuar los valores católicos.

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[13] *Catecismo político de la Constitución.* México, J. M. de Benavente, 1814; *Cartilla o Catecismo del ciudadano constitucional.* México, Imprenta de Ontiveros, 1820.

[14] J.M.L. Mora, *Catecismo político de la federación mexicana.* México, 1831; J. Gómez de la Cortina, *Catecismo cívico.* México, Cumplido, 1839 *Cartilla Nacional Histórial o Método para estudiar la historia.* México, Cumplido, 1841 y J. M. Lacunza, "Discursos históricos", en *Museo Mexicano* III-(1843).

[15] México, Impresora de la Voz de la Religión, 1952, p. 231.

[16] Manifiesto de Benito Juárez, 8 de mayo, 1859 urgía la publicación de manuales sencillos para educación primaria para que los niños "desde su más tierna edad vayan... formando sus ideas en el sentido que es conveniente para el bien general de la sociedad", en *Escuelas Laicas, Textos y documentos.* México, Empresas Editoriales, 1958.

EL LIBERALISMO TRIUNFANTE: 1861-1917

El triunfo liberal en un país de tan rancia tradición católica obligó a los gobernantes hacer un lado su tolerancia y decidirse a imponer una visión del pasado que justificaba su actuación. Los conservadores hundidos con el fracaso de un Imperio que les había resultado liberal, reaccionaron lentamente, pero no tardarían en dar forma a sus propios textos, con lo que pronto campearían dos visiones contrastantes del mismo pasado, cada una con sus héroes y con dos proyectos distintos de nación. La política conciliadora de Porfirio Díaz a partir de 1884 y la publicación de *México a Través de los Siglos* (1884-1889) ejercerían cierta influencia moderadora y hasta aparecerían textos que pretendían superar los partidarismos.

Las referencias directas a los Estados Unidos que se encuentran en libros de lectura y geografía reflejan admiración. Así el Curso elemental de geografía universal de García Cubas, después de describir el territorio de aquel país, afirma "el carácter emprendedor y laborioso de los americanos ha desarrollado los elementos de riqueza que les ofrece su rico suelo",[17] lo que parece llevar implícito el mensaje de la necesidad de que los mexicanos sean más emprendedores para llegar a desarrollar ese "cuerno de la abundancia" que era nuestro territorio, según imagen cara a los porfiristas. El "espíritu de trabajo" se destaca también en el libro *Frascuelo*[18] así como su amor a la enseñanza que llega a tanto que

> cuando se proclamó la emancipación de los esclavos en Estados Unidos, lo primero que pidieron fue que se les enseñase a leer. Y precisamente una de las glorias de Norteamérica es el celo con que todos los habitantes, hombres y mujeres, se apresuraron a instruir a los esclavos emancipados. Dos años después del decreto habíanse abierto ya 1 500 escuelas para los negros; y tres años más tarde, contábase con 4 000.[19]

La historia universal se enseñaba con textos franceses, a excepción del libro de Justo Sierra. En él las referencias a Estados Unidos se iniciaban con la colonización e independencia; que a lo largo del tiempo se consideraran como eventos excepcionales. Se menciona también la guerra civil y su conclusión restauradora: la abolición de la esclavitud

> Con la libertad interior, el trabajo fue más productivo, las inmensas riquezas minerales y agrícolas de la tierra americana fueron explotadas por gigantesco modo, la colonización triplicó casi la población, la

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[17] Antonio García Cubas, *Curso elemental de geografía universal.* México, Antigua Imprenta de Murguía, 1884.

[18] G. Bruno, *Frascuelo.* México, Bouret, 1921, p. 189.

[19] *Ibid,* p. 138.

> industria centuplicó los capitales y los E.U. como mineros fabriles y agricultores ocuparon uno de los primeros, quizá el primero de los puestos económicos en el mundo.

Esto parece sorprendente dado que se trata de un "pueblo híbrido, porque está hecho de elementos disímbolos pero no, porque ellos se funden en una personalidad nacional distinta de las otras".[20] Y en verdad, lo que más intriga a los mexicanos decimonónicos es que el desorden dé paso al orden y a la prosperidad.[21] Dentro del mismo espíritu cuando Payno introduce el tema "decidme algo de los Estados Unidos del Norte" refleja su perplejidad en la respuesta:

> –En esa República de actividad y movimiento todos los días acontecen incendios, asesinatos, catástrofes en las costas y en los caminos de fierros, *pero no obstante esto, el progreso es siempre asombroso.*[22]

Mas el pueblo ejemplar, aun para los liberales que lo consideraban modelo, planteaba el problema de haberse cruzado en el camino de México en una "lucha emprendida contra toda razón y justicia".[23] Sierra parece considerar que justamente fue el expansionismo el que desvirtuó los mejores impulsos norteamericanos.

> La doctrina Monroe que genuinamente consistía en garantía a la América entera contra toda tentativa nueva de conquista europea, ha sido sustituida por el imperialismo que proclama el derecho (que en el caso es lo mismo que fuerza) del pueblo americano para comprender en su energía expansiva al mundo de un modo general y de un modo especial a las Américas; de modo que conquistaran de grado o no la preponderancia mercantil en nuestro continente, en cambio del servicio de custodiarlo contra las violencias de los extraños, pero obligándolo a vivir en paz... Es este programa de tutela recientemente formulado por un conspicuo hombre de Estado del imperialismo, el Presidente Roosevelt.[24]

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[20] Justo Sierra, *Manual escolar de historia general.* México, Tipografía de la Oficina Impresora de Estampillas, 1904, p. 517.

[21] Bruno, *Frascuelo,* p. 189 "cuando se descubrió el oro en California hubo al principio algunos desórdenes, pero pronto reinó el orden gracias al espíritu de trabajo... [y ahora] es una de las comarcas más ricas.

[22] Manuel Payno, *Compendio de historia de México.* México, Imprenta de F. Díaz de León, 1880, pp. 330-331).

[23] *Ibid,* p. 516.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 517.

No es raro pues que en los libros de historia de México el tema fundamental en relación a los Estados Unidos sea el de la independencia de Texas y su corolario, la intervención norteamericana en México. Las referencias en general son escuetas, en las que no obstante se hace patente que la adopción del centralismo fue sólo un pretexto texano para apropiarse el territorio que ocupaban únicamente como colonos,[25] que la independencia la lograron con el apoyo o la instigación norteamericana, para anexarse después ese territorio, lo que provocó una guerra injusta y una paz infame.

> El año de 1845 Texas se anexó a los E.U., lo cual había sido a todas luces el proyecto y fin de la disimulada colonización americana. Más aún. Al arreglar el gobierno del norte los límites de aquella provincia, pretendió ensancharlos... lo cual dio motivo a una guerra de las más inicuas, atroces, infames e injustificadas que la Historia haya registrado.[26]

La guerra merece más espacio en los textos conservadores. Estos acusan directamente al país vecino de agresor, "con el fin poco disimulado de asegurar y adquirir la faja inmensa de territorio que, además de Tejas, le fue cedida".[27] Ante la magnitud del agravio inflingido por los Estados Unidos los textos liberales optan por relatar los hechos y descargar parte de culpa en la ineptitud del general Santa Anna, la traición del general Paredes y la irresponsabilidad de los "polkos"[28]. Se sienten por otra parte obligados a explicar "la suerte que cupo a los mejicanos" en las batallas, a lo que contestan: "fueron siempre desgraciados, no obstante el gran valor de que dieron pruebas".[29] Algunos autores se irán consolando al relatar los hechos heroicos sobre todo los de los "niños héroes" de Chapultepec, para mostrar que "no obstante el estado de suma postración y debilidad en que México se hallaba, obligó al gobierno de Estados Unidos de América a enviar durante ella cien mil soldados con doscientas piezas de artillería, a servirse con más de doscientos barcos de todas dimensiones y a gastar doscientos diez millones de pesos ".[30] Justo Sierra, quien a pesar de su posición liberal da una explicación más completa, acepta que después de la anexión de Texas,

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[25] Manuel Brioso y Candiani, *Nociones sobre historia nacional,* Libro IV, Oaxaca, Imprenta del Estado, 1892, p. 15; Manuel Rivera Cambas, *Cartilla de Historia de México.* México, Antigua Imprenta de Murguía, 1893, p. 34.

[26] Pineda, Celso, *El niño ciudadano.* México, Herrero, 1907, p. 136.

[27] José Ma. Roa Bárcena, *Catecismo elemental de Historia de México.* México, Imprenta de Santiago White, 1862, p. 254.

[28] Antonio García Cubas, *Compendio de historia de México.* México, Antigua Imprenta de Murguía, 1906, p. 185; Brioso y Candiani, *op.cit.,* 17.

[29] Lainé, *op.cit.,* p. 44.

[30] Julio Zárate, *Compendio de historia general de Méjico.* México, Tipografía La Providencia, 1892, p. 346.

> se levantó un gran partido que quería la guerra con los americanos, pero fueron éstos los que la provocaron, violando impíamente nuestro territorio, que fingían creer que era de Texas. Y como México no tenía recursos, porque el gobierno debía mucho y apenas tenía entradas, y los soldados sin buenas armas y sin buenos oficiales y cogidos de leva, sólo pensaban en desertar, el triunfo de nuestros enemigos era seguro.[31]

Justo Sierra es desde luego el máximo exponente de la corriente que justifica la dictadura como un paso necesario para terminar con el caos, un paso adelante en el camino constante hacia el progreso, encuentra en la derrota un profundo sentido didáctico.

> El pueblo americano había cometido un gran crimen, nosotros habíamos recibido una gran lección, renunciaríamos a las guerras civiles que nos debilitaban y agotaban nuestra energía y disolvían nuestro patriotismo.[32]

Pereyra se atreve a plantear el espinoso problema de por qué

> el vencedor pagaba una indemnización al vencido... En el caso de esta guerra, el gobierno de E.U. pagó indemnización *para* legitimar su expoliación, presentándola artificialmente como una compra libremente consentida por Mejico. Así creía que podría evitar los reproches del partido adverso a la guerra, que era muy respetable.[33]

Unos cuantos autores mencionan otros temas. Los conservadores la llegada del "funesto Joel R. Poinsett", primer ministro norteamericano[34] y mientras los liberales mencionan la guerra civil y la simpatía y apoyo del norte hacia el gobierno de Benito Juárez [35] los conservadores el peligro de la empresa de Napoleón III "que tenía por objeto destruir el predominio de la *raza sajona* en América".[36] Un solo autor habla del "inmortal Washington, el primer hombre en la guerra, el primero en la paz y el primero en los corazones de sus conciudadanos".[37]

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[31] Justo Sierra, *Segundo año de historia patria.* México, Bouret, 1904, p. 48.
[32] *Ibid,* p. 49.
[33] C. Pereyra, *op.cit.*, p. 122.
[34] Tirso R. Córdoba, *Historia Elemental de México.* México, Editorial Católica, 1881, p. 399; Marcos Arróniz, *Manual de historia y cronología de México.* París, Bouret, 1859, 260.
[35] Gregorio Torres Quintero, *La Patria Mexicana, elementos de historia nacional.* México, Herrero, s.a., 334; Rivera Cambas, *op.cit.*, 51.
[36] Carlos Pereyra, *Historia del pueblo mejicano.* Méjico, Ballesca y Cía, S.A., p. 164.
[37] Arróniz, *op.cit.,* p. 162.

> El nuevo presidente Hayes, queriendo distraer la atención del pueblo de los E.U., o por otras causas, fijó su atención en este estado de cosas, que había sido tratado no muy prudentemente por su antecesor el general Grant y dio orden... para que se persiguiera a los partidos de indios y ladrones de ganado y pasase la frontera si era necesario. Esto causó grande disgusto y alarma en la nación mexicana, y muchas esperanzas de guerra y conquista en los E.U.[38]

En busca de una educación revolucionaria 1917-1970

Los treinta y cuatro años de paz porfirista habían transformado al país; la construcción de vías de comunicación, el inicio de la industrialización y la comercialización de diversas materias primas parecieron traer un progreso y modernización que, no obstante, dejó invariables las tradicionales desigualdades sociales. Este hecho, junto a la entrada de ideas de reivindicación social y el descontento que producia la permanencia de un mismo grupo en el poder, desencadenaría brotes de inconformidad que finalmente estallarían en un movimiento revolucionario. Este conllevó un replanteamiento de viejos agravios y la introducción de otros nuevos, plasmados en una nueva Constitución. Varios artículos de la Constitución provocaron resistencia entre grupos empresariales y clericales lo que condujo a una nueva inestabilidad política. Los textos no podían sino reflejar esa situación. El mismo planteamiento revolucionario radicalizó las viejas posiciones liberal y conservadora que, con los nuevos enfrentamientos con la Iglesia y la imposición de la educación socialista,llegaron a extremos ridículos en los años 30. Aunque el desencadenamiento de la Segunda Guerra Mundial influyó en una nueva conciliación que desterró parte de los extremismos, la situación estaba tan polarizada que en 1943 el VI Congreso de Historia decidió organizar una Mesa Redonda al año siguiente sobre los problemas de la Enseñanza de la Historia. Sus resoluciones ejercerían una influencia moderadora en los indigenismos e hispanismos y se fue imponiendo el anhelo de lograr la verdad nacional aceptando la tesis del México mestizo, empeño que culminaría en el establecimiento de la Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuitos en 1959, que quedarían encargados de trasmitir a todos los niños mexicanos, una misma versión acerca de México.

Es difícil reseñar un periodo tan largo que dista de ser uniforme y sólo para facilitar su manejo se agruparán en tres series: los que denominaremos oficiales por seguir metas y objetivos dictados por el gobierno; los que fueron diseñados para cumplir con las exigencias del corto periodo de educación "socialista" y los que pondremos bajo el nombre de tradicionalistas, ya que algunos

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[38] Manuel Payno, *op.cit.*, p. 365.

más que conservadores reflejaban inconformidad hacia las interpretaciones gubernamentales; de esa manera, reivindicaban la herencia hispánica y los proyectos fracasados en la fundación del Estado mexicano, frente a la posición liberal, antihispanista, anticlerical e indigenista. Como los que consideramos oficiales constituyen un amplio espectro. Algunos aceptan la reforma liberal y otros son conservadores con el extremismo absurdo de los libros de Joaquín Márquez Montiel.

En los textos del periodo se nota la multiplicación de las referencias a Estados Unidos, aunque el centro de atención continúe siendo el expansionismo norteamericano y la pérdida de territorio como consecuencia. No se ha perdido una admiración por los logros de la Nación vecina, pero si se incrementa el rechazo a lo que ahora en forma general se denomina política "imperialista". También hay juicios contra los prejuicios raciales y aún en uno de los textos más cautelosos, el de Ida Appendini y Silvio Zavala se lee:

> La sociedad de los E.U. está integrada por ciudadanos libres, iguales ante la ley, con las mismas obligaciones y las mismas garantías. La aristocracia de antaño ha desaparecido pero prevalece... la de educación y del dinero. Los prejuicios raciales no han desaparecido por completo; los negros y los hombres de color no pueden vivir libremente al lado de los blancos sino en calidad de domésticos, campesinos u obreros.[39]

Sin duda se le considera "una de las principales democracias en el mundo. Todavía se rigen por la Constitución política que aprobaron en Filadelfia en 1787... sólo han ocupado la presidencia del país 36 personas".[40] Una de las figuras que se cita como digna de admiración sigue siendo Washington,[41] pero ha crecido la de Lincoln, "alma generosísima", a quien se otorga todo el crédito de la emancipación de los esclavos.[42] Hay alguna mención a los Mártires de Chicago y por supuesto, a Franklin, Jefferson, Edison, Franklin P. Roosevelt, amén de los presidentes expansionistas o intervencionistas como Monroe, Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt y Woodrow Wilson. Aunque las menciones a la cultura, son secundarias, pues la enseñanza es todavía básicamente política, Appendini-Zavala y Amelia Monroy listan aportaciones científicas y literarias, además

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[39] Ida Appendini y Silvio Zavala, *Historia universal moderna y contemporánea.* México, Porrúa [1950], 1974, p. 393.

[40] Amelia Monroy, *Mi libro de quinto año;. Historia y civismo.* México, Comisión Nacional del Libro de Texto Gratuito, 1964, pp. 165-166.

[41] R. Contreras y Ferto y Faustino Zelaya, *Historia universal.* México, Editora Popular, SEP, 1940, p. 217.

[42] A. Monroy, *op.cit.,* 164; *Historia universal para el sexto año.* México, Luis Fernández, 1958, p. 148.

de subrayar su "organización y sentido práctica admirables" que permitió un desarrollo de vías de comunicación, agricultura y comercio,[43] que en el siglo XX ha producido una evolución y un auge considerables para ocupar el primer lugar en el mundo.[44]

Toda esa grandeza es atribuible al trabajo, pero también a que no han sufrido continuas revueltas y guerras intestinas,[45] a que recibieron inmigrantes de todo el mundo y al enorme territorio conquistado que les otorgó grandes recursos. Pero sin duda hay un tinte antihispanista en la insistencia en las asambleas representativas de las trece colonias que les permitió la experiencia para el autogobierno, de la que fácilmente se puede concluir que si al resto de América lo hubieran colonizado los ingleses la historia hubiera sido semejante. En un texto se interpreta erróneamente que "al establecerse los inmigrantes ingleses procuraron conservar en América la *intervención política* que las costumbres y las leyes daban *en Inglaterra a la comunidad".*[46] En contraste con esto, se mencionan rasgos negativos de la colonización, como su actitud antiindígena y su extensa esclavitud y de nuevo encontramos que una autora considera que los siervos por contrato (indentured servants) eran "esclavos blancos".[47]

El tema que no merece sino elogios es el de la independencia, que al decir de Appendini y Zavala fue de "enorme repercusión en América y Europa" y "camino hacia la conquista de la libertad y los derechos naturales del hombre".[48]

Como antaño los conservadores, los textos oficiales citan la intervención del ministro Poinsett en la fundación de las Logias yorkinas mexicanas, pero casi sin comentarios negativos los que se reservan para el expansionismo. Alfonso Toro, cuya Historia de México formó generaciones de estudiantes de secundaria y preparatoria de 1926 a los años 60, es tal vez el más minucioso al respecto y refiere como

> los E.U., desde antes que México se hiciera independiente, deseaban extender su territorio a costa del de la Nueva España hasta el Río Bravo... como lo prueba la correspondencia del ministro plenipotenciario de España [Onís]... y las proposiciones que hiciera el Secretario de Monroe al insurgente Gutiérrez de Lara, de ayuda a la independencia, siempre que este país se diera una constitución republicana y se agregara a los E.U. Más tarde el ministro Poinsett... propuso al gobierno de México la compra de Texas.[49]

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[43] Zepeda Sahagún, *Historia Universal,* México, s.e., 1948, 383.
[44] Appendini y Zavala, p. 393.
[45] Blanquel y Manrique, *op. cit.,* 188.
[46] A. Monroy, *op. cit.,* 161.
[47] A. Monroy, *op. cit.,* 115.
[48] *op. cit.,* 240.
[49] Alfonso Toro, *Compendio de México. La revolución de independencia y México independiente.* México, Patria, 1946, p. 377.

El juicio sobre la independencia de Texas y la intervención es más duro que en los libros liberales del siglo XIX. También se acusa a Santa Anna de establecer el centralismo y ser "mal patriota",[50] al tiempo que se lamenta la inestabilidad. Toro, quien dedica un buen capítulo al problema de Texas, acepta la versión norteamericana del evento; se refiere a "excesos de la soldadesca", "injustificado abandono de Coahuila" que mantenía a la población sin escuelas, caminos, sin protección ante los ataques indígenas y sin jueces, que ahora sabemos sesgada e injusta. José Miranda afirma que se otorgaron concesiones "sin la menor prudencia" y exagera el papel "nefasto" de Lorenzo de Zavala.[51] A pesar del juicio tan duro que le merecen los gobiernos mexicanos, Toro considera que el ingrediente decisivo en la independencia texana fueron los intereses esclavistas sureños representados por Jackson, "hombre sin escrúpulos... que recurrió a toda clase de medios, aun los más inmorales",[52] el centralismo, por tanto, no fue sino un "plausible pretexto".

La intervención es condenada como "verdadero robo",[53] "agresión cobarde e injusta,"[54] resultado de "la tendencia imperialista de los E. U."[55] En estos textos se subraya menos que en los textos porfiristas el caos como causa, pero no se soslayan los males nacionales, de manera que en el de Toro, se le relata con la amargura de lo inevitable, casi un resultado de la forma misma de nuestro territorio que se describe como un "cuerno de la abundancia que se vertiera a los E.U.".[56] Su juicio es aplastante al juzgar a los mexicanos: la aristocracia traidora, "el patriotismo vocinglero", el ejército, traicionando al país "con su mal ejemplo o con su falta de capacidad".[57] Todo ello no justifica a E.U., quien se había preparado para ese "brillante negocio", pues el aumento de extensos territorios que hizo posible el acrecentamiento de estados esclavistas, compensó con grandísimas creces los gastos de hombres y dinero hechos por la injusta adquisición".[58]

Varios textos se refieren a la de la Mesilla como venta "forzada"[59] pero otros la consideran voluntaria "para sostener lujos y derroches de Santa Anna".[60] Casi todos refieren el apoyo norteamericano a los liberales durante la Reforma y la Intervención Francesa, aunque Toro no deja de considerar que la detención de los barcos conservadores en Antón Lizardo fue "una intervención armada de

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[50] Carlos Rodríguez, *Breviario de historia de México.* Cuarto año México, El Material Didáctico, S.A. 115-116.

[51] W. Jiménez Moreno y José Miranda, *Historia de México.* México, Porrúa, 1963, 436-7.

[52] Toro, *op.cit.,* p. 279.

[53] Guillermo Shewell, *Segundo curso de historia patria.* México, Patria, 1941, p. 83; Rafael Aguirre Cinta, *Lecciones de historia General de México.* México, Patria, 1950, 147.

[54] Rosa de la Mora, *Lecciones de historia patria,* 4 º año. México, Imprenta Ideal, 1956, 199.

[55] Jiménez Moreno-Miranda, *op.cit.,* 443.

[56] Toro, *op.cit.,* 20.

[57] *Ibid.,* 457, 469, 473.

[58] *Ibid.,* 484.

[59] Rosa de la Mora, p. 205.

[60] Carlos Rodríguez, *op.cit.,* 123.

los americanos en favor del partido liberal".[61] En algún caso se menciona como el Secretario Seward trató de aprovechar la guerra de Reforma para obtener nuevos territorios.[62]

Generalmente se citan las inversiones norteamericanas en el Porfiriato y ocasionalmente la intervención de "soldados yanquis" para someter a los huelguistas de Cananea.[63] Las últimas referencias a E.U. recuerdan la ocupación de Veracruz ordenada por Wilson en 1914, "sin que mediara declaración de guerra",[64] la persecución de Villa por las tropas del Gral. Pershing[65] y las consecuencias de la Depresión de 1929.

Para cumplir con los programas de la escuela "socialista", se redactaron una serie de libros. Los de lectura pecaron de un antiimperialismo que no puede sino sonar ingenuo, pero sin mencionar directamente a los Estados Unidos. Los libros de historia nunca fueron tan extremistas. En realidad no son sino una variante de los oficiales que por estar redactados bajo la inspiración del materialismo dialéctico, le daban un peso fundamental a las transformaciones económicas, sociales o ideológicas como explicación de los acontecimientos. Así la influencia de Estados Unidos en la vida independiente de México resulta sólo una fase del liberalismo, generado por las condiciones económicas en Inglaterra y Estados Unidos. De ese fenómeno no era sino una página,

> la famosa doctrina Monroe, que nació como defensa de las instituciones republicanas de América, puesta en manos de E.U. y sin el consentimiento expreso de las repúblicas hispanoamericanas, en contra de las intervenciones de los gobiernos absolutos de Europa, reunidos en la Santa Alianza. La Doctrina Monroe, al nacer, fue un acto en contra de la reconquista del imperialismo europeo. Pero ya tenía desde entonces un fondo de egoísmo imperialista norteamericano y de soberbia.[66]

El centralismo explica para Teja Zabre la separación de Texas, pero Castro Cancio agrega el descuido del gobierno que no "se ocupó de atender a los tejanos y hacerles justicia".[67] Santa Anna resulta tirano, sin pericia militar y culpable de "crueles e inútiles crímenes"[68] y en opinión de Teja, de preparar

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[61] Toro, *op.cit.,* 569.
[62] Rosa de la Mora, *op.cit.*, 215.
[63] Angel Miranda Basurto, *La evolución de México, Segundo Curso.* México, Herrero, 1958, p. 323.
[64] Sherwell, *op.cit.,* 172.
[65] Aguirre Cinta, 257.
[66] Alfonso Teja Zabre, *Breve historia de México.* México, La Impresora, 1935, p. 196.
[67] Jorge Castro Cancio, *Historia patria,* 4 º año. México, Patria, 1935, pp. 186-7.
[68] *Ibid,* 188.

> torpemente la guerra norteamericana... [como] recurso para contener a los enemigos internos, para mantener el ejército, para inventar contribuciones y desviar la atención del pueblo".[69]

Los dos autores también atribuyen al expansionismo el origen de la guerra con México, pero a diferencia de otros autores se adentran a explicar cómo se había generado por la llegada de emigrantes europeos, la adopción de "nuevas formas de transporte y de producción" que permitieron tanto la expansión del cultivo del algodón sureño, como el progreso de las industrias manufactureras norteñas. Los intereses de los dos eran antagónicos, de suerte que como los esclavistas sureños se apoderaran de Texas

> La guerra de 1847-48 se hizo para completar la obra de despojo: como los estados del Norte no querían que crecieran los estados esclavistas del sur, una vez lanzados a la guerra, continuaron la empresa de conquista, y puesto que el esclavismo crecía con Texas, se extendió la invasión a las regiones de Nuevo México, Colorado, Arizona y California... La realidad se impuso, primero por la ocupación militar de las zonas del norte, después por la guerra *y en el fondo por la fuerza de la expansión industrial y económica.*[70]

La obtención de los territorios fue la base de su "extraordinaria grandeza" y

> contribuyó a elevarlo a la categoría de una gran potencia mundial que en la guerra europea de 1914 a 1918 decidió el triunfo de los aliados... contra Alemania y Austria. Si para México la suerte hubiera sido otra por la pericia de sus gobiernos y el acierto de su política colonizando Tejas, si los conservadores en vez de luchar por conservar su odiosa situación de explotadores, hubieran pensado como verdaderos patriotas, *otro hubiera sido el destino de México y quizá otra la resolución del problema del mundo.*[71]

Después del trágico encuentro, Teja considera que el destino de los dos países se desarrolló "en líneas paralelas". Los designios de Napoleón III no sólo iban contra México, también contra la Unión norteamericana. "sin la resistencia de México, los esclavistas del Sur de los E.U. habían recibido oportuna y abiertamente el apoyo francés; al triunfar el general Zaragoza en Puebla el 5 de mayo de 1862, contribuyó de lejos al triunfo de Lincoln".[72] Logrado ese triunfo, los empresarios norteamericanos no tardaron en descubrir los recursos

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[69] Teja Zabre, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204.
[70] *Ibid*, 205.
[71] Castro Cancio, *op. cit.*, 200.
[72] Teja Zabre, *op. cit.*, 225.

mexicanos que para fines del XIX habían logrado concesiones que durante la guerra europea de 1914-1918 obligaría a Estados Unidos a defenderlas,"hasta el extremo de una injusta e inútil intervención militar, mediante ocupación del puerto de Veracruz".[73]

La imagen más negativa va a aparecer en la serie de libros reunidos bajo el rubro de tradicionalistas. Aunque la hostilidad oscila entre el extremismo del conservador a ultranza Joaquín Márquez Montiel y el porfirista liberal Francisco Escudero, quien siempre se refiere a Yanquilandia,[74] los esfuerzos más ponderados de Carlos Alvear, todos parecen personificar en los Estados Unidos las fuerzas disolventes de la nacionalidad mexicana, pues al servir de modelo a la nueva nación la condujo a renegar de su pasado, concluyendo "que nuestros pueblos eran mejor desarrollados".[75]

Sólo Alvear escribe un texto de historia general por lo que es el único que relata la colonización e independencia de E.U. Su síntesis es modelo, pero no puede menos que insistir en el empeño de los ingleses por mantener la "pureza racial" y en que el "sistema democrático" era sólo para colonos blancos.[76] Reconoce que para América y para el mundo en general, la "Declaración de Independencia y la Constitución política sirvieron como ejemplo de lo que podía hacerse en defensa de los derechos individuales".[77] Hasta Márquez acepta el valor de la Constitución de 1787 para los propios Estados Unidos, pero considera con otros autores que su imitación en México acarreó grandes males, puesto que al contrario de lo sucedido en el norte, aquí dividía "lo que había estado unido".[78]

Para los autores tradicionalistas adquiere particular importancia la referencia a la doctrina Monroe, que sintetizan en la frase tradicional de "América para los norteamericanos"[79] y la labor nefasta "del tristemente célebre, intrigante y maquiavélico Poinsett",[80] quien con la fundación de las Logias yorkinas se aseguró "amigos decididos de los E.U."[81] que provocarían la discordia civil que serviría al designio norteamericano de desmembrar nuestro territorio.[82] Es por ello que los norteamericanos obstaculizaron que tuviera éxito el sueño bolivariano de una alianza americana.[83]

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[73] Teja Zabre, *op. cit.,* 246.

[74] Francisco Escudero, *Elementos de historia de México para uso de las escuelas primarias.* México, Bouret, 1920, p. 115.

[75] Carlos Alvear, *Elementos de Historia de México, (época independiente).* México Jus, 1956.

[76] Carlos Alvear, *Curso de historia general.* México, Jus, 1961, p. 191.

[77] *Ibid.,* 249.

[78] Joaquín Márquez Montiel, *Historia de México. Segundo año.* México, Jus, 1958, p. 14; Alvear, *Elementos,* p. 115.

[79] *Ibid.,* p. 119; Escudero, p. 236.

[80] Márquez, 97.

[81] Alvear, *Elementos,* p. 120.

[82] Escudero, 152-153.

[83] Anfossi, p. 132.

La pérdida de territorio es también para este grupo el centro de atención, culminación de la conspiración del imperialismo norteamericano de la que había señales desde la entrevista de Gutiérrez de Lara con Monroe en 1812.[84] Casi todos los autores ven la colonización de Texas como la primera avanzada del expansionismo norteamericano, a excepción de Alvear que reconoce que no pocos colonos "obraban de buena fe, deseosos de convertirse en ciudadanos mexicanos", pero que por ser de la misma nacionalidad y religión pudieron ser utilizados por los políticos norteamericanos para sus fines.[85]

A Márquez no le queda duda de que fueron los E.U. los que fomentaron no sólo la separación de Texas, sino también la de Yucatán.[86] Santa Anna también ocupa el papel de villano, tanto que a Héctor Campillo le parece sospechosa la prisión de San Jacinto: "intempestivamente él mismo cayó prisionero de un modo por demás extraño, y estando en poder de los enemigos, ordenó a su ejército que abandonase el territorio de Texas".[87] Durante la guerra con los E.U., el papel de Santa Anna fue también funesto y Márquez piensa que por eso "lo dejaron entrar los americanos por Veracruz, con el objeto de que viniera a distraernos de la guerra con sus intrigas y ambiciones".[88] A la constante inestabilidad le dan el peso de allanar "al yanqui invasor el camino de la fácil conquista".[89] El hecho de que México hiciera punto de honor en no reconocer a Texas fue el origen inmediato de la guerra,[90] pero no dudan todos los autores que la causa profunda era el expansionismo y las ambiciones que Polk tenía de Nuevo México y California,[91] en especial porque era "esclavista furibundo.[92] Todos reseñan el empeño heroico del pueblo y acusan de impericia a sus generales. El desenlace lo ven natural:

> La derrota se encontraba en la naturaleza de las cosas, en el inevitable resultado que tenía que producirse entre *un pueblo cuyos gobernantes buscaban su grandeza, aun careciendo de escrúpulos...* y un pueblo como el mexicano, de contrastes, heterogéneo, donde la política no fue siempre servicio al bien común, sino simple búsqueda de beneficios partidistas.[93]

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[84] Escudero, 115; Anfossi, 144; Márquez, 96.
[85] Alvear, 144.
[86] Márquez, p. 120.
[87] Héctor Campillo Cuautli, *La nación mexicana: su formación y desarrollo.* México, Luis Fernández Editor, S.A., p. 160.
[88] Márquez, p. 124.
[89] Escudero, p. 182.
[90] Alverar, *Elementos,* 166.
[91] *Ibid.,* p. 167.
[92] Campillo, pp. 164-165.
[93] Alvear, *Elementos,* 177.

Representantes de un grupo reducido, no desperdician la ocasión de tratar de demostrar que los liberales fueron traidores[94] y que siempre contaron con el apoyo del norte. Escudero y Anfossi conceden la necesidad de la Reforma, pero deploran con los otros autores el que haya sido favorecida por E.U., que llegó a dominar las acciones del gobierno de Juárez.[95] Márquez Montiel que es re calcitrante conservador observa como fueron los E.U. los que deseaban la Reforma:

> pero protestante, para que perdida la fe católica en el pueblo, fácilmente diese éste orden a la asimilación de nuestro territorio. Era una política imperialista.[96]

Su providencialismo lo consuela al pensar que si bien los "lavistas yanquis", pudieron vencer a la Iglesia, "pronto iban a *tener su merecido* con la guerra civil más espantosa".[97]

En el tratamiento de la guerra civil, los libros oficiales preservaban una medida del idealismo de lucha por la abolición de la esclavitud, en el libro de Alvear parece sólo el desenlace del forcejeo entre dos proyectos de nación que existían desde antes de la independencia. Para el autor, "por convicción y conveniencia el norte era antiesclavista y por convicción y conveniencia el sur era esclavista".[98] Lo más importante fue que favorecido el norte con la victoria, se allanó un desarrollo que culminaría con otra guerra de conquista: la hispanoamericana que condujo a E.U. a participar en otras confrontaciones bélicas, la de los Boxers y la Primera Guerra Mundial, o a intervenir militarmente en Nicaragua, México o Santo Domingo.[99] Escudero atribuye precisamente a la intervención indirecta de E.U. la caida de Porfirio Díaz, quien había osado en negarle al presidente William Taft un nuevo arrendamiento de la Bahía de la Magdalena en Baja California.[100] Otros autores contienen las menciones usuales a la conspiración del Embajador Henry Lane Wilson para deponer a Madero[101] y las intervenciones de Woodrow Nilson a favor de Carranza.[102] Sólo Márquez insiste en que los Estados Unidos favorecieron la

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[94] Anfossi, p. 173; Alvear, *Elementos,* 175.
[95] Alvear, *Elementos,* p. 230.
[96] Márquez, p. 210.
[97] *Ibid.,* 211.
[98] Avear, *Curso,* p. 323.
[99] *Ibid.*, 324.
[100] Escudero, pp. 264-265.
[101] Márquez 262; Alvear, *Elementos,* 279.
[102] Márquez 273, Alvear, *Elementos,* 281-282.

política anticlerical, que el califica como "antinacional", y al embajador Dwigth Morrow de "procónsul".[103]

En el texto general de Alvear encontramos dos referencias que dan forma al juicio trasmitido en estos libros. Curiosamente se reseña la candidatura de Al Smith a la presidencia del vecino país y cómo fue derrotado por ser católico y se caracteriza la política de Franklin D. Roosevelt por no ser "hostil al comunismo y aceptar que la URSS extendiera su esfera de influencia" por media Europa.[104]

Los textos vigentes

La tesis del México mestizo culminó con el establecimiento de la Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuitos en 1959, encargada de que todos los niños de educación primaria recibieran una versión única acerca del pasado mexicano. La medida produjo resistencia en los grupos privilegiados de la sociedad mexicana, pero se fue imponiendo. Los cambios producidos durante la década de 1960 fortalecieron la convicción de la necesidad de reformar profundamente la educación impartida en México, proceso que se inauguraría en 1971. Esta reforma se impuso primero en la educación elemental y renovó totalmente los libros de texto gratuitos.

Desde la década anterior se venía llamando la atención sobre el atraso que existía entre los rápidos avances del conocimiento y el transmitido en la escuela mexicana, así como la incongruencia de una enseñanza verbalista y un mundo dominado por los nuevos medios de comunicación. De acuerdo a tendencias en todo el mundo, se optó por la integración de los conocimientos transmitidos en la escuela en cuatro áreas de conocimiento, dos ciencias, sociales y naturales, y dos lenguajes, español y matemáticas. Las ciencias sociales transmitirían los conocimientos conjugados de manera que el educando se familiarizara con la problemática de su comunidad, región, país y del mundo en general. La reforma de programas y libros de educación elemental quedaron a cargo de dos prestigiadas instituciones de educación superior, y aunque la educación media adoptó las líneas generales no tuvo elementos para desarrollarlas adecuadamente. Pero aún más, como el Sindicato de Maestros resistiera la adopción de las áreas globales, la SEP aceptó que fuera optativa a nivel medio, por lo que buena parte del sistema siguió enseñando las viejas disciplinas.

Posteriormente aparecieron libros de texto monográficos, también gratuitos, uno para cada estado de la república, destinados a complementar el conocimiento con la información regional. Los textos de educación media, excepto el experimental elaborado en el Estado de México son comerciales. La mayor

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[103] Márquez, 291-293.
[104] Alvear, *Cruso,* 325.

parte de los autores son maestros de secundaria y jefes de clase, de lo que se deriva, por desgracia, una notoria baja calidad, ya que cualquier profesional sabe que una buena síntesis siempre demanda mayores conocimientos.

Los libros de textos gratuitos

La reforma de los textos fue una empresa ambiciosa que se fijó diversos objetivos: despertar el sentido crítico de los educandos, enseñarles a investigar y organizar sus conocimientos, despertar su interés y conciencia a los problemas de México y de nuestro tiempo. A pesar de las críticas de las que fueron víctimas, dieron fin a prácticas nefastas como la de llamar historia universal a la historia europea, ignorando dentro del contexto de ella a las grandes culturas americanas y asiáticas. Desde el siglo pasado los textos de historia universal habían sido franceses o sus imitaciones argentinas[105] que se referían a Asia como el "Oriente". Para terminar con esa tradición y situar a los niños en el centro de observación, se dejó de lado el rigor cronológico y se colocó a incas y mexicas junto a chinos, egipcios, griegos y romanos. También se eliminó la tradición de enseñar sólo historia política y se integró una explicación socio-económica-cultural, en donde el principal personaje era el pueblo, aquilatándose las aportaciones de todos los grupos humanos. En esta dimensión, que pasó desapercibida para la crítica de Manning, es que cobra importancia la revolución de independencia norteamericana al ofrecer al mundo "la primera constitución escrita".[106]

El contenido de 3o. y 4o. se reservó para la historia, cultura y problemática mexicana, el 5o. y 6o. para la universal. Las principales menciones a Estados Unidos se hacen en los libros de 4o. y 6o. El temario de 6o., que es en donde se redondea la imagen de ese país, parte de las dos revoluciones del siglo XVIII, la política (revoluciones inglesa, norteamericana y francesa) y la industrial, de cuya conjunción surge el mundo del siglo XX, y en el que se forja la grandeza norteamericana.

La revolución inglesa y la experiencia norteamericana, es decir la colonización de tierras vírgenes por grupos heterogéneos tanto nacional como religiosamente, que a base de arduo trabajo logran crear colonias prósperas cuyos habitantes aprenden a ser tolerantes. Como no se encontraron las riquezas de México o Perú, la corona inglesa les permitió una cierta autonomía, lo que proporcionó experiencia política a sus habitantes.

La explicación de la independencia supera los simplismos de antaño. En un intento ambicioso, se explica cómo en la guerra de Siete Años, Inglaterra resulta victoriosa, adquiere el Canadá y las colonias francesas de la India, pero

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[105] Ducoudray y Charles Seignobos y los argentinos Malet y Secco Ellauri.

[106] *Ciencias Sociales. Sexto grado.* Méexico, SEP, 1977, 34.

se encuentra en bancarrota, lo que la obliga a organizar su nuevo imperio y a obtener fondos para superar el déficit hacendario. El intento provoca un conflicto con los súbditos de las trece colonias americanas, que imbuidos de las ideas del tiempo se declaran independientes y que para 1787 promulgan una Constitución[107] republicana que se convierte en "el sueño de todos los liberales del siglo XIX"[108], la gran aportación norteamericana al legado de la humanidad. "La fama de que los Estados Unidos tenían mucha tierra, riquezas y libertad atrajo a la gente"[109] y como su gobierno pudo comprar y conquistar nuevos territorios, "en poco más de cuarenta años...había duplicado su territorio"[110] y el país no tardó en comprar, anexarse y conquistar más tierra, convirtiéndose en un enorme país con abundantes recursos naturales, que con el trabajo de los inmigrantes y del capital europeo fue campo de la "más grande de las revoluciones industriales del mundo"[111]

Todo ese proceso admirable no dejó de hacer dos víctimas, México y los indios, que fueron "atacados...para quitarles sus tierras...acorralados y obligados a vivir recluidos en ...reservaciones. El avance de los norteamericanos hacia el oeste [los] atropelló...[y] fueron despojados de sus tierras y de sus derechos". La relación de la independencia de Texas y la guerra con Estados Unidos es bastante escueta y sin soslayar los problemas mexicanos. En cuanto a la independencia de Texas no se puede pedir mayor neutralidad.

> Algunos norteamericanos habían conseguido permiso para establecerse en Texas, que entonces pertenecía a México. Después *estuvieron inconformes* con el gobierno mexicano y se independizaron... Para dominarlos, Santa Anna partió con un ejército que llegó en muy malas condiciones...En las primeras batallas...resultó victorioso, pero fue tomado prisionero en San Jacinto. La falta de dinero y armas hizo imposible reconquistar Texas. Como la mayor parte de la población era de origen norteamericano, en 1845 Texas se unió a los E.U.[112]

En cuanto a "la guerra con los E. U." a la que no se denomina "de intervención", hay ciertas variaciones entre las versiones de los textos de 4o. y de 6o. En el primero no sólo hay mayor información de la unidad nacional" para asegurar la fuerza de un Estado. La etapa "confusa y triste" en que "se estaba formando la nación mexicana y el camino era difícil". Se explica la debilidad interior por la inestabilidad y las agresiones externas no sólo de E.U., sino también de Francia.

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[107] *Ciencias Sociales.* Sexto grado. México, SEP, 1974, 32-34.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 89-90.
[111] *Ibid.*, 92.
[112] *Ciencias Sociales. 4 º grado.* México, SEP, 1974, p. 142.

> La unión de Texas a E. U., y la ambición de los norteamericanos de *apoderarse* también de Nuevo México y California...provocaron la *invasión* ...a nuestro país...Para colmo, los mexicanos estaban divididos... En una de las últimas batallas, en Chapultepec, lucharon hasta los cadetes del Colegio Militar que tenían 13 o 14 años. Todos los sacrificios fueron inútiles...El 2 de febrero de 1848 se firmó ...el Tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo. En él, México cedió a los E.U., más de la mitad de su territorio, a cambio de 15 millones de pesos.[113]

El relato del texto de 6o. grado analiza los eventos en el contexto del imperialismo naciente. Se señala que el cambio al centralismo fue el pretexto para la declaración de independencia de Texas y sin mayores explicaciones se informa que "en 1845 Texas se unió a los E.U.".

> Para entonces *la ambición* por las tierras mexicanas era tan grande que, en 1846, los E.U. *le declararon* la guerra a nuestro país. Los norteamericanos contaban con armas, hombres y dinero. México estaba desorganizado y no tenía dinero, armas, ni alimentos. Fue completamente vencido y su capital ocupada durante algunos meses. En 1848 *tuvo que ceder* los territorios de Nuevo México y California por el Tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo.[114]

En las monografías estatales que funcionan como textos complementarios, el tono es menos renovador. En la mayoría se tocan los temas de Texas y de la guerra del 47 con resabios de la retórica tradicional. En el Tratado de Guadalupe "se acordó *el más grande despojo* territorial sufrido por nuestra nación. Los norteamericanos *se apropiaron* de casi dos millones de kilómetros cuadrados... a cambio de una *indemnización ridícula*;[115] otros libros califican a la guerra de *despojo* "tan cruel como injusta",[116] provocada por el "interés de los esclavistas", y la política expansionista" cuyo origen estuvo en la "ampliación de los territorios de Texas, que...*mañosamente* los norteamericanos hacían llegar hasta el río Bravo".[117] Otro más la considera "una expedición de *conquista* en la cual la razón y la justicia estuvieron ausentes".[118] El de Tabasco se refiere a lo "previsible" de la situación, con nuestros territorios norteños habitados por

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[113] *Ibid.,* 144-145.

[114] *Sexto Grado,* p. 90.

[115] Carlos Fragoso, *et. al., Guerrero. Sur amate de mar y montaña.* México, SEP, 1987, p. 143.

[116] David Maciel y Angelina Casillas, *Chihuahua. Barrancos de cobre y doradas mesetas.* México, SEP, 1982, p. 90.

[117] Israel Cavazos, *Nuevo León. Montes jóvenes sobre la antigua llanura.* México, SEP, 1982, 96.

[118] Mercedes Meade de Angulo, *Tlaxcala. Antiguos volcanes vigilan los llanos.* México, SEP, 1982, 109.

anglosajones y perfilándose ya "la teoría expansionista...en la que ese Estado había de basar su política durante las épocas siguientes".[119]

Por su parte el de Yucatán explica las separaciones de ese estado del resto del país en 1846 por "intereses económicos" de los comerciantes y al desencadenamiento de la guerra de castas el ofrecimiento que el gobierno yucateco hizo de "la soberanía de la península a cualquier nación extranjera", entre ellas a E.U., "que no aceptó el ofrecimiento".[120] El texto de Chihuahua menciona el problema de incursiones indígenas hacia el norte de México producido por la política expansionista norteamericana y apunta cómo "muchos norteamericanos y mexicanos se convirtieron en feroces cazadores de apaches".[121] En la mayoría de los textos aparece el reproche al hecho de que los E.U. no cumplieran con algunas cláusulas del Tratado de Guadalupe.

A lo largo del libro de *Ciencias Sociales. Sexto grado* se recuerdan otras agresiones expansionistas, la de 1898 contra España y la de 1903 para separar a Panamá de Colombia, con lo que para principios del siglo XX, los Estados Unidos

> se habían convertido en una potencia mundial. Las pequeñas colonias que habian puesto en práctica las ideas liberales, se habían transformado en un país poderoso que tenía sus propias colonias.[122]

El desarrollo de Estados Unidos, como el de otras naciones, condujo a la extensión de las inversiones en Latinoamérica y al desarrollo de su comercio, industria y ferrocarriles, pero también a una dependencia que a lo largo del texto se rechaza explícitamente:

> cierto que hubo progreso, pero fue a costa de nuestros recursos naturales [y]...que las vías férreas se tendieran en función de la salida de nuestras materias primas hacia la frontera de los Estados Unidos.[123]

No todos los comentarios son negativos, el texto de Baja California encuentra que dos de las concesiones norteamericanas "influyeron en el origen y en el desarrollo de las modernas poblaciones de nuestra entidad".[124] El de Chihuahua expresa reconocimiento para los colonizadores mormones, menonitas y boers, gran parte de ellos norteamericanos.[125] No obstante, la existencia de extranjeros

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[119] Enrique González Pedrero y Julieta Camos, *Tabasco. Cálida planicie, húmeda riqueza.* México, SEP, 1982, P. 143.

[120] Wilbert Gutiérrez *et.al, Yucatán, legendaria llanura sobre un manto de coral.* México, SEP, 1986, pp. 138-139.

[121] Maciel, *op. cit.,* 109.

[122] Sexto Grado, 1977, 93.

[123] Margarita Dalton, *Oaxaca. Tierra del sol.* México, SEP, 1982, P. 195.

[124] Adalberto W. Meade, *Baja California. Tierra extremosa y riqueza en los mares.* México, SEP, 1981, p. 218.

[125] Maciel, pp. 121-124.

sirvió de base para que sus países intervinieran cuando consideraron que sus intereses estaban en peligro.[126] Todos los textos señalan la interferencia norteamericana en la Revolución Mexicana, la conspiración del Embajador Henry Lane Wilson, la ocupación de Veracruz ordenada por Woodrow Wilson y el incidente de Pancho Villa en Columbus que condujo al gobierno norteamericano a enviar una expedición punitiva "para ir en persecución del bandido...y fusilarlo...sin formación de causa". Tal vez porque el autor del texto de Chihuahua es chicano, incluye otras anécdotas sobre esa expedición, hasta que "derrotada moralmente al no lograr su objetivo, cruzó la frontera".[127]

En el libro de sexto grado, de paso se mencionan otras intervenciones norteamericanas y sólo en el caso de la revolución cubana se extiende más para mencionar que "los países latinoamericanos, con la excepción de México, rompieron relaciones con el nuevo gobierno. Cuba adoptó el sistema socialista...y creó, en cierta medida, una *nueva dependencia* económica, política y científica de la *U.R.S.S.*[128]

En la síntesis de los acontecimientos del siglo XX, en el mismo texto, se mencionan por supuesto las dos guerras mundiales, la Gran Depresión y la Guerra Fría. Con la limitación del espacio disponible, se subraya el papel decisivo que jugaron los Estados Unidos en el resultado de las dos conflagraciones:

> la entrada de los E.U. a la lucha fue importante, ya que los norteamericanos tenían grandes recursos y una enorme producción. Los norteamericanos satisficieron sus propias necesidades y ayudaron, además, a los rusos e ingleses.[129]

El lanzamiento de la bomba atómica en Hiroshima y Nagasaki se califica de *genocidio,* pero con el comentario de que "todo el mundo se sintió responsable".[130] Sin duda los autores se empeñaron en mantener una neutralidad ante la conducta expansionista de las dos superpotencias. Se menciona como la lejanía de los E.U. del centro de operaciones de la guerra los favoreció para aumentar su producción e inversiones y cómo la Unión Soviética aprovechó la lucha final para anexarse Estonia, Letonia y Lituania y ocupar los países de la Europa oriental "los que *bajo la dirección soviética* organizaron bajo sistemas socialistas". A este sistema se le da el crédito de mejorar la distribución de bienes materiales pero con el problema del control gubernamental y del Partido Comunista de toda la cultura. Al final de la guerra, los dos países poderosos cuyos sistemas eran diferentes, los enfrentó, dilema que los países en desarrollo trataron de

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126 Gutiérrez, *Yucatán,* p. 200; Francisco G. Avilés, *Veracruz. Pródiga naturaleza, cara al mar,* México, 1982, p. 173.

127 Maciel, pp. 147-148.

128 *Ciencias Sociales.* Sexto Grado, p. 159.

129 *Ciencias Sociales.* Sexto Grado, pp. 111 y 139.

130 *Ciencias Sociales,* 163.

evitar constituyendo un bloque independiente al que se conoce como "Tercer Mundo".[131]

Las referencias a las aportaciones culturales norteamericanas en el libro de texto gratuito son numerosas. En el de sexto grado, por ejemplo, 4 de 9 de los textos que ilustran las lecciones son de autores norteamericanos, aunque no se identifique su nacionalidad ya que el objetivo es subrayar el contenido. Vesta Manning considera tal hecho como "bias" "contra las contribuciones a la ciencia, la tecnología y arte".[132] Lo mismo atribuye al hecho de que no siempre se identifiquen las aportaciones norteamericanas, pero no hay que perder de vista el sentido que tienen los dos capítulos sobre la cultura, para no pedirles otra cosa. uno de ellos se refiere a la cultura del siglo XIX y otro a la del siglo XX y se sintetizan las *principales corrientes de pensamiento y artísticas,* así como las grandes aportaciones científicas y tecnológicas que cambiaron la vida de la humanidad. Así por ejemplo, dentro del romanticismo se citan entre los cuentistas a "Christian Andersen, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe"[133] y como representantes de las artes plásticas del siglo XX se menciona

> que los norteamericanos Pollok, De Kooning y Rothko pintaron bellísimos cuadros abstractos con grandes masas de color. Giacometti y Moore renovaron la escultura, Gropius y Le Corbusier orientaron la arquitectura de las ciudades modernas.[134]

En lugar de *bias* que detecta Vesta Manning, lo que resulta claro es una evidente falta de consistencia.

Los textos de enseñanza media

La reforma de la educación primaria no pudo menos que exigir la de la educación media. La SEP planeó extender la enseñanza por áreas de estudio a ese nivel, pero ante la resistencia del sindicato aceptó el compromiso de que fuera optativo para las escuelas y para evitar que hubiera diferencias hondas se reformaron los planes de estudio de historia para acercarlos a los de Ciencias Sociales. En el nuevo programa era evidente la influencia de algunas ideas de los libros de texto gratuitos. En el primer grado se parte de una presentación de los problemas del mundo contemporáneo y la descripción de los bloques de países capitalistas, socialistas y en vías de desarrollo, además de introducir al alumno al estudio y metodología de la historia o de las ciencias sociales. En el segundo grado se vuelve la mirada hacia el pasado, desde los tiempos más remotos hasta el siglo XVII. En el tercero se analiza el surgimiento del capitalismo para

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131 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
132 Manning. p. 42.
133 *Ibid.*, 106.
134 *Ibid.*, 156.

enmarcar el estudio del mundo contemporáneo. En el programa de historia hay pequeñas variantes y se denomina colonialismo lo que en Ciencias Sociales es imperialismo. Los programas adolecen una desvertebración y por tanto resultan poco coherentes, no obstante lo cual han estado vigentes por más de quince años.

La mayor parte de las menciones a los Estados Unidos se encuentran en los capítulos dedicados al capitalismo, además de las menciones obligadas en acontecimientos mexicanos. En la segunda unidad del tercer grado (colonialismo o imperialismo) se halla la referencia principal con objeto de cumplir los siguientes objetivos:

> explicará cómo se convirtieron en potencia industrial los E.U.; expresará el significado de la Doctrina Monroe y del Destino Manifiesto; identificará los problemas de la discriminación racial (?); identificará la influencia del imperialismo norteamericano en la vida de los pueblos de América Latina; juzgará la importancia de las luchas de Mexico por conservar su independencia frente al imperialismo estadounidense y europeo.[135]

El programa fracasó en integrar la historia de México a la universal, con el consiguiente desastre en los libros de texto, ya que los autores no tienen más remedio que seguir los programas. La parcialidad obvia del programa influye en cierta forma en los textos, sobre todo en los elaborados por los maestros, cuyo conocimiento superficial los conduce a juicios simplistas.[136] A excepción de unos cuantos redactados por historiadores, la calidad de los libros deja mucho que desear y además de juicios cuestionables, están llenos de datos erróneos.[137]

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[135] *Programa SEP. Secundaria. Areas y asignaturas, 1980-1981.* México, Trillas, 1981, p. 213. Los programas de Ciencias Sociales están en las páginas 157-182 y los de Historia en 202-216.

[136] Salvador Moreno, *et. al., Dinámica de las Sociedades Contemporáneas. Historia 3.* México, Ediciones Pedagógicas, 1985, p. 83; "Lo característico de la primera mitad del siglo XX en el continente americano fue la presencia del capitalismo internacional que en este caso se manifestó a través de la presión de E.U. sobre las repúblicas latinoamericanas. Sin embargo pueden distinguirse dos etapas. La primera se ha caracterizado como la época de la *Diplomacia del Dólar o del Destino Manifiesto*... La segunda... la política de la Buena Vecindad... Durante la primera etapa (1890-1930), E.U. recurrió a todos los medios diplomáticos o violentos para captar las materias primas y los mercados latinoamericanos... En el segundo periodo, en cambio, la penetración norteamericana se vistió de un ropaje más democrático, recurriendo al intervencionismo con una actitud de arbitraje... A pesar de la aparente "Buena Vecindad" preconizada desde la época de los años treinta, la penetración económica de los E.U. en Hispanoamérica ha sido constante y sistemática, situación que ha provocado la dependencia y el retraso en la economía hispanoamericana".

[137] Salvador Ysunza, *et. al., Tercer curso de historia.* México, Editorial Carber, 1977, pp. 34-35, atribuye al primer Congreso de Filadelfia (1774) haber elaborado una declaración de Derechos del Hombre y al tercero, que sitúa en Boston en 1776, lo hace ocurrir al tiempo de la "fiesta del té" que denomina "episodio del navío y de la masacre de Boston"; Ismael Vidales, *Ciencias Sociales* 3. México, Limusa, 1986, p. 92, hace un relato sobre la guerra de Texas plagado de errores, pero el colmo es que *"Texas fue invadido* por miles de colonizadores norteamericanos *que buscaban la riqueza de sus minas* de oro; Benjamín Arredondo, *Historia universal contemporánea.* México, s.i., 1985, p. 56; "el... 4 de julio de 1776 *fue jurada* la Constitución inicial (?) que provisionalmente regiría

En los textos se mantiene una visión positiva de la colonización y de la independencia, a pesar de menciones a la esclavitud y a la "eliminación de los indios", el verdadero mensaje es la representatividad política mediante el voto.[138] En varios libros se repite la idea de que las libertades de los colonos eran las de todos los súbditos ingleses.[139] pero la mayoría habla sólo de una organización "más democrática".[140]

Los mejores textos ya no se circunscriben a mencionar los "injustos" impuestos y las ideas ilustradas como causas de la independencia, sino que incluyen factores políticos, sociales y económicos. En uno de los textos se insiste en la *singularidad de la experiencia norteamericana* que "convirtió a aquella sociedad en *revolucionaria.* Muchas de las ideas postuladas como ideales en la ilustración europea eran ya una realidad en esa sociedad".[141] El texto sigue cuidadosamente el proceso desencadenado por los resultados de la Guerra de Siete Años: la bancarrota y la adquisición de nuevas colonias por el Imperio inglés que obligan a Jorge III a reorganizar el gobierno colonial, al tiempo que se ve forzado a establecer nuevos impuestos, medidas resistidas por los colonos que las interpretan como una conspiración contra sus "derechos de ingleses".

Tres textos mencionan ya los Artículos de la Confederación como primera ley fundamental que al haber establecido un régimen de asociación que carecía de verdadero gobierno, condujo a la reunión de una convención que elaboraría la Constitución de 1787.[142] A la redacción de la Constitución se le da importancia en todos los textos porque

> gracias a que resolvió con éxito los problemas del nuevo país...se convirtió en *modelo* para las naciones que después se independizaron o para aquellas que, al abolir sus monarquías establecieron gobiernos republicanos. Fue la *primera constitución escrita con la que se erigió una nación* y se estableció un gobierno elegido por los propios ciudadanos y el héroe militar de la independencia, Jorge Washington, su primer presidente, electo en 1789.[143]

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al flamante país; Alonso Alvarez, *Ciencias Sociales. Tercer Año.* México, 1986, pp. 77-78 cree que "Destino Manifiesto" y "Doctrina Monroe" son dos *documentos*.

[138] Angel Dupuy, *Historia 3.* México, Santillana, 1984, p. 28; Arredondo, *op.cit.,* p. 52.

[139] Raúl Bolaños, *Historia 3. Nuestro Pasado.* México, Kapelusz Mexicana, 1987, 16.

[140] Jesús Cárabes *et.al., Historia social 3.* México, progreso, 1984, p. 18.

[141] Lothar Knauth, Josefina Z. Vázquez y Abelardo Villegas, *La formación del mundo moderno.* México, Cempae, 1977, p. 114.

[142] Josefina Z. Vázquez, *Historia Tres.* México, Trillas, 1986, p. 29; Teresa Silva, *Ciencias Sociales Tres.* México, Trillas, 1987, pp. 30-31; Knauth, *et.al., op.cit.,* pp. 118-129.

[143] Silva, *et.al.,* p. 31.

Aunque en la mayoría de los textos se sintetiza la doctrina Monroe como "América para los americanos".[144] o aún peor como "ambiente de predestinación convenenciera".[145] sólo en unos cuantos se menciona el momento y el motivo de su enunciación.

La independencia de Texas y la guerra con México se relacionan con razón al fenómeno del expansionismo, pero todavía a algunos libros se carga buena parte de la culpa a Santa Anna, a quien en un caso se le acusa directamente de traición y cobardía, de haberse dejado por los texanos en 1836 y de no querer "ninguna gloria militar" en 1847, para "hacerse millonario a cambio de vender a su patria".[146]

El tema de la guerra con México, el intervencionismo en Latinoamérica y en el mundo en el siglo XX y la discriminación racial son los temas que producen los juicios más negativos hacia los Estados Unidos, aunque se da menos énfasis al tema que en los libros de antaño al tema de la guerra. La tesis de que la conspiración esclavista se encontraba detrás del expansionismo hacia México todavía es favorecida por varios autores, con seguridad porque el viejo texto de Alfonso Toro le sirve de modelo. En general hay parquedad al mencionar el Tratado de Guadalupe, aunque en algún caso se menciona el triunfo que significó el haber salvado el norte;[147] por supuesto que también hay comentarios poco ponderados. Así para un autor el tratado reflejó "los caprichos y apetitos de los vencedores...que cometieron el mayor atraco continental de que se tiene recuerdo".[148] Algún otro lo ve con la resignación de que "los débiles *sucumben casi siempre* cuando luchan con los poderosos".

El espinoso tema del imperialismo que ofrece tantas oportunidades es el que da origen a los comentarios más extremistas. En algunos textos cierta falta de consistencia en los juicios. Dupuy, por ejemplo, parte de una admiración desmedida hacia los E.U. a los que califica de "ejemplo único", de haber llegado a ser "primera potencia en todos los aspectos", que "en sus doscientos años de existencia ha llenado toda una época en la historia de la humanidad",[149] lo que no obsta que después se afirme que el dominio que han ejercido en los mercados y el control de las materias primas los ha llevado a fomentar

> movimientos nacionalistas a fin de promover la venta de materiales bélicos y, en general, el *uso de la guerra como un simple negocio capitalista...Cuando los E.U. han tenido problemas económicos serios*

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144 Juan Brom, *Esbozo de Historia Universal.* México, Grijalbo, 1979, p. 174; Knauth, *op.cit.,* 376.
145 Arredondo, *op.cit.,* pp. 154-156, 172-173.
146 Arredondo, *op.cit.,* 198-199.
147 Bolaños, *op.cit.,* 113.
148 Ciro González, *et.al., Nueva dinámica de la vida social. Tercer curso.* México, Herrero, 1985, p. 186.
149 Angel Dupuy, *Tercer curso de Ciencias Sociales.* México, Santillana, 1983, 64 y 67.

> (desempleo, peligro de sobreproducción, deflación, caída de la Bolsa, etc.) *los han resuelto, en gran parte, mediante el recurso bélico.*[150]

A continuación el autor ofrece una lista de intervenciones armadas que termina con la de Grenada. la mayoría de los textos distinguen diversas etapas en el imperialismo norteamericano. En la primera etapa, abierto y violento, su víctima fue México. Después se sucedió la infiltración económica, vigente hasta la renovación de la política exterior norteamericana en tiempos de Franklin D. Roosevelt. Esta etapa merece diversas interpretaciones. Una de ellas es positiva: los E.U. han extendido sus intereses por diversas regiones de la Tierra y para defenderlos han procedido de dos formas.

> a) luchando contra el comunismo;
> b) implantando su modo de vida...E.U. ha intentado ayudar a los países del continente americano. Son famosos sus programas políticos para acercarse a los latinoamericanos, la buena vecindad (Roosevelt) la Alianza para el Progreso (Kennedy).[151]

En el texto de Juan Brom trata de ser equilibrado y le otorga a Roosevelt el crédito de haber reanimado la economía mediante el Nuevo Trato, mejorar la vida de los obreros y

> procurar ganarse la buena voluntad de los pueblos mediante la "política del buen vecino", retira las tropas intervencionistas..., aceptar la anulación de la "Enmienda Platt"... respeta la expropiación petrolera realizada por México y toma otras medidas similares.[152]

En otros textos aunque se reconoce que hubo una "verdadera mejora con la política de la buena vecindad, pues al tiempo de la expropiación petrolera mexicana no ordenó la intervención armada que pedían los empresarios", se pondera que se trató de un cambio de forma, ya que "los medios [de presión] se hicieron más sutiles, por ejemplo, el uso de cuotas de compra de determinados artículos...a los países que seguían la política norteamericana se les compraba más que a los demás".[153]

Frente al desarrollo de zonas de influencia después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, se opta por favorecer una tercera posición, pues la división misma

> en "esferas de influencia" es manifestación clara de este neocolonialismo que, por desgracia no practican sólo los del bloque capitalista,

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[150] *Ibid.,* 65-67.
[151] Ismael Vidales, *et.al., Historia. Tercer grado.* México, Limusa, 1986, p. 47.
[152] Brom, *op.cit.,* p. 213.
[153] Silva, *Ciencias Sociales Tres,* p. 64; Vázquez, *Historia Tres,* pp. 203-204.

> y en particular E.U., sino también la Unión Soviética y la República Popular China.[154]

En gran parte de los textos hay el intento de distinguir entre la acción del gobierno norteamericano y la de las compañías trasnacionales, que presionan a gobiernos débiles para que favorezcan sus intereses, y en ocasiones ayudan a grupos desafectos para que derriben gobiernos reformistas", tal el caso de la ITT en Chile, durante la administración de Salvador Allende.[155]

No dejan de hacerse comentarios extraños como elucubrar el cambio que hubiera tenido la historia universal de haber ganado el Sur en la Guerra Civil[156] o afirmar que

> después de la derrota de Vietnam, la política de los Estados Unidos ha sido contradictoria. Por un lado ya no desean seguir siendo "el gendarme del mundo", pero por otra no piensas en renunciar a su *poder imperial.* Sus jóvenes ya no desean morir en una playa lejana, pero por otra, la organización yanqui no quiere ceder a las presiones de Moscú en Cuba o en Afganistán.[157]

El tema de la discriminación se subraya en el programa, aunque en un sentido general. No obstante la mayoría de los libros se refieren a la que se practica en E.U., pero no faltan referencias a la Alemania nazi,[158] a la que sufren los indios en México y las mujeres.[159] En el texto de tercer grado de la misma serie se reconoce que ha habido un progreso en la situación norteamericana:

> En 1898 los estados del sur empezaron a encontrar maneras de negar el voto a los negros y de segregarlos de todos los servicios públicos. En 1964 el Congreso norteamericano aprobó una nueva enmienda sobre los derechos civiles, y el gobierno se ha empeñado en ponerla en vigor...La ley no ha terminado con prejuicios muy arraigados, pero la situación ha *mejorado considerablemente,* sobre todo en el sur.[160]

Lo más interesante en el grupo de libros vigentes resulta la caracterización de los E.U. y de los norteamericanos. A diferencia de la que hacían los libros del pasado que insistían en el poderío y la capacidad de trabajo de su

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[154] Vázquez, *Historia Uno.* México, Trillas, 1986, p. 153.
[155] Vázquez, *Historia Tres,* p. 65.
[156] Ysunza, p. 87.
[157] Cárabes, p. 80.
[158] Benjamín Arredondo, *Primer Año de Historia.* México, 1979, pp. 130-137.
[159] Vázquez, *Historia Uno,* pp. 87-91.
[160] Vázquez, *Historia Tres.* p. 60.

población, ahora el retrato es multifacético y posiblemente menos favorable. Se nota que las impresiones son superficiales, que proceden del cine, la televisión, las revistas y hasta algún viaje, mezcladas con las diversas campañas de defensa de la identidad. En todo caso, transmiten una familiaridad con la vida norteamericana.[161]

El primer ingrediente del retrato que se hace del país vecino es naturalmente el de su poderío, en todos sentidos, aunque por estar caracterizado dentro del "mundo economía.[162] Entre sus características se destaca el "melting post" racial

> calificativo considerablemente acertado, si se toma en cuenta que *todos los pueblos europeos* han contribuido a la formación de su elemento blanco y que a éste hay que sumar una vasta población negra...muchos elementos indígenas americanos e inmigrantes mestizos de Latinoamérica [y]...un importante grupo oriental.. Algunos de estos grupos se han integrado perfectamente..., pero otros luchan aún por la incorporación plena.[163]

No deja de haber algún autor que considere a ese crisol desde un punto de vista negativo:

> La población norteamericana integrada por individuos de distintas nacionalidades (ingleses, irlandeses, japoneses, noruegos, alemanes, judíos, chinos, etc.) trajo *como consecuencia una verdadera desintegración social.*[164]

Otro aspecto muy favorecido es el de los grandes logros en la ciencia y la tecnología.[165]

> El poderío económico de E.U. ha desarrollado, dentro de sus fronteras las ciencias, las tecnologías y las artes. Su progreso es comprobado año con año a través de certámenes internacionales. Ninguna instalación universitaria de Latinoamérica es comparable a las de E.U. Sus centros educativos atraen a las juventudes estudiosas. Los bien montados laboratorios de investigación interesan a los hombres destacados de América Latina que...producen el fenómeno de fuga de cerebros.[166]

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[161] Cárabes, *op.cit.*, p. 83.
[162] Silva, *Ciencias Sociales Tres,* pp. 85-114.
[163] Silva, *Ciencias Sociales Tres,* p. 93.
[164] Felipe Consuelo Alanís, *Problemática mundial. Ciencias Sociales, 3er. Curso.* México, Esfinge, 1984, p. 286.
[165] Moreno, *Dinámica de las Sociedades,* p. 274.
[166] Rojas, *Historia. Tercer curso,* p. 83.

Se apunta que el nivel de vida es alto y que de todas maneras no existe una distribución justa, aunque la "pobreza de los marginados se concentra sobre todo en algunas minorías étnicas".[167] También se llama la atención en el excesivo consumo que hacen los norteamericanos de los bienes producidos en el mundo, aunque también es el

> más grande productor de cereales y de algunos alimentos y que gracias a sus grandes cosechas de granos se alivia el hambre en países como la India. La misma Unión Soviética se ve obligada a importar trigo norteamericano.[168]

El consumismo está entre sus aspectos más negativos. En cambio a la competividad y al individualismo se les otorga el carácter de generador de hazañas a la vez que de gran soledad.[169] Aquí y allá se encuentran críticas políticas, no sólo en su interferencia con otros países, sino a su conducta interna: el tabú que se mantiene hacia las ideas socialistas, y "la persecución contra toda intención de reforma, tildada siempre de comunista, principalmente en el periodo 1946-1960".[170]

Aunque no se contraste abiertamente a los E.U. con la U.R.S.S., si se hace entre el mundo socialista y el capitalista, con cierta simpatía hacia el primero por lograr una mejor distribuición de la riqueza, y aunque algunos subrayan logros socialistas,[171] la mayoría sólo muestra preocupación porque el poderío económico y político determinen

> costumbres, modas, formas de expresión, música, deportes y otros medios de vida que nos pasan a través de los medios masivos de información [y]...se impone en gran parte a los demás pueblos mediante sus intelectuales y escritores... como ocurría en Roma hace veinte siglos... Es incuestionable la influencia de E.U. sobre los países latinoamericanos...No obstante debemos oponernos a este tipo de invasión.[172]

CONCLUSIÓN

Como primera colonia que se independizara y lograra establecer una república democrática, representativa federal con un funcionamiento eficiente, Estados

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[167] Vázquez, *Historia Uno,* p. 106.
[168] *Ibid.,* p. 75.
[169] *Ibid.,* 109.
[170] *Ibid.,* 105.
[171] Brom, p. 227-229.
[172] Ysunza, 93-94.

Unidos despertó la admiración de muchos contemporáneos, pero en especial de otras colonias que trataron de seguir su ejemplo. En el caso de México, su vecino más cercano, no sólo se convirtió en su modelo, sino que a causa de su expansionismo también se convirtió en su amenaza, lo que influyó para que sus partidos políticos siguieran la pauta marcada por Estados Unidos o bien se pertrecharan en un tradicionalismo a ultranza como única forma de supervivencia. La guerra entre las naciones vecinas fue inevitable y el resultado dejó una huella que ha mostrado ser imborrable, sobre todo cuando a la pérdida del territorio se sumaron acusaciones injustas y los agravios del filibusterismo, el incumplimiento de los Tratados de Guadalupe y otras presiones expansionistas. En ese contexto se comprende el dilema de los liberales mexicanos para mantener en pie el modelo norteamericano, pero estaban convencidos de que no había otro camino para fortalecer a la nación. Lograda la victoria, los liberales elaboraron textos para modelar a los futuros ciudadanos y los conservadores no tardaron en hacer los propios que defendieran su perspectiva de los hechos. Los dos grupos de textos contendrían visiones diferentes de México y, por supuesto, también de los Estados Unidos. La imagen reflejada en los libros oficiales liberales era la de un país trabajador, progresista, al que se le reprochaba una guerra injusta, que habían facilitado los propios mexicanos con sus querellas domésticas y sus líderes ineptos y tiranos, como Santa Anna o Paredes y Arrillaga. Esta visión fue muy útil a los porfiristas, ansiosos de demostrar la necesidad de la dictadura. El grupo conservador, por el contrario, transmitió una imagen negativa del vecino del norte, que no sólo había robado la mitad del territorio, sino que había inspirado el modelo nefasto de gobierno que destruía las tradiciones mexicanas y había colaborado al triunfo de los traidores liberales.

Antes de fin de siglo, las pasiones partidaristas se habían calmado y las posiciones eran moderadas, pero la Revolución Mexicana interrumpió el paso mesurado y confiado que México había adoptado. Se sintió una necesidad de reafirmar los valores propios y de renovar las bases que sustentaban el contrato social. Los textos oficiales, de esa manera, se tiñeron de un nacionalismo indigenista, anticlerical y, a veces, xenófobo, en especial hacia España. Aunque la imagen de Estados Unidos resultó útil para mostrar lo negativo de la obra de España en América, frente a la fecunda colonización inglesa, el temor al nuevo intervencionismo norteamericano hizo que los juicios sobre la conducta de Estados Unidos se volvieron más duros. Pero la visión más negativa del vecino siguió derivando de los libros antioficiales o tradicionalistas.

Con el acercamiento de Estados Unidos a través de los medios de comunicación, la imagen de ese país se llenó de contradicciones. El poderoso país, con su admirable sistema político que había resistido dos siglos de vigencia, seguía amenazando a países débiles, y su envidiable nivel de vida no lograba desterrar la pobreza y a pesar de ser crisol de razas y culturas no dejaba de practicar la discriminación. Los textos elaborados para poner en vigor la reforma

educativa (1971-1976) caían dentro de ese marco y la imagen que transmitirían tendría mayor complejidad que las del pasado.

No obstante ser blanco favorito de los ataques "conservadores", lo que sin duda sugirió el estudio elaborado para la USIA, los libros de texto gratuitos se propusieron comprender. Lo mismo podría decirse de los buenos libros de educación media, pero no de buen número de libros comerciales, redactados por personas cuyos conocimientos superficiales conducen a juicios simplistas.

Los educadores conscientes se dan cuanta de lo contraproducente de una educación que siembra odios, por lo que resulta imprescindible ponderar los juicios, pero tampoco se pueden ocultar eventos significativos del pasado. En 1944, con motivo de la conferencia sobre la enseñanza de la historia de México, Jaime Torres Bodet expresaba en su justa dimensión el dilema, y su juicio parece tener vigencia:

> Bien está...que se cancelen los odios en la redacción de los libros...Como Secretario de Educación aplaudiré todo lo que se haga en ese sentido; pero como funcionario y también como hombre habré siempre de preocuparme porque en nuestro empeño de eliminar errores, no terminemos por confundir los *juicios con los prejuicios y por ende sobre los dolores del pasado*...un velo hipócrita y tembloroso que daría a las nuevas generaciones una impresión distorsionada de nuestra vida y que, por desfiguración de los arduos asuntos que trataron de resolver, colocara a los héroes de México en la equivoca posición de protagonistas sin contenido y de seres que pelearon contra fantasmas.[173]

La revisión más somera indica que tanto programas como textos requieren una buena revisión. Evitar concepciones e intepretaciones simplistas redundará en una mejor educación, pero la tarea no es sencilla, dada la naturaleza misma de la historia. Como autora de textos, el revisarlos desde esta precisa perspectiva, ha sido aleccionador del cuidado que requiere la transmisión de una visión del pasado que capte su complejidad y a la vez modele ciudadanos.

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[173] En Rafael Ramírez, *La enseñanza de la historia en México.* México, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1948, p. 72.

MEXICO, MEXICANS AND MEXICAN AMERICANS IN SECONDARY-SCHOOL U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

LINDA K. SALVUCCI

INTRODUCTION

It is now rather commonplace to decry the poor quality of United States history textbooks at the university and precollegiate levels. Criticisms range from the general to the specific. The first include such practices as "dumbing down" (when texts are rewritten for a lower reading level than their intended audience already should have attained), while the second focus more directly upon content. [1] Often inspired by distinct political agendas, the latter encompass issues of inclusion of specific topics and endorsement of particular values or behavior. Special-interest lobbying is well worth the effort, however, since American history textbooks are the single most significant source of information on many vital topics for high-school teachers as well as their students. A case in point is the treatment of Mexico, Mexicans and Mexican Americans. While American students are usually introduced to Mexico in primary-school geography and middle-school world history, it is secondary-school U.S. history textbooks that offer the fullest, most sophisticated and most widely disseminated images of Mexico and its peoples. [2] At a time when United States relations with Mexico command ever greater attention, when Mexican Americans represent one of the fastest-growing ethnic constituencies on the U.S. political scene, and when scholarship on Mexican Americans has achieved a new level of proficiency and recognition, it is appropriate to examine how Mexico, Mexicans and Mexican Americans are portrayed in ten of the most influential textbooks currently on the market. In fact, recent treatments do represent an obvious improvement over past ones. However, this essay also analyzes why inconsistent, idiosyncratic, incorrect or nonexistent images still prevail, while the bibliography points the

way towards revision and enhancement. In addition, the conclusions suggest what explicit and informed treatment of Mexico and its peoples can tell us about the past and present of the United States, from a domestic as well as a foreign perspective.

The ten textbooks under scrutiny here are those approved by the state of Texas for use betweeen 1986 and 1992 in the eighth and ninth grades for year-long courses in pre-and post-Civil War U.S. history. In other words, five titles were adopted for each "half" of American history, as taught in a consecutive, two-year sequence. However, the influence of these textbooks extends far beyond the boundaries of the Lone Star State. While it is true that local school districts choose their own titles by different methods all across the United States, statewide adoption systems in Texas, Florida, and elsewhere exert profound pressures upon the national market. [3] For example, Texas stands as one of the two largest markets for pre-collegiate educational publishers, who find that sales soar in other states once books are adopted there. Conversely, publishing companies have gone bankrupt after failing to place their products on the approved Texas list. [4] Thus, in economic terms, the stakes are high; put simply, the Texas market exercises disproportionate influence upon the availability and pricing–not to mention quality–of textbooks throughout the entire United States. Moreover, of the ten titles adopted in Texas, five are also approved for purchase in Florida between 1986 and 1992, and several are currently in use in the ten largest school districts in California, a limited-adoption state. [5] Students outside Texas often come to American history a few years later than the eighth and ninth grades in their secondary curricula, but they frequently use the same textbooks that are written for thirteen year-olds in that market.

Given its proximity to the border, its large Mexican American population and its system of adoption hearings open to public participation, Texas seemed a likely candidate to approve books sensitive to Mexico, Mexicans and Mexican Americans. In other words, the data for this project were expected to be, if anything, biased towards favorable portrayals of these subjects. Yet this turned out not to be the case, for reasons discussed below in the conclusions. In short, no vocal nor effective lobby has emerged to argue for a coherent and informed treatment of Mexico and its peoples. In the official transcripts of the public adoption hearings held in Austin in July 1985, the words "Mexico," "Mexicans" and "Mexican Americans" never appear. [6] Yet before attempting to explain why this happened, it is instructive to review the contents of the textbooks themselves.

Each text and its accompanying materials (including photographs, charts, captions, maps, and annotations for teachers) were evaluated according to criteria used in similar studies: inclusiveness, accuracy, currency, balance, comprehensiveness, concreteness, and unity. [7] However, to facilitate more substantive and issue-based historical comparisons, the findings are organized according to the four principal epochs covered by all of the textbooks. The first

era stretches from the pre-Columbian period to the end of Spanish imperial rule, including the Latin American wars for independence and U.S. articulation of the Monroe Doctrine in the 1820s. The next period focuses upon the 1830s and 1840s, featuring the Texas Rebellion and the War of 1847. The third, in turn, covers the decades from 1850 through 1920, with specific attention to the French Intervention, the Porfiriato, and the Mexican Revolution. Finally, the fourth period extends from the 1920s to the present, and encompasses such topics as postwar U.S.-Mexican relations and Mexican Americans in the United States today.

Pre-Columbian America and Spanish Colonialism

The history of Mexico before the 1820s is treated by all of the texts in a far more extensive and relatively more objective manner than that of the subsequent periods. Each of the teams of authors devotes from one to three complete chapters to the Indian and Spanish Empires in the New World. Yet, with the conspicuous exception of the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas, native peoples south of the Río Grande are generally ignored. Moreover, as is the case with many college textbooks as well, the focus shifts irrevocably to the north after 1607, once the British founded Jamestown. Issues raised in early chapters receive little or no mention in subsequent ones. To some extent, this is understandable, in that the books are not intended to be histories of the Western Hemisphere *per se*, and the authors face tremendous pressures to include all manner of topics and information. [8] Still, there is an implied value judgment here: "real" history begins with a successful British presence in the New World, despite the fact that much of what became the United States was settled first by American Indians and later colonized by non-British Europeans. At worst, the Indian and Spanish prelude to British settlement is a disjointed, albeit colorful and interesting story. As one egregious example puts it: "The immense land masses as well as the tiny islands that the Spanish explorers had found were like gift boxes still unwrapped." Or, as another introduction asserts: "Europeans first put them [Native Americans] in touch with the world." [9]

Discussions of the Aztecs vary widely in quality and scope. Henry Graff characterizes them not as a nation or an empire, but as a "tribe" who succumbed "readily" to the Spanish. Montezuma, in turn, does not even merit mention by name; rather, he appears as "the Aztec emperor [whose] hold on his people seemed to be slipping." [10] The other texts are less condescending in tone, although coverage of the Aztecs rarely moves beyond the basic story that Cortés defeated them, and that they were exploited ruthlessly by the conquistadors and settlers who followed. Carol Berkin and Leonard Wood include a segment on the declining, though "still thriving" Aztec Empire, but focus most of their attention upon Indians living within the current boundaries of the United States. Their

end-of-section questions ask students to detail the "fall of the Aztec and Inca Empires," but offer little in the text to elicit a complete answer. The acceptable response in the teachers' notes reads simply: "The Conquistadors defeated these empires and shipped their treasure to Spain." Aside from the problem of incomplete information, the implication here is that Spanish colonialism was more brutal and unsavory than the British variety. [11]

In a positive vein, the text by James Davidson and John Batchelor devotes a considerable amount of space to a description of Aztec society. Moreover, there is a full-page exercise on analyzing primary sources, in this case a wall painting from a Mayan temple. A later skill lesson teaches students how to read a line graph, which depicts the demographic catastrophe that contact with Europeans brought to the Indians of Middle America. A section on Bartolomé de Las Casas shows that there was criticism within the Spanish elite of the process of conquest. Finally, this text includes a half-page insert on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, identified as "the most famous poet of New Spain." Except for a rather questionable annotation in the teachers' edition that characterizes "Doña Marina" (that is, Malinche, Cortés's Indian interpreter) as a person much admired today because she wanted to save her people from Aztec rule, Davidson and Batchelor do a very good job indeed. [12]

In another noteworthy effort, Ernest May and Winthrop Jordan dedicate the first two chapters of their book to an extended discussion of several Native American cultures. Regarding Mexico, they underscore that Aztec civilization at its height was comparable to the great societies of Europe. Master architects and builders, the Aztecs developed an agriculturally-based economy that supported a sophisticated urban class structure. Furthermore, May and Jordan are the only authors who treat the initial victories of the Aztecs over Cortés. These authors avoid attributing the Indians' eventual defeat to a folkloric, one-dimensional belief in the divinity of the Spaniards. Rather, they examine several factors, including the role of firepower, "faith in the cause of conversion," and "great daring and good luck." [13] In short, this textbook tries to demythologize the conquest of Mexico and, in the process, to teach high-school students to construct multi-casual explanations of historical events. Finally, the discussion of the Spanish Empire concludes by emphasizing the central role played by Native Americans in the formation of a truly Mexican culture. Indians, the authors write, ". . . became part of Spanish life in the New World. Over thee years, a new culture, part Indian and part Spanish, took root in the Americas." [14] In short, May and Jordan's is the only text that overcomes the problem of omission and, at the same time, accords respect and historical significance to pre-Columbian peoples.

Regrettably, neither those discussed above nor any of the other authors devote much attention to the eventual collapse of the mainland Spanish Empire during the wars for independence. In a glaringly inaccurate map, Berkin and Wood show the northern border of the Viceroyalty of New Spain as the Rio

Grande. [15] Regarding Mexico, the team of Leonard Wood, Ralph Gabriel and Edward Biller identifies it as one of the first colonies to rebel, but provides only dates, with no discussion of events or personalities. Davidson and Batchelor offer the most extensive coverage of the Mexican War for Independence–three paragraphs–and even mentions by name the "hero priests" Hidalgo and Morelos. Yet the third and final paragraph reads as follows: "Mexicans finally won independence in 1821. A few years later, Mexican leaders wrote a constitution that made Mexico a republic." Save for fleeting reference to the lack of colonial assemblies in Latin America, there is no elaboration, no clear explanation of this complex political transformation. [16] More importantly, there is no caution against attributing American definitions of "constitution" and "republic" to a country with radically different socioeconomic structures, which undoubtedly served to circumscribe political options.

Aside from these examples, the independence movements are referred to mainly in the context of the establishment of the Monroe Doctrine and of U.S. relations with European powers. A map of the Americas in 1823 in Joseph Conlin's first volume conveys the apparent *fait accompli* that all of the authors fail to explain in detail: his map forthrightly labels Central and South America as areas "protected" by the Monroe Doctrine. [17]

The Texas Rebellion and the War of 1847

None of the textbooks covers Mexico's war for independence with even half as much attention and care as that given to developments in Texas in the 1830s and 1840s. Here the value judgment is clear: a rebellion in northern Mexico is deemed more significant than the downfall of two of the most extensive and persistent empires the hemisphere has ever known simply because it involved citizens of the United States.

In the Texas War, Texans at least are portrayed as having disobeyed Mexican laws that they had agreed to obey upon immigrating. This is true in every book except for Graff's, where, amazingly, Texans are described as "dutiful citizens of Mexico who adopted the Roman Catholic faith." [18] Several authors, however, do question the validity of Mexican laws once the government began to enforce them more strictly. Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Mather Kelley's text states that Texas settlers were not free and "missed the Bill of Rights and all the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution, including especially the right to trial by jury." [19] Wood, Gabriel and Biller's text contains section questions that are implicitly judgmental. For example, they ask: "What Mexican laws caused problems between Texans and Mexicans?" [20] They do not ask: "What tensions existed . . .?" or "Why were there problems . . .?" The message that Mexico was at fault comes across loud and clear, as the Mexican perspective is virtually ignored.

Once the fighting began, Mexicans were portrayed as a ruthless and bloodthristy people bent on subduing the "brave," "inspired" and "outnumbered" Texans, according to Davidson and Batchelor. Moreover, the teachers' annotation asks students to compare the Declaration of Independence of 1776 with the Texas one, but does not solicit contrasts between the two. Mexico is depicted as the enemy not only of a group of underdog Texans but also of the entire United States. Stephen Austin's "wise leadership" of "hard-working" defense of the Alamo contrasts with the "slaughter" and "bloody" actions of the Mexicans. [21] The textbook accounts are completely one-sided; none point out that the Alamo's defenders were given the chance to surrender or that the traditional punishment for traitors all over Spanish America was death. Instead, the rebellion is seen as an "us versus them" story, with Mexicans being flatly identified as "them."

The treatment of the War of 1847 is somewhat less one-dimensional. The American President, James Polk, is portrayed as an aggressive expansionist in the best–or worst–tradition of Manifest Destiny. According to Berkin and Wood, when Mexico turned down his offer to buy almost half of its territory, Polk "concluded that force would probably be needed to achieve his goals." [22] It was Polk who provoked the war, but Mexicans are characterized as welcoming the opportunity to try to win back Texas.

Similarly, May and Jordan's text states that the Mexicans were "anxious for war." [23] Thus, Polk's expansionism is glossed over by depicting Mexico as eager for a fight. Apart from one source reading in Wood, Gabriel and Biller, there is almost no account of the Mexican point of view. [24]

May and Jordan prominently feature a section on opposition to the war in the United States. The narrative emphasizes the antiwar arguments of Abraham Lincoln, who called the war a disgrace. Also, these authors encourage students to consider both sides of the argument, to put themselves in the place of Mexicans by judging the situation from their point of view. [25] Likewise, Berkin and Wood include a teachers' note that contains two quotations from political commentators in the United States in the 1840s. One is for the war; the other, against. These authors give instructions to teachers to explain that not all Americans favored the war. [26] An explicitly Mexican point of view, however, is not provided.

The image received from coverage of the War of 1847 is of a hierarchy of nations, with the United States on top and Mexico below. The first may have fought a dubious war, but was superior to Mexico nonetheless and had a right to half of its territory. By not presenting a full and comprehensive discussion of the respective viewpoints regarding American acquisition of the land, the textbooks implicitly endorse Manifest Destiny. In essence, this is affirmation by silence and, consequently, the image of Mexico suffers. Berkin and Wood never even refer to the areas in question as Mexico. Turning back to its treatment of the Spanish colonization of Western North America, this last text states that the region "was

believed to contain great wealth . . . like Mexico and Peru." [27] Yet, before 1848, Western North America *was* Mexico.

From the French Intervention to the Mexican Revolution

Except for Conlin's, which completely ignores the subject, the other textbooks paint a sketchy but homogeneous picture of the French Intervention and subsequent reign of Maximilian. Apparently, the only reason that Napoleon III chose to enter Mexico in the early 1960s was that the United States was preoccupied with the Civil War, and was therefore unable to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, the only reasons that the French left Mexico after 1866 were that the American Civil War had ended, and that more pressing concerns in Europe claimed France's attention. [28] To a certain extent, this interpretation reflects the available U.S. historiography; however, no mention is ever made of the over 5,000 Mexicans who lost their lives fighting the French, nor of the pivotal figure of Benito Juárez, popularly regarded as the Abraham Lincoln of Mexico. In short, the textbooks imply that the Monroe Doctrine eventually saved the country, not Mexican soldiers who drove out an invading army. By omitting a few key facts, most authors reinforce the notion that the United States was the superior or active power, while Mexico was the inferior or passive one.

While the Porfirian background to 1910 is virtually ignored, treatment of the Mexican Revolution itself is organized around the problems that it posed for the United States, particularly for Woodrow Wilson and William Jennings Bryan. For example, Victoriano Huerta's overthrow of Francisco Madero is discussed in the context of Wilson's refusal to recognize the new government, which represented a turning point in U.S. foreign policy. The American President's ensuing attempts to encourage the overthrow of Huerta, culminating in the invasion of Veracruz, demonstrated mere ineptitude on his part. The issue of whether or not Wilson had the authority to intervene thus remains obscured, while the Mexican side of the story, once again, is never told. Berkin and Wood offer an assessment that is typically patronizing with regard to Mexican concerns: Wilson "had tried, however clumsily, to act in what he saw as Mexico's best interest." [29]

There is one Revolutionary personality who appears in all of the books. Pancho Villa virtually gallops across the pages, but he is rarely if ever judged in terms of his popularity or ability as a leader in the Revolution. Rather, Boorstin and Kelley label him a "bandit general," while other accounts emphasize his violent nature and his hatred of the United States. [30] Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico is not linked to the American invasion of Veracruz. Again, Boorstin and Kelley's account of the failure of General Pershing to capture Villa does not give any credit to Villa; according to their text, Pershing withdrew because the "thunder of the great powers in Europe put [Villa] in a new perspective. The

United States might soon be drawn into a global conflict." [31] Thus, Villa, and, by association, Mexico are unimportant when compared to grander events in the Atlantic world. In the authors', and eventually the students', conceptions of international significance, Mexico ranks below the United States and other powers.

The Twentieth Century

Coverage of the decades from the 1920s to the present poses problems distinct from those outlined above. Almost all of the textbooks now mention Mexicans and Mexican Americans more frequently than before, but there is a notable lack of integration of their experiences into a wider historical context. At its worst, this represents the kind of tokenism observed in treating other minorities in the American past. Boorstin and Kelley's volume even goes so far as to lump Mexican Americans into a catch-all chapter that includes blacks, women, Indians and the handicapped. [32]

Not surprisingly, the most extensively discussed topic is Mexican immigration to the United States; however, the current situation is emphasized almost exclusively. Only Lewis Todd and Merle Curti note the substantial wave of immigration northward from Mexico in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a sophisticated seven-photograph spread on immigration, this textbook includes two photographs of Latin Americans, and encourages teachers and students to deal fully with the topic. [33] In contrast, the impression conveyed by others is that the only immigrants to the United States at this time came from Europe and, to a lesser extent, Asia. Moreover, few explicit comparisons are drawn between Mexicans and other ethnic groups. Graff does point out that Mexican Americans are "the fastest-growing segment of American society," but the text does not discuss the implications of this fact. Berkin and Wood state that Mexican immigrants "become citizens at a much lower rate" than other groups. According to this account, Mexicans either "continue to think of Mexico as 'home'," or "do not want to give up their Mexican citizenship." [34]

Except for Graff and Conlin's, all textbooks cite the activities of César Chávez on behalf of migrant farm workers in the U.S. Southwest. Emphasized even more frequently, however, are the twin problems of poverty and housing in the larger Hispanic community. The image conveyed is one of constant struggle and difficulty; except for the photograph in Berkin and Wood of a WPA mural whose inspiration is credited to Diego Rivera and José Orozco, there is little attempt to highlight any positive contributions by Mexicans to the culture of the United States. [35] Interestingly, though, virtually every textbook makes the effort to mention or include a photograph of Mexican American "role models." Along with Chávez, the individuals spotlighted include San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, former New Mexico Governor Jerry Apodaca, and U.S.

Representative Henry B. Gonzales. However, their respective achievements are never detailed, nor are they integrated into the texts in any substantive way. In fact, individual Mexican Americans are distilled down to a monolithic entity; there is no distinction made, for example, between a radical "Chicano" perspective from California and a more "establishment" "Hispanic" one from South Texas. [36]

As far as Mexico itself is concerned, the only reference to the post-Revolutionary government is a brief discussion in Boorstin and Kelley of the country's oil industry and the problems that its nationalization posed for the United States in the 1930s. Indeed, Graff devotes only one sentence to either Mexico or Mexican Americans from the time of World War II to the present. [37] If Mexico is worth mentioning at all, then, it is so only in relation to American interests. Of course, the authors are not supposed to be writing histories of Mexico, and they operate under ever increasing space restraints. Still, their approach reinforces in students' minds the view that there is only one side to a foreign policy dispute, and that countries other than ours lack a meaningful history of their own.

Conclusions and Recommendations

At best, the ten U.S. history textbooks discussed above present mixed images of Mexico, Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Two, by May and Jordan and by Davidson and Batchelor, stand out for their relatively sophisticated approach to pre-Columbian and colonial Spanish America, while another, by Graff, offers a notably deficient view of distant past that apparently reflects the overall quality of the work. [38] In contrast, after a rather unremarkable introduction in the first half of the Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich set, the second volume by Todd and Curti provides by far the most integrated assessment of modern Mexican migration to the United States. The larger point is that no one textbook or series sustains its occasionally successful treatment across time. In particular, all are weak in their coverage of pertinent events and issues for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; for these years, material on Mexico, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans is either nonexistent and incorrect, or idiosyncratic and inconsistent. The most obvious shortcomings involve simple omission, closely followed by a lack of unity and consistency in coverage. A Mexican or Mexican American perspective is almost never elaborated, even for key events in the histories of both nations, such as the War of 1847. Rather, things Mexican are implicitly and even explicitly characterized as problems for the United States.

Furthermore, it is striking how some of the same racial and sexual sterotypes regarding Mexicans and Mexican Americans that first emerged in American popular culture during the nineteenth century persist down to this day. [39] This state of affairs is both regrettable and unnecessary, since there now exist

specific and fairly well developed historiographies for textbook writers and their editors to draw upon. Bibliographies by Albert Camarillo and Matt Meier, as well as a host of recent monographs–such as David Montejano's, which won the Frederick Jackson Turner Award of the Organization of American Historians–form a readily accessible basis for reinterpretation. [40] Yet, instead of familiarizing themselves with this newer literature, the authors seem content merely to update old versions of existing texts, by adding a few disjointed and incongruous sentences on minority concerns or by inserting isolated photographs o unrepresentative Mexican-Americans. Again, these additions are rarely well integrated into the standing narratives.

Admittedly, the sense that Mexican and Mexican American history has little to contribute towards understanding the history of the United States is hardly confined to secondary-school textbooks. Not long ago, John Garraty, author of a, if not still *the*, best-selling university text for U.S. survey courses, published a list of "101 Things Every College Graduate Should Know about American History." [41] Nothing pertaining to Mexico was included. At the very least, such myopia misses the opportunity to convey the ambiguities and complexities of our past, not to mention the uniqueness of the Anglo-American experience. For example, how better to make the point that political vocabularies are full of false cognates than to compare the efforts of early nineteenth-century Americans and Mexicans to forge "constitutional," "republican" and "democratic" governments? How better to test assumptions regarding upward mobility on the American frontier, or individual participation in the U.S. political process than by examining the experiences of generations of Mexican Americans in the Southwest? How better to comprehend concepts like "Manifest Destiny" than by analyzing their repercussions from a second, that is, external perspective? If American students are ever going to acquire the global outlook now called for by educational and civic leaders, there needs to be explicit and sustained study of the decades of interaction between the United States and Mexico. Only those with a historically informed view of the dynamics of this relationship will be able to develop effective policies regarding immigration, drug trafficking, trade deficits, debt repayment and the border economy.

In fairness to the textbook writers, they share responsibility for inadequate treatment of Mexico and its peoples with publishers, classroom educators and field experts, and the public at large, including Mexican Americans themselves. Part of the problem stems from the practice of statewide adoption of textbooks. In response to lobbying by interest-group critics, publishers "bland out" their products to exclude the controversial. Their attempts to avoid offending anyone take two forms: reaction to public protests and preemptive self-censorship by in-house editors. In the first case, negative lobbying has proved quite effective. But positive lobbying is a potentially fruitful tactic, too. [42] As long as the attention of publishing executives remains focused on the bottom line, they are not likely to take the initiative to improve the quality of American history textbooks. They will respond to pressure that comes from elsewhere.

Classroom teachers are included on the advisory boards of state textbook committees and do have later input into local decisions on which approved textbooks to purchase; however, they are not part of the public debate regarding adoption. This is unfortunate, since current teachers are best equipped to explain how and what our students learn. Moreover, they also must deal with the consequences of adoption decisions for the following half decade or more. Until current teachers play a greater role in the adoption process itself, they should request supplementary materials on topics relating to Mexico and its peoples which publishers and/or educational foundations can produce and distribute. An excellent example of this sort of teaching aid is the newly revised *Latin America Culture Studies: Information and Materials for Teaching about Latin America* from the Institute for Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. [43] Meanwhile, curricular specialists and subject experts must redesign primary and secondary curricula so that students are systematically rather then haphazardly exposed to Mexican and Mexican American themes at several points in their careers. Here exists the potential for fruitful collaboration between university professors who are experts on American, Mexican and Mexican American history, and precollegiate teachers and administrators; such a program already exists in the city of San Diego. [44]

Finally, parents and the general public bear ultimate responsibility for what is taught in the schools and how. Textbook adoption procedures take this into account, but the level of participation by concerned citizens remains surprisingly low. Thus, the extent to which the activities of a vocal few determine what the many will read and learn is sobering. For example, during the last round of adoption hearings for U.S. history textbooks in Texas, a self-styled "domestic engineer" objected to the perceived feminist perspective of one of the volumes under consideration. The witness admitted that it was the only one of the twenty-five competing titles that she had examined, and that its graphics were responsible for first capturing her attention. This book failed to win a spot on the approved list. While other factors may have been at work, the official transcripts suggest that such uninformed testimony contributed heavily to the defeat of the book. During these same hearings, another speaker did lament the "inadequate treatment of Spanish-speaking peoples" in all of the textbooks. While she went on to discuss coverage of Puerto Ricans, neither she nor anyone else ever mentioned the words "Mexico," "Mexican," and "Mexican American." [45] In particular, the absence of any Mexican American lobby was striking, especially in light of past efforts by organizations such as LULAC (the League of United Latin American Citizens) to secure educational equality in Texas. [46] When the next round of adoptions takes place in 1992, surely all can do better than silence or indifference regarding the education of future policymakers and voters.

FOOTNOTES

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[1] Examples of recent criticism include the report of the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools* (New York, 1988); Diane Ravitch and Chester E. Finn, Jr., *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?: A Report on the First National Assessment of History and Literature* (New York, 1987); Gilbert T. Sewall, *American History Textbooks: An Assessment of Quality* (New York, 1987); Paul Gagnon, "Why Study History?", *The Atlantic*, 262 (November 1988), 43-66; and also the disputed but still influential Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1979).

[2] Gerald Michael Greenfield, "Mexico in U.S. Primary and Secondary Schools," *Agenda, Papers, Background, Documents*, Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States - Mexican Relations Workshop on Culture and Communications (2 vols.), Oct. 1987, 2, 9-11. Ravitch and Finn, *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?*, p. 8, points out that the only history studied by most secondary students is one year of American history, with world history now reduced to the status of an elective or neglected altogether. Tht Bradley Commission, *Building a History Curriculum*, p.1, found that 15 percent of U.S. students do not take any American history in high school, and at least 50 percent do not study either World history or Western civilization.

[3] See Texas Education Agency, *Current - Adoption Textbooks, 1986-87* (Austin, 1986). The state provides an approved textbook list and school districts are required by law to choose titles from this list alone. The system was enacted by progressive reformers in this century who were concerned about corrupt purchasing practices at the local level, as well as unequal access to newer materials for students across the state.

As the publication dates of the 1986-92 textbooks indicate, publishers anticipate the adoption cycle by preparing new editions of existing books as well as completely new products. Sometimes, only one volume of a publisher's two-book set is approved. Certain "classics" appear to have an edge; one version or another of Harcourt's Todd and Curti, *The American Nation* (vol. 2), has been on the list since 1962. Florida has a less rigid, but comparable system, whereby at least half of allocated funds must be spent on state-adopted books: Florida Department of Education, *Catalogue of State Adopted Instructional Materials, 1986-87* (Tallahassee, 1986).

[4] Peter Applebome, "In Texas, Book Salesman's Life is Mostly a Road Show," *The New York Times, Education Life* (Section 12, Supplement), August 2, 1987, 26-27; Mike Bowler, "Textbook Publishers Try to Please All, But First They Woo the Heart of Texas," *The Reading Teacher*, 31 (Feb. 1978), 514-18; and Eugene W. Jones *et al.*, *Practicing Texas Politics* (Boston, 6th ed., 1986), p. 241. See "California Controversy," *Social Studies Review*, 1 (Spring 1989), p. 4, for data on the influence of the four largest adoption states (California, Texas, Florida, North Carolina), which control more than 25 percent of the national market.

[5] The ten titles are cited in full at the end of this essay. As of this writing, U.S. history textbooks for secondary students are still chosen by individual districts in California. A questionnaire was sent to the ten largest school districts in California asking which textbooks were in use, but an incomplete response yielded impressionistic rather than comprehensive evidence.

[6] "Transcript of Proceedings before the Commissioner of Education and the State Textbook Committee," Austin, July 15-17, 1985.

[7] For criteria, see Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks: A Study of their Treatment in Social Studies Texts* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 5-6; and The Asia Society, *Asia in American Textbooks* (New York,

1976), pp. 31-33. There appears to be little difference between treatment in the texts alone and treatment in the texts combined with accompanying materials.

[8] The first volume of Graff has one chapter on Native Americans, while May and Jordan devote three full chapters to the subject. Also see Graff, I, pp. 35-39, 60; Davidson and Batchelor, pp. 32-47, 61-65, 76-83; Wood *et al.*, pp. 3-24, 50; May and Jordan, p. 70; Berkin and Wood, I, pp. 13-21, 55.

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 29, 1986, James Axtell delivered a piquant analysis of college-level American history textbooks that was subsequently published as "Europeans, Indians, and the Age of Discovery in American History Textbooks," *American Historical Review*, 92 (June 1987), 621-632. Unfortunately, the insightful commentaries of Douglas Greenberg and Michael Scardaville from that same session did not find their way into print. It is striking the extent to which uninformed and ethnocentric attitudes regarding the history of pre- or non-British America persist in textbooks at all educational levels.

[9] Graff I, p. 45; Boorstin and Kelley, p. 2.

[10] Graff I, pp. 46-47.

[11] Berkin and Wood, I, pp. 13, 23. On Berkin and Wood, I, p. 26, there is a full-page photograph of a gold mask captioned, "Mixtec gold from Monte Albán site, Oaxaca, Mexico." However, the Mixtecs are never mentioned in the text of the chapter, leaving readers to wonder about their relationship to the Aztecs. This is but one example of how publishers fail to integrate visual material into the narrative.

[12] Davidson and Batchelor, pp. 41-45, 79, 82. The annotation on Doña Marina on p. 62 is labelled "Citizenship," which is one of the "Essential Elements" of instruction mandated by the Texas Education Agency. Publishers often release special editions for Texas, which highlight these particular requirements.

[13] May and Jordan, pp. 14-41.

[14] May and Jordan, p. 44.

[15] Berkin and Wood, I, p. 34.

[16] Wood *et al.*, p. 268; Davidson and Batchelor, p. 281.

[17] May and Jordan, p. 388; Graff, I, pp. 270-71; Conlin, I (the first half of this set is not on the current adoption list, but was examined anyway), pp. 318-20, with map on p. 318. The theme of "U.S. protection" is followed in later graphics as well. For example, see Boorstin and Kelley, p. 195, for a half-page map of the Caribbean and Central America entitled, "Relations with Our Southern Neighbors, 1898 - 1933." It divides countries into categories of "U.S. Possession," "U.S. Military Intervention," and "U.S. Financial Supervision," with Mexico placed in the second category.

[18] Graff, I, p. 366.

[19] Boorstin and Kelley, p. 21-22.

[20] Wood *et al.*, p. 391.

[21] Davidson and Batchelor, pp. 315-19.

[22] Berkin and Wood, I, p. 341.

[23] May and Jordan, p. 462.

[24] Wood *et al.*, pp. 632-34; this excellent excerpt is adapted from *Viva la Raza* by Elizabeth Sutherland Martínez and Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez.

[25] May and Jordan, pp. 454, 464.

[26] Berkin and Wood, I, p. T62.

[27] Berkin and Wood, I, p. 35.

[28] Todd and Curti, II, p. 233; Graff, II, p. 130; Berkin and Wood, II, p. 125; Boorstin and Kelley, p. 162-63.

[29] Berkin and Wood, II, p. 170.

[30] Boorstin and Kelley, p. 196; Berkin and Wood, II, p. 169. In Graff, the only photograph that accompanies a two-page discussion of the Mexican Revolution is one of General Pershing and his troops on the hunt for Villa: Graff, II, p. 179.

[31] Boorstin and Kelley, p. 197.

[32] The tone is reminiscent of the "we were there, too" genre of some of the earliest scholarship in American women's history, such as the book by Barbara M. Wertheimer, *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (New York, 1977). Also, see Boorstin and Kelley, pp. 466-69, part of Chapter 22, "A New World of Competition."

[33] Todd and Curti, pp. 128-29, 483. The two photographs are captioned as follows: "Every year, hundreds of thousands of immigrants become American citizens. Recently, most have come from Latin America and Asia." The image conveyed here is a positive one, as Latin Americans are put on equal footing with the immigrants from Europe that occupy most of the space in other texts.

[34] Graff, II, p. 420; Berkin and Wood, II, pp. 381.

[35] Boorstin and Kelley, p. 466-69; Graff, II, p. 420; Berkin and Wood, II, pp. 380-81, 530-32. The photograph of the mural, found in a California post office, accompanies a discussion of the New Deal; Berkin and Wood, II, p. 259.

[36] For a good example of the radical Chicano perspective, see Rodolfo Acuña, "Freedom in a Cage: The Subjugation of the Chicano in the United States," in *Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 113-37.

[37] See Graff, II, p. 420, for the unelaborated comment that Mexican-Americans are "the fastest-growing segment of American society."

[38] The Center for the Teaching of History at Pan American University runs a Textbook Advisory Service, which issued reports on the ten titles analyzed in this essay. Both volumes of Graff ranked at the bottom, while May and Jordan, Davidson and Batchelor, and Todd and Curti received relatively favorable reviews. Interestingly, the volumes by Berkin and Wood were most highly rated overall. Indeed, they are excellent in many respects, despite the shortcomings pointed out here in their treatment of Mexico, Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Hopefully, these problems will be rectified in a future edition.

[39] Philip Anthony Hernández, "The Other North Americans: The American Image of Mexico and Mexicans, 1550-1850," Ph.D. diss., The University of California at Berkeley, 1974; and Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York, 1985).

[40] Albert Camarillo, ed., *Latinos in the United States: A Historical Bibliography* (Santa Barbara, 1986); David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin, 1987); as well as reviews and articles cited in the bibliography, especially those by Ruiz, Sierra, Poyo and Hinojosa.

[41] John A. Garraty, "101 Things Every College Graduate Should Know about American History," *The Boston Sunday Globe*, Feb. 15, 1987, B43-46.

[42] See the positive comments by the People for the American Way in "Transcripts of Proceedings before the Commissioner of Education and the State Textbook Committee," Austin, July 15-17, 1985, especially pp. 30, 34.

[43] Gloria Contreras, ed., *Latin American Culture Studies: Information and Materials for Teaching about Latin America* (Austin, 1989), which supercedes the 1981 edition edited by Edward Glab.

[44] ISTEP, or the International Studies Education Project of San Diego, is a collaborative effort of the San Diego School Districts, San Diego State University, the Institute of the Americas and the University of California at San Diego.

[45] Testimony of Jennifer Amo, "domestic engineer," pp. 12-21; and of Elizabeth Judge from Broader Perspectives, Inc., (a group working towards "a bias-free society"), p. 88, both in "Transcripts of Proceedings," Austin, July 15-17, 1985.

[46] Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *"Let All of Them Take Heed:" Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin, 1987).

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ESCUELAS DE LA FRONTERA, VECINOS DESCONOCIDOS

MIGUEL ANTONIO MEZA ESTRADA

ANTECEDENTES: EL PORQUÉ DE LA EDUCACIÓN EN LOS ESTUDIOS FRONTERIZOS

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte es una institución regional de educación superior, creada con el propósito de descentralizar las funciones de investigación y formación de recursos humanos hacia la región fronteriza del norte de México.

A cinco años de haberse constituido formalmente, el Colegio de la Frontera Norte ha consolidado una planta de investigadores organizados para el trabajo académico por departamentos. Cada investigador, según su formación y vocación profesional, participa en proyectos institucionales del Colegio, con cobertura regional o transfronteriza, independientemente de que pueda llevar adelante su propio proyecto de investigación.

Una de las áreas no contempladas explícitamente en la organización departamental, es la relativa a la educación. En los proyectos que hablan del crecimiento de la maquiladora, por ejemplo, aparecen los conceptos recursos humanos, calificación y destrezas, en una alusión a la educación básica recibida por los obreros y a la capacitación específica para los niveles de técnicos medios y mandos superiores de las empresas.

Así, la educación escolarizada constituye un factor básico de análisis, cuando se estudia la factibilidad para el establecimiento de una empresa en particular; o bien, para un programa de desarrollo regional en términos más amplios.

Ciudades como Tijuana, o Juárez, con una alta densidad de plantas maquiladoras y escasa disponibilidad de mano de obra rústica y calificada, generan presiones sobre el mercado laboral, incrementando los sueldos y ocasionando una alta rotación de personal, con las secuelas consiguientes.

Otros estudios departamentales, necesariamente inciden también en el factor educación. Por ejemplo, nuestras investigaciones sobre identidad nacional, o

preferencias infantiles por la televisión mexicana o norteamericana, en ciudades fronterizas donde son susceptibles de captarse ambas.

Los estudios de población manejan diversos indicadores relativos al nivel de desarrollo regional, considerando alfabetismo, escolaridad básica cubierta, escolaridad postsecundaria o superior, etc.

Recientemente se aplicó en Baja California, a través del Consejo Estatal de Población, una encuesta demográfica que actualizó la información que sobre la entidad se tenía a partir del Censo General de Población de 1980; además, se incluyeron otros indicadores específicos de interés regional. Uno de los datos preliminares es, por ejemplo, que el nivel promedio de escolaridad de la entidad es superior a siete grados de educación terminada. Asimismo, que el nivel de analfabetismo se reduce al 3%, inferior al 7.6%, consignado a nivel nacional.

Sin embargo, lo mas revelador en materia educativa, producto del trabajo de los estudios departamentales, son los hallazgos producidos por el seguimiento del Proyecto Cañon Zapata, que evalúa el flujo de inmigrantes indocumentados de México hacia Estados Unidos, segun metodología y técnicas desarrolladas por el Dr. Jorge A. Bustamante.

Contrario a lo que se supone, existe una modificación cualitativa en los individuos que ahora intentan ingresar a trabajar a Estados Unidos como indocumentados. Y es que, anteriormente, la mayoría de ellos procedían de localidades rurales, su nivel educativo era inferior al promedio nacional y su experiencia laboral –cuando tenían–, procedía de actividades primarias, agricultura fundamentalmente.

Los hallazgos del grupo que trabaja migración, son en el sentido que ahora los aspirantes a indocumentados, poseen más de cinco grados de escolaridad; entre ellos es usual encontrar a técnicos de nivel medio y profesionistas. Su procedencia es de ciudades del interior del país, y su experiencia laboral procede fundamentalmente del sector "servicios".

Aunque el 45% de los indocumentados que cruzan a los Estados Unidos lo hacen por Tijuana, existen otros puntos de cruce que El Colegio monitorea de manera permanente. Así, por ejemplo, citaré que en el periodo comprendido entre octubre de 1987 y marzo de 1988, se entrevistaron a 1,440 aspirantes a indocumentados, cuando se encontraban próximos a internarse al vecino país, en la región fronteriza del Municipio de Mexicali, Baja California.

El grupo más numeroso es el que se sitúa en el rango de la edad de 15 a 24 años (40%), seguido por el de 25 a 34 (30%); y después por el de 35 a 44 (25%). El grupo menos significativo es el de mayores de 45 años (5%). No se registra a los menores de 15 años.

De acuerdo a uno de los indicadores registrados, es posible afirmar que a mayor edad, es menor la escolaridad y a la inversa, que a menor edad es más alto el grado de escolaridad formal de los aspirantes a indocumentados. Es común que los mayores de 35 años, posean estudios incompletos de primaria y que los

de más de 45, no hayan recibido suficiente escolaridad elemental y en ciertos casos, sean analfabetos.

Por otra parte, el grupo de 25 a 34 años, manifiesta escolaridad de primaria más secundaria incompleta. Y así, el grupo más joven, el de 15 a 24, declara poseer primaria, secundaria, además de la preparatoria incompleta o la escuela técnica, y en algunos casos, se trata de profesionistas pasantes o con carrera incompleta.

Aunque la información se refiere sólo a una subregión, correspondiente a las localidades urbanas de Mexicali y los Algodones en Baja California, así como San Luis, Sonora, los resultados son representativos de lo que ocurre en otras localidades fronterizas.

Uno de los hallazgos, aun no documentado suficientemente, se refiere al número creciente de profesores, que solicitan licencias en el servicio, o utilizan sus periodos de vacaciones o fines de semana; lo hacen para ir a trabajar como indocumentados en Estados Unidos. Durante esos "permisos económicos" de dos meses, según los mismos maestros lo indican, se van al otro lado, para completar sus ingresos.

La dimensión real del problema, dada la posible fuga de cerebros, aun no se tiene. Los involucrados en este fenómeno, no son única y necesariamente profesores residentes en localidades fronterizas. Extraoficialmente se afirma que no hay escuela donde no haya maestros, administrativos o personal de servicio "interinos", donde los titulares de la plaza "se fueron de rodinos".

Mediante un reporte preliminar elaborado a finales del mes de febrero del año en curso, se detectó que únicamente del sistema educativo estatal de Baja California, ascendía a 200 el número de permisos sin goce de sueldo, los tramitados por maestros o trabajadores de la educación, que se fueron a los Estados Unidos durante el actual ciclo escolar.

Dirigentes del propio Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación declaran que tal situación se debe a lo atractivo que resulta vivir en México y ganar dólares, ya que nadie, a pesar de su vocación profesional, va en contra de los intereses de su familia.

Y aquí habría que observar hacia adentro. Durante años, la frontera de Baja California fue "colonizada" con maestros procedentes del interior del país, Colima, Coahuila, Veracruz y el Distrito Federal, con acendrada tradición normalista remitían hacia aquella remota región, el excedente de su localidad. Se les ofrecían estímulos y realmente se arraigaban en la frontera.

Ahora, los maestros de la frontera, que perciben el equivalente a dos salarios mínimos, no pueden por la carestía generalizada, desdeñar la posibilidad de ir en busca de algunos dólares, para completar su gasto.

En estas circunstancias, es muy cuestionable hablar de si el nacionalismo lo deben de predicar los maestros en el aula y olvidar a la hora de acudir al supermercado. O a la inversa, dejar el nacionalismo para los fines de semana, en que pueden, los que se fueron de "rodinos", pasear con sus familias que se

quedaron en México, para gastar lo que ganaron en los campos agrícolas de California, durante una semana de seis días y jornadas de diez horas.

A raíz de la aplicación de la nueva Ley de Inmigración norteamericana, quedó de manifiesto el desconocimiento generalizado que existe en nuestro país, acerca del fenómeno educativo norteamericano y su interacción con nuestro país. La relación más objetiva es el retorno de un niño mexicano de Estados Unidos que solicita su inscripción en escuela mexicana.

Para este trámite, se requiere que el alumno presente su "transcript" o boleta de calificaciones norteamericana, para que la certifique un notario público de la localidad donde cursó sus estudios y obtener el visto bueno del Consulado Mexicano más cercano. Los documentos se envían para su calificación y revalidación ante la Secretaría de Educación Pública en la Ciudad de México.

En la práctica, este trámite se presenta para los alumnos de los niveles de secundaria y preparatoria. Para los alumnos del nivel inferior, existe cierta flexibilidad, consistente en que el niño se someterá a un examen de ubicación, practicado por los propios maestros de la escuela que recibe, con la complacencia previa de la autoridad superior, sea el Inspector de Zona, Jefe de Sector o Director de Departamento.

Es igualmente conocido el hecho de que no todos los mexicanos que van al Norte, lo hacen con la finalidad de quedarse definitivamente; muchos de los que se quedan, estan esperando la primera oportunidad, para darse una "paseadita" por el terruño, o definitivamente, si pueden, regresarse.

En los archivos centrales de las oficinas de educación de varios Estados norteamericanos, existe la evidencia de que un número importante de niños y jóvenes de origen mexicano, van a ese país por temporadas, y regresan con sus familias a su residencia habitual en México, cuando se termina el trabajo, o llega el invierno. Ejemplos de esto, son los grupos migratorios que proceden de Michoacán y van a California; así como los que se originan en Guanajuato y Nuevo León, cuyo comportamiento educativo detallé hace algunos años.

Estas migraciones estacionales, afectan la formación del niño y modifican sus pautas de aprendizaje. No es de ninguna manera un fenómeno nuevo, hace más de 20 años que se sabe de él y que en algunas dependencias oficiales de ambos países, se conoce.

Ante la "amenaza" de una deportación masiva de mexicanos residentes en los Estados Unidos, incluso con sus familias, observamos que se dictaron disposiciones para facilitar el ingreso a las escuelas públicas de la frontera, a esos niños, que seguramente regresarían a México, junto con sus padres deportados.

Sin embargo, nada pasó.

Extraoficialmente se ha conocido la existencia de diversas disposiciones de la SEP, dirigidas a las oficinas de los Servicios Coordinados de Educación Pública en los Estados Fronterizos, para facilitar el acceso a la educación en los niveles de primaria y secundaria a los niños y jóvenes que fuesen deportados por las autoridades migratorias norteamericanas. Las disposiciones, al parecer,

no fueron iguales para escuelas primarias, secundarias o escuelas de niveles superiores.

En vista de los hechos anotados, se juzgó conveniente iniciar un periodo exploratorio sobre las particularidades que se dan en la Frontera Norte de México, en relación a la educación.

Así, se efectuó un primer acercamiento con el Tomás Rivera Center, (TRC) de Claremont, California, con la finalidad de identificar propósitos y metas comunes y diseñar un programa a largo plazo, de investigación en educación y migración.

El TRC es una institución destinada a generar recomendaciones de política pública que favorezcan el desempeño y la integración de la población de origen hispánico en los Estados Unidos, particularmente, la de origen o ascendencia mexicana.

Valdría la pena comentar que estudios recientes indican que más de la tercera parte de los mexiconorteamericanos son inmigrantes y que el nivel promedio de escolaridad con el que llegan, el 62% es únicamente de educación primaria.

El Censo de 1980, indica que de todos los inmigrantes mexicanos adultos a California, el 73.8% habían realizado estudios inferiores o hasta secundaria; el 24.1% hasta licenciatura y sólo 2.1% estudios posteriores o adicionales.

Esta situación contrasta, por ejemplo con los inmigrantes procedentes del resto de América Latina, cuyos promedios fueron 36.2%; 53.310.5% respectivamente; o bien los de individuos procedentes de Asia, con 18.1%, 48.1% y 33.8%, respectivamente. En esta situación, es obvio que a mayor nivel educativo, más fácilmente pueden incorporarse y en mejor nivel a la estructura productiva norteamericana.

Por otra parte, en la medida que las estadísticas norteamericanas indiquen que mejora el nivel educativo de los mexicanos inmigrantes, es obvio que estamos subsidiando con otro concepto más, a la economía norteamericana.

Si bien es cierto que en términos relativos están bajas las cifras de los inmigrantes mexicanos, recordemos que los inmigrantes que proceden de otras regiones, son cantidades absolutas significativamente menores a las que en realidad son y a los números que se atribuyen a nuestros compatriotas.

PRIMERA APROXIMACION:

a) Apreciaciones de los educadores y administradores californianos acerca de México.

Mi relación con el sistema educativo Norteamericano la inicié a raíz de diversos contactos informales que para finales de 1974 se oficializaron como asesoría por parte de la Dirección de Educación de Baja California, al Departamento de Educación de California.

La asesoría consistió en informarles de la nueva metodología, libros de texto y orientaciones curriculares que México implantó a partir de 1972 y que se conocieron como "La Reforma Educativa".

Para California, y en particular para las escuelas que tradicionalmente recibían niños de procedencia mexicana, resultó un conflicto el cambio en la enseñanza de los contenidos en las Ciencias Sociales así como la aplicación del método científico para su interpretación. A manera anecdótica, los movimientos de liberación nacional y el tercermundismo, les resultaban a muchos de ellos ininteligibles dentro de la enseñanza primaria.

Otro conflicto se derivó del campo conceptual en la enseñanza de la lengua nacional. El uso novedoso de la gramática estructural, no sólo causó quebrantos en los padres de familia mexicanos que no comprendían los nuevos conceptos y significados; también los educadores norteamericanos acostumbrados a recibir niños de procedencia mexicana, sufrieron el cambio.

Algo similar ocurrió respecto del uso de las matemáticas modernas. El consenso es que a raíz de su implantación, "bajo" el rendimiento tradicional que manifestaban los niños procedentes de México. Tal vez lo que ocurrió, fue el cambio de lenguajes. Esos niños llevaban quizá una mejor formación lógica, pero en un lenguaje matemático diferente y en las escuelas norteamericanas para poder medir sus conocimientos, les aplicaban los mismos cuestionarios que a sus antecesores.

En este contexto, el equipo de trabajo de educadores y administradores de California al cual nos incorporamos, tenía la tarea de desarrollar un sistema de registro para la transferencia de evaluaciones de los niños que migraban de México y los que, dentro de Norteamérica, también cambiaban de domicilio, como parte de los desplazamientos familiares de los jornaleros agrícolas.

Al término de innumerables discusiones y sesiones de trabajo colectivo, concluimos que no era posible desarrollar un instrumento de evaluación de los conocimientos que fuese igual en idioma inglés que en el español. Y la razón fundamental, es que los conocimientos evaluables, estaban condicionados a una base metodológica distinta y por ende a otra secuencia de conocimientos. No es igual el proceso de enseñanza de la lectoescritura en el inglés, que en el español, además que en México se había desechado el método ecléctico y se había iniciado el uso del Método Global de Análisis Estructural.

Finalmente se logró el desarrollo de un formato unificado para una secuencia de destrezas y conocimientos a trasmitirse mediante el Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS); el formato con el que había iniciado unos años antes el sistema era en inglés y ahora era posible aplicarlo en español estandarizado a los Estados Unidos.

Es posible emitir dos juicios para englobar lo anterior. Por una parte, Estados Unidos desarrolló un sistema de correo electrónico compatible entre los currícula de ese país y México, aplicable al español y al inglés; en tanto que en nuestro país se iniciaba la Reforma Educativa, cuya comprensión por

los educadores californianos fue sólo al nivel instrumental. Se habían cambiado los contenidos y su secuencia, la metodología y los libros de texto de la escuela primaria en México. La Reforma Educativa, como una nueva concepción de las relaciones maestro-alumno, no fue comprendida.

b) Educación para niños migrantes en California.

A raíz de los frecuentes contactos derivados del proyecto anterior, se estableció una relación de familiaridad con el rubro de educación para niños, hijos de trabajadores migrantes de California. El tema resulto de interés y a el dediqué mi tesis profesional como sociológo en 1980.

Debido a la suspensión del Convenio de Braceros entre México y los Estados Unidos en 1964, los trabajadores agrícolas que ya vivían en ese país vieron incrementarse sus posibilidades de empleo, si migraban dentro de los Estados con economías agrícolas, siguiento el ciclo de los cultivos.

En el circuito de los Estados de la Costa del Pacífico, el ciclo se inicia en las regiones del sur, en diciembre cosecharían lechuga, después espárrago; en el centro de California, uva y dátiles. En el norte, hortalizas, frutales y almedráceas. En entidades como Oregon y Washington, las manzanas.

Pues bien, las familias migratorias fueron a instalarse en las barracas que originalmente fueron campamentos de concentración de japoneses y después albergues de braceros. Las condiciones de higiene y salubridad, fueron denunciadas sistemáticamente como lesivas al desarrollo de las familias de los trabajadores agrícolas migrantes y en particular, en contra de los menores. Por cierto, los niveles de mortandad infantil de esos niños (muchos de ellos, el 90%) de ascendencia mexicana, eran superiores a los que en esos mismos días registraba la población sudvietnamita en el conflicto del Sureste Asiático.

Al llegar esos niños a las aulas, el impacto que causaban ante los maestros norteamericanos, generó una imagen distorsionada de la educación mexicana. Todos ellos de familias numerosísimas, famélicos, sin el más mínimo conocimiento del inglés, con tendencia a la introversión y sin aspiraciones a superarse mediante la educación.

Del millón de trabajadores agrícolas migratorios, se detectó una población superior a los doscientos cincuenta mil niños en edad escolar, la mayoría en la edad de preescolar y primaria.

En esta circunstancia fue que nació el programa de educación para niños migrantes en California en 1965 y que progresivamente se incorporó a todos los Estados que tienen trabajadores migrantes, sean empleados en faenas agrícolas o pesqueras.

Un grupo importante de esos trabajadores, no únicamente migran dentro del territorio norteamericano. Cruzan la frontera de México y residen el invierno en nuestro país y regresan durante primavera y verano a trabajar como jornaleros en Norteamérica.

A mediados de los 70 se inició la preocupación por este fenómeno, que

truncaba la escolaridad de los niños cuando regresaban a México, procedentes de Estados Unidos, ya que llegaban a nuestras escuelas cuando el ciclo escolar ya estaba iniciado, amén de otros prejuicios causados por su regreso.

El resultado fue la aparición de una nueva modalidad dentro del programa migrante: migrantes internacionales, cuya categoría única se refería a México. La dimensión del fenómeno no está suficientemente delimitada. Diré que, por ejemplo, en el actual ciclo escolar, se estima que 12,000 niños procedentes de Michoacán, estudian en California, de los cuales 6,600 ya reciben el beneficio de una boleta de transferencia entre ambos sistemas educativos.

El otro Estado que actualmente se encuentra en proceso de aplicación de una boleta de transferencia, es Baja California. Sin embargo, el volumen global puede llegar hasta 100 mil niños, procedentes de Guanajuato, Nuevo León, Jalisco, y algunas otras entidades.

Desde la óptica norteamericana, sólo California registra el avance de un entendimiento sobre el problema y un esquema racional y práctico para su solución. Otras entidades receptoras de niños migrantes binacionales son Texas, Colorado, Washington y Michigan.

c) Internado como Investigador visitante en el Departamento de Educación de California (1986-87).

Como parte del proyecto de investigación sobre administración educativa comparada Japón-Estados Unidos-México, que auspiciado bajo el patrocinio de El Banco Mundial, realicé un internado de tres meses dentro de las oficinas centrales del Departamento de Educación de California. Esto me permitió trato directo con el Superintendente de Educación del Estado (que por cierto es electo en la misma boleta que el Gobernador y otros funcionarios, con la diferencia que es un candidato no partidista). Así también, me abrió el acceso a la Junta Directiva de Educación del Estado, que actúa como Cámara legislativa en materia educativa con respecto al Superintendente.

Asimismo, se estableció contacto con legisladores de California y con funcionarios de primer nivel del Estado, de los Condados y los Distritos del norte de esa entidad.

La primera expresión de ellos a mi presencia, era que sí representaba al Gobierno de México, y por ende, sí procedía de la Ciudad de México. En segundo término, reflejaban un conocimiento superficial de mi país, conformado por informaciones (?) de prensa o de televisión, más que por visitas, contactos con homólogos; lecturas o estudios sistemáticos.

Así por ejemplo, me mostraban las microcomputadoras y su impacto en la educación de los niños; los métodos bilingües; los comités de participación de los padres y algo que para ellos resulta sumamente preocupante: los programas de balance racial (ethnic desagregation).

Ellos tienen en alta estima a los maestros de México, como abnegados,

esforzados y comprometidos éticamente con su labor; esto último, lo cuestionan respecto de algunos educadores norteamericanos. Comprenden las condiciones difíciles del país y como se refleja esta circunstancia en la situación material de los planteles mexicanos, mal equipados, sin mantenimiento y en algunas regiones con hacinamiento.

No comprenden cómo un solo profesor hace las funciones de instructor de todas las asignaturas y el control estadístico y administrativo de grupos que superan los 40 alumnos; máxime cuando ellos ahora discuten, por ejemplo en California, reducir el máximo por grupo a menos de 30. Este tema representa un asunto de la discusión pública; el propio Gobernador George Deukmejian declaró hace unos meses que reducir un alumno en todos los grupos de las escuelas de California, significaría incrementar el gasto escolar en 40 millones de dólares al año únicamente por concepto de salarios, más el impacto en personal de apoyo e infraestructura.

Otro aspecto que no les queda del todo claro, es el relativo a las relaciones laborales de nuestros maestros. No comprenden ni el concepto de "base", ni el de Sindicato Unico, ni de negociación central. Esto se explica si analizamos que el "tenure" a los cinco años en una buena parte de los distritos escolares, no significa estabilidad absoluta en el empleo. Que los contratos laborales se negocian por condado o distrito y que los sindicatos, realmente son muy nuevos y que ni existen en todos los Estados, ni sus pesos específicos son iguales. Por ejemplo, en California, no tienen más de diez años de haberse regularizado formalmente.

Otro dato indicativo es la diferencia de personal administrativo y docente y que del Director hacia arriba, además de considerarse de confianza, están sujetos a contrato celebrado por un par de años, cuya renovación esta condicionada a su desempeño y superación profesional.

SEGUNDA APROXIMACION:

A). Educación y migración en la frontera de Mexicali-Caléxico.

Bajo este título se describen las principales interrelaciones que en materia educativa se dan entre dos esas localidades fronterizas. El área de estudio fue el sector de la Ciudad de Mexicali, Baja California, en donde –según estudios anteriores–, se asienta la mayor parte de la población que guarda relaciones de trabajo o ciudadanía con Estados Unidos. La población de la ciudad en su conjunto es de aproximadamente 400,000 habitantes.

La contraparte es la Ciudad de Caléxico, California, cuya población es de 18,500 habitantes.

La información se obtuvo a partir de la aplicación de un cuestionario tipo, con versiones en inglés y español, según donde se aplicaría. Los rubros del

mismo fueron: identificación del plantel, matrícula, financiamiento, inmigración y emigración, trámites oficiales para estudiantes inmigrantes y un segmento de opiniones de los maestros sobre el rendimiento escolar.

La encuesta se aplicó a un número seleccionado de escuelas mexicanas, tanto de control federal como estatal; así como a las escuelas elementales que existen en Caléxico.

Las principales limitaciones se refieren al reducido número de escuelas entrevistadas del lado mexicano, que en cierta medida fue determinado por el número de escuelas del lado norteamericano. Las escuelas de Mexicali, son representativas de los fenómenos que se registraron.

Se considera conveniente profundizar en el análisis del tema, cambiando la metodología de lo que pudiesemos llamar "toma de una fotografía", a la captura de la imagen dinámica del fenómeno, mediante el seguimiento cuando menos por dos años, de los diversos indicadores considerados.

Desde Calexico

Es esta la segunda ciudad en población, dentro del Condado de Imperial, uno de los 58 que tiene el Estado de California. La población total del Condado es de 107,700 habitantes. Según los datos del último censo, el 55.8% de la población era de ascendencia hispánica y sólo el 38.4% podría considerarse "blanca".

En tanto que el promedio anual de ingresos en California en 1979 era de $21,500 dólares por familia; en tanto que para el Condado de Imperial ascendió a $16,658 y en Caléxico fue tan sólo de $13,010.

Asimismo, el nivel de personas con ingresos inferiores al nivel de pobreza, en promedio fue del 11.4% en California, 15.3% en Imperial y 23.8% en Caléxico.

En tanto que el desempleo estatal en California varía en el rango del 7 al 10%, en el Condado de Imperial es del orden del 30 al 40%.

Con todo y que el Condado de Imperial tiene una población superior a los cien mil habitantes, diariamente cruzan procedentes de Mexicali numerosos trabajadores, estimados en determinadas fechas hasta en diez mil personas.

En el mes de diciembre de 1986, cruzaron de Mexicali a Caléxico, un total de 1,386,339; es decir más de cuarenta mil diarios y 17 millones de personas-cruces al año.

Servicios educativos

Los servicios educativos del Condado de Imperial están a cargo de 17 distritos escolares, con 37 escuelas elementales, siete escuelas secundarias, seis para adultos y un Colegio. Existen igualmente extensiones de dos universidades de San Diego.

La población escolar en Caléxico es atendida por siete escuelas primarias; dos de ellas privadas y cinco administradas por el distrito escolar unificado de Caléxico. La matrícula es de 2,614 niños en los grados de 1o. a 6o.

La composición de las poblaciones es de 95% de ascendencia hispánica y el 4% de población blanca.

Considerando la población del Condado de Imperial en 1980 (93,000 personas), y analizando la población mayor a 25 años, el 25% había cursado hasta once grados de escolaridad y el 26% tenía el bachillerato terminado o estudios superiores (12 grados o más).

El tamaño de los grupos escolares en Caléxico era de 29.5% alumnos por maestro, de preescolar a tercer grado; y de 32.9% de cuarto a sexto.

El máximo de alumnos por grupo es de 30 de preescolar a tercero y 34 de cuarto a sexto, de acuerdo con el Contrato Colectivo de Trabajo.

El horario tipo es de las 8:15 a las 2 y 1/2 de la tarde; el año escolar consta de 180 días en total. Cada escuela funciona en su propio edificio.

El nivel académico mínimo de los Directores de Escuela es maestría; todos son bilingües y varios de ellos, oriundos del Valle Imperial.

Los niños ingresan a primaria a la edad de seis años y terminan a los doce. Se puede afirmar que en este nivel no hay deserción; existen alumnos descuidados –a quienes los padres no ayudan o vigilan–, o bien faltistas o flojos. Estos tres grupos son considerados potenciales desertores en secundaria o bachillerato.

Financiamiento de la educación pública en Caléxico.

El financiamiento procede en un 84% del Gobierno del Estado de California; el 9% de origen local y el 5% restante del Gobierno Federal.

La composición del presupuesto del Distrito de Caléxico, es distinta a la que en promedio, guarda el Estado de California: 68.07% es financiado por el Estado; 22.37% local; 5.28% federal y el 4.28% con otros ingresos, según datos de 1984-85.

El costo presupuestal por alumno, según asignación de la Legislatura Estatal, fue de $2,548.88 dólares, de acuerdo con la fórmula del ADA.

Los padres de familia están exentos de cualquier tipo de cuotas.

Considerada como una localidad "pobre", Caléxico resultó beneficiada con la aplicación de la Proposición 13, votada y aprobada en 1978. Esta disposición reveló que el distrito aplicaba recursos económicos inferiores al promedio estatal y en consecuencia, a partir del siguiente ciclo fiscal se incrementaron. En esta decisión, afectó particularmente la decisión judicial conocida como Serrano vs. Priest. (25)

Esta decisión manifiesta que todas las escuelas están obligadas a proporcionar los mismos servicios, independientemente del nivel socioeconómico de la región donde se encuentren localizadas.

Ambas situaciones explican porque los ingresos estatales del presupuesto del Distrito de Caléxico, son sensiblemente superiores al promedio del estado.

El Distrito es responsable de administrar la mayor parte de los recursos,

ciñendose estrictamente al presupuesto en los renglones de nómina, mantenimiento y equipamiento, así como pago de servicios.

Por el volumen de personal empleado, el Distrito Escolar de Caléxico es el principal empleador de la ciudad con 550 empleados, seguido por diversos establecimientos comerciales y empresas agropecuarias de la región, con base en la ciudad.

Los salarios promedio de los maestros son de $33,416 dólares, casi tres mil dólares más que los ingresos medios de los maestros que trabajan en otros Distritos dentro del mismo Condado de Imperial; superiores también, en $2,500 dólares, al promedio de salarios dentro del Estado de California.

Migración: análisis de la micro-región.

Bajo este rubro se pueden caracterizar a cuatro grupos diferentes de estudiantes mexicanos que cursan estudios en Caléxico.

Un primer grupo lo constituyen aquéllos que cambian su residencia a Caléxico, debido a que sus padres han modificado su estatus migratorio y deciden residir en Estados Unidos. Ellos, en tres años, borrarán el carácter de inmigrantes en la escuela y recibirán un tratamiento igual al de sus condiscípulos. Su condición económica es media o baja.

Un segundo grupo lo constituyen los niños, hijos de trabajadores agrícolas, ya residentes permanentes en California o bien, con residencia alterna en ambos países.

Bajo este status, existe una categoría dentro de los programas federales y estatales de Estados Unidos, que considera de manera especial a estos niños como "niños migrantes" o migratorios.

Los niños migratorios gozan de la protección de un Programa Federal administrado por el Departamento de Educación de California. Es básicamente un programa asistencial que proporciona servicios adicionales a los de carácter estrictamente educativo. Aun así, genera apoyos adicionales como enseñanza bilingüe por medio de un maestro auxiliar, servicios médico-dentales; transferencia de archivos académicos por correo electrónico dentro del territorio continental de Estados Unidos así como servicio de apoyo a la organización de los padres de familia (algo así como trabajo social).

Estos niños en su mayoría, son de ascendencia u origen mexicano; su condición socioeconómica es humilde.

Un tercer grupo la constituyen niños de nacionalidad mexicana que residen –al igual que sus padres– en Mexicali, y que diariamente cruzan la frontera, para asistir a escuelas públicas en Caléxico. O bien, son niños que viven con un familiar o conocido en Caléxico, pero el fin de semana regresan a casa de sus padres en Mexicali. Estos niños van a escuelas de Caléxico –en opinión de algunos padres–, para aprender el inglés, ya que este conocimiento les permitirá más adelante garantizar cierto ascenso social y económico del lado mexicano.

Estos niños asisten a las escuelas de Caléxico, no porque los rechacen en

México, lo hacen porque para ellos la escuela norteamericana representa valores y ventajas que pueden aprovechar –por cierto, fraudulentamente– y que no tiene la escuela mexicana. Son niños en su generalidad, de clase media alta.

Un cuarto grupo lo constituyen los niños que viven en Mexicali y asisten a escuelas privadas en Caléxico. Comparten las motivaciones del grupo anterior, aunque sus padres pagan por la educación que reciben sus hijos.

Dentro de la matrícula escolar de las escuelas públicas de Caléxico, se observó que existe un número significativo de alumnos de muy reciente integración a las escuelas visitadas y que procede de México. Representan en promedio el 15% de la matrícula de cinco escuelas, son algo menos de 400 niños.

Este número resulta de considerar a los niños que reciben el beneficio de un programa federal que proporciona enseñanza adicional en inglés a inmigrantes con tres años o menos de haber ingresado al país.

Con relación al lugar de nacimiento de los niños, una estimación genérica indica que puede ser hasta el 40% de ellos originarios de México; muchos de ellos llegaron a California antes de ingresar a la escuela o bien en ciclos anteriores.

De los alumnos actuales, en una sola escuela aparecieron, según sus actas de nacimiento, 41 nacidos en México. En otra fueron 93. La escuela que mostró la cifra más sorprendente, registró 181. Con fundamento en lo anterior, se puede conjeturar que no menos de 750 alumnos de las escuelas de Caléxico, son nacidos en México y representan una emigración real y legal a California.

Estos niños, según veremos más adelante, en opinión de sus maestros son menos propensos a la deserción, que aquellos niños que emigran más grandes y con mayor escolaridad acumulada en México.

Un 10% de la matrícula total del Distrito de Caléxico, manifestó haber realizado estudios anteriores en México.

Estudiantes... ¿Indocumentados?

De conformidad con la X Enmienda de la Constitución Federal de los Estados Unidos, la educación es responsabilidad que los Estados no delegaron expresamente a la Federación.

En consecuencia, la Constitución del Estado de California en su artículo noveno, señala que es responsabilidad estatal "...la difusión general del conocimiento y la inteligencia, como forma de preservar los derechos y las libertades del pueblo".

Así pues, cualquier persona puede solicitar para sus hijos el servicio educativo. Las únicas condicionantes son presentar copia del acta de nacimiento y certificado de inmunizaciones al corriente.

Existe la disposición administrativa en el sentido de que es responsabilidad de cada Distrito Escolar, el hecho de proporcionar educación para los niños y jóvenes residentes dentro del perímetro de su jurisdicción.

Esta disposición data de la época en que el peso mayor del sostenimiento de la educación, recaía sobre los impuestos locales (antes de 1979, en California),

pero a partir de la aprobación de la Proposición 13, la mayor parte del gasto educativo, procede ahora del fondo común de impuestos del Estado (> 68%); ya no de los impuestos locales a la propiedad raíz (+ 22%, según datos de 1984-85).

La vecindad con México; la relativa –pero decreciente– facilidad con que se pasa de una ciudad a la otra; y ciertas concepciones ideológicas de algunos estratos sociales residentes en Mexicali, han provocado otro fenómeno en el espectro de la migración: los estudiantes indocumentados.

La asistencia a la escuela no esta condicionada en California, según hemos visto, por el estatus migratorio del niño o de sus padres, puesto que es un derecho que establece la Constitución Estatal.

Así también, la Declaración de los Derechos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas, indica que la educación es un derecho universal.

En estas condiciones, el director de una escuela en Caléxico, debe de proporcionar educación a los niños que lo requieran aunque sospeche que no es residente del distrito, con la única condición de que se presente el acta de nacimiento del niño –sea de Estados Unidos o México– y la cartilla de inmunizaciones actualizada.

Sin embargo, en el Distrito Escolar de Caléxico, se pide adicionalmente un comprobante de residencia: recibo de teléfono, agua u otro servicio. Si los padres no pueden comprobar su residencia en Caléxico, deberán obtener de algún residente, ya sea familiar o "conocido", un documento de "declaración de residencia y responsabilidad" sobre el niño, mismo que debe de ser notariado; y donde se indica que el menor reside realmente en el domicilio que se señala.

Sin embargo, es común que el Director de la escuela detecte en alguna revisión de expedientes, que en un departamento pequeño, se declare que viven hasta cinco familias, con dos o tres niños en edad escolar cada una.

En una escuela nuestra encuesta detectó, en el nivel preescolar, que de 60 alumnos, 45 eran residentes permanentes de Mexicali. En otra, se ubican a 30 niños en condiciones iguales de trasmigrantes. En las demás escuelas las cifras fueron de 53, 100 y 6.

El Código Educativo de California indica que si residen fuera del distrito deben de pagar, por concepto de colegiatura, el equivalente a la asignación financiera por la formula del ADA, que es de aproximadamente $ 2,500 dólares anuales para Caléxico.

Sin embargo, algunos de ellos se quedan con sus tíos, abuelos o parientes que sí viven en Caléxico. Para otros, sus padres consiguen un "domicilio prestado". Muchos de ellos permanecen unos días en Caléxico y el fin de semana se van con sus padres a Mexicali.

> "Es notorio que viven en Mexicali –indica un maestro entrevistado–, se adivina por las placas del automóvil, por la clase con que visten, porque

> los traen en 'car pool', sistema que acostumbran las madres para hacer fila y cruzar la garita.
>
> Se nota además, porque llegan tarde los miércoles, día en que se abre el tianguis de Caléxico y la espera para cruzar puede durar una hora o más".

En la experiencia de los directores, han sucedido hechos lamentables. Al accidentarse o desarrollar alguna enfermedad el niño, éste se resiste a que lo lleven a "su casa" en Caléxico. O bien, al llegar, los residentes 'no lo conocen"; pero horas más tarde, cuando sus padres aparecen, se aclara todo.

> "Debido a la frecuencia con que llegan tarde, a los padres les apena enfrentar al maestro; dejan a los niños en la banqueta y se van", opinó una de las directoras entrevistadas. "Ha habido ocasiones –agregó– en que el niño sale de la escuela y durante toda la tarde nadie pasa por él; pareciera que a nadie le interesa; esto es lesivo para su educación".

Cuando se detecta flagrantemente que los niños no viven en Caléxico, se les asigna un plazo de diez días para solucionar la situación. Es de suponerse que son días que los estudiantes no asisten a la escuela, ni en California, ni en México.

> "La educación que otorgamos a esos niños, es un fraude –indicó uno de los entrevistados–. Tarde o temprano alguien declarará que existe un impacto real en los recursos federales o estatales y esto terminará". –Agregó que, con la práctica de que vivan en Mexicali y utilicen un domicilio de Caléxico, para justificar su residencia, "...estamos enseñándoles a mentir".

TERCERA APROXIMACION:

Opiniones de maestros de la frontera acerca de la educación norteamericana.

Recientemente iniciamos la aplicación de un cuestionario cuya finalidad es obtener un estudio de opinión sobre el conocimiento que los maestros de escuelas públicas de las ciudades fronterizas mexicanas, tienen de sus contrapartes estadounidenses.

Partimos de la hipótesis de que la condición fronteriza, impacta de manera diferente a los maestros como individuos que como trrabajadores de un servicio público.

Los maestros de la frontera –al igual que los de todo el país–, están sujetos a una política educativa única y nacional, central e instrumentada por el Estado Mexicano a través de un aparato administrativo central que se bifurca en las entidades federativas.

Los maestros norteamericanos, dependen de una estructura administrativa local, sujeta a normatividad de jurisdicción estatal, con ocasionales recomendaciones o sugerencias Federales.

La capacidad de acceso a las decisiones es relativamente próxima, ya que el órgano decisorio local en su mayoría se conforma por procesos electorales directos y no partidistas, lo cual permite la negociación, pero también la impugnación cuando se atenta contra la perspectiva de los docentes.

En estas circunstancias es apreciable que de origen, son dos sistemas completamente diferentes. La movilidad para maestros y administradores de educación, es más factible de norte a sur, que a la inversa; esto se debe a que aquellos operan con mayor flexibilidad que los nuestros.

Paradójicamente, ambos grupos de maestros se conocen más por sus alumnos, que por su contacto directo. Los maestros norteamericanos de la frontera están acostumbrados a recibir niños procedentes de escuelas mexicanas. En algunas regiones del suroeste, el porcentaje de "hispanic" –atribuibles a niños mexicanos– rebasa el 95%.

Los maestros mexicanos reciben eventualmente alumnos mexicanos que regresan de Estados Unidos, como lo veremos adelante, pero nunca niños norteamericanos que ingresen a escuelas mexicanas, quizá con la única excepción de algunas escuelas particulares de orientación religiosa.

En la fase de pilotaje del cuestionario, que se aplico en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua y Mexicali, Baja California.

CUARTA APROXIMACION:

Experiencias de instituciones y organismos formales.

Para los altos dirigentes de la educación pública de Estados Unidos, y me refiero a los Estados que por Ley son los responsables de proporcionar este servicio público, existe la creencia de que hacer contacto con la educación de México, significa inexorablemente establecer relaciones con la SEP en la Ciudad de México. Esta apreciación, es resultante de nuestra experiencia de trato con autoridades educativas en los Estados de California, Nevada, Arizona, Puerto Rico y Washington.

Al respecto vale la pena citar la experiencia vivida por el Estado de California en los últimos años. Debido al crecimiento de la población escolar que no domina o no conoce el idioma inglés, combinado con el hecho de la baja demanda de los jóvenes por cursar la profesión de docente y la tasa natural de retiro; se ha producido un déficit de maestros y en particular, de maestros bilingües en número superior a los 10,000. De éstos, el 80% deberían de ser expertos en inglés y español.

Caso patético es el del Distrito Escolar de la Ciudad de Los Angeles,

California, donde por cierto se hablan en sus aulas mas de 55 idiomas y el déficit es ya tradicional y se aproxima a los 4,000 maestros por año.

Hace algunos años, se solicitó por las autoridades educativas de California, el establecimiento de relaciones con México, como fruto de diversos foros y audiencias públicas para definir el programa de gobierno de la nueva administración educativa que se iniciaba en 1983.

Se consideraba que la relación con México permitiría solucionar en parte el problema. Ya sea capacitando a maestros californianos en el bilingüismo, ya sea facilitando maestros mexicanos en calidad de intercambio.

Se proponía el inicio de un diálogo entre funcionarios de alto nivel para acordar los términos de un intercambio que permitiera a California contratar maestros mexicanos bilingües por un termino de dos años, no renovable.

Meses después, se hizo público el Memorándum de Entendimiento suscrito por el Departamento de Educación de California con el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia de España, y mediante el cual, entre otros acuerdos, se establece la contratación de 100 maestros bilingües españoles, seleccionados por California y apoyados por el Gobierno de su país, al término del periodo del contrato. Estos maestros llegaron a escuelas de distintos Distritos Escolares, desde Chula Vista, –casi en la frontera con México–, hasta el Condado de Yolo, en el norte del Estado.

Es nuestra opinión, que a raíz de este hecho, se suceden dos reacciones. La primera, los maestros españoles al asumir su función como bilingües, enfrentaron un conflicto cultural con sus alumnos hispanoparlantes, cierto, pero en su mayoría procedentes de México, y por lo tanto dueños de otro "campo semántico".

Los valores de la hispanidad, el léxico y su formación urbana, contrastaron con la mexicanidad, el vocabulario y el origen suburbano o rural de niños proletarizados, procedentes de nuestro país.

El proyecto, loable y bienintencionado, representó un conflicto intercultural para los niños y sus padres, así como para los propios maestros y los administradores públicos de los distritos escolares a donde llegaron. ¿Otra vez vienen a conquistarnos? Diría alguno de los padres.

La segunda repercusión, consiste en el hecho de que al siguiente ciclo escolar, se alcanzó la formalización del acuerdo entre California y México, para enviar maestros de nuestro País. El proceso, con un enfoque bilateral, comprendió dos puntos de selección: en las ciudades de México y Mexicali, Baja California.

El conjunto de maestros llegará a California el próximo septiembre, esto es, dos años después que lo hicieron los maestros bilingües de España.

Es conveniente mencionar, que al frente del grupo de maestros españoles, se creó una especie de coordinación en apoyo de ellos, dentro del Departamento de Educación de California, con funciones adicionales de asesorar a las comisiones de currículum y libros de texto, en materia de ciencias sociales e idioma español. Esto último, que por cierto, ya existe en el caso del idioma inglés y del alemán.

Curiosamente, no existe acreditación alguna por parte de nuestro país, ante el citado Departamento, a pesar de que más del 20% del total de la población escolar de California procede de México.

A la conclusión que llegamos es que, a pesar del problema del déficit de maestros bilingües en idioma español que padece California, y que se debe en gran parte a la creciente inmigración de niños y jóvenes mexicanos a esa entidad, la solución al problema no corresponde a un diálogo entre quienes tienen el problema (California) y quienes podrían contribuir a su solución (México), sino la percepción por parte de California de que todos los hispanoparlantes son iguales; y desde México, existe cierto prurito y se trata de evitar caer en el contratismo y propiciar la fuga organizada de cerebros, caro y delicado.

Conclusiones

a) En la frontera se vuelve dinámica la paradoja de dos países vecinos, ajenos; interrelacionados por la geografía, la historia, y la economía. Los maestros de las escuelas públicas son parte de la paradoja. Los educadores mexicanos, adquieren del otro lado bienes y servicios, pero también se enfrentan a valores, satisfactores e ideas propias de otro país. Los educadores norteamericanos, conocen a sus contrapartes por sus frutos, es decir por los alumnos inmigrantes que llevan el sello de la cultura y la educación Mexicana.

El discurso de los maestros mexicanos es matizado por su doble condición de productor y consumidor. Como trabajador al servicio del Estado Mexicano, éticamente debe cumplir con el compromiso de reproducir la ideología del sistema, exaltando valores, metas y objetivos de la nacionalidad mexicana, ideología que difiere diametralmente de la norteamericana.

b) Desde la perspectiva del análisis de la administración pública, la educación norteamericana no es una obligación de la Federación, sino una función de las entidades federativas, ejecutada por las comunidades locales.

En México, la educación es un servicio público a cargo del Estado Nacional, quien la define, norma, administra y evalúa a partir de criterios unificados e uniformes para toda la nación.

En Norteamérica, los Estados negocian con los Condados y con las localidades para el ejercicio de la educación. A lo sumo, establecen parámetros deseables de currículum y organización escolar, condicionados al financiamiento educativo. La Federación, promueve la interpretación jurídica de la Constitución que permita igualdad de oportunidades educativas para todos los ciudadanos del país.

En México, el Ejecutivo Federal a través de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, promueve y administra la inmensa mayoría de los servicios de educación del país. La dependencia central, se reproduce en los Estados, para la aplicación local de la norma y la prestación del servicio educativo.

Dado que es un servicio concurrente –aunque la normatividad se reserva a la Federación–, algunas entidades absorben al mismo nivel de la Federación, la responsabilidad de la educación pública en sus jurisdicciones territoriales.

En Norteamérica la organización y administración educativa están a cargo de funcionarios electos directamente por la comunidad, quien tradicionalmente ha sido la principal fuente de financiamiento.

En la esfera nacional, la autoridad se desliza en cascada, eliminando la posibilidad real de participación de los beneficiarios directos del servicio en aspectos de organización y administración.

Así, los educadores norteamericanos, tienen mayor flexibilidad para comunicarse con sus vecinos del sur, ya que tienen capacidad de iniciativa, de hecho la ejercen. Nuestros maestros se ven limitados de origen, ya que su dependencia jerárquica progresiva a mandos superiores, termina por remitirlos a la autoridad central en materia educativa.

c) En la esfera de las autoridades educativas norteamericanas, sean desde el nivel ínfimo –distrito o escuela–, o bien hasta el más alto nivel de la administración, que es el Estado, existe la creencia –para efectos de congruencia con el tema de la Reunión, diríamos "percepción"– de que, dadas las características del sistema educativo Mexicano, tomar una parte, es igual a conocer el todo; sin embargo, la mejor manera de hacerlo, es dirigirse a la cabeza, esto es a la SEP.

Así, el síndrome de innumerables educadores norteamericanos, se manifiesta en la certeza de que deben establecer contacto con las autoridades de la Ciudad de México, una garantía de que "han hablado con México".

En consecuencia, intentaran establecer relaciones con la SEP, independientemente de que posean o no representatividad internacional. Así, entrara en tratos con "México", desde un maestro de escuela, hasta el Superintendente de Educación de una Ciudad, Distrito o Estado.

Por lo tanto, los contactos regionales México-Estados Unidos en materia educativa, son esporádicos, asistemáticos y desiguales en cuanto a la representatividad que les caracteriza y la viabilidad de llevar adelante acuerdos conjuntos.

d) En contradicción con lo anterior, la política exterior de nuestro país en materia educativa, dista mucho de caracterizarse del dinamismo con que México ejerce las relaciones bilaterales, multilaterales o comerciales con el propio Estados Unidos, o con otros países u organismos regionales o mundiales.

Generalmente el tópico "educación" en las agendas diplomáticas de reuniones de organismos internacionales o relaciones México-Estados Unidos, ocupa los últimos lugares, cuando en el mejor de los casos se le considera de interés.

e) En tales circunstancias, las relaciones de conocimiento e interacción entre ambas naciones, ser iguales a las que podrían sostener otros países que no tienen frontera común, ya que los contactos se producen sólo al más alto nivel. Para aspectos prácticos, oficialmente la frontera no trasmina cuestiones educativas para el vecino.

f) Sin embargo, a pesar del desconocimiento mutuo de los maestros que ejer-

cen en ambos lados de la frontera, existe un elemento que dinamiza las relaciones y que viene a cubrir parcialmente el vacío y el mutuo desconocimiento. Se trata de la migración de niños en edad escolar del sur hacia el norte, y del norte al sur; aunque el primero, es el patrón determinante.

Se da así un fenómeno de polinización: son los pequeños, quienes informan a sus maestros de las condiciones materiales, sociales, organizacionales e ideológicas de la educación que recibieron en el otro país. Los niños son los agentes de polinización que llevan hacia Norteamérica costumbres, conocimientos, valores y héroes de México. A través de los niños inmigrantes mexicanos, los maestros norteamericanos conocen la educación y el país vecino del sur.

g) La imagen genérica que los educadores han proyectado hacia sus colegas norteamericanos, es de "heróicos" por las condiciones en que trabajan y "brillantes" por los altos rendimientos que logran sus alumnos.

Sin embargo, en fechas recientes, los exámenes exploratorios a los niños inmigrantes mexicanos en Estados Unidos, los sitúan muy por abajo de sus pares del mismo origen nacidos en aquel país, o de sus antecesores que ingresaron hace diez o quince años. Es importante señalar que, aunque no es genérico, estudios comparativos del nivel cognoscitivo de alumnos de primaria de ambos sistemas, los ganan los alumnos norteamericanos. Esto puede ser atribuible a una caída en la calidad de la educación que ahora reciben los niños mexicanos.

h) No existe una política integral en ninguno de los dos países, para identificar problemas comunes en materia educativa y menos aún, para atacar sus orígenes. Como se indica anteriormente, bien pudiera tratarse de países de distintos continentes, a juzgar por el desconocimiento mutuo que existe en las esferas oficiales de las interacciones educativas de los dos países.

Repito que en parte esto se explica por la diferencia organizacional –centralismo en México vs. descentralización en Estados Unidos–, pero también pudiera deberse a que los perjudicados son los mexicanos que emigran a Estados Unidos y por lo tanto es allá donde se presenta el problema mayor, consistente en su incapacidad de incorporarse a la vida productiva de aquella nación.

i) Así pues, las escuelas de la frontera, visibles unas de otras a través del cerco que divide a los países, son perfectas incógnitas para maestros y administradores de la educación. Sin embargo, son el escenario donde se juegan su futuro los niños, que usualmente van del sur al norte, al que difícilmente se lograran incorporar ellos; aspiración que se cumplirá en la siguiente generación: los hijos de los inmigrantes.

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IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES IN MEXICO'S LIBROS DE TEXTO GRATUITO

VESTA F. MANNING

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze the perspective on U.S. history and culture presented in the Social Studies and Language Arts series of the officially sponsored Mexican elementary school *libros de texto gratuitos.* [1] Because of the importance that Mexico's leaders and educators attach to the teaching of history in the creation of a national ethos' as well as the wide distribution of the texts, the books are believed to contribute substantially to the formation of popular views of the United States in Mexico. The texts are analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the extent and nature of the coverage on the U.S. for accuracy, equity, and balance.

The analysis of direct references to the United States demonstrates the equivocal nature of the presentation. While the Mexican textbooks present largely positive views of the early political formation of the United States, its contributions to world culture and civilization (although many of these are not attributed to the U.S.), and its domestic development, they are much more critical of the role of the United States in international affairs, of U.S. policies of economic development and expansion, and especially of U.S. relations with Mexico.

The reasons for this portrayal are examined and analyzed within the general theoretical framework developed in the texts to explain the evolution of the modern world system. This view of history emphasizes the role of the evolution of capitalism in dividing the world into dominant and dominated nations and in creating a dependency of the under developed nations on the industrialized powers. Possible solutions to the problems of dependency are presented from a Third World perspective of interdependence. Although both the superpowers receive critical treatment, by and large, socialist regimes are

implicitly characterized more favorably because Marxist ideology theoretically supports a more equitable distribution of wealth and access to health care, education, and social services. Because of the way Mexico has propagandized its own Revolution, it tends to view "revolutionary" nations more favorably than others.

The textbooks' portrayal of the U.S., although marred by occasional factual inaccuracy, is more notable for a lack of balance and equity. The omission of significant positive contributions of the United States to world civilization, or at least the failure to attribute them to the United States, results in an unbalanced picture when taken in conjunction with the negative characterization of U.S. political and economic activities on the international scene.

The most striking feature of the Mexican textbook presentation of the United States is its ambivalence. This ambivalence, of course, has been noted by other analysts of U.S.-Mexican relations and is often cast in terms of a love-hate relationship. Admiration and respect for U.S. constitutional foundations and economic progress is countered by strong suspicions of U.S. motives vis-a-vis the world, distrust based upon past history, and resentment over the profound economic inequalities that separate the neighboring nations. In the texts, these negative appraisals are only rarely directed against the United States in an explicit way, but emerge in the indirect references on themes such as dependency, multinational corporations, and imperialism.

In the final analysis, in spite of the critical portrayal of the United States, the textbooks could not be characterized as viscerally anti-American; nor is their tone rancorous or vindictive. Instead the emphasis is on a more positive, constructive approach to the world–a view that emphasizes the interdependence of the world community, and above all, anticipates a significant role for Mexico in that world.

I. The Historical and Educational Context of the Free Texts

Educational systems have traditionally contributed to the process of acculturating and socializing children to adult society. Societies transmit an articulated network of symbols and ideologies to new generations through a variety of mechanisms, especially through the teaching of history. More specifically, most countries use history as a tool for inculcating patriotism and ensuring loyalty to the state. In addition, through the public schools, the state can promote programs designed to alter the structure of society. Textbooks play a crucial role in all of these processes as, carefully conceived or not, they are a most effective instrument to communicate values and attitudes, including the preferred view of foreign countries and peoples. Thus, public opinion is formed, in part, by the direction of educational curricula. [2]

In their introspective moments, professional educators and historians have

analyzed public school curricula to ascertain how countries portray their own histories as well as those of foreign countries. Not surprisingly, their conclusions indicate that textbooks can both reinforce preconceptions and perpetuate stereotypes about foreigners and, in the process, serve as instruments for fostering national antipathies. The most serious problem is that of patriotism badly applied. It has long been recognized that love of country can easily convert national faults into virtues. [3]

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

By accident of geography, Mexico has been profoundly influenced by the superpower on its northern border. In fact, Mexico's history has been inextricably intertwined with that of the United States for two centuries, and one would expect to find considerable attention devoted to the United States in Mexican school textbooks. The purpose of this study is to analyze the view of United States history and culture presented in the Social Studies and Language Arts series of the *libros de texto gratuitos* and to identify the values and attitudes that these officially sponsored textbooks communicate to their audience. The information furnished in the elementary textbooks contributes at least in part to the formation of popular views of the United States in Mexico.

Certainly Mexicans hold no single perception of the United States, but have many views which express striking ambivalences. The views of Mexico's elites are illustrative. Government officials, despite their personal views, find it necessary to avoid the appearance of being too friendly to the United States. Mexican intellectuals are the most critical of the United States, often basing their views on the historical record, their own appreciation of material culture, and on the many variations of dependency theory. The business community generally admires the United States and tries to emulate its economic successes. [4]

The Mexican popular view of the United States is more difficult to assess in the absence of careful social science research , but for a sizeable portion of Mexico's migratory population, it is influenced by firsthand experience and observation. For many more, it is also conditioned by the bombardments of popular culture including mass media and by whatever exposure to the educational system the population may have enjoyed. For the many Mexicans whose education does not extend beyond the sixth grade, concepts of nationalism and views of the United States are constructed, in part, on the foundations of the *libros de texto gratuitos*. Although it is not within the parameters of this study to determine the relative importance of the texts in influencing Mexican opinions about the United States, this analysis does assume, for the historical reasons to be discussed below, that Mexican leaders believe that the teaching of history through the texts plays a fundamental role in the

formation of a national ethos. For this reason the characterization of the United States in these books is particularly important. [5]

Synopsis of the Education Debate

Since the independence period, public education in Mexico has been considered fundamental to the pursuit of national unification and a coherent national history. Moreover, Mexican political and educational leaders have considered education as pivotal for social development and as an agent for progress. [6]

Mexico's political conflicts, both domestic and international, have dominated the interpretation of the country's history and the direction of its public school curricula. For example, Mexico adopted its national anthem in the decade following the United States invasion of 1847 and mandated the study of history at the intermediate level after the Revolution of Ayutla (1855). [7] But consensus on how that history should be portrayed has been difficult to find. For over two centuries, the state-directed teaching of history in Mexico's public schools has been marked by polemic. The role of the church and clergy in education, the liberal-conservative conflict, indigenismo, and bilingual instruction are but a few of the many debates which have marked the evolution of education in Mexico. The educational mission has been further complicated by social and economic problems which have exacerbated widespread illiteracy and poverty, and by a shortage of schools and trained teachers. [8]

Statutory Basis for Educational Reform in the Twentieth Century

The legal basis for public education in Mexico today is found in Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 which stipulates that education be free, compulsory, and secular. [9] Four years after the constitution was promulgated, the Secretaría de Educación was established and the federal government extended its control over education throughout the nation. For the first time official textbooks were adopted by the federal school system.

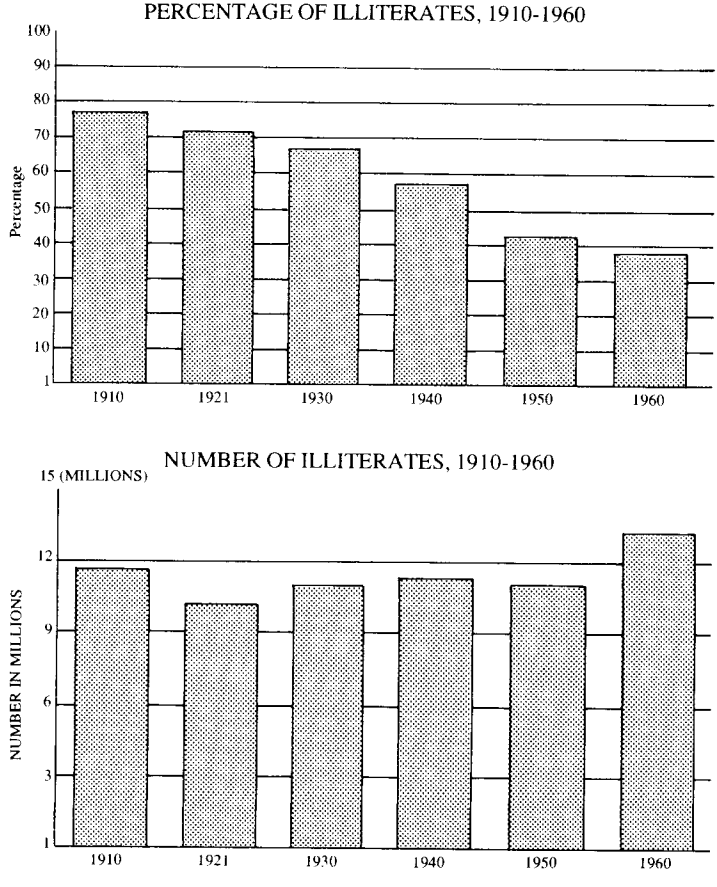
To implement the new social order envisioned by revolutionary ideologues and to redirect the social conscience of the nation, the six-year plan initiated in 1934 under President Lázaro Cárdenas embodied a socialist orientation for education, and some free textbooks were distributed to federal primary schools during his administration.

Subsequent educational legislation closely reflected the social problems confronting the country. To counteract the high rate of illiteracy, the administration of Manuel Avila Camacho (1940-1946) enacted the Ley Emergencia para la Campaña Nacional contra el Analfabetismo (1944) which was designed to have "each one teach one." Addressing the need for a clearly articulated educational

policy, Article 3 of the constitution was amended in 1946 under the supervision of the Secretary of Education, Jaime Torres Bodet. The reformed article focused on the national, democratic, egalitarian, free and obligatory nature of public education. Despite the monumental efforts of the early twentieth century, President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines (1952-1958) admitted that the federal government had not met the educational needs of the country. The percentage of illiterates had declined markedly since the Revolution of 1910, but because of the large population increase the absolute number of illiterates had risen (see graph 1).

GRAPH 1

MEXICAN ILLITERACY, 1910-1960



THE LIBROS DE TEXTO GRATUITOS

Determined finally to implement the educational goals articulated earlier, President Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964) created the Comisión Nacional de los *Libros de Texto Gratuitos* (CONALITEG) on February 12, 1959. At the same time he decreed that uniform national textbooks would be free and compulsory for grades one through six. Under the direction of Secretary of Education Torres Bodet, the commission, comprised of twelve educators and five representatives of various sectors of public opinion, was charged with overseeing the preparation and distribution of the textbooks. In anticipation of the new texts, Torres Bodet directed the Consejo Nacional de la Educación to revise the elementary school curriculum and targeted the areas of teacher training and school construction for improvement.

Four national contests were held between 1959 and 1964 in which primary text manuscripts were considered for publication by the Secretaría de Educación. Between 1960 and 1968 the first texts and workbooks were being published and distributed. Although most authors of the texts were originally unidentified, the 1983 editions of the *Ciencias Sociales* series carry an acknowledgement to their collaborators. Authors of the texts for grades 4 and 5 were: Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, Bernardo García, Laura Barcia, Ellen Gollás, Luis González, Gustavo Cabrera, José Luis Reyna, Manuel Villa, Armida de la Vara, and Margarita M. Helguera; and for grade 6: Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, Laura Barcia, Elizabeth Velázquez, Luis González, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Victor L. Urquidi, and Francisco Estebáñez. [10]

Limited economic resources of most Mexican children and equality of access to education were the primary considerations cited by authorities for mandating the use of obligatory texts. Although the textbooks were to be used in both public and private schools, they were not regarded as exclusive. President López Mateos and Secretary Torres Bodet stated that complementary source materials could be used whenever financial resources permitted. The textbooks themselves, however, would ensure national unity. The *libros de texto gratuitos*, designed to inculcate a patriotic obligation to the nation, would not only standardize the federal primary curriculum, but would also carry the "official" version of history to all Mexican primary students.

The educational reform of 1959 was plagued by controversy similar to that which greeted earlier curricular initiatives. [11] The Unión de Padres de Familia, the Barra Mexicana, and the Sociedad Mexicana de Autores Escolares, A.C., among others, opposed the education decree as unconstitutional, anti-democratic, communist, and immoral. They charged that the reform measures limited access to truth and attempted to standardize the thought of the country's youth under the deceptive guise of national unity. One of the largest demonstrations against the federal government since the Revolution occurred in Monterrey in 1962 in opposition to the *libros de texto gratuitos*. Similar protests

were noted in San Luis Potosí and Puebla, but the conflicts soon subsided and subsequent revisions of the textbooks occasioned no new outbursts.

Revisions of the Free Textbooks

Educational decisions made in Mexico in the early 1970s reflected a new set of historiographical presuppositions and a new approach to learning. Both developments are mirrored in the textbook revisions of the period 1971 to 1974.[12] The social studies texts for the first time tempered the role of the hero in history in the interest of a more interdisciplinary approach stressing the mechanisms of social change and development of citizenship and national conscience. In a shift away from earlier memory-oriented curriculum, educators now encouraged the development of analytical skills to solve practical problems. At the same time, as Mexico sought to identify itself with the Third World, an effort was made to redirect the texts from a nationalistic focus to a universalist orientation. The nationalism to be inculcated in the schools would be less rhetorical and more practical emphasizing international interdependence.

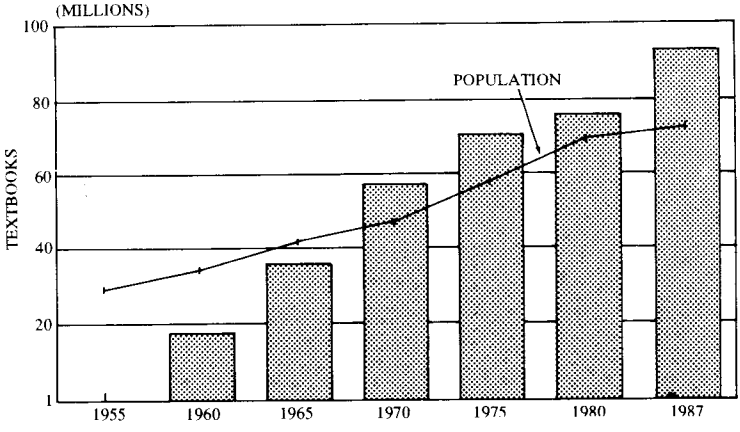
The initial textbook revisions were casual, if not haphazard. In 1978, the Secretary of Education created the Consejo de Contenidos y Métodos to institutionalize the revision process and to assure that the texts would be up-to-date in content and educational methodology. The universalist theme of the textbooks would remain unchanged. A comparison of the 1979 and 1982-1983 sixth grade social studies texts demonstrates a number of modifications in content. Several innocuous passages and pictures were deleted apparently to conserve space. Additions included biographical sketches of important historical figures appended at the end of the text. A two-page discussion of changes in the United Nations General Assembly since 1945 as well as a 1974 U.N. resolution authored by Mexico condemning political colonialism and injustice and supporting autonomous economic development was deleted. Other omissions from the 1982 text were the reference to China's family planning policies to solve its problems, and a discussion of the similarities between the "fascism" of Josef Stalin's regime, Chile's military government, and Hitler's colonization efforts. A section drawing a causal connection between the Russian Revolution and the Great Depression was modified.[13]

Viewed over the long term, the success of the educational system which grew out of the Revolution has been considerable although Mexico's demographic explosion and financial difficulties in the postwar period have continued to challenge the national educational structure. As dramatic as Mexico's population growth has been since 1955, textbook production has increased even more dramatically. By 1970, the number of textbooks published annually exceeded the total population (see graph 2). Textbook production in 1960 was

close to 18 million copies; this figure had increased more than five-fold to approximately 93 million by 1982.

GRAPH 2

TEXT PRODUCTION AND POPULATION COMPARED



In practice, private schools in the cities have tended to rely upon the official texts far less than their rural, public counterparts. [14] Nevertheless, primary school children exposed to the *libros de texto gratuitos* are repeatedly reminded of the significance of national unity and values for understanding both Mexico's past and future as well as the importance of education in their nation's successful development and solutions to its problems.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study a topical content analysis flows logically from the supposition that in today's increasingly interdependent world no nation's self-image can be defined totally within the confines of its own geopolitical boundaries. A country's view of itself is conditioned, at least in part, on its view of others and on others' view of it. To be sure, *mexicanidad* is an expression of Mexico's own cultural experience but its contours are shaped also by the outside world, most especially by the United States for reasons synopsed above, but also by the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the Third World.

A dual approach analyzing the content both qualitatively and quantitatively was chosen for this study. [15] A topical content analysis of the social studies texts and teachers' manuals allows for examination of 1) the *extent* and 2) *nature* of the coverage afforded the United States. Only when the reading selections in the

language arts texts represent Mexican views about the United States have they been included in the content analysis. Since information about the United States is conveyed both directly (by specific reference) and indirectly (by association or inference), the study is divided into two major sections. The first focuses on direct references to the United States grouped according to six categories: 1) The English Colonies and Political Formation of the United States; 2) Economic Development and Expansion; 3) U.S.-Mexican Relations; 4) Domestic Social, Political, and Economic Conditions; 5) Cultural, Scientific, and Technological Contributions; and 6) The United States in the Twentieth Century and World Conflict.

In each category we have synthesized the view presented of the United States in the body of the texts and the teachers' manuals including illustrative quotations in translation which are exemplary or demonstrate a perspective. Direct quotes from the 1983 social studies texts are identified by grade and page number (e.g., 6:82 signifies the sixth grade text, page 82). [16] We examined the coverage of the United States for accuracy, equity, and balance. In addition to the textual narrative, we also examined accompanying photos and illustrations which either implicitly or explicitly relay value judgements. A quantitative line analysis demonstrates the relative amount of space accorded the United States in each of the six categories. The lines were assigned favorable, unfavorable, or neutral connotations. While this categorization is by nature subjective, it does provide a means for reviewing the accuracy of the analytical commentary presented for each section. The results statistically indicate the tone and amount of coverage of the presentation of United States history. Comparative data for other countries is included whenever illustrative. Omissions have been noted when appropriate.

The second section analyzes how the United States fits within the philosophical construct of Mexico's larger world view. This approach facilitates comparative analysis with other nations. The United States and other countries are examined in the global context of 1) the Growth of Capitalism; 2) Dependency; and 3) the Third World.

Content and Goals of the Social Studies and Language Arts Series

The social studies program is grouped in three levels. The first two grades do not use student texts. Grades three and four focus on Mexico; five and six on global studies. A separate student text for the reading program begins with the second grade. Teachers' manuals for each grade include pedagogical explications of objectives, the curriculum, and directed activities and questions.

Social studies objectives are integrated into one curriculum designed for grades one and two and primarily concentrate on socialization within the school, family, and community environment. Through national symbols such as the flag,

the national anthem, local customs, songs, and language, students are taught to identify themselves as Mexicans and are expected to recognize and differentiate between cultural and geographical manifestations which characterize their nationality. The teachers' manuals emphasize the acquisition of a world vision which recognizes the interdependence of the international community while appreciating and defending Mexico's national cultural patrimony. Teachers are reminded that Mexico's problems have both internal and external causes.

The separate student texts used for the social studies program in grades three and four aim to socialize students to their environment by introducing them to the geographical and human complexities of the history and problems of Mexico. Grade three provides an introduction to pre-Columbian and conquest history interspersed with descriptions of contemporary rural Mexico. Grade four focuses on colonial history, independence, and urban Mexico. Consequently, the United States is not introduced until the fourth grade and then within the context of its relationship to Mexico. The focus of grade five is world history, ranging from prehistory through the early modern period; it includes information on the North American colonies and impact of U.S. independence. The sixth grade social studies text which continues to examine world history is by far the most sophisticated and comprehensive, beginning with the Middle Ages and terminating with the culture and problems of the 1970s. This last text provides theoretical analyses of the international economic system and socioeconomic conflicts within the broader historical presentation. The preceding schematic breakdown indicates why the sixth grade text is the primary unit of analysis for this study; of course, the less frequent references to the United States found in the other texts are also included.

The objectives of the language arts (Español) series include the teaching of reading, verbal expression, writing, spelling, grammar, phonology, reading comprehension, and introduction to literature. Under the latter objective, the teachers' manuals do not list an emphasis on familiarizing students with major writers (either Mexican or world) in their literary or historical contexts. Therefore, as noted above, unless the selections are by Mexicans about the United States, they have not been included in the content analysis. However, each reading selection has been categorized as to the nationality of its author (when identifiable). An analysis of this breakdown is found in the section on contributions to world civilization.

II. Direct References to the United States

The English Colonies and the Political Formation of the United States

All three texts (grades 4-6) include some information about life in the English colonies, the struggle for independence, or the adoption of the Constitution. By

comparison with other categories of this study, the early period of U.S. history receives the most favorable treatment. Teachers' manuals recommend emphasis on the characteristics of English colonization in America, the influence of the idea of liberty on forms of government, and the factors leading to political independence in America.

The texts indicate that the first attempts to settle North America were unsuccessful and that, by comparison with the Spanish colonial empire, the wealth of North America was far less substantial. The major emphasis, however, is on the importance of liberty and representative government. The texts portray the European colonists as immigrants fleeing religious persecution, explaining that the diversity of customs and beliefs engendered an atmosphere of toleration. England's neglect of its possessions encouraged the development of self-government and colonist participation in representative assemblies. The crown's efforts to increase taxes were met by popular resistance in Boston while colonial leaders elected independence under the influence of Enlightenment ideology. The second sentence of the Declaration of Independence is included to emphasize the ideals of liberty and equality. The texts single out two political leaders for their roles in the independence movement: Thomas Jefferson as author of the Declaration of Independence and George Washington as the great general of the victorious Continental Army and first president of the federal government.

The promulgation of the U.S.-Constitution signified that "the ideas of liberty had been converted into the laws of the first constitution written in our times" (6:31). The U.S. Constitutionis presented as a model of good government; a description of the separation of powers, guaranteed individual rights, and function of the federal form of government is followed by the conclusion that "this type of government was the dream of all liberals in the nineteenth century" (6:82). The texts recognize both the U.S. independence movement and the ideas proposed in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" of revolutionary France as instrumental in encouraging the Latin American colonists to seek their independence.

The illustrations for this early phase of U.S. history are unprovocatively descriptive: They depict a map of European possessions in America, a map of the thirteen colonies, colonists landing in North America, and the Pilgrims and the Mayflower. Although the Boston Tea Party is described in the text, the accompanying photo shows only a ship harbored in the port of Boston.

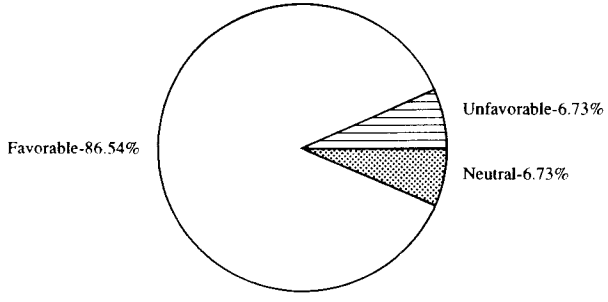
The line analysis for this section (see graph 3) also shows that coverage of the early political history of the United States is strongly positive with 87 of the lines classified as favorable, and the remainder split equally between neutral and unfavorable. The few unfavorable statements refer to English colonialism. The favorable interpretation of the political independence of the United States conforms to one of the historical themes reiterated throughout the texts. American independence represents the successful attempt of a colony,

having been victimized by a European colonial power, to throw off the yoke of imperialism. If anything, the unqualified praise of early political development makes the presentation unbalanced. For instance, there is no mention that nineteenth-century liberalism was not aimed at producing social change nor universal political participation. It should be noted, however, that the laudatory examination of early political development is tempered by a more critical assessment of colonial North American social and cultural life.

GRAPH 3

TEXT REFERENCES TO EARLY U.S. POLITICS

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES = 288



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION

Economic development and erxpansion receive mixed treatment in the texts. While certain facets of industrialization and economic growth are presented favorably, the negative appraisals of U.S. economic imperialism are totally consistent with texts' critical perception of world capitalist development. Students are expected to gain an understanding of the causes and consequences of U.S economic growth, U.S. territorial aggrandizement (whether through purchase, colonization, or conquest), characteristics of the development process, and the expansion of capitalism at the world level.

Nineteenth-century expansion through purchase of territory, increases in production, construction of the transportation infrastructure, and the rise and growth of large cities are recognized as factors favoring industrialization. Two maps illustrate purchases made by the United States from European nations and lands acquired by conquest from Mexico, and another illustration charts urban growth in Chicago between 1831 and 1870. Indeed, expansion is cited as a major factor through which the United States gained economic advantage.

> With this territory . . . the United States was transformed into an enormous country with abundant natural resources: forests, gold mines, iron, charcoal [and] good lands for cattle and agriculture. (6:83)

The availability of natural resources and labor attracted foreign investment to the United States, further accelerating industrial, agricultural, and mining production. It is explained that following the Civil War, which stimulated industrial growth, "the greatest industrial revolution in the world took place in the United States." (6:85)

This industrial revolution set the stage for further capitalist development which drew the United States out of its own territorial confines.

> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States had a great industry, and with its resources, a commercial fleet, markets and new colonies; it had converted into a global power. (6:87)

Nevertheless, the road to international stature was strewn with casualties, and numerous consequences of the transformation precipitated by industrialization and growth are presented less favorably. Ambition and territorial expansion led to attacks upon Indians who were despoiled of lands and rights and forced onto reservations. One illustration depicts a red and white uniformed army shooting dark-skinned Indians with the caption, "new colonial conquests." Another, however, shows "natives and Quaker colonists" in a discussion.

A basic lesson for students is that U.S. economic success was achieved at the expense of underdeveloped nations. Teachers are directed to emphasize that the search for raw materials and new markets are a necessary prerequisite for the economic expansion of the United States. The United States is identified with other industrialized nations (Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan) as having been attracted to colonialism by ambition and competition for raw materials and expanded markets.

> The United States also wanted to have colonies. Moreover, it wanted to dominate the Caribbean islands (like Cuba and Puerto Rico which belonged to Spain), in order to monitor the ships that approached its coastline. (6:86)

Colonial powers, including the United States, require sufficient technology and force "to take greater advantage" of their possessions:

> With the ships they carried raw materials and products; they also transported troops and arms to maintain the colonies in peace. For that reason, the five great industrial nations were, at the same time, naval powers. (6:104)

Accused of betraying its own ideological heritage, in the process of industrialization and growth, the United States lost sight of its roots: "The small colonies that had put the liberal ideas into practice had been transformed into a powerful country that had its own colonies" (6:87). The same nations once admired for their political systems lost favor in the eyes of Latin Americans:

> In the beginning Latin Americans greatly admired France, Great Britain, and the United States for their governments and free societies. But these nations tried to take advantage of the Latin American nations. (6:58)

In addition to controlling trade in Latin America, the United States utilized the power derived from its successful commerce to force countries like Japan to trade through unequal treaties, a situation depicted in an illustration of Commodore Perry with the Japanese.

Teachers are directed to point out that the lack of capital for developing their own mining, agriculture, industry, and commerce resulted in the dependence of the Latin American nations on North American capitalists. Students should learn that not only colonialism but also economic dependence result from the efforts of industrialized nations like the United States to control international industry, commerce, and transportation. The "economic crisis of 1929" served as a painful illustration of this dependency.

The teachers' manual draws a causal relationship between the success of the Russian Revolution and the panic of European and American capitalists which led to the Great Depression. Although this crisis is portrayed as having originated in the United States and European economies it also is shown that the subsequent scarcity of capital for investment and decrease in demand for raw materials caused industrial production to suffer in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Teachers are directed to point out the relationship between the "economic crisis of capitalism" and the discrediting of civilian forms of government in developing countries which encouraged the rise of dictatorships emphasizing planned economies and stability at the expense of liberty. Nazism, Fascism, Stalinism, and Peronism are examples of new political forms growing out of the Great Depression.

By comparison with the view presented of U.S. expansion, Russian territorial conquests are interpreted more benignly. During the czars' modernization program, conquests of Swedish, Turkish, and Polish territory allowed Russia to gain access to Europe and the Mediterranean. The "greatest expansion," however, involved the occupation, colonization, and development of Siberia where the world's longest railroad was constructed. Nevertheless, it is noted that Russia, like other European powers, occupied and dominated small nations that wanted their independence. Moreover, students are taught that these territorial

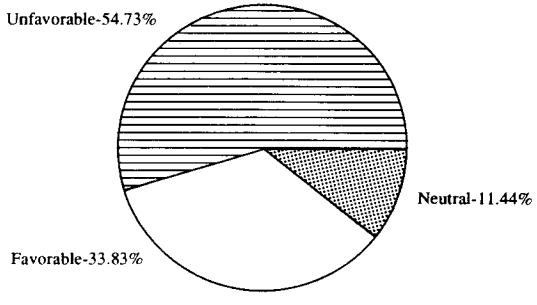
ambitions could result in armed conflict, such as the Russo-Japanese War in which Russia was defeated. Soviet territorial aggrandizement earns very little censure; the occupation of the Baltic states and the Eastern European countries following World War II provided Russia with the resources to industrialize under a socialist system with greater productivity and a more equitable distribution of material wealth.

In general, the texts view industrial development favorably, unless raw materials and markets of underdeveloped nations are exploited to the singular advantage of the more powerful nation. The line analysis confirms the equivocal presentation of U.S. economic development and expansion. The processes of industrialization and urbanization are viewed as innately positive accomplishments' and the description of these processes accounts for a favorable score of 34% (see graph 4) . The negative results of industrialization (mainliy economic imperialism) produce an unfavorable score of 55%; ll% of the references are neutral. Although the evolution of U.S. imperialism is presented critically, it should be pointed out that England and France also are characterized as colonial powers that exploited Asia and Africa. Capitalist investments by developed nations in underdeveloped countries are universally regarded as detrimental to national economic growth rather than conducive to development.

GRAPH 4

REFERENCES TO U.S. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES = 201



U.S.-MEXICAN RELATIONS

It is not surprising that the least favorable representation of the United States concerns its relations with Mexico. Four major topics are reviewed: the independence of Texas' the Mexican-American War, North American capital investment, and the Mexican Revolution. The only positive interaction noted

between the two countries occurred when the United States served as an example to New Spain in its struggle for independence.

Territorial ambition of the United States is cited as the provocation for conflict in the mid-nineteenth century. "Under the pretext" of questioning Mexico's federal government, American settlers in Texas declared themselves free and joined the United States.

Language used to describe the conduct of the United States during the Mexican-American War includes "attack," "ambition'" "unjust," "invade," "intervention," "occupation," "and "snatch." Military invasions of New Mexico, California, Monterrey, Veracruz, and Puebla are noted. The final humiliationx however, was the occupation of Mexico City; "that night the North American Flag waved from the Nation Palace" (4:96). An illustration entitled "North American Troops in Our Capital" depict troops at the Cathedral. Although the "sacrifices were useless," the text notes that "at Chapultepec, in one of the last battles, even the thirteen- and fourteen-year-old cadets of the Military Academy fought" the Americans (4:95). A photo of the "Monument of the Heroic Children in the Bosque de Chapultepec" and an illustration of cadets in "The Battle of Chapultepec" are included at the end of the sixth grade text. The texts instruct that in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico lost half its territory to the United States in exchange for fifteen million pesos. A map delineates the territory lost with the caption: "In the war with the United States, we lost more than half of our territory: Territory Lost (1836) and (1848) ."

Mexico's military weakness in the war is explained by lack of money, arms, food, and water to sustain a credible fighting force. Consequently, Santa Anna was defeated at Angostura and captured at San Jacinto with no hope of reconquering Texas. There is no mention of the Mesilla Valley (Gadsden) purchase in which Mexico further ceded territory in Arizona to the United States in exchange for ten million dollars. This omission may have been intended to minimize any Mexican responsibility for territorial loss.

The fourth grade text offers one positive result of the war. Although political development was chaotic and dismal, "thie Mexican nation was in the process of formation . . . ." (4:96). The war with the United States stimulated the growth of a national identity. "Many Mexicans had been unaware of what they were, but for the first time, they felt like Mexicans facing the enemy, and they understood the importance of national unity" (4:96).

Nonetheless, the United States was not singlehandedly responsible for Mexico' s nineteenth-century troubles. Following themes developed by Justo Sierra, Mexico's famous nineteenth-century positivist historian, the texts describe the internal turmoil which resulted from conflicting political ideologies, frequent changes of government, and the lack of development capital. The French are also censured for their intervention during the chaotic years of the early republic. Mexico's inability to repay a loan led to the 1838 "Pastry War" with France; as a result, Mexico "had to solicit loans and pay an unjust and

exaggerated price" to the French (4:95). Again, financial difficulties coupled with the Conservatives' hope to establish a monarchy in Mexico provoked the second and more lengthy French intervention in 1861.

Nineteenth-century railroad construction, mining, and industrialization depended largely on American and foreign capital especially under Porfirio Díaz. As the previous section indicates, this capitalist investment on the part of the United States is viewed as having largely negative results because it created dependency. The desire of U.S. capitalists to protect their economic investments also had political consequences. During the early phase of the Mexican Revolution, foreigners, including Americans, conspired with military chiefs against the Madero government. With the "complicity" of the United States ambassador [Henry Lane Wilson] and others working to protect foreign investments, Huerta planned and executed the overthrow of Madero in the "Decena Trágica." Ironically, Huerta himself eventually felt the heavy hand of the United States which took advantage of the political turmoil of the early revolution to betray Huerta and occupy Veracruz.

> He was dependent on receiving help from the United States, but what happened was totally the opposite, since the neighboring country turned against him and ended up sending troops to occupy the port of Veracruz. (4:132-133)

No mention is made of the fact that United States tolerance of the activities of the Madero revolutionaries on American soil was an important factor in ensuring their victory in the 1911 overthrow of Díaz.

Mexican nationalism and resistance of foreign domination is best symbolized in the texts' presentation in the Revolution's attempt to assert total Mexican control of subsoil rights. The importance of minerals to Mexico's economy is repeatedly stressed, and teachers are instructed to emphasize Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917. The texts teach that Lázaro Cárdenas, in an attempt to comply with the social ideals of the Revolution expressed in the constitution and to control the most important industries, initiated the nationalization of the railroads and expropriation of *latifundios*. The description of the nationalization of the oil industry includes no direct reference to the United States.

> Another one of the large businesses in the hands of foreigners was the petroleum [industry]. The foreign companies did not want to improve the salaries of their workers. [The workers] took their case to the government and the courts decided that the workers were demanding a fair increase. The oil companies paid no attention to the courts, and President Cárdenas decided to expropriate the oil industry; that is, he made the foreigners sell their equipment, wells, and refineries to the country. (4:137)

Nevertheless, it is noted that Mexico continued to be dependent on the United States and other nations for industrial products during the Cárdenas administration.

The text indicates that during World War II most Latin American nations supported the Allies although surprisingly it does not mention Mexico's specific contributions to the war effort. The war's disruption of Mexico's traditionally unfavorable trade relations encouraged its own industrial growth. The absence of foreign products stimulated agricultural, mining, and livestock production both for domestic consumption and for export, especially to the United States. By the end of the war, Mexico was industrialized.

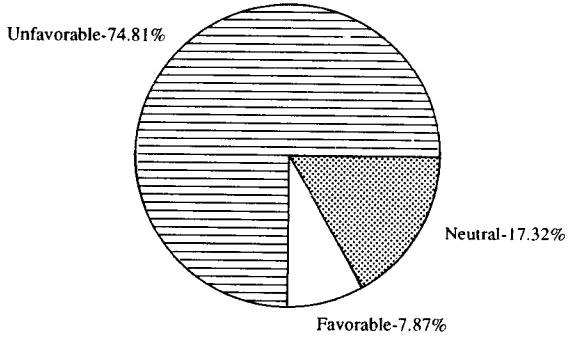
A number of examples point out differences between the two nations' diplomatic policies, and are intended to illustrate Mexico's respect for the political autonomy of nations in opposition to the traditionally interventionist United States. For instance, the United States pressured all Latin American nations, except for Mexico, into severing relations with Fidel Castro's revolutionary government in Cuba. In the case of the two Vietnams, the text notes that Mexico has established relations with both republics. In spite of U.S. opposition, Mexico favored the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the United Nations and established diplomatic, cultural, and commercial relations with that country.

Clearly, the most negative appraisals of the United States concern U.S.-Mexican relations (see graph 5). The line analysis for this section shows an unfavorable score of 75% (as compared to an overall negative score of 42% for all references to the United States). Only 8% of the references to this theme are favorable and 17% are neutral.

GRAPH 5

TEXT REFERENCES TO U.S.-MEXICO RELATIONS

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES = 127



Although it is difficult to fault the texts for accuracy in their presentation of direct and indirect U.S. intervention in Mexico, there is a problem of balance and omission. Curiously, the raid on Columbus, New Mexico, by Pancho Villa's troops and the subsequent American expedition into Mexico under General Pershing are not mentioned. Furthermore, none of the instances in which the United States evinced a desire to cooperate with Mexico are noted. There is no mention of the Good Neighbor Policy, the Alliance for Progress, the contributions of American aid, or cooperative efforts to resolve boundary disputes and border problems. Nor do the texts credit U.S. capital and technology with a beneficial role in encouraging modernization in Mexico, as in the case of, for example, railroad construction. One reason for these omissions is that these cooperative efforts may be seen to perpetuate the cultural and economic dependency which the texts repeatedly deplore. However, it is worth noting that solutions offered for economic problems in Yucatan include the development of the tourist and fishing industries to bring in foreign exchange.

Although the texts enumerate many of Mexico's current problems, there is no reference to the massive migration of Mexicans to the United States over the past several decades. This phenomenon has not only had great impact on relations between the two countries in the last ten years, but has prompted severe economic dislocations on both sides of the border and has heightened tensions between the two countries. Mexican immigration could potentially be perceived fundamentally as a Mexican problem created by the failure of Mexico's economy. This theme is omitted because it runs contrary to the nationalistic perspective presented in the texts. On the other hand, illegal immigration could be conceived, as Jorge Bustamante and others have argued, as a result of labor market demand in the United States. Perhaps this omission is another example of the failure of the texts to be appropriately updated.

It is not difficult to make the case that the negative aspects of U.S. policies in Mexico historically have outweighed the positive. Therefore, the characterization of America's victimization of Mexico seems fair given the history of its direct territorial aggrandizement, military invasions, and indirect economic intervention in Mexico. Given the general orientation of the texts within a dependency framework (see Section III), it is not surprising that the texts would give greater emphasis to external (U.S. interference) than internal causes in retarding Mexico's national progress. As a result of the overwhelming influence of the United States in Mexico historically, the evolution of Mexico's national identity has depended heavily on its ability to officially distance itself from U.S. policies. This perspective informs the presentation of U.S.-Mexican relations throughout the texts. After all, in the context of historical record, blaming the United States is a credible way of rationalizing the failure of the Mexican Revolution to deliver on all its social promises.

DOMESTIC SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The texts offer a mixed view of American socioeconomic and political conditions. This category covers references to colonial society, the slavery issue and Civil War, immigration, and contemporary American life.

The texts are ambivalent on the issue of the degree of social mobility and economic opportunity present in early colonial society. Many early settlers immigrated as indentured servants receiving freedom and land at the end of their contracts. Other English settlers arrived with their families and interacted little with the nomadic Indians. With no indigenous labor force available, the English settlers developed a strong work ethic. Although beset by difficulty and danger, settlers colonized the newly conquered territories where they were protected by their constitutional rights.

Coverage of Spanish colonial society naturally is more comprehensive although the treatment minimizes oppression of the indigenous peoples, traditionally considered a major characteristic of the Spanish colonial system. The texts note that the Spanish colonists sought land and labor, despoiling the natives of their lands and obligating them to work for the settlers. They do not contrast the rigid social stratification of Spanish American society with more fluid English colonial society. Moreover, the fifth grade text, although it praises Anglo-American efforts at education, implies that cultural life in the English colonies was less splendid than in Spanish America. This categorization is largely accurate but it is built, in part, on the absurd statement that the colonists in English America built no churches.

> The English cities did not have the splendor of the Spanish ones; their inhabitants did not construct churches or palaces, nor was there an important cultural life. Nevertheless, the colonists–mainly Protestants–taught their children to read so that they might know the Bible. (5:133)

The social distinctions which create class conflicts are portrayed as having been minimized in the American colonies. With independence came the end of nobility and privileges associated with European monarchies. Although the first presidents were elected from the wealthy elite which had directed the independence movement, later presidents like Abraham Lincoln had more humble origins.

America is portrayed as a land of opportunity whose wealth, liberty, and land attracted European immigrants. In spite of the sacrifices and hard work, immigrants' lives improved, as did education for their children. The diversity of customs and physical appearances among North American peoples is explained by a multiple European ancestry. The immigrants contributed to the development of agriculture, livestock, industry, and commerce in North America. The United States also attracted foreigners who studied and returned

home to help in the modernization of their countries. The case cited is that of Japan.

Juxtaposed against this vision of a United States which opened its arms to the tired, poor, and hungry masses of the world is the negative role played by the United States in perpetuating slavery. The slavery issue does not receive equal scrutiny in the presentations on English and Spanish America. In a general discussion on the issue of slavery and racial discrimination, the United States alone is indicted. The reproduction of a 1769 Charleston advertisement of an "Announcement of a Sale of Slaves in the United States" accompanies the discussion.

Socioeconomic differences in development between the American North and South are associated with slavery. The text notes that "in spite of prosperity, the country was divided by different lifestyles" (6:84). These differences are presented in a standard, rather simplistic contrast between the North and South. The North was characterized by growth of small farms, industry, manufacturing, and trade. Immigrants were attracted by the opportunities and salaried work available in the North. In the South, the economy was characterized by plantation agriculture producing for internal and European markets. An accompanying map shows "The Resources of the U.S. North and South." Commercial fleets trading in the Caribbean and Africa brought slaves to be sold in the South where the success of the large plantations was earned at the expense of slave labor. Unlike their northern counterparts, southerners lived in luxury and had little respect for work. Northerners, believing in liberty, advocated the abolition of slavery. The North's victory in the Civil War is explained by its superior industry and technology. Abraham Lincoln is credited with abolishing slavery in 1863.

By contrast, slavery in the Spanish empire receives much less critical, if not inaccurate, treatment. Although admitting that slaves brought to New Spain from Africa by purchase or conquest were poorly treated, the texts emphasize the importance of miscegenation in ultimately eliminating slavery. The following description of slavery in the Spanish colonies minimizes Spanish culpability in the international trade slave.

> The Negro slaves were the lowest class of the Spanish empire, but many were freed, and by the end of the eighteenth century, there were fewer in comparison with those in the English and Portuguese colonies. (5:127)

The conclusion offered regarding the numbers of slaves is especially noteworthy for its blatant omission of Mexico:

> It is estimated that, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, fifteen million people were taken from Africa to be sold in the English colonies, Caribbean islands and Brazil. (5:136)

From this description, one would never suspect that New Spain imported 200,000 black slaves during the colonial period. [17]

Although the U.S. North receives praise for its efforts to combat slavery, the sixth grade text points out that working conditions for industrial laborers were quite harsh.

> On the first day of May 1886, North American workers began to demand an 8-hour work day. In Chicago, they staged a demonstration which was suppressed by the authorities, and some workers died. In remembrance of those deaths, we [Mexicans] celebrate the first of May as "Labor Day." (6:86)

This direct linking of May 1 with U.S. labor repression excludes mention of the fact that May 1 is celebrated as International Worker's Day by socialist parties throughout the world.

As previously noted, the Great Depression of the 1930s brought dictatorship and tighter control in many parts of the world. In contrast, the United States responded to the Depression more positively according to the texts which enumerate the social and economic reforms enacted by Franklin Roosevelt under The New Deal. Federally sponsored public works for the unemployed, distribution of agricultural products to the poor, support and creation of unions and a social security system, and implementation of a progressive tax system are listed as Roosevelt's accomplishments.

Although America is generally portrayed as a land of social opportunity and freedom, restrictions on political dissent in the twentieth century are noted. While both Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell were given refuge in the United States during World War II, the biographical sketch of Russell emphasizes that his stay was plagued by financial difficulties because of his political ideology. The text argues that during the Cold War in both the United States and the Soviet Union, "people who fought for a better understanding were persecuted" (6:148). Notwithstanding the excesses of the McCarthy era and other more subtle instances of political repression in the United States, lumping the United States and the Soviet Union together in degree of political repression represents a clear lack of balance. On the other hand, the positive presentation of the benefits of socialism in post-revolutionary Russia is countered by mention of the many limitations on freedom of expression imposed by the government and Communist Party.

By comparison to colonial and nineteenth-century social conditions, contemporary American society merits scant attention in the texts, which present a largely unflattering view of material culture often informed by either dated, superficial, or misleading examples. A 1902 Sears, Roebuck and Company *Catalogue* cover complements the discussion of retail sales by mail in the nineteenth

century and the rise of the "consumer society." In the discussion of postwar society, the fleeting replaces the enduring contribution. Descriptions of popular culture displace all mention of the arts in the United States. For example, the beatniks are young people:

> who break with the customs and ways of expression of their parents, and write poetry and novels against the consumer society. (6:143)

The glossary describes "beatnik" as "a youth protest movement that predominated in the United States. They were like the hippies, but less exaggerated" (6:196). "Bop" and "cool" are listed as postwar music styles expressing similar "indifference toward a world without significance." The English Beatles also reflect youth culture which has contempt for the "consumer society" and destructive wars. Ironically, the existence of these types of social protest movements implicitly attests to a level of political tolerance present in the United States which is never explicitly acknowledged. The youth protests are described at the expense of any reference to protest movements of far greater consequence to American society: the civil rights and anti-Vietnam peace movements. Also notice ably absent is any mention of the 1968 student demonstrations in Mexico and their gross repression at Tlatelolco. The admission of significant social protest movements in the United States would testify to a social consciousness that the texts tend to deny and the inclusion of the Tlatelolco massacre would belie Mexico's image as an enemy of political repression.

The concluding commentary on contemporary American society deserves quotation in full:

> In the United States and England, along with rock appeared pictures, novels and theatrical works that dealt with themes familiar to people in the large cities: strawberry ice cream, canned food, the North American flag, comic book characters or cartoons such as Superman and Little Lulu and others. This movement is known as pop art, which means popular art or [art] for the masses. (6:144)

Accompanying illustrations include Superman, Little Lulu comic strip characters, and what might be interpreted as "pop art." Two additional illustrations depicting the United States include an announcement for a King Kong movie and a photo of Muhammad Ali shouting. The caption for the latter explains that "Culture Is Made with the Contribution of All Men." Overall, this popular characterization of American culture is not only superficial but also inadequate and misleading.

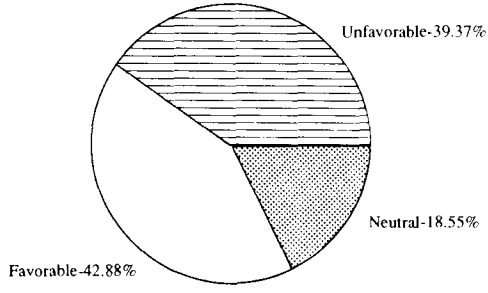
The preceding description of the material on socioeconomic conditions in the United States might suggest that the quantitative analysis would show a predominantly unfavorable score for this selection. That is not the case however,

as 42% of the presentation earned a favorable rating while 39% was categorized as unfavorable and 19% as neutral (see graph 6). This is explained by the fact that the problem here is one of omission rather than of explicit criticism of political and socioeconomic conditions. Much of the negative commentary refers to the issues of slavery and political repression (McCarthy).

GRAPH 6

TEXT REFERENCES TO DOMESTIC CONDITIONS

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES = 221



In the case of the commentary on contemporary American culture, the selectivity is questionable. The women's movement in the United States receives only indirect reference in an illustration: an American postage stamp commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Women's Suffrage Movement labeled "Feminists." Civil rights legislation as well as the continued flow of immigration to the United States from all parts of the world are aspects of American social reform and development that go unrecorded. However, the struggle by the American Indians to reclaim their land and rights is mentioned. The unavoidable conclusion is that the view presented of American society, although not predominantly unfavorable, is biased and inaccurate, especially when considered in conjunction with the information included on contributions made by Americans to science, art, and technology in the following section.

Cultural, Scientific, and Technological Contributions

This category clearly reflects a bias against recognizing U.S. contributions to science, technology, and art. The main problem is that many of these contributions to world progress and civilization, although cited, are not identified as originating in the United States. In the area of technology, for instance, the text notes that the Ford Motor Company was the first to manufacture the automobile on the assembly line. An illustration several pages

later depicts a French advertisement for "La célébre voiturette Américaine Ford" with the caption, "Car manufactured by assembly." Similarly, Samuel Morse is credited with inventing the telegraph, Bell with the telephone, Edison with the light bulb and phonograph, and, in 1903, the Wright brothers with the first human-guided aircraft. However, in each case, the nationality of the inventor is omitted. This tendency is especially misleading when the first name of the inventor is Hispanized such as the case of Alejandro Bell, whom an unsophisticated student might easily conclude was Mexican.

The text notes that architects utilized industrial materials and technological innovations to erect skyscrapers in New York, Chicago, and Mexico. An unidentified city [Chicago] carries the caption, "Skyscrapers." It is ironic that the text does not use a photo of Mexico City's skyline rather than one from the United States.

In the field of art, the Americans Pollock, DeKooning, and RothKo are recognized for their use of colors in abstract paintings. However, two reproductions of art identified by "DeKooning and Moore" do not distinguish between the two. The two American novelists mentioned, John Dos Passos and William Faulkner, are not identified as to nationality.

Three selections written by Americans also fail to carry attribution by nationality. These excerpts are taken from Walt Whitman's "Canto a mi mismo" *(Hojas de hierba),* from William Faulkner's "1918" (Una fábula), and from a short description of Zapata in John Womack's *Zapata y la Revolución Mexicana.*

The 1920s are associated with North American jazz, described as popular music of Negro origin, and the silent films of the actor and director, Charlie Chaplin, accompanied by a photo entitled "Chaplin" (unidentified by nationality). However, in the same sentence, expressionist films are associated with Germans, and the Russian film director, Eisenstein, is identified.

The selections of the Language Arts series contain five references to Americans. The story of Helen Keller recognizes her extraordinary ability to overcome her handicap and the patience of her two teachers, Ana Sullivan and Polly Thompson. None is identified as American. The information about Melvyn Dewey as author of the library classification system lists his homeland as the State of Albany (N.Y.), without reference to country.

The most blatant omission involves information on the lunar landing. The sixth grade *Español* text states that

> The advances in science in our century are so important that they made space travel possible, and on July 20, 1969, man was able to walk on the moon. . . . (6:134)

In both the second and sixth grade language arts texts, the stories on Apollo 11 and space flights refer only to a Comandante Armstrong, but make no

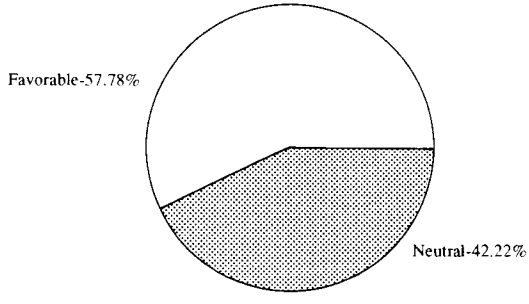
reference to the United States. Nor is the Soviet Union cited for Sputnik or other contributions of its space program.

The quantitative analysis (see graph 7) of direct references to science, culture, and technology in the U.S. (attributed or not) reveals a highly positive picture, with 58% of the material categorized as favorable, 42% neutral, and none unfavorable.

GRAPH 7

TEXT REFERENCES TO SCIENCE AND CULTURE

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES = 45

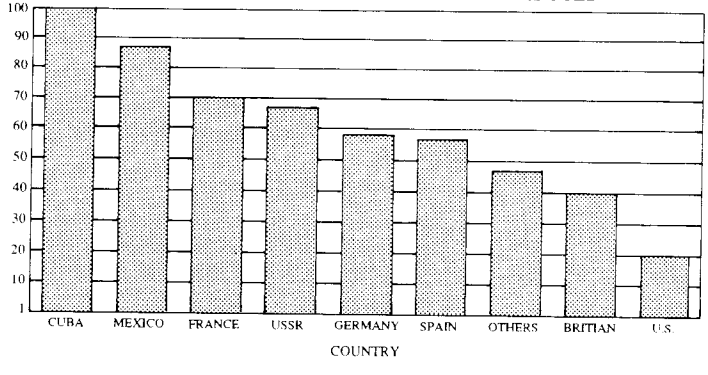


What this breakdown does not indicate is that the United States has a disproportionately higher percentage of unidentified contributors to world progress or civilization than any other country (see graph 8). For example, for France, the only nation to receive more mentions (33) in this category than

GRAPH 8

CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD CIVILIZATION

PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTIONS ATTRIBUTED



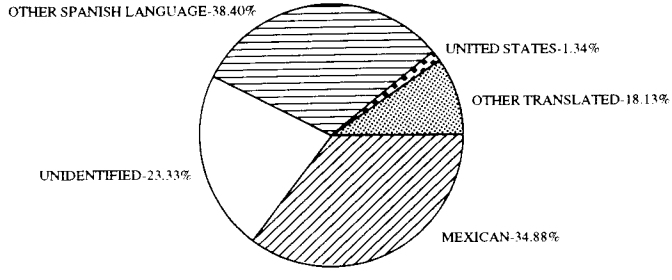
the United States (15), 70% of the references are attributed by nationality, compared to only 20% for the United States. Of Mexico's 15 references 87% are identified; 58% of Germany's 12; 40% of Great Britain's 10; and 57% of Spain's 7. With three mentions each, Cuba and the Soviet Union have ratios of 100% and 67% identified, respectively.

Overall, the failure to identify U.S. cultural, technological, and scientific contributions to world civilization is significant in view of the generally negative presentations of contemporary America from a political and economic point of view. One has to ask why Tolstoy is identified as a Russian, Louis Pasteur as a Frenchman, Karl Marx as a German, but the first man to walk on the moon is identified only as Comandante Armstrong.

As stated in the introduction, the language arts readings introduce literature, but not with the intent of placing world writers in context. Nonetheless, since a number of authors of these selections are universally known, we have included a breakdown of literature selections by the nationality of their authors (see graph 9).

GRAPH 9

LANGUAGE ARTS SERIES READING SELECTIONS



Over one-third of the readings have Mexican authors (this figure is probably low since it is highly probable that many of the unidentified selections were written by lesser-known Mexicans), and nearly another third came from Spanish-speaking countries. Of this latter category, one-half are from Spain and one-quarter from Argentina; Cuba, Uruguay, and Chile follow in numbers of selections. Overall, only 11.5% of the selections are translations from other languages. France leads in this group with 20% of the translated selections; readings from Greek mythology and U.S. authors follow with 15% and 12%, respectively. The predominance of Spanish-language selections is hardly surprising, given the rich literature in that language. One would not expect to find as many selections translated from another language in U.S. elementary reading books.

THE U.S. IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND WORLD CONFLICT

This section focuses on the interpretation of U.S. conduct in and influence on the international community in the twentieth century. Except for the U.S. contributions to the two world wars, the presentation is generally unfavorable.

U.S. relations with Latin America receive considerable attention; these are categorized almost exclusively as U.S. interventionism. Imperialism accounts for U.S. involvement in the Spanish American War, resulting in the economic dependence of Cuba on the United States. The text explains that the explosion of a U.S. ship in Havana Bay provoked the United States to declare war on Spain. With its naval power and proximity, the United States easily defeated Spain and acquired Puerto Rico and Cuba as protectorates. Subsequently, North American ownership of sugar factories and industries in the sugar-based monocultural economy created Cuba's dependence on the United States.

Yankee imperialism did not give up easily in Cuba; even with the advent of Fidel Castro, the United States is accused of continued interference following the 1959 revolution:

> The United States launched an intense anti-Castro campaign, obstructed Cuba's foreign trade, and succeeded in getting Latin American countries, with the exception of Mexico, to break relations with the new government. (6:159)

Cuba was not the only Caribbean nation to bear the scars of U.S. intervention in the twentieth century. Seeking favorable concessions for an interoceanic canal, the United States orchestrated Panama's independence from a recalcitrant Colombia. Although fair in its presentation of U.S. intervention in early Panamanian politics, the text makes no reference to the technological success of the canal construction. Neither are the benefits to international shipping mentioned, although the text emphasizes the economic advantages accruing to the United States through control of the canal. A photo of the canal is included with a conclusion that does not reflect recent events:

> In our times, the Panamanians are struggling to expel the North Americans and to obtain control over the canal zone. (6:87)

The case of Chile in 1973 comprises the other detailed reference to U.S. intervention in twentieth-century Latin America. According to the text, the United States played a supportive role in the coup d'etat against Salvador Allende. The coup, led by military opponents with the support of Chilean and North American capitalists, is explained as a response to agrarian reform and the nationalization of the banks and copper industry. It resulted in the imposition of a dictatorship which has ruled Chile ever since the coup.

In contrast to the solidly interventionist image of the United States in Latin America, the U.S. role in the rest of the world during the twentieth century is portrayed less uniformly. On the positive side is a brief reference to U.S. support of the republicans during the Spanish Civil War. In addition, the presentation of U.S. participation in the two world wars is largely favorable. In both wars, the United States intervened on the "right" side and its late entry proved pivotal, given its superior technology and access to raw materials. Similarly, the discussion praises the efforts of U.S. presidents to establish international peace in the aftermath of war. The text includes a photo of F.D.R. and a map illustrating the Allied and Axis controlled countries.

The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki constitutes the single exception to the overwhelming positive portrayal of U.S. contributions in the wars. Although the text suggests that "the whole world felt responsible," the bombings are characterized by the term genocide (defined in the glossary as "the assassination of a large group of people") (6:198), revealing a sharp criticism of U.S. conduct. A photo of an atomic mushroom accompanies the text.

In the postwar era, appraisals of the U.S. role in the international community are decidedly negative. For instance, the text criticizes the United States for supporting Taiwan rather than the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Although the United States is not the only nation singled out for criticism in the post-World War II period, it is depicted as acting as catalyst for the onset of the Cold War. The Soviet Union followed suit, contributing to the power struggle. Both superpowers are criticized for the arms race and their attempt to establish spheres of influence.

> The capitalist nations led by the United States did everything possible to isolate the USSR and the socialist nations. They suspended commercial relations with them, and they spoke of the dangers of war in newspapers, magazines, and books. They used this pretext to increase their military power and to establish bases with airplanes, submarines, atomic bombs and rockets in many countries of the world. (6:147)
>
> The Soviet Union, for its part, also manufactured arms, airplanes, submarines and atomic bombs. Similarly, in the socialist countries, propaganda was waged against capitalism and the danger of a new war was discussed . . . . (6:147-148)

Specific consequences of the Cold War include the political and territorial divisions of Korea and Vietnam which are illustrated by a map. Although the text makes no mention of the Korean War, it presents U.S. conduct in the Vietnam War as an instance of U.S. intervention in an essentially civil conflict. The United States chose to support an unpopular, repressive government in South Vietnam. In contrast, the Soviets and Chinese took the side of the National Liberation

Front which sought to free South Vietnam from oppression. The liberation movement received support from the North Vietnamese government, clearly identified in the text with policies of social and economic justice such as land reform.

The United States responded to the National Liberation Front's opposition to the unpopular South Vietnamese government by sending in armies and weapons. The description of the war is brief and negative:

> During eight years, the war destroyed almost all of Vietnam, which suffered numerous losses of human lives–men, women, and children–and the waste of its natural and economic resources. In 1972, the United States withdrew all its forces. In April of 1975, the revolutionary armies defeated the government of South Vietnam. (6:152)

While the portrayal of the United States in this category is clearly unfavorable, certain Soviet actions in the international community also merit censure. In spite of the generally positive presentation of socialism, the sixth grade text notes that:

> Some socialist countries have tried to establish institutions that are more democratic and independent from Soviet domination, but they have been suppressed by Soviet armies. Such was the case of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. (6:147)

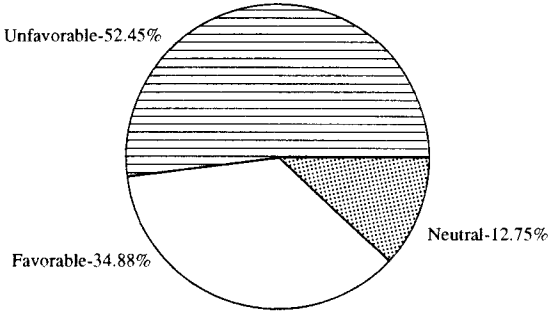
Photos accompanying the discussion of the postwar period depict U.S. soldiers with Vietnamese prisoners and Soviet tanks in Czechoslovakia.

U.S. policies on the regional or international scene which might be construed as positive are rarely mentioned. With the exception of the U.S. role in combatting fascism and in creating the United Nations, other efforts to promote peace, human rights, and economic progress are ignored. Again, the omissions may be explained in part by failure to update the texts; this would exclude mention of Carter's human rights policies and the Panama Canal treaties, for example. Nonetheless, the failure to include any favorable mention of U.S. policy toward Latin America between independence and 1980 produces a biased picture. As graph 10 demonstrates, the quantitative line analysis for this section confirms a more negative than positive appraisal for this section. Over 50% of the material is categorized as unfavorable, 35% as favorable, and 13% as neutral.

In the final analysis, however, an appreciation of Mexico's role in the inter-American system in the twentieth century is important to an understanding of the texts' presentation of the United States vis-á-vis Latin America and the world. Since the Mexican Revolution, Mexico has consistently championed the inviolability of national sovereignty and the renunciation of the right of intervention in Latin America, whether economic, political, or military. Since the magnitude of U.S. interventionism has been much greater in this hemisphere

GRAPH 10

TEXT REFERENCES TO U.S. & WORLD CONFLICT
TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERENCES = 204

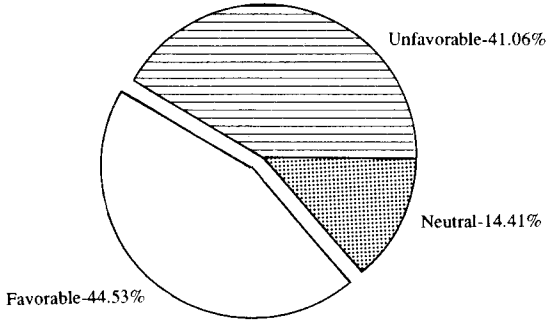


than that of any other nation, it is not surprising that the United States would come under greater scrutiny than the Soviet Union for interventionist policies.

An overview of the direct references suggests a striking ambivalence of views of the United States. The line analysis for the entire number of direct references shows slightly more favorable references than unfavorable, 45% as compared to 41% (see graph 11).

GRAPH 11

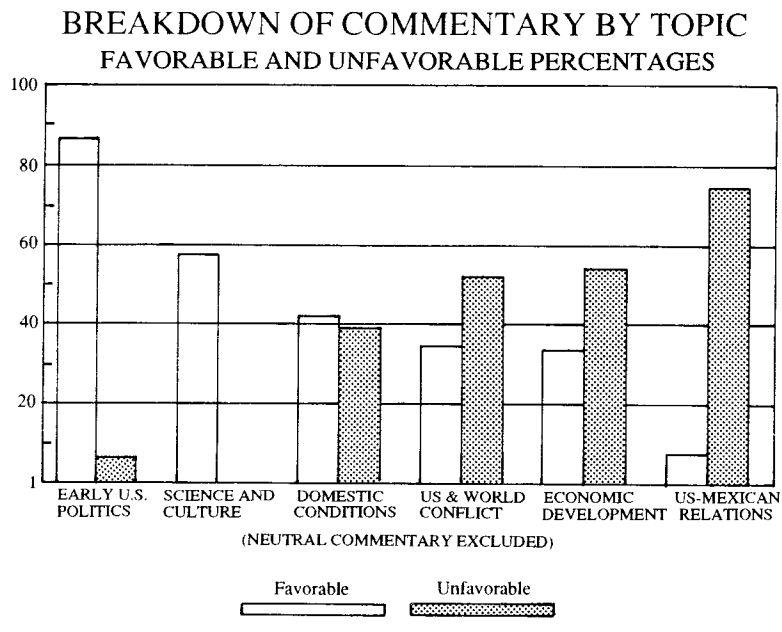
TOTAL REFERENCES TO THE UNITED STATES
NUMBER OF LINES = 1006



The most positive presentations treat early political development, contributions to science and culture, and domestic conditions in the United States (see graph 12). The most negative presentation occurs in the treatment of U.S.- Mexican relations, followed by the material on economic development and expansion,

and the presentation of the United States in the twentieth century and world conflict. The next section will shed more light on this breakdown.

GRAPH 12



III. THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD VIEW OF THE *LIBROS DE TEXTO GRATUITOS*

The preceding analysis of specific references to the United States would be incomplete without placing it within the general theoretical framework developed in the texts to explain the evolution of the modern world system. Briefly stated, this view of history emphasizes the role of the evolution of capitalism in dividing the world into dominant and dominated nations and in creating a dependency of the underdeveloped nations on the industrialized powers. This inherently pessimistic view, however, is not synonymous with passive acceptance of a dependent relationship. To the contrary, the texts present possible solutions to the problems of dependency from a Third World perspective of interdependence.

Before describing the general analytical framework of the social science texts, it should be noted that the space constraints [18] and the necessity of generalization which govern the writing of textbooks encourage analytical oversimplification. The Mexican texts are no exception; the contrasts drawn between capitalism and socialism and between the developed and underdeveloped world tend to be

simplistic and incomplete. Since few elementary texts in the United States would escape the same problem, one should not judge the Mexican texts too harshly in this regard.

The Evolution of Capitalism

Although grades three through five cover pre-Columbian history, the major focus on the sixth grade text (and to a lesser extent the fourth and fifth), is the modern era, beginning in the sixteenth century with the expansion of the capitalist mode of production and the emergence of strong nation-states.

The discovery of the New World gave strong impetus to the growth of capitalism by stimulating the accumulation of capital. As a partial explanation for why England ultimately reaped more benefits from the New World conquests than its rival colonial power, Spain, the texts also associate the rise of capitalism with the Protestant Reformation. Drawing on Max Weber:

> The Reformation also favored the growth of capitalism because it viewed wealth as a fruit of work (and not as a hindrance to the salvation of the soul) . . . (5:123)
> This way of thinking suited the bourgeoisie who dedicated themselves to their commercial affairs without any remorse of conscience. (5:122)

While Spain exploited the mineral riches of its colonies through a form of mercantile capitalism that depended heavily on the exploitation of native labor, its imperial wars prevented it from becoming an industrialized nation.

> The manufacturing countries such as France, Holland and England sold their products to Spain; all the money that the Spaniards made in America went toward purchases and loans, and ended up in the coffers of the European bourgeoisie. (5:119)

Eventually, its European rivals surpassed Spain as colonial powers.

> Thus, new colonial empires appeared, that is, territories dominated and exploited to maintain the industrial production of a European country. The colony was, moreover, obligated to purchase manufactured products from the dominant country. (6:53-54)

Even after the New World colonies threw off the yoke of Spanish dominance in the early nineteenth century, the new Latin American nations were destined

to become sources of raw materials and markets for other European nations. Free trade policies worked to the detriment of the newly independent nations whose incipient manufacturers could not compete with cheaper British products. Nor did the social structure change as creole elites joined forces with foreign capitalists, exploiting the working classes to boost production of primary products. In an analysis that draws on the views of structural economists, the texts point out that growth of the export sector did not require changes in the social structure, and socioeconomic inequities persisted.

> The social differences that the political revolutions had attempted to eradicate again appeared; the contrast between the opulent lifestyle of the factory owners– who are called capitalists–and the poverty of the workers preoccupied writes of the time . . . (6:53)

The class analysis found in the Mexican texts may seem somewhat foreign to our own less class-conscious way of looking at history; the difference in perspectives, however, rests on structural differences in our two societies.

In the nineteenth century, Latin America gradually became integrated into an international economic system which perpetuated (and even accentuated) colonial inequities through the expansion of such institutions as the *hacienda.* Mexico provides a case in point:

> In 1916, the country had more workers with problems of working hours, fair salary, the right to strike to protest unjust working conditions; many large landowners had invaded lands of the poor *campesinos*; the majority of industries and the exploitation of oil were in the hands of foreigners. (4:133)

At the same time, foreign corporate control over the natural resources of other Latin American nations steadily proliferated. "Lack of capital, internal division, and social and political disorganization favored intervention by foreigners in all business activities" (6:58). This economic expansion was often accompanied by armed intervention, especially as the United States sought to protect its own economic interests and check the further penetration of European commerce and capital into Latin America. As the twentieth century wore on, multinational corporations employed other less direct forms of manipulation and exploitation.

> Of course, these large companies (called multinationals) use all means available to avoid losing their markets: they succeed in getting governments to impose very high taxes on competing products of other countries or other companies. During the last several years this has been very frequent. They also use publicity excessively in the hope of selling the products that come out of their factories; for this they use

> mass communications. As a result, the people of the underdeveloped countries purchase unnecessary articles, expensive and at times of poor quality; they also adopt consumer habits and styles appropriate to the rich countries. (6:163)

DEPENDENCY

As the economic and political power of foreign (primarily U.S.) multinational corporations has grown, Third World dependency on the industrial world has also increased.

> In spite of all the efforts at liberation [after World War II], other forms of dependency have emerged, above all in the economic sphere. The nations of Africa, Asia [and] Latin America have difficulty stimulating their economies, and they need loans, technology, and investments. (6:153)

This dialectic between the industrialized and developing nations has affected Mexico.

> Since independence, we have sought to develop our capital. Despite this, there are many industries of foreign origin, a situation which has created new forms of dependency with respect to the highly industrialized nations. (6:184)

Teachers are specifically directed to make students understand the current dependency of Latin America on North American capitalists.[19] Although dependency theory is not explicitly defined for the teachers, several basic tenets of *dependencia* are repeatedly stressed. The basic contention is that a wide range of economic, political, and social conditions in the Third World can be explained by the interaction of the forces of global capitalism and the internal dynamics of class relations. Dependency is presented as a natural consequence of the imperialistic colonialism pursued by industrialized nations:

> The Latin American countries were poor and did not have capital; thus the foreign capitalists exploited their resources. In this manner, Latin America became dependent on England, France, and the United States. The Latin Americans were converted into producers and exporters of the raw materials needed by the industrialized nations. Mexico and Venezuela extracted oil, Chile, saltpeter and copper; the Central American countries planted bananas and coffee, Brazil and Colombia, coffee, Cuba, sugar; Argentina produced meat and cereals, Uruguay,

> wool, Peru, guano. The foreign capitalists controlled all that was necessary to produce and export primary materials. While they became rich, the producing countries were increasingly worse off, because they did not succeed in retaining any of that wealth. (6:115-116)

Even while Latin American countries achieved some degree of industrialization, they still remained dependent on foreign development capital and technology. The dependency arguments in the texts draw heavily on the structuralist theories developed by Latin American economists like Raúl Prebisch and Celso Furtado to explain the region's economic stagnation since World War II.

Clearly, the production and export of primary products had not served to raise per capita income or ultimately to stimulate economic growth. Underdeveloped countries were at a permanent disadvantage in their terms of trade with the industrial world powers. Other impediments to growth were the traditional monocultural structure of agriculture and the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands which hampers social mobility, capital formation, and industrial development.

The early structuralists were optimistic that Latin America could achieve economic independence and development within a capitalist framework through the implementation of such policies as import substitution. More recently, however, dependency theorists have argued that the only way to break Latin America's structural dependency on multinational corporations is for these countries to recapture their national resources from foreign control. This view is also strongly represented in the sixth grade text's presentation of Chinese development before the revolution.

> They committed a great error: they permitted foreigners to handle customs, the postal system, seaways, railroads, and factories. A country cannot allow modernization to be left in the hands of foreigners because in that way it will always be dependent on them. (6:68)

Only by controlling the resources themselves can developing nations make the structural economic and social changes necessary to eliminate inequities.

> Most countries now think that it is important that each nation control the exploitation of its own natural resources. (4 :137)

In fact, the Mexican Revolution of 1910 eventually succeeded in formally asserting this control as evidenced by Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 and the subsequent nationalization of oil.

> Article 27 declares that ownership of all lands and waters of the Mexican territory [belongs to] the nation and, moreover, established the *ejidos*.

> The nation can also transfer the right to ownership to private persons, but it can expropriate them [lands] when it considers it necessary for its interests. The riches of the subsoil, such as oil, belong to the nation . . . (4:133)

THE THIRD WORLD

The texts clearly identify Mexico's historical development in the twentieth century with popular movements of national liberation directed against neocolonialism (e.g., China, Cuba, and Vietnam). Furthermore, Mexico strongly advocates a Third World course which avoids alliances with the two subpowers. After the onset of the Cold War:

> Little by little a group of countries was formed to try to liberate itself from the influence of the great powers: they began to call themselves non-aligned. Their first meeting was in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. At that [meeting] [participants] agreed to support the autonomy of nations, to encourage economic and cultural development, and to utilize their natural resources for the benefit of the people. The countries that supported these principles formed what is today called the Third World. Our times have seen the spread of the conviction that nations should not join the blocs formed by the great powers, as well as the idea that all these nations should make an effort to assure that their people attain a more dignified life. (6:153)

The Third World nations are dedicated to providing their inhabitants with a decent standard of living and eliminating economic, political, and cultural forms of dependence. By uniting forces, underdeveloped or developing nations did begin to make their presence felt.

> Gradually the countries producing raw materials became aware of the importance that they had for industry and food production for the world, and they decided to fight for more equitable treatment. The case of oil is an interesting and contemporary example . . . the producing countries decided to control that wealth [oil] which constitutes a national patrimony, and to unite to fix the price of oil on the market. This decision produced a major worldwide disturbance which has been called "the energy crisis." For the first time, the weak countries became aware of the great importance that their raw materials had in the world economy. The unjust situation began to change. (6:162)

In other words, by working together, developing nations could exploit the strategic dependency of industrialized powers on underdeveloped regions for strategic minerals, cheap labor and markets, all of which are essential to the national defense and continued economic growth of the industrial powers. Theoretically, more advantageous agreements with the developed nations could be negotiated, especially in terms of acquiring the necessary technology for agricultural and industrial development.

In presenting its national problems–unequal distribution of wealth, unemployment, inadequate technology, the population explosion, inefficient use of resources, political corruption–Mexico identifies with the remainder of the Third World. Although many of these problems are seen as the result of external influences, internal cultural and political factors are also cited as contributory (e.g., corrupt officials, *vendepatrias*, lack of civic cooperation, lack of education, etc.). Teachers are encouraged to stimulate discussion on these national problems and to consider both internal and external causes.

CONCLUSION

The texts recognize that the problems of man have not been easily resolved throughout history.

> Human history, as you will read in your book, has happy chapters in which liberty, prosperity, justice and equality push forward. It also has terrible chapters such as wars and the exploitation that some nations exercise over others. (6:25)

The perfect world envisioned by the texts is one in which all nations would be allowed to develop autonomously, free of foreign intervention or manipulation. This condemnation of foreign control should apply universally to capitalist and socialist nations. And, in fact, the texts recognize with some qualification that the Soviet Union has fostered dependency in Cuba:

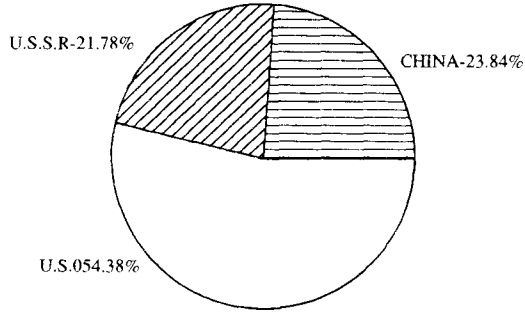
> Cuba adopted the socialist system, became allied with the socialist nations, and created, to a certain degree, a new economic, political and scientific dependency on the U.S.S.R. (6:159)

In general, how does coverage of the United States in the texts compare with that of the Soviet Union and China? In terms of amount of coverage, the United States receives more than twice the space of either of the two (see graph 13).

GRAPH 13

EXTENT OF COVERAGE: US, USSR, & CHINA

TOTAL NUMBER OF LINES = 1850

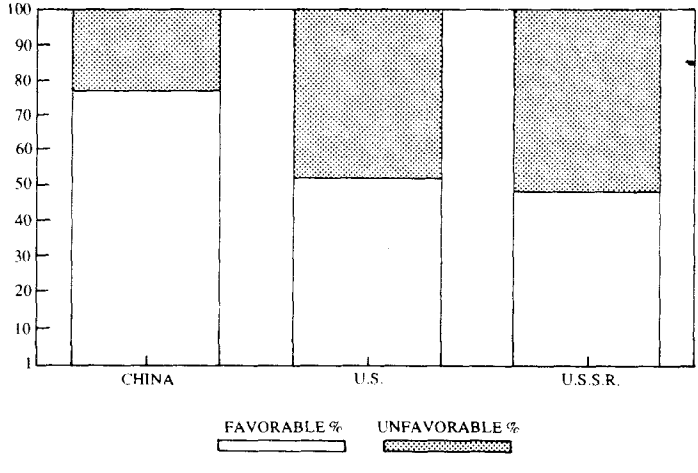


An examination of the nature of this coverage reveals that the Soviet Union and the United States fare about equally well in terms of the ratio of favorable to unfavorable presentation (see graph 14). The United States rates slightly higher than the U.S.S.R. with a favorable score of 52% compared to the latter's 48%. In contrast to these percentages, China earns a 72% favorable score. These figures can easily be explained in the context of Third World views which are highly critical of the superpowers and at the same time very supportive of attempts by other nations to remain immune from superpower manipulations.

GRAPH 14

NATURE OF COVERAGE: U.S., USSR & CHINA

PERCENTAGE OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE



The breakdown of negative and positive categorization shows a similar pattern regarding criticism of the United States and the Soviet Union in twentieth-century world conflicts. The only criticism of the Chinese refers to domestic development rather than to external affairs.

By and large, socialist regimes are implicitly characterized more favorably because Marxist ideology theoretically, at least, supports a more equitable distribution of wealth and access to health care, education, and social services. Because of the way Mexico has propagandized its own Revolution, it tends to view "revolutionary" nations more favorably than others. The need for social and economic justice is emphasized in the texts while a discussion of the lack of political freedom in revolutionary regimes is omitted–at first glance, an ironic perspective considering the emphasis placed on the importance of political liberty, democracy, and other Enlightenment ideas in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet it is consistent with Mexico's political development in the twentieth century (in particular, the creation of a one-party system to implement revolutionary goals) that social and economic changes would take precedence over political democracy.

The major problem in evaluating the textbooks' emphasis on social and economic justice is to determine whether the emphasis is consistent with the Mexican state's record in implementing programs designed to further economic and social justice. Is the identification of Mexico with the forces of social and economic progress for all, juxtaposed against a United States linked with repressive regimes throughout the world, a fair contrast? Although it could be argued that the United States' concern for security and economic profit has often superceded its concern for Latin America's poor, it is also true that the Mexican state has not consistently used Mexico's resources to benefit its own poor since the Revolution. Using the same kind of rationale employed in the linkage above, one could juxtapose monumental Mexican corruption and mismanagement with the statistics on unemployment, underemployment, malnutrition, infant mortality, etc., to understand that social and economic deprivation are still widespread in Mexico. Conceptually, both approaches leave much to be desired.

One way to rationalize the failures of the institutionalized Revolution is to deflect attention from domestic problems (although these are rather candidly discussed in the texts) by emphasizing foreign relations and diplomatic history. It is difficult for future-oriented North Americans with great faith in the possibility of progress and change to understand Mexico's fixation on the past, a past profoundly influenced by the United States. This fascination with the past pervades the writings not only of historians but also of Mexican intellectuals like Leopoldo Zea, Octavio Paz, and Carlos Fuentes, for example. Given the historical record, Mexico's giant neighbor to the north provides a logical whipping boy for patriotic Mexicans determined to protect their country's resources and assert Mexico's autonomy. The asymmetry of the relationship

between the United States and Mexico inevitably engenders suspicion and resentment on the part of the Mexicans.

The textbooks' portrayal of the United States, although marred by occasional factual inaccuracy, is more notable for a lack of balance and equity. The omission of significant positive contributions of the United States to world civilization, or at least the failure to attribute them to the United States, results in an unbalanced picture when taken in conjunction with the negative characterization of U.S. political and economic machinations on the international scene. Although the Soviet Union is also criticized in this regard, the attention it receives is considerably less, partially because of the Soviet Union's much less visible presence in Latin American historically. In some respects, Mexico's tendency to define itself in contrast to the United States is not much different from the way in which U.S. textbooks tend to contrast our differences with the Soviet Union as a means of defining and reinforcing our own national integrity and ideals.

Although it does not fall within the purview of this study to analyze U.S. elementary textbook treatments of Mexico, a few comments are in order. First of all, Mexican coverage of the United States is much more extensive than U.S. treatment of Mexico. This is explained primarily by the fact that the United States has been a major world actor for over 100 years, but this caveat is not intended to excuse the paucity of information available to U.S. students about the neighbors on their very own southern border or to Mexican-American students about their Hispanic heritage. Furthermore, the quality of the sparse information presented is generally poor, suffering from inaccuracy and lack of balance. A Mexican study of U.S. texts would be extremely valuable for identifying these weaknesses. Comparatively speaking, U.S. analysts would be remiss in faulting Mexican textbook treatment of the U.S. without exercising a degree of autocriticism at the same time.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Mexican textbook presentation of the United States is its ambivalence. This ambivalence, of course, has been noted by other analysts of U.S.-Mexican relations and is often cast in terms of a love-hate relationship. With the exception of the material on U.S.-Mexican relations, this ambivalence is strongly represented in all the other sections analyzed for this report. Admiration and respect for U.S. constitutional foundations and economic progress is countered by strong suspicions of U.S. motives vis-á-vis the world, distrust based upon past history, and resentment over the profound economic inequalities that separate the neighboring nations.

In the texts, these negative appraisals are only rarely directed against the United States in an explicit way. Coverage of the United States when addressed specifically is less critical than coverage of the United States presented under the generic rubrics of superpower or imperialist. In many instance, when the reference is specific, one can detect an effort to be fair. The United States as a whipping boy for the world's ills emerges much more clearly in the indirect

references on themes such as dependency, multinational corporations, and imperialism.

In the final analysis, in spite of the critical portrayal of the United States, the textbooks could not be characterized as viscerally anti-American; nor is their tone rancorous or vindictive. Instead, the emphasis is on a more positive, constructive approach to the world–a view that emphasizes the interdependence of the world community and, above all, anticipates a significant role for Mexico in that world.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This project originally developed from the Fourth Bilateral Cultural Commission held in 1980 which recommended that both Mexico and the United States study the images of each other as presented in their primary school textbooks. In 1984, at the Fifth Bilateral Cultural Commission, both countries agreed to extend the previously established cultural and educational objectives. At that time, it was noted that U.S. authorities had provided texts for a Mexican study of U.S. textbooks. This cooperative effort had the support both of Mexico's Secretariat of Foreign Relations and the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. International Communication Agency. The report was prepared for the United States Information Agency through the Latin American Area Center at the University of Arizona and was presented in 1985 to the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City.

[2] Josefina Vázquez de Knauth, *Nacionalismo y educación en México*, 2nd ed. (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1975); David Pratt, *How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications, 1972), and M. Kirst and F. Wirt, *Political and Social Foundations of Education* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

[3] See, for example, *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Material as Aids to International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949); Otto Kilineberg, "National Stereotypes and International Understanding," *International Social Science Bulletin,* 3:3 (Autumn, 1951), Part 1; Klineberg, "Tensions Affecting International Understanding," *Social Science Research Bulletin,* No. 62; C. P. Hill, *Suggestions on the Teaching of History* (Paris: UNESCO, 1951); and, Jonathan French Scott, *The Menace of Nationalism in Education* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1927).

[4] Michael C. Meyer, "Roots and Realities of Mexican Attitudes toward the United States: A Background Paper," in Richard D. Erb and Stanley R. Ross, eds., *United States Relations with Mexico: Context and Content* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981).

[5] A few studies have investigated the image of the United States in Mexican social studies texts. See, for example, Vito Perrone, "An Image of America Conceived in Mexican and Argentine Social Studies Textbooks" (Ph.D. Diss., Michigan State University, 1963).

[6] Edgar Llinas Alvarez, "Revolution, Education and Mexicanidad: The Quest for National Identity in Mexican Educational Thought" (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1977); Josefina Vázquez de Knauth, "La enseñanza de las ciencias sociales: un aspecto de la reforma educativa," in James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer, and Edna Monzón de Wilkie, eds., *Contemporary Mexico: Papers of the IV International Congress of Mexican History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 618-623.

[7] Vázquez de Knauth, *Nacionalismo.*

[8] Stanley D. Ivie, ed., *Mexican Education in Cultural Perspective,* University of Arizona College of Education Monograph Series, No. 5 (Tucson, 1971). Ramon Eduardo Ruiz, *Mexico: The Challenge of Poverty and Illiteracy* (San Marino, California, 1963).

[9] Historical information comes from the following unless otherwise indicated: Vázquez de

Knauth, *Nacionalismo,* and "La enseñanza"; John Britton, "Teacher Unionization and the Corporate State in Mexico, 1931-1945," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 59:4 (November, 1979), pp. 674-690; Clark C. Gill, *Education in a Changing Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969); Enrique González Pedrero, ed., *Los libros de texto gratuitos* (México. D.F.: S.E.P., 1982); and, Victoria Lerner, *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana: La educación socialista,* reprint ed. (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1982).

[10] *Ciencias Sociales. Sexto Grado* (México, D.F.: S.E.P., 1983); *Ciencias Sociales. Quinto Grado* (México, D.F.: S.E.P., 1983); and, *Ciencias Sociales. Cuarto Grado* (México, D.F.: S.E.P., 1983).

[11] John Alvin Dobson, "The Texto Unico y Gratuito: A Mexican Case Study Describing the Role of Education in Social Change" (Ph.D. Diss., Michigan State University, 1967); Vázquez de Knauth, *Nacionalismo*, and "La enseñanza"; Robert Allan Monson, "Right Wing Politics in Mexican Education: The Textbook Controversy," (Ph.D. Diss., Georgetown University, 1970).

[12] For information on the revisions of the social studies texts, see Vázquez de Knauth, *Nacionalismo* and "La enseñanza," and González Pedrero, ed., *Los libros.*

[13] *Ciencias Sociales. Sexto Grado.* Editions 1979, 1982-1983.

[14] Vázquez de Knauth, "La enseñanza."

[15] See Pratt, *How to Find and Measure Bias*, and UNESCO, *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks.* We rejected a "content-propaganda analysis" based on the isolation of key words or phrases to communicate values and biases. Without access to a proper control group to assess the values perceived by Mexican children, the value assignment would have reflected an American response and would not accurately measure the reaction of the intended audience.

[16] Direct quotes from the 1983 social studies texts are identified by grade and page number (e.g., 6:82 signifies the sixth grade text, page 82).

[17] Colin MacLachlan and Jaime Rodríguez, *The Forging of the Cosmic Race* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 218.

[18] The fourth and fifth grade social studies volumes are under 150 pages each; the sixth grade text is the longest at 260 pages.

[19] *Libro para el maestro, sexto grado* (1984), p. 181.

COMENTARIOS

ABELARDO GORENA

LA IMAGEN DE ESTADOS UNIDOS EN LOS LIBROS DE TEXTO MEXICANOS
JOSEFINA ZORAIDA VAZQUEZ

La ponente es una renombrada investigadora de la Historia de México y se identifica como coautora de los libros de texto gratuitos. En su trabajo se esmera por tener la objetividad que la ocasión merece.

Por principio de cuentas, hace la aclaración de que a un libro de texto no debe de exigírsele más de lo que pueda dar; es decir, si el objetivo primordial es el de proporcionar al educando, por lo general menor de quince años de edad, una información básica sobre hechos positivos y negativos que, de alguna manera, han influido en el desarrollo de su patria. En este contexto, no esperemos que los libros comentados vayan más allá del objetivo señalado.

Apoyada por 173 notas bibliográficas, la ponencia enfoca la evolución que han tenido los libros de texto así como el contenido de los mismos, relacionándolos con la imagen que éstos presentan de los Estados Unidos de América.

Es preciso tener en cuenta que a principios del siglo XIX, justo cuando México vivía sus primeros días de vida independiente, ocurrieron conflictos armados entre México y los Estados Unidos que trajeron como consecuencia para México la pérdida de más de la mitad de su territorio nacional. Al estudiar estos acontecimientos históricos es lógico que la parte afectada nunca va a coincidir en la apreciación de los mismos con la de su contraparte.

Tocante a los libros de texto oficiales, la pugna entre liberales y conservadores de principios del siglo pasado, se ve reflejada en los mismos. Los conservadores adoptan una actitud negativa a todo lo que se contraponga a la tradición española y a la religión católica. Por otro lado, los liberales culpan a los generales Santana, Paredes y Arrillaga de la pérdida de Texas, Nuevo México y California. En ambos supuestos, la imagen de los Estados Unidos de América no queda

muy bien librada ya que, independientemente de la posición que se adopte, el resultado de estos acontecimientos es el mismo.

La Revolución Mexicana marca una etapa decisiva en el desarrollo del país, ya que como consecuencia de la misma surge la Constitución de 1917 que aún está vigente. Este instrumento introduce cambios trascendentales en nuestro sistema político, como la consagración de las garantías sociales, consagradas en los artículos 27o. y 123o., de los cuales es precursora. De igual forma en su artículo 3o. introduce la educación socialista (1934-1940). Consecuentemente los libros de texto se tornan más nacionalistas y el juicio histórico sobre los Estados Unidos se hace más desfavorable.

En el año de 1944 se realizó el V Congreso de Historia que tuvo como finalidad moderar el indigenismo y el hispanismo que habían predominado por largo tiempo. De igual forma, como elemento moderador, impulsó la tesis del México Mestizo. Por esta misma fecha la imagen de los Estados Unidos de América mejoró considerablemente por su decisiva intervención en la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

Siendo presidente de la República don Adolfo López Mateos, en el año de 1959 se estableció la Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuito con el deliberado propósito de hacer realidad la tesis del México Mestizo. De este hecho surgen los libros de textos gratuitos vigentes en la actualidad. Son los libros de 4o. y 6o. grado de historia y Ciencias Sociales, los que hacen especial referencia a los Estados Unidos.

La Constitución de Filadelfia de 1787 es considerada como la gran aportación norteamericana al legado de la humanidad. Este país es señalado como precursor del sistema democrático de los tres poderes, perfectamente equilibrados. Este sistema político fue adoptado por la mayoría de los países del mundo occidental. México lo establece en su primer constitución de 1824, habiendo prevalecido hasta la fecha este sistema.

El punto neurálgico que ha ocasionado juicios negativos al proceder de los Estados Unidos de América, como ya dijimos, lo constituyen los conflictos armados que generaron la pérdida de Texas, Nuevo México y California.

Las monografías estatales son complementarias de los libros de texto. En el contenido de las mismas es común encontrar frases como la siguiente: "El más grande despojo territorial sufrido por nuestra nación", "Indemnización ridícula", "Guerra de despojo", "Interés de los esclavistas", y así sucesivamente insistiendo igualmente en el incumplimiento por parte de los Estados Unidos del Tratado de Guadalupe.

En el libro de Ciencias Sociales se hace mención de la guerra contra España de 1898 así como el hecho de separar Panamá de Colombia. La conspiración del embajador Henry Lane Wilson así como la ocupación de Veracruz ordenada por el presidente Woodrow Wilson entre otras. El bloqueo económico a Cuba, siendo México el único país americano que no participó.

De igual manera se hace referencia a los grandes logros que en el campo de

la ciencia y la tecnología ha logrado desarrollar Estados Unidos. Los grandes avances obtenidos en materia educativa así como en la producción de granos y cereales que contribuye considerablemente a la alimentación mundial.

Como puede apreciarse, los ejemplos citados se basan en hechos históricos y por lo mismo son inobjetables aunque la interpretación de los mismos es la que puede sufrir variaciones, según el punto de vista que se tome.

Para concluir, la ponente propone que sean los mismos educadores los encargados de ponderar juicios evitando sembrar odios, aunque sin ocultar hechos trascendentes en la vida de los países. Reconoce igualmente la necesidad de una minuciosa revisión de textos y programas a fin de que la visión del pasado modele ciudadanos.

Imagen de los Estados Unidos en los Libros de Texto Gratuito
Vesta F. Manning

Esta ponencia consiste en un resumen del Reporte realizado por la Agencia de Información de los Estados Unidos a través del Centro del Area Latinoamericana de la Universidad de Arizona presentado en 1985 a la embajada de los Estados Unidos de México.

El trabajo refleja un minucioso estudio analítico de las referencias, positivas y negativas, que en los libros de texto se hace de los Estados Unidos. Se utilizan los métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos para determinar la exactitud, equidad y equilibrio de las referencias, obteniendo en esta forma los porcentajes correspondientes de referencias que se clasifican como positivas, negativas o neutrales.

Desde luego, los métodos usados dependen de una apreciación personal y subjetiva de quien examina el trabajo. En este aspecto, debemos de recordar que básicamente se analizan acontecimientos históricos cuya existencia está fuera de toda duda siendo la interpretación que de los mismos se haga la esencia misma del trabajo.

La ponencia está respaldada por 17 notas bibliográficas y 14 gráficas estadísticas que sirven para analizar cuantitativa y cualitativamente las referencias que de los Estados Unidos se hace en los libros de texto.

La ponente empieza por señalar el grado de analfabetismo en el país en el período comprendido de 1910-1960. No obstante el enorme esfuerzo realizado por el gobierno para combatir este problema, el resultado no ha sido del todo satisfactorio, ya que si bien las campañas realizadas en ese sentido han sido efectivas, el índice demográfico que tiene el país incide directamente en este problema. Es de observarse que en las cifras y porcentajes que la ponente maneja sobre este tema en la gráfica No. 1 de la ponencia, no se indica su procedencia. De cualquier forma creemos que para el fin que se persigue en el presente trabajo es irrelevante saber el número de analfabetas que haya en el país, ya

que éstos, por su propia condición, no pueden enterarse del contenido de los libros de texto.

Con relación a los primeros años de vida independiente de los Estados Unidos los libros de texto gratuito señalan a la constitución de 1787 como un modelo de organización política, principalmente por lo que hace al sistema democrático y a la división de poderes. Este instrumento, junto con la Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre y del Ciudadano de Francia, constituye uno de los documentos que más influyeron en la Guerra de Independencia de los países latinoamericanos. El total de referencias sobre este tema es de 200 que se desglosan en 87% positivas, 7% negativas y 7% neutrales.

El expansionismo y desarrollo económico sirven igualmente para evaluar las referencias que se hacen en los Estados Unidos en los libros de texto gratuitos. La expansión territorial que los Estados Unidos hace mediante la adquisición, colonización o conquista refleja referencias negativas. Es preciso recordar que la expansión territorial a costa de México trajo como consecuencia un incremento considerable en la riqueza natural que generó el imperialismo económico. Las referencias sobre este tema son 281 con un 55% negativas, 34% positivas y 11% neutrales.

Las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y México también sirven de pauta para evaluar la imagen de los Estados Unidos. Sobre este tema, como es lógico suponer, se le da especial atención a la Guerra de Texas y a la de 1847 en que México perdió a manos de los Estados Unidos, Texas, Nuevo México y California. Este es el tema que resulta más difícil ya que la evaluación del mismo, por parte de libros de texto mexicanos, siempre será negativa. Las referencias detectadas son 127 de las cuales 75% son positivas, 8% negativas y 17% neutral.

Las condiciones políticas, sociales y económicas de los Estados Unidos generan referencias como las de la esclavitud y la Guerra Civil, así como el sistema de vida norteamericano. El total de referencias sobre este tema es 221 con un total de 42% positivas, 39% negativas y 19% neutrales.

La contribución cultural, científica y tecnológica por parte de los Estados Unidos es igualmente referida señalándose, entre otros, las hechas por Samuel Morse, Alejandro Bell y Tomás Edison por sus correspondientes aportaciones a la invención del telégrafo, del teléfono y a luz eléctrica respectivamente. Sobre este tema, el total de referencias es de 45 que se desglosan en 58% positivas y 42% neutrales.

La relación de los Estados Unidos con los grandes conflictos mundiales del siglo XX se analiza igualmente en los libros de texto. Entre ellos destacan: la Guerra contra España para lograr los protectorados de Cuba y Puerto Rico; la pugna con Fidel Castro; la intervención para separar Panamá de Colombia y la construcción del Canal interoceánico para fines estratégicos; el papel decisivo que los Estados Unidos tuvo en el golpe de estado que ocasionó la caída y muerte del Presidente Salvador Allende de Chile; el bombardeo de Hiroshima y Nagasaki; el apoyo a Taiwan en contra de la República de China; la división

política y territorial de Corea y Vietnam. El total de referencias sobre estos temas es de 204 con 52% negativas, 34% positivas y 13% neutrales.

La cobertura de referencias asciende a 1858 frases desglosadas en 54% para los Estados Unidos, 22% para Rusia y 24% para China. El total de referencias positivas son 52% para los Estados Unidos, 48% para Rusia y 72% para China.

Para concluir, la ponente considera que la referencia a los Estados Unidos en los libros de texto carece de equilibrio y equidad. Desconfianza y resentimiento por parte de México prevalecen en sus relaciones con Estados Unidos. La imagen de los Estados Unidos en los libros de texto no es contraria sino ambivalente. No son anti-americanos, rencorosos o vengativos, sino más bien tienden a dar énfasis al aspecto positivo y constructivo de un mundo interdependiente en el cual México juega un papel relevante.

IMAGEN DE MEXICO, LOS MEXICANOS Y LOS MEXICO-NORTEAMERICANOS EN LOS LIBROS DE TEXTO DE HISTORIA AMERICANA APROBADOS PARA SER USADOS EN LAS ESCUELAS SECUNDARIAS DEL ESTADO DE TEXAS EN EL PERIODO 1986 A 1992. LINDA K. SALVUCCI

Como se indica en el título, esta ponencia es el estudio de 10 libros de texto de historia americana autorizados para las escuelas secundarias del estado de Texas. Está respaldada por una bibliografía de más de 40 obras. Las notas bibliográficas suman 26 aunque no se señala la procedencia de las mismas.

El trabajo está dividido en cuatro partes. (1) América precolombina y colonialismo español. (2) La Guerra de Texas y la Guerra del 47. (3) De la intervención francesa a la revolución mexicana. (4) El siglo XX.

La primera parte, que se refiere a la historia de México antes de 1820, recibe mayor atención de los diversos autores que ninguna otra. Aztecas y mayas reciben amplia cobertura, aunque se refieren a ellos como a una tribu que fue fácilmente sometida por los españoles. Estos se concretaron a llenar sus barcos de oro para llevarlo a España. La colonización española fue más cruel que la británica. Los movimientos de independencia de las colonias españolas en América son señalados únicamente en el contexto del establecimiento de la Doctrina Monroe y las relaciones de los Estados Unidos con las potencias europeas.

Los acontecimientos en Texas durante el periodo 1830 a 1840 recibe más atención que la guerra de independencia mexicana. Si bien se reconoce que los immigrados texanos desobedecieron leyes mexicanas que se habían comprometido a obedecer, se cuestiona la validez de estas leyes. El mensaje implícito es que la culpa de estos acontecimientos es de México. Se ignora completamente la versión de México sobre este tema. Los soldados mexicanos son identificados como salvajes y ávidos de sangre. A partir de este momento el enemigo de los Estados Unidos es México. La Guerra de 1847 es provocada por

el presidente James Polk a quien se identifica como un agresivo expansionista, fiel representante de la tradición del Destino Manifiesto. Se omite por completo el punto de vista mexicano sobre esta guerra. Se hace referencia al hecho de que Lincoln llamó a esta guerra una verguenza, ya que no todos los norteamericanos la aprobaron. Sin embargo, no se explica el punto de vista de si Estados Unidos, que peleó esta Guerra con México y la ganó, tenía derecho a la mitad de su territorio. La idea del Destino Manifiesto está implícita.

Algunos autores ignoran por completo la intervención francesa en México. El retiro de las tropas de Napoleón III de México se debe a la presión que los Estados Unidos ejerció en Europa. No se hace referencia a los 5,000 mexicanos que perdieron la vida luchando contra los franceses. No hay mención alguna de Benito Juárez. La Revolución Mexicana es referida únicamente con relación a la política exterior de los Estados Unidos. En ese contexto se considera la ocupación de Veracruz decretada por el presidente Wilson, como un acto que él consideró en beneficio del interés de México. A Pancho Villa se le evalúa como un general bandido. Su incursión en Columbus, Nuevo México, no se interpreta como la reacción a la invasión de Veracruz.

Por último, la época post-revolucionaria del presente siglo refiere el problema de la inmigración de mexicanos hacia los Estados Unidos sin mencionar su implicación. A los mexicanos-norteamericanos se les considera como un grupo monolítico. No existe diferencia entre un chicano de California y un hispánico de Texas. Desde luego se hace referencia de la expropiación de la industria petrolera y los problemas que esto causó a los Estados Unidos.

En conclusión, predomina la omisión y falta de veracidad en la imagen de México en los libros de texto en comento. La ponente sugiere la utilización de centros de investigación, como el Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos de la Universidad de Texas, para corregir estas fallas.

ESCUELAS DE LA FRONTERA: VECINOS DESCONOCIDOS.
MIGUEL ANTONIO MEZA ESTRADA

Esta ponencia, está enfocada hacia el conocimiento que, de ambos lados, debiera haber en las escuelas de la frontera. Siendo el autor residente del estado de Baja California Norte es obvio que las referencias son a dicha entidad federativa así como el estado de California, E.U.A. El trabajo cuenta con 52 notas bibliográficas que le dan un apoyo bastante sólido.

Cabe mencionar que el autor de este trabajo es un amplio conocedor del tema ya que su tesis en opción al título de sociólogo es sobre la educación de hijos de trabajadores migrantes en California. Igualmente, el autor ha hecho estudios de investigación sobre el tema, bajo el auspicio del Banco Mundial.

Siguiendo la misma metodología del trabajo a comentar, la primera aproximación nos hace referencia a la Reforma Educativa de 1972 que no

fue debidamente comprendida como una nueva concepción de las relaciones maestro-alumno. Los niños, hijos de trabajadores emigrados a California, representan un serio problema por lo que hace a su educación. Para afrontarlo, en 1965, se estableció el programa de niños migrantes. Los estados que reciben a estos niños son California, Texas, Colorado, Washington y Michigan. De éstos, sólo California ha entendido el problema en su cabal dimensión, estableciendo programas para su solución. Auspiciado por el Banco Mundial, el ponente participó en 1986-1987 como investigador visitante en el departamento de educación de California. Se pudo detectar la alta estima que se tiene a los maestros de México, aunque no se acaba de comprender la relación laboral que rige su trabajo.

En la segunda aproximación, la ponencia nos señala un estudio que se hizo de la problemática educativa en las ciudades fronterizas de Mexicali-Caléxico. La primera es capital del estado de Baja California Norte y cuenta con una población aproximada de 400,000 habitantes. Por otro lado, Caléxico tiene 18,500 habitantes de los cuales 56% son hispánicos contra 34% que no lo es. 17,000,000 de personas cruzan la frontera anualmente con destino a Mexicali. El servicio educativo es gratuito y obligatorio de acuerdo con la Constitución Federal y la Estatal. Mexicali cuenta con 69 escuelas federales (37%), 105 escuelas estatales (56%) y 14 escuelas particulares (7%). Entre los aspirantes a indocumentados se encontró que tienen más de 5o. grado de escolaridad en el orden de 40% (15 a 24 años), 30% (25 a 34 años), 25% (35 a 44 años) y 5% (mayores de 45 años). Así el principio es de que a mayor edad, menor escolaridad y a menor edad, mayor escolaridad. Existe igualmente una fuga de capital humano ya que un número considerable de profesores solicitan licencia o utilizan sus vacaciones para trabajar como indocumentados.

En la tercera aproximación, el ponente narra la vivencia que tuvo en su trato con las autoridades educativas en el estado de California. Debido al considerable incremento en la población estudiantil que no domina el idioma inglés, se ha creado un déficit de maestros bilingües. Para resolver este problema, el estado de California hizo un acuerdo con España para la contratación de 100 maestros bilingües españoles. Esto ocasionó un conflicto intercultural para maestros-alumnos-padres. "Vienen otra vez a conquistarnos", dirían algunos. Por otra parte, esto también ocasionó la firma de un acuerdo entre California y México para enviar maestros de nuestro país. Al respecto, el ponente atinadamente opina que debe tratarse el asunto con sumo cuidado para no caer en un contratismo que propicie la fuga de cerebros. México no está en posición de subsidiar a los Estados Unidos en esta o en cualquier otra materia. La comisión de las Californias incluye a los estados de Baja California Norte y Sur con el Estado de California E.U.A. Habiendo participado el ponente en este foro, concluye que no ha sido lo fructífero que se deseaba debido a que la delegación de California no cuenta con representación pública. Caso contrario lo constituyen la "Conferencia de Gobernadores Fronterizos de

México-E.U.A.", que incluye a los gobernadores de California, Arizona, Nuevo México y Texas, y su contrapartes de Baja California Norte, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León y Tamaulipas. Este organismo ha logrado resultados bastante satisfactorios.

La cuarta y última aproximación nos señala los resultados de una encuesta a los maestros de escuelas públicas de ciudades fronterizas mexicanas, en particular, Mexicali y Ciudad Juárez. La familiaridad con la vida norteamericana reafirma el nacionalismo de los maestros. Estos, en ambos lados de la frontera, se conocen más por sus alumnos que por un trato directo. La comparación con escuelas norteamericanas tiene una opinión balanceada, es decir, en algunos aspectos mejores y en otros peores. Por lo que hace a los libros de texto de Estados Unidos, algunos maestros confiesan no conocerlos y otros consideran que son mejores los mexicanos en su contenido y en la organización temática. Los alumnos que han estudiado en E.U.A., para algunos maestros, están mejor preparados en educación física y los educados en México tienen una mejor formación en matemáticas y ciencias sociales. La uniformidad de programas y libros de texto representa una considerable ventaja para México.

Como puede apreciarse, esta ponencia incluye información muy valiosa ya que, en buena parte, está apoyada por investigaciones de campo. La conclusión obligada a que nos lleva este trabajo es que, lamentablemente, hay un total desconocimiento en materia educativa en ambos lados de la frontera y en perjuicio de los dos países.

COMMENTARY

MICHAEL C. SCARDAVILLE

My initial introduction to the teaching of history in public schools came at a traffic light near the Centro México in 1975 when a boy about ten or twelve years old tugged on my shirt and asked, "Why did you do it?" "Excuse me?," I said. "Why," he elaborated, "did you take away over half my country?" Although I was in philosophical agreement with his perspective, my immediate impulse was to tell him that I wasn't to blame since my family did not immigrate to the United States until the 20th century, but all I could do was to maintain my uneasy silence and hope for a quick change of the light.

That brief exchange on the street corner made me reflect that in my professional historical training no one had really bothered to give much thought to how history is taught at the pre-college level. This incident forced me to take stock in the much larger world of history outside the university. It started me thinking about the way in which societies present and interpret their national history to their youth, and I began to casually review textbooks for such content and interpretation, particularly for how Hispanic America and Hispanic Americans are portrayed in United States history textbooks

What I first imagined proved to be correct. As I have written and discussed elsewhere, the textbooks presented an Anglo-American perspective, one in which Hispanics are viewed as merely background to the real unfolding of North American history, despite the role that Hispanics have played in that history as well as the fact that about one-third of the present United States once belonged to Mexico. [1] In providing good and provocative assessments of the substance of current public school textbooks, both papers presented today illustrate and further confirm that biases and distortions still characterized the way Mexican and North American students learn their history. From the perspective of professional historians, Drs. Manning and Salvucci note the many shortcomings of the history textbooks. As such, their papers join a long and growing list of studies that have been conducted in the United States in the last

twenty years that examine racial, ethnic, and religious biases and prejudices in public school and college textbooks. As studies funded by the Ford and Carnegie foundations demonstrate, while United States history is no longer presented entirely from a white, middle-class perspective, no nation and its people are immune to stereotypes and misunderstanding. [2]

Drs. Manning and Salvucci have undertaken a commendable task in reviewing and analyzing textbooks and teachers' manuals in terms of their accuracy, biases, and distortions. Not surprisingly, they have concluded that these materials are rife with stereotypes and oversimplified and unbalanced presentations of events which obscure realities, a charge that makes it even more difficult for students and teachers to confront the challenging problems of our countries and region.

While both studies largely confirmed the expected, I was also surprised at some of the findings. The Mexican textbooks on the whole are much more positive than I would have imagined, only a 42% negative rating, especially considering the history of relations with the United States over the last 150 years. I wish, however, that Dr. Manning could have elaborated more on this relative restraint and its commentary on the Mexican educational system. With regard to the United States textbooks, I was surprised to see little change in their portrayal of Mexico and Mexican-Americans, since North American textbook publishers, under pressure from civil rights organizations in the last twenty years, have come to embrace the concept of a multicultural, pluralistic society through the inclusion of minorities in the national history. By noting the inactive lobbying efforts of Hispanic groups in the history textbooks. I wish, however, that she could have suggested a reason for this relative passivity on the part of Mexican-Americans, another revelation worthy of elaboration.

One general suggestion I can make for both papers is that I believe their analysis is incomplete without a more fully developed discussion of the background of the textbook authors and the training of school teachers. I would like to know how many of the authors are professional historians and if the Mexican authors have had formal training in the United States history and vice versa. To fully assess the textbooks, I think it is critical to know if the authors possess sufficient scholarly background for the specialized and often complicated subject matter. It is likewise helpful to know the extent to which classroom teachers have studied history, even their national history, as part of their formal training. Since most teachers rely on the textbooks for all of their information, it is even more imperative that these materials be accurate and balanced. In short, both studies need to elaborate more fully on these areas to present a more complete understanding of the development, use, and impact of history textbooks in Mexico and the United States.

While both authors correctly note other influences that shape student images of domestic and international concerns, they both underscore the role that textbooks play in generating and forming attitudes and images. By their very

nature, textbooks represent the voice of authority, the "public truth" so to speak. Teachers, in turn, reinforce this in the way many uncritically treat these materials. Textbooks and their use in both countries thus give authoritative support to the one-dimensional view often presented about the United States and Mexico in other arenas of popular culture, most notably the media. But what is most significant about the long term impact of textbooks is not the specific omissions and stereotypes, but rather the impression or tone they convey, as in the case of the analytical or ideological framework that Dr. Manning notes about the Mexican textbooks.

Given the pivotal role of textbooks in the education of students, I would like to raise the issue of whether history textbooks are, in fact, history, an assumption made here today that perhaps is questionable. I would suggest that by any professional standard, these textbooks are not history. The Mexican and North American materials are replete with stereotypes, characterizations, distortions, and omissions. Also, they demonstrate an absence of multiple perspectives and an excessive reliance on simplistic reasoning. While all historians embrace theoretical frameworks, avoidance of contradictory facts and events undermines or weakens the interpretation. Lacking scholarly integrity, in no way should the textbooks be classified as good history.

But this misses the point since textbooks serve different functions and are largely independent of academic or scholarly historical writing. The principal function of history textbooks, regardless of country of origin, is to instruct what the adult society wants the youth to know about the national culture and ideology. They are not meant to help students explore and challenge, but to inculcate the national culture and point of view. What the adult society wants them to know about their country is not necessarily the truth. History is filtered in such a way as to offer only selected truths. As a result, the 1968 student demonstrations in Mexico City are left out as is the Mexican perspective on the origin of the Mexican-American War. Textbooks are not designed to create a better historical understanding; they are not meant to be used to enable our children to think critically. I am often amused by my academic colleagues who complain that our students do not or cannot think, amused since our educational system from grade one is not geared to teach people to think. Critical thinking, especially when applied to the past, can be highly dangerous.

Textbooks, then, have a larger purpose beyond documenting and interpreting the historical record. Perhaps history textbooks can be best viewed as a subtle and informal political tool, a means of instructing the so-called official and authorized past. According to Frances FitzGerald in her study of North American history textbooks, these materials have a "lack of respect for history . . . [and pay] lip service to the truism that one must know history in order to understand the present and the future." [3]

Both papers, particularly Dr. Salvucci's, note that professional historians have relatively little say in the writing of history textbooks. It seems that in both

countries we have left it up to others to decide what is written about our national history and about other nations. Whereas in Mexico editorial and ideological policies are largely determined by a bureaucratic elite in the Secretaría de Educación Pública, such policy in the more politically decentralized United Stated is dictated by a combination of market factors and special interest groups. Textbook adoption practices in the United States largely determine how history is presented in the public schools. In an effort to maximize sales and offend the least number of interest groups, publishers and editors develop formula outlines for the texts and have historians fill in the blanks. As FitzGerald noted, history textbooks are written backwards or inside out. That is, the materials begin with a public demand and end with the historian. Public opinion, not scholarly authority, dictates the content and interpretation of the books. [4]

As a function of the educational establishments, it appears that non-historians in both countries have power over the past and hence the future. If such is the case, then what are the responsibilities of professional historians in the teaching of their discipline? In the United States, the historical profession has abrogated its involvement in the textbook business. Within the last twenty years, for instance, the American Historical Association, unlike professional societies of other disciplines, refused to participate in a federally-funded program to write a new and more professional series of textbooks. [5] I believe that most academic historians do not take the textbooks and survey courses seriously. While we accuse our students of being narrow-minded, we promote narrow-mindedness in the way the past is viewed through their reading materials. While we accuse our students of being ignorant or insensitive to complex world affairs, we continue to promote a self-centered, ethnocentric view of the world. We should be asking whether such textbooks provide our students with sufficient understanding to effectively deal with critical issues facing both countries, issues such as migration, modernization, trade, and military ventures south of the border. It is a sad comment on the historical profession that we do not take textbooks more seriously, particularly since they are the primary agents for introducing millions of students to the discipline of history. Textbooks should be reviewed by specialized scholarly journals such as *Historia Mexicana* and the *Hispanic American Historical Review.* And topics related to Latin America and the United States should be written by specialists current with the most recent literature and interpretations.

Why have historians held history textbooks to different standard? Should we find bias and distortion acceptable, should we compromise historical principals for the sake of a larger and higher purpose? Are we content that historians have become tools, a means to achieve someone else's ends? What do we gain by presenting a highly selective view of the past? How do we as historians perceive our role on society?

I would like to close by endorsing the recommendations offered by Dr. Salvucci, but I would like to stress that concerted action is needed, through such

vehicles as the Conference on Latin American History or the two sponsoring organizations of this symposium, to correct the biases and distortions in the textbooks. I am not naive enough to think that the historical profession will change the educational system in either country, but the lesson of history presented today is that we should become more involved, i.e. less passive, in stating how we, as a profession, believe history should be taught to future generations. Perhaps in the process we can contribute, in one small way, to a better and more scholarly cross-cultural understanding of our respective societies.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Michael C. Scardaville, "Approaches to the Study of the Southeastern Borderlands," in *Alabama and the Borderlands: From Prehistory to Statehood,* ed. by Reid Badger and Lawrence Clayton (Tuscaloossa, 1985), pp. 184-196; commentary on James Axtell, "Spaniards, Indians, and the Age of Discovery in American History Textbooks," American Historical Association, December 29, 1986.

[2] See, for instance, Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America, *The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks* (New York, 1975); Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, *Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks (New York, 1977);* Philip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York, 1971); Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston, 1979); need full citation for Axtell in *AHR* and Ford funded Asian study.

[3] FitzGerald, *America Revised,* p. 218.

[4] Ibid., p. 69.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

II. EDUCACION E IMAGENES MUTUAS / EDUCATION AND MUTUAL IMAGES

EDUCACIÓN Y CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA NACIONALIDAD

REGINA CORTINA

Mi ponencia se va a concentrar en las instituciones formadoras de maestros. El magisterio es el portador de las ideas, símbolos, y sentimientos comunes que conforman nuestra nacionalidad.

Este trabajo analiza cómo ha evolucionado la relación del maestro con el Estado. El magisterio está intímamente ligado a la transmisión del discurso nacionalista. Es la profesión encargada de enseñar a los jóvenes qué significa ser mexicano. Enseñar en las instituciones educativas es ayudar a reproducir el sistema social y político entre las nuevas generaciones de estudiantes que asisten a las escuelas públicas y privadas.

El discurso utilizado por los líderes de la educación nacional elude las diferencias rurales y urbanas, étnicas y genéricas que existen entre los educados. Así contribuye la ideología de la educación al gran desequilibrio de oportunidades educativas que existe entre las áreas urbanas y rurales al igual que entre mujeres y hombres en los niveles básico, medio y profesional.

Para concluir voy a reflexionar sobre cómo la relación México–Estados Unidos se ve influida por las políticas y prácticas educativas mexicanas.

EL MAESTRO, LA PATRIA Y EL ESTADO

Al formarse la comisión encargada de establecer la Escuela Normal de Profesores de Instrucción Primaria en 1882, el licenciado Joaquín Baranda escribió "se ha venido sintiendo, cada día más, la necesidad de crear esa personalidad respetable que se llama el maestro de escuela, poniéndola en

condiciones de poder desempeñar su elevada misión, que constituye, sin duda alguna, el verdadero sacerdocio del progreso moderno." [1]

Unas décadas más tarde, en 1932, Moisés Sáenz escribió, "los maestros, no los políticos nos enseñaran a vivir de acuerdo con los preceptos de la democracia, si estos son apóstoles de la civilización más que pedagógos". [2]

Estas reflexiones de educadores mexicanos muestran que la tradición del normalismo en México define al magisterio como una profesión de servicio social; una profesión al servicio de la patria y la consolidacíon del Estado contemporáneo. Como lo señala Josefina Zoraida Vázquez en su estudio, *Nacionalismo y Educación en México.* [3] lo que hoy entendemos por la nacionalidad mexicana es creación del Estado. Dos interpretaciones de la historia–Hispanistas e Indigenistas–debatieron en la primeras décadas del siglo el significado mismo de nación mexicana.

Con la lucha armada surge la ideología de la Revolución, el Estado revolucionario, y el carácter revolucionario de la escuela mexicana. Durante las primeras decádas del México posrevolucionario el magisterio era parte de la vanguardia que implementó los cambios y reformas sociales introducidos por la Revolución Mexicana. Maestros y maestras participaron en la implementación de la reforma agraria, a través de las misiones culturales y la creación de las normas rurales. [4]

Por estar íntimamente ligado con las reformas sociales, el magisterio en México no se desarrolló como una profesión encaminada exclusivamente a lograr el desarrollo intelectual de los mexicanos. Parte de su misión fue coadyudar a la consolidación de la nación.

La formación de maestros en México está basada en un modelo institucional desarrollado durante el siglo XIX. Este modelo institucional, concebido en sociedades agrarias, ha ido perdiendo su eficacia en el México moderno. Sin embargo, nos ha dejado una gran tradición pedagógica de gran utilidad para la investigación educativa en ambos lados de la frontera.

A la luz del análisis de las más recientes reformas a la formación de maestros, voy a proporcionar algunos argumentos para discutir por qué la formación de maestros de educación básica y media debe incorporarse al sistema de universidades de nuestro país. Este punto es de especial interés en una reunión de la Asociación Nacional de Institutos y Universidades de Educación Superior

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[1] Minuta enviada por el Secretario de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, licenciado Joaquin Baranda al maestro Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, el 11 de Noviembre de 1882. Citado por David López-Yánez Blancarte, "la escuela normal para profesores de instrucción primaria 1887-1924," en Jimenez Alarcón, Concepción, (compiladora), *Escuela Nacional de Maestros* (México: SEP, 1974)

[2] Moisés Sáenz, "The School and Culture," *Progressive Education* 9 (1932): 99-111; cita pg. 110.

[3] Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación en México* (Ciudad de México: El Colegio de México, 1975).

[4] La experiencia de los maestros y maestras rurales y su contribución a la labor educativa es narrada por los mismos profesores en Secretaría de Educación Pública, Dirección General de Culturas Populares, *Los maestros y la cultura nacional, 1920-1952* (México, D.F.: Secretaria de Educación Pública, 1987).

(ANUIES) ya que muy poco se ha reflexionado dentro de este organismo sobre cómo integrar la formación de maestros al sistema de educación superior del país.

En años recientes la necesidad de controlar políticamente al magisterio ha mantenido aisladas a las escuelas normales de otras instituciones de educación superior. La influencia de los líderes del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE) sobre las políticas de empleo y de formación profesional del magisterio han tendido a mantener este aislamiento. Los líderes del sindicato mantienen su influencia dentro del magisterio a través del control de las oportunidades de superación profesional y la promoción a los puestos de inspector y director de escuela. [5]

El aislamiento de las escuelas normales dificulta la implementación de programas basados en nuevas prácticas pedagógicas o en desarrollos recientes en la investigación cientifica. Los profesores de las normas básicas y superiores del país generalmente fueron formados en las mismas normales y siguen impartiendo sus asignaturas como lo hacían los maestros que los formaron.

En la prensa cotidianamente encontramos referencias a la modernización, democratización de la sociedad, la reconversión industrial, la revolución tecnológica. Yo me pregunto cómo vamos a lograr estos fines sin empezar por la reforma más fundamental de todas: la formación de maestros. La revolución tecnológica que está teniendo lugar actualmente en los países industrializados apunta hacia una descentralización de la educación y a una autonomía de la función docente. Las actuales reformas en los Estados Unidos argumentan que para profesionalizar el magisterio es necesario demostrar que existe una base de conocimiento exclusiva de la profesión. Como es el caso en otras profesiones, la abogacía, la ingenieria y la medicina. El propósito es otorgar al magisterio un mayor prestigio social y obtener una mayor remuneración por este trabajo profesional. Las nuevas reformas buscan clasificar los elementos distintivos de la pedagogía, y así perfeccionar una pedagogía específica para la enseñanza de los conocimientos propios de cada asignatura. [6]

Para mejor ilustrar la necesidad de incorporar el sistema de formación docente a las universidades de nuestro país, voy a analizar más detenidamente al decreto presidencial de 1984 por el cual se establece que la carrera de maestro tiene al grado académico de licenciatura. En la nueva ley o en sus discusiones por diferentes grupos, no se ha estudiado cómo esta legislación va afectar la relación entre la educación normal y la educación superior.

La reforma a la educación normal se realizó sin considerar que esta alternativa educativa se complementa con otras. En consecuencia, aún no se ha

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[5] Para un análisis más detallado de la influencia del SNTE en la vida profesional del magisterio ver Regina Cortina, "Power, Gender and Education: Unionized Teachers in Mexico City, Ph.D. Dissertaion. Stanford University, 1985

[6] Lee S. Shulman, "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 57 (1, 1987):1-22.

tomado ninguna medida compensatoria para no limitar el acceso a la educación superior. Para la mujer, al igual que para otros estudiantes de bajos recursos, las escuelas normales básicas representaron la alternativa tradicional al bachillerato y su vía de acceso a la educación superior. [7]

La educación media superior, que incluye el bachillerato, a pesar de la notable expansión de los últimos años, en 1979-80 sólo alcanzó al 20% del grupo de edad entre 16 y 19 años. Lo que significa que de cada 100 estudiantes que ingresan al primer año de primaria únicamente 20 ingresan al nivel medio superior. Del total de estudiantes que ingresaron a la educación media superior de 1979-80, únicamente el 66% se concentró en el bachillerato general. Además, este nivel educativo se localiza en las zonas urbanas y más desarrolladas del país. [8] Estas estadísticas nos muestran, claramante, que de no tomarse medidas compensatorias, especificamente, la expansión de la matricula del bachillerato general a zonas menos privilegiadas y áreas rurales, la exigencia del bachillerato como antecedente a la educación normal básica va a limitar el acceso a la educación superior. Por tanto va a reforzar desigualdades sociales que se habían atenuado en los últimos años por la expansión del sistema educativo.

A corto plazo los efectos de la nueva ley han sido dramáticos. El número de maestros en proceso de formación cayó drásticamente. Debido a los cambios en la legislación la población en las normales primarias bajo de 140,000 estudiantes en 1979, a únicamente 2,793 nuevos ingresos en 1985. El 90% (125, 236) de la matrícula de la educación normal se encuentra actualmente en las escuelas normales superiores, preparándose para iniciar su cambio de las aulas de primaria a las escuelas secundarias. [9] México es todavía un país con un promedio de escolaridad muy bajo y necesita cientos de jóvenes en las aulas de la escuelas primarias. En el futuro inmediato el sistema educativo necesita resolver como preparar maestros dedicados a desarrollar las capacidades intelectuales de los pedagógicas en las escuelas norteamericanas no facilita el aprendizaje de este grupo social. La evidencia más directa con la que se cuenta para mostrar que las prácticas educativas existentes no facilitan el aprendizaje de este grupo son las altas tasas de deserción escolar. Trabajos de investigación realizados en California muestra que se alcanzan índices de aprovechamiento escolar más altos entre los niños mexicano-americanos cuando el curriculum enfatiza actividades de aprendizaje cooperativas y no la competencia individual entre los estudiantes. Asimismo, diversos estudios han demostrado la existencia de patrones de adquisición del lenguaje diferentes para cada uno de los grupos socio-lingüísticos. Las prácticas pedagógicas utilizadas actualmente en

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[7] En relación a la participación de la mujer en el magisterio véase Regina Cortina, "La educación y empleo de la mujer en el magisterio," en *Memorias del coloquio sobre el estado actual de la educación en México, Noviembre 25-27, 1986* (México, D.F.: Centro de Estudios Educativos, en prensa).

[8] Miguel Angel Niño, *et al.*, "Educación media superior evaluación y alternativas," *Educación* 36 (Abril-Junio 1981): 9-45.

[9] Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Institutos de Enseñanza Superior, *Anuario Estadístico, 1985* (México, D.F.: ANUIES, 1986.)

las escuelas son más eficaces con niños angloparlantes que con niños hispanos. De estas y otras investigaciones se puede concluir que mejores prácticas pedagógicas incrementan la retención y el éxito de los mexicano–americanos.

Mejores prácticas pedagógicas pueden surgir de investigación educativa en ambos lados de la frontera. Esta investigación deberá identificar y entender las prácticas docentes que mejor funcionan con el el tipo de socialización que reciben los niños mexicanos. La tradición del normalismo mexicano y sus prácticas docentes esta íntimamente ligado al tipo de aprendizaje al que son más receptivos los mexicano-americanos. Un asunto de política interna se vuelve así una oportunidad de cooperación entre investigadores de ambos países y en una posibilidad de comunicación entre los líderes educativos de México y los Estados Unidos.

CRITIQUING THE IMAGE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN MEXICO: QUANTITATIVE DIMENSIONS OF UNIVERSITY PRODUCTION SINCE 1929 AND THE PROBLEMS OF QUALITY AND EMPLOYMENT

DAVID E. LOREY

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the dominant image of the Mexican university held by scholars in both Mexico and the United States. Perceptions about the Mexican higher education system are questioned by presenting the quantitative dimensions of professional training since 1929 and analyzing some aspects of the economics of higher education in Mexico. Three questions are asked: What sorts of professionals have been produced by the higher education system since 1929? How have the university and the economy been linked historically? How have maladjustments in the relationships between these two factors developed over time?

The dominant scholarly image of the Mexican university sees a system in crisis which no longer satisfies Mexican needs for professional skills for modernization nor fulfills other goals of the Revolution. The crisis is seen to have four main characteristics: 1) the university is out of touch with the goals and planning of Mexican leaders, 2) campuses have become overcrowded as a result of the rapid growth in enrollment during the 1960s and 1970s, 3) there has been a drastic decline in quality of university output in recent years, and 4) students are highly politicized, spending more time in political meetings than in classes. It is frequently assumed that there are casual connections between these problems, particularly that rapid growth in enrollment has led to a decline in quality at a time when Mexico has needed high-quality professionals to solve modernization problems.

This dominant image, however, does not take in to account historical changes

in university product or changes in the structure of the Mexican economy. It ignores the quantitative dimensions of professional output and the quality of Mexican universities. This brief study links these various strands in a historical analysis to present a new image of the university and its place in Mexican society.

Mexico's desire to modernize dates back into the nineteenth century during which economic growth was emphasized, especially during the administration of the dictator Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911). But the push for social development ranging from universal education to potable water for all Mexicans began only with the Revolution of 1910, which plunged the country into a lengthy period of civil war (until 1919) and military rebellions (until 1929). When the Mexican Revolution was consolidated in 1929 into an Official Party to forestall further violence, Mexico's leaders could face the need to provide: 1) professional expertise for the modernization of economy and society, and 2) inexpensive higher education opportunities for Mexicans of all backgrounds to allow upward social mobility by way of modern sector employment.

These two goals for the Mexican higher education system are related in fundamental ways to the goal of modernization. Employment opportunities for professionals depend directly on the growth of a modern economy and a modern public sector. Conversely, modernization depends to a large degree on the development of human resources and their destribution. But the two goals may not be compatible given the growth or structure of the economy. It may not be possible to educate everyone at the university level and employ all university graduates in their fields of expertise, or employ them at all. Further, certain policy responses to the social demand for higher education may limit the ability of the university system to produce high-quality graduates in needed fields of expertise.

The present study is organized into two main parts. Part I reviews the basic trends in production of human resources for modernization since 1929, using the engineering professions as a case study of supply and demand for specialties within a professional discipline. Part II discusses trends in professional education in the context of quality of higher education and employment opportunities for university graduates.

The term "modernization" is used throughout this study to paraphrase Mexican aims in the twentieth century. Although the term "modernization," like "development," is a much debated concept in the recent academic literature on the poorer countries of the world, it has been the concept chosen by Mexican leaders themselves since at least 1929 to characterize their goals for Mexican society and is currently in vogue. Modernization has meant a combination of sustained economic growth and government-sponsored social change to directly benefit the Mexican masses and to integrate the diverse regions and subcultures of the country. Because Mexico has been characterized by a relatively high degree of political consensus since 1929, these general goals are subscribed to by a majority of the Mexican peeople. This paper tests the performance of the Mexican system in the context of these national modernization goals. [1]

I. The Development of Professional Expertise, 1929-1985

The following review of changes in the education of professionals in Mexico since 1929 is based on statistics gathered in all professional fields for:

- persons who have received a professional degree (*titulados*),
- persons who have completed course work but have left the university without completing the required thesis or project for the degree (*egresados*), and
- persons who have registered a degree with the Mexican government (*registrados*).

These three indicators are used to measure changes in the production of professional expertise by the Mexican system. The indicators reveal two key aspects of professional education in Mexico: 1) available professional expertise, and 2) anticipated employment opportunities–that is, student perceptions of professional fields in which they will be able to find employment. [2] Measuring the output of the higher education system with these indicators is superior to the use of enrollment data because the distribution of enrollment does not match the distribution of those leaving the system with degrees or as egresados. [3]

Basic trends in professional training [4]

Two dramatic changes have occurred in the production of professionals since 1929. First, the absolute number of degrees granted has increased very rapidly, particularly after 1940 and the beginning of Mexico's push to industrialize. Second, much of this absolute growth has taken place in the non-traditional fields of business and engineering. The number of law degrees, the most traditional of professions in Mexico, although remaining substantial, has increased only very slightly from 1929 to 1985 and as a percentage share of all fields has lost ground. Degrees in medical specialties, including nursing, and teaching have decreased as a share of all degrees since the late 1920s.

Most noteworthy is the meteoric rise of business degrees during the 1940s to displace teaching as the largest degree category. Business degrees rose from 15 percent of all degrees in the 1941-46 period to a high of more than 50 percent by 1959-64. From the 1947-52 period to date, business has remained the single most important area of expertise produced by the Mexican system.

Even with the dominance of business training, the data indicate that the overall diversity of professional preparation has continued to increase since the early 1950s. From the 1929-34 period through 1941-46, the four most important fields (law, teaching, medicine, and engineering) steadily slipped as a share of all degrees as professional preparations became more diverse. Since the 1953-58 period, there has again been a general decline of these four career areas plus

business as a share of all degrees, indicating growing diversity in professional expertise.

Professional training emphasis in the period 1928-1985 coincides closely with the evolving development strategies of Mexican presidential coalitions. The greatly increased attention to business skills after 1940 fits well with our conception of the shift from the Cárdenas presidency and a social revolutionary era to the beginning of Mexico's industrial revolution and governmental emphasis on economic expenditure. By the time of what James W. Wilkie terms the "balanced revolution" ideology for government of the late 1950s and early 1960s, we see the decline of business relative to other fields. [5]

The Case of Supply and Demand for Engineering Expertise [6]

As noted above, engineering has made up an increasingly important part of all professional careers since 1929. A case study of production within the large engineering field serves to outline historical changes in professional production more precisely. How have the relative proportions of engineering specialties changed in Mexico?

Data on *titulados*, *egresados*, and *registrados* in engineering specialties indicate three important changes that have occurred in the period from 1929 to 1985. First, there has been a long term decline in the importance of classical engineering fields such as chemical, civil, electrical, mechanical, and extractive engineering. An important exception to this trend has been the rise in the importance of agricultural engineering and its allied field of veterinary medicine since the early 1970s. Second, rapid growth has been experienced in new engineering fields closely related to Mexico's push for economic modernization, and particularly the development of industry. Most striking is the rise of the new field of industrial engineering which appears destined to become the "classic" engineering field in Mexico in the near future. This field, as well as computer engineering, has been able to cut into the domination of traditional specialties even during a period of rapid growth in the agricultural engineering/veterinary medicine area. The new electronic engineering component of the electrical engineering category has slowed the decline of the traditional electrical engineering field. Third, while the data show moderate long term growth in diversity, diversity has not been one of the most important products of the rapid growth in all engineering fields.

Engineering fields, like professional fields in general, reveal a distinct period dominated by more typically "social" concerns in the 1930s, evidenced by the strength of agricultural engineering training. This period is followed after 1940 by a period characterized by a marked increase in industry-related specialties. In the 1960s, the data indicates a balancing of industrial and agricultural fields in terms of percentage share distribution of the fields. In more recent years, we

find a remarkable rebirth of agicultural engineering during the presidency of Luis Echeverría and the appearance of the dynamic industrial engineering field.

We must place the development of professional expertise in the context of Mexico's modernization needs over time. Has the development of the engineering profession stimulated by government modernization strategy coincided with Mexico's needs? Because we have no commonly accepted method for defining needs for professional skills, it is difficult to say just how many engineers should be educated in Mexico, or in what proportion to other areas of professional expertise such as business management or health professions.

It is relatively easy to define areas of engineering expertise that are needed in Mexico in greater quantity than presently available by analyzing certain gaps in social infrastructure development. Water service and quality, as measured by presence of drainage systems, incidence of water-borne diseases, and government expenditure on drainage, are areas of basic social infrastructure that clearly need much development in Mexico. Sewerage and water supply systems are constructed with "ad hoc" or "informal" expertise in many parts of Mexico, where such systems are built at all. Lines for the two services are sometimes laid in the same trench, with obvious health risks if effluents of the two systems mix.

Mexico has historically suffered, and continues to suffer, from a lack of water supply and waste management modernization. While falling steadily over the period, the percentage of Mexicans living without drainage of sewage remains somewhere between 45 and 50 percent. Water service in rapidly growing Mexico City actually declined in coverage between 1940 and 1960. Water service to populations of other rapidly growing urban areas have increased at a rate less than that for rural areas. Data on deaths by diarrhea and enteritis show only a slow decline in death rates in the years from 1940 to 1970, and the national level figures hide large differences between Mexico's developed and less developed regions. In terms of water-borne diseases as a cause of death, Mexico lags behind all the more highly developed Latin American countries, with which it is usually ranked on other criteria. Only those Latin American countries usually considered least developed–El Salvador and Paraguay for example–have rates of death by these causes higher than Mexico. [7]

Data on government expenditure for water system improvement show that, regardless of government rhetoric, potable water supply and drainage have not been aspects of modernization for which the government has seen it worthwhile to develop programs and spend money. As a consequence, government employment in these fields has not drawn engineering students to related engineering specialties. Government employment is crucial for modernization of water and waste systems, of course, since water supply, sanitation, and pollution control works, like social infrastructure in general, historically have not resulted from private sector initiative.

Because the university has responded primarily to the stimulus of moderni-

zation strategies geared to producing rapid growth in the Mexican economy, the development of fields in civil and topographic/hydraulic engineering have been devoted predominantly to economic infrastructure, highways, and irrigation systems for example, rather than development of urban or rural housing, water supply, or sewerage. Because government investment emphasis has been on breaking bottlenecks limiting growth, development of engineering fields has reflected a bias towards industrial and economic applications. [8]

The long term trends in the output of the professional educational system and the case of the engineering professions reviewed here indicate two important conclusions: 1) the output of the university system has responded to government plans; 2) there are areas of professional expertise that have been insufficiently developed for social modernization goals.

The Mexican professional education system historically has responded to the changing economic environments forwarded by presidential coalitions, in direct contrast with one of the main assumptions of the dominant image outlined above. While the data indicate a disparity between Mexico's preparation for the business-management needs of a growing economy and the lackluster development of expertise related to modernization of the social infrastructure, development of professional expertise has followed, and continues to follow, ruling-coalition initiative.

Modernization ideology, then, has consistently influenced the career choices of students from 1929 to the present. Let us look a little more closely at those choices from the perspective of the economics of university education.

II. Employment of Professionals, Quality, and the University System

Basic Trends

Although I suggest that government strategy for modernization is a determinant in the development of professional expertise, the economy and the university system have interacted with government policy to produce the trends discussed. The history of the relationship between the economy and the public university system in particular explains some of the current problems of the higher education system. From the 1930s to the mid-1960s, the public university was hailed as one of the key institutions in forwarding Mexico's modernization aims. But since the late 1960s, the capacity of the public university to fulfill this role has been increasingly questioned while private university enrollment has boomed. Why have these changes occurred?

I suggest a historical chain of events relating the product of the higher education system to structure and change in the Mexican economy, particularly changes in employment trends, to explain the evolution of the university system and attitudes towards it. The connections between the university and

employment in Mexico are many and complex; I simplify the scheme here to emphasize the most important links.

The ability of the Mexican economy to absorb university graduates has not grown as fast as has the number of university graduates produced by the universities. University enrollment has been on continuous rise since the beginning of the century; this growth has become a problem only relatively recently as absorption of university product in the economy has slowed. The strongest piece of evidence that employment opportunities have not increased apace of university production is the widening gap between the number of *egresados* and the number of *titulados* who have left the system since the mid-1960s. The demand for the more highly trained *titulados* is oversupplied.

Available evidence also indicates that the Mexican economy has not grown in a way that has stimulated demand for the most highly trained university graduates. The few studies on these changes that exist suggest that the industries have grown most rapidly since 1955 have been those which require a larger proportion of subprofessional technicians than upper level professionals. [9] Such industries as automobiles and automobile parts, electrical machinery and appliances, and non-ferrous metals as well as iron and steel, for example, have been among the fastest growing industries, and these industries are important employers of middle level professionals. [10] Also, about 1955 the demand for high level skills began to diminish in comparison with middle level skills in import substituting industries. [11]

Since the late 1950s, the Mexican university system has been producing too many upper level professionals and not enough middle level technicians. Ideally, numerous technicians should be educated to support each professional. In the 1958-63 period, for an example of the early appearance of the difference between production of high level professionals and technicians, there was a 20 percent increase in middle level enrollment at the IPN (Instituto Politécnico Nacional), but an 80 percent increase in enrollment at the university level. [12] The predominance of college preparatory programs encourages secondary school graduates to enter the university and become professionals. [13]

The changing structure of the economy, and the changing nature of its demand for professionals, has not been reflected in university admissions or fee policy. Student pressures, based on the revolutionary rhetoric of universal and free education, have kept fees low at the public universities. Government subsidies have been used to make up for the low level of university fees. Educational leaders have not developed mechanisms for channeling growing enrollment into needed or non-traditional career areas, or in stimulating terminal secondary programs which would lessen the pressure on the university.

Public sector employment policy has likewise not adjusted to changes in the economy. The basic change in demand for professionals after the late 1950s is not reflected in public sector hiring and promotion practice. The government bureaucracies have been locked into pay scales that place a premium on

formal educational training, historically demanding university degrees for positions in the bureaucracy regardless of real needs for high level expertise. Although reliable time series data do not exist, information on public sector employment in 1975 indicates that hiring practices have also placed emphasis on traditional professional careers, both in the centralized and decentralized government sectors. Twelve percent of professionals employed in the centralized public sector in 1975 were lawyers and 11 percent civil engineers, two of the most traditional professions in Mexico. The decentralized, or parastate, sector appears more in tune with historical changes in professional production with 14 percent accounting, 14 percent mechanical-electrical and electronic engineering, and with 7 percent in law and 7 percent in civil engineering. [14]

The net result of this mismatch between real demand and supply, and between real demand and the false demand created by public sector wage and hiring policy, has been the employment of many university educated professionals as middle level technicians, both in the public and private sector. A Banco de México study shows that in as early as 1961 only 7 percent of employees in middle level positions were specifically trained for that level; 39 percent were university educated and 54 percent had been brought up from the ranks of workers. [15] There is also evidence of a mismatch between university production of certain fields and employment in those fields. Gómez Campo found, for example, that among chemical engineers in 1980, only 27 percent were directly involved in production and operations, while 26 percent were found in administration, 25 percent in sales and purchasing, 11 percent in research, and 8 percent in planning and design. [16] A 1963 survey of 10 industrial firms found a somewhat lesser division: 20 percent of engineers employed in the firms were employed in sales and management positions. [17] These two practices of employing professionals below their level of trained expertise and outside their fields of expertise reveal a demand/supply distortion which has satisfied neither graduates nor employers.

A gradual, and until recently, subtle, devaluation of university degrees has followed from these changes. A degree is necessary to find work, particularly in the public sector, but the knowledge associated with the degree is not. Additionally, there has been a tendency to hire anyone with a degree regardless of the specific field of the degree, and there is a high incidence of crossover between professional fields in employment (engineering *licenciados* working as graphic designers, for example). Research on this aspect of dislocation between demand and supply reveals that employers tend to choose employees on the basis of work history, personality, and capacity for self-development in job more than degree field or educational record. [18] A secondary factor in the rise of business and industrial engineering training (outlined above in Part I) is that graduates in these fields are more easily absorbed in different employment situations than graduates of other career areas. [19]

These important differences between real needs and inflated demands for university degrees had led to the historical conflicts over academic standards

and to the general downward pressure on these standards at the universities. Pressure exerted primarily through student strikes has tended to minimize admission requirements and levels of academic achievement expected of students. Achievement has settled at the average level needed in the labor market. University "crisis," like those of 1948, 1966-68, and 1986-87, have resulted from the development of university policy out of touch with the Mexican economy.

In the following sections, some of the issues raised by connections between these elements are addressed in more detail. Specific emphasis is given to the basic themes contained in the dominant image of the Mexican university growth in enrollment and the supposed "crisis of quality."

The causes of rapid growth of the Mexican University

The rapid growth of the university system since the early 1960s is generally attributed to Mexico's historically rapid population growth and the growth in the number of secondary school graduates due to expansion of educational system at lower levels. The reality is, however, that public university policy, particularly students' insistence on low- or no-cost "universal" education, has been the main cause of rapid growth in enrollment.

Rapid growth, moreover, does not by itself explain the university's current problems. There is no inherent reason why large and growing universities cannot function: I suggest that until the late 1950s, the university system did produce professionals in phase with the economic modernization of the country at the same time that enrollment was increasing rapidly. The undirected nature of gotrwth and the emphasis of the public university on efficiency–producing as many graduates as possible with money made available by the government–rather than "effectiveness," that is the quality of the product, are the factors that have made a large student body difficult to manage.

Government policy has reinforced the tendency towards uncontrolled and undirected growth. On the one hand, government expenditure on economic revolution has led to high production of fields related to economic growth such as business management and industrial engineering, seen in Part I above. This preference is reflected in the weaker growth in fields related to social needs and the lesser availability of this expertise. On the other hand, the government has supported uncontrolled enrollment policy because the university has seemed to offer an escape valve for unemployable youth. This scheme has backfired, however, as the dissatisfaction of students with the university to provide employment has led to broad student political involvement in non-university issues.

The question of quality

It is frequently assumed that exploding enrollment has had a negative effect on quality of education received by professionals at the large public universities. [20] Several comments on the very complex topic of quality and this causal connection are necessary.

How can we measure quality? I suggest that there are three fairly reliable ways to measure quality at Mexican universities, given the available statistical sources: 1) Per student expenditure on higher education; 2) teacher-student ratios; and 3) ratios of full-time to part-time teaching staff. All three indicators reflect the degree of effectiveness of university education.

Has there been a historical decline in quality? These three indicators show that quality has been improving across the whole period under discussion here, although not at a rapid rate. Per student expenditures have grown slowly since the 1920s, with more rapid growth after the late 1950s. [21] The number of students per teacher at Mexican universities has actually grown somewhat between the 1950s and the 1980s, gaining considerably in the early 1960s. But at the same time, the ratio of full-time to part-time teaching staff has doubled since the 1960s, suggesting that there has been a gradual improvement of the number of full-time staff to students. [22] Quality has actually increased over time, then, even during the period of most rapid growth in enrollment, which was from the mid 1960s to the early 1980s and even at the largest and most frequently criticized institution, UNAM–the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. [23]

However, the slow rate of growth and the relatively low level of quality at the public universities compared to national averages is striking. At the large public universities, teacher-student ratios are half the national average. Additionally, almost 90 percent of professors at the UNAM, for example, are employed on an hourly basis. [24] With the financial crisis from 1982 to the present, university funds have been cut in real terms while growth in enrollment has not slowed. In sum, the gradual rise in quality throughout the system has probably not stemmed from the policies of the public university giants, UNAM and IPN (Instituto Politécnico Nacional).

As regards the question of how we measure quality, we must also examine the idea of quality in a comparative context. Frequently, the concept of quality is used to differentiate between different patterns of study in the United States and Mexico: quality is what we are familiar with at good North American institutions. Yet if quality of study and educational achievement is directly linked to the job market and job expectations, we must look at those factors to explain differences in quality. I suggest above that student pressures at Mexican public universities respond directly tho the fact that high level skills are not those in greatest demand in the Mexican economy. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the determining difference between quality in the United States and Mexico is to be found in different patterns of structure and growth of the economies of the

two countries. If Mexican students needed higher achievement at the university to find work, the historical resiliency of the system indicates that quality would rise to somewhere near the level of demand.

We must redefine Mexico's quality problem in terms of sluggish growth, rather than rapid decline in quality. This sluggish growth, due to very slow growth at public universities, is best analyzed through comparison of the product of public and private universities in Mexico.

Private vs. Public University Graduates in the Job Market

Private universities are different in two main ways from their public counterparts: their programs are much more closely tailored to the actual supply of modern sector jobs than the public universities and their admissions and achievement policies are more closely geared to quality product. For both these reasons, the links between private universities and both public and private sector employers, and particularly the latter, have been increasingly close, particularly since the late 1950s. [25]

Data on private universities indicate that in 1980 only 5 percent of private university students were studying medicine, and only 2 percent agriculture, while 33 percent were studying engineering and 78 percent social sciences (a category dominated by business administration and accounting at private universities). These are clearly the professional types most in demand in the modern sector, particularly in private sector industry and business. The public universities, on the other hand, show much greater emphasis on the traditional fields of medicine, law, and agriculture.

As to quality, in 1981 the 20 private universities that make up the Association of Institutes of Private Higher Education [26] boasted a full-time staff to student ratio of 1 to 36 and improving rapidly. Fully 37 percent of faculty were employed full-time or part-time; 20 percent of staff had graduate degrees. Private universities had an efficiency rate (graduates as percentage of their entering class) of 63 percent, roughly twice that of public universities. [27]

There is quite a bit of evidence to suggest that privately educated Mexicans make up the elite sectors in the professions in public and private sectors of the economy. Job entry exams for both public and private sector corporations seem to be slanted towards Mexican students educated privately. [28] Employers may have actually come to discriminate against the products of public universities on the basis of institutional association alone: graduates of different institutions are assumed to have certain traits, and some such assumptions may be true.

Graduates of private universities offer many advantages to the private and public sector employer. The typical business administration graduate of a provincial public university does not read English well and has had little advanced training with computer systems or software. The graduate of a private

university, on the other hand, can operate with these skills in a modern business environment and carries the promise of being able to adapt to the firm's organization as well as maintain productivity levels with his or her expertise. [29]

Historically, there has been a lack of understanding between private sector employers and the public university system, basically due to the prevalence of Marxist analysis as a guiding academic ideology at public universities. This ideological focus has always rubbed Mexican business the wrong way. Private university graduates have been trained to temper Marxist approaches with other methodologies, particularly when it comes time to deal with the job market. Some more subtle advantages held by private university graduates such as interview skills and general comportment may also be related to curriculum content.

Although the development of private universities may be in direct conflict with the second aim of the Mexican university system–that of providing social mobility for the working classes–it should be noted that support of private higher education is a perfectly rational response on the part of parents and the government. Parents want their children to find jobs; in the changing Mexican economy, the private schools are better at providing the professionals that industry and business need. For its part, the government has also found that it needs the very highly skilled product of the private university system to run the affairs of state.

The public/private dichotomy in Mexican higher education bears some similarity to the same dichotomy in the Mexican economy. [30] Like other decentralized agencies or parastatal concerns, the public education system has evolved away from government surveillance and control, has become in certain aspects ineffective and out of touch with Mexican needs. As is the case with government activism in the economy, it is not clear what positive role the government has played through its activity in the price mechanisms of university education. Private universities, less protected even than their counterparts in the private sector of the economy, have experienced the very strong development since the 1950s that implies a lack of serious competition from the public universities.

Are students to blame?

Students are frequently blamed, implicitly or explicitly, for the problems of the university system, since they often appear to be more concerned with university and national political issues than learning. In the context of the historical evolution presented here, however, the behavior of public university students in Mexico should be seen as a symptom rather than a cause of university crisis. The education received by students is not readying them for high level employment. Since coursework in the university may have little or no use in

the job market, it makes sense to do the minimum required and agitate for reduced requirements. The obsession of public university students with leftist philosophies, also sometimes seen as a cause of university crisis, must also be interpreted in this larger context: such creeds provide the most accessible explanation for the fate of graduates in the employment market.

While student behavior has responded primarily to the long term trends in the job market outlined above, causes of student behavior can also be identified within the university system. To cite just one example, choice of level of professional study and specific career fields follows in good part from the state of career counseling at universities in Mexico. Students are dependent on government rhetoric and knowledge of parents' careers for information as to what jobs they can expect. As noted above, both government modernization emphasis and public sector wage structures have encouraged students to follow career paths for which demand has been declining. Although private universities also frequently do not have formal counseling programs, private university administrators do have control of fields and curricula which allows them to shape their graduate profile to the demands of Mexican business and industry.

Far from causing the problems of the system, students are its main victims. Perhaps the most serious long term effect of lack of adjustment between university output and demand is the psychological impact on university graduates of being unable to find work in their fields, an impact which has gone largely unstudied. Students face a job market where they will very likely be "qualitatively underemployed" or for which their formal training has only prepared them to function at the middle level. [31] The majority of public university graduates go through a difficult period of adjustment after graduation as they scale down their expectations and aspirations to the level of employment needed by the public and private sectors. The impact of the psychological factor also has a backward link. The psychological impact of extremely high drop-out rate (about 65 percent at UNAM and IPN) and difficulty of finding work with a university degree affects study and achievement levels and encourages students to search for employment exits during their university careers.

Research and teaching

While quality, as suggested here, is mainly a function of extra-university influences, some intra-university roots of the sluggish increase in quality can be identified. Although lack of resources for higher education historically has been a real difficulty, the heart of the problem is the practice of using resources at hand to promote efficiency rather than effectiveness. The example of quality in research and teaching suffices to show the effects on quality of low expenditure per student.

One of the most complex problems of the Mexican higher education system

is the longstanding deficiency of research efforts and the general lack of regard for research. CONACYT (Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología) reported that in 1986 Mexico could claim only 23 researchers per 100,000 population, a proportion inferior to that in Cuba, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Venezuela, and Brazil. [32] Many effects of this trend have accrued over time and now challenge administrators at Mexican universities.

Research has not figured prominently at Mexican universities primarily because university training has been professional in character, that is, its immediate aim has been to capacitate students for employment in professional fields. Only in purely academic fields has research been considered an important facet of professional training and practice. Meanwhile, outside Mexico, research has come to be recognized as a key component of quality education in all fields, and a cause of increased productivity and general economic growth. Recent studies suggest that internationally excellence in research is the first prerequisite for fruitful collaboration between the university and industry and that traditional training of professionals has become increasingly less important than research since the mid-1970s. [33]

The most serious effect of the lack of emphasis on research at Mexican universities is the low number of expert teachers. Professors are employed as generalists who frequently teach outside of their specific field of interest or academic experience. There is little employment of specialists to practice combined teaching and research in their areas of expertise, thereby further developing and spreading their knowledge at the same time. A full-time position in the history department of the Autonomous University of Puebla (UAP) in spring 1988, for example, required the professor to teach nineteenth- and twentieth- century U.S. history, colonial Latin America, and a seminar in Marxist theory and methodology in the social sciences. The department was looking for a historian to fill gaps in course offerings and contracts were eventually concouded with historians who knew very little about the three fields in question.

The rapid growth of licentiate careers and much slower growth of graduate study has produced a sharp demand for highly trained faculty that cannot be met. Many professors, particularly at the large public universities, are themselves recent *titulados* or *egresados*. Some university students are hired to teach at the same time that they work to finish their licentiate degree. At the UNAM, there may be more *licenciados* teaching classes than professors with masters or doctoral degrees combined. The private universities seem to be developing a clear lead in training quality graduate level students and show a 233 percent increase in enrollment between 1974 and 1980. [34] Private universities have clearly led the field in hiring professors with graduate training–salaries for these professors constitute the main component of higher per student expenditures at private universities.

While a major factor presently limiting research may be lack of funds for facilities and "seed" experts for high level research, as the universities claim,

the nature of research undertaken may also be a limiting factor. While a great deal of money is concentrated in certain research efforts, there is a lack of what might be called "appropriate research," that is, research that is directly related to the needs of Mexican economy and society. The research that does take place in Mexico is often set in the context of international academic research and debate. Significant sums of money are spent trying to keep abreast of developed world researchers in areas such as physics and biotechnology.

A new image for the University

Drawing on evidence presented above, several new interpretations of the Mexican university system can be suggested. These interpretations help explain current difficulties in meeting both the university's basic goals of production of professionals for modernization and social mobility for the Mexican masses.

Rapid growth in university enrollment has not resulted from Mexico's rapid population growth nor rapid growth in the number of seconday school graduates. Rather, growth at the university has followed from university admission and advancement policy, and particularly from the structure of fees for university education. The primary reason that the public university system has grown so rapidly since the 1960s, but has been unable to compete with private universities in terms of quality production, has been the maintenance of low fees subsidized by the government. These fees have increasingly been out of tune with real social needs for professionals and the real cost of educating them.

Growth in student enrollments is not responsible for low quality in education received by Mexican public university students, as generally believed. Rather, quality there has improved over time, although at a sluggish rate. The demand in the public and private sectors for highly trained personnel has grown faster than has quality at the public universities. Private universities, however, have developed rapidly since the 1960s to fill this gap. The low rate of increase in quality at public universities has sharply curtailed their traditional dominance in the production of Mexico's most highly qualified professionals.

Pricing policy in the public university system has sent incorrect signals about the Mexican economy and the demand of the economy for university educated professionals since at least 1958 by about the end of government spending emphasis on economic revolution. Before that time, the low cost of public university education reflected accurately the need for a great quantity of professionals. Although the public universities are outside of direct government control, government subsidy has been the determining factor in university pricing policy. [35] The government has confused the situation by paying relatively high wages in the public sector (public sector wages have a great impact on private sector wages) and by linking employment in government bureaucracies

to educational attainment, thus adding to demand for higher education opportunities. [36]

Because the cost of public university education to students and families is so low, and because of the relatively slow rate at which the economy has produced places for upper level professionals, the university has produced many graduates who have been unable to find jobs at the level indicated by their degree. This process is responsible for the low growth rate of quality. Because they do not need the knowledge behind the degree to work in the sort of jobs they will find, students have exerted a downward pressure on achievement standards at the university. At root, this downward pressure reflects the need for relatively more graduates of middle level professional and technical education in both the public and private sectors.

In terms of the vaunted social goals of government higher education policy, students from lower social economic strata are not favored by the system. [37] Although subsidized public-university education is equal in actual cost to individual students, the opportunity cost of university education is greater for students from poor families. This factor combined with the absence of a working system of quotas, has meant that the public university system has historically catered to the children of the better-off families. The preference of better-off Mexicans for private education because of the poor quality of education at public universities (poor quality translates into reduced ability to find a high paying job) increasingly leaves poor quality public university education (and thus poorer chances of finding high paying work) to students who cannot afford private education.

Social mobility for Mexico's less-favored aspirants to professional employment, then, has not followed automatically from the imposition of low fees at public universities. [38] There is little reason to believe such mobility will be stimulated naturally as the university is allowed to grow even larger. To achieve the goal of social mobility for this sector of Mexican society, government subsidies would have to support a working system of quotas and grants.

Almost all the large public universities boast the word "autonomous" in their names, and historically they have removed themselves from government influence in internal affairs. [39] But in other senses they are not at all autonomous. Responsiveness to the pressures of particular student generations has meant that university administrators have not acted autonomously in pursuing long term educational aims. The large public universities have been unable to make changes in output related to a changing economy since the 1950s. Nor are the public universities autonomous financially. If they were made autonomous financially, public universities would have to increase their fees. Charging higher fees, the public universities would have to provide a quality education (i.e., spend more per student, particularly on expert faculty) in order to attract students. They would have to impose quotas and provide grants to keep alive the revolutionary goal of social mobility through university education. [40]

CONCLUSIONS

The dominant image of a university in the throes of crisis due to overcrowding, decline in quality, and student political activism needs to be greatly modified by taking into account the history of university production of graduates in the context of the evolution of the Mexican economy. The higher education system as a whole, including the private universities, has proven resilient and responsive to government policy and economic reality. The patterns of response, however, have often left much to be desired.

The Mexican system has produced large numbers of businessmen and engineers in line with the modernization strategies of leaders since 1929. But the case of the development of engineering expertise reveals that the basic social improvements promised by the Revolution have not appeared naturally as products of government emphasis on economic revolution and "Mexican miracle" economic growth. The rate of social improvements has lagged behind improvements in economic infrastructure and the production of professionals has reflected this trend.

Long-term employment trends in the Mexican economy have created a differential demand favoring middle level rather than high level professional expertise since the mid-1950s. The public university system has responded to this reality and has taken over the role of secondary education, producing great numbers of lesser qualified *egresados* to fill middle level professional slots. Although there may be nothing inherently wrong with this substitution, it is clearly not the most efficient allocation of resources, as university education is by far the most expensive level of education. Additionally, the psychological impact on university educated professionals who must take middle level professional positions can be great.

Emphasis on low per-student costs at the public universities has led to the development of private university programs to provide the high quality professionals needed in the public and private sectors. Again, there is nothing inherently wrong with this aspect of the current state of the system. But perhaps the public university creed of "efficiency" should be questioned when the funds of large public universities go to produce twice as many dropouts as graduates, making them unable to compete with private universities. President De la Madrid's recent drive to reduce public sector waste by selling off publicly owned firms makes timely several questions regarding the public university. Is the public university system an efficient producer? Does it produce a competitive (quality) product? Has protection of the university from market forces (by government subsidy of low fees) hurt Mexican economy and society and slowed modernization?

There is a role in Mexico for an active public university, particularly in forwarding the aims of production of professionals needed for social modernization and in promoting social mobility for less favored Mexicans.

The private universities, responding as they do primarily to private sector demand, will not produce all the various professionals needed to modernize Mexican society, particularly those experts needed for the improvement of social infrastructure. The public university system will probably have to play an important part in producing these skills, if these skills are to be produced. Neither will the private university further social mobility on the scale desired by many Mexicans. The evidence of this study indicates that if the public university is to be an active force in producing professionals for social modernization and providing social mobility, it will have to bring its fee, admissions, and achievement policies in line with the structure and growth of the Mexican economy.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For an idea of what modernization has meant at different times to different groups of Mexican leaders, see Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto (1985), especially vol. 1, pp. 15-134.

[2] For in-depth discussion of these indicators and their interpretation, see Lorey (1988b), Appendix A.

[3] See, for example, data on enrollment and graduates in Wilkie and Lorey (1987).

[4] For more detailed discussion of the trends summarized here, see Lorey (1988a).

[5] For Wilkie's analysis of shifts in government expenditure and ideology, see Wilkie (1978).

[6] For more detailed discussion of themes in this section, see Lorey (1988b).

[7] For sources for these data, see Lorey (1988b).

[8] Even within economic specialties, there are unmet demands for specific areas of engineering expertise. See Villagómez and Ríos (1976).

[9] Myers (1965), p. 123.

[10] Data from Banco de México cited by Myers (1965), pp. 123-4ff.

[11] Reynolds (1965), pp. 236-238.

[12] Myers (1965), p. 125.

[13] There is some evidence that the demand for middle level expertise is itself oversupplied in Mexico. For an analysis of the links between secondary education and the structure of the Mexican economy, see Muñoz Izquierdo (1980).

[14] Eleven percent were doctors hired to work in the state run hospitals. See Comisión de Recursos Humanos del Sector Público del Gobierno Federal (1976).

[15] Cited in Myers, p. 123.

[16] Gómez Campo, p. 5.

[17] Arthur D. Little de Mexico study of 1963 cited in Davis (1967).

[18] Nigel Brooke (1978), p. 118.

[19] Psacharopoulos (1981), p. 40.

[20] See, for example, Cleaves's flow chart of causes of "decline" in quality, Cleaves (1985), p. 118.

[21] Undeflated statistics show a dramatic increase over the period: this rapid increase is much altered by applying any one of a number of commonly used deflators to the series to adjust expenditures for historical inflation.

[22] The lack of Full Time Equivalent (FTE) statistics make these calculations complex. We also do not have reliable data on class size or attendance, both of which make a great deal of difference in the effectiveness of teaching staff.

[23] Slow growth in quality is apparent in the data of Nava Díaz (1976), pp. 64, 66.

[24] See, for example, ANUIES-AE, various years.

[25] This link becomes clear, for example, if the jobs bulletin of the American Chamber of Congress in Mexico is compared with the catalogs of private universities.

[26] These twenty universities account for 63 percent of enrollment at private institutions.

[27] IMESP (1981).

[28] See Cleaves (1985), pp. 122-130; see Levy (1983), cited in Pescador and Torres (1985), p. 98.

[29] For a review of ideas on the relationship between higher education institutions and dual and segmented labor markets, see Muñoz Izquierdo (1981).

[30] See also Osborn (1976).

[31] See Davis (1967), pp. 13-19, for a discussion of the definition and differentiation of different employment levels.

[32] *La Opinion* (Los Angeles), December 9, 1986.

[33] OEECD (984).

[34] IMESP (1981).

[35] See Levy (1979) for a discussion of all the arguments for and against government support of university fees, particularly on how support or lack of support affects the political autonomy of the university. Levy suggests that the government has wanted to extricate itself from this responsibility since the 1930s but has been unable to due to the political strength of public university students.

[36] For a discussion of how fee and quota policy shape demand, see Psacharopoulos (1976) and Carnoy (1977).

[37] Some evidence suggest that *egresados* tend to be predominantly lower class Mexicans, while those students who achieve degrees (*titulados*) tend to be from middle and upper classes. See Muñoz Izquierdo (1980), p. 26.

[38] See Muñoz Izquierdo (1973). Levy (1979) suggests that a government supported university is inherently retrograde, as the Mexican tax structure is regressive and the primary and secondary education system selects Mexicans from better off social strata for university education.

[39] See Levy (1980).

[40] These conclusions are not meant as policy recommendations; they are rather the logical implications of the trends discussed. Historically, such changes in public university policy have not been possible, as the development of private universities to substitute for them in these areas clearly shows.

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III. MEDIOS DE COMUNICACION E IMAGENES MUTUAS / MEDIA AND MUTUAL IMAGES

THE CONVENIENT ARENA: MEXICO IN U. S. MOTION PICTURES

CARLOS E. CORTÉS

In *The Magnificent Seven*, a 1960 Hollywood film classic, seven American gunmen rescue a poor Mexican village from the clutches of a vicious forty-man gang of Mexican outlaws. In a series of fights, The Seven wipe out the entire gang, while only four of The Magnificents die. The moral of the story; even at the gunman-to-gunman level, Americans can lick overwhelming odds where Mexicans are concerned. [1]

Subsequent movies provided American audiences with additional evidence of this truism. In the 1966 film, *The Professionals*, it takes only four Americans to abduct a young woman from the midst of a Villista military encampment, this time without a single casualty. By 1969, in *The Wild Bunch*, four Anglo outlaws destroy an entire Mexican army, although the four "heroes" also die in the process. [2]

The unifying element of these three Hollywood films–an element that has pervaded U.S. movies since their inception–consists of the thematic reiteration of American superiority, combined with comparative Mexican incompetence. That theme has become so pervasive and worked so effectively in forging the psychic predispositions of American audiences that it has become a stereotype, available to be drawn upon for humor, witness the 1986 comedy, *Three Amigos*, a parody of *The Magnificent Seven*. No longer does it require American professional gunmen to lick their Mexican counterparts. Now three unemployed Anglo movie actors manage to save a small 1916 Mexican town by whipping the villainous El Guapo and his huge outlaw band.

The constant reassertion of Anglo superiority, moreover, reflects an even deeper reality of U.S. film treatment of Mexico. For Hollywood, Mexico and Mexicans have had little intrinsic importance. With a few notable exceptions–such as John Ford's 1948 *The Fugitive* and an occasional bullfighting movie, like *The Brave Bulls* (1951) and *The Brave One* (1956)–Mexico has been little

more than a convenient arena for the examination and expression of American concerns, with Mexicans little more than convenient foils for American action. [3] While Hollywood occasionally treats Mexico as a separate historical and cultural entity, it normally uses Mexico as a metaphor, a stage on which Americans conduct morality plays, and sometimes a surrogate for internal U.S.. political and ideological struggles. [4]

The Silent Era

The early silent movie era established four themes that would become basic for movies about Mexico and Mexicans: Mexican villainy, Anglo superiority, Mexico as a land of often menacing chaos, and a gender double standard. Searching for plots with boxoffice appeal, filmmakers drew upon the popular western "dime novel," which often celebrated the victory of Anglo cowboys over those two omipresent frontier threats, Mexicanos and Indians, who in turn became dehumanized villains. [5] Film titles reflected this early film theme, particularly in the "greaser" movies, like *The Greaser's Gauntlet* (1908), *Tony the Greaser* (1911), *The Greaser's Revenge* (1914), and *The Girl and the Greaser* (1915).

The Mexican Revolution expanded Mexico's role as a convenient arena. [6] That explosion next door quickly drew a flood of American filmmakers, to such a degree that one latter-day journalist would label the Revolution "The War Waged to Make a Movie." [7] But while some of these films dealt with the Revolution itself, by the middle of the 1910s Hollywood had transformed the Revolution into principally a backdrop and impetus for American activity. For example, in the 1915 *The Lamb*, Hollywood adventure star Douglas Fairbanks singlehandedly saves a kidnapped American girl from a band of Yaquis, even though these same Indians had previously whipped a full detachment of Mexican soldiers.

Unlike the traditional greaser, a villain of an escapist western past, Hollywood's revolutionary Mexico emerged as an ominous part of the inescapable American present. Sometimes that Mexican menace penetrated the United States itself in such films as *A Mexican Spy in America* (1914) and *The Love Thief* (1916). William Randolph Hearst's 1916-1917 serial, *Patria*, went even further, warning Americans of a Mexican-Japanese alliance to subvert and sabotage the United States, although American heroes thwart their evil efforts at nearly every turn. [8] Predictably, American movies also celebrated U.S. incursions into revolutionary Mexico, with *The Insurrection* rationalizing the U.S. occupation of Veracruz, while the 1916 Universal serial, *Liberty* lionized Colonel John J. Pershing's military expedition into northern Mexico.

For the most part, Mexican women occupied a more benign film niche than Mexican men. To a degree this reflected Hollywood's ethnic sexual double standard, which generally condemned love between whites and non-whites (as

defined by United States racial perceptions). Should relations occur, however, they must end in failure, even tragedy. [9] Indeed, the diverse, racially mixed nature of Latino ethnicity created both complications and options, so the Latino variant went like this.

It was not proper for male greasers–dark-skinned, usually Indianized Mexican or other Latino men to have love affairs with Anglo women. But movieland's greasers certainly lusted for Anglo women, providing a constant threat from which Anglo heroes could rescue their damsels. While Hollywood did commercialize on the so-called male "Latin Lovers," these were usually Italian or Spanish, seldom Latin American characters.

However, while few Latino men could win the hand of an Anglo woman, Anglo men could be successful with Latinas. A giant step for interethnic democracy? Not quite. In most of these cases, Latinas turned out to be relatively light skinned (black hair was acceptable) and of good Spanish or at least Latino elite background. Dark Mexicanas remained trapped in what would become a traditional Latina niche–prostitution or at least flexible virtue, usually blended with suitably fiery temper (what Puerto Rican actress Rita Moreno has called the "Yonkee Peeg" school of acting) [10] Moreover, in keeping wiht the filmic pattern of asserting Anglo superiority, the American hero usually won the light-skinned Mexican woman from a dark-skinned Mexican man, your standard useful-but-disposable Indianized Mexican greaser. [11] These four early-silent-era themes sometimes coalesced in such movies as the 1914 *The Aztec Treasure*, in which an American hero leads poor Mexicans in a successful rebellion against a repressive provincial governor (mestizo, of course), wins the hand of a local "Spanish" aristocrat, and becomes governor himself! [12]

World War I disrupted European movie production and distribution, opening the door for Hollywood to expand its Latin American movie market. However, this also gave Mexico the leverage to lead a hemispheric box office challenge to Hollywood's negative stereotyping of Latinos. In 1919, the Mexican government sent a formal protest to American filmmakers, accusing them of emphasizing Mexico's worst aspects, and in 1922 it announced a ban on all movies that presented derogatory portrayals of Mexicans, a strategy that would be adopted by other Latin American nations. [13]

This challenge succeeded to a degree. In films about Mexico, evil and lust began to give way to music, romance, and silliness. For the next two decades, Hollywood amused audiences with *Captain Thunder, Hot Tamale Breaker* (1931) and *The Kid from Spain* (1932), in which an American expatriate masquerades as a torero and calms a fightng bull by repeating the magic word, Po-po-CA-te-PET-tl. By playing hot-blooded, often comic Latinas, Mexican actress Lupe Vélez became known as the Mexican Spitfire, a sobriquet drawn from her 1939 film of the same name, as well as various sequels, like the *Mexican Spitfire's Elephant* (1942). Even most Mexican heroes fell into the comic-book category, as in *Senor Daredevil* (1926) and the numerous Zorro and Cisco kid movies.

However, all was not well. Objecting to the decadent image of Mexico in the script for the 1932 *The Broken Wing,* refined Mexican actress Dolores Del Rio rejected the role of a cantina girl who jilts a Mexican bandit in favor of an American pilot. Even worse, the 1932 *The Girl of the Rio* featured a drunken, despicable hoodlum named Señor Tostado, one of the most unsavory and sadistic greasers yet to reach the screen. This movie generated the broadest, most unified pan-Hispanic response ever mounted. First Mexico banned the film, followed by Panama and Nicaragua. Spain and other Latin American nations joined the wave of protest through a series of reciprocal treaties banning films that "attack, slander, defame, or ridicule, insult, or misrepresent" Hispanics and threatened an embargo on *all* films from companies that fostered that negative image. [14]

This concerted response, which continued into the mid-1930s, came at an opportune time in U.S. political history. [15] The 1932 presidential election of Franklin D. Roosevelt led to the establishent of the Latin American Good Neighbor Policy, in which Hollywood would play an important role. With the coming of World War II, Latin America's strategic importance prompted the U.S. government to encourage Hollywood to be an even better neighbor.

Hollywood Turns Mexican Historian

Reflecting this new orientation toward Latin America, Hollywood began to explore Mexican history. Unfortunately, it tended to treat the Mexican past in cavalier fashion, sometimes employing a "greaser movie" filter and often using Mexico as a vehicle for American heroism, morality plays, and ideological struggles. These tendencies emerged in three famous Hollywood film biographies, *Viva Villa!* (1934), *Juarez* (1939), and *Viva Zapata!* (1952).

Before filming the 1934 *Viva Villa!,* MGM, in Good Neighborly fashion, obtained Mexican government script approval. But one would never know this from viewing the violent, ludicrously macho final product, a greaser movie in historical drape. The film so infuriated the Mexican government that it banned it from Mexico.

The 1939 *Juarez* treated its title subject with more dignity, but also transformed the nineteenth-century Mexican president, Benito Juárez, into a metaphor for U.S. political democracy and a spokesman for growing American concerns about the spread of Nazism and Fascism. Pursued relentlessly by French troops, Juárez lugs a huge portrait of Abraham Lincoln, which he dutifully hangs on the wall at each stop. With Napoleon III serving as an unsubtle surrogate for Adolf Hitler, Hollywood used Juárez to intone anti-Hitlerian messages, sometimes in perfect Monroe Doctrine rhetoric: "By what right, señores, do the great powers of Europe invade the lands of simple people? . . . The world must know the fate of *any* usurper who sets his foot on this soil." [16] Moreover, while Juárez stands as a political hero, the film treats him

less well in human terms. In rejecting appeals to show mercy and spare the life of the sympathetically-portrayed Emperor Maximilian, Mexico's humorless, vengeance-bound Zapotec Indian president becomes the ultimate greaser, an avenging Indian with political power.

Like Juárez, Emiliano Zapata became Hollywood ideological putty in the 1952 *Viva Zapata!* Directed by Elia Kazan from a screenplay by John Steinbeck, the film remains one of the most positive portrayals of Mexico in U.S. film history, featuring a courageous peasantry imbued with Jeffersonian agrarian values and, of course, a heroic, humane, and dedicated Zapata. However, Mexican history ultimately takes a back seat to American ideological conflicts. [17] In the introduction to the film's published screenplay, Robert Morsberger argues that *Viva Zapata!* expresses Steinbeck's long-time literary opposition to totalitarianism oI the left and right and his championing of the little guy, especially the agricultural little guy. [18] An alternative interpretation comes from historian Paul Vanderwood, who sees the movie Zapata as a "Cold War warrior," the Kazan-Steinbeck surrogate for their own anti-Communist activism, with Zapata the bulwark of democratic, anti-Communist purity against the opportunism of the subversive totalitarian, Fernando Aguirre (Joseph Wiseman). [19]

However, despite their flaws and historical liberties, *Juarez* and *Viva Zapata!* remain models of cross-cultural sensitivity and historical veracity compared to what would follow, as Hollywood-written Mexican history increasingly became a vehicle for demonstrations of Anglo heroism. Sometimes Mexico wins the battle, as at *The Alamo* (1960)–after all, even movies have limits for historical revisionism–but, of course, Texas wins the war. Juárez' struggle against the French has repeatedly returned to the screen, but now Americans usually lead the way to victory. In the 1954 *Vera Cruz*, an avaricious American outlaw and a former Confederate officer tip the scales for Juárez. The Juarista struggle provides the impetus for celebrating American national reunification in the 1964 *Major Dundee*, as Union and Confederate soldiers put aside their antagonisms in order to ride into Mexico and defeat the French. Therefore, it should come as no surprise if American moviegoers, generally ignorant of Mexican history, concluded that Americans deserve primary credit for driving the French out of Mexico.

Likewise, American movies have rewritten the Mexican Revolution, making it a setting for Anglo morality plays. Beginning with a fictitious 1917 battle in which Pershing's expeditionary force defeats Villa's army, the 1959 *They Came to Cordura* mainly examines the meaning of personal courage among American soldiers. And why did Villa win so many battles? Because of the support from a lone American pilot (Robert Mitchum), who saves the general time and again in the 1968 *Villa Rides*. Of course, in films like *The Professionals* and *The Wild Bunch*, Anglo outlaws and soldiers of fortune prove their superiority over Mexican revolutionary armies despite overwhelming odds.

Rise of the Border, Return of the Bandido

Aside from films drawing upon Mexican history, post-World War II, post-Good Neighbor Policy films provided a mixed picture in their treatment of Mexico and Mexicans. On the positive side, some movie Mexicans dedicated themselves to the pursuit of justice, now in a more serious, contemporary vein than Zorro and the Cisco Kid. In the 1949 *Border Incident*, for example, Ricardo Montalbán plays a courageous Mexican government agent, who poses as an undocumented worker in an attempt to break up an immigrant smuggling ring. While Montalbán dies in the line of duty, Mexicans occasionally triumph over Anglo villains. In Orson Welles' chilling 1958 classic, *Touch of Evil*, stalwart Mexican narcotics agent Mike Vargas (Charlton Heston) outwits a corrupt Anglo sheriff (Welles) in a struggle set in fictional twin cities on the U.S.-Mexican border.

In addition to featuring serious and admirable Mexican characters, these films also symbolized the rise of two post-war Hollywood themes concerning Mexico–undocumented immigration and Mexican bordertowns. But, as usual, these themes usually served the purpose of facilitating Anglo action. In most undocumented immigration films, like *Wetbacks* (1956), Mexicanos functioned principally as passive pawns, the provocation for Anglo crime-fighting. Mexican bordertowns mainly provided a decadent, menace-filled background for Americans trying to deal with their own personal dilemmas (narcotics addiction in the 1957 *The Tijuana Story* and crime in the 1957 *Across the Bridge*)

Moreover, the post-war era also witnessed another ominous development–the resurrection ot the Mexican bandido, in all of his swarthy treachery and savagery, accompanied by the reassertion of Anglo superiority. Ironically, these themes received their major boost from what is probably the finest American film ever set in Mexico, the late John Huston's *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1947). The prototype of the "new greaser" emerged in the sadistic bandit, Gold Tooth, who machetes an American miner (Humphrey Bogart) to death and then scatters Bogart's bags of gold dust, stupidly mistaking it for sand. [20] At the same time, an old American prospector (Walter Huston) becomes a near-god to a Mexican Indian village by saving a young drowning victim with artificial respiration (he refers to it as "an old Boy Scout trick"). The village responds gratefully by making him its deified guest, presumably for life.

Relaunched by *Treasure*, Mexican bandits (usually foils for Anglo heroes) returned to the post-war screen, with *The Magnificent Seven* as the epitome of the my-outlaw-is-tougher-than-yours genre. Within this context, the silly, bumbling Mexican general of the 1969 comedy, *Viva Max!*, seems like a breath of fresh air. Absurdly patriotic, he decides on his own to recapture the Alamo for Mexico, leading his army unit across the border into contemporary San Antonio and occupying the mission. For all of his foolishness, at least he demonstrates courage and imagination while his absurdity is exceeded by the cowardly Texas

private para-military force that tries and fails to recapture the mission. At the end, Max and his troops march proudly out of San Antonio, to the cheers of the crowd.

Old Theme – A New Era?

The last two decades have brought new twists to old themes. Mexico has continued to serve as a convenient, menacing arena, in which Anglos contemplate their angsts and work out their dilemmas. In the 1984 *Against All Odds*, an ancient Mayan temple, in which losing athletic teams had been sacrificed, becomes the eerie site for the life-and-death struggle between two American professional football players. That same year, in *Under the Volcano*, the Day of the Dead provides an ominous setting for a film which the Mexican newspaper, *Excelsior*, called "a humiliating vision of Mexico," despite the fact that it was co-produced by the Mexican government. [21] Even the laudable *El Norte* (1984), gifted Chicano filmmaker Gregory Nava's moving portrayal of Guatemalan immigration into the United States, portrays Mexican hostility, this time directed against other Latinos, who are trying to traverse Mexico en route to the U.S. promised land.

In this threatening south-of-the-border environment, Anglos continue to overcome heavy Mexican odds. Moreover, in this new era of purported gender equality, Anglo women now demonstrate their superiority over Mexicans. In the 1979 *Sunburn*, Farah Fawcett-Majors leads a group of bumbling Mexican criminals on an interminable car chase through Acapulco before they succeed in capturing her. And in the 1983 *Losin' It*, an alienated Anglo housewife (Shelley Long) and a group of Anglo teenage boys stumble into evil Tijuana, but manage to escape with their lives by outwitting and outdriving bolh a gang of Tijuana young toughs and the venal local sheriff.

Finally, the Mexican undocumented worker has returned to the screen. Sometimes–as, for example, in *Blood Barrier* (1979), *Borderline* (1980), and *The Border* (1982)–the smuggling of passive immigrants serves as a post- war-vintage plot device, with Anglos saving the day. But other films have broken new ground, addressing the experience and impact of undocumented workers in the United States. However, only rarely do undocumented immigrants receive sensitive, humanizing treatment, as in *El Norte* and in Robert Young's 1977 *Alambrista!* [22]

El Norte also addressed the American fear that undocumented Latino immigrants undermine the U.S. economy by taking jobs from Americans, a concern that has divided even the Mexican-American community. Angry because an ambitious young Guatemalan has been promoted over him, a Chicano turns the undocumented immigrant into *la migra* (the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service). Unfortunately, when including the theme of this perceived Latino economic threat, movies usually treat it gratuitously. For

example, in the 1983 sexploitation comedy, *My Tutor*, two Chicano college students pose as Spanish-speaking undocumented immigrants in order to get maid and gardener jobs at a sumptuous Los Angeles mansion because, as they explain, they think that the family will only hire illegals.

But maybe we are entering a new era, as Americans develop greater awareness of the Hispanic reality in the United States and as U.S. Latinos become more active in filmmaking. In recent years, Chicanos have been deeply involved in the production of such feature films as *La Bamba, Born in East L.A., Stand and Deliver*, and *The Milagro Beanfield War*. While these movies do not focus on Mexico per se, some of them touch on it.

For Ritchie Valens in *La Bamba*, Tijuana means temptation and mystery, but it also provides a source of musical inspiration for his greatest hit. In *Born in East L.A.*, Tijuana remains the dangerous and in some respects corrupt Mexican bordertown of Hollywood lore, yet it is also filled with good folks. While there, American-born Chicano Rudy Robles, mistakenly deported by *la migra*, discovers personal identity in Mexican culture and respect for the Mexican people. Yet, Mexico is ultimately a place to be left behind. In the film's climax, Rudy marches into the United States amid an army of undocumented immigrants, backed by Neil Diamond singing "America."

However, despite the positive signs in these four films and the release of other movies on Mexico and Central America, optimism must be tempered by caution During the summer of 1987, a movie trade magazine carried a casting notice for the film, *Strange Justice*, requesting Hispanic actors to audition for two roles, one a "Hispanic wifebeater," the other "Latin, dark hair, handsome . . . womanizer." [23]

Hollywood has made thousands of movies that include Mexicans and Mexico. [24] However, it has made relatively few films truly *about* these subjects. Mexico and Mexicans–and to a lesser extent other Latinos–have served principally as provocative background, as useful devices, as menacing antagonists, as vivid metaphors, as iconographic conventions, and as United States surrogates. For Hollywood, Mexico has been an ideally convenient movie arena–a geographically contiguous, perceptually mysterious, and often turbulent nation, with a physically identifiable, linguistically challenging, and culturally different people. While plots have taken myriad forms, the almost inevitable underlying message has been the explicit or implicit reassertion of Anglo-American superiority: mentally, physically, and morally. To date, in short, Hollywood has been only an occasional force for creating a better understanding of Mexico and at worst has contributed to the distortion of the American popular view of our neighbor to the south. [25]

FOOTNOTES

[1] A problem exists in the use of American as a noun for people of the United States and as an adjective to identify people and things of the United States. In reality, American should apply to everyone and everything in the western hemisphere–North America and South America. However, in this article I reluctantly use American in the restricted sense of people and things of the United States, simply because I have never found a practical alternative. Norteamericano works in Spanish, but North American and North America do not work in English as a substitute for the United States, since those terms apply to the entire North American continent. Likewise, I refuse to use such cumbersome and precious artifices as United Statesian or United States of American. Therefore, I will unhappily continue to use American for United States people and things until someone comes up with a better alternative.

[2] A more extensive discussion of *The Wild Bunch* can be found in Reynold Humphries, "The Function of Mexico in Peckinpah's Films," *Jump Cut*, 18 (1978), 17-20.

[3] I have borrowed the concept of "convenience" from Blaine S. Lamb, "The Convenient Villain: The Early Cinema Views the Mexican-American," *Journal of the West*, XIV, 4, (October, 1975), 75-81.

[4] Much of the evidence for this paper is drawn from my Ethnicity and Foreignness in Film Computer Data Bank in the University of California, Riverside's, Laboratory for Historical Research. My book-in-progress on the U.S. feature film treatment of foreign nations places the depiction of Mexico in the comparative context of Hollywood's changing portrayal of the world, while my book on te movie treathment of ethnic groups examines Mexican-Americans comparatively with other U.S. ethnic groups.

[5] Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears of Strangers. Mexicans and Mexican Americans in American Literature* (Tucson. University of Arizona Press, 1977); Arthur C. Pettit, *Images of the Mexican American in Fiction and Film* (edited with an afterword by Dennis E. Showalter) (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1980), pp. 22-24; and Ralph E. Friar and Natasha A. Friar, *The Only Good Indian . . . The Hollywood Gospel* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1972), pp. 17-68.

[6] Margarita de Orellana, "La Regard Circulaire: Le Cinéma Américain dans la Révolution Mexicaine (1911- 1917)" (Doctoral dissertation, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1982), and Deborah E. Mistron, "The Institutional Revolution: Images of the Mexican Revolution in the Cinema" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1982).

[7] David A. Weiss, *Coronet*, February, 1952, p. 38, quoted in Kevin Brownlow, *The War, the West and the Wilderness* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 87.

[8] *Variety*, November 24, 1916.

[9] That informal guideline became explicit in the 1930 Motion Picture Production Code, better known as the Hays Code, which dominated U.S. films until the mid-1950s (althcugh not officially buried until 1966). The code read, in part, "*Miscegenation* (sex relationship between the white and black races) is forbidden." This guideline wa applied, but with variations, to white relations with different non-white groups. From the 1930 Motion Picture Production Code, printed in Robert H. Stanley and Charles S. Steinberg, *The Media Environment: Mass Communications in American Society* (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 82.

[10] Jack Hicks, *"9 to 5's* Rita Moreno: The Cutthroats Almost Got Her," *TV Guide*, January 15, 1982, p. 28.

[11] This theme is addressed further in Bruce-Novoa, "The Hollywood Americano in Mexico," in Juanita Luna Lawhn, Juan Bruce-Novoa, Guillermo Campos, and Ramon Saldivar (eds.), *Mexico and the United States: Intercultural Relations in the Humanities* (San Antonio: San Antonio College, 1984), pp. 22-24.

[12] For a more extensive discussion of the image of Latinas in U.S. films, see Carlos E. Cortés, "Chicanas in Film: History of an Image," in Gary D. Keller (ed.), *Chicano Cinema: Research, Reviews, and Resources* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Bilingual Review'Press, 1985), pp. 94-108.

[13] According to one Mexican government official, "Ill will toward Mexico had been inflamed by these pictures to such an extent that the Mexican government found it necessary to make such a protest." See *The New York Times*, February 11, 1922, p. 15, quoted in Allen L. Woll, "Bandits and Lovers: Hispanic Images in American Film," in Randall M. Miller (ed.), *The Kaleidoscopic Lens: How Hollywood Views Ethnic Groups* (Englewood, N.J.: Jerome S. Ozer, 1980). pp 56-57.

[14] League of Nations, Treaty Series, Vol. 165 (1935), No 3818, quoted in Allen L. Woll, "Hollywood Bandits, 1910-1981," in Richard W. Slatta (ed.), *Bandidos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry* (Westport, Conn.. Greenwood Press, 1987), p 174:

[15] John Eugene Harley, *World-Wide Influences of the Cinema: A Study of Official Censorship and the International Cultural Aspects of Motion Pictures* (Los Angeles. University of Southern California Press, 1940), Chapter 5.

[16] For a discussion of the political implications of *Juarez*, see Paul Vanderwood, "Introduction: A Political Barometer," in Vanderwood (ed.), *Juarez* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 9-41. For an extens)ve analysis of the foreign film treatment of Mexico see Emilio García Riera, *México visto por el cine extranjero*, Vol. I, 1894-1940 (Guadalajara, México: Centro de Investigaciones y Enseñanzas Cinematográficas, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1987.

[17] For an Indianist interpretation of *Viva Zapata!*, see Carroll Britch and Cliff Lewis, "Shadow of the Indian in the Fiction of John Steinbeck," *MELUS*, 11(2) (Summer, 1984), 39-58.

[18] Robert E. Morsberger, "Steinbeck's Zapata: Rebel Versus Revolutionary," in John Steinbeck, *Viva Zapata! The Original Screenplay* (New York: Viking Press, 1975), pp. xi-xxxviii.

[19] Paul Vanderwood, "An American Cold Warrior: *Viva Zapata!*," in John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson (eds.), *American History/American Film: Interpreting the Hollywood Image* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979), pp. 183-201.

[20] For an analysis of Alfonso Bedoya's portrayal of Gold Tooth, see James Naremore, "Introduction: A Likely Project," in Naremore (ed.), *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), p. 28.

[21] Quoted in Concepción Badillo, "Under Volcano" Draws Irate Reactions in Mexico, *The Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1985, Vi, p. 6.

[22] A provocative assessment of *Alambrista!* is Gregg Barrios, "*Alambrista!*: A Modern Odyssey," in Keller, *Chicano Cinema*, pp. 165-167.

[23] Antonio Mejias-Rentas, "Latinos Making Film History," *Latin Journal,* September 10-16, 1987, p. 2.

[24] Film historian Emilio García Riera of the Universidad Autónoma de México has identified over 3,000 international films that treat Mexico or Mexicans, with most of these films having been made in the United States. Summaries of early Mexican content films can be found in Emilio García Riera, *México visto por el cine extranjero*, Vol. II, *Filmografía, 1906-1940* (Guadalajara, México: Centro de Investigaciones y Enseñanzas Cinematográficas, Universidad de Guadalajara 1987) and in the 39-page appendix of George H. Roeder, Jr's, Mexicans in the Movies: The image of Mexicans in American Films, 1894-1947" (unpublished manuscript, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1971), cited in Pettit, *Images of the Mexican American*, p. 132.

[25] I would like to thank Carlos Monsiváis for his perceptive comments on a previous paper of mine concerning the U.S. film treatment of Mexico, my research assistant, Tom Thompson, for his superb work on my Ethnicity and Foreignness in Film Computer Data Bank, and the Research Committee of the University of California's Academic Senate for Intramural Research grant support for my film research.

CROSSED WIRES: THE U. S. PRESS AND MEXICO

MERCEDES LYNN DE URIARTE

Mexico's relationship with the U.S. press was born in crisis and, for the most part, its image continues to be shaped in ti mes of international stress. Originally Mexico made its way into U.S. national news during the war between the two countries, when patriotism, manifest destiny, and religious and racial intolerance fueled popular opinion. Perceptions of Mexico drawn then by North American journalists often reflected the smugness of a self-satisfied United States, a nation clearly at economic and military advantage. Too often, this tone prevails today.

On the other hand, Mexico–having controlled most of its own press, or accustomed to more frequent collusion between the heads of press and the heads of state than is the case in the United States–is sometimes offended by even the most accurate coverage if it is negative. This tendency makes it easy for coverage if: journalists and editors to dismiss Mexico's complaints about biased news as being prompted by the pains of disclosure rather than by the justified outrage of unfair treatment.

But the role of both the press and its foreign coverage in society is complex. Like most institutions, the press reflects its historical evolution. During the past 150 years, it has witnessed incredible growth and technological prowess. Often this is interpreted as improvement, but an accurate conclusion requires both analysis of content and some sophisticated awareness of what has been left out of the daily newspaper. Most readers are not careful analysts, nor have they access to the entire pool of newsworthy information against which to measure press performance.

An introductory overview of past coverage, however, adds perspective to today's efforts and contributes greater understanding of the issues raised by contemporary press critics. Among other activities, the press supports the system within which it operates, [1] conveys selective information, and fosters patriotism. [2] In the United States, it facilitates informal messages between state officials, frames the agenda of discussion, and contributes to the shaping of foreign

policy. [3] In the case of the U.S. press, internatioral relations with Mexico have played a central role, beginning with the 1846 war between the two neighboring nations.

Inside professional circles, reaction to the war between the United States and Mexico was mixed. Although they published reports "with a mixture of pride, jingoism and business sense," some editors worried about the war's morality. Horace Greeley, publisher of *The New York Tribune*, for instance, believed that "Heaven must take part against us." [4]

Technology greatly influenced coverage. The period was marked by rapid growth in. U.S. commerce and communication, industrialization having generated expanded advertising and its consequent newspaper growth. Newspaper magnates sought ways to extend services, and improve and speed news reports. They reduced costs and increased readership. It was the era of the penny press– the birth of mass media designed to address burgeoning literacy. Democratization of information spread.

In May 1846, President James Knox Polk's message to Congress calling for war was telegraphed for the exclusive use of the *Baltimore Sun*, marking the first time the two-year old communication method had been so used. The conflict challenged the best technology of the day, making use of pony express, steamers, railroads, and the recently developed limited telegraph service. Competitive demand made prompt news key to newspaper prestige and success. So efficient was the 2,000-mile communication link set up by cooperating newspapers that it often beat the military couriers and U.S. mails with news from the battle zones. In fact, President Polk learned of U.S. triumph at Veracruz in a telegram from the publisher of the *The Baltimore Sun*. [5] The rapid, far reaching dissemination of war reports was a source of pride and satisfaction and opened the way for greater cooperation between newspapers, leading to the establishment of wire services.

Dependence on telegraph led to modification in news writing. News style began its move toward today's journalism. Correspondents gave up background and detail to cut costs with concise, compessed copy. They eliminated opinion and color. They learned to put the most important information at the head cf the article, thus developing the summary lead. Often they highlighted important events in bulletin form. This changed newspaper headline styles. But the technology also fostered reliance on stereotype and abbreviated coverage of complex issues. [6]

The conflict was the United States' first foreign war. It was fought almost entirely in a distant, exotic land, lending an air of adventure and romance to the popular imagination. "The Mexican War was a window through which Americans were able to view another land, another people, and thus overcome limiting parochialism," wrote one historian. [7] It was the first foreign war to be covered mostly by U.S. correspondents. New Orleans papers, closest to the battle zones, covered the war extensively and were reprinted throughout

the United States. The New Orleans *Picayune* stationed agents in strategic locations throughout the country. George Wilkins Kendall, the editor-publisher, was the top reporter. He covered all battles from Monterrey to Chapultepec, focusing on military strategy. Almost a dozen other reporters followed him into the field. Other journalists, found among the ranks of the enlisted, sent reports to papers back home. *The New York Herald* sent five correspondents to Mexico as did other papers including *The Baltimore Sun*, which had the only woman war correspondent–and the only writer to report from behind the lines. Sixteen editors from various papers also went to Mexico as correspondents. [8]

North American interest in Mexico predated the war. Less than thirty-five years earlier it had won its independence from Spain. Soon thereafter a brisk trade began between the upper Rio Grande Valley and St. Louis. Then Texas was opened to U.S. settlers, inviting others to spread across the Southwest.

Soon printers followed the forces setting up "war newspapers" that served both U.S. troops and readers in the United States. [9] *The Corpus Christi Gazette* was founded in 1846, followed by papers in Matamoros, Monterrey, Saltillo, Tampico, Veracruz, Jalapa, Puebla, and Mexico City. [10] Front-line reports supported U.S. involvement and the concept of Manifest soldiers' reactions to They told of North American soldiers' reactions to Mexicans–suspicion and prejudice–and their dispatches which circulated widely, influenced popular perception of these Latin Americans. [11] U.S. victories on the battlefields gave troops self- confidence and an arrogant sense of superiority. This reinforced the widespread feeling that they represented a racially superior people. These convictions were carried home by the press.

Kendall wrote that Mexicans possessed "few of the instincts which govern other races," but he blamed poor leadership for that lack. "Oppressed by its military and religious despots, held in a state of abject ignorance, the people were deceived by 'high-sounding yet meaningless manifestoes and proclamations' Brave, but often imprudent [the soldier] exhibited a 'Mahomedan' fatalism derived from his Moorish kindred." [12]

". . . Americans were better informed about their war than any people in wartime had ever been. The episodes of the conflict, the experiences of the combatants, even the intentions and feelings of the enemy, boasted *The Niles Register*, were 'more thoroughly known by mankind, than those of any war that has ever taken place . . . Not only did the people benefit from the comprehensive reporting, *The Register* observed, but America's future historians would also find their task easier as they attempted to discover the true story of the war. " [13]

The Mexican War was linked to a popular base through a press which provided its readers with an immediate intimacy to events never before experienced. (The phenomenon would not be repeated in quite the same way until more than a century later during the Vietnam war. " It was the newspaper more than any other medium, that influenced the popular attitudes toward the war and molded the popular perceptions of the conflict." [14]

The contrast between lifestyles and farming practices in Mexico and in the United States puzzled both soldiers and journalists. Against the energy of U.S. industrialization, technology, and growth, Mexico appeared to be moving backwards. North Americans explained what they saw as the results of a history of conquest, the mixing of races, and the affect of the Catholic Church which fostered blind obedience and superstition. Mexico was measured against the energy and inventiveness of its northern neighbors.

The War provided an opportunity for North Americans to establish a national identity and to place the United States into an international context. " Through their experience, Americans both in Mexico and at home, sharpened their views of themselves. The war was another step in their quest for national identit." [15]

"There is hardly a more admirable impulse in the human soul," wrote Walt Whitman, then editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle,* "than patriotism". Heroes emerged from each battle in dispatches, letters, and foreign coverage. "The furor was actually terrific," *The New York Herald* reported on the battle of Veracruz. "Joy, patriotism and satisfaction were pictured on every countenance." As the Mexican flags were lowered and the American banners raised, "the enthusiasm of the American army was raised to its highest pitch," wrote one volunteer. [16]

The war provided a new supply of folk heroes and justified U.S. expansionism. When President Polk dedicated the Washington monument on July 4, 1848, many of those participating in formal ceremonies had just returned from international battlefields. Major General John A. Quitman was there, back from Veracruz and Cerro Gordo. He was reportedly the first U.S. officer to enter Mexico City. Lieutenant Colonel Charles A. May had been a hero at Resaca de la Palma. Before the day was over, Polk received the treaty bearing ratification by the Mexican Congress ceding over half a million square miles of territory to the United States.

Just over sixty years later, American journalists would again rush off to Mexico to cover its Revolution. But the styles and systems set in place during the U.S. war with that nation would influence much of the coverage. Journalists often had little preparation for foreign coverage. Most had no college. None had formal training in journalism. The first courses in journalism did not begin until 1878 at the University of Missouri. The University of Pennsylvania offered the first organized curriculum in journalism from 1893 to 1901 and the first four-year program was established at the University of Illinois in 1904. The first school of journalism opened at the University cof Missouri in 1908. From the start, there was a division between those who saw journalism courses as vocational training focused on the practical, and those who believed it should be grounded in a liberal arts and social science education. That schism continues today. Disputes over the design and direction of journalism schools contributed toward the delay in their inauguration. When the Mexican Revolution began, the first journalism class had not yet graduated.

But that probably would not have affected coverage of the war. Even today, reporters are not required to have special education before becoming foreign correspondents. Indeed, there appears to be a professional resistance to such preparation. Editors often perceive knowledge about a situation as bias which contradicts the prevailing press interpretation. Friction between professors of Latin American studies and news editors can often be attributed to this stance. During early days of the current conflict in Central America, for instance, a group of academic experts from major universities in California tried vainey for almost eighteen months to secure an appointment with top editors at *The Los Angeles Times* to discuss their coverage of the region. Consensus among the editors was that the group must be partisan.

That anti-intellectual position is not uncommon. Jack Raymond, president of the Overseas Press Club, wrote in the *1986 Membership Directory*, "The press in America was never expected by the Founding Fathers to be one of the 'learned professions' such as medicine, theology and the law, inevitably constricted by standards, regulations, and even license from higher authority. The press was encouraged by the Fathers of the Constitution to challenge authority to be undisciplined and even to be somewhat irresponsible." He concluded that "thus, the professionalism of newsmen is based to a large degree on its antiprofessionalism, on standards of excellence and honesty rather than on formally established codes and patterns of practice which too often are reduced to bureaucratic 'respect for higher authority.' [17]

However, John Reed, then a recent Harvard graduate with a strong liberal arts degree, wrote some of the most memorable coverage of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The book, *Insurgent Mexico*, collects his work which brought to life the hopes and dreams of leaders and of ordinary Mexicans as well as the bravery and corruption of some major participants.

John Kenneth Turner, after traveling through Mexico in 1908 disguised as a wealthy businessman looking for investment opportunities, did a series of articles for *The American Magazine*. Published in 1910, they became the basis for his later book, *Barbarous Mexico*, which detailed worker abuse.

Carleton Beals, who held both a liberal arts degree from the University of California at Berkeley and a master's degree from Columbia, entered Mexico in 1918. The intellectually grounded journalism and analysis he wrote for the next fifty years about Mexico and Latin America cortinues to stand the test of time. Only today are some professional journalists gaining similar insights about the places Beals covered. These writers, however, did not publish in mainstream press. The work appeared in intellectual and alternative magazines.

The upheaval of the Mexican Revolution would burst upon the newspages with little advance warning for the readers. The news story began with the first significant confrontation between opposing groups. But before the start of the conflict, the United States mounted extensive activities there, setting patterns that would influence later U.S. reaction to the Revolution, but which would

never be explained in depth in mass media. The media would continue to report incidents, rather than provide explanations.

Commercial interests were moving into Mexico urged by President William Taft to use surplus capital for foreign investment. The depression of 1893 had also made clear the need for foreign markets. Between 1900 and 1920, the United States vacillated between dollar diplomacy and moral diplomacy; between a foreign policy of self-interest and idealism. This period was proceeded by what Europeans called the "export invasion" as low-priced, high quality U.S. goods entered foreign markets. American industrialists pioneered assembl-line technology reducing the costs of goods by using interchangeable parts, mechanization, and specialization. In 1888 the first graphic ad for U.S. farm products appeared in Mexico City newspapers. By 1900 the major characteristics of American export were established. Before 1912, ads for Lydia Pinkam's liver pills and other U.S. patent medicines appeared in major Mexican publications followed by ads for Ford automobiles, beauty products, and household goods.

Investment capital followed product exports. Between 1897 and 1914, direct American investment abroad more than quadrupled. Attention began to concentrate on closer fields. In Latin America investors sought raw materials and transportation holdings. Guggenheim's only significant holding was the American Smelting and Refining Company in Mexico. General Electric established subsidiaries. In his 1904 annual address to Congress, President Theodore Roosevelt supported intervention in Latin America in the interest of productivity, efficiency, and progress. In 1912, Taft called for government protection of those investments and the establishment of North American banks and newspapers abroad, a step toward economic and informational hegemony.

Taft also proposed an industrial-diplomatic complex suggesting that men entering the foreign service maintain a close relationship to business, preferably by gaining commercial experience. In this way, the American businessman could enter foreign field with a clear perception of the exact conditions to be dealt with and the officers themselves could prosecute their work with a clear idea of what American industrial and manufacturing interests required.

Thus as Mexico struggled to recover from the loss of more than one-third of its territory in a costly war with the United States–waged before the nation had consolidated after its independence from Spain–North Americans seeking further expansion through foreign investment, began looking south. Porfirio Díaz, who took power in 1884, established a police state determined to provide the stability that would foster economic development and favor foreign investors. It was a position supported by much of Mexico's upper class. During this period, Mexican positivist philosophy perceived Indians as lesser beings predestined to subjugation, an idea that meshed comfortably with North American racism. Thus, philosophically, as well as economically, U.S. and Mexican elites shared common interests. Writing of industrialism's need to expand, President Taft noted:

> "Coincident with this change in the United States, the progress of political development has been carrying the neighboring continent of South America out of a stage of revolution into a stage of industrialism. Throughout the greater part of that vast continent revolutions have ceased to be looked upon with favor or submitted to with indifference; the revolutionary general and the dictator are no longer the objects of admiration and imitation; civic virtues come and the highest respect; the people point with pride to the stability of their governments, to the safety of property and the certainty of justice; nearly everywhere the people are eager for foreign capital to develop their natural resources and for foreign immigration to occupy their vacant lands.
> Immediate before us at exactly the right time, just as we are ready for it, great opportunities for peaceful, commercial and industrial expansion to the south are presented."

Thus each nation reinforced the other's objectives, as Taft observed:

> "In many respects, the people of the two continents are complimentary to each other; the South American is polite, refined, cultivated, fond of literature and of expression of the graces and the charms of life, while the North American is strenuous, intense, utilitarian. Where we accumulate, they spend."

These ideas, promulgated by the highest U.S. authority and disseminated by the press, fostered public perceptions of Mexico and of Latin American culture. North American superiority was underscored both explicitly and implicitly. To themselves, North Americans attributed masculine characteristics of aggressiveness and practicality, while they perceived as Mexican those traits, like the preservation of culture, which they considered feminine. William Graham Sumner indicated that the savings bank depositor was the hero of civilization. But the Latin American as consumer or client was certainly acceptable.

Porfirio Díaz, meanwhile, corrupted land laws to allow massive foreign purchases for at very low cost. Holdings were often increased by extending boundaries across adjoining peasant land. Twenty percent of Mexico soon belonged to foreigners. The Hearst family, of publishing fame, acquired 200,000 acres at twenty cents an acre. In 1904 Harry Chandler, business manager of *The Los Angeles Times* and son-in-law of owner/publisher General Harrison Gray Otis, began exercising a land option obtained from General Guillermo Andrade, a former Mexican Consul to Los Angeles who was close to PorfirioDíaz. After several meetings with the Mexican president, Chandler bought more than 860,000 acres along the Baja California border adjoining 1,000 acres in the

United States. There he set up a huge cattle range, securing "just consideration" from the U.S. federal government for protection of his investment. The strategic location of the ranch allowed the entire property to be treated as one, providing the Chandlers some clear business advantages.

By 1910, 55 million acres as well as mines, manufacturing plants, banks, oil lands, refineries, public utilities, and almost all the nation's railways were owned by a handful of foreigners. North American investors came to see as natural their secure privileged position in Mexico.

Díaz also controlled the actions of labor. When striking Mexican miners at the Consolidated Cooper Company of Cananea attempted to negotiate for conditions more equal to those of their North American co-workers, the Mexican army was sent to restore order.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Hamiltonian philosophy prevailed in the United States, encouraging economic growth. North American middle class values which assume that the man is the master of a mechanistically conceived world, reinforced the concept that social order is good in and of itself. These ideas dominated the media of the era.

The Overland Monthly, for instance, lauded the order by the Porfiriato imposed but found it foreign to Mexico. "These improvements have all taken place in the last ten to twelve years," it said in 1910, "and in that time Mexico seems to have benefited by a sudden spirit of improvement that is as strange as it is welcome." [18]

The article, written to mark the Centennial of Mexican Independence, like many U.S. press reports, perceived Mexico through U.S. cultural grids which often attributed the behavior of Mexican elites to the Protestant concept of stewardship. General Otis, who, at President Polk's request, represented the United States at the Mexican Centennial celebration, was a staunch supporter of the Porfiriato. "Masses Now Take Interest in the Government as Never Before Known," claimed *The Los Angeles Times* headline on July 3, 1910.

The U.S. press cast the Mexican government into images of cleanliness, efficiency, usefulness, order, and progress, becoming something of a Puritan ideal. Mexico City was described as one of the best policed cities in America. Nevertheless, Mexicans were perceived as biologically destined to be a lesser people. "They are not capable of self-government," said Senator Albert Beveridge, speaking of non-whites. "How could they be? They are not a self-governing race." "The Porfiriato," wrote Pierre M. Berringer in the May 1910 issue of *The Overland Monthly*, "is the only logical goverment Mexico may at this time indulge in."

"The breaking up of large land holdings means the coming of sturdy Americans, Germans and French to bring this land to the perfection of productivity," Berringer wrote, clearly implying that progress was an imported condition. "Over the graves of the past where sleep the civilizations of the Aztec . . . the restless white man roams. Alongside the brown brother, man is stirring

uneasily and grasping freely for the torch of eglinhtenment. It is high time the white man realized that on earth there are other races and the possibility of development in the other man." [19]

The Los Angeles Times was hostile first to the conflict that ousted Porfirio Díaz and elected Francisco Madero as president and then to the revolution which they reported as a socialist movement. Of Díaz they wrote, "He brought order out of chaos. If he has been a despot, he has been a wise and benevolent despot. Railroads and factories have been built, mines have been opened, over $ 1 billion of American capital has been brought in . . . ." [20]

By 1911, *The Los Angeles Times* supported U.S. intervention in Mexico and the annexation of Lower California where the Chandler and Otis families owned the acreage. "I am hoping," Chandler said in a letter to Otis that year, "that before the Mexican affairs are entirely settled and back to normal, that some way will be found for the United States to take over Lower California, and hope that your talk with the Secretary and the president will set the ball rolling and that it will not stop until the purchase is an accomplished fact. " [21]

After the assassination of Madero in 1913, by General Victoriano Huerta, Francisco (Pancho] Vill a, leader of the northern peasant movement, and Emiliano Zapata, leader of similar troops in the south, joined by Venustiano Carranza (then governor of Coahuila] took up arms again. "Huerta," wrote *The Los Angeles Times*, was "the one man who had the Díaz quality of knowing how to deal with [Mexico's] barbarous population." [22]

U.S. Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson had accused Madero of being a socialist, while at the same time complaining that Mexicans were incapable of democracy, lumping the majority of the population together as disorderly elements of society. Wilson's official reports of Madero described him as "corrupt," "capricious," "tyrannical," "insincere," and "dishonest. " [23]

U.S. media labeled Madero as "ineffectual" and the revolutionaries as "bandits." Reports of their activities were not put into context nor were they grounded in coverage of the ideological or political theory that provided the foundation of revolutionary thought. Zapata's Plan de Ayala, which laid out land objectives, was ignored.

The public is dependent on the press for news, but is susceptible to the media's interpretations of current events. "In a world where primary experience has been replaced by secondary communications–the printed page, the radio and the picture screen," say sociologists Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, "the chances for those in control of the media to select, associate, manipulate and diffuse symbols are increased." [24] Public reaction, therefore, may be more conditioned than informed.

In the early 20th century, emphasis on industry required a spiritual link so dollar diplomacy had to be defined in test of its uplifting qualities. The media synonym for uplift was progress, and investments were perceived as benevolent.

The turmoil following Madero's 1913 death was described by *Current Opinion* as "industrial growing pains. " [25]

Qualities of Mexican character are implied in many articles written during this period. In one typical piece, "Can Mexicans Progress?" by A. W. Warwick published in the January, 1914 issue of *Forum*, most Mexicans were found to be of "mainly Indian type," "illiterate," "mainly illegitimate," "inefficient," "intemperate," and "quarrelsome." Mexico's political problems were analyzed as a weakness of national character! "The real cause must be assigned to racial temperament." These problems, according to Warwick, could also be found in Mexican-Americans living in the United States. [26]

By 1920, Mexico had experienced two periods of extensive U.S. news coverage, including dispatches reporting U.S. invasions of its territory. Both projected negative images. The nation's leaders were perceived as law breakers or ineffective, impractical, and inept. Its conflicts were reported as periods of inexplicable chaos. Its citizens were lumped into racial stereotypes whose potential was limited.

Now, more than sixty years later, Mexico continues to receive sporadic coverage usually linked to crisis, to international stress between the two nations, or to U.S. administration policy statements. The 1985 murder of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agent Enrique Camarena and subsequent drug coverage provides one contemporary example. Since 1986, three main themes have dominated news about Mexico: immigration, drugs, and the economy. U.S. immigration reform legislation contributed to the amount of news on that topic. But Camarena's death opened a confrontational period with Mexico including a series of calls by U.S. politicians and bureaucrats for retaliatory political action. The most visible of these were the border crossing slowdowns known as "Operation Camarena," when U.S. Border Patrol and U.S. Customs Service agents stopped and searched automobiles of travelers entering or returning to the United States from Mexico. For some weeks, the evening television news cameras would sweep past growing lines of stopped cars waiting their turn. Eventually, weekend delays at the U.S. checkpoint at Tijuana reached six hours, effectively dampening tourism -upon which Mexico depends economicaly.

Simultaneously, some elected representatives called for more restrictive measures against Mexico. One of the most shrill was Senator Jessie Helms (R-N.C.) who wanted sanctions imposed.

One effect of this activity was increased reporting on Mexico, including border coverage. But missing from those reports, too often, says Leonardo French, press and public affairs minister for the Mexican Embassy in Washington, were the context and historical data that provides perspective. In reports about "the abduction and murder of the Mexican-born DEA agent Enrique Camarena, nothing was said about the permanent campaign or permanent war that Mexico is waging against drug production and drug trafficking in which more than 400 Mexican law enforcement agents or military personnel have been killed or

seriously wounded during the last decade . . . Each and every one of those lives is equally valuable and their losses are as regrettable as Mr. Camarena's."

Recently several University of Texas graduate scholars including Robert Huesca and Jose Carlos Lozano looked at contemporary coverage of Mexico. To compare regional reporting to national coverage, Huesca reviewed news coverage in *The New York Times* and *The El Paso Herald-Post* of the July 1986 elections in Chihuahua, Mexico, selecting the 30 days on either side of the vote for analysis. This project was conceived as a follow-up. The 1985 elections in northern Mexico generated an unprecedented number of news reports. These fostered studies by William Bellinger, National Public Radio journalist Bill Buzenberg, and Denis Volman who found the coverage lacked depth and quality. It was also dominated by reports of expected violence and comparisons by reporters who found Mexico's political system less attractive than the U.S. two-party system.

According to Huesca's study, *The New York Times* published 15 stories–ten of which were written by a Times correspondent– within the 60-day span, an unusual amount of coverage for the preeminent national newspaper to devote to regional Mexican elections. *The EI Paso Herald-Post* published 45 stories, at least five of which were front-page articles. All but two reports were done by a *Herald Post* staff writer.

Before the vote, 250 foreign journalists registered in Chihuahua, including some from Europe and South Africa. Although candidates represented at least half a dozen political parties in five states, the U.S. press covered only PAN (the conservative National Action Party) and its efforts in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Both papers reported the election as an "historic" event–one that posed serious challenge to the almost 50-year control by PRI (the Institutionalized Revolutionary Party). They also quoted candidates and citizens who defined the Mexican government as repressive and citizens who charged that the elections were a sham. Reports in the *Herald-Post* focused on demonstrations and anticipated violence, often hyping the content, a common practice by reporters and editors seeking front-page space. [27] Both papers relied on official sources, although they turned more to PAN than to PRI.

The picture that emerged was one of fraud, corruption, and cheating. Pre-election reporting cited by Huesca, included the "If any theme has dominated the following statemets: Chihuahua campaign, it has been election fraud," and 'ballot fraud by the ruling party is legendary in Mexican politics.'

PAN demonstrations were virtually ignored by *The New York Times*, but *The Herald-Post*, Huesca found, "sensationalized the limited confrontations." After ten cars blocked a main intersection in Juárez, the border newspaper ran a four-column story. A sit-in on two international bridges generated coverage by four repoters, a six-column photo, and a banner headline: "Bridge Standoff Ends in Injuries." Another sensationalized headline, noted Huesca, appeared in *The New York Times*: "Mexican Soldiers Seize Juarez Police Offices," on July 12 over

a story that described the soldiers as "bayonet-wielding," but provided no hard information.

Huesca concluded that U.S. press coverage of Mexico's election in Chihuahua was flawed. It proved, said Huesca, to be subject to cultural bias, judged by U.S. middle class values, and limited by its superficiality and lack of context.

Because news is both event oriented and tied to the policy statements and press conferences of political figures, Mexico's coverage increased. Further, Camarena died as Congressional races began in the United States, providing candidates a timely international issue that guaranteed media exposure.

According to the studies of *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* carried out by Carlos Lozano between July 1, 1986, and December 31, 1986, 63% of the news about Mexico was crisis focused with immigration and drugs occupying almost equal attention. *The Los Angeles Times* gave greater space to the immigration issue, a predictable finding for a major newspaper located in a border state based in a city now almost 50% Latino populated. Lozano's analysis indicates that coverage by both papers was anchored to U.S. interests. Readers were not provided background information that put the topics into perspective nor discussed the impact in Mexico of the same events. Almost half of the stories on Mexico originated in the United States, most datelined in Washington.

But the U.S. origin of news stories need not have contributed to weighted coverage. A number of U.S. academics and scholars have studied immigration, drug trafficking, and Mexico's economy, including extensive border studies–many of which refute common perceptions generated by the press. A number of these works provide the history of drug trafficking in Mexico (including the fact that this activity has at least a forty-year history, is cyclical, and is often tied to Mexico's internal economic situation). Additionally, U.S. research and think tanks focused on Mexico regularly provide in-depth reports on major issues and will supply reporters with specific requested information–including statistics and sources–on any subject. Just recently, for instance, NACLA (the North American Congress on Latin America) published a comprehensive look at Mexico's economic crisis.

Toward the end of 1986, many major newspapers, including *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, published a series of articles on Mexico. News in these publications wields an enormous amount of influence since they distribute their material through syndication and wire service to hundreds of smaller U.S. papers for reprint use.

John Crothers Pollock, author of *The Politics of Crisis Reporting: Learning to be a Foreign Correspondent*, notes that "relatively few news institutions in the United States field foreign correspondents–and their number is declining–[and] because the work of a single correspondent in a single location may be shared with hundreds of papers due to the news chains ad wire-service subscriptions, each journalist reporting from abroad affects the views of vast numbers of citizens. . . . Foreign correspondents wield vast informational influence, but they seldom can be held accountable for it." [28]

The first of the fall series were front-page reports in *The New York Times* between October 19th and October 25th. Originally billed as a six-part series, editors added a seventh. Sidebars were added on October 19th and October 22nd. Within Mexican political circles, according to Leonardo French at the Mexican Embassy in Washington, the time period became known as "the week of infamy."

Because everyone is socialized to specific cultural perspectives which generate related world views, the contemporary debate wonders whether objectivity is possible. In addition, although most journalists say that they strive to be fair, there are no established criteria. James C. Thomas, curator of Harvard's Nieman Foundation–which offers selected professional journalists, recommended by their editors, a year of special training on that campus–concluded recently that prevailing codes of ethics are inadequate as guides to "socially" responsible journalism. [29] Nor do they provide guidelines for following recommendations by such groups as the Hutchins Commission, the Kerner Commission, or UNESCO in order to provide media equity in terms of fair, balanced coverage and representative pictures of constituent groups in societies or Third World perspectives on events in their respective nations.

Nevertheless, one of the cannons of journalism is that it be fair and balanced. But even the most cursory review of *The New York Times* series indicates bias. For example, a headline scan projects a clearly negative image:

* "Hard Times in Mexico Cause Concern in U.S." (10/19/86) Sidebar Head: "Mexicans Look Ahead: A New Order, but No Revolution"
* "Mexico and the Narcotics Traffic: Growing Strain in U.S. Relations" (10/20/86)
* "Mexico's New Type of Emigrant: Well-to-Do, Skilled, Disillusioned" (10/21/86)
* "Mexico's Embattled Ruling Party: The Calls for Change Grow Loud" (10/22/86) Sidebar Head: "Struggle is On to Follow de la Madrid"
* "Hard Hit Mexico Tries to Cope" (10/23/86)
* "Beleaguered Mexico Cedes Role as Central America Power Broker" (10/24/86)
* "Bribes Are Called a Way of Life for the Mexicans" (10/25/86)

Further, the lead and the opening paragraphs set the tone of the series. Washington was the dateline of the first story.

"Economic troubles and other problems in Mexico appear to be severe enough that the United States must worry about the possibility of social unrest and political instability there, according to American experts in and out of Government and Mexican officials and scholars." [30]

"Interviews with more than two dozen American experts and reporting from Mexico found agreement that the foundation of the Mexican Government was

being eroded by its failure to curtail pervasive corruption, drug trafficking and electoral fraud." [31]

"A wide range of Mexican intellectuals, scholars, writers and Government officials concur that their country is in serious trouble and say its turmoil is likely to have a growing effect on relations with the United States." [32]

Journalist James Reston in his book *The Artillery of the Press: Its Influence on American Foreign Policy*, notes that journalists are informal message bearers. "For example, officials seldom like to talk about this–reporters are constantly used to transmit to foreign governments through the press, radio, and television, those officials' views which the Administration in Washington does not want to put in formal diplomatic communications." [33]

Journalists often refer to this practice as "floating a trial balloon." The fourth and fifth paragraphs from *The New York Times* first series article appear to be such envoys:

". . . . U.S. ability to play an active role in world affairs premised upon knowledge that 1,952-mile border with Mexico was secure. Serious problems in Mexico could force the United States to reassess its strategy and refocus its foreign policy." [34]

"The stability of Mexico ranks second only to the Soviet strategic balance in significance to Americans in the next decade,' said Senator Denis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona, who has denounced election fraud in Mexico. He urged President Miguel de la Madrid to 'open up political channels for opposition parties.' Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party has controlled the presidency and all state governorships since it was founded in 1929." [35]

Later paragraphs make interdependency clear to readers by showing how directly affected the United States can be by events in Mexico, bringing home the point that U.S. residents have a vested interest in what happens to their southern neighbor.

"For the United States, the more immediate effects of upheaval in Mexico are likely to be economic. Mexico owes $ 24 billion to commercial banks in this country. Nearly 400,000 Americans live in Mexico and 2,900 companies operate there. Mexico, the world's fourth largest oil producer, was the largest foreign supplier of crude oil to the United States last year and is now providing all the oil for America's Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Mexico is the United States' third biggest trade partner, after Canada and Japan. The declining values of the peso and Mexican curbs on imports have led directly to unemployment and business failures in the United States." [36]

In such a close relationship, the news story indicates, one partner can easily jeopardize the other. This implies that national security issues are at stake. An underpinning of familiar negative images and a list of Mexico's "transgressions" moves it into that grey area of perceived threat.

"Mexico is also the largest foreign supplier of marijuana and heroin to the United States, accounting for about one-third of total American imports of each.

American officials estimate that at least 30% of all cocaine entering the country passes through passes through Mexico." [37]

"Ninety-four percent of the more than 1.2 million arrests of illegal aliens in the United States last year involved Mexicans and Mexicans account for a similar proportion of the 1.8 million arrests expected this year." [38]

Big credibility guns were added to the article by citing top officials.

"Among those pointing to corruption in the Mexican Government were Elliott Abrahams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs; William Vonn Raab, head of the Customs Service and David L. Westrate, head of Drug Enforcement Administration." [39]

Further, the CIA was cited as having noted "destablizing trends." A study for the Hoover Institute by Brian Latell, career intelligence analyst, "foresaw new crisis" bringing "fundamental change in Mexico's antiquated and debilitated political system." Mexico had "gloom and deepening crisis of confidence. There is growing likelihood," he said, "that the system will rupture violently." [40] *The New York Times* noted that although this was not an official CIA document, sources close to the agency found it to be "similar to CIA assessments." [41]

One quote raises questions about the validity of comparison. Susan Kaufman Purcell, director of Latin American programs at the Council on Foreign Relations, says that as other countries in the hemisphere have made the transition to democratic rulee, "Mexico is stagnating politically, governed by a system that seems anachronistic and often irrelevant to Mexicans themselves." But the informed reader might recall how many nations have worn the U.S. administration-imposed, media-conveyed "democratic" label while repressive strongmen and brutal militaries determined those nations' political bottom lines. Readers thus migh wonder what nations Purcell would cite as models for Mexico.

My own closer examination of the series profiles supports the first impression of negativeness. In order to measure weighting, quotations were categorized as negative, positive, or neutral. Each quote was counted as one, even if the same source spoke more than once.

Taken as a whole the series had a somewhat uneven texture, some pieces were more evenhanded than others. But the overall affect, both by statistical measure and casual reading was highly negative. Negative weighing was much more prevalent in six of the seven articles. But the one exception was structured in a way that added credibility to the negative tone of the others. Adding to the believability of the biased reporting were the great number of negative quotes by Mexican officials, scholars (most from El Colegio de México), and experts.

In all, 34 U.S. sources and 74 Mexican sources were cited in the series: 18 quotes were positive, 153 were negative. Six statements were used as theme reinforcers, providing background information; 10 were neutral remarks.

But the first article, which alerted readers to the overall tone, cited 16 sources and all were North Americans. One said something positive. There were 14 negative remarks. An accompanying sidebar quoted only Mexicans. Of those ten, nine said something negative; one was neutral.

The second article dealt with drugs. It had five quotes to North American experts and elected representatives–including such authorities as officials in the Customs Service, the State Department, the Drug Enforcement Administrators, the American Embassy in Mexico, and Representative Larry Smith, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee Task Force on International Narcotics Control. Only one said something positive. Twelve Mexican quotes were included: ten defended Mexico's position. Several noted that North Americans demanded arrests of certain Mexican officials, but would provide no evidence to support their suspicions of corruption, claiming that it was classified information. Two negative remarks were made by Mexicans.

In the third article, eight North American and 16 Mexican quotes were used: 22 were negative. Of the eight citations in the fourth article, all were Mexican. Five were negative, two neutral. Thirteen quotes appear in the fifth report. Twelve were Mexican, eight were negative, two were positive, one was neutral. The one U.S. source was negative. The sixth article divided 11 quotes: four negative, six neutral. Seven were Mexican. One of those quotes made negative statements about the United States. The final article only used nine Mexican quotes: four positive, five negative.

Criticizing earlier press reporting is a relatively comfortable exercise. Removed from issues of today, it is easy to view excesses of bias with detachment. And quantitative study of contemporary coverage often presents a statistical profile of the predictable. It is, however, helpful to understand both the past history and the contemporary trends of coverage. Often it is clear that although the technology is far more advanced in the 1980s, the gathering of information much more organized, and the language of the press more sophisticated, the end result for foreign coverage is not so different.

Because the press has so long promoted the concept of its objectivity, informed audiences are sometimes baffled by what they read. In fact, in a 1985 $250,000 Gallup Poll of 4,000 North Americans on press credibility funded by *The Los Angeles Times*, it was found that 53% of the public had attitudes ranging from mildly to strongly critical of the press. Based on the information gathered, Gallup concluded that the best informed are often the least impressed. Contributing to the problem, the poll found that the public is often unaware of the most fundamental facts about the news business and the laws of the press.

It is therefore helpful to consider some of the sociological and structural critiques of the press. It is also productive to heed the findings of numerous scholars, that objectivity does not exist. [42] People are socialized to perceive the world in experientially related terms. When readers find material to be "objective" they have only succeeded in defining the parameters of their own bias.

The North American news industry has grown dramatically since its early coverage of the Mexican Revolution. Its technology now rivals that of many nations' military systems with instantaneous satellite transmission of type, voice,

and picture as well as state of the art printing presses and distribution systems. Many people assume that corporate growth implies product improvement. In the case of foreign news, greater prowess has not equaled greater substance in reporting. Nor has it meant diversity. For instance, although there are about 1,700 U.S. daily newspapers, they are owned by less than 27 corporations. Magazines belong to even fewer owners. [43]

Journalists are often accused of writing articles that are so similar they might have been mass produced. Certainly, competing newspapers that followed *The New York Times* with series of their own, evoked similar imagery and message. "Pack-journalism," and "herd instincts" are terms used within the profession to describe the phenomenon of having groups of reporters all covering the same event at the same time in the same way. Unfortunately, consistency is too often perceived by editors as accuracy.

"The [New York] *Times* and the wire services, together with a few other papers, also constitute a standard, an ideal against which editors throughout the country judge both the composition and importance of foreign affairs news." [44] Judgement as well as information is transmitted by both associated and newspaper wire services and, says Pollock, "for deadline and promotion conscious news people everywhere, it is far safer to follow the leaders than to disrupt the consensus created by agreed trendsetters." [45]

Further, the selection of topics worthy of coverage is limited in several routinized ways. Bernard Cohen, in *The Press and Foreign Policy* writes:

> The correspondent for the wire services and for the few newspapers than maintain an independent foreign affairs coverage follow a path that is narrowed at the start both because it proceeds within a framework of what they understand editors and publishers to want by way of variety and amount of foreign affairs news, and because it is subject to collegial definition of what is news at any given moment. Beyond this initial influence on the shape of foreign affairs news as it ultimately appears in the newspaper, there is the extraordinary significance of a few people, especially in news agencies, and in what are sometimes called the "quality" media. Their decisions constitute a powerful thrust toward standardization of news, national as well as international, in a country that has no truly national newspaper to do the job. [46]

Consistency is intensified by the repeated use of a relatively small circle of official sources ("knowns," according to Gans) in the gathering of news. There are also close interlocking cooperative networks between publishers, editors, and people in positions of power. "Whatever the level of contact, the integration or cooperation among foreign affairs media elites and political elites is high and significant. . . ." [47]

This tendency became clearly problematic during the Vietnam war. "In the early years of the American involvement, the administration misled Washington correspondents to such an extent that many an editor, unable to reconcile what his man in Saigon was reporting with what his man in Washington told him, preferred to use the official version." [48] In the early days of U.S. support for the contras in Nicaragua, one masthead editor at *The Los Angeles Times*, responding to information brought back by a staffer returning from an extensive trip through Central America, asked, "Why would our government lie?"

"At one time, the main problem of the system was that there were not enough words," says Mort Rosenblum, editor of *The International Herald Tribune*. "Now it is that there are too many. The new technology makes possible such a flood of dispatches, broadcasts, tapes, films, and photographs from abroad that only the initiated can tell which are important and which accurately reflect the situation they portray. And the editors and news executives who determine what eventually reaches the public are not always among the initiated. Some important developments are not reported at all–or are reported so briefly that they are lost in the tide of words. . . . Today, readers and viewers must learn to separate the substance from the razzle-dazzle of packaging. And they must take into account the distorting elements of the system." [49]

In the early days of foreign coverage, media reports were frequently the only source of information about a distant location, a foreign people. So ubiquitous are reports from foreign sites that audiences tend to think this situation has improved. But again today there are relatively few U.S. reporters in foreign assignments, especially in the Third World.

"At the heyday of correspondents," writes Rosenblum, "there were somewhere near 2,500 Americans abroad reporting home on a regular basis. By 1969, the total was about 565. In the mid-1970s, with far more independent states to cover and with growing world interdependence, there were an estimated 430. This includes not only regular correspondents who report daily news events but also magazine writers, specialized correspondents and a number of semi-retired reporters who keep full-time accreditation to live comfortably abroad." [50]

Because of the definition of news, and because a news organization's prestige is measured by its ability to maintain its own correspondent on the scene, often large numbers of reporters are concentrated in one area, observing the same events. This frequently means they must travel a great distance, with difficulty, to arrive at the scene. About 75% of all North American correspondents are based in less than a dozen capitals. [51] Today, according to the Mexican Embassy in Washington, there are fewer than fifteen affiliated U.S. correspondents based in Mexico. Many are responsible for coverage of all of Mexico and Central America. Some must also cover the Caribbean.

"But from the Third World, where America's childhood stereotypes and Hollywood's distortions make careful backgrounding essential, reporting is left mainly to fast-moving young correspondents who must spend more time hustling

visas, finding telephones and avoiding censors than collecting information and composing dispatches." [52]

Many Third World nations, including those in Latin America, break into the news only in times of crisis. Otherwise, they remain absent and drop from the consciousness of news audiences. "A cross-national study comparing coverage of different parts of the world in newspapers of the world's major regions concludes that the U.S. press 'under-reports' news about Latin America more than the Western European or Eastern European or Soviet press." [53] This may be, in part, because those who decide what to publish are not in touch with their audiences. ". . . . [U.S.] editors' news directors and reporters feel that only 5% of the public are greatly interested in international news. A much higher 41% of the public express deep interest in world affairs being covered in news media." [54] An even greater number (66%) of *The Washington Post* readers expressed interest in foreign news. [55]

These situations create several major problems. "Because of the system–and in spite of it–most Americans are out of touch with events that directly affect their lives. When crisis impends, they are not warned. When it strikes, they are not prepared." [56]

The few correspondents have a great deal of influence. "Major news media are crucial in setting foreign affairs agendas for public discussion because: (a) they affect foreign government perceptions of our foreign policy; (b) they set standards for foreign coverage by other media outlets throughout the United States; and (c) they constitute an almost unchallengeable source of information on foreign affairs for most U.S. citizens." [57]

Thus audiences are greatly dependent on a handful of reporters who are encouraged to write about a limited selection of topics and to convey events and context about a huge amount of territory containing many divergent groups of people living in complex societies, many of which are presently undergoing major transformations under difficult political situations further complicated by intricate international relations.

In June 1986, Richard Feinberg, vice president of the Overseas Development Council, in testimony to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations expressed his alarm. "I am deeply worried about the state of U.S.-Mexican relations–and about U.S. relations with much of the developing world. . . . The U.S. media are full of stories regarding Mexican corruption, drug dealing, lawlessness and capital flight. These stories make for exciting reading. They also appeal to that part of our national character that prefers to see foreigners as less civilized than ourselves. You and I know that these images are misleading guides to the complexities of developing countries. If the American people come to see them as the essential truth, it will be impossible for the United States Government to conduct a sensible and nuanced foreign policy. Policymakers will become prisoners of the popular imagination." [58]

Given the professional mandates and the definition of news, it is hardly a

surprise to learn that certain values are transmitted along with news reports. Among the enduring values conveyed by U.S. press, according to extensive studies by Herbert J. Gans, are ethnocentrism (judging other countries by the way in which they live up to or imitate U.S. values and behaviors); moderatism (implicit in a negative reaction to individualism or activism that resists established law or practice); and social order (implied through its focus on disorder). American correspondents discuss Mexico in terms that reflect these values.

Additional problems in producing news stories of substance about Latin America are rooted in a class perspective built into U.S. media. "The news especially values the order of the upper-class and upper-middle-class sectors of society. . . . With some oversimplifications, it would be fair to say that the news supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, middle-aged and white male sectors of society. . . . It is generally supportive of governments, their agencies, private enterprise, prestigious professions and a variety of other national institutions. . . . When all things are equal, the news pays most attention to and upholds the actions of elite individuals and elite institutions." [59]

U.S. press coverage of the Third World is clearly limited by these perspectives which hamper the visibility of a reality governed by other social situations. The cultural pulse can be measured in the printed word. The public mind may be molded to conform to the political mood of the day, but ethnocentrism has a long history and remains a strong and nurtured underpinning in U.S. media. One example may be found in the way media reports misconduct by officials. U.S. representatives who lie and break domestic or international law are reported to have "misspoken," or perhaps to be guilty of "poor judgment," or "allegedly unlawful activity." Their Mexican counterparts are immediately judged to be "corrupt."

". . . . Foreign news is generally treated with less detachment, and explicit value judgments that would not be considered justifiable in domestic news appear in stories about the rest of the world. . . ." [60] "Most foreign news stories fall into seven categories," says Gans. They include: "American activities in a foreign country; foreign activities that affect Americans and American policy; Communist-bloc country activities; election and other peaceful changes in government personnel; political conflict and protest; disasters; excesses of dictatorship." [61]

It is important to note that Third World disasters, however, must be far more severe than U.S. tragedies to merit coverage and that the more unlike the United States the foreign nation is, the more unlikely events there will merit coverage. "Generally speaking, the farther from America the country is geographically, politically, culturally or racially, the larger the number of victims

necessary for the story to receive attention." [62] Mort Rosenblum, editor of *The International Herald Tribune* concurs. "The standard is part of the unwritten but well-understood sliding scale, a hundred Pakistanis going off a mountain in a bus make less of a story than three Englishmen drowning in the Thames. [63]

"Wars, civil wars, coups d'etat and revolutions are reported from countries large and small; smaller countries, especially in Latin America or Africa, generally break into the news only under such circumstances." [64]

Mexico receives far more coverage than other Latin American nations, with the exception of Cuba. However, most stories fall into specific categories. Last year the major stories were immigration, drugs, and the economy.

Early coverage of Mexico certainly conforms to observations made by contemporary media critics. The turmoil that became the 1910 Mexican Revolution warranted coverage for at least three reasons. The situation affected American interests in the country, it had implications for U.S. policy, and it was a major political conflict. However, press reports lacked depth and substance. They measured the nation against ethnocentric grids, decried the upheaval, and ignored the underlying causes. Articles frequently used stereotypes to influence public opinion. In retrospect, value laden vocabulary is evident to the reader. In part, because many of the terms used then are no longer part of common usage. Today's value laden words, however, are less easily noted because they are so familiar.

Only a little over fifty years separated the 1846 war with the United States from the start of the Revolution. Many of those writing about and reading of Mexico in the early 1900s had been exposed to the immense amount of popular culture–dime novels, short stories, war coverage, heroic symbols–generated by the U.S.-Mexican clash. Education about their southern neighbor was virtually absent in the schools and colleges. So one might expect reporters then to repeat many of the earlier errors.

However, a March 19, 1988, report in *The New York Times* reminds readers that 1846-1910 media patterns have not faded. In a piece about Mexico's current presidential race, the paper noted that PRI candidate Carlos Salinas de Gortari is "an owlish-looking, trained economist," while his opponent Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, son of a former Mexican president, is a "tall, brown-skinned Indian, whose popular support has been exaggerated." [65]

It is disappointing to note that too often, the superficialness of the past makes its way into contemporary coverage. But it is especially disheartening to understand that the news system resists the improvements so many of today's well qualified journalists could affect for better coverage.

FOOTNOTES

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[2] Gans, Herbert J., *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

[3] John Crothers Pollock, *The Politics of Crisis Reporting: Learning to Be a Foreign Correspondent* (New York: Praeger, 1981).

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 191.

[7] Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 12.

[8] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[9] Emery and Emery, p. 167.

[10] Johannsen, p. 19.

[11] Emery and Emery, pp. 165-167.

[12] Johannsen, p. 23.

[13] Ibid., p. 20.

[14] Ibid., p. 16.

[15] Ibid., p. 145.

[16] Ibid., pp. 103-107.

[17] Pollock, p. 7.

[18] *The Overland Monthly*, Vol. 5 (May, 1910), p. 491.

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[22] Ibid.

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[27] Mort Rosenblum, *Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World to America* (New York: Harper, 1981), p. 55.

[28] Pollock, p. 5.

[29] Ibid., p. 4.

[30] Robert Pear, "Hard Times in Mexico Cause Concern in U.S.," *The New York Times*. Vol. 1 (October 19, 1986), p. 1:2.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Pollock, p. 11.

[34] *The New York Times*, Vol. 1 (October 19, 1986), p. 1:2.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., Vol. 1 (October 19, 1986), p. 20:1.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Brian Latell, *Mexico at the Crossroads, the Many Crises of the Political System* (Hoover Institution: Stanford University, 1986).

[41] *The New York Times*, Vol. 1 (October 19, 1986), p. 20:1.

[42] Herbert J. Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs*. (New York: Longman, Inc., 1984); Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson, eds., *Reading the News: a Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); David L. Paletz, and Robert M. Entman, *Media Power Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1981); Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Gaye Tuchman, ed., *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* (New York: Oxford University, 1978).

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[44] Pollock, p. 12.

[45] Ibid., p. 9.

[46] Ibid., p. 14.

[47] Ibid., p. 11.

[48] Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Protagonist and Myth Maker* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), p. 376.

[49] Rosenblum, p. 4.

[50] Ibid., p. 9.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., p. 10.

[53] Pollock, p. 13.

[54] Rosenblum, p. 8.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., p. 1.

[57] Pollock, p. 12.

[58] Richard Feinberg, Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Economic Policy, Oceans, and Environment, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, June 10, 1986.

[59] Gans, p. 61.

[60] Ibid., p. 36.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Rosenblum, p. 124.

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COMMENTARY

RICHARD R. COLE

The paper by Professor Cortés is not an empirical study in the sense that the author does not, for example, draw a scientific sample from the thousands of Hollywood movies that involve or include Mexicans and Mexico. He does not take a precise sample of movies and then proceed to conduct a formal content analysis of them to determine whether they treat Mexicans and Mexico favorably or unfavorably. There is no panel of judges or coders for such a content analysis. Indeed, no structured scientific analysis by the author is reported at all.

And that is not the author's intention. Instead, this paper provides informed personal analysis and commentary. Professor Cortés offers meaningful and insightful personal analysis. His method is observation and attention to the movies, with which he is obviously quite familiar, and to the literature of the field.

Professor Cortés has excellent credentials to do this. He has a book in progress on the U.S. feature film treatment of foreign nations, and his book on movie treatment of ethnic groups considers Mexican–Americans comparatively with other U.S. ethnic groups.

Few people would argue with the conclusions Professor Cortés presents in the paper. Early Hollywood movies showed Mexicans and Mexico according to four themes:

- Mexican villainy
- Anglo superiority
- Mexico as a land of often menacing chaos
- A gender double standard. (Very few Mexican men could successfully woo Anglo women on the U.S. movie screen. But Anglo men could win Mexican women.)

He proceeds chronologically in his analysis, illustrating his points with a number of specific films. And he concludes that Mexico has been merely a convenient arena for Hollywood films and observes that, almost invariably, the underlying message has been that Anglos are superior to Mexicans. Only occasionally have movies varied this stereotype significantly.

Professor Cortés goes on to point out some recent movies that are exceptions and, I believe, he appears to be at least a little optimistic–or perhaps hopeful–for the future.

People who are movie buffs can always call up exceptions to scholarly analyses, of course, and many of us could cite a U.S. film or two that treats Mexicans favorably. For me, the film of Tennessee Williams' famous play, "The Night of the Iguana," with Richard Burton, Deborah Kerr, and Ava Gardner, is something of an exception. A young Mexican man was the lover of an Anglo woman, for example, and I thought that Mexicans were treated sympathetically for the most part in this film.

But that and other examples do nothing to detract from Professor Cortés' analysis and overall conclusions. He seems to be on solid ground to me, and his paper is quite good.

One book that I have found interesting might provide a tidbit or two for Professor Cortés. It is titled *Minorities and Media: Diversity and the End of Mass Communication* and was written by Clint C. Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez. [1] The book discusses Mexicans, among other minorities, in the movies and other media and points out that by the 1960s the Latin American market had withered for Hollywood because several Latin American nations had developed their own film industries and screen stars; consequently, the number of Hollywood movies using Latino themes dropped drastically. Then in the early 1980s in the United States came a number of movies produced and directed by Chicanos (pp. 93-94). In general, Wilson and Gutierrez agree with Professor Cortés' conclusions.

The paper by Professor de Uriarte is a lengthy, detailed treatment. She traces the coverage of Mexico in the U.S. press from the mid-19th-century war between the two countries all the way to today.

Her method is a careful review of the published literature, especially books (as opposed to articles in scholarly journals). She draws from historians, sociologists, mass communication researchers, and others. Sometimes she draws quite heavily from a few sources, for example, in her discussions of modern foreign correspondents, of readers' interest in foreign news and of some related matters, whereas the literature is replete with information on this.

But throughout her discussion, she provides a great deal of appropriate, meaningful information and commentary. As she describes the coverage of Mexico and Mexicans, she weaves in historical material on, for example, the development of the U.S. press. Here are a few examples:

- The invention of the telegraph in the 1840s and its dramatic effects on news reporting.
- The beginnings of formal journalism education.
- The fact that some of the best journalism on Mexico around the time of the Revolution of 1910 appeared not in mainstream newspapers but in highbrow or specialized magazines.

She reports the results of some scientific content analysis of coverage of Mexico in parts of the U.S. press–these studies were conducted by other professors–and she devotes several pages to an informal analysis of her own of a series of articles in *The New York Times* in October 1986. She finds the series highly negative, and she counts the quotations in the series and categorizes them as negative, neutral, or positive. Most were negative, by far. I think Professor de Uriarte was the only judge in this categorization, so the results are her opinions. But the results *are* interesting.

Her whole paper is interesting. She does not hesitate to name names where appropriate. For example, she points out that early in this century the owners of *The Los Angeles Times* also owned a huge parcel of land in Mexico and that that newspaper supported U.S. intervention in Mexico and the annexation of Baja California, where the huge parcel of land was.

She criticizes U.S. coverage of Mexico as crisis-oriented, culturally biased, ethnocentric, and lacking in other ways. I agree with her. But I have to point out that all those charges can be leveled at all journalistic reporting.

Her paper is rich with detail. It is a careful–and caring– analysis. I like it.

If I might branch out for a minute and broaden my remarks, one might consider how Mexico has been treated in recent years in the major U.S. mass media generally. What of such opinion leaders in the mass media system as *The New York Times, The Washington Post* and the three major networks (ABC, NBC and CBS)?

John Bailey of the Department of Government at Georgetown University delivered a thoughtful paper at the International Studies Association's annual meeting in Washington, D.C., in April 1987, in which he reported on just that. [2] He covered the years 1979-86 and found that attention to Mexico in the U.S. media increased substantially during that period, and that much of the attention was, in his words, inadequate, superficial, and unbalanced. (It should be mentioned that much of the news was negative, of course, in that it dealt with problems Mexico was having: inflation, debt, the shock of falling oil prices, drugs, etc.).

He observed that either Mexicans should care less or learn to endure criticism more gracefully. Or, the United States media should adjust their tone and method. But neither of those things is likely to happen, he said.

Bailey commented that the mass media of both the United States and Mexico reflect and reinforce the strains of the countries' bilateral relationship. But he

said, and rightly, that Mexicans are much more attentive to their image in the U.S. mass media than vice versa. (I should add that this is true for virtually every country in every research analysis I have read over many years. That is, the people of the smaller country, especially if it is a developing nation, are much more sensitive to what is said about their nation in the U.S. press than vice versa.)

Interestingly, Bailey hypothesized that the United States receives in the Mexican *print media* a treatment that is significantly *more negative* than does Mexico in the United States. I suspect that Bailey might well be right. The United States gets a bad press in many nations.

I would like to make just two other points. First, these two outstanding papers I have discussed both deal with pertinent and appropriate literature, but there is a considerable amount of other pertinent literature available in the numerous journals in the field of mass communication, including *Journalism Quarterly, Communications Research, Mass Communication Review, Journal of Broadcasting, Public Opinion Quarterly, and Gazette: An International Journal.*

And finally, amid all this discussion of Mexico's image in U.S. movies, in the U.S. press or in the U.S. mass media generally, we have to remember a basic fact:

The fact is that–no matter how Mexicans are portrayed in Hollywood or in *The New York Times* or on the "CBS Evening News with Dan Rather"–Mexico enjoys a warm place in the hearts of *the people* of the United States. Many national opinion polls in the United States attest to this. For example, a Lou Harris poll taken in July 1986 found that basically the U.S. public has strong sympathies for Mexicans and the problems they face. Above all else, Mexico is seen in friendly, positive terms by the American people.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Wilson is associate dean of the School of Communication at Howard University in Washington, D.C., and Gutierrez is a professor in the School of Journalism at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. The book was published by Sage in 1985 as a 248-page paperback.

[2] "Mexico in the U.S. Media," 1979-86: Implications for the Bilateral Relation," a paper delivered at the International Studies Association's annual meeting, Washington, D.C., April 14-18, 1987.

IV. PROCESOS SOCIALES Y CULTURA POPULAR / SOCIAL PROCESSES AND POPULAR CULTURE

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE CISCO KID: IMAGES OF MEXICANS IN AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE

WILLIAM H. BEEZLEY

When a Mexican arrives as a tourist or an immigrant in the United States and begins to master English, according to the popular culture, the first words that he or she learns are, "Attention, K-Mart Shoppers!" This mild example of Mexican bashing represents a changing stereotype in the popular culture of the United States. We will return to this change momentarily, but we need to discuss briefly American popular culture and the images of Mexicans that it has contained.

Popular culture has suddenly emerged as one of the cross-disciplinary subjects of great interest. This is not the place to enter into the discussion of definitions that has fascinated scholars and dominated scholarship for sometime. [1] Rather, I prefer simply to recognize that in United States society there exists a tripartite division between high culture (learned in school and standardized by the academy), mass culture (manufactured for consumers with profit as the goal), and popular culture (that approaches a synonym for folklore). [2] Each of these cultures holds views about Mexico and Mexicans–high culture for example has high praise for Mexican muralists; mass culture for a time saw the Frito-Lay Company represented by the Frito Bandito and here we find the movie stereotypes as well; [3] and, popular culture has the images discussed in this paper. At times, a song, story, or image may appear in all three cultures. Most certainly the *Ballad of Gregorio Cortes* has achieved that status, as popular legend in the Rio Grande Valley, the subject of a movie for mass production, and the theme of a thoughtful, scholarly monograph aimed at the high culture by Américo Paredes. [4]

Forced to the wall to explain what I am talking about, I say that popular culture can best be defined by what anthropologist Clifford Geertz terms the 'Common Sense' of any society that finds expression in "epigrams, proverbs,

ober dicta, jokes, anecdotes, *contes morals."* [5] In other words, the information and the stereotypes that a culture takes for granted.

Scholars from many disciplines in the last two and a half decades have turned to what passes for common sense or popular culture to determine attitudes and notions of the everyday people in a society: historians in pursuit of social history, anthropologists reaching out behind exotic village ethnic groups, sociologists grasping a subject beyond simple correlations, folklorists willing to move beyond rural idylls, and semioticians, rhetoricians, literary scholars, and other communications experts broadening their horizons. All of these scholars share an interest in discovering the "real people", the everyday and the ordinary, who before the 1960s were essentially ignored because they left few written records.

These scholars wanted to discover the people–the people who took orders rather than gave them, those who fought wars rather than declared them, those who made confessions rather than heard them, those who worked along assembly lines, in mines, and on farms rather than owned factories, mining syndicates, and agribusinesses, and those who shared another ethnic identity other than gray-flannel, suburban, Anglo conformity. Of course, many of these scholars in the 1960s began to study marginal groups so they could identify with them on paper rather than take to the streets to support peace movements, civic rights, migrant workers, and women's liberation. [6] However shallow the motives, the results proved positive as North Americans discovered (or recognized what they knew subconsciously) the great diversity, the enormous creativity, and the inspired criticism that springs from the marginal groups of their society.

American popular culture acknowledged this change as it recognized the diverse character and potential (hence ambivalence) of women, ethnic and occupation groups–the woman worker and mother, the Italian mafioso-political leader, the poor but wise hill billy. This ambivalence was represented most dramatically at first in stereotypes of blacks, because of the tremendous and necessary attention to the circumstances of black Americans, so that the Steppin-fetchit and Martin Luther King duality appeared. The alteration of North American popular culture proved so dramatic under these pressures that a humor of sublimation and outrageous projection appeared.

Elephant jokes expressed the amazement of the dominant Anglo-Saxon males at the arrival of blacks, women, and ethnic minority groups in places formerly denied them. "How do you know if an elephant has been in your refrigerator? If there are elephant footprints in the cottage cheese" is an example of this reaction. [7]

Ambiguous images of minority and ethnic stereotypes began emerging as well. Today simply because of the dramatic increase in their size in the general North American population, there exists a cultural imperative redefining the cultural stereotypes especially of Asian and Hispanic Americans, including those of the Mexican.

Of the various forms in which stereotypes appear, humor provides perhaps the most sophisticated measure of popular notions about ethnic groups in North American popular culture. Jewish and Polack jokes must be noted as the most prevalent in the recent past. [8] Jests serve as the most sensitive barometer of the culture, because "all jokes," as anthropologist Mary Douglas says, "are expressive of the social situations in which they occur"; [9] they often function to reveal new relationships or metaphors. In ethnic jests especially it is important that we recognize that the humor comes from ambiguity. An aggressive element often exists in the joke and, of course, Antonio Gramsci would give it primary attention as part of cultural domination. [10] But the aggressive is not inherent in the joke but a strategy of the teller, who has found that jokes can be used effectively in an aggressive way. [11] The humorous equivoke allows this to occur.

Ethnic descriptions and slurs, well known as *blason populaire,* [12] when told about another group represent popular stereotypes of marginal or foreign groups. Mexicans have them about Gringos as ". . . cold, insipid, and sexless–in short, something like cold ham. And ideed, this . . . furnishes . . . an early ethnic slur–*jamones* (the ham eaters) . . ." They also have them about the egotistical Argentines, such as "Why don't Argentines play hide 'n seek? Nobody will look for them." [13] These same deprecating remarks can function as ". . . an entertaining non-threatening folk history" when told by a group on itself. [14]

Again the ambiguity of humor makes this possible. Anglo Americans use slurs as pejorative labels, identifying Mexicans as Meskin, Mex, Spic, Paydro. They fix names on Mexicans from their culinary habits, such as Greaser, Beaner, Pepper belly, Frijole guzzler. And, they lump together whole groups of Latins, Latin Americans, Hispanic Americans without distinction, such as the residents of Española, New Mexico, in such jests as, "So who discovered Española, anyway? Why Marco Cholo, of course." [15]

When Mexicans in the United States use ethnic descriptions and stories about themselves, these tales and stereotypes form part of the Mexican-Americans' history and common wisdom. Usually such ethnic jokes portray the gaffs or the ignorance of the new arrival. These stories have a cautionary and instructional quality, warning new-comers how to avoid embarrassment and teaching the correct behavior in such a situation. Thus, as example there is the story of two friends discussing the Mexican territory lost during the United States-Mexican war.

"These Gringos are terrible people," says one–"cheaters, liars, and robbers."

"Sure, *compadre,*" says the other. "Look what they did in '46.

They took half our national territory."

"Yes, *compadre,*" says the first, "and the half with all the paved roads."

Often these stories appear along with a [success] of "Stupid Gringo" jokes. [16] And, may also be part of a more complex series of stories in the Southwestern United States, with its society composed of Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Indian groups. [17] In the novel *Red Sky at Morning,* an adolescent Anglo New

Mexican tries to explain the social complexity of the region to a new arrival from Mobile, Alabama. Pointing to a classmate, he said:

"She's a Native. Her name's Viola López. She speaks Spanish and English, and she's Catholic. Don't ever make the mistake of calling her a Mexican. Her brother will kill you. Of course, if you call her a creole she'll get confused as hell and think you mean she's part Negro–that is, part dark-skinned Anglo–and her brother will kill you again. So think of her as a Native, unless you're comparing her with an Indian. Then she's 'White.' Got it?"

"I think so," I said. "But what about the Negro?"

"I already explained that to you. He's an Anglo. That is, he's an Anglo unless you're differentiating between him and an Indian then *he's* 'White.' I admit he's awfully dark to be white, but that's the way it goes around here. You have to learn our little customs and folkways, or it's your ass. And if you've got any Texas blood in you, you'd better take "spik" and "greaser" out of your vocabulary. If there's a minority group at all around here, it's the Anglos." [18]

This quotation shows clearly the complex and rich ethnic mosaic in the Southwestern United States from which many images of the Mexican appear.

Let's turn to the most prevalent stereotypes now current in North American popular culture. The most widespread notion about Mexicans embraces the idea that all Mexicans want to come, legally if possible, but illegally if necessary, to live in the United States. Thus there exists the vision that all along the border from Texas to California Mexicans are poised, searching for any means to enter the United States. "Although many Americans envision Mexicans entering this country by swimming or wading across the Rio Grande, scaling fences, crawling through rat-infested sewage tunnels or cramming into boxcars," reported the *Washington Post*, "it is not like that for most border residents." Most Mexicans coming into the country have working papers or "green cards" permitting them to enter the U.S. each day. [19] But this attitude persists and finds expression in such humor as, "What is the best selling book in Mexico? How to Swim the Rio Grande" or "Why do Mexican parents teach their children to play hide-and-seek? So they can avoid Border Patrols when they grow up."

In general, the most common stereotypes sketch the Mexican in the United States as "lazy, dirty, thieving, devious, conspiratorial, sexually hyperactive, and overly fond of alcohol." But the ambiguity appears as the Anglo-Saxon North Americans also projects the Mexican as "carefree, romantic, poetic by nature, debonair, and charming." Mexican women constitute a special case, most often they are viewed as "sultry, tempestuous, and sexually tempting." Often this stereotypical female is a prostitute, but one who inspires the love of a North American male. [20] For all of these stereotypes, jests or tales exist that emphasize these characteristics.

These stereotypes appear in many ways, outside of the joke form. For example they can be used as disparaging descriptions. "A makeshift 'tin can stuffed with steel wool mounted on an exhaust pipe' may be referred to as a 'Mexican

muffler,' or an 'increase in rank or title without an accompanying pay raise' is a 'Mexican promotion.'" [21] While a siphoning hose for stealing gasoline may be called a "Mexican Credit Card" and turning a car's engine off and coasting down a hill to save gasoline may be referred to as a "Mexican Overdrive." [22]

And the stereotypes make appearances in more complex forms as mock riddles. Such as "What's brown and fries chicken? Colonel Sanchez" and "What's brown and rides a golden palomino? Roy Rodriguez." [23] This is especially characteristic of the occupational stereotyping and disparaging ethnic joke, such as "Why do Mexicans always have big noses? So they'll have something to pick in the off-season." [24] This joke indicts the Mexican agricultural worker as migrant laborer without other skills or opportunities.

Another pervasive stereotype pictures the Mexican, before leaving Mexico and after arriving in the United States, as dirty. The Mexican lacks "personal cleanliness and environmental hygiene" and this lack of cleanliness serves as well as "an index to the morals and virtues of the individual." [25] This kind of image creation results from the assumption that if foreigners are different in one way, they are different in all ways. Thus, if North Americans are richer than their Mexican neighbors, then they are cleaner (so Mexicans are dirty), they are more industrious (so Mexicans are lazy), they are honest (so Mexicans are dishonest, usually criminal), and they are more concerned about their families (so Mexicans are promiscuous). The construction of these parallel, cultural columns on the extremely shaky base of one or two items results in predictable stereotypes. [26]

This cornerstone of the Mexican's image as dirty in popular culture has resulted in an elaborate folkstory labeled the "Mexican Pet." One version of it goes as follows:

A woman who lives on Sutton Place in New York City took a trip to Mexico. While touring Mexico City she spotted a lost Mexican Chihuahua dog standing in an alley. It looked emaciated and hungry. The woman impulsively scooped the little animal up and took it back to her hotel room. For the rest of her stay it remained there and she fed and cared for it. When it came time for her return, she decided to take it back to New York with her but feared the authorities would not let her, so she hid it in her ample bag and was able to smuggle it through customs. In her Sutton Place home she fed it, cared for it, even spoiled it by letting it sleep in her bed–but it never seemed to get any healthier or stronger.

One morning she awoke and noticed that there was an oozing mucus around the dog's eyes and a slight foaming of the mouth. Fearful for her dog's health, she rushed it to a nearby veterinarian and returned home to await word on her pet's condition.

The call soon came. "I have just one question," said the vet. "*Where* did you get his dog."

After pausing, the woman nervously admitted having brought it across the border from Mexico. "But tell me, doctor," she said.

"What's wrong with my dog?"

His reply was brief. "I'm afraid it's dying–but it's not a dog; it's a Mexican sewer rat!" [27]

Versions of this story have appeared across the United States and in the western provinces of Canada. In each tale, the kind, stupid "Gringo" mistakes an animal associated with filth for a pet. This story intersects with several themes in recent United States popular culture that include mishaps on vacation, especially in Mexico, and grotesque problems with pets. [28] It may also be told by Chicanos and Mexicans as a "stupid gringo" story. But when it is told by North Americans the emphasis is placed on the unclean character of all Mexicans.

This prevalent stereotype pictures Mexicans as dirty, unsanitary people. Another recent example comes from *The Wall Street Journal* story "Corona Extra Beer is Fine Specimen, but of What?: Importer of Mexican Brew Tries to Douse Rumors of Urine Contamination." [29] This story reports the alleged inability of Mexicans to exercise quality control in an industrial process, especially one as important as food processing. The Corona importer in Chicago in fact charged that the story had been concocted by a rival distributor because Corona had suddenly become the second leading export beer in the United States. No hint of evidence could be located to substantiate the widely believed story about the beer. The scatological often becomes associated with sexual humor as well. [30]

Still another stereotype of Mexicans portrays them as both perpetrators and victims of government corruption. Once in the United States, Mexicans find life difficult because they expect to use a bribe or tip to smooth over violations of the law. The picture of the Mexican politicians as inept, lazy and above all corrupt dominates a cycle of jokes and this image has been reinforced by newspaper stories on corruption in the Mexican government and the official party, the PRI. [31] The stereotype has come increasingly to involve corruption and drug trafficking.

Thus the murder of a United States Drug Enforcement Officer in Guadalajara and the arrest of several Guadalajara officials for involvement in the cocaine traffic led to numerous jests and stories. One reporter stated that a government official and his mistress were jailed on charges of smuggling drugs. Health officials at the women's prison found that the mistress was pregnant. From his cell, the government official announced that if the child were a girl they would call her "Amapola (Poppy)" and if it were a boy they would call him "Narco Polo." The stereotype prevails that Mexican politics are corrupt and Mexicans have no faith in their political system. [32]

North American held stereotypes of Mexicans of course have little evidence to support them. Generally, a kind of cultural geometry develops in which North Americans state the proposition that they are rich and Mexicans are poor, then follow this with a series of statements and attribute their opposites to Mexico-so the stereotyping makes Mexicans dirty, venal, corrupt, lazy, poor with technology, and sexually promiscuous–all characteristics that North Americans view as the antithesis of their culture. But the swelling Mexican population in

the United States has made such simple stereotyping less possible in the 1980s. Older jests particular to Mexicans have become less pervasive, and jokes now are typical of general ethnic humor. "The fact that some of the jokes told about Polacks in the midwestern section of the United States," says Alan Dundes, "are the same told about Italians or Puerto Ricans in the eastern states suggests that we may have nothing more than a 'lower-class' stereotype that can be equally well applied to any immigrant group registering low on the social scale at any given moment." [33]

The Mexican at K-Mart shares a great many cultural attributes with the North American, who often shops at K-Mart but does not want others to know. The Mexican, seen as a consumer, shares common problems with the North American, such as concern about prices, quality, and service. The step into the K-Mart is indeed a small step, but it will be one toward a North American recognition of Mexican humanity. [34]

FOOTNOTES

[1] A starting point is Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1978) because the author offers an excellent discussion of the various theories of popular culture.

[2] Discussion by Professor Alan Dundes, Anthropology Department, University of California, Berkeley, July 5, 1984.

[3] The Frito Bandito first appeared on children's TV shows in 1967 and proved so successful that Frito-Lay decided to use him in all the company's advertisements. The cleaned-up Bandito appeared as a short, jolly, clean-shaven Mexican who conned Anglos out of their Fritos. The Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee criticized the mascot in December 1969, and the character was soon dropped by the company. See "Advertising: Ban the Bandito?," *Newsweek* (December 22, 1969).

[4] Américo Paredes wrote and directed the movie; his highly-acclaimed monograph is entitled, *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971).

[5] See Geertz, "Common Sense as a Cultural System," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1983): 73-93. Geertz, struggling to define Common Sense, identifies its features as "naturalness," "practicalness," "thinness," "immethodicalness," and "accesibleness," with the afterthought that "earthiness" or a kind of boisterous vulgarity might have been included as well. See pp. 84-93; the quote comes from p. 90.

[6] See the searing comments by Dominick LaCapra in *"The Cheese and the Worms:* The Cosmos of a Twentieth-Century Historian," *History and Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), p. 69.

[7] Roger D. Abrahams and Alan Dundes, "On Elephantasy and Elephanticide," *Psychoanalytic Review* 56 (1969): 225-241.

[8] See as examples of ethnic humor, Mac E. Barrick, "Racial Riddles & The Polack Joke," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 3-15, and Alan Dundes, "A Study of Ethnic Slurs: The Jew and the Polack in the United States," *Journal of American Folklore* 84, no. 332 (April-June 1971): 186-303.

[9] Mary Douglas, "Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception," *Man* 3 (3): 366.

[10] For a general introduction to Gramsci's views on cultural domination, see "Marxism and Modern Culture," and "The Modern Prince: Essays on the Science of Politics in the Modern Age," in *The Modern Prince & Other Writings* (New York: International Publishers, 1957), pp. 82-90 and 135-188.

[11] Elliott Oring, "Everything is a Shade of Elephant: An Alternative to a Psychoanalysis of Humor," *New York Folklore* 1: 149-159, quote on p. 157.

[12] See William Hugh Jansen, "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore," in Alan Dundes, ed. *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 43-51.

[13] José E. Limón, "Folklore, Social Conflict, and the United States-Mexico Border," in Richard M. Dorson, ed., *Handbook of American Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 221, the entire article, pp. 216-226 is an excellent introduction to the topic; John Mraz provided several Argentine jests in a letter, 13 June 1985. On the *blason populaire* see *A Dictionary of International Slurs* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1984).

[14] This quote refers to Jewish-American jokes told by Jewish-Americans but can be applied as well to other jokes told by ethnic groups about themselves. See the excellent article, Stanley Brandes, "Jewish-American Jokes and Jewish-American Identity," *Jewish Social Studies* 45 (1983): 233-240.

[15] See Jim Sagel, "Española Jokes: The Lowdown on the Lowrider Laughs," *IMPACT: The Albuquerque (NM) Journal Magazine (March 13, 1984): 13-14.*

[16] See the superb studies by Américo Paredes, *Folktales of Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), "The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore," in *New Voices in American Studies,* edited by Ray B. Browne, et al. (Mid-American Conference on Literature, History, Popular Culture and Folklore, Purdue University, 1966), and "Folk Medicine and the Intercultural Jest," in *Spanish Speaking People in the United States: Proceedings of the 1968 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society,* ed. June Helm (Seattle: University of Washinton Press, 1968): 104-119.

[17] As an introduction, see Marta Weigle, "The Southwest: A Regional Case Study," in Dorson, *Handbook of American Folklore,* pp. 194-207.

[18] Richard Bradford, *Red Sky at Morning* (New York: Pocket Books, 1969), pp. 32-33.

[19] "From Mexican Parents, Mexican Citizens Are Born," *Washinton Post*, 4 January 1987.

[20] Limón "United States-Mexico Border," p. 217.

[21] Limón, "United States-Mexico Border," p. 217.

[22] See W. Dirk Raat, "The Mexican Pet and Other Stories: Folklore and History," in W. Raat and William H. Beezley, eds., *Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), pp. 44-54.

[23] Both jokes are quoted in Limón, "United States-Mexico Border," p. 218.

[24] Raat, "Mexican Pet," p. 51.

[25] Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," *Daedalus: Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 90, no. 2 (Spring 1961).

[26] This is the subject of the superb article, Renato I. Rosaldo, Jr., "The Rhetoric of Control: Ilongots Viewed as Natural Bandits and Wild Indians," in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society,* ed. Barbara A. Babcock (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978). For Mexico in the late nineteenth century, see William H. Beezley, "Rocks and Rawhide," in *Judas at the Jockey Club* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

[27] Raat, "Mexican Pet," pp. 49-50.

[28] See Jan Harold Brunvand, *"The Mexican Pet," in* The Mexican Pet: More "New" Urban Legends and Some Old Favorites (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1986), pp. 21-23.

[29] *The Wall Street Journal,* 30 July 1987.

[30] This tale brings to mind the lore about Mexican bakers (panaderos) and their repartee with customers about types of bread. The bisquete is round with a small protrusion on the top. Bakers ask customers if they know how these biscuits are shaped and then pantomime pressing dough against the belly to be imprinted by the navel. The baker then asks with unmistakable doble sentido; Adivina cómo se hacen las donas [Guess how doughnuts are made]. See Alicia Maria González, "Guess How Doughnuts are Made," in Richard Bauman and Roger D. Abrahams, *"And Other Neighborly Names": Social Process and Cultural Image in Texas Folklore* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 104-122, the quote comes from p. 114. This is an example of the double entendre, called an *albur,* a very Mexican style of humor. See, for example, Enrique Suárez Gaona, *Cosemas* (México, D. F.: Editorial Penelope, 1980).

[31] For a discussion of humor about government corruption, see William H. Beezley, "Recent Mexican Political Humor," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 11, no. 2 (1985): 195-223.

[32] See George W. Grayson, "Oil and Politics in Mexico," *Current History* 78 (February 1980): 54; "Pressure, Payoffs, Curb Mexico Press," *The Los Angeles Times* (4 March 1987); "'Hong Kong Invasion' Hoax Sets Mexico Abuzz," *The Wall Street Journal* (16 December 1986), that reports gullibility of Mexico people who believed bogus article claiming that Hong Kong was being moved to Baja California. One Mexican displaying typical distrust of government officials said, "The more the government denies this, the more we know it's true".

[33] Dundes, "Ethnic Slurs," pp. 199-200.

[34] Certainly this demonstrates the capitalistic, materialistic base of the North American community. Nevertheless, once the Mexican is pictured as a consumer, then marketing experts will use every sophisticated technique at their command to determine Mexican preferences, that is, Mexican unique qualities. See Howard LaFranchi, "Hispanic Media, Especially on the Airwaves, Thrive in US," and Scott Armstrong, "Mickey Mouse and Avon Lady Become Bilingual," *Christian Science Monitor* (April 20, 1988), pp. 1, 6.

IDENTIDAD, REGIONALISMO Y LA IMAGEN DE LOS ESTADOUNIDENSES

ENRIQUE CONTRERAS SUÁREZ[1]

> "Después de la patria local no hay nada que interese tanto como la patria grande, y por último, coronamiento para formar al ser social, vienen las humanidades que nos hacen contemporáneos de todos los siglos y hermanos de todos los pueblos. Un localismo intenso en la base y un humanitarismo luminoso en la cumbre de toda educación, forman el hombre fuerte y generoso. Localismo he dicho, y no lo retracto, localismo intenso y no localismo estrecho. El amor intenso a todo lo que nos envuelve es un sentimiento filial. Maldito el que no ame a su suelo: maldito el que reniegue de los suyos, y mil veces maldito el que desarraiga impiamente estos amores arrancándolos del alma infantil. El amor estrecho, sin perspectivas, es digno de los pueblos que se preparan a morir en un agrio repliegue de su historia."
>
> Carlos Pereyra [2]

Este trabajo pretende describir, en una primera sección, las opiniones acerca de los estadounidenses de un grupo de intelectuales y de dirigentes de asociaciones comunitarias; aspira relacionar, estadísticamente esas opiniones con tipos de autoidentificación como mexicanos, con niveles de conocimiento de la cultura mexicana y con el resultado del desempeño de la asociación de pertenencias, y

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[2] Pereyra, Carlos. "Discurso en la inauguración de la Escuela Normal de Coahuila. 5 de febrero de 1908" en *Revista Coahuilense de Historia,* 14. Julio-agosto 1980, pp. 129-138.

quiere localizar en el espacio urbano de la frontera norte del país la distribución de esas opiniones, siguiendo los resultados de una encuesta. En una segunda sección el trabajo pretende hacer una recapitulación de estudios mexicanos recientes acerca de la identidad regional fronteriza, que es uno de los factores que se asocian a la opinión sobre los estadounidenses, tal y como se muestra en la sección anterior. El trabajo contempla una tercera sección en donde se pretende iniciar una interpretación acerca de estos temas.

Hay que aclarar que el trabajo tiene un carácter preliminar [3], pues forma parte de una investigación más amplia aún inconclusa. Uno de los objetivos perseguidos al exponerlo en esta reunión es recibir comentarios que enriquezcan su contenido y encontrar colegas interesados en estudiar temas similares, tanto en el espacio fronterizo mexicano como en el estadounidense. En esta búsqueda se parte de las premisas de que un mayor conocimiento de la cultura propia y de la cultura vecina contribuye al fortalecimiento de relaciones biculturales realistas, respetuosas y generosas, cuyo límite lo constituye el respeto mutuo de las soberanías nacionales. Se piensa que es débil dicho conocimiento cultural de la población fronteriza mexicana, tanto de la cultura mexicana como de la estadounidense y se sospecha que es igualmente débil el conocimiento bicultural de la población fronteriza estadounidense [4]. Se reconoce que el gobierno mexicano ha realizado un esfuerzo enorme por la promoción cultural, durante esta década, orientado hacia el aliento a la participación y el talento locales; al establecimiento de relaciones internacionales cordiales, y que aspira a insertarse en programas de desarrollo integrales. Dentro de las orientaciones de la política cultural de nuestro país en las fronteras, las reflexiones de este trabajo se inclinan por una política no exclusivamente de conservación de las tradiciones sino de apertura, sin temor, hacia lo contemporáneo y hacia el fomento de la producción y difusión del conocimiento bicultural.

I. Una manera de medir y analizar las opiniones hacia los estadounidenses

Se trató de captar, por medio de una pregunta abierta de una entrevista, la opinión hacia los estadounidenses: "¿Qué piensan los habitantes de su estado en torno a los estadounidenses?" [5] La encuesta fue aplicada durante el último

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[3] "Desarrollo Cultural y Participación Social en Ciudades Fronterizas Mexicanas". Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Humandidades de la UNAM. 1987. (en proceso)

[4] Martínez, Pedro Daniel. "Ambiente sociocultural en la franja fronteriza mexicana". *Memoria de la Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas de Transculturación en la Faja Fronteriza de México y Estados Unidos.* La Paz, 31 de octubre al 2 de noviembre de 1970. T.II.

[5] Véase la encuesta anexa. La formulación de esta pregunta se presta al menos a dos interpretaciones alternativas: la literal, que se refiere a una descripción del entrevistado de las imágenes de una sociedad particular; y la proyectiva, en que se refleja la opinión personal. Aquí se ha seguido esta última interpretación, sin que se hayan explorado los efectos analíticos de haber seguido la otra.

trimestre de 1987 a 130 promotores culturales y a 82 dirigentes de asociaciones comunitarias de diversas ciudades de los estados fronterizos, incluyendo las capitales de estado, las capitales de los municipios que hacen frontera y de ciertas ciudades importantes pertenecientes a dichos estados. No se partió de una muestra representativa por carecer de información previa. Sin embargo, se piensa que esta desventaja está compensada por criterios cualitativos. Se trata de opiniones socialmente importantes, pertenecientes a personas que con su trabajo influyen sobre la opinión pública y sobre la educación de los jóvenes. La promoción cultural en las fronteras forma parte de un esfuerzo nacional emergente, dentro del cual se incluyen nuevos centros de investigación y de educación superior. No se tiene noticia de una investigación previa que haya contemplado a estos sujetos de estudio.

Las opiniones de los entrevistados, en torno a los estadounidenses, se agruparon con un criterio lógico, atendiendo a la forma de distribución estadística y a la magnitud de las frecuencias, puesto que es reducido el número de entrevistas. Se procuró llegar a una escala en cuyos extremos están las opciones de aceptación (y admiración), de rechazo, y de opciones intermedias. En aquellas sobresalieron las respuestas, positivas o negativas respectivamente de las prácticas culturales de la valoración del trabajo; y del carácter personal. Se trata de opiniones simplificadas de la realidad y que la idealizan negativa o positivamente.

En las respuestas intermedias se distinguieron tres subtipos: 1) Los que no denotaban ninguna preferencia (por ejemplo, que son un reto para la nacionalidad mexicana, que hay población de ascendencia mexicana, que hay unidad familiar a ambos lados de la frontera 2) las 'utilitarias', que aseguran que la presencia estadounidense es importante para la generación de divisas, para el turismo y para proporcionar empleo, y 3) Un conjunto de "opiniones equilibradas", en el sentido de que unos admiran ciertos rasgos, pero rechazan otros como: admiración por la economía y rechazo a la política exterior; la aceptación de los mexicano-norteamericanos y el rechazo de los sajones o viceversa; aceptación de los estadounidenses que tratan bien y rechazo de los que se sienten superiores; aceptación de la tecnología y rechazo a las costumbres y moral cotidianas.

La distribución de frecuencias de este tandem es similar entre los promotores culturales (d.a.). Un poco más de la cuarta parte se inclinó por la admiración, una octava parte señaló opiniones de rechazo, casi la quinta parte expresó ideas neutras ('ni admiración ni rechazo'); poco menos de la quinta parte tuvo expresiones 'equilibradas' y menos del 10 por ciento tuvo opiniones 'utilitaristas'. Aunque en términos más generales, los d.a. señalaron en mayor medida opiniones 'intermedias'.

La autodefinición como mexicanos, mediante otra pregunta abierta, se consideró como una forma de representar la identidad nacional de este grupo de intelectuales y dirigentes de la frontera. La pregunta fue "¿Para usted

qué significa ser mexicano?". Para su conversión en variables se siguió el principio de lo pasivo y lo activo [6]: 1) La alternativa 'soberanista', que se compuso de aquellas respuestas que únicamente mencionaron el orgullo por ciertos símbolos nacionales (héroes, epopeyas, la belleza del paisaje, símbolos religiosos y ciertos hábitos cotidianos); 2) la alternativa 'desarrollista' donde además del orgullo por dichos símbolos se mencionó el apoyo al proyecto nacional de progreso o desarrollo (necesidad de sacar adelante al país, sacarlo de la crisis, sobreponerlo al subdesarrollo, por ejemplo), y 3) la alternativa del desencanto, es decir, a un orgullo variable por símbolos nacionales se agregan opiniones tristes acerca de la corrupción e ineficiencia del gobierno mexicano (la crisis hace perder la confianza, los símbolos nacionales no me significan nada, por ejemplo).

Aquí, en la autoidentificación como mexicanos de los entrevistados, el orgullo por símbolos fue el más frecuente. 45% entre los p.c. y 34% entre los d.a. contrariamente a lo esperado, por su menor disponibilidad presupuestal, los encargados de la promoción cultural presentaron menores porcentajes de 'desencanto" y de 'desarrollismo' que los dirigentes de asociaciones.

Esta forma de captar la identidad nacional tiene cierta conexión con la imagen sobre los estadounidenses. Las opiniones de 'rechazo' fueron más frecuentes entre los p.c. que se identificaron por la alternativa 'simbólica' que los que compartieron las otras alternativas. El desencanto frente al proyecto nacional se asoció entre ellos con opiniones de admiración hacia los estadounidenses. Aquellos 'desarrollistas' mostraron porcentajes sorprendentemente bajos de 'rechazo'.

En cambio, entre los d.a. la identificación 'simbólica' no se asoció con opiniones de 'rechazo', y la identificación 'desarrollista' se relacionó con mayores porcentajes de respuestas 'neutras y utilitaristas' frente a los estadounidenses.

Las 'opiniones equilibradas' no presentaron variaciones sistemáticas con las alternativas de la autoidentificación como mexicanos, indicando esto que su variación está sujeta a otras influencias conectadas posiblemente con un mayor conocimiento personal de la cultura estadounidense y/o con resultados de investigaciones científicas.

La opción por las alternativas de autoidentificación 'desarrollistas' y de 'desencanto' está condicionada por un mayor esfuerzo de análisis y de conocimiento personal que el implicado en la alternativa simbólica. Más aún, Castro Agúndez ha explicado que esta identificación de símbolos nacionales en los fronterizos pueden ser abstracta, impersonal y lejana, o arraigada y cálida, dependiendo del nivel de conocimiento de la cultura regional. Con un mayor conocimiento de ella es posible relacionar el cariño por los símbolos nacionales, dentro de una relación entre lo concreto y lo abstracto, entre lo impersonal y lo

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[6] Díaz Guerrero, Rogelio. "Características y valores de las culturas mexicana y estadounidense". *Memorias de la Mesa Redonda... Op. Cit.*

personal, y entre lo lejano-extraordinario y lo cotidiano [7]. El mensaje de Carlos Pereyra al inicio de este trabajo coincide con tal apreciación, cuando afirma que con un regionalismo enraizado en las relaciones sociales y enriquecido con el conocimiento humanista amplía el horizonte y la generosidad de las personas.

Se ha procurado rastrear algunos efectos del nivel de conocimiento de la cultura propia y del desempeño de las metas de las instituciones de pertenencia sobre la imagen de los estadounidenses, utilizando dos preguntas en cada uno de los factores señalados.

Para el caso del nivel de conocimientos culturales se usaron las siguientes preguntas:

a) "En cuanto a las costumbres, tradiciones y creencias del pueblo de México, ¿podemos decir que éstas están ... 1) desapareciendo, 2) permanecen igual, 3) se intensifican, 4) están cambiando?"

b) "¿Por qué considera importantes las tradiciones, costumbres y creencias más comunes en el estado?"

En la primera pregunta –pregunta cerrada–, los entrevistados mismos complementaron la respuesta con la alternativa número cuatro. Aquí se considera que es más correcta la idea de que las tradiciones están cambiando, por razones que se esbozan en la segunda sección de este trabajo, frente a la otra idea de que ellas están desapareciendo, permanecen iguales o se intensifican. No obstante, aquella idea sólo fue compartida por la octava parte de los entrevistados. La mayoría se inclinó por pensar que las tradiciones están desapareciendo. Un 48 por ciento de los dirigentes de asociaciones y un 44 por ciento de los promotores culturales así lo manifestó. Casi la cuarta parte de los entrevistados convino en que las tradiciones permanecen sin alteración y un poco más de la décima parte, que se estaban intensificando.

En la mitad de los dirigentes de asociaciones, partidarios de la noción de que las tradiciones estaban cambiando, se observaron opiniones de tipo intermedio frente a los estadounidenses (ni de admiración ni de rechazo), contra de un 18 por ciento de los que pensaba que estaban desapareciendo. Estos partidarios de esta última opción manifestaron opiniones más 'admirativas' de los estadounidenses. Esta misma tendencia se apreció entre los promotores culturales, aunque entre ellos fueron relativamente más importantes las opiniones de 'rechazo' entre los que pensaban que las tradiciones mexicanas están cambiando. En las respuestas a la segunda pregunta –pregunta abierta– también se aprecia que con un mayor conocimiento cultural las opiniones sobre los estadounidenses tienden a ser menos 'admirativas'. Se supuso en este caso que existe mayor conocimiento cultural en las respuestas que afirman que la función cumplida por las tradiciones tiene que ver con el refuerzo de la comunicación social interna. Entre los promotores culturales una décima parte

[7] Castro Agúndez, José *Patria Chica.* Tipos, Paisajes, Anécdotas, Relatos, Artículos, Discursos, La Paz, B.C.S. Edición del autor, 1979. pp. 101-102.

respondió que las tradiciones de su estado no tienen importancia ni reciben interés de la comunidad.

Hubo mayor proporción de opiniones 'admirativas' entre los entrevistados que se inclinaron por respuestas reafirmativas y menor proporción de opiniones 'intermedias'. A la inversa, los que apuntaron a la función social integradora de las tradiciones presentaron respuestas 'admirativas' en menor proporción y mayor proporción de respuestas 'intermedias' frente a los estadounidenses. Las respuestas 'admirativas' más frecuentes se presentaron entre los promotores culturales que señalaron que no había interés comunitario por las tradiciones mexicanas.

Finalmente se abordó el factor desempeño, como un antecedente explicativo más de la opinión acerca de los estadounidenses. Las preguntas que se formularon son:

a) "¿Qué importancia concede el gobierno del estado a las opiniones de los intelectuales y artistas en torno a la identidad nacional?"

b) "¿Por qué piensa que su organización contribuye a la defensa de la identidad nacional y cultural en la frontera?"

El mayor desempeño (potencial) se localiza en la alternativa 'mucha' de la primera pregunta, que es una pregunta cerrada. Esta representa una posibilidad de cumplir las metas personales con el apoyo; gubernamental. Un poco más de la octava parte de los entrevistados consideró que el apoyo gubernamental a los intelectuales era nulo; casi la cuarta parte pensó que el apoyo era escaso y otro tanto que sólo era regular, en tanto que una quinta parte afirmó que era 'mucho' el apoyo.

Para los entrevistados, compartir esta última opinión se asoció con una menor 'admiración' y mayor importancia de opiniones intermedias y viceversa.

La contribución a la defensa de la identidad regional, por parte de la organización de pertenencia, se ha considerado un indicador del desempeño más cercano a la posibilidad de decisión individual. Las alternativas de respuesta han sido cuatro para esta pregunta abierta:

1) realiza eventos y acciones valiosos, que se identifican con un mayor desempeño; 2) defiende la nacionalidad mexicana, como alternativa media; 3) cuenta con diversas carencias, y 4) no hay interés para los eventos y acciones de la organización.

Una quinta parte de los entrevistados consideró que su respectiva organización realizaba eventos valiosos; una tercera parte, que defendía la nacionalidad; una sexta parte, que se contaba con diversas carencias y una octava parte (en los promotores culturales) consideró que no había interés para los eventos que organizaba su asociación. El bajo desempeño estuvo acompañado de mayor proporción de respuestas 'admirativas' y menor proporción de respuestas 'intermedias' y viceversa. Pero además, el alto desempeño de la asociación también estuvo acompañado de una alta proporción de respuestas de rechazo en ambos tipos de entrevistados.

En resumen, las opiniones sobre los estadounidenses estuvieron asociadas a tipos de identificaciones como mexicanos, a niveles de conocimiento de la cultura nacional y a tipos de desempeño de tareas grupales y organizativas. Las respuestas 'intermedias' sobre los estadounidenses las compartieron más los entrevistados que se autoidentificaron apoyando al proyecto nacional o viéndolo con desencanto, más que los que se identificaron como defensores de los símbolos nacionales, los que habían asimilado un mayor nivel de conocimiento de su cultura y los que sentían que era alto el desempeño de sus respectivas asociaciones. Sin embargo, proporciones importantes de 'rechazo' se presentaron entre los entrevistados cuyas asociaciones tenían un elevado desempeño.

En seguida se intentará ofrecer un panorama de la distribución espacial de las opiniones sobre los estadounidenses y de la autoidentificación como mexicanos, en términos de los estados fronterizos, el tamaño de la localidad y el tipo de asociación de pertenencia.

Con mayores frecuencias relativas se presentaron, en las imágenes sobre los estadounidenses de los *dirigentes de asociaciones,* opiniones de 'admiración' en Coahuila, especialmente entre los dirigentes de asociaciones culturales. Las opiniones de 'rechazo' se registraron con mayor importancia relativa entre los dirigentes de asociaciones no culturales, empresariales o sindicales de Tamaulipas. Las opiniones 'intermedias' privaron más entre los dirigentes sindicales, sin que se lograran distinguir otras características adicionales. Las opiniones 'equilibradas' las compartieron en mayor proporción los dirigentes culturales y de otros tipos de asociaciones no económicas de los estados de Tamaulipas, Chihuahua y Sonora.

La distribución de las opiniones de los *promotores culturales* no coincidió completamente con las de los dirigentes de asociaciones comunitarias. Las opiniones de 'admiración' fueron más frecuentes entre los promotores de instituciones federales radicados en ciudades del noreste. Las opiniones de 'rechazo' se localizaron más entre los promotores de instituciones de educación superior de Sonora y Chihuahua. Las opiniones 'intermedias' se hallaron más comúnmente entre los promotores culturales de los gobiernos municipales de esos mismos estados. Finalmente las opiniones 'equilibradas' se localizaron entre los funcionarios de instituciones de educación superior de las Bajas Californias.

En la distribución espacial de la autoidentificación como mexicanos, se distinguieron las opiniones 'simbólicas' y 'desarrollistas' de residentes de ciudades medias y chicas del noroeste, sobre todo de dirigentes empresariales y de promotores culturales de gobiernos municipales. Y entre los entrevistados que concordaron más con opiniones de 'desencanto' destacaron los promotores culturales de instituciones de educación superior de las Baja Californias y los dirigentes de asociaciones culturales de estados del noreste.

II. LA IDENTIDAD REGIONAL EN UNA PERSPECTIVA MÁS AMPLIA

La exposición de la sección precedente es una muestra de la gran heterogeneidad de identificaciones que presenta apenas un pequeño sector de la sociedad fronteriza, cuya descripción parece, por momentos, hasta escaparse de las correas interpretativas. Dicha heterogeneidad cultural es comparable a otras heterogeneidades sociales, económicas y políticas. Pero si se tratase de delinear la imagen más sobresaliente dentro de ese heterogéneo espectro cultural quizá, emergería un cuadro, en donde lo central es un tipo de identificación más emotiva que reflexiva de los símbolos nacionales, acompañado de una apreciación pesimista de que ellos están desapareciendo, especialmente entre los jóvenes. El segundo tipo de identificación, más reflexivo, se escinde entre el apoyo al proyecto nacional y el desencanto, y sólo emerge recientemente.

Este tipo de identificación se deja acompañar con más profundo conocimiento y mayor desempeño organizativo por imágenes de los estadounidenses menos idealizadas y propias de una situación de mercado: neutras y utilitarias, en donde es valioso saber adaptarse a las circunstancias y tratar de obtener lo mejor de los dos mundos.

Tal imagen sobresaliente se deja captar gracias a un esfuerzo que debe partir de la observación de las relaciones sociales fronterizas más recientes y que pretende distanciarse tanto de una visión centralista y soberanista, como de una visión federalista. De aquélla, porque apela con arrogancia a elementos esencialistas y estáticos, introduciendo fácilmente la mistificación de la historia; y de ésta, porque idealiza despreocupadamente el nacionalismo de la población fronteriza, inmunizándola de los impresionantes efectos de las interacciones binacionales. Distanciándose sí, pero no ignorando ingenuamente que el actual vigor de muchos de los grupos emergentes, en la actualidad, asienta su poder sobre una infraestructura financiada, en buena parte, por la Federación; es decir, que no puede renegar, con el antiestatismo de hoy día, de su origen parcial estatal. Tampoco se debe ignorar que existe una lucha por la soberanía, librada desde posiciones asimétricas, en donde se fraguan planes para la creación de una franja fronteriza relativamente autónoma de la influencia política de ambos países, pero ocupada por empresas de capital norteamericano fundamentalmente que, con el tiempo, evolucionaría hacia un estado asociado de la Unión Americana. Dicha evolución obtendría su energía de la similitud de intereses federalistas de las poblaciones de los estados de ambos lados de la línea fronteriza. La esperanza mexicana de que no se presente esa evolución, posiblemente dependa de la fortaleza *renovada y crítica* de la identidad nacional y regional de las poblaciones fronterizas, reforzada por la difusión y reproducción de los símbolos nacionales. Quizá dependa de la satisfacción de las ansias de participación política y de la satisfacción de necesidades urbanas básicas, que son dos pilares de la construcción de dicha identidad renovada y crítica.

La construcción de esa identidad la está llevando a cabo la sociedad fronteriza en una coyuntura desfavorable:

- Cuando el modelo del estado federal deja de representar un enfoque puro y alternativo al modelo estadounidense, en la medida en que las relaciones binacionales obligan a introducir crecientes cambios en las directrices federales mexicanas, en materia de regulación cambiaria, de la inversión extranjera y en materia de comercio internacional, no siempre favorables a la población fronteriza.
- Cuando está cambiando el modelo de participación de estado en la vida económica y no se desarrollan con la misma velocidad las organizaciones sustitutas de la sociedad civil.
- Cuando la recesión económica se prolonga y la crisis fiscal se acentúa, elevando el costo de la prestación de servicios públicos, agudizando las disparidades sociales y la segregación urbana, y desencatándose el nacionalismo simbólico abstracto y lejano. El nacionalismo se entristece. [8]
- Cuando por motivos políticos, en los Estados Unidos no se pone freno a la cuantiosa demanda de drogas y el tráfico irrumpe en la sociedad mexicana de la frontera, imponiendo una cultura de la violencia que limita severamente las posibilidades de una política cultural con fines de integración social, y
- Cuando arrecian nuevamente en Estados Unidos los movimientos nativistas y exclusivistas; cuando se intensifica el proteccionismo económico y cuando se restringe el tránsito internacional de parte de la población excedente de México, incrementada por la recesión económica.

En esas condiciones la población incorpora, sin muchas oportunidades de discernimiento, una serie muy diversa de mecanismos de socialización que prometen soluciones inmediatas y muestra su indiferencia hacia las soluciones de mediano plazo que implican fidelidad hacia normas antes vigentes, puesto que ya han mostrado que no funcionan. Así se encuentra en varios mecanismos de socialización la mezcla de directrices extranjeras y de directrices nacionales volviéndolos difíciles de clasificar en 'internos' o 'externos'. Ellos reciben del exterior la concepción, el apoyo organizativo económico y técnico. Del interior reciben necesidades, carencias, la herencia de un mal funcionamiento socializador y gubernamental; el sentimiento de soledad y desesperación, las aspiraciones de cambio en la división del trabajo, al interior de la familia; las aspiraciones por interpretar racionalmente la realidad y menos por la fe y el dogma.

La dirección de los cambios derivados de esos mecanismos de socialización,

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[8] Meyer, Lorenzo. "El nacionalismo triste". *Excelsior,* México, de julio de 1987.

en consecuencia son más variados, respecto a la experiencia histórica de otros tiempos y latitudes.

En el caso de los movimientos sociales organizados estas observaciones se hacen más evidentes, en la medida en que con cierta facilidad tienden a vincular reivindicaciones políticas, económicas y culturales, y en la medida en que los dirigentes tienen acceso a la difusión cuando el Estado los asimila.

El sustrato compuesto por las redes sociales más próximas a los individuos (familia, barrio, localidad) también se ve sometido a la heterogeneidad y el debilitamiento, debido a la diversidad de los orígenes geográficos y culturales de sus miembros y a la ausencia de símbolos locales que vinculen a los nativos con los migrantes. Si el regionalismo encuentra en su discurso esos símbolos locales, se le abren posibilidades integradoras, alentándose el 'factor esperanza' entre los desposeídos y puede evolucionar hacia estadios universalizadores. Si no los encuentra, se estanca en el regionalismo estrecho y su potencial se pierde en las rencillas personales, en el favoritismo y en el chovinismo. La arrogancia y la centralización del poder y de la capacitación técnica de las élites originarias del centro del país, así como la existencia de estereotipos sólo imposibilita con el 'antichilanguismo' y el 'antiguachismo' las posibilidades de integración entre clases y regiones, el conocimiento mutuo de las diferentes culturas y el surgimiento de un regionalismo altruísta y creativo, buscando constantemente chivos expiatorios [9].

III. Elementos para una interpretación de la identidad regional

La pregunta por la identidad no supone la pérdida absoluta de la misma, puesto que ella está enraizada en profundos y antiguos mecanismos de socialización, sino la insatisfacción frente a una pérdida relativa y frente a dificultades para mejorar la situación presente [10].

La pregunta por la identidad tampoco puede llegar a captar la esencial o verdadera identidad, porque sus características son históricas y están sujetas a cambios.

El sentido de la identidad reside en su funcionalidad. No tiene caso hablar de ella si no se responde para qué sirve y qué se va a hacer con ella [11]. Su uso se enmarca dentro de la aspiración historicista de conocer el pasado para transformar el presente. En su seno se reconocen elementos de la tradición, de la descripción del presente y de los proyectos del futuro. En Latinoamérica, la dinámica de la identidad abarca la oposición entre la centralización del poder y la participación de los organismos de la sociedad civil, así como el planteamiento

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[9] Valenzuela Arce, José Manuel. "Sobre guachos y chilangos". *Cultura Norte,* México, Vol. 1, No. 3, noviembre-enero 1988. pp. 19-21.

[10] O'Gorman, Edmundo. "Latinoamérica; así no". *Nexos.* México, 123, marzo 1988. pp. 13-14.

[11] Sabines, Jaime. "La identidad de los antiguos sueños.*Nexos,* México, 123, marzo 1988. p. 12.

de modelos alternativos de desarrollo [12]. De esta manera se unen cultura y política, política cultural y cultura política.

La búsqueda de esencias en la identidad conduce a la creación de mitos, cuya vigencia estriba en su capacidad de generar efectos políticos. En presencia de intensos cambios sociales, el discurso cultural recreador de tradiciones pierde su vigencia con el desencantamiento provocado por la racionalización y la intelectualización. Entonces la realidad se vuelve triste, sosa y utilitaria. Sus miembros se entregan al relativismo precario, a lo provisional y al enojoso escepticismo [13]. Disminuye en consecuencia su capacidad de generar lazos de solidaridad en el presente y lazos de unión entre el pasado y el presente. El uso mítico de los rasgos de unión del pasado se desgasta frente a la investigación histórica que muestra la existencia de conflictos en el pasado y en el presente. En la medida en que futuras investigaciones confirmen los resultados del presente estudio, se puede añadir a lo dicho que la identidad tradicionalista y emotiva está más cercana a imágenes imitativas, idealizadas y poco críticas de los estadounidenses que las identidades desencantadas y desarrollistas. Estas imágenes no estimulan un conocimiento más profundo de las culturas, que es una de las fuentes para erradicar sentimientos estrechos y prejuiciosos.

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[12] González Casanova, Pablo. "Trazos del coloquio". *Cultura y creación intelectual en América Latina* (Pablo González Casanova coord.) México. IIS-UNAM, Siglo XXI Eds. 1984. p. XIX.

[13] Weber, Max. Citado por Ortíz Monasterio, Luis. "Palabras del presidente del Seminario de Cultura Mexicana". *Memoria de la Mesa Redonda... Op. Cit.* T.I. p. 50.

IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES IN SELECTED MEXICAN COMIC BOOKS

CHARLES TATUM

Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart's 1972 book, *Para leer el Pato Donald. Comunicación de masas y colonialismo [How to Read Donald Duck. Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic* [1], contributed significantly to popularizing in Latin America the imperialist theory of cultural relations between First and Third World countries, in particular the United States and the nations south of its border. Dorfman and Mattelart studied what they perceived to be the capitalist values and behavior imbedded in Disney comic books highly popular in Chile before and during the presidency of Salvador Allende (1970-1973). From an analyis of the comic books' content they extrapolated to the dangers that these seemingly inoffensive stories posed to Chilean children during their formative years. They viewed these values as reflective of the "American dream of life" that the United States imposed upon Third World countries in order to guarantee its own economic and political survival.

Their underlying thesis of cultural imperialism is now a standard approach for cultural critics who focus on Latin America. A basic tenet of this approach, the role that various cultural industries–radio, television, photonovels, comic books, advertising, etc.–play within the underdeveloped economies and societies, is derived from the dependency paradigm, a view of the development process that departs markedly from the more accepted Western models of modernization and development.

While the modernization paradigm, in vogue among United States social scientists and economic aid policy planners during the late 1950s and early 1960s, focuses on internal processes of development and the role of social values, the dependency theory is based on an analysis of the relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries. The development process and problems of the Third World are examined within the context of these relationships. Accordingly, Third World countries occupy a subordinate position to developed countries

in the international economic and political systems. The latter strive to maintain their dominant position and their own process of development at the expense of the developmental needs of the former.

Dependency theorists focus on the relationship between what they identify as the "center" (the developed countries) and the "periphery" (the underdeveloped countries). They see this relationship reproduced in the structure of internal relationships; that is, the polarization between the urban sector, whose interests are often allied and coincide with those of the developed countries (the center), and the rural sector (the periphery), which exists in an exploitative relationship to the urban sector. The role of transnational corporations in dominating the underdeveloped economies is key.

Cultural imperialist theorists such as Herbert I. Schiller focus on these transnational corporations as cultural industries that are essential in shaping a dependent relationship between developed and Third World countries. A primary concern of Schiller revolves around the deleterious cultural consequences that transnational corporations and their domestic counterparts have on Third World societies, especially on their behavior and world view of various audiences.

When we apply the Schiller model–which Dorfman and Mattelart also set forth in their 1972 book–to the Mexican comic, we find that what dominates the creation and distribution of this very important Mexican cultural product is not a monolithic multinational but several smaller, autonomous entrepreneurial companies with virtually no interrelated financial ties. And very different from the Disney comics central to Dorfman and Mattelart's thesis, many of the more popular comic book titles do not reflect the world view of the "center," that is, of the dominant capitalist countries. This is nowhere more apparent than in the image of the United States found in the works of Eduardo del Río (Rius), and the post-Rius version of *Los supermachos.*

Rius

Eduardo del Río, more popularly known to millions of his readers by his pen name Rius, is unusual among comic book writers in Mexico. He is prolific, versatile, and controversial and was, for many years, the creator of the most explicitly political comic book in his country and perhaps in all of Latin America. Alan Riding, former Bureau Chief for the *The New York Times* in Mexico City, calls him a maverick who has set himself apart from other cartoonists by using his comic book form to carry his political message to a mass audience.

In both of his comic books, *Los supermachos* and *Los agachados*, Rius creates fictitious towns populated by characters representative of various Mexican social types, institutions, and values. While these characters express verbally or through their behaviors a wide range of attitudes and values, they can hardly be seen as

constituting a microcosm of Mexican society. For the most part, the characters and settings are rural as Rius seems to studiously avoid references to the Mexican urban experience.

On page one of the first number of *Los supermachos*, the author introduces San Garabato–it has been suggested that the name derives from a large-sized illegible scrawl or refers to a sharp hook or knife well-known to the Mexican peasant–as a land of "machos, borrachos y compachos" ["*machos*, drunks and buddies"]. He continues, tongue in cheek, that it is a worthless, insignificant town, just like other Mexican towns in terms of the number of *machos* and drunks who live there. San Garabato, however, surpasses others since the *machos-machos* [second-rank *machos*] have left to become *braceros* [Mexican agricultural workers in the United States] or mariachis due to the scarcity of gainful employment.

San Garabato has nothing to distinguish it from most other Mexican towns. The architecture, while typical, is not without appeal: tile-roofed buildings, key-stoned doorways, wrought-iron window grates. While it has a jail and a cemetery, it is evidently too small to have a school. It has no telephones, movie houses, newspapers, soccer nor baseball stadium, or restaurants, other than one bar. It is so indistinguishable and so plain a town that in the first number a meeting is called by Don Perpetuo to rally the townsfolk to discuss what can be done to attract outsiders, especially *gringos* [American tourists], to bring some money into the community. A unique plan is devised: the town will publicize in Mexico City newspapers that the head of Pancho Villa, one of Mexico's revolutionary heroes, has been discovered in the local cemetery.

Rius, in Number 30, reiterates how boring and uneventful life is in his fictitious town, and this serves his purpose well: to create a compendium of social, historical, political, and cultural forces that characterize contemporary Mexico. The fact that the setting is rural does not prevent him from introducing problems that plague all Mexicans. The most important components of the population are amply represented. A summary of the various social types represented in San Garabato reveals the possibilities Rius has allowed himself for presenting the myriad problems–some dating from colonial times, others created by Mexico's rush into industrialization in the twentieth century– which have afflicted Mexican society in the sixties and the seventies.

Juan Calzónzin is the most obvious representative of the twenty percent of Mexico's population which is Indian. While of humble origins and not formally educated, he is nonetheless very astute and philosophically oriented. It has been suggested that perhaps he is the spokesman for Rius himself. Calzónzin is a Tepuja Indian with no white blood. Through him, Rius introduces us in a succinct way to the perpetual problem of the Indian as a totally disenfranchised segment of the population that has traditionally been ignored by the government. Don Perpetuo, the local political boss, recommends that Calzónzin try to incorporate himself into civilization. However, he also recommends that his ancestral land

should be expropriated. Calzónzin never plays the role of the subjugated downtrodden alien but rather that of an independent assertive individual who is aware of his rights.

Unlike Calzónzin, Chon Prieto is described as a lazy, drunken Indian whose character is more in keeping with the negative stereotype urban upper and middle-class Mexicans have of their country's original inhabitants. Rius defends his portrayal of Chon as a reflection of the rampant alcoholism which afflicts Mexico's Indians.

Don Perpetuo is perhaps the most extreme stereotype in *Los supermachos*. He is a fat, loud-mouthed cacique who has little tolerance for insubordination or disrespect on the part of any of the townspeople, especially those who are beneath him socially. He wears boots, an absurdly large Western cowboy hat, and dark glasses, and sports a large moustache. Don Perpetuo is generally depicted with his mouth open, shouting orders at the town's policemen and other municipal officials. Significantly, he is often addressed as *fuhrer*, a title that corresponds with his demeanor, his role within the town's political life, and his historical role in Mexican history as a rural regional boss with absolute authority. His office is the bar, his desk the bar counter; it is here that he convenes a meeting to discuss attracting more money into San Garabato. In spite of his awesome power, Rius allows Don Perpetuo to be dominated by his wife, Doña Pomposa.

Froylán Osorio appears in only the first numbers of *Los supermachos* but long enough for Rius to ridicule the high airs and pomposity of Mexican intellectuals, especially those dilettantes who make pronouncements on every conceivable subject from Aristotle to Zarathustra. He would appropriately fit the description of the office snob coined by one of our recent vice presidents. Rius takes him to task for refusing to work and for his exclusive "artistic" interest in selling to the highest bidder. Apparently he believes that the essence of poetry is rhyme, for when we meet him he blithely utters: "Acá toy y no me voy" [Here I am, and I'm not leaving]."

Lucas Estornino, druggist, is a lukewarm politician. He is not very assertive about his ideals, seems intent on pleasing Don Perpetuo, and is more interested in life's comforts than in putting into operation any abstract political ideas.

Arsenio, San Garabato's sheriff, takes orders from Don Perpetuo, always carries them out and never takes any self-initiative. He is thus an ideal public official who is not willing to risk incurring the wrath of his superiors. Lechuzo, his redheaded helper, also is depicted as a faithful lackey of Don Perpetuo. He enforces the "law" with his omnipresent billy club.

Emerenciana, a *beata*, embodies all the worst qualities of the perpetually black-robed women whose devotion to the Catholic Church has no equal. Fortunately, Rius has softened this character with comic elements. Yet she and the other church-going women of *Los supermachos* represent the traditionally conservative character of the Latin American Catholic Church.

Don Fiacro Franco represents the *gachupin* [translated Spaniard] popula-

tion in Mexican society. He wears the typical Spaniard's *boina* [beret] and *alpargatas* [hemp sandals] and speaks with the Castilian *zeta*. As discussed earlier, he is a carryover from the political cartoon and most satirists have replaced him with the American businessman. The Franco of *Los supermachos* not only represents this segment of the Mexican population but also obviously refers to the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, to whom Rius will later devote a scathing critical number of *Los agachados*.

In Rius' second comic book, *Los agachados*, he creates another fictitious town, Chayotitlán, with a complete cast of characters who, in a rough way, resemble the inhabitants of San Garabato: Professor Gumaro, a young leftist intellectual whose observations on politics and society are similar to those of Calzónzin; Don Céfiro, a kind of lower class Sancho Panza whose closest parallel in *Los supermachos* is Chon Prieto; Doña China who, although not a beata, voices many of the same concerns as Emerenciana; Yocupicio, the policeman, who functions in Chayotitlán as Estorino does in San Garabato; Don Galileo, an innocent and bumbling shopkeeper; Espiridión, the *campesino; el licenciado* Trastupijes, a more sophisticated version of Don Perpetuo; Don Filipino, a conservative industrialist; an older priest; Doña Tecla, "*una mujer decente*" ["an upstanding woman"); Ruquito, a world-wise and drunken old peasant; Lincoro, a fat buffoon; Micaela, a lady who comes back to Chayotitlán after marrying well; and Sr. Diputado, who behaves as arrogantly as Don Perpetuo.

Rius uses this format as the focal point of interaction between the various representative characters. As in *Los supermachos*, intellectuals threaten the status quo and suffer the consequences; various political, social, and cultural forces clash, citizens' rights are frequently violated, and the lack of education and literacy programs are revealed. In addition, Professor Gumaro, who is more educated and knowledgeable than his counterpart, the naturally wise Calzónzin, uses every pretext to educate his companions through lessons in history, politics and ideology.

Rius' characterization of the United States is decidedly negative, especially when viewed in its political, economic, and cultural relationships with Mexico. The extent to which Rius believes that American values (and products) are more acceptable to many Mexicans than their own is depicted on the cover of Number 40 1/2. Calzónzin and Chon are talking to one another. One asks: "¿Y pa qué le gustaría hablar en ingiés?" ["Why would you want to speak in English?"]. The other answers: "¿Pos en qué país cree que vivimos?" ["Well, in what country do you think we live in?"). This depressing conception of Mexico's sellout to the United States is carried out in other numbers. For example, on the cover of Number 79, Calzónzin is sitting on a rock playing a guitar and singing a lament to the effect that everything in Mexico has always been dominated by foreign interests. The entire number provides a catalogue of U.S. products with which forty million middle-class Mexicans are enamored. Reflecting on exploitive U.S. business interests in Mexico, the wise Calzónzin tells us how the astute American

deceives the Mexican by hiring him to work for low wages in plants that they (the Americans) own. The manufactured products are then sold to Mexicans at high prices and the high profits leave the country. The cover of Number 56 shows Calzónzin holding a sign "Gringas sí, Yanquis no," indicating that Mexicans, while welcoming nubile and available American women, have strong feelings against American economic interests in Mexico. Within the pages of this same number, American exploitation comes directly to San Garabato in the form of Meester Rosk–an obvious play on then Secretary of State Dean Rusk–a gangster-type, who establishes a company in the town with the willing cooperation of Don Perpetuo and his side-kick Arsenio who clears the streets of drunks, communists, and ugly and skinny people so that the foreign visitor will not be offended.

Many of Rius' individual cartoons depict the United States, symbolized by Uncle Sam, as a manipulator of Mexican government officials and business interests and this view persists in *Los agachados*, his second comic book. The themes of economic and cultural imperialism are found throughout the eight-year duration of the comic book and give unity to the many individual issues in which the United States is referred to. The cover of Number 130 visually depicts this view of the historical relationship between the two countries: Uncle Sam is shown sitting on a toilet which is the map of Mexico. This same issue catalogues the many ways in which Mexico is dominated by its northern neighbor. This is prefaced by what Rius believes are the three key abuses of Mexico by the United States: 1) a dumping ground for the disposal of its trash: saline water, industrial waste, war-shattered veterans, hippies, drug addicts, and decrepit retirees; 2) a source of abundant cheap labor; 3) a beautiful and inexpensive vacation spot–Rius comments "if Mexico is a garden, Mexicans are the gardeners."

With his co-author, Heberto Castillo, Rius in *Huele a gas* warns us that we should be aware of the political decisions and other international ramifications that are likely to result from the recent discovery of an abundant supply of oil in Mexico. Of particular concern to Castillo and Rius is the likelihood that the United States–depicted on the cover as Uncle Sam who is sniffing the air for the smell of gas–with the complicity of Mexican officials, will deprive the people of their natural resources and, therefore, of the possibility of eradicating hunger, illiteracy, and sickness.

Whether he is dealing with the revolution or the United States' powerful influence on the country's culture and economy, Rius, in his comic books and illustrated books focuses heavily on Mexico. He is sharply critical of Mexican officials who, because of greed and corruption, allow themselves to be manipulated by foreign interests. The writer deals also with social myths and behavior that he believes are threats to a healthy, dynamic society. But while emphasizing these and other negative aspects of Mexico, Rius believes that change and progress are possible if modeled after other decent socialist experiments around the world.

THE POST-RIUS LOS SUPERMACHOS

Although several countries such as France, England, Spain, Cuba, and the Soviet Union are described in the pages of the post-Rius *Los Supermachos* as militarists and aggressors, the principal culprit is the United States. Several numbers are devoted to United States imperialism, mainly in Latin America and Mexico, but also in other parts of the world such as South Vietnam. Again, the particular focus of *Los supermachos* is not on the fact that the United States is a capitalist country, but rather on the aggressive exporting of its ideology and economic interests through the overpowering threat of military intervention and other more subtle means.

In the number referred to above in which South Vietnam is depicted as an innocent victim of centuries of foreign domination, the United States emerges as a warmongering world power whose intentions become clear as early as 1965 when this country steps up the construction of military bases and increases the number of troops. *Los supermachos* holds the United States directly accountable for the death of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, both military and civilian, and the destruction of large areas of Vietnam through its defoliation campaign. This, coupled with the economic gain derived by large corporations from the sale of arms and herbicides, leads *Los supermachos* to draw a parallel between the United States and the Nazi war crimes revealed as the Nuremberg trials after World War II.

Los supermachos' overall view of United States foreign policy regarding Latin America is decidedly negative. Many examples of what is interpreted as United States imperialism are cited, including the Monroe Doctrine; the political and economic control of Cuba between 1901 and 1934 under the provisions of the Platt Amendment; the United States-instigated embargo of Cuba late in 1960; the occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965 by marines; military and spy activities in Nicaragua, Panama, and Guatemala during the last forty years; and the support of the Somoza family dictatorship in Nicaragua.

In several numbers of *Los supermachos*, the related issues of *malinchismo* and foreign economic imperialism in Mexico are addressed. As Malinche cooperated with the Spaniards to betray her own people so, too, have many Mexican leaders through the centuries conspired to sell out the territory, natural resources, and the culture of the Mexican people in exchange for material gain. López de Santa Ana is seen as the prototype of the *entreguistas* [the "givers"] since he is held responsible for the loss of most of the Southwest and California to the United States. *Entreguismo* enjoyed its Golden Age during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz who allowed foreign investors to take over many of Mexico's most vital industries such as mining, railroads, and utilities.

Los supermachos observes that a whole system of fraud exists that is akin to *entreguismo* and which allows foreign investors to sidestep more recent Mexican laws restricting the operations of foreign corporations: *Los prestanombres* or

those Mexicans who front for foreign companies in order to facilitate their proliferation and growth. Chon Prieto has become Mr. Gordon's business associate, and, as Calzónzin explains, this is only part of the American's network of financial holdings in and around San Garabato: Gordon's *latifundios* are in Don Plutarco's name while his mine stock is held for him by Don Perpetuo. In this way, the non-fictitious gringo is able to control business decisions while not being in violation of the Mexican law which stipulates that, in selected industries, fifty-one percent of the corporation's stock must be in the hands of Mexican nationals.

Another problem related to economic imperialism, *malinchismo, entrequismo*, and *prestanombrismo*, is that brought about by the residence in Mexico of large numbers of Americans whose influence on Mexican culture is severely criticized. Mr. Gordon, the Gringo resident of the fictitious town San Garabato, has all the worst stereotypical qualities of Americans: he is gross, materialistic, greedy, culturally insensitive, naive, exploitative, ignorant of the language, racist, suspicious, etc. He is a symbol to the comic book's readers of American culture's most negative qualities.

Soon after arriving in San Garabato, he becomes a dominant figure in the town's economic and social life. He hires Chon Prieto as his *prestanombre*, buys a mine, and invests in several other businesses. In preparation for the arrival of more retired Americans, he has remodeled a local bar which will exclude the townspeople because of their racial background. Even Don Perpetuo will not be allowed to patronize Mr. Gordon's new business, and when he protests to the American that he is the town's mayor, Mr. Gordon reminds him of the salary he pays him to fulfill such a role. Further, Mr. Gordon complains to Don Perpetuo that he is not doing his job, for he has allowed all the Indians–would-be servants for the retired American veterans Mr. Gordon is expecting–to leave San Garabato to become braceros. Don Perpetuo functions on a local level as Mr. Gordon's *entreguista*. He calls a meeting of the residents of San Garabato to convince them of the urgency of preparing the town for the Americans. Although the townspeople protest his efforts to convert San Garabato into a tourist haven, soon more Americans begin to arrive. Like the characterization of Mr. Gordon, they are also described as crass and narrow-minded. For example, when Calzónzin mentions the word "death," an American reacts by attacking him with rocks while reciting a litany of United States transgressions–Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Korea, Cuba, and Santo Domingo. Calzónzin finally brings the Americans' attack to an end by simulating an air raid siren, thus taking advantage of his irrational fear of nuclear attack.

Another American national characteristic that is satirized in *Los supermachos* is the paranoid reaction to communism. San Garabato is visited by a harmless Soviet ethnographer interested in collecting scientific data. Mr. Gordon (along with Don Plutarco) reacts with panic, conjuring up visions of hordes of Russians descending upon the helpless San Garabateños like birds of prey. He offers to

call the Pentagon on his hotline to request Army and Navy reinforcements to stop the Russian "invasion" of Latin America.

Los supermachos suggests that the distorted American attitude towards communism has affected certain sectors of the Mexican political establishment, which also has a vested interest in using this fear as a scapegoat for the lack of social progress and opposing (often in a repressive way) individuals and groups in Mexican society who press for change. Don Plutarco, the highest political official in San Garabato and the surrounding region, engages in considerable saber rattling when he learns of the Soviet visitor. Dressed in full Porfirian military dress, he cuts a ridiculous figure, waving his sword and calling San Garabateños to the barricades to defend the fatherland against the aggressors from the East.

The CIA and the entire United States counterespionage network are singled out in *Los supermachos* for their interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries and their promotion of American values, especially those associated with capitalist business interests; they are seen, therefore, as agents of both cultural and economic imperialism. Mr. Gordon is, again, the perpetrator of CIA plots and the watchdog of American interests in San Garabato. His exaggerated sense of self-importance in this role and the consequences of his resulting myopic vision of reality are satirized. In one number, he is shown in radio contact with an unidentified ally; together, they are tracing a tip that Calzónzin and Don Lucas are hatching a communist plot. He enlists the aid of Don Perpetuo and his secret police–the buffoon Arsenio and his sidekick–to track down the culprits. Mr. Gordon's crisis vanishes into thin air when he discovers that Calzónzin and Don Lucas have been installing a window, not plotting to overthrow the government.

On a more serious note, *Los supermachos* untangles for its readers the complex systems, networks, and organizations that comprise United States intelligence. The CIA is highlighted as the one organization that is so feared and hated that even the United States congressmen and other intelligence agencies have called for its dismantling. Its many front organizations and involvements in the affairs of United States organizations and of foreign governments are listed. Among the CIA's various nefarious activities discussed in *Los supermachos* are: the organizing of coups; the psychological manipulation of heads of state and others; political action; intervention against hostile governments through arms, money, and troops; and the use of science to achieve questionable political ends. In terms of cultural influence, the CIA finances mass media campaigns to promote American values, attitudes, fashions, music, etc. Reflecting a monolithic conspiratorial interpretation of contemporary events, *Los supermachos* attributes to the CIA the power to mold and control the minds of impressionable young Americans: "Y lo peor, están sembrando en la mente de sus hijos la idea del superhombre yanqui, los invencibles, los todopoderosos, los luchadores por la libertad y la democracia" ["And the worst of it is they

are planting in their children's minds the idea that the superhuman Yankee is invincible, all-powerful and the defender of peace and democracy"].

In addition to economic and cultural imperialism, another facet of United States-Mexican relationships dealt within *Los supermachos* is the treatment of the bracero as well as the related problem of the status of Chicanos in the United States. The bracero, or contract-labor program, is viewed as an asset to United States agribusiness but as a hardship on the Mexican worker. One cover of *Los supermachos* makes a succinct statement on the latter. Calzónzin remarks to Chon: "¿Yo de bracero? Prefiero consumir la explotación, los malos tratos y la discriminación que el país produce" ["Me, a bracero? I would rather accept my own country's exploitation, mistreatment and discrimination"]. Between the covers of this number, he describes his plight from the moment he is contracted in Mexico City to his return after a series of bitter experiences in the United States.

Los supermachos traces how, after losing their land and power to the Americans after 1848, Mexicans, who opted to stay in the United States, very quickly learned that their language, culture, and traditions would not be protected despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This begins a period during which Chicanos are dominated and treated as racial inferiors. The comic book summarizes their contributions to agriculture, mining, railroads, and cattle raising, that is, to the economic development of the American Southwest and California.

Los supermachos ties increasing Chicano militancy to growing anti-Americanism in Latin America, thus linking patterns of United States imperialism in foreign countries to the oppression of this colonized minority within its own country. In response to a purported call for help from Chicanos, *Los supermachos* devotes a number to discussing their traits and tribulations, the legacy of broken promises, and the determined resistance to continuing domination. Citing the Mexican José Vasconcelos' famous phrase, "Por mi raza hablará el espíritu" ["The spirit will speak for my race"], this number opens with a militant call for all Mexicans to support their Chicano brothers and sisters. It continues by listing the abuses of Chicanos at the hands of an inept and racist police force and Border Patrol, an insensitive educational system, municipal governments who regularly gerrymander voting districts in order to control elections, well-intentioned liberals who do them more harm than good by misrepresenting Chicanos to the American public, and the mass media who systematically distort the news and cast Chicanos in a negative role. In short, *Los supermachos* offers a brief catalogue of institutional racism vis-a-vis Chicanos and makes a case for cultural genocide.

In terms of its treatment of its own minorities and 'undocumented workers and its "imperialist" posture toward Mexico and other countries, the United States is decidedly cast in a villain's role in *Los supermachos*. To further discredit this country and its values, several numbers are devoted to other negative

internal aspects of American culture; crime figures prominently. The comic book characterizes the mafia or *cosa nostra* in the United States a kind of second government, a giant octopus whose tentacles extend into every area of business and government in addition to illegal activities such as drugs, gambling, and prostitution. This view of gangsterism in the United States is confirmed in several recent studies. Lawyers, judges, congressmen, the police, and even the Church come under its sphere of influence.

Los supermachos paints a chaotic picture of United States society where violence, drugs, free love, racial strife, and corruption in all realms of public and private life are in full swing, and organized crime is tied vaguely to this general state of demise. Calzónzin's fear that the struggle for power between legitimate and illegitimate forces will spill over into Mexico and other Latin American countries in a way has materialized, given the drug wars that now plague northwestern Mexico. The parallel is drawn between the United States and the decline of the Roman Empire; Mexico, in comparison, is virtually pure given the limited power of its corrupt caciques and police.

While not all Mexican comic books present a negative view of the United States, a case can be made that the titles discussed above portray the Giant to the North as a materialistic, corrupt society intent upon dominating Mexico and the rest of Latin America. These titles pass the cultural imperialism litmus test with flying colors. Collectively they defy the popular belief that all Mexican cultural industries are controlled by nefarious foreign economic interests. There is no *Pato Donald* to be found here.

NOTES

[1] Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *Para leer el Pato Donald. Comunicación de masas y colonialismo* (Mexico, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1972). This work later appeared in English translation as *How to Read Donald Duck. Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*, trans. David Kunzle (New York: International General, 1975).

COMMENTARY

DAVID G. LA FRANCE

The two papers in question deal with popular perceptions of the United States-Mexican relationship through the examination of humor. Tatum, using comics, provides a Mexican view of the United States (and, indirectly, of Mexico). Beezley bases his study of how Americans perceive Mexicans on oral expression. Both authors indicate that the connection between the two countries may be changing. In Tatum's case, the existence of Mexican–produced comic books that present a critical view of the United States implies that North American cultural industries are no longer dominant south of the border (if they ever were). Beezley asserts that the presence of more and more Mexican residents north of the border has had a positive impact on Anglo stereotypes of Mexicans, and he hints that this process has modified Mexican ideas of the United States as well.

Before examining each work individually, a few words about the nature of the sources employed are in order. Tatum depends on comics. Such printed material has an inherent class and socio-economic bias. The writer and reader of the comic must be literate. Also, for it to be published, distributed, and purchased, one must have money, sometimes very large amounts of capital. (Two of Tatum's comics, *Chanoc* and *La novela policiaca*, for example, are published by Novedades Editores, the company that also produces the Mexico City daily newspapers *Novedades* and *The News*). In contrast, Beezley's source, oral humor, requires neither the ability to read nor funds and depends on no one other than the teller and the listener to be "distributed." As such, jokes probably reflect more accurately the sentiments of the lower socio-economic classes than do comics. Also, jokes may be more representative of the masses. Oral expression cannot be restricted as easily as printed material; the latter is subject to both official as well as unofficial obstacles including self–censorship and the vagaries of distribution. Nevertheless, the large-scale consumption of comics certainly

indicates that this entertainment form does appeal to large numbers of people from nearly all walks of life.

In regard to the Tatum paper, the author points out the nature of dependency theory and outlines its implications as an explanation of imperialism, but he then says little about how the idea of cultural imperialism evolved from this mainly economic concept. Only brief mention is made of Herbert I. Schiller's focus on transnational corporations as cultural industries and the fact that Dorfman and Mattelart applied Schiller's ideas to Chile. Nevertheless, how Schiller's or other scholars' studies are linked to dependency is not fully explained. This omission is important because it leaves the reader with less than a complete understanding of exactly how cultural imperialism functions—certainly it must be different, perhaps in substantial ways, from its economic counterpart. Indeed, one might even venture so far as to ask whether cultural phenomena should be placed within a framework designed to explain economic structures, or, if so, to what extent must the framework be modified to accommodate such non-economic concepts?

One might wonder if Tatum has chosen the wrong comics to test the validity of the cultural imperialism theory in Mexico. Dorfman and Mattelart examine how a comic of foreign origin is reproduced and consumed in a Latin American country. Tatum uses, however, examples that are Mexican conceived, produced, and distributed. His study shows that the United States certainly does not control large sectors of the Mexican comic industry and that Mexican cartoonists commonly attack their northern neighbor, but does he prove that the theory is valid? What would have been his finding if he had chosen to examine, as Dorfman and Mattelart did, United States-derived comics such as Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse, or Batman?

While Tatum's examples refute the cultural dependency theory (if you accept that he has chosen the correct type of comics to employ in his study), their contents agree with if not confirm the idea of economic dependency. They talk about United States hegemony and exploitation and the willingness of certain Mexican elements to cooperate in this process. Their creators' purpose, at least in part, is to try to awaken their audience to the socio-economic and political realities which impinge upon the lives of all Mexicans. Ironically, by implicitly (if not explicitly) accepting this theory and presenting it in a simplistic manner, Mexican comics may actually be deepening the country's dependency. United States bashing too often provides a convenient excuse or scapegoat for Mexico's problems—problems that actually are imbedded in a complex combination of external as well as internal factors.

An assumption that Tatum makes and does not address in his paper is that the Dorfman and Mattelart study is valid outside of Chile. Perhaps Mexico is different enough to make a meaningful comparison impossible. After all, unlike Chile, Mexico experienced a nationalistic revolution beginning in 1910. It also has had over the decades a great deal of experience dealing

with the United States, its next–door neighbor. Also, Mexico has a large and vibrant intellectual community combined with a publishing industry that is one of the most important in Latin America. Indeed, Mexico even exports its publications, including comics, to other countries with Spanish–speaking populations including the United States; is this process a form of cultural imperialism?

The validity of Tatum's assertions would have been much easier to judge if he had provided more information about the comics he studied. First, he did not explain fully why or how he chose the particular comics that he included in his work. Second, he provides only fragmentary and in an unsystematic manner data on publishers, writers (sex, class, purpose), and distributors. Nor does he deal adequately with readership: who reads this material (class, sex, race, region, literacy level) and how is it perceived? Finally, the author offers no explanation as to why these comics are mostly set either in rural Mexico or in foreign countries, not in large urban areas where much of the Mexican populace resides. Do these metropolises exhibit characteristics with which the writers do not want to deal or do they feel that city dwellers still identify strongly, perhaps in some romantic way, with the countryside?

Tatum notes that several of the comics criticize the United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s and, in the case of the latter, applaud the North American defeat. Did these (and other) overt aggressions against smaller, lesser developed nations provide a window of opportunity for writers to criticize openly and harshly the United States–a window that allowed them partially to escape from the confines placed on them by the parameters of cultural imperialism and avoid economic and political retribution from domestic capitalists and the government?

As for Beezley's paper, his assertion that the presence of more Mexicans in the United States means less stereotyping must be questioned. He does not substantiate this point, and one might plausibly argue that additional migration results in the perpetuation of more traditional cultural images not fewer. Frequent contact does not translate into acceptance, especially if Mexican arrivals continue to come principally from the lower classes and interaction remains confined mainly to the work place. Official policy, explicit and implicit, too, plays a role in such a process, and the Ronald Reagan administration, for example, did not demonstrate any leadership in promoting better understanding between ethnic groups; maybe future leaders will.

If, however, as Beezley claims, stereotyping (as reflected by jokes) declines or becomes just "general ethnic humor," this change most likely will not be the result only of greater numbers of Mexicans in the United States. It may, instead, come about more directly as the result of immigrants organizing, protesting, and placing pressure on officials and the public to recognize their legitimate rights and to respect them both as citizens and human beings. Of course, any Mexican American movement, like the Black civil rights movement of the 1950s

and 1960s, is much more likely to have an impact on the Anglo–American psyche if it is backed by official sanction and encouragement.

Before Beezley's assertions can be tested, there is a need to examine over time the relationship between jokes and the evolving perceptions that the two ethnic communities have of each other. This process will require the systematic study of a whole corpus of oral humor, and it points out the need to rescue and preserve these ephemeral sources.

The "Attention, K-Mart Shoppers!" joke is revealing in a very important way. To claim that North Americans recognize the humanity of Mexicans because they are K-Mart customers is to deny that Mexicans are human beings in and of themselves; the joke implies that Mexicans must become United States-type capitalistic consumers before they will be recognized by their new northern neighbors as genuine people. If this fact is indeed true, then the incorporation of outsiders in the structures of North American imperialism clearly is much more than an economic phenomenon; it is the prerequisite for any relationship in which North Americans might treat foreigners with respect.

Within his framework of oral humor, Beezley does not make a clear distinction between jokes and pejorative labels. I agree that jokes based on racial stereotypes are ambiguous and can have humorous or disagreeable connotations depending on the speaker and listener. It seems, however, that labels like "Spic," "Greaser," and "Beaner," especially when used in isolation (outside of a construct designed to elicit a humorous response), are epithets, not jokes, and evoke exclusively negative connotations. Their principal aim is to ridicule, not to entertain.

Finally, Beezley needs to clarify some definitions. First, the distinction between mass and popular culture is too sharp. In many respects they overlap; indeed, in the United States popular culture now often has become synonymous with mass culture. Equating popular culture with folklore and then defining it in terms of Clifford Geertz's "common sense" is confusing. Folklore, unless defined in a broad way, implies the traditional practices and rituals of minority and isolated social groups which is not, at least in the North American sense, popular culture. The term "real people" is meaningless. Is there any person more real than another? Why not use concepts that reflect these people's position within the political and socio-economic structures in which they live-lower, class, poor, powerless, and ethnic, racial, religious, and Sexual minority, among others. These characterizations are much more useful.

In conclusion, as studies in a still very new field, these two important works raise as many questions as they answer. Nevertheless, they do point out the fact that if humor is an accurate gauge of a populace's views and feelings toward outsiders, then a great deal of misperception, bias, even anger, exists between Mexicans and North Americans. Such a picture is not a very sanguine one, but, as these papers also claim, negative attitudes may be changing for the better. Additional study needs to be undertaken in this area of study, and Tatum and Beezley clearly have pointed the way.

V. IMPACTOS: FRONTERA, OPINION PUBLICA Y QUIENES TOMAN LAS DECISIONES / IMPACTS: BORDER, PUBLIC OPINION AND DECISION MAKERS

INTERACCION TRANSFRONTERIZA E INTER-BILATERALIDAD; EL NARCOTRAFICO Y LA MIGRACION INDOCUMENTADA COMO PROBLEMAS DE COMUNICACION

JORGE A. BUSTAMANTE

INTRODUCCION

Las relaciones entre México y Estados Unidos serán cada vez más difíciles de evaluar con un sólo calificativo que se aplique con igual realismo a todas las áreas que componen su creciente complejidad. Podrán, por ejemplo, ser buenas en el área de comercio de hidrocarburos y malas en el comercio de hortalizas o pésimas en la pesca del atún. O muy buenas en transferencia de tecnología, muy malas en trabajadores migratorios y pésimas en anti-narcotráfico. La posibilidad de combinaciones de contrastes en el estado de las relaciones bilaterales por áreas, ha crecido exponencialmente en las últimas décadas. No hay sólo un factor que esté produciendo esta creciente complejidad. Se podría decir que el creciente desarrollo de la economía a nivel nacional y, sobre todo, a nivel regional en el norte de México, ha producido un cierto acercamiento en la enorme desigualdad que caracteriza a las economías respectivas y que este acercamiento, o reducción de la asimetría en desarrollo económico, ha propiciado condiciones para que surjan nuevas áreas en la relación bilateral. Sin embargo no es sólo el desarrollo económico; están también las comunicaciones electrónicas, la tendencia mundial hacia una mayor interdependencia entre los países, el desarrollo cultural en ambos lados de la frontera, etc. Frente a este panorama de multicausalidad de la creciente complejidad de las relaciones bilaterales, pueden ayudar a su entendimiento los conceptos de interacción transfronteriza y de internacionalidad de lo interno. Usando el primer concepto se podría decir que la creciente complejidad de las relaciones bilaterales es

concomitante a la creciente interacción entre factores (personas, instituciones) y que se hace necesario para el análisis, una mayor especificidad del concepto "relaciones bilaterales". En otros trabajos ha sido propuesto el concepto de "procesos de interacción transfronteriza" que, siguiendo la teoría de Max Weber respecto del concepto de "acción social", se puede entender como el conjunto de acciones sistemáticas orientadas intencionalmente hacia la producción de efectos en el país vecino, por personas o instituciones (actores) con un código mínimo de entendimiento mutuo sobre los medios y los fines de sus respectivas acciones y reciprocidades. El ejemplo más obvio de un proceso de interacción transfronteriza es el del comercio bilateral. Otro ejemplo menos obvio es el de la migración de trabajadores. Aún menos obvio es el proceso de interacción que corresponde a la contaminación y la protección del medio ambiente. Es evidente que existen procesos de interacción transfronteriza que son ilegales en ambos países como el contrabando o el narcotráfico. Lo importante de destacar en el uso del concepto de proceso de interacción transfronteriza es la intencionalidad de trascender la frontera con una acción orientada hacia otros (en el otro país) de quienes se espera una acción recíproca. Aquí la noción de reciprocidad no implica necesariamente igualdad entre las partes ni equidad en los resultados, implica simplemente una respuesta que corresponde razonablemente a una acción promotora.

Hay una dimensión importante de las relaciones bilaterales que es distinguible en su naturaleza por la intencionalidad de las partes de producir efectos en el otro país con sus acciones o respuestas. A esta dimensión la llamamos "procesos de interacción transfronteriza". Sin embargo hay otra dimensión en las relaciones bilaterales entre México y Estados Unidos en la que cuentan cada vez más las implicaciones externas de lo interno. Es decir, los efectos que tiene para el país vecino una decisión o un evento en cuya generación no hubo la intención de producir efectos en el otro país o que fue diseñado o programado sólo para producir efectos internos. Tal es el caso de un proceso electoral, de un proceso legislativo o de un fenómeno de opinión pública. La frecuencia de esta clase decisiones o eventos o fenómenos es cada vez mayor, tanto en número como en la extensión e intensidad de sus efectos en las relaciones bilaterales. Se podría decir que ha crecido la internacionalidad de lo interno en las relaciones entre los dos países. Este fenómeno ha sido objeto de análisis y de conceptualización por parte de Manning Bayless quien ha propuesto el uso del concepto "interméstico" [1] (término compuesto de las palabras "internacional" y "doméstico") para hacer referencia a lo que se hace con propósitos o para efectos internos y que tiene efectos internacionales no previstos o involuntarios pero reales.

Para los efectos de este trabajo se seguirá la dicotomía conceptual de "procesos de interacción transfronteriza" (PIT) para referir a lo internacionalmente bilateral y, el término "interno-bilateral" o "interbilateralidad" para referir a

[1] Este término lo escuche por primera vez a David Ronfeldt de la Rand Corporation, quien me dió el nombre de su autor original.

lo internacionalmente interno que tiene repercusiones bilaterales no necesariamente previstas o buscadas.

Bajo esta dicotomía conceptual se analizará el paralelismo de la dinámica de los fenómenos de la más alta importancia en las relaciones bilaterales como lo son el narcotráfico internacional y la migración indocumentada.

El propósito de este trabajo es el de exponer los problemas de comunicación que surgen en la relación entre los dos países cuando no se entienden cabalmente los contextos internos en los que surgen y se desarrollan ciertos eventos que causan efectos bilaterales no anticipados.

El método que se seguirá para el análisis que se presenta en este trabajo se deriva de la conceptualización dicotómica de las relaciones bilaterales en procesos de interacción transfronteriza y situaciones de inter-bilateralidad, ligados a los fenómenos del narcotráfico y de la migración indocumentada.

El narcotráfico como proceso de interacción transfronteriza

No se requiere de gran talento para entender que el narcotráfico transfronterizo es consecuencia de una relación de mercado en el que la oferta de estupefacientes desde un país, corresponde a su demanda desde otro. El tráfico de estupefacientes a través de las fronteras internacionales representa un fenómeno comercial cuya ilegalidad y nocividad hace que se escondan y oscurezcan al dominio público las dimensiones de un proceso de interacción de un alto nivel de tecnología en la comunicación, concertación, operación y financiamiento entre actores de diferentes nacionalidades en diferentes países. Basta como ilustración de la dimensión internacional y económica de este fenómeno, mencionar que en 1986 se calculó el costo del consumo de estupefacientes en Estados Unidos en 110 mil millones de dólares; [2] lo cuál, según un estudio reciente de Samuel del Villar, representa lo doble de lo que Estados Unidos pagó por su consumo de hidrocarburos o la mitad de lo que el país vecino gastó en armamento durante el mismo periodo. [3] Ciertamente esta cifra refleja la demanda de estupefacientes más grande del mundo, compuesta en Estados Unidos por 25 millones de consumidores regulares de marihuana, 10 millones de consumidores regulares de cocaína, medio millón de consumidores habituales de "crack"; un millón y medio de adictos a la heroína y entre uno y medio y dos y medio consumidores de otras drogas ilícitas; según datos compilados por Leiman y Putala en un estudio publicado en 1987 por la Escuela de Gobierno "John F. Kennedy," de la

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[2] "President's Commission on Organized Crime. Report to The President and The Attorney General, *America's Habit: Drug Abuse, Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime*, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1986. p. 5.

[3] Los estudios más completos y actualizados sobre el tema son los del Dr. Samuel del Villar en El Colegio de México. Los datos y el estudio de Kleiman y Putala han sido tomados de una cita de uno de estos estudios titulado: "The Illicit Drug Market US-México; Failure and Alternative" de próxima publicación por el Council on Foreign Relations.

Universidad de Harvard. [4] En una investigación periodística sobre el tema, publicado en tres partes por el *New York Times* los días 10, 11 y 12 de abril de 1988, la demanda de estupefacientes en Estados Unidos surgió de manera masiva en las últimas tres décadas.

A principios de la década de los 60, sólo un 2% de la población de Estados Unidos había consumido alguna vez drogas ilícitas. Hacia 1985, se calculó que un 35% del total de la población mayor de 12 años equivalente a 70 millones de estadounidenses aproximadamente, habían consumido alguna vez algún estupefaciente. Siendo estas cifras indicativas de la demanda de estupefacientes más grande del mundo, las últimas investigaciones apuntan hacia una cierta disminución en el consumo en el país vecino. Este parece ser el caso tratándose de la cocaína, particularmente entre jóvenes, según se encontró en una investigación realizada en 1987 entre estudiantes del último año de high school. [5] El mismo estudio del Instituto Nacional Contra el Abuso de Drogas, señala que la marihuana y el hashish se mantienen como los estupefacientes de mayor consumo entre los estudiantes. En 1979, el 50.8% de estos estudiantes de nivel de preparatoria eran consumidores de marihuana o hashish. Para 1987 el porcentaje de consumidores de este grupo había bajado al 36.6% [6]

Por el lado de la oferta, en cambio, la tendencia no es hacia la disminución, sino al revés. Según la investigación periodística de Elaine Sciolino y Stephen Engelberg, [7] el tráfico de estupefacientes que llega a Estados Unidos ha aumentado de manera constante en los últimos 4 años, como se aprecia en la gráfica publicada en primera plana del *New York Times* del pasado 10 de abril. Este voluminoso mercado de estupefacientes involucra a más de 20 países en el origen de la oferta que llega a Estados Unidos. México ha ocupado un lugar de prominencia variable. Con una frontera de más de 3 mil kilómetros junto al país más consumidor de estupefacientes del mundo, difícilmente se podía escapar México de verse involucrado en el narcotráfico, tanto como país productor y como país de tránsito. De acuerdo con el citado estudio de Samuel del Villar quien cita estadísticas oficiales del gobierno de Estados Unidos, México producía en 1986 el 30% de la marihuana y el 41% de la heroína en entró a ese país ese año. [8] Según los reclamos más recientes en el Congreso en Washington, la proporción en la que México participa en la oferta de estupefacientes que llega al país vecino, está aumentando.

A pesar de lo subrepticio del mercado de estupefacientes, hay suficiente información como para estar seguros de que el narcotráfico es un claro

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[4] Citado por Samuel del Villar en el trabajo mencionado en la nota. 3.

[5] Estudio realizado por el National Institute of Drug Abuse en 1987. Citado en el *New York Times*, Abril 12, p. 5.

[6] *New York Times*, Abril 12, p. 5.

[7] *New York Times*, Abril 10, p. 1.

[8] Samuel del Villar. *Opus cit.* p. 9.

ejemplo de un proceso de interacción transfronteriza en el que participan actores de ambos países en acciones y respuestas que reflejan un alto nivel de concertación bilateral. Lo más importante de la noción de interacción transfronteriza es que se refiere a una participación bilateral, tanto como a una responsabilidad compartida bilateralmente que sugiere acciones concertadas bilateralmente para neutralizar coordinadamente, tanto la oferta como la demanda de estupefacientes. Esto parece fácil de entender. Sin embargo nuestros países no están operando con esta lógica. Están operando con una lógica que se deriva de procesos políticos e intereses internos que están haciendo la acción contra el narcotráfico no solamente ineficiente sino una nueva fuente de conflicto en las relaciones bilaterales. Para entender cómo se ha generado esta ineficiencia y este problema de incomunicación y falta de entendimiento entre los gobiernos de México y Estados Unidos acerca del fenómeno bilateral del narcotráfico, es necesario analizar los procesos internos de decisión de cada país con referencia a los valores e intereses que orientan tales procesos de decisión.

La inter-bilateralidad de la política sobre el narcotráfico en Estados Unidos y en México

Al enfocar la política contra el narcotráfico en Estados Unidos se aprecian varias contradicciones. Por una parte varias encuestas de opinión han detectado que la cuestión del narcotráfico es percibida por los estadounidenses como la amenaza mayor que se cierne sobre Estados Unidos. [9] Por otra parte, los esfuerzos del gobierno de ese país no son congruentes con esa prioridad, pues parecen sobrepuestas prioridades más altas que el naroctráfico como la "seguridad nacional", a la que se contrapone y a la que se subordina la política contra el narcotráfico. [10] Es decir, que cuando ha habido sospechas o informaciones acerca de aliados estratégicos de Estados Unidos que participan en el narcotráfico, al mismo tiempo que participan del lado de Estados Unidos en lo que allá se denomina como la "lucha contra el comunismo", el presidente de Estados Unidos ha decidido sacrificar la lucha contra el narcotráfico para hacer prevalecer los intereses estratégicos de Estados Unidos definidos en términos de objetivos de seguridad nacional. Este conflicto de objetivos y la política presidencial para resolverlos ha sido expuesto recientemente en la serie citada de artículos del *New York Times* sobre el narcotráfico (ver copia anexa).

El caso más flagrante de esta contradicción de objetivos, según lo destaca este diario, es el de los guerrilleros que combaten con apoyo de Estados Unidos en

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[9] La última encuesta donde se ha encontrado esta prioridad apareció publicada en sus principales resultados en el *New York Times* del 10 de Abril de 1988, página 10.

[10] Así lo reconoció el Sr. Edwin Meese, Procurador General de Justicia de Estados Unidos, en una entrevista publicada por el *New York Times*, el 10 de Abril de 1988. p. 10.

Afganistan, [11] en contra del gobierno de ese país apoyado por la Unión Soviética. Según datos revelados por Sciolino y Engelberg, la producción de opio en las zonas controladas por los guerrilleros afganos aumentó cuando menos en un 20% en 1987, respecto al año anterior. Estos articulistas hacen notar que, a pesar de informaciones oficiales donde se dan datos sobre el incremento de la producción y el tráfico hacia Estados Unidos promovido o auspiciado por los líderes guerrilleros afganos, cuando estos fueron recibidos en la Casa Blanca por el presidente Reagan el pasado mes de noviembre, no hubo ni una sola mención al narcotráfico en dicha reunión. [12] Aunque con datos menos precisos que en el caso de los guerrilleros afganos, también se han hecho cargos en repetidas ocasiones con referencia a los "contras" en Nicaragua. El Senador John F. Kerry ha promovido algunas investigaciones acerca del involucramiento de líderes de los "contras" en el narcotráfico. [13]

Las contradicciones en la política contra el narcotráfico en Estados Unidos no es sólo entre las percepciones dominantes del público en general y la política de "seguridad nacional" del presidente Reagan, sino hacia adentro de la opinión pública estadounidense. Es una encuesta realizada por encargo de la Columbia Broadcasting System y el diario New York Times sobre una muestra representativa de la población total adulta de Estados Unidos, se preguntó lo siguiente: ¿"Cuál de estos cinco problemas internacionales cree usted que es actualmente el más importante"?. La respuesta fue: 48% de todos los entrevistados dijeron que el problema más importante para ellos es el narcotráfico. 22% opinó que Centro América. 13% opinó que la carrera armamentista con la Unión Soviética. 9% opinó que el terrorismo y, 4% opinó que el problema palestino. [14] Estas respuestas no dejan lugar a dudas de la importancia que los estadounidenses le dan al narcotráfico. Sin embargo, cuando en la misma encuesta se les preguntó si el gobierno de su país debía concentrarse más en la lucha contra la oferta de estupefacientes afuera de Estados Unidos o, contra la demanda adentro de Estados Unidos, el 50% de los entrevistados contestó que se debía concentrar en detener la oferta y el 35% contestó que se debía concentrar en detener la demanda. [15]

Aquí es donde se puede apreciar la contradicción. Por una parte entre los hechos que demuestran las dimensiones de la demanda y la importancia que los estadounidenses le dan al problema del narcotráfico y, por otra parte en la clara preferencia por una política que busque la solución del problema afuera de Estados Unidos.

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[11] *New York Times*, Abril 10, 1988. "Narcotic Effort Foiled by U.S. Security Goals", Elaine Sciolino y Stephen Engelberg. p.p. 1 y 10.

[12] *New York Times*, Abril 10, 1988. p. 10.

[13] *Washington Post*, Abril 10, 1988. Sección "Out look" de editoriales. Mary McGrory, "The Contra-Drug Stink". p. 8.1.

[14] *New York Times*, Abril 10, 1988. p. 10.

[15] *New York Times*, Abril 10, 1988. p. 10.

Esta contradicción se ha hecho más conspícua entre las declaraciones del presidente Reagan quien recientemente reconoció la necesidad de enfatizar la lucha contra el narcotráfico del lado de la demanda con las siguientes palabras pronunciadas el 29 de febrero en una reunión en la Casa Blanca bajo el tema "Drug-Free America": "Aunque es significativo detener a los narcotraficantes que traen y promueven la venta de estupefacientes, es acabando con su demanda como al final ganaremos". [16]

Sin embargo, el Senado de su país resolvió en pleno por 63 contra 27 votos, el pasado 14 de abril, revocar la llamada "certificación" expedida por el presidente Reagan en febrero en favor de México, en los términos de la ley Anti-narcotráfico de 1986 en los que el presidente de Estados Unidos tiene que "certificar" que los países señalados por su gobierno como productores de estupefacientes están colaborando con el gobierno de Estados Unidos en la lucha contra el narcotráfico. La resolución aprobada por el Senado revoca la "certificación" presidencial previa, bajo la acusación de que el gobierno de México ha sido omiso en colaborar "cabalmente" con el de Estados Unidos contra el narcotráfico.

Esta resolución de "des-certificar" a México por una mayoría tan abrumadora en el Senado fue precedida por un ambiente de belicosidad contra el gobierno de México en el que las declaraciones estruendosas parecían sonar a tambores de guerra reflejando simbólicamente un ambiente de alta politización. Los límites de lo razonable fueron rebasados cuando el senador Pete Wilson de California afirmó que el corrupto gobierno de México del Presidente de la Madrid estaba para abajo y que la participación en el narcotráfico incluía a todos los niveles del gobierno mexicano. El encono de la retórica contra México tuvo varios exponentes muy conspícuos en Washington, entre los que destacaron, además del Senador Wilson, el Senador De Concini de Arizona, el Senador Kerry de Massachusetts y el Senador D'Amato de Nueva York. Todos ellos usaron en algún momento una munición cargada de exageraciones y verdades a medias proveídas por un hombre que se ha caracterizado por la persistencia de sus ataques contra el gobierno de México. Ocupa el puesto de Comisionado de Aduanas. Su nombre es, William Von Raab, íntimo amigo del ex embajador John Gavin y hombre de la más alta confianza del presidente Reagan. Cuando uno trata de indagar en Washington sobre la fuente de información de la que se nutren los datos usados por los legisladores en sus cargos contra México, acaba uno casi siempre en la oficina de Von Raab. Con esta afirmación, producto de experiencias personales, no quiero sugerir una tesis conspiracional. Esto ha sido un error analítico muy común en el Distrito Federal. A falta de una explicación racional acerca de los ataques contra México, una salida de lógica fácil es la de un plan cargado de objetivos desestabilizadores.

Lo fácil de esta lógica se deriva de que ha habido indicios y nombres ligados

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[16] *New York Times*, Abril 12, 1988. p. 5.

a planes de presiones desestabilizadoras en los que en años recientes sobresalen los nombres de Constantin Menges y Elliot Abrahams, asumiendo diferentes papeles. Sin embargo, el ambiente antimexicano reciente, ligado al tema del narcotráfico, no encuentra su explicación en intereses sobre México, tanto como en intereses sobre cuestiones de política interna que no están intencionalmente orientadas a producir efectos en nuestro país tanto como en Estados Unidos. Existe un consenso entre los analistas de aquel país acerca de que la cuestión de la drogadicción y el narcotráfico se han convertido en materia de campaña para los que contienden en ambos partidos en 1988 por puestos electores.

Para ilustrar el interés instrumental por este problema el Diputado Lawrence Smith de Florida fue citado diciendo con referencia al narcotráfico "It's a great issue, a great opening for the Democrats" [17] ("Es un gran tema de debate, una gran oportunidad para el partido Demócrata"). Este interés político, asociado al contexto electoral de 1988, es destacado también en un artículo de fondo de la revista Time del 25 de abril de 1988 (pp. 32 a 34). Este contexto político coyuntural está alimentado por un elemento ideológico nada coyuntural que explica la preferencia de un 50 por ciento de los entrevistados en la encuesta antes citada de la CBS y el *New York Times*, en el sentido de buscar detener al narcotráfico en la oferta en lugar de en la demanda. Este elemento ideológico es el de ignorar la demanda de estupefacientes en Estados Unidos y conceptualizar el problema como si hubiera un país víctima de la maldad de países victimarios. Este elemento ideológico fue aludido por el Procurador General de Justicia Dr. Sergio García Ramírez en una entrevista publicada por el New York Times del 12 de abril de 1988, en primera plana, donde fue citado diciendo:

> Se ha desarrollado una visión en blanco y negro de países productores como delincuentes y países consumidores como víctimas...esto es un error, porque en países consumidores hay una creciente producción de estupefacientes para consumo propio y para exportación y hay niveles alarmantes de "lavado" de dinero producido por el narcotráfico para el financiamiento de sus operaciones. A semejanza de lo que ocurrió en países productores, luego están involucrados en todas las etapas tanto los países llamados productores como los consumidores. [18]

Esta visión ideológica del narcotráfico como algo producido por factores exógenos, explica en gran medida la preferencia por solucionar el problema del narcotráfico poniendo presión sobre los países de oferta. Este es un factor del que se nutre la politización de la que se aprovechan algunos legisladores que están buscando su reelección.

Hay un elemento ideológico adicional poco reconocido en México por las

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[17] *The New York Times*, 13 de Marzo de 1988. p. 5. "Democrats Seek to Seize Initiative on Drug Issue" by Steven V. Roberts.

[18] *The New York Times*, 12 de Abril de 1988. pp. 1 y 5.

teorías conspiracionales, que es un prejuicio del que se derivan apoyos y votos en favor del que hable en términos de ejercicio de poder proponiendo medidas que demuestren la superioridad de Estados Unidos en el contexto internacional. Frente a estadounidenses que tienen este prejuicio, oir hablar mal de México a un político se traduce con frecuencia en votos en favor de quien así se manifiesta. Sobre todo si se sugiere o se implica una cierta incapacidad de gobernarse inherente a los pueblos de los países subdesarrollados. Es en el contexto político coyuntural interno, alimentado por factores ideológicos, en el que se encuentra la explicación de la retórica contra México que propone sanciones y castigos porque nuestro gobierno no ha colaborado "cabalmente", en los términos unilaterales de Estados Unidos. De este contexto se deriva una incomunicación que es a su vez una fuente de conflicto en las relaciones bilaterales.

Sin embargo, la falta de entendimiento no es un fenómeno de una sola vía. En México no se ha entenido cabalmente que el problema del narcotráfico tiene en el contexto político interno de Estados Unidos una prioridad más alta que los problemas de Centroamérica y de la relación este-oeste. El gobierno de México se ha autolimitado en la complacencia de que le asista la razón y el derecho en demandar respeto por la soberanía nacional por encima del narcotráfico. No hay la suficiente conciencia en México de la necesidad de dar una batalla política adentro de Estados Unidos de acuerdo con las reglas del juego con las que Estados Unidos permite que otros gobiernos emprendan campañas para influír en la opinión pública y en el Congreso de aquel país. La falta de esa conciencia inhibe al gobierno de México para ir más allá de las vías convencionales. Algo que otros países han aprendido a hacer en Estados Unidos y que México sigue sin hacer, a pesar de que se enfrenta a problemas cuyo peso político en Estados Unidos está demandado hacer más de lo que se ha hecho hasta ahora.

Se podría decir en esta misma línea de pensamiento que uno de los ejemplos de inter-bilateralidad menos conocidos y menos aprovechados por México es lo que en Estados Unidos se conoce como etno-política. Este es un juego político interno en el que los campeones extranjeros son los israelitas, pero en el que hay muchos otros países que lo saben jugar muy bien a la hora de defender sus intereses en Estados Unidos. México no ha aprendido a jugarlo todavía a pesar de los esporádicos acercamientos del gobierno de México con grupos de chicanos o hispanos o latinos de origen mexicano. Si hubiera conciencia en México del peso político que tiene el narcotráfico en el contexto interno de Estados Unidos y de las posibilidades de influir en ese contexto político interno que permite Estados Unidos, México debería estar buscando simpatías por su causa entre los grupos hispanos cuando menos para generar algún costo político que sacara de la total impunidad al Senador Pete Wilson en sus andanadas de ataques y generalizaciones ofensivas contra el pueblo y el gobierno de México en la búsqueda por su reelección como senador por California este próximo noviembre. Es muy probable que un pronunciamiento público en Estados

Unidos de una organización nacional de hispanos en favor de México, tenga mucho mayor peso que el argumento de políticos mexicanos en el sentido de que Estados Unidos atenta contra la soberanía nacional al arrogarse la potestad de "certificar" o "des-certificar" las acciones del gobierno de México. Este razonamiento tiene el mayor sentido en la cultura política de México. No lo tiene en la cultura política de Estados Unidos. Parte de esta incomunicación entre lo que tiene sentido en culturas políticas tan disímbolas como los de México y de Estados Unidos se refleja en el contraste entre lo drástico de acciones contra el narcotráfico como las que tuvieron lugar en Caborca, Sonora, a mediados de abril y el discurso político en Estados Unidos donde se propone abiertamente la legalización del consumo de las drogas, tanto por voces o escritos del ala más conservadora como la de William F. Buckley Jr., en *The National Review* como del ala liberal en la pluma de Richard Cohen del *Boston Globe* y *Washington Post*.[19] En favor de esta propuesta se arguye una analogía con el fracaso de la "prohibición" del consumo del alcohol que decretó la célebre "Ley seca" en los términos de la Ley Bolstead en la segunda década de este siglo. No parece de ninguna manera inminente que se legalice el consumo y la venta de estupefacientes en Estados Unidos, pero esta opción se discute cada vez más en serio en aquel país, donde como se sabe, varios estados ya han legalizado el consumo particular de la marihuana.

Implicaciones de la incomunicación sobre las relaciones bilaterales

El proceso político relacionado con la llamda "des-certificación" de México por el Congreso de Estados Unidos, está más ligado en su desarrollo a factores e intereses internos (i.e.: campaña electoral, opinión pública, acusaciones de fracaso de la campaña antidrogas de la administración Reagan, etc.) que a objetivos premeditados de producir efectos sobre México. Si esta es una interpretación correcta de la realidad estaremos frente a un caso de inter-bilateralidad de desarrollos políticos con explicaciones endógenas. Sin embargo, en México predomina una interpretación diferente: el proceso de des-certificación representa una acción concertada entre la Casa Blanca y el Congreso para doblegar a México a aceptar la entrada a territorio mexicano de aviones del gobierno estadounidense, en "persecusión caliente" de narcotraficantes que hubieran cruzado la frontera hacia México. En México se ha interpretado la des-certificación como un instrumento para presionar a México a que haga algo. Es decir se ha interpretado como un proceso de

[19] Véase en particular el artículo editorial de este autor publicado por el *Washington Post* del 10 de Abril y la nota editorial principal del *New York Times* del 14 de Abril de 1988. Una discusión a fondo de esta opinión en Inglaterra tanto como en Estados Unidos apareció publicada en la revista *The Economist* de la semana del 2 al 8 de Abril de 1988. pp. 11-12.

interacción con propósitos políticos definidos en el contexto bilateral de una negociación sui géneris.

La diferencia entre una y otra interpretación no es sólo académica. Se trata en realidad de una diferencia que implica diferentes escenarios de respuesta mexicana. Esto es igual a considerar diferentes implicaciones para las relaciones bilaterales a partir de una o de otra interpretación. Más preocupante es la segunda. Frente a una visión de fuerte presión por parte del gobierno estadounidense, el gobierno de México puede reaccionar "replegando en círculo a sus vagones" para repeler algo definido como agresión injustificada. En este contexto de alarma o de emergencia pueden ocurrir en México reacciones públicas anti-estadounidenses semejantes a los incidentes ocurridos en Honduras a principios de abril. Cualquier escenario de violencia anti-estadounidense en las grandes ciudades de México no puede ser tomado a la ligera por nadie de buena fé. La posibilidad de una reacción en cadena podría incluir la participación de sectores de población de origen mexicano en Estados Unidos, lo cual podría costar vidas en ambos países.

El alto nivel de politización que el tema del narcotráfico ha alcanzado en Estados Unidos puede generar decisiones políticas unilaterales con efectos bilaterales no previstos. Por ejemplo: el presidente Reagan decide no vetar la resolución de ambas cámaras legislativas de "des-certificar" a México, bajo la creciente presión de la opinión pública de que su administración no ha hecho lo suficiente para combatir la drogadicción y el narcotráfico. En consecuencia el representante estadounidense en el Fondo Monetario Internacional vota en contra de una nueva solicitud de préstamo por parte de México, en acatamiento de lo dispuesto por la Ley antidrogadicción y antinarcotráfico de 1986, de la cual se deriva el procedimiento de "certificación" presidencial al que se ha aludido antes. En consecuencia, México no puede pagar el servicio de la deuda externa. Cabe preguntarse si sería racional que el gobierno de México tuviera que suspender, no sólo el pago de su deuda, sino el programa antinarcotráfico en el que, sólo en las operaciones de ejército se gasta medio millón de dólares diarios? [20] precisamente por haber sido "descertificado" como colaborador cumplido con el gobierno de Estados Unidos en la lucha contra el narcotráfico. La respuesta parece tan clara como paradójica: una decisión unilateral estadounidense que tiene como objetivo luchar con el narcotráfico, acabaría estimulándolo al lograr indirectamente la suspensión del programa de prevención contra el narcotráfico al quedar el gobierno de México imposibilitado para sufragarlo. Cabe una pregunta aún más sencilla: ¿ cuál sería el estímulo para el gobierno de México de continuar gastando lo que gasta en dinero y en vidas de soldados y policías para que lleguen menos estupefacientes a los consumidores de Estados Unidos, una vez que el Congreso de aquel país lograra hacer prevalecer su decisión de "descertificar" a México? La respuesta

[20] Samuel del Villar. *Opus Cit.* p. 12.

obvia estaría en total contradicción con los objetivos compartidos por los dos gobiernos de combatir el narcotráfico y de mejorar las relaciones bilaterales.

Si fuera el caso del narcotrafico el único donde hay problemas de incomunicación que afectan destructivamente a las relaciones bilaterales, el reto sería más sencillo. Otra de las áreas donde hay serios problemas de comunicación es en la de migrantes indocumentados. Seguiremos la misma línea conceptual para el análisis de este fenómeno.

La migración indocumentada como un proceso de interacción transfronteriza

En trabajos anteriores (Bustamante 1971; 1973; 1975; 1976; 1978; 1979a; 1979b; 1981; 1982a; 1983; 1984), ha sido propuesta la noción de que la migración de México a Estados Unidos responde en términos generales al contexto de un mercado internacional de fuerza de trabajo en el que la oferta desde México es tan real como la demanda desde Estados Unidos. El concepto de "migración-mercancía" formulado hace cerca de 15 años (Bustamante 1974) partía de esa noción, tratando de caracterizar el contexto estructural en el que ocurre la migración mexicana a Estados Unidos a partir de obtener empleo en aquel país, que es un objetivo ampliamente compartido en las comunidades de origen de esta migración como medio legítimo y factible de incrementar su ingreso. Esa noción de mercado internacional de mano de obra entre México y Estados Unidos, vista en su contexto histórico, implica la suma de experiencias migratorias individuales que llegaron a convertirse en elementos vivos de la existencia de una demanda de fuerza de trabajo en Estados Unidos. Se hizo creíble no sólo a partir del número de quienes podían dar cuenta de ella, sino de una persistencia constatable en términos generacionales. Los relatos de experiencias migratorias individuales, recogidas por Manuel Gamio (1930) en sus estudios pioneros de la migración de mexicanos a Estados Unidos a finales de la segunda década de este siglo, evidencian la existencia de un complejo conjunto de valores, creencias, mitos y prácticas compartidos por los migrantes que dan sentido a su conducta migratoria y sugieren una operación de reglas de relativa persistencia que conforman un mercado de trabajo de dimensiones internacionales. Los elementos fundamentales de este mercado internacional han seguido interactuando a través de la frontera y del tiempo hasta nuestros días en un contexto bilateral de relaciones sociales. Desde la perspectiva teórica de Max Weber se podría decir que el *Gemeintersinn*, o sentido compartido que en la dimensión subjetiva precede a la relación social entre el migrante y la sociedad de que es huésped, es el de un mercado de fuerza de trabajo. Este es el entendido común entre migrante y anfitrión que da congruencia a las acciones sociales recíprocas de un migrante que aparece en el escenario social de Estados

Unidos "vestido de oferta", frente a miembros de la sociedad estadounidense (patrones), "vestido de demanda".

Hubo alguna vez en que un migrante mexicano se encontró por primera ocasión con un patrón estadounidense y lograron concertar una relación de producción mediante un intercambio de dinero de uno, por fuerza de trabajo del otro. La recurrencia de este intercambio concertado dio lugar a patrones de conducta mutuamente aceptados que se convirtieron en reglas. Las ventajas que estos proto-actores debieron haber visto en sus acciones respectivas dirigidas hacia el otro con propósitos racionalmente correspondientes, debió estimular la reproducción de dicha relación que, vista y seguida por otros con los mismos intereses y dispuestos a personificar las reglas aparentes, hicieron surgir la configuración social de un mercado o un intercambio estructurado como relación social.

No se trata de una relación social equitativa o simétrica. Las oportunidades de obtener un salario y las oportunidades de obtener una fuerza de trabajo a cambio, no están ni han estado nunca repartidas igualmente entre migrantes mexicanos y patrones estadounidenses. El análisis de procesos históricos haría igualmente demostrable que la desigualdad de oportunidades para "vestirse de oferta" o "vestirse de demanda" en el mercado internacional de fuerza de trabajo entre mexicanos y estadounidenses, ha sido convertida en regla, de la cual se deriva un entendimiento compartido de posiciones desiguales de poder del migrante frente a su patrón, que precede y condiciona la estructura de las relaciones sociales que configuran dicho mercado de mano de obra. La persistencia del fenómeno migratorio entre México y Estados Unidos a través de más de un siglo, resulta paradójica frente al grado en que ha sido objeto de debate público. Esa persistencia sólo se explica frente a la existencia de ventajas percibidas como reales por los actores principales de dicha estructura de relaciones sociales. La asimetría de poder y su concomitante desigualdad en la recepción de beneficios correspondientes a cada actor de esa relación, no puede hacerse equivalente a la inexistencia de beneficios mutuos.

La noción de mercado internacional de fuerza de trabajo, como marco explicativo de la migración de trabajadores mexicanos a Estados Unidos, sigue lejos de ser aceptada por la mayoría de los que proponen alguna explicación sobre este fenómeno. Si bien es aceptada por un número creciente de estudiosos de la cuestión en Estados Unidos (Reynolds 1979; Piore 1979; Cornellius 1981; Portes 1979; Morales 1983). La percepción dominante en la opinión pública de aquel país es de que la inmigración indocumentada de mexicanos es producida básicamente por factores endógenos del país de origen de los migrantes y es independiente o está desasociada de cualquier ventaja en favor de los intereses de Estados Unidos que pudieran apoyar una idea de causalidad bilateral o responsabilidad compartida entre el país de origen y el destino de la migración indocumentada.

A partir del primero de los llamados "proyecto de ley Rodino", a principios

de la década de los setenta, (Bustamante 1978), la política de inmigración de los Estados Unidos se ha caracterizado por una visión del fenómeno como naturaleza policial interna, resultante de la violación de sus leyes migratorias. Al migrante indocumentado se le ve como delincuente, infractor de las leyes de inmigración, que representa un problema de carácter policial. A esta visión corresponden soluciones internas como es por definición la legislación que ha venido desde su aprobación en 1986 a reformar la Ley de Inmigración y Naturalización vigente desde 1952, con algunas reformas parciales adoptadas en 1965. A los argumentos, tan recurrentes como nunca probados científicamente, de la relación causal entre inmigración indocumentada y desempleo en Estados Unidos, se agregó en el origen de legislación el argumento de que la inmigración indocumentada ha hecho perder a Estados Unidos "el control sobre sus fronteras" con graves implicaciones para la integridad cultural del país y, su soberanía. Lo cierto es que esa visión predominante en la opinión pública estadounidense ha oscurecido el significado de que Estados Unidos haya sido de 1952 a 1986, el único país en el mundo en el que sus leyes de inmigración permitieron expresamente a los patrones contratar a aquellos extranjeros que hubieran entrado al país precisamente en violación de esas leyes. En consecuencia se oscurecio el efecto que dichas leyes de inmigración tuvieron sobre el mercado internacional de fuerza de trabajo entre México y Estados Unidos al darle al patrón de aquel país la posibilidad de decidir, si un migrante extranjero sin documentos migratorios podría ser tratado como un trabajador, con el que se concerte una legítima relación de producción, o bien si esa misma persona podría ser tratada como delincuente y de pronto podría convertirse entonces en perseguido de la ley sujeto a expulsión del país. Dentro de la vigencia de esa ley de 1952 a 1986, bastaba un acto de voluntad del patrón en forma de una denuncia a la policía de inmigración sobre la presencia de un migrante indocumentado, para que su situación de trabajador se transformara repentinamente en la de delincuente. La ausencia de una visión de la migración indocumentada mexicana a Estados Unidos como resultado de la interacción correspondiente a un mercado internacional de fuerza de trabajo ha conducido a la negación de la existencia en Estados Unidos de una demanda de dicha fuerza de trabajo extranjera, así como el rechazo de la idea de que se trata de un fenómeno bilateral que deba ser enfocado de manera negociada entre México y Estados Unidos. Esa negación es, más que un fenómeno de ignorancia, un fenómeno de asimetría de poder y de dependencia de México frente a Estados Unidos.

Por otra parte, la percepción del mismo fenómeno desde México tampoco ha estado exenta de distorsiones. A partir de los años de vigencia de los convenios de braceros que dieron curso a la emigración de trabajadores migratorios mexicanos de 1942 a 1965, se fue generando una visión gubernamental de este fenómeno como una "válvula de escape" para los problemas del desempleo y bajos ingresos, particularmente en el campo. Aquí, ese escape fue visto

como necesario frente al sesgo en favor del modelo de industrialización del llamado "desarrollo estabilizador". El predominio de esta visión en los círculos gubernamentales de México hasta años muy recientes, condujo a una marcada indiferencia respecto de los problemas de la migración internacional y sobre la obligación de protección del Estado Mexicano a sus ciudadanos en el extranjero. A final de la década de los 70 hubo un giro en esta visión que propicio el apoyo a la investigación sobre el fenómeno. Fue un avance muy significativo en el que se logró un deslinde considerable del ámbito de los mitos sobre el de las realidades, respecto de la migración indocumentada de trabajadores mexicanos a Estados Unidos. Las investigaciones auspiciadas por la Secretaría del Trabajo a partir de 1977, además del esfuerzo de investigadores de El Colegio de México, el Banco de México, la Universidad de Guadalajara y la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco, representaron un avance sin precedente en México respecto del conocimiento del fenómeno de la migración hacia la frontera norte y hacia Estados Unidos.

Una de las percepciones sobre la migración, tan equivocada como compartida a través de la frontera de México y Estados Unidos, es la de que la migración es algo así como una enfermedad. Es muy común que se piense en Estados Unidos que la inmigración indocumentada desde México es algo malo, que afecta la salud social y económica de Estados Unidos y, que es provocada por factores exógenos. Dentro de los que comparten esta visión no falta quien sugiera que el mal de la inmigración indocumentada desde México debe ser extirpado mediante una operación de expulsión. Otros, no menos drásticos, sugieren una especie de cordón sanitario operado por la policía fronteriza, cuya misión sería la de mantener alejada la "enfermedad de la inmigración". Lo cierto es que en Estados Unidos prevalece una visión de la inmigración indocumentada desde México en la que se ignoran, o simplemente no se conciben los beneficios que acarrea la inmigración, para sólo enfocar los costos.

La predominancia de una percepción negativa de la inmigración desde México resulta funcional para quienes constituyen la demanda real de trabajadores extranjeros en Estados Unidos. Esa visión públicamente sostenida, aleja las posibilidades políticas de apoyo para un enfoque bilateral entre México y Estados Unidos, del cual pudiera surgir una negociación y, eventualmente, una solución que respondiera a la naturaleza del mercado internacional de fuerza de trabajo que se encuentra en el origen y en la operación de la migración de trabajadores mexicanos a Estados Unidos. Esa visión de signo negativo, predominante en Estados Unidos, hace difícil que se entienda una noción de mercado internacional de mano de obra en la que se producen costos y beneficios para ambos países aunque de manera desigual. Dadas las tendencias recientes de la dinámica de población en Estados Unidos, no está lejano el día en que los requerimientos estructurales de fuerza de trabajo extranjera que ocurran en el futuro en Estados Unidos se tengan que satisfacer por la vía de la negociación bilateral con los países de donde provenga la fuerza de trabajo

que satisfaga esa demanda. Se convertirá entonces la migración de trabajadores en un factor de cooperación internacional y no en un factor de irritación, abuso y explotación.

Para que esto ocurra, es necesario, entre otras cosas, que los mitos y los estereotipos sean substituidos por verdades científicas. El éxito de un proyecto de investigación que alcanza el objetivo de contribuír al conocimiento científico no es ninguna garantía de que por sí mismo substituya a la ignorancia, los prejuicios o los intereses políticos. Sin embargo, podemos estar seguros de que la investigación científica es una condición necesaria para la erradicación de la ignorancia y los prejuicios.

Evitar cualquier efecto destructivo en las relaciones bilaterales es un objetivo que anima a reuniones como ésta, donde se espera que seamos capaces de prever el surgimiento de situaciones o condiciones en que una interacción transfronteriza racional y armónica se convierta en irracional y destructiva.

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LA PROBLEMATICA DE LAS IMAGENES RECIPROCAS

LISA FUENTES

En estos comentarios finales quisiera compartir con ustedes una preocupación que me vino con frecuencia a lo largo de este simposio: La gran responsabilidad que tenemos en nuestro papel como articuladores de ideas. De manera muy notoria nos encontramos en una posición sumamente privilegiada definiendo la naturaleza de los problemas y las prioridades nacionales de nuestros paises. Por esto mismo, recae en nosotros la responsabilidad de construir e intentar alternativas para los dos países. Yo pienso que nuestro papel es central dada nuestra capacidad de entender a dos culturas, dos naciones, dos pueblos, dos idiomas. Con esto en mente, he formulado las siguientes reflexiones.

En primer lugar, quisiera destacar la importancia de esta reunión que constituye un espacio institucionalizado de diálogo entre México y los Estados Unidos. Es un intento de aproximación en medio de la compleja problemática histórica entre los dos países. Esta quinta reunión de universidades de México y Estados Unidos sobre estudios fronterizos es parte del mismo proceso histórico de relaciones entre los dos países.

En segundo lugar, tomando una perspectiva mexicana, quisiera recalcar ciertos aspectos, aunque sea por demás obvio, detrás de la compleja relación entre México y los Estados Unidos. Para México, como se ha destacado a lo largo de varis ponencias, la relación con los Estados Unidos ha sido una de las condicionantes más importantes que han afectado el desarrollo de su conciencia como nación. El famoso por pertinente dicho: "Pobre México, tan lejo de Dios, y tan cerca de los Estados Unidos," refleja el peso que, sentimos los mexicanos, ejerce nuestro vecino sobre nosotros. México se encuentra en una situación única: el Tercer Mundo lado a lado del país más avanzado y poderoso del mundo capitalista.

En concreto, nuestra historia como pueblo y nación es el resultado de esta convivencia y de este proceso. La complejidad de la relación, en el fondo, es el resultado de la confrontación de dos naciones que intentan crear una identidad

nacional acentuando diferencias y escribiendo historias diferentes. Esa es la problemática de la dinámica entre las dos naciones. Para los mexicanos, la creación de una identidad nacional se nos da repensando un pasado indígena, la presencia española–conquista y colonia– y conviviendo en la frontera norte con el país más industrializado del hemisferio occidental, ante el que perdimos más de la mitad del territorio nacional. Para México, entonces, la creación de una imagen nacional requiere superar esta herencia histórica de derrota, conquista y ocupación, y equilibrar el consecuente desfasaje de poder entre los países.

El reconocer la inequidad de poder que resulta de esta situación no es tarea difícil. Las decisiones norteamericanas sobre política exterior tienen una enorme repercusión sobre los procesos internos en México. Dos ejemplos notables son el tráfico de drogas y el problema de la migración. Ambos problemas han sido instrumentalizados por los Estados Unidos para fines de política interna con graves consecuencias para el lado mexicano. Por otro lado, aunque México tiene menos peso sobre la política interna de los Estados Unidos, México ha defendido su soberanía nacional y ha establecido una legitimidad a nivel internacional a través de su política externa, como lo demuestra su posición con respecto al conflicto en Centro América. En fin, el desfasaje de poder afecta el poder de negociación entre los dos países.

En tercer lugar, quisiera subrayar varios temas que recurrentes a lo largo de la conferencia, lo que destaca su permanencia en la historia de México y el impacto en las imágenes recíprocas. Por ejemplo, el trabajo del doctor Capello me hizo recordar las reflexiones de Octavio Paz en *El Laberinto de la Soledad*, sobre la personalidad nacional del mexicano. El doctor Capello en su estudio empírico intenta sistematizar el análisis de las diferencias de la dinámica psicocultural que se establece en los individuos de estas naciones dado el desfasaje de poder entre los dos países.

Podemos entonces entender que México ha forjado su identidad nacional conciliando procesos históricos de dominación. La construcción de una imagen nacional se podría resumir como un proceso de lucha en contra de una identidad de vencidos. Los españoles primero y los norteamericanos después, trataron de construir una América a imagen y semejanza propia. La conciencia nacional mexicana refleja, entonces, una lucha contradictoria por forjarse una identidad propia y escapar al mismo tiempo de una identidad de agachado y colonizado.

Otro ejemplo, relacionado con la identidad mexicana, la constituyen las representaciones de los Estados Unidos en los libros de texto oficiales que reflejan esa compleja mezcla de amor/odio, característica de los sentimientos de los mexicanos hacia los Estados Unidos. Si, por un lado, se proyecta a los Estados Unidos como un país expansionista e imperialista, por otro lado, emerge al final con una imágen más positiva que negativa. Se le resiente por un lado, pero se le acepta como vencedor al final.

Otros dos aspectos que condicionan el proceso de la formación de identidad nacional y que tienen implicaciones importantes en las relaciones entre los dos

países, son factores que también tienen su raíz en los procesos de conquista y colonia. Usando una terminología sociológica contemporánea, podemos definirlos como la cuestión indígena y el problema de clases.

La estructura social mexicana está profundamente estratificada por clases con patrones de consumo y estilos de vida claros y altamente distintivos, y también por una notable correlación entre indígenas (o mexicanos con rasgos profundamente indígenas) y posiciones de clase desfavorecidas; con la consecuente concentración de pobres entre los indígenas. Estos sectores han sido tradicionalmente los excluídos de procesos sociales, económicos y políticos. Este es el pueblo conquistado y sometido. Somos entonces una sociedad altamente racista, pero sin reconocerlo abiertamente, tras la fachada de la ideología del mestizaje.

Para concluir, quisiera destacar las implicaciones que estos dos factores tienen, en particular sobre las relaciones con los Estados Unidos, ya que una gran proporción de mexicanos que vive en los Estados Unidos viene de las clases trabajadoras y populares de México. Esta masa de emigrantes mexicanos sale del país desfavorecida en dos niveles estructurales: por su condición de clase, y por su dimensión étnica. Al llegar a los Estados Unidos se inserta a esa sociedad desfavorablemente por los efectos de las condicionantes con las que llega. Esta situación adquiere más complejidad ya que la comunidad México-Norteamericana, en los Estados Unidos, vive las consecuencias históricas de la ocupación: el pueblo Chicano ha vivido una situación constante de marginación cultural, económica, política e histórica. Es preciso que el pueblo mexicano y sus representantes tengan presente estas cuestiones que están integradas a las relaciones de poder y dominio entre los dos países. Es en la frontera donde este choque, esta confrontación de poder, se da más vivamente.

Para concluir, quisiera destacar una vez más lo inevitable: la conexión histórica, linguística y cultural de nuestros países. Si es cierto que en la frontera se reconocen los dos pueblos como opuestos, nuestra labor consiste, entonces, en mostrar que no son sino los lados opuestos de la misma moneda: son imágenes recíprocas para que se reconozcan como parte de un mismo todo; que se reconozcan como parte de una misma problemática histórica.

EL ESTUDIO DE LOS AUTO Y HETERO-ESTEREOTIPOS EN SIETE NACIONES

HÉCTOR M. CAPPELLO

Mientras la literatura sobre los "estereotipos' es bastante voluminosa, pocos estudios como parte del mismo proyecto han analizado la auto y heteropercepción de varios grupos.

Brewer y Campbell (1976), en uno de los estudios más completos y mejor conocidos, analizaron los estereotipos mantenidos por 30 grupos étnicos en el Este de Africa: encontraron que dentro de un grupo étnico había un alto nivel de acuerdo (o uniformidad) con relación a su autopercepción. Asimismo, encontraron que la atracción hacia un grupo ajeno covariaba ampliamente con la oportunidad de contacto (principalmente en términos de similitudes culturales o linguisticas), y con la proximidad geográfica. Esta última variable también tendió a correlacionarse con altas tasas de contacto y de conflicto intergrupal. Grupos con alto estatus socio-económico fueron percibidos con gran ambivalencia por aquellos con bajo prestigio, aún cuando la mayoría de los grupos se evaluaron a sí mismos de manera ampliamente positiva.

Aunque la mayoría de los estudios se han enfocado hacia la calidad del esterotipo (Amir 1969: Brigham 1971: Robinson & Crauss 1971) contenido en términos de rasgos, en pocos estudios (Triandis, Lisansky, Setiadi, 1982) se ha considerado la uniformidad (acuerdo entre sujetos) y cualidad (contenido) de la auto y hetero percepción. El presente estudio ha indagado tales características de los estereotipos percibidos por muestras de estudiantes universitarios de siete países en América, que diferían en términos de lenguaje pero que procedían de raíces culturales comunes, al menos en seis de ellos. Al comparar las distintas características de los estereotipos, esperamos comprobar qué tan generales han sido los resultados de Brewer y Campbell (1973), cuando distintos grupos fueron muestreados con instrumentos culturales más apropiados de lo que ha sido el caso en la mayoría de los estudios previos.

Al estudiar los auto y hetero estereotipos de esta gran cantidad de

sujetos (N=1,184), estamos interesados en identificar el rol de tres variables específicas: distancia, contacto y desarrollo socioeconómico, que pudieran tener en las características arriba mencionadas del estereotipo. De investigaciones anteriores y del análisis de etnocentrismo de Levine y Campbell (1972), esperemos que estas tres variables jueguen un papel significativo en el estereotipo que encontremos. Una comparación con los datos de Brewer y Campbell (1976) pudiéra dar una indicación de la validez de las proposiciones de Levine y Campbell.

El peso de la proximidad geográfica (distancia) para producir hetero-estereotipos negativos ha sido expresado por Levine y Campbell (1972) como una derivación de la teoría del conflicto del grupo (e.g., Coser, 1956: Sherif & Sherif, 1953: Sumner. 1906) y de la aproximación reforzante del estereotipo.

El efecto del contacto entre dos grupos pareciera ser más complejo y difícil de predecir que el que es asumido para la similitud. Por una parte, puede esperarse que un contacto creciente podría producir mayor atracción (Zajoc, 1968). Al mismo tiempo, un contacto intenso podría muy bien incrementar las oportunidades para el conflicto y el desacuerdo. La literatura en esta área es amplia y generalmente sugiere que dos grupos externos tienden a atraerse uno a otro como una función del contacto, si este toma lugar en un contexto cooperativo, si los grupos comparten el mismo estatus y si el contacto es placentero, íntimo en su naturaleza, y aprobado por relevantes figuras de autoridad.

MÉTODO

Sujeto

Los investigados fueron 1,184 estudiantes de Licenciatura de 7 diferentes países de América. Ambos sexos fueron incluídos en cada muestra nacional y todos estaban en un rango de edad entre 17 y 24 años. Los cuestionarios fueron aplicados en Río de Janeiro y Brasilia, Brasil (N=124); Bogotá, Colombia (N=192); Santo Domingo, Rep. Dominicana (N=168); Tamaulipas, México (N=201); Huancayo, Perú (N=198); Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. (N=202); Caracas, Venezuela (N=199).

Instrumentos

El cuestionario incluye preguntas "émicas" (cultura específica) y éticas (cultura universal), diseñadas para medir auto y hetero-estereotipos, además de alguna información demográfica y de nivel de contacto con cada grupo que sirvió de estímulo.

En la primera parte del cuestionario se les pidió a los Ss. usar una escala de cinco puntos para calificar en 12 diferentes rasgos a sus propios connacionales e individuos de cada una de las otras naciones. Estos rasgos fueron obtenidos en un estudio preliminar donde a estudiantes de licenciatura de los siete países se les pidió escribir todos los rasgos que vinieran a su mente cuando pensaban en los nacionales de cada uno de los países estímulo.

La segunda parte del cuestionario (ítems éticos) incluyeron un diferencial semántico de 5 puntos, con el cual a todos los respondientes se les pidió calificar a los individuos de cada una de las naciones en siete escalas bipolares. Estas escalas fueron elegidas de entre aquellas con pesos mayores, de la escala de diferencial semántico utilizada en los estudios de Díaz Guerrero (Díaz Guerrero & Salas, 1975), en México y de Santoro (1975), en Venezuela. Los rasgos fueron usados en español (para Colombia, República Dominicana, México, Perú y Venezuela) y en portugués (para Brasil), dicha la falta del diferencial semántico de datos de Brasil. De las 7 escalas bipolares (bueno-malo, despreciable-admirable, fuerte-débil, pequeño-grande, lento-rápido, activo-pasivo y simpático-antipático), todas, excepto la última, fueron usadas con las personas de Estados Unidos, donde se sustituyó con educado-maleducado, dada la falta de un equivalente en inglés.

PROCEDIMIENTO

Los entrevistados respondieron al cuestionario en su respectivo campus universitario. Los datos obtenidos fueron codificados y analizados en un local central. Independientemente, dos índices más fueron computados: (a) distancia geográfica; y (b) nivel de desarrollo socioeconómico. La distancia geográfica fue calculada midiendo la distancia aérea entre el lugar donde se colectaron los datos y la más cercana área metropolitana de cada uno de los otros seis países. Las distancias en kilómetros fueron reducidas a calificaciones Z para compensar la posición general de cada país particular y estas calificaciones fueron consideradas cuando se analizaron los efectos de la distancia geográfica. El nivel de desarrollo fue medido preguntando a seis especialistas latinoamericanos en el área de economía internacional el calificar cada país en su desarrollo general. La confiabilidad entre los juicios al respecto fue de .89 posiciones promedio y de allí se pasó a calificaciones Z y de nuevo se utilizaron para todos los análisis posteriores. Este procedimiento se prefirió con respecto al uso de estadísticas globales (P.B. G.N.P.), dada la baja confiabilidad y la falta de uniformidad y existencia de datos disponibles de los siete países, aunque las cifras publicadas por la O.E.A. pudieran haber producido resultados semejantes, estas evaluaciones serían más subjetivas; reflejan, por otra parte, el tipo de interés expresado por Levine y Campbell (1972), cuando estudiaron

el efecto de las recompensas personales y costos asociados con la membresía de grupo y el etnocentrismo.

Al analizar los resultados de ambos instrumentos hallamos que correlacionaban débilmente entre sí (el promedio va de 0.33 en Perú y la República Dominicana a 0.54 en México y los Estados Unidos). Dados estos resultados, todos los subsecuentes análisis fueron llevados a cabo separadamente para las escalas émicas y para las que corresponden al diferencial semántico.

Para proveer a una perspectiva más comprensiva de los estereotipos medidos, los datos fueron analizados en términos de la uniformidad (acuerdo entre sujetos), e intensidad (grado de extremismo) de los estereotipos.

Asumimos que hubo una gran uniformidad en los estereotipos sí: (1) los dos puntos más positivos o negativos en una escala dada fueron escogidos por la base (0% - 25%) o el tope (75% - 100%) de la distribución de respondientes y (2) menos del 25% de los respondientes escogieron la categoría intermedia. Hallamos, de manera general, que hubo mucha mayor uniformidad a través de las muestras en sus escalas émicas (39% de todas las escalas cumplieron los requisitos arriba señalados para la "uniformidad"), que para las escalas éticas (14% de todas las posibles escalas). La mayoría de las muestras mostraron puntajes igualmente altos (variando de 36% a 49% para las escalas émicas) en términos de su uniformidad, con excepción de los Estados Unidos, donde el porcentaje de escalas muestran sólo una uniformidad del 18%.

Es interesante notar que el nivel de uniformidad fue menor para aquellas naciones que tuvieron en el pasado algún tipo de conflicto. Por ejemplo, el criterio de uniformidad no fue cumplido en ninguna de las escalas del diferencial semántico cuando los venezolanos evaluaban a los colombianos y viceversa. Lo mismo aconteció cuando los estadounidenses evaluaron a los mexicanos. El criterio de uniformidad sólo se cumplió en una de las escalas usada por los mexicanos para evaluar a los norteamericanos. Esto es de interés dado que apunta hacia el posible efecto del conflicto sobre la uniformidad del estereotipo, resultado que ha sido poco mencionado en la literatura científica.

La intensidad de los estereotipos fue analizada mediante la revisión del número de respuestas a cualquier extremo de la escala de rasgos usados por los respondientes para caracterizar los diferentes estímulos. Utilizando el criterio de más de 20% de las respuestas en estas categorías, hallamos que el auto-estereotipo tendía a ser más intenso particularmente cuando consideraban las escalas émicas. El promedio para las escalas de alta intensidad fue de 63% para las émicas y 34% para las éticas. El porcentaje medio total para los más intensos hetero-estereotipos fue de 37% para las escalas émicas y 22%. para las escalas éticas.

Para estudiar el grado de similitud entre los auto y hetero-estereotipos, comparamos los rasgos que un grupo se autoasignó con aquellos rasgos que cada uno de las otras muestras asignó al primer grupo. Una vez procesada esta información mediante la aplicación de la prueba "t", para una escala dada, concluimos que había congruencia entre el auto y hetereo-estereotipo

cuando los resultados no eran significantes estadísticamente, y cuando existía uniformidad e intensidad en ambos esterotipos.

Imagen de espejo

Se compararon los auto y hetero-estereotipos mantenidos por dos naciones que han experimentado un conflicto entre ellas en su pasado histórico. Como ha sido propuesto por Bronfen Brenner (d1961) y encontrado en otros estudios (Hague, 1973: Salazar & Marín (1977), dos grupos en conflicto parecen mantener similares auto-estereotipos e igualmente negativos hetero-estereotipos del grupo opuesto. Dada la variedad de naciones muestreadas en este estudio, probó ser interesante analizar los auto y hetero estereotipos de cada nación hacia las otras. Se esperaba que el fenómeno de "¿imagen de espejo" apareciese solamente entre naciones que en el pasado reciente hubiera experimentado ciertos niveles de conflicto. Esta expectativa fue totalmente confirmada cuando se consideraban las escalas comunes del diferencial semántico utilizadas por cada muestra. Para todas las instancias posibles hallamos tres casos en los cuales el fenómeno; "imagen de espejo" resultó evidente: Colombia-Venezuela, Rep. Dominicana-EE. UU., y México-EE. UU.

Determinantes del estereotipo

Como sostienen Levine y Campbell (1972), la distancia y cantidad de contactos son variables que teoréticamente dan lugar a predicciones contradictorias y poco claras acerca de los estereotipos mantenidos por un grupo dado. En generla encontramos que la distancia entre los dos grupos correlacionaron .55 con los datos del diferencial semántico, implicando que los grupos cercanos geográficamente mantienen percepciones más negativas hacia otros grupos que se encuentran más lejos.

Cuando cada muestra fue considerada individualmente encontramos la tendencia de una actitud negativa hacia los vecinos más cercanos de los respondientes. Este patrón también se mostró en todos los casos con las "medidas émicas" y en la mayoría de los casos con las escalas del diferencial semántico.

El análisis de regresión múltiple, tomando los datos del diferencial semántico y la distancia como la variable dependiente, y al grado de desarrollo económico y de contacto como variable independiente, produjo una R de .54. El peso Beta más importante correspondió a la distancia (.48) indicando un mayor desagrado por los más cercanos vecinos de los respondientes. El otro peso Beta significativo fue de -.40 y correspondio al grado de contacto, indicando el desagrado por aquellos individuos con quienes los respondientes estaban más familiarizados. El efecto del desarrollo fue mínimo en esta regresión. Un análisis

similar tomando las medidas "émicas" como variable dependiente mostró una R de .72 con las tres variables obteniendo pesos Beta significativos: .53 para la distancia geográfica; .46 para el desarrollo socioeconómico, y -.33 para el contacto.

Discusión

El nivel de acuerdo entre los respondientes (la uniformidad del estereotipo): Se obtuvieron niveles moderadamente altos de uniformidad para los auto y hetero-estereotipos en las escalas émicas. En este sentido la uniformidad disminuye cuando dos grupos han vivido conflictos en el pasado, por tanto es posible que el conflicto produzca diferentes niveles de reacciones emocionales en términos de cualidad, intensidad y dirección, y que estas respuestas diferenciales puedan disminuir el nivel de uniformidad que se halla cuando los grupos no han experimentado ningún conflicto.

Sobre los efectos del contacto encontramos que la cualidad de la interacción juega un rol importante en el tipo del estereotipo que ciertos grupos tienen entre sí; esto se confirmó en nuestro análisis de "imagen de espejo". Un hecho significativo es que las imágenes de espejo producidas por los conflictos, se obtienen cuando existen similitudes culturales entre los grupos (p. ej. Colombia y Venezuela) también cuando están ausentes (p. ej. México y EE. UU.); además, nuestros datos muestran que el conflicto es el elemento clave en la "imagen de espejo" y no la "proximidad territorial" como pudiera plantearse en el caso de Venezuela y Colombia o por las diferencias culturales (México y EE. UU.).

El efecto de la proximidad geográfica, en determinado caso, podría producir estereotipos (en virtud que promueve un contacto cercano) o percepciones negativas de los grupos (a través de miedos y amenazas compartidas). Nuestros datos parecen concordar con esta última hipótesis, en donde, a medida que aumenta la distancia, el estereotipo se va volviendo más positivo. Estos resultados contradicen algunos hallazgos reportados por Brewer y Campbell (1976), quienes señalan que grupos culturalmente similares muestran un incremento en la positividad del estereotipo en la medida que se incrementa la proximidad; sostienen, además que la evidencia contradictoria del efecto de la distancia geográfica pudiera deberse al hecho de que las relaciones fuesen una función curvilínea donde grupos cercanos o distantes se agradan, mientras que aquellos que están "entre-medio" pueden, con toda seguridad, desagradarse. Una importante consideración en este aspecto, que nos ayuda a explicar la divergencia con Brewer y Campbell, es que en vez de considerar la "distancia física" entre los países latinoamericanos, se requiere considerar una "distancia psicológica", basándonos, principalmente, en que la mayoría de los viajes entre países se realizan por vía aérea, en virtud de los obstáculos geográficos que se presentan e impiden contactos íntimos entre paises geográficamente cercanos.

Para concluir, encontramos cierto apoyo a las presuposiciones de Levine y Campbell (1972) con respecto a aquellos grupos que son más ricos y más admirados por la mayoría. Encontramos que esto es verdad no sólo para las naciones altamente industrializadas (EE. UU.), sino también para los países latinoamericanos económicamente más desarrollados (Brasil y México). Estos resultados podrían explicarse extendiendo la ley de atracción de Byrne (1969). Esta ley sugiere que los reforzamientos que se reciben por la interacción con un grupo fuerte y admirado se deben al poder reforzante de la incitación que se hace del grupo prestigioso.

TABLA 1
AUTO Y MEDIA DE LOS HETERO ESTEREOTIPOS EN DOS MEDIDAS

	DIFERENCIAL SEMANTICO		*ESCALAS EMICAS*	
PAIS	*AUTO*	*MEDIA HETERO*	*AUTO*	*MEDIA HETERO*
BRASIL	3.31	1.65	- 0.09	0.19
COLOMBIA	1.93	1.33	- 0.47	0.93
REP. DOMINICANA	3.53	1.85	2.30	2.90
MEXICO	2.59	1.55	1.39	2.06
PERU	1.55	0.65	0.29	1.95
U.S.A.	2.57	0.59	2.63	0.11
VENEZUELA	2.76	1.25	1.01	1.59

NOTA: La medida de diferencial semántico se obtuvo sumando las tres escalas de la dimensión evaluativa mientras que las medias émicas se obtuvieron sumando las cinco escalas comunes. Un número mayor indica una actitud más positiva.

TABLA 2
CORRELACION ENTRE DISTANCIA Y DOS MEDIDAS ACTITUDINALES

PAIS	*DIFERENCIAL SEMANTICO*	*ESCALAS EMICAS*
BRASIL	- .04	.76
COLOMBIA	.80	.93
REPUBLICA DOMINICANA	.75	.53
MEXICO	.85	.94
PERU	.19	.69
U.S.A.	.92	.95
VENUEZUELA	.62	.82
T O T A L	.55	.78

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MUTUAL IMAGES: PAST AND FUTURE

OSCAR J. MARTÍNEZ

The papers presented in this symposium have documented in a powerful way what all of us have long known or suspected–that negative images are pervasive in the United States and in Mexico about each country. Stereotypes, myths, distortions, and inaccuracies are to be found in the public mind about each other's history, culture, values, and national character.

What we have heard is enough to leave us frustrated, demoralized, and depressed. After all, we are in the business of providing accurate and reliable information about Mexico and the United States, yet we must face the reality that our efforts have had relatively little impact beyond the academic world. Too little of what we write has reached both ordinary citizens or elite persons from both nations.

Negative characterizations are not only destructive at the attitudinal level; unfortunately they shape behavior that causes further damage and drives a deeper wedge between our two countries. Prejudicial thinking also interferes in the formation of sound and rational policies that are badly needed to improve a binational relationship that has been marred by misunderstanding and friction since the days when each nation emerged as an independent republic.

Those who know the history of U.S.–Mexican relations are familiar with the origin of the opinions that norteamericanos have about Mexico, and that Mexicans have about their northern neighbors. We can begin with the Black Legend of the sixteenth century, when the English promoted the idea that Spaniards were ignorant, corrupt, bigoted, and cruel people under the thumb of the Catholic Church. The Spaniards of course struck back, labelling the English as aggressive, crass, and materialistic people bent on dominating whoever got in their way.

The United States and Mexico inherited such unflattering portrayals of their ancestors, and by extension about each other. As time went on many more offensive images would be added to the list. Periods of pronounced

confrontation and violence, in particular the years of the Texas rebellion, the War of 1846–1848, and the Mexican Revolution, served to accentuate the strong mutual antipathy that existed, and added new justification to be more distrustful and even to regard each other as dangerous enemies.

Many of the negative images that have evolved over time originate in the border region, where conflict over territory, filibusterism, Indian raiding, banditry, smuggling, undocumented migration, and other controversial issues have led to fear and paranoia that in turn have produced countless epithets. The racial prejudice toward people of color that has been so pronounced in the United States is of course another significant element in the often turbulent relationship between *norteamericanos* and *mexicanos*.

With that legacy, it comes as no surprise that both peoples have had considerable trouble understanding each other. It is also easily understandable how the fictional literature, history books, newspaper accounts, movies, television programs, and other means of disseminating information have frequently projected the biases found in each society.

As stated previously, if we dwell on what has happened to us as neighbors, especially in our historical relationship, we will find plenty to make us feel uncomfortable. We should not, however, be overly pessimistic about our perceptions of each other. There are many positive developments that we can point to if we examine the record carefully. Progress has taken place in recent years, and it needs to be recognized and applauded.

On the Mexican side, I have seen the publication of many books since the 1960s that reflect greater objectivity and less emotionalism in assessing the U.S.–Mexican relationship. In these meetings I have been impressed by the favorable climate that has been created by ANUIES and PROFMEX to explore, discuss, and debate issues that not too long ago we were very reluctant to even bring up. This indicates a growing maturity in the relationship between these two organizations that is reflective of what is also found in varying degrees in other binational academic groups.

On the U.S. side of the border, I have also seen in recent years the publication of books about Mexico that do a much better job of interpreting conditions south of the Rio Grande than was the case in previous eras. On a related subject, over the last twenty years numerous publications have appeared which recognize the contributions of the Mexican and Chicano populations in the United States. Many of these materials are very sympathetic to both groups. This year I have had an opportunity to examine some college-level U.S. history textbooks, and I have been encouraged by the balanced treatment of Mexico and of ethnic minorities by the authors.

In the public and popular media, important changes have taken place in the manner in which Mexico and persons of Mexican origin are presented to the U.S. population. Hollywood is no longer churning movie after movie which portray Mexico negatively. One of the most encouraging developments is the recent

appearance of uplifting movies about Mexican Americans such as *La Bamba, Stand and Deliver*, and *The Milagro Beanfield War*. Television has also changed with the times. The old commercials which capitalized on Mexican stereotypes to sell a variety of products have disappeared, and today one can find Hispanics playing prominent and positive roles in leading weekly programs such as "Miami Vice" and "L.A. Law." There is no question that such changes have come about largely as a result of activism and militancy on the part of U.S. Hispanic groups and not necessarily because of a genuine change of heart in the corporate world. Yet the important thing is that Hollywood and the television networks have responded to the concerns of Hispanics, and the United States is better for it.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest some possibilities for future action on the part of PROFMEX members pertaining to the dissemination of accurate and unbiased information about Mexico in the United States. More of us should be involved in the writing of textbooks that deal in one way or another with Mexico, especially at the pre–college level. PROFMEX might consider initiating a project to reach the public at large with timely information about Mexico, perhaps through the regular publication of opinion pieces in selected newspapers as well as systematic participation in news–oriented television and radio programs. Finally, we might think about the possibility of holding seminars that would focus on "Myths and Realities of Mexico" that could be offered to pre–college textbook writers, public school teachers, and journalists.

CONFERENCIA DE CLAUSURA/
CLOSING REMARKS

THE PROFMEX-ANUIES SYMPOSIUM AND MUTUAL IMAGES

JULIET ANTUNES SABLOSKY

AMBASSADOR LOZOYA, DR. CASILLAS, DR. WILKIE:

Thank you for the opportunity to be with you this afternoon, I think that at this hour of the day our mutual perceptions is that one should be brief. I shall try to be. At the same time, I think it important to take advantage of the presence of this distinguished group of scholars to say a few things about the Mexico-U.S. relationship and the role that educational and cultural exchange can and should play in it.

The subject of your symposium is one of great concern to both our governments. As you may know it was discussed at the Foreign Minister Level in January 1987 when Secretary Schultz and Secretary Sepúlveda met in Washington, D.C. It also loomed large at the Sixth Bilateral Cultural Commission meeting held by representatives of our two governments in Washington, D.C. last June.

Surely, as we agreed then, there is no better way to improve mutual perceptions than through educational and cultural exchanges. Thus, both governments endorsed expanded activities in academic exchanges, teacher and youth exchanges, as well as meetings of scholars and specialists such as this. We acknowledged then that governments cannot do it all. We need to enlist the support of the private sector as well. Since last June we have been working with foundations and corporations here in Mexico to find ways to mobilize resources for key projects. Just last week it was announced that with the support of the Miguel Alemán Foundation and the American Express Company a Mexico-U.S. Grant Coordination Center will be set up to serve as a clearing house for proposals related to improving Mexico-U.S. relations. It is hoped that the Center will be operational by September, 1988.

The PROFMEX-ANUIES symposium is yet another important step in the process of study, analysis and discussion which we hope will lead to a better understanding of what we are about as nations.

Much is made in the media of our differences. For example, we hear a lot in the U.S. about illegal immigration and the problems it engenders, but little is said about the one million Mexicans and Americans who cross the border legally each day to work, to study, or to visit their families. In fact, the existence of a border culture is virtually unknown outside the southwest of the United States.

But those of you in this room who have devoted your professional lives to the study of the U.S. or to the study of Mexico, know that there is much that binds us together. What we need to do is to raise the level of consciousness about these ties in both countries. We need to develop a sense of common purpose which will enable us to live together harmoniously on our shared continent, rather than to work at cross purposes as we have so often done in the past.

Beforme coming to Mexico I served as Director of the U.S. Government's overseas cultural presentations program. One of the artists we sent out to the Middle East was poet Naomi Nye. On her return she sent us a report in which she said that everywhere she went she felt a desire on the part of her audiences "to connect beyond the headlines".

It seems to me that nowhere today is there greater need for two nations to connect beyond the headlines–and to communicate beyond the headlines–than in Mexico and in the United States.

In an article a year or so ago in *Excelsior*, Octavio Paz lamented the lack of knowledge and understanding of Mexico in the U.S. He talked about the knowledge gap and said, *"Exagero, es una imagen en blanco, una inmensa laguna mental e histórica. No saben, ni quieren saber nada de nosotros..."*

The presence of the American contingent here today belies that statement, as does the presence of the Mexican scholars For a similar statement could be made about Mexican understanding of the U.S. But among the general public in both countries, clearly, the "laguna" is real.

Your conference and your analysis of the problem is a step forward. But much remains to be done to fill the gap. It seems to be that those of you in this room, Mexicans and Americans alike, can and should play a central role in that process.

Whether in your own teaching and writing, in the professional meetings you attend, or in your community activities, you have a unique opportunity to provide information and opportunities for dialogue and discussion, on the basis of which some perceptions may be altered.

Through your institutions you can expand opportunities for exchange of students, professors, and community leaders. I should like to digress for a moment to share with you some statistics which are of great concern to our cultural affairs office. I think they should be of great concern to you and the institutions you represent.

From a high of 7,890 Mexican students studying in the U.S. in 1982, mostly

with their own resources, the total has dropped to 5,330 in the 1986-87 academic year. That represents some 2,500 young Mexicans, future leaders of their country, who will not have an opportunity to live and work in the U.S. at the very time when we are saying that we need more understanding and improved perceptions.

Further, the scholarships available to Mexican students through Conacyt have declined in number by over 30%. It seems to me that this is an area which you of PROFMEX and you of ANUIES could profitably address. The solutions are not easy, but we must work together to find them. To neglect this essential area in our relationship would be irresponsible.

No one has articulated better the importance of educational exchange than Senator William J. Fulbright, founder of the academic exchange program which bears his name.

> "What we must all try to acquire through education, an especially through international education, is some degree of perceptions and perspective about the various peoples of the world, both as to the varieties of preference and aspiration in difference societies and as to the common humanity which united all societies. In a word, we must seek through education to develop empashy that rare and wonderful ability to perceive the world as others see it...."
>
> "Perhaps the greatest power of educational exchange is the power to convert nations into people and to translate ideologies into human aspirations. I do not think educational exchange is certain to produce affection between peoples, nor indeed do I think that is one of its necessary purposes, it is quite enough if it contributes to the feeling of a common humanity."

I hope that each of you will accept the challegen of working to develop that feeling of common humanity between the United States and Mexico which in the long term can and will contribute to improved mutual perceptions.

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