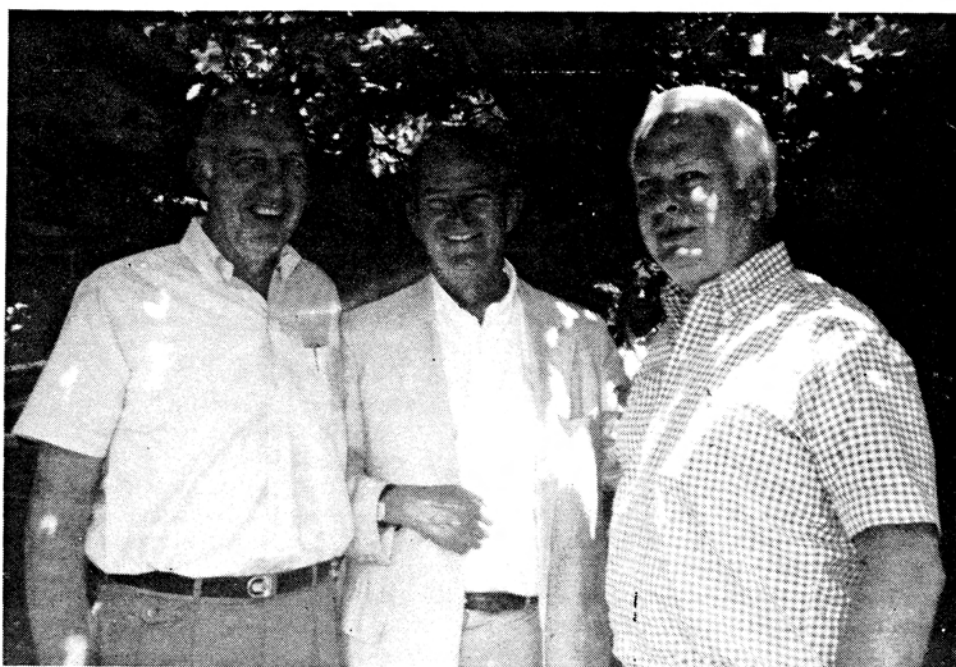


MEXICO POLICY NEWS

The Consortium for Research on Mexico

No. 5 Summer 1990



Elwin V. Svenson, Clint E. Smith, and Charles Bray

Wingspread Meeting on United States-Mexico Studies

by Paul Ganster

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Johnson Foundation convened a meeting of Mexicanists on "Strengthening United States-Mexico Studies" at Wingspread in Racine, Wisconsin, July 6-8, 1990. According to Hewlett's **Clint E. Smith**, who co-organized and chaired the meetings, "the purpose of the conference was to continue discussions begun in February 1989 with a view to strengthening understanding in the United States and Mexico of the other country, with a particular focus on strengthening understanding of Mexico in the United States."

Conference participants included directors of Mexico projects and U.S. studies programs, foundation personnel, and representatives from the private sector. In addition to Hewlett's Smith, foundation representatives included **Kimberly Stanton** (MacArthur), **Diana Velez** (Tinker), and **Thomas J. Trebat** (Ford).

Project directors from universities around the country included **Ronald G. Hellman** (Bildner Center, CUNY), **Douglas A. Chalmers** (Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies,

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Details Finalized for VI PROFMEX- ANUIES Symposium, Mazatlán, October 3-7, 1990

The final arrangements have been put into place for the VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium. Scheduled for Mazatlán for October 3-7, 1990, the meetings will address the theme "Changes in U.S.-Mexican Economic Relations: Beyond the Border." The various sessions will consider not only facets of the Mexican-U.S. economic interaction, but will place

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VI Symposium

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change within the broader world context, with particular emphasis on Canada, the Pacific Basin, and the Caribbean Basin. Leading scholars from Mexico, the United States, and Canada will participate in the VI Symposium. The schedule of panels and presentations is printed elsewhere in this issue of the newsletter.

The Governor of Sinaloa, Lic. **Francisco Labastida Ochoa**, and U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, **John D. Negroponte**, will welcome conference participants to Mazatlán at a reception on the evening of October 3. The closing reception and banquet will be on the evening of the 5th and will include remarks by ANUIES Secretary General **Juan Casillas**, PROFMEX President **James W. Wilkie**, and by representatives of the Mexican and U.S. governments.

Saturday, October 6, will include free time to explore the economic and cultural features of the Mazatlán region individually or as part of a tour. PROFMEX will host a reception for all symposium participants and observers on the evening of the 6th.

As with past symposia, the papers and comments from the VI Symposium will be published by PROFMEX and ANUIES. Publication is planned for early 1991, in co-publication with Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco.

The office of the Governor of Sinaloa has provided important assistance with local arrangements. The conference site will be at El Cid Hotel and Resort, a full-service tourist complex on the beach in Mazatlán. With two swimming pools, an 18-hole golf course, numerous restaurants and shops, a disco, and excellent meeting facilities, the meeting site is ideal for the VI Symposium. Not only are the conference arrangements excellent, but El Cid provides a perfect spot for family members to enjoy a vacation.

Attractive package rates have been arranged for the symposium. The package rate that includes the conference registration fee, deluxe hotel room for four nights, banquet, receptions, and refreshments is \$150 per person double occupancy, or \$250 per person single occupancy. All rooms have two double beds and family members may stay with registered conference participants at no extra charge. A limited number of rooms at the special package rate are available, so early registration is advised.

A registration form that provides additional details is included in this issue of the newsletter. For more information, participants from the United States should contact Ms. Bertha Hernández,

Administrative Coordinator, Institute for Regional Studies, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0435, (619) 594-5423. Participants from Mexico should contact the office of Ing. Ermilo Marroquín, ANUIES, Insurgentes Sur 2133, 01000 México, D.F., México, (905) 550-27-55.

PROFMEX Tourism Investment Conference, Mazatlán, Oct. 2-3, 1990

PROFMEX has joined with the International Business Alliance, the Mexican and American Foundation, and the State Government of Sinaloa to sponsor a conference on "Tourism Investment in Mexico," in Mazatlán, October 2-3, 1990. The seminar will bring leading Mexican and U.S. experts on tourism investment and development together to discuss the new regulatory framework in Mexico for foreign investment and new opportunities for foreign investors. The conference will feature case studies of actual tourism development projects in areas such as Cancún and Mazatlán and experts will discuss specific aspects of the tourism industry, including labor, worker housing, transportation, training programs, environmental concerns, utility and infrastructure costs, and so forth.

The Tourism Investment Conference will be opened by Governor of Sinaloa **Francisco Labastida Ochoa**. The keynote speaker at the luncheon will be U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, **John D. Negroponte**. The luncheon will also feature recognition of leading figures in the Mexican tourism industry and will be attended by members of the local, state, and national tourism sector.

The seminar will provide participants with the opportunity to interact with leading experts and members of the tourism industry. Briefing materials will include case studies of projects, background materials, and technical materials on the regulatory framework. A mini-trade show will also be held and will include promotional materials from service providers to the industry, a video and publications by the Department of Economic Development of the State of Sinaloa, and representatives from firms involved in tourism.

The conference will be held at El Cid Hotel and Resort, located on the beach in Mazatlán. A special \$550 conference package has been arranged and includes conference registration fee, briefing materials, two nights lodging in deluxe rooms, reception, luncheon, and refreshments.

The Tourism Investment Conference will be followed by the PROFMEX-ANUIES VI Symposium, "Changes in the U.S.-Mexican Economic Relationship: Beyond the Border." To be held at El Cid, October 3-7, this symposium will bring together leading academic and government experts to explore the significant changes that have been taking place in the economic relationship between the two neighbors.

Participants in the Tourism Investment Conference are invited to remain in Mazatlán to participate in the PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium.

The Tourism Investment Conference program has been set, and highlights are listed below:

Tuesday, October 2

6:30 p.m. Welcome reception; remarks by Governor **Francisco Labastida Ochoa** and Ambassador **John D. Negroponte**.

Wednesday, October 3

8:30 a.m. Opening session, remarks by Governor Labastida

9:00 a.m. "Mexico's New Foreign Investment Regulations," Aureliano González Baz, Bryan, González Vargas & González Baz

9:30 a.m. "New Opportunities in Real Estate and Tourism," **David G. Ellsworth**, Morgan, Lewis & Bockius, Los Angeles

10:00 a.m. "The Return of Mexico and Latin America to the Capital Markets," **Gregorio Estrella**, Multivest Capital Management Group

10:30 a.m. "Tax Implications in the United States and Mexico," **Mauricio Monroy**, Deloitte and Touche/Galaz, Gómez-Morin, Chavero & Yamuzaki

11:00 a.m. Tourism Investments: Case Studies of the Cancún/ Aventuras Project Presented by **FRISA**, the Project Developer

1:00 p.m. LUNCHEON, keynote speaker **John D. Negroponte** U.S. Ambassador to Mexico

3:30 p.m. "Case Studies of Tourism Investment in Sinaloa and Elsewhere in Mexico: Labor Availability and Rates in Sinaloa; Housing and Transportation for Workers; Training Programs; Mexican Visas for U.S. Managers"

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VI PROFMEX-ANUIES SYMPOSIUM OF U.S. AND MEXICAN UNIVERSITIES

October 3-7, 1990, Mazatlán, Sinaloa, México

CHANGES IN U.S.-MEXICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS:
BEYOND THE BORDEROctober 3, Wednesday

am and pm Arrival of participants

7:00-9:00 pm Reception; remarks by Lic. **Francisco Labastida Ochoa**, Governor of Sinaloa, and U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, **John D. Negroponte**October 4, Thursday8:30-11:00 am **Panel 1: REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE PACIFIC BASIN AND THE CARIBBEAN BASIN** (Chaired by ANUIES' Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa)**Leobardo F. Estrada** (UCLA) and **Victor Castillo** (Universidad Autónoma de Baja California), "Border Regional Development and Asian Investment: Strategies and Trends"**Jorge Salazar Carrillo** (Florida International University), "The Caribbean Basin within the Context of U.S.-Mexican Economic Development"11:30-2:00 pm **Panel 2: FROM MAQUILA TO PRODUCTION--AND MARKET-SHARING?**
(Chaired by **Norris Clement**, San Diego State University)**Mónica Gambrill** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), "The Maquiladora Decree and Its Implications"**Jeffrey Brannon** and **William Lucker** (University of Texas, El Paso), "Local Sourcing, a New Direction in the Maquiladora Industry"**Stephen Jenner** (San Diego State University), "The Evolving Maquiladora Industry and U.S.-Mexican Economic Relations"Comment: **George Baker** (PROFMEX Executive Secretariat)4:00-6:30 pm **Panel 3: INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT, TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, AND DEBT SERVICE**
(Chaired by **Ronald G. Hellman**, City University of New York)**Eduardo Solís** and **Héctor Márquez** (Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León), "International Investment in Mexico: Toward Globalization of the Economy"**Enrique Elías Calles** (Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey), "Service of the Mexican Debt and the New Financing Alternatives"**Dilmus James** (University of Texas, El Paso), "Internal Technological Capacities and Capital Goods Production: The Case of Mexico"**Kathleen Griffith** (President, Informática, La Jolla, CA), "Telecommunications, Foreign Investment, and Development in Mexico"Comment: **Chandler Stolp** (University of Texas, Austin) and **Edmundo Jacobo** (Secretaría General de PROFMEX)October 5, Friday8:30-11:00 am **Panel 4: TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY**
(Chaired by **Fernando Contreras**, ANUIES)**José Romero** (El Colegio de México), "Effects of the Trade Opening on Industrial Policy"**Alejandro Dávila** (Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua), "Comparative Analysis of Economic Efficiency"**Edward J. Williams** (University of Arizona), "The Changing Economic Relationship: Impact on U.S. and Mexican Labor"**James Cypher** (California State University, Fresno), "Mexico's Export Promotion Policy: Un Nuevo Patrón de Acumulación?"Comment: **Van Whiting** (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego)

11:30-2:00 pm **Panel 5: Cooperation for Education and Training**
(Chaired by **Michael E. Meyer**, University of Arizona)

Paul Ganster (San Diego State University), "Mexico Studies in the United States, U.S. Studies in Mexico"
Guadalupe González y González (Centro de Investigaciones y Docencia Económicas), "Report on Educational Cooperation between Mexico and the United States"
David Lorey (UCLA), "Mexican Economic Development and Higher Education"
Comment: **John Coatsworth** (University of Chicago)

4:00-6:00 pm **Panel 6: The Trilateral Equation: Canada, the United States, and Mexico**
(Chaired by **Héctor Capello**, ANUIES)

Don Abelson (Office of the U.S. Trade Representative), U.S.-Mexican Trade and Investment Relationship: Past and Future"
Richard Lipsey (Simon Fraser University), "Free Trade: The Case of the United States and Canada"
Gustavo Vega (El Colegio de México) and **Gustavo del Castillo** (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte), "Trade Liberalization Options Mexico-United States-Canada"
Teresa Gutiérrez Haces (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), "Economic Restructuring and Integration: The Case of the United States and Canada"
Comment: **Linda Hunter** (San Diego State University)

7:00-8:00 pm Cocktail

8:00-10:00 pm Banquet. Comments by **Juan Casillas**, **James W. Wilkie**, and representatives from Mexico and the United States

October 6, Saturday

5:00-7:00 pm PROFMEX Board of Directors Meeting

7:00-9:00 pm PROFMEX Reception for all participants and observers; cocktails and informal discussion

October 7, Sunday

Departure from Mazatlán

Tourism Conference

(continued from page 2)

5:00 p.m. "Land and Construction Costs; Utility/Infrastructure Costs; Environmental Impact Regulations and Enforcement"

7:00 p.m. RECEPTION. Remarks by Governor Labastida and Ambassador Negroponte. Reception will include arriving participants for the PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium.

To obtain more information and registration forms for the Tourism Investment Conference (or for the PROFMEX-Anuies Symposium), contact Ms. Bertha Hernández, Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0435; tel. (619) 594-5423; FAX (619) 594-1358.

UC President Gardner Visits Mexico

The president of the University of California, **David P. Gardner**, accompanied a group of distinguished North American Mexicanist scholars on a visit to Mexico City in April 1990. Gardner and the group held lunch meetings with President **Carlos Salinas de Gortari** to discuss U.S.-Mexican academic relations and recent economic and social trends in Mexico.

President Gardner attended meetings with Treasury Secretary **Pedro Aspe**, General Secretary of ANUIES **Juan Casillas**, Rector of the UAM System **Gustavo A. Chapela Castañares**, Rectora of UAM-Azcapotzalco **Silvia Ortega Salazar**, and other rectors of Mexican public and private universities. President Gardner was able to establish approval in principle for higher education debt swaps, which are proceeding under the auspices of UCLA.

The group of scholars invited by President Salinas included **Clint Smith** from Stanford University; **James W. Wilkie**, **Juan Gómez-Quiñones**, **David Hayes-Bautista**, and **David Lorey** from UCLA; **Alex Saragoza** and **Albert Fishlow** from UC Berkeley; **Wayne Cornelius** and **Peter Smith** from UCSD; **Alan Knight** from UT-Austin; **Abraham Lowenthal** from USC; and **John Bailey** from Georgetown University. The visit and lunch with President Salinas were coordinated by the UCLA Program on Mexico.

Registration Form*

VI PROFMEX-ANUIES SYMPOSIUM

"CHANGES IN U.S.-MEXICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS: BEYOND THE BORDER"
Mazatlán, October 3-7, 1990

- ☐ **Complete Conference Package and Conference Registration Fee, (includes 4 nights occupancy hotel [10/3-10/6], registration fee, banquet, receptions, and refreshments)**

☐ **Single occupancy, \$250** _____

☐ **Double occupancy, \$300 (\$150 per person)** _____

- ☐ **Conference Registration Fee Without Room Package, \$125** _____

- ☐ **Banquet and reception fee for non-registrants, \$25** _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED _____

Rooms have two double beds. Two registered participants may share a room at the double occupancy rate of \$150 each. Spouses, dependents, friends, etc., not attending the Symposium functions, may share a registered participant's room at no additional cost. Spouses, dependents, and friends may attend banquet and receptions by payment of a \$25.00 fee each. All persons attending the Symposium must be registered conference participants. Additional rooms, or rooms, are available two days before or two days after the conference at \$85.00 per night.

NAME

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE

FAX

Additional guests who will room with you and not attend scholarly sessions _____.

Additional Name (for double occupancy Registration Package)

NAME

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE

FAX

A limited number of conference packages are available. Please reserve by sending the full amount or a deposit in the amount of \$100, payable to SDSU Foundation, to: Institute for Regional Studies, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0435, (619) 594-5423

*Mexican participants should register through the office of: Ing. Ermilo J. Marroquín, ANUIES, Insurgentes Sur 2133, 01000 México, D.F., (905) 550-27-55

PROFMEX, The Consortium for Research on Mexico

PROFMEX (a non-profit organization) is the international organization of more than twenty-five U.S. and Mexican academic institutions that have programs with a research focus on contemporary affairs in Mexico and U.S.-Mexican relations. PROFMEX is also an individual membership organization with more than 200 members who, similarly, have a research interest in social science or business issues.

The purpose of PROFMEX affiliation is to provide a means for communication and collaboration among institutions and individuals concerning topics in Mexican and U.S.-Mexican affairs.

PROFMEX is coordinated by secretariats operating under the auspices of UCLA on the U.S. side and, in Mexico, the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco Campus.

PROFMEX sponsors a number of programs and publications. Programs include biennial symposia jointly sponsored with ANUIES (The Mexican Association of Universities and Public Institutes of Higher Education) to provide scholars and policymakers a forum to address salient topics in U.S.-Mexican affairs. Publications include *Mexico Policy News* (issued for PROFMEX by San Diego State University), the PROFMEX Monograph Series (published for PROFMEX by University of Arizona Press), and PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Series (jointly published with ANUIES). PROFMEX members will receive the following periodicals:

Review of the Economic Situation of Mexico (published monthly by Banco Nacional de México-BANAMEX);

Comercio Exterior (published monthly by the Banco de Comercio Exterior);

Análisis Económico de Coyuntura (published bimonthly by the Liga de Economistas Revolucionarios);

Federalismo y Desarrollo (published bimonthly by Banco Nacional de Obras y Servicios Públicos-BANOBRAS).

Members also receive special group rates on a number of publications, including *U.S.-Mexico Report* and *El Cotidiano* (UAM-Azcapotzalco).

Tax-deductible dues are \$30 per year for individual members (\$20 Mexican rate), \$300 per year for associate institutional membership (\$150 for Mexican institutions).

For further information, contact Dr. George Baker, Tel. (415) 486-1247, FAX (415) 486-0388, or write: PROFMEX Executive Secretariat, 1440 Euclid Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94708-1939.

Membership Application

- ☐ Individual Membership, \$30 per year
- ☐ Individual Membership, Mexican Rate, \$15 per year
- ☐ Associate Institutional Membership, \$300 per year
- ☐ Associate Mexican Institutional Membership, \$150 per year

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Mexican Conference Series Co-Sponsor

Asociación Nacional de Universidades e
Institutos de Enseñanza Superior (ANUIES)

Wingspread Meeting

(continued from page 1)

Columbia University), **Clark W. Reynolds** (Americas Program, Stanford), **Cathryn L. Thorup** (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD), and **Paul Ganster** (Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University).

UCLA was represented by **Elwin V. Svenson** (Vice Chancellor, Institutional Relations), **James W. Wilkie** (PROF-MEX President and chair, Projects on Trends and Cycles in Twentieth-Century Mexico), and **David E. Lorey** (Coordinator, Program on Mexico). Also attending were **Riordan Roett** (Director, Latin American Studies Program, SAIS), **M. Delal Baer** (Director, Mexico Project, CSIS), **John Coatsworth** (Director, Latin American Center, University of Chicago), **Murray Fromson** (Director, Center for International Journalism, USC), **Katrina Burgess** (California-Mexico Project, USC), **Guy F. Erb** (Manager, Lafayette Capital Corporation), **Van R. Whiting, Jr.** (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD), and **Sidney Weintraub** (L.B.J. School of Public Affairs, UT Austin).

Directors and staff of four Mexican institutions were at the Wingspread meetings. These were **Jesús Velasco Márquez** (Coordinator, U.S. Program, Universidad de las Américas, Puebla), **Soledad Loeza** (Director, Center for International Relations, El Colegio de México), **José Warman** (Director General) and **Serra Butler** (Program Manager) of the Centro de Tecnología Electrónica e Informática, Mexico City, and **Jorge A. Bustamante** (President, COLEF, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte).

Former Ambassador **Charles W. Bray**, President of The Johnson Foundation and other co-organizer of the meetings, opened the conference and participated actively in the discussions. As an experienced diplomat, he was able to provide many useful suggestions, including the creation of a U.S.-Mexican Academic Common Market.

The meetings included the presentation of a series of papers, followed by specific and general discussions, all moving towards developing a consensus on the central conference theme of strengthening U.S.-Mexican studies. It was generally acknowledged by those present that rapidly unfolding events have created a new framework for the role of universities and for Mexico and U.S. studies programs, particularly in light of the recently announced discussions on a Mexico-United States free trade agreement. Thus, participants gave considerable thought as to what should



Murray Fromson and Kimberly Stanton

be done to improve the understanding of the other country at all levels—K-12, undergraduate education, graduate training, scholarly research, and outreach to public policy and private sectors.

The first presentation was by Jorge Bustamante on "Current Mexico-U.S. Relations: A Mexican View" and had as its thesis that the "gap between perceptions and realities is one of the most serious problems in terms of creating conditions of reasonableness in U.S.-Mexican relations." He discussed ongoing research at COLEF that uses photographs and questionnaires to measure the flow of undocumented persons across the border in the San Diego-Tijuana region. He also addressed the problem of border violence, criticizing the Mexican police authorities for their continuing extortion against migrants seeking to cross into the United States. He was equally severe in articulating his perceptions of U.S. law enforcement authorities. He charged that the U.S. Border Patrol has given Christmas parties along the border in San Diego because they "don't want the game to end" and "to assure that the flow continues." Bustamante also attested that there was "not one case of a U.S. policeman being convicted of aggression against an undocumented person."

The next session centered around a presentation by Vice Chancellor Svenson (UCLA) on debt swaps and their potential for generating increased support for Mexico-related educational activities. Svenson first discussed recent U.S. Congressional interest in Mexican debt swaps to leverage additional resources for cultural and scientific purposes in Mexico. He reminded the group that

Mexico committed as part of the 1990 foreign debt settlement to make debt swaps of at least 3.5 billion dollars during the 1990-1992 period.

In briefing the group on the possibility of a debt swap for education, he discussed recent meetings in Mexico City arranged by Jim Wilkie between University of California President David Gardner and President Salinas and between Gardner, Treasury Secretary Pedro Aspe, and Clint Smith. At both of these meetings, Salinas and Aspe indicated that the Mexican Treasury Department supported the idea of debt swaps for education as a means of generating investment in human capital.

Svenson led the conference through a debt swap flow chart, showing what the result would be of a \$1 million grant by a foundation to UCLA. Although UCLA was used as the example, in all likelihood the swap would involve several foundations and different U.S. and Mexican universities, with UCLA simply serving as a convenient umbrella mechanism. UCLA would use the grant to purchase \$2.4 million of debt certificates from a U.S. bank on the secondary market. The certificates would then be transferred to a Mexican university with which UCLA has an agreement for research, student exchange, faculty exchange, graduate training, and so forth. The Mexican university would then exchange the \$2.4 million in debt certificates with the Mexican Treasury Department for pesos at the current market value of 2,800 pesos to the dollar, or 6.7 billion pesos if the dollar is not discounted in the swap.

The advantages for the participating institutions would be as follows:

- the U.S. foundation will leverage its award substantially.
- UCLA will leverage its award for projects in Mexico.
- the Mexican university will gain new funds to be spent on projects developed in cooperation with UCLA.
- the Mexican government will reduce its foreign debt by 2.4 million dollars.

Of course, the amount leveraged would be, in effect, subsidized by the Mexican government, but this would be a desirable subsidy for development of human capital.

Svenson's presentation elicited a number of comments from those present. Some of the foundation officers indicated concern about losing control of how the funds are spent and others suggested that such a program might become subjected to the fads of a particular *sexenio*. However, Jim Wilkie observed that the Mexican Treasury Department would only proceed when an agreement was already in place between the donor foundation and Mexican and U.S. universities. Thus, "the donor foundation and universities would not relinquish control of how the monies generated are spent."

Jim Wilkie commented that UCLA has a one million dollar debt swap in progress in order to test the mechanism, but that there is a need for U.S. universities to work together on organization of debt swaps so as not to overwhelm Mexican authorities with a multitude of small requests. What is needed is some sort of a joint venture so that interested groups in the United States, even with relatively modest amounts, can pool resources to take advantage of the mechanism.

The following session, on "Creating and Funding More Effective Exchange Programs," was led by John Coatsworth with comments by Riordan Roett. Coatsworth's paper presented survey data on the current state of student, academic, and cultural exchanges between the United States and Mexico. He noted the difficulties in finding hard information on the flows between the two countries of students, faculty, and researchers, but nonetheless it is clear that there is an inadequate level of these activities. In fact, said Coatsworth, "no area of the bilateral relationship is more susceptible to major improvement at less cost in time and resources and with greater long run benefits than that of educational and cultural exchange."

The general discussion of this presentation produced a number of interesting comments and observations:

- Clark Reynolds noted that we are not training a new generation of U.S. and Mexican experts and this failure has serious long term consequences for the



UDLA-Puebla's Jesús Velasco

bilateral relationship.

- Kim Stanton described a successful and cost-effective MacArthur-Ford program for postgraduate training abroad for Mexicans and Central Americans. However, she said, "there is a need to establish priorities as well as to undertake medium and long-term planning."
- Delal Baer pointed out the problem of recruitment of applicants. Students from better Mexico City institutions have an advantage both in preparation and in knowledge of how the system works. "Provincial students are at a marked disadvantage," she observed.
- Paul Ganster discussed a number of ongoing programs in the U.S.-Mexican border region, noting that exchange programs of students and faculty are often very cost effective in the region, since relocation to the other country is not necessary for participating individuals. He cited existing programs at University of Texas at El Paso and San Diego State University as well as the new Border Fulbright Program as examples of effective exchange at very minimal cost.
- José Warman noted that the Mexican government is concerned about higher education, including exchanges, but lacks priority and direction at this time.
- Soledad Loeza observed that with the economic crisis CONACYT had decreased support for social sciences but that the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores was functioning as a fairly independent body, managing to provide crucial support to keep key scholars in the universities.

The next component of the meeting focused on discussion of Cathryn

Thorup's presentation on "Public Education about Mexico: Four Practical Proposals." Underlining the importance and neglect of public education as an element in the U.S.-Mexican relationship, she went on to offer four practical proposals designed to enhance public education about Mexico:

- a national conference on a strategy for public education on Mexico to focus on ways in which to enhance the task of educating the U.S. public about Mexico and promoting greater grassroots input into public policy thinking about Mexico-related issues. This is viewed as a first step toward the following three proposals.
- a program for K-12 education on Mexico to improve the quality of U.S. classroom instruction about Mexico, Mexican-Americans, and U.S.-Mexican relations.
- a citizen education project on Mexico, to encourage a variety of adult public educators to provide useful information to their constituencies on Mexico and related topics.
- a U.S.-Mexico Foundation for Education and Exchange, which would be jointly designed and administered and endowed through a debt-for-education swap.

In responding to Thorup's presentation, Delal Baer suggested that perhaps we need to prioritize with which groups we should be working. Murray Fromson noted that an aspect of public education is to be seen in the press coverage on Mexico that is plagued by inadequately trained journalists and editors.

Sidney Weintraub observed that perhaps we are now doing what we can do best—writing books, op-ed pieces, curriculum materials, and speaking to public service groups. Public interest in Mexico is a function of what is going on—as seen in the debt refinancing and free trade agreements that have attracted great attention.

The theme of public education resurfaced at various points during the rest of the conference. The participants reported on numerous successful examples of public education programs regarding Mexico. Several program directors stressed that while public education programs lack the impact of focused research or outreach to carefully selected audiences of opinion makers, they are important for the long term bilateral relationship.

Clark Reynolds next led a provocative discussion on "Bringing Disciplines Together: Creating a View of the Whole." He pointed out that the degree of interdependence being experienced in our time makes it essential that much more in-depth analysis be given to the links be-

tween economic behavior, social and institutional structures, and the political process in order to better understand and deal with the underlying forces of change. "Significant new resources," Reynolds said, "are needed to bring the disciplines together to carry out this analysis."

Jim Wilkie discussed the UCLA project on Cycles and Trends in Twentieth-Century Mexico, which has not only brought scholars of different disciplines together to view a set of issues, but also public officials, and individuals of different political orientations. Moreover, the group has been meeting in different locations in Mexico in order to provide an important regional perspective on Mexican reality.

Wilkie added that out of the most recent meeting, held in Puerto Escondido, came some developments that will significantly assist in the process of bringing different disciplines together. There, the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco and UCLA agreed on a co-publication venture and also to set up a network of scholars that will build on the PROFMEX and ANUIES tradition. Tentatively titled MEXNET, the organization will have secretariats in Los Angeles and Mexico City and will copublish the *Mexico Policy News*.

Discussion then turned to ways that the academic sectors of the two countries could better work together. Soledad Loeza suggested the need for a cooperative agreement for translation and publication of outstanding works of Mexican and U.S. authors. She also proposed development of a North American degree program where students of Mexico, Canada, and the United States could complete part of their undergraduate studies in the other two countries. Modeled on developments in Europe projected for 1992 (ERASMUS), this sort of plan would go a long way to establishing a core of regional experts and enhancing understanding of the region.

A number of participants commented that an action plan is needed. What does higher education in Mexico and the United States need to be doing as the two countries move towards a free trade agreement and increasing interdependence? What are the priorities for research on the changing relationship? How can the expertise of researchers and specialists be communicated to top policy makers in both countries? In response to comments by Mexican participants and others about the inappropriateness of the U.S. delegation at the most recent meeting of the U.S.-Mexican Bilateral Cultural Commission, it was asked how that body can be made relevant and more responsive to the realities of the educa-



James Wilkie, Sidney Weintraub, and Ronald Hellman

tional sectors in both countries?

Guy Erb started the next session with his comments on "U.S.-Mexico Research Centers and Business." He detailed differences in perspectives of academic research centers and of business and observed that research centers can view businesses as objects of study or sources of funding. He then went on to discuss the impact of the debt crisis on domestic and foreign firms in Mexico, and how this has caused them to change. As well, he said, "the nature of the business-government alliance in Mexico has been transformed as a consensus has been reached for less state intervention and a more open participation in world markets." He concluded his remarks with suggestions on how academic research could be made more relevant to the needs of businesses.

In the discussion that followed, a number of points were made by the participants:

- Mexico's private sector is having difficulties emerging from the shelter of the protectionist state.
- Discussion of free trade between the two countries also may include discussions of human rights, democracy, and other social and political elements.

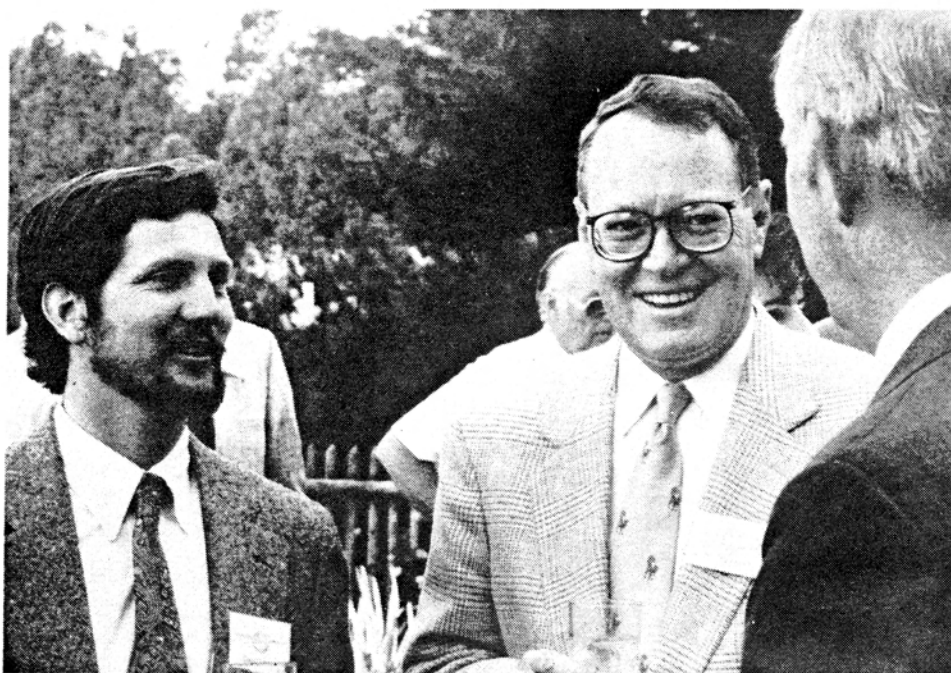
The final session of the conference was devoted to a wide ranging discussion on priorities and mechanisms for strengthening the educational components of the U.S.-Mexican relationship. Much of the interchange focused on the UCLA initiative to leverage increased funding through debt for education swaps. Svenson explained that the UCLA effort can serve as an umbrella to

facilitate efforts of other institutions. Several participants mentioned the urgency, not only of moving debt swaps through while still possible, but of generating new funds for critical areas such as graduate training. Generally, participants felt that the chances of significant new funding from the federal government were slim, making the debt swaps all the more crucial.

The concept of a North American Academic Common Market was also discussed, a common market characterized by "academic free trade." The free movement of scholars, students, and ideas would be a key aspect of the emerging North American free trade area, and would permit each country to set its own cultural priorities. The consensus of the group was that this was something that should be worked for as a long-term goal.

The proposal to endorse a North American educational foundation was debated. Conference participants were divided on the concept and some of the observations included the following:

- A number of the participants expressed concern about a foundation that would set priorities for research and exchange, removing that function from individual programs and institutions.
- Both Mexican and U.S. scholars expressed concern about governmental involvement in such a foundation.
- Supporters of the concept emphasized that the foundation would be a way to establish an endowment and provide permanent, ongoing support for priorities in Mexican and U.S. education.



David Lorey, John Coatsworth, and Clint Smith

• It was felt by some that a bilateral foundation would inevitably entail creation of a large new bureaucracy. It was suggested that it might be better to work through existing mechanisms, such as the PROFMEX-ANUIES alliance, to achieve targeted goals.

Discussion next shifted to the academic crisis in Mexico. Soledad Loaeza noted that U.S. private foundation support had been critical for the continuance of quality programs at El Colegio de México. This crucial assistance enabled many key people to remain in the academic world, supported important research, and generally helped guarantee academic freedom. However, there are important aspects relating to the free trade discussions that urgently need research, and funding is needed for this. She concluded that "debt swaps are an exciting idea that would give the Mexican government new flexibility in channeling needed funds into Mexican educational institutions."

Jesús Velasco briefed the group on the U.S. studies Master's program at the Universidad de las Américas, Puebla. He reported that with the rapidly changing bilateral relationship, the need for experts on the United States is being acknowledged in official and business circles in Mexico.

The final part of the conference was a general interchange of ideas regarding priorities for strengthening United States-Mexico studies. Following a suggestion by Charlie Bray, the assembled group focused in on specific items of content that need to be priorities for Mexico-United States studies. Categories

suggested, along with specific recommendations, are listed below:

1. Fellowships. Emphasis on social sciences and humanities, primarily graduate level, with some undergraduate fellowships. All fellowships to the United States should carry a requirement of fluency in English and a U.S. studies component.

2. Exchanges. There should be more emphasis on short-term faculty exchanges. Undergraduate exchanges should be expanded, particularly for the junior year abroad. Special attention should be given for cost effective and innovative exchanges for faculty and students in border universities.

3. Research. Parallel, collaborative, and multidisciplinary research efforts are particularly needed. Specific topics need to be determined by involved individuals and institutions, not by government agencies or umbrella organizations.

4. K-12. Language instruction, as early as possible, is critical. International studies projects such as ISTEP (International Studies Education Project), a collaborative effort of San Diego State University and UCSD, provide good models for internationalizing the curriculum with respect to Mexico. Short-term high school exchanges are also a priority.

5. Public education. Development of a speakers bureau on topics of importance in the U.S.-Mexican relationship to enable scholars to more effectively take their expertise to the general public is one important priority.

6. MEXNET. Establishment of the MEXNET network of U.S. and Mexican

universities and research institutions.

7. Telecommunications. Linking U.S. and Mexican universities and research institutions electronically (BITNET, open lines for data, phone, and FAX) is crucial. BESTNET, an interactive computer conferencing network linking Southwest U.S. and a few Mexican universities for offering undergraduate and graduate courses, is a good model for the types of programs that better telecommunications can facilitate.

Conference participants noted that all of the above elements could be folded into a multiple fund supported by a debt-for-education swap. As Clark Reynolds pointed out, "all of these are programs that will help meet Mexico's enormous and immediate needs for human capital development."

In reflecting on the Wingspread meeting, Clint Smith observed that several very interesting and important ideas had been woven throughout the sessions: Bustamante's theme of differing perceptions and realities; Bray's call for a U.S.-Mexican academic accord (which might even be extended to North America); Svenson's important work toward a debt-for-education swap in a mutually beneficial arrangement; the concerns of Coatsworth, Thorup, Baer, and Stanton about public education and the policy dimensions of U.S.-Mexican relations; and the remarks of Warman and Butler about binational relations in the area of technology transfer. It was noteworthy, Smith felt, that academics and others from both countries expressed a strong interest in the North American dimension, i.e. adding Canada to the discussion of economic and social relations (a view long held by such participants as Reynolds and Weintraub).

There was a consensus at the conference, Smith felt, and that Reynold's call for bringing disciplines together in collaborative binational research on economic and social relations was a valuable contribution. There was also general agreement that a network of scholars, institutions, and practitioners in both countries—dubbed MEXNET by Wilkie—should be put in place as soon as possible, but using existing consortia rather than creating a new institution.

Finally, in thanking the participants, Smith confirmed the general feeling that there should be another Wingspread meeting in the not-too-distant future to continue the dialogue on these and other issues affecting the relationship to the year 2000.

PROFMEX Interview with Oaxaca Governor Ramírez López

While in Puerto Escondido, Oaxaca, in June for the UCLA Conference on Cycles and Trends in Twentieth-Century Mexico, PROFMEX President James W. Wilkie and UCLA Mexico Program Coordinator David E. Lorey interviewed Governor Heladio Ramírez López, who hosted the Conference.

Born in 1939, Governor Ramírez is midway through his six-year term. Ramírez has undertaken important programs to develop the economy and to activate economic life in the diverse regions of Oaxaca. Of Mixtec heritage, Governor Ramírez was a UNESCO fellow in Europe during 1961-1962 and received his licenciatura degree at UNAM in 1970.

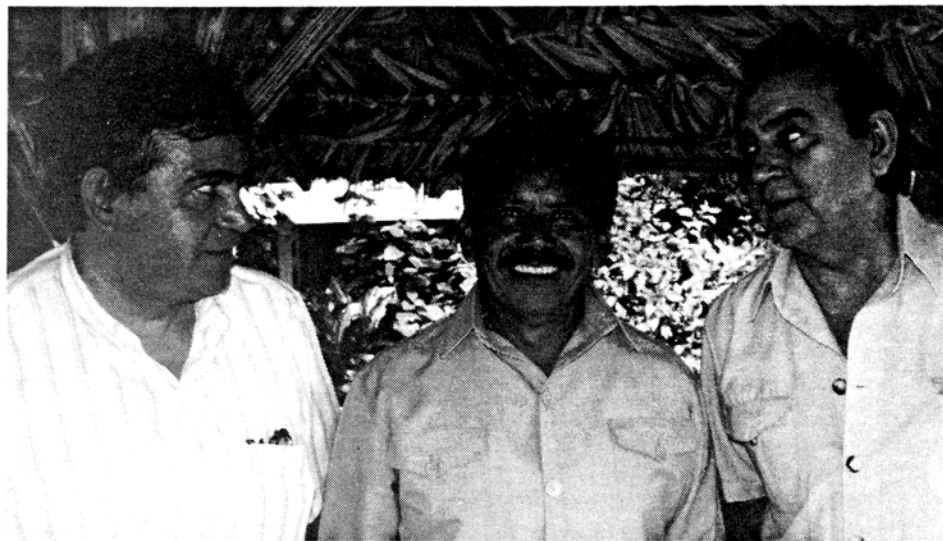
Previously, Governor Ramírez was federal deputy from Oaxaca (1976-1979), federal senator from Oaxaca (1982), and Secretario de Acción Sindical of the PRI (1980-1983). In various capacities he came to know Mexico well. As delegate of the PRI to diverse states, he served Baja California, Querétaro, Guanajuato (1980), and Puebla (1982). As delegate of the Confederación Nacional Campesina in 1981, he served Veracruz, Durango, and Michoacán. He was special agrarian delegate to, and director of, the trust fund for Puerto Vallarta in 1972 and 1973.

Q. What is the number one problem of Oaxaca?

A. The state's dispersed population, which now totals 3 million people. Where five years ago the state had some 5,000 small communities, now we have about 6,300. Further, we have 570 municipios or nearly 25 percent of the national total. Our problem is how to build the roads and supply the public services to places that often are not even hamlets. For example, my government is already responsible for maintaining 10,000 kilometers of federal and state roads. We do not have the funds desperately needed to connect the isolated rural sector to markets, let alone provide water and electricity to small places in the state's eight geographical regions.

Q. How have you used air transport to provide communication for Mexico's fifth largest state?

A. Airplanes offer some help in moving people around our 94,211 square kilometers of territory. One answer for state transportation has involved the construction of many little airports to link areas where we cannot afford to build and maintain roads, especially in under-



Fernando del Villar, Governor Eladio Ramírez López, and Romeo Flores Caballero

populated mountainous areas. Another answer has been to encourage air travel between towns of the state. For example, Aero Libertad links Oaxaca City and Puerto Escondido—you made the drive in 7 hours. By prop plane I arrived in about 20 minutes. Yet, air does not solve the problem of moving goods that we produce.

Q. How do you see the economic growth of the state?

A. The growth poles are four: Oaxaca City in the center (the capital and focus of tourism interested in our Indian and colonial past), the coast in the south (where tourism competes with fishing and cultivation of such crops as cotton), Tuxtepec in the north (which is rich in production of cattle and sugar as well as industrial production of beer and paper), and Salina Cruz on the southeast (the Pacific port that gives access to the crossing of Mexico at the Tehuantepec Isthmus). Salina Cruz has grown by 1990 to 200,000 persons, up from 30,000 persons in 1980. This fact has strained our ability to provide services. Beyond these poles which require so much support, however, we must remember that more than 30 percent of the state's municipios cannot begin to grow economically because they lack the basic elements of roads and electricity.

Q. How is Oaxacan GDP constituted?

A. The economically active population continues to be overwhelmingly agricultural, but in 1990 it produced only about 24 percent of state GDP. The service sector (including especially tourism) now

constitutes about 36 percent of GDP, and industry is 40 percent (with Salina Cruz being of major importance for its petrochemical as well as port works).

Q. In your speech opening the UCLA Conference on Cycles and Trends, you spoke of the state's population as a unique resource base for developing Oaxaca. Can you summarize your view for PROFMEX readers?

A. The state's rural population has a long tradition of communal life rooted in ejidos, cooperatives, and coalitions of communities. This tradition can provide the basis for development if the commercial mentality can be substituted with an empresarial mentality that will create jobs. Without jobs the countryside lives with violence.

Q. What is the role of the *guelaguetza* and of the *tequio*?

A. The Oaxacan contributions to Mexican culture are the *guelaguetza* and the *tequio*, contributions upon which I want the state to build. *Guelaguetza* is the famous celebration of the state's 16 ethnic regions in Oaxaca City on the last two Mondays of July. The *tequio* involves the concept of collectively laboring for the community at large in a fiesta of work. The state's ethnic regions offer a basis for communal work on behalf of the state population that gives Oaxaca a unique social resource and history.

Q. How do you view Oaxaca's past in relation to the present?

A. About the historical development of Oaxaca and its relation to the present, I would like to call attention to four volumes published by the State of Oaxaca and the Instituto Mora in Mexico City: *Oaxaca: textos de historia*. This work, edited by Margarita Dalton, which I am pleased to present to you, reminds us that oral and written history represent the living testimony of our ancestors. It is not enough merely to work intensely to develop the state, we must do so in consonance with Oaxaca's history. The publication of these four volumes offers an academic context to help us chart our course.

Q. What is the role of regions in Mexico?

A. Regional life is too often ignored by observers that focus on Mexico City, and I am pleased to see that UCLA and PROFMEX are leading U.S. and Mexican academics into the diverse reaches of Mexico. I congratulate you for having held conferences in Sinaloa, Guerrero, Jalisco, Yucatán, Chiapas, and now in

Oaxaca. That you were able to hold PROFMEX-ANUIES meetings on the Ferrocarril Chihuahua al Pacífico even as you traversed through the eight geographic regions enroute is a tribute to your desire to know Mexico. It is important that PROFMEX is giving scholars the opportunity to see Mexico's diverse regional problems as well as the different solutions being undertaken to bring about development in places far from the world's largest city in the center of Mexico. As you say, it is easier for Mexican academics to obtain funding to go to Paris to deliver a scholarly paper than to the far regions of Mexico.

Q. We certainly appreciate your hospitality and the arrangements that you made for us to see these southern regions of Oaxaca. How can PROFMEX readers receive more information about the state?

A. Please contact Lic. **Diodoro Carrasco A.**, Secretario de Planeación, Palacio de Gobierno, Cd. de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, Mexico, Tel. (951) 60309, FAX

(951) 66022. He can send the state development plan, for example: *Programa de desarrollo del Istmo de Tehuantepec, solidaridad Oaxaca-Veracruz*, copublished in March 1990 by my government and that of Veracruz as well as the national government. (This work shows that the problems of Oaxaca are those for the larger "many Mexicos," and that the development of Oaxaca is impeded by the lack of industrial investment and the completion of the free port at Salina Cruz. The Isthmus needs investment in pipelines to compete with Panama for the funneling of Alaskan oil between the oceans.)

Diodoro and I are pleased that Lic. **Miguel Sandoval Lara** of BANOBRAS was able to make the drive with you from Oaxaca City so that you could see our beautiful but difficult mountains as well as our magnificent coast. The participation of Lic. **Fernando del Villar** at your conference has allowed us to discuss with him outside the meeting the BANOBRAS projects in Oaxaca. Diodoro and I hope to see you again soon in Oaxaca.

Report on U.S.-Mexican Bilateral Commission

Peter H. Smith

Editor's Note: Issue 4 of Mexico Policy News (Spring 1990) contained a report on a conference about "research and action agendas" for U.S.-Mexican relations at the Wingspread conference facility in Racine, Wisconsin, in February 1989. The article stated that a number of the participants expressed "disappointment" with the report of the Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States-Mexican Relations, which was expected to bring academic findings into the policy realm, and quoted one critic as saying that "the Commission fired a cannon and out came a ping pong ball."

Peter H. Smith, professor at the University of California, San Diego, and co-director of the Bilateral Commission, expressed strong objection to what he called this "cavalier dismissal" of the group and its achievements. At the editor's suggestion, he filed this report.

The Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States-Mexican Relations began to emerge in the mid-1980s, when the Ford Foundation decided to explore the feasibility of creating a commission to study and to make recommendations on the conduct of U.S.-Mexican relations. The bilateral relationship was at that time exhibiting considerable tension, friction, and discord; it would get worse in

the years to follow. The hope was that the Ford Foundation, as a private organization, could promote a constructive form of "supplemental diplomacy" that would improve bilateral understanding within policymaking circles and the academic communities.

The purposes of the commission would be:

- to analyze fundamental trends in U.S.-Mexican relations through the end of the century;
- to promote mutual understanding between two societies;
- to identify and assess realistic opportunities for bilateral cooperation;
- to offer a series of concrete policy recommendations to leaders in the public and private sectors of both countries.

The occurrence of a near-simultaneous change of presidents in 1988, plus the perilous state of the relationship, provided a special opportunity for such an endeavor.

Plans went ahead. Hugo Margáin, former ambassador and then senator, was invited to serve as the Mexican co-chair; William D. Rogers, former assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, became the U.S. co-chair. Peter Smith and Rosario Green, then director of the Matías Romero Institute in Mexico City, were asked to serve as executive co-directors. Commission members from the

U.S. included prominent Republicans and Democrats; people from business, labor, academia, and public life; women, men, and minorities. The Mexican side was similarly representative, with the then-unprecedented participation of spokespersons from the political opposition as well as from the PRI.

To assist with the development of a research program, co-directors Green and Smith formed (and co-chaired) a committee of academic advisers from both Mexico and the United States. The purposes of the Academic Committee were to identify themes and issues for possible inclusion in the work of the commission, to select authors for background papers, to provide initial drafts of portions of the Commission report, and to oversee the eventual publication of a selection of the background papers.

To emphasize its commitment to bilateral consultation—and its independence from central governments—the Bilateral Commission held its first meeting in both San Diego and Tijuana in October 1986. It was then that all members agreed to work toward the production of a book-length report on the U.S.-Mexican relationship as a whole, to be released in late 1988. On the basis of these conversations, plus subsequent deliberations, the Commission decided to focus on five sets of issues:

- economics (including debt, trade, and investment);
- migration (especially the impact of recent U.S. legislation);
- illicit drugs (consumption, production, trafficking);
- foreign policy (including differences over Central America);
- education and public opinion (particularly the inculcation of popular stereotypes).

With the support of the Academic Committee, a total of forty-eight original papers were commissioned to examine various aspects of these five areas.

The Bilateral Commission held a total of seven plenary sessions at various locations in the two countries—including Mexico City, Monterrey, Washington, D.C., and San Antonio. During the course of these meetings the Commission met with Mexican and U.S. cabinet secretaries, ambassadors, mayors, lawmakers, law enforcement officials, current and former government officials, labor and business leaders, and experts in a wide variety of fields. And to provide state-of-the-art analyses of the issues under consideration, the Academic Committee organized a series of scholarly workshops to discuss the contributions of the leading specialists.

This meant, all in all, a total of twenty international meetings within a two-year period.

As a result, the Bilateral Commission was able to produce a book-length report for public release in November 1988—after the presidential elections in the two countries but prior to the inauguration of the new administrations. Entitled *The Challenge of Interdependence: Mexico and the United States*, the 238-page report was published in both English and Spanish, along with a 20-page executive summary. It contains more than 60 specific policy recommendations for practical action.

On November 14-15, 1988, in Mexico City, the Commission presented the Spanish-language edition of its report—*El Desafío de la Interdependencia: México y Estados Unidos*—to President Miguel de la Madrid, President-elect Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepúlveda Amor. On November 17 the Commission released the English-language version in a televised press conference in Washington, D.C. and presented it to Secretary of State George Shultz, to National Security Adviser Colin Powell, and to representatives of President-elect George Bush.

To reach relevant decision-makers, the Bilateral Commission and its staff distributed approximately 1,500 complimentary copies of its report in the United States and an equal number in Mexico—

to key officials, lawmakers, and opinion shapers. The document thus reached a total of about 3,000 top leaders in the two societies.

To reach the public at large, the Commission embarked on a year-long program of outreach throughout 1989. This came to involve approximately sixty appearances at events in various regions of the two countries, from Guadalajara and Saltillo to Tijuana and Mexico City and from Miami and Dallas to Denver and Seattle and New York.

During the course of this campaign the Commission generated two additional streams of activity: a focus on educational issues through a conference at the University of Texas at Austin in May 1989 on images of Mexico and Mexican-Americans in U.S. grade-school textbooks, a meeting that resulted in the formation of a Task Force on Mexico in the K-12 Curriculum; a concern with strategies for reaching the mass media that resulted in a meeting in Miami in December 1989, in conjunction with the convention of the Latin American Studies Association.

In addition, co-directors Green and Smith, with the assistance of the Academic Committee, assumed responsibility for the publication of selected background papers. The result was a five-volume series, under the general title of *Dimensions of U.S.-Mexican Relations*, in English, and *Retos de las relaciones entre México y Estados Unidos*, in Spanish.

These collections represent a significant contribution to scholarship in the field of U.S.-Mexican relations.

It is impossible to produce a direct assessment (not to say measurement) of the impact of the work of the Bilateral Commission. Results are not always visible, especially in the short run, and there is no unambiguous means of establishing cause-and-effect. But there is no doubt that the relationship between the Bush and Salinas administrations is much better than the relationship between the Reagan and De la Madrid administrations. Despite occasional friction, the stress is now on cooperation rather than conflict.

It would be nice if the Bilateral Commission could take full credit for this accomplishment. It cannot. But the Commission assisted the process of government-to-government understanding in at least three crucial ways: first, by identifying points of convergence in national interests through a consensus document; second, by making it politically easier for the new administrations to take the steps they presumably wanted to take on their own; and third, by actively supporting the atmosphere of rapprochement and collaboration.

Perhaps the most impressive

demonstration of the Commission's role came in the meeting of the presidents-elect in Houston, in late November 1988. Individual commissioners were instrumental in helping to arrange that meeting, and the Commission's study is known to have come directly under discussion. Rarely does a private report reach such high levels of policy-making circles in such a short time.

Members of the Bilateral Commission now hold important positions in their respective governments. Recent policy initiatives concur with the spirit, and often the specific content, of the Commission's recommendations with regard to a variety of issues: debt, trade, investment, drugs, and intergovernmental communication.

The work of the Commission has also conveyed an intangible lesson on the value of supplemental or "citizen" diplomacy. In view of the achievements of the Bilateral Commission, the County of San Diego has drawn up plans for a local "transborder" commission to focus on specific challenges and opportunities along the U.S.-Mexican frontier. More broadly, diplomat and policymakers from all over Latin America have displayed intense interest in the Commission and its report, partly out of curiosity and partly because they were looking for new ways to articulate their own relationships with the United States.

At the societal level, the Commission has made a dedicated effort to improve public understanding of the U.S.-Mexican relationship. During the course of its outreach campaign, representatives of the commission spoke directly to a cumulative audience of 8,000-10,000 individuals. Press conferences, interviews, and panel discussions were carried by radio and television to untold numbers of listeners and viewers in the two countries. The Commission received favorable editorials and comments in newspapers throughout the United States—Chicago, Dallas, San Diego, and elsewhere—and from all over Mexico as well.

In sum, the Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States-Mexican Relations has sought to reach the general public in two ways—directly, through an intense campaign of outreach activities, and indirectly, through the instigation of related projects and institutional legacies. As emphasized throughout *The Challenge*, the improvement of public understanding is a long-term task. The Commission was only able to make a beginning, but it was a solid one.

That is not a ping pong ball.

Interview with Baja California's Eugenio Elorduy

by
Samuel Schmidt

Much interest was aroused in the United States when the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) candidate Ernesto Ruffo Appel won the elections for governor of Baja California in July 1989. This upset victory is widely viewed as an indication of a profound change in the political reality of Mexico. Ruffo's campaign manager was Lic. Eugenio Elorduy Walther, who became Secretary of Finance with the new Ruffo regime late in 1989. During a visit to San Diego arranged by SDSU's Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, Elorduy came to the University to lecture to Political Science students. Afterwards, Samuel Schmidt interviewed him.

Eugenio Elorduy has been active in the PAN for many years. He was a candidate for municipal president of Mexicali in 1983 and was defeated in that election which was widely reported to have been fraudulent. In reaction, he set up a shadow government, the "Cabildo Popular." Nationally, he was the Secretary of International Relations for the PAN until assuming his current duties.

Q. Let me ask you a personal question. You are related to Aquiles Elorduy? Do you think that he influenced your own political career?

A. Yes, he was my father's first cousin. No, he did not influence me. I respected him and I see him as a person who stood by his convictions. He even went so far as to say that his joining the PAN was all because of the grace of God.

Q. He was a Senator?

A. He was a Senator for the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) from Aguascalientes. He became a member of the PAN, due to a visit that he made to the Bishop of Durango. This came out in a discussion with Manuel Gómez Morín in 1944, six years after the party was founded.

Q. Today in your talk you said that "the PAN should stop being an opposition party and should become a political party. I believe that the PAN should become a party in power, that is, in office." Do you believe that this transition to become a party in office creates conflict within the PAN?

A. Internally, yes. At the PAN's National Council, February 24-25, 1990, it has already come out on the national level. Obviously, this is because some individuals who interpret our ideology perceive the PAN not as a party in office or as a "political" party, but as an instrument to act case by case as a member of the loyal opposition and for personal rewards.

Q. It seems that within the ranks of PAN in Baja California there is conflict. The press reports that, Rosas Magallón, one of the traditional PAN leaders in Baja California, apparently is in conflict with the municipal president of Tijuana. Is this conflict a result of the process within the PAN of adaptation resulting from the assumption of political power? Are there splintering forces within the PAN ranks?

A. Yes, and this depends on how you want to look at our ideology as a base for power. However, those of us who think differently feel that the party should respect the elected authority and that authority should no longer be at the service of a political party, in this case the PAN. With regard to this point, there are those who insist on constantly critically examining the acts of the constituted government.

Q. In this case are you referring to the PAN government?

A. Yes, above all the municipal government of Tijuana, because the state government doesn't have the problem of pressure to serve only the party. The party has a direct relationship with the government, and at the same time, the state congressmen are those who act for the party in the chamber of deputies. Among those of us who are officials, including the governor himself, we maintain a relationship of mutual respect with the party.

Q. Do you believe that there is a balance of the different PAN forces within the cabinet of Governor Ruffo?

A. Yes, there is, even though there are, less and less, those who think like Magallón and others.

Q. There were many analysts writing prior to the arrival of the PAN in the governorship who feel that Mexico has an authoritarian political culture, not only from the government's point of view,

but also from the point of view of the general population itself where there is a predisposition to the acceptance of authoritarianism. Is there danger that the PAN, as the party in power, will fall into authoritarian manipulations to continue in power?

A. Yes, there is a danger. The temptation is there, but I believe in the firmness of the principles and values that remind one that glory is transitory. At some point, those in power will again be outside of the government and this helps one not to fall into the temptation of authoritarianism. The exercise of, and respect for, these principles and values produces at the same time, a satisfaction that I spoke of to the students of SDSU as far as the workings of democracy is concerned.

On one occasion in December 1989, when a state budget proposal was being negotiated, there were certain moments when the discussion with the congressmen made me despair. After contemplating the problems over night, I realized that I had to think more, to be more convincing, to use more intelligence and less anger. So this is good. Authoritarianism is tempting, but the satisfaction of making the effort in a democratic fashion is ultimately more fulfilling.

Q. Most of your conflicts with the PAN congressmen last year were with regard to the difficulties surrounding the approval of the budget proposal?

A. From the beginning more communication with the PAN congressmen was my major concern, but not my major conflict. This was my major concern because I am very conscious of the paramount importance that they not only be our allies, but that they become more convinced and share the objectives of the executive branch. At the same time, the fact that the legislative and executive branches may happen to coincide in the proposal of a bill does not mean the subordination of either side to the other.

Q. Do you believe that the PAN state congressmen have a more intense relationship with their constituencies than did those of the PRI? Do they work in their districts? Talk to their constituencies?

A. Yes, they do. Although they should do more, they are more active than the

PRI congressmen. Even after the PAN's success of the election last year, the representatives of the PRI still do not understand the need for a relationship with the voters, who have now been changed from electoral merchandise to citizens. I am referring to the districts where the PRI won.

Q. What is the risk that you see of the PAN doing the same, being over confident because it is in power?

A. There is a definite risk, but I believe that faced with an antagonistic communications media, we are reminded from time to time of that possibility and we remain alert.

Q. But at the same time there is the danger that an antagonistic media would stop being so after a while and then the yardstick would no longer be there.

A. Yes, it could fail. But, we will have sufficient consciousness to realize that constant awareness is necessary. Above all, we need to remember that the federal election is not far away. As far as politics are concerned, a year is nothing.

Q. An explanation that is frequently used for the triumph of the PAN in Baja California is that vote somehow represented a rejection of Mexico City. How much validity would you give to an argument like that?

A. No, I believe that here it was a conscious vote for PAN. On the one hand, the voters were tired of a corrupt system that had left much to be desired, and on the other hand, we had a strong candidate in Ruffo. We also had a political party that had an attractive image, was reassuring to the voter, and we did not discuss overly complicated issues.

Q. Could this not be explained as a victory of regionalism?

A. No, I am of the opinion that the voters didn't go that far.

Q. For example, at the moment that the defeat was known at the offices of the PRI, the local *Priistas* started to insult the representatives of Mexico City, even though none of the representatives were from the national capital. Do you think that the PRI personifies the domination of the center?

A. Absolutely! Its decisions are based on a "centrist" position and it also paid for this by losing the election, even though the voter is not aware of all this.

Q. I would like to talk now about some



Baja California Finance Secretary Elorduy Lecturing to SDSU Political Science Class

of the characteristics of the PAN. The PAN has been attacked for being a party with a strong relationship to the Catholic church. Do you agree with this statement?

A. It has a relationship with the church, because the PAN has declared that priests should be allowed to vote. When it seems appropriate, there is no problem with PAN interviewing bishops and dialoging with them. It is also evident that there exists a certain ideological coincidence between the PAN and the church in some issues. Beyond that, there is nothing more.

Q. Do you feel that the PAN is a party of the clergy?

A. No, no. The communist party, like PAN, has also proposed giving the clergy the right to vote. But that does not mean that it is the party of the clergy.

Q. But as far as the PAN is concerned, some observers give it that title.

A. That's because from the time PAN was founded the people that participated in the party had an active involvement in organizations of the Catholic church. The years of Calles and Cárdenas were different times for the church and the political opposition.

Q. You have also been attacked as a representative of *El Muro*, a right-wing student group supposedly sponsored by the church and with alleged relations with the "tecos," the extremist student group based at the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara.

A. The attack came from the newspaper *Uno más Uno* and I already answered it. The next day my letter was published.

Q. But to what do you attribute the attack identifying you with an extreme rightist group?

A. The journalist Jarquín was very badly informed because my life is an open book. As far as this is concerned, let them clear my name. Why were they attacking me? At that time, it was because of my relationship with the recently re-elected president of the party, it was convenient for them to attack me by associating me with *El Muro*.

Q. Well, but to be identified with *El Muro* is like being identified with the party of the "tecos."

A. Well, I won't get involved in that discussion. At times I am aggressive, but not stupid.

Q. The political opposition and their press is attacking the PAN for supposedly receiving financial assistance from the Republican Party of the United States and from the German Christian Democrat Party in the past elections. What is your opinion?

A. Well, first of all, that is totally false. Those who first presented that information within the PAN did so with the objective of defeating the re-election of Luis H. Alvarez as PAN party president. Those who made the charges were asked to present a formal accusation and they wouldn't.

Q. But it is very surprising that the PAN initially refused federal financial assistance.

A. The PAN eventually accepted financial assistance in November 1988 and also from 1989 until now. In 1990 it will receive 7 billion pesos.

Q. If the PAN refused to accept official financial assistance prior to 1988, how did it finance itself?

A. With important donations, obviously from the private sector, from individuals. Big business does not give us much money. The really big ones perhaps buy a raffle ticket worth a million pesos and with that they blow their own horn, but fundamentally smaller private donations finance the party. I have conducted campaigns at the state level and that's how we've done it. Recently in 1989, we were selling bonds for the campaign for \$100,000, for \$500,000, and for a million pesos.

Q. But you have to accept somehow that the PAN has helped precipitate these rumors by not making public their financial report.

A. We do make it public. Why shouldn't we?

P. I am referring to the financing of the PAN, to how the campaigns are financed. You gave us today in the discussion with the students, cost amounts for the campaign of the PAN in Baja California for 1989.

A. All of the campaigns in Mexico work that way.

Q. What you did not say is where the money came from.

A. But I already told you, from donations of private individuals.

Q. But that is a lot of money!

A. Yes, and a lot of events! Yes. People are very generous. Mistrust is compulsive, is it not?

Q. Do you think this being suspicious and mistrustful is logical in a country where the government has always been attacked as being corrupt?

A. That's true, but why is it not possible to believe that individuals would give the PAN donations for a campaign?

Q. Perhaps because the country is not accustomed to seeing private donations and that all of a sudden a political party is given \$850 million pesos.

A. That is the way it has always been done with the PAN. Always, it has been that way. There are several businessmen that, of the \$850 million, gave us perhaps \$70 or \$80 million pesos each.

Q. What do you think will be the role the PAN will play in the political future of Mexico?

A. It will have more political presence, exemplifying its change in attitude as a political party. It will give this example in its platform, by means of its documents, and in political acts. There will be a demonstration of the fact that the PAN has entered a stage of great political maturity and that it has a sense of confidence because those who lead it see that the PAN has a broad-based constituency, derived from its real relationship with Mexican political reality.

PROFMEX Interview with PRI Secretary of Foreign Relations, Dr. Flores Caballero

In Puerto Escondido, Oaxaca, to attend UCLA's June Conference on Cycles and Trends in Twentieth-Century Mexico, Dr. Romeo Flores Caballero discussed with PROFMEX President James W. Wilkie and UCLA Research Associate Edna Monzón his view as a historian of the PRI's changing role.

Born in 1935, Romeo Flores Caballero received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Texas at Austin in 1968, and prior to entering public administration, politics, and diplomacy, he served in many academic capacities. He was professor of Mexican history and Academic Coordinator for the Center for International Studies and Secretary of El Colegio de México. He taught at the University of Nebraska (1971-1972) and at UCLA in 1973. He was Regents' Lecturer at UCLA in 1990, where he continues as Research Associate of the Program on Mexico.

As the author of eight books on Mexican history, foreign relations, and economics, Dr. Flores is well known to the scholarly world. He co-chaired the IV International Congress of Mexican History, held in Santa Monica in 1973. His first book on the role of the Spaniards in the independence of Mexico was published in 1973 and was translated into English by

*the University of Nebraska Press in 1974. In French translation is his book *Justice Economique Internationale* (Paris: Galimard, 1976, originally published in 1976 in Mexico City by the Fondo de Cultura Económica). His latest book is *Administración Política de la Historia de México*, published in 1988 by the Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública and the Fondo de Cultura Económica.*

In Mexican public service, Dr. Flores has filled a variety of major posts. He has served as Director General of Foreign Affairs and Secretary of Public Education in the State of Nuevo León. From 1985 to 1988 he was Federal Deputy of Nuevo León to the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, where he chaired the Committee on Border Affairs and International Relations. During 1988-89 he was the Mexican Consul General in Los Angeles. Dr. Flores is currently the Secretary of Foreign Relations for Mexico's PRI. Recently, Flores Caballero was honored in Tijuana with the "Orador de Honor" award by the Mexican and American Foundation.

Q. How have you been able to mesh your academic and public roles?

A. I have taught at all levels of education, from first grade through university. Simultaneously, I have researched and coordinated investigation into history, politics, and international relations. Thus, I have come to know first hand the reality of the country's political and administrative structure. Articulation of this reality has become the center of my civic and academic interests so much so that it has been natural for me to participate in Mexico's public administration and in the national political life.

Q. What can you tell us about your experience as Consul General of Mexico in Los Angeles?

A. When I arrived in Los Angeles in 1988, I found that to be Consul General there was an exceptional experience because it unites all of the characteristics of the consulate with activities that accrue more to the functionary at home rather than to a consul in a foreign country.

Los Angeles has 3 to 5 million Mexicans who require a Mexican consulate that meets a great diversity of needs and demands: documenting persons and goods, maintaining consular protection

and service for visitors, granting visas, promoting investment and tourism, defending workers who do not have legal status to work, assisting Mexicans in hospitals and jails, and representing Mexico in community, academic, and cultural activities. Further, the consulate in Los Angeles serves with many of the faculties of a notary public and civil judge. Despite this importance, the consulate in Los Angeles lacked the infrastructure necessary to take care of such matters. Hence service was not as efficient as required.

We reorganized the administration of the consulate and overcame problems with the help of the consular staff. We eliminated long lines, we simplified paperwork, we implemented a new system of personal identification for Mexicans, and we strengthened the consulate's ties to organizations such as the chambers of commerce. And with the approval of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Foreign Secretary Fernando Solana, we acquired the installations that will become the new seat of the Consulate General of Mexico in Los Angeles.

Q. In Los Angeles you taught a graduate seminar in Mexican history at UCLA dealing with political dissidence through time. How did you address the theme of dissidence at UCLA?

A. The focus of my course was rooted in the premise that democracy in Mexico is characterized in its modern period by the leadership of a government and a political party that emanate from the Mexican Revolution. Both have been the principle actors in my country. From the governing group itself, dissident forces have emerged at both the regional and national levels and they have formed pressure groups and political parties. These groups and parties, together with the PRI and political parties of other origin, constitute the political panorama in Mexico today.

Dissidence in Mexico is formed basically in the heat for struggles for power in the Revolutionary forces. Generally, dissidence arises at the moment of elections and when Mexico faces economic problems. An important characteristic of dissidence in Mexico is that it forms around a personality and tends to disappear when the circumstances change which caused the dissidence in the first place.

Q. How did you organize the two-quarter graduate research seminar at UCLA?

A. The seminar covered three aspects: (a) offering to seminar participants the opportunity to have a direct contact with



Carlos Hussong González, Board Chairman of the Mexican and American Foundation, presents Orador de Honor Award to Dr. Romeo Flores Caballero

some of the principle actors on the political stage of Mexico; (b) analysis of the contemporary history of Mexico based upon presentations, selected reading, and discussion; and (c) orientation and discussion of the results of the individual research developed by students in the seminar.

Q. What have been your main concerns as foreign secretary of the PRI?

A. The PRI is involved in a process of modernization and change that is without precedent. In the area of foreign relations, it is our task to amplify and strengthen PRI ties with political organizations in other countries. We have given special attention to relations with the United States and Latin America. Also we have been following closely the process of transformation going on in the USSR and Eastern Europe as well as the unifications of West and East Germany.

In the Latin American sphere, at Buenos Aires in 1989, Senator Luís Donaldo Colosio, president of the PRI, was unanimously elected president of the Conferencia Permanente de Partidos Políticos de América Latina y el Caribe (COPPPAL), for which I am the executive secretary. COPPAL embraces 45 parties in 23 countries.

Q. What is the main challenge now for the PRI?

A. Change is a constant of our time. A party such as the PRI that has been in power for so many years can be overcome by inertia and develop structures that are not very flexible. Our challenge consists of reforming and modernizing the PRI so that it responds to the changing needs of the country. The purpose of the PRI's 1990 national assembly during the first week of September is to find new ways to meet the challenge of reforming and modernizing the party.

Q. How can *Mexico Policy News* readers obtain more information about the PRI's new role?

A. My office will be pleased to provide information about PRI programs (including reorganizational activities). Readers should contact: **Dr. Miguel Angel González Rodríguez**, Secretaría de Asuntos Internacionales del PRI, Insurgentes Norte 59, Edificio 1, Piso 2, Colonia Buenavista, 06350 México, D.F., Tel. (525) 592-28-72, FAX (525) 566-8417.

Free Trade and the Research Community

by

M. Delal Baer

*Senior Fellow and Director
CSIS Mexico Project*

A Call for Research

All hell broke loose in the nation's capital when reporter Peter Truell unveiled the U.S.-Mexican free trade story in *The Wall Street Journal*. Since then, the Mexico Project at the Washington think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), has been inundated with demands for information and analysis. Scholars in the Mexican studies field often discuss their need to disseminate research to the public policy community. U.S.-Mexican free trade talks have created special needs and opportunities. I want to take advantage of the PROFMEX network to send out a call to the research community, alerting you as to what the informational needs of the policy world are likely to be regarding the free trade issue and how CSIS might work with you to disseminate your research.

The Status of the Free Trade Policy Process

The June 11, 1990 Bush-Salinas declaration sets in motion a complex timetable for political action on U.S.-Mexican free trade. The two presidents instructed their trade negotiators to report back to them in time for the December 1990 summit in Monterrey, Nuevo León. It is reasonable to expect that at the December summit, President Bush will announce his intention to request formal authorization from the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance committees to enter into "fast track" free trade negotiations with Mexico. At that point, Congress will become the major policy player, with power to either veto or approve the free trade process.

Evidence of congressional interest already abounds. In October 1989, Dan Rostenkowski asked the International Trade Commission to explore the question of the impact of U.S.-Mexican free trade on the U.S. economy. The ITC has issued the first phase of its report, and will continue to hold hearings on the topic. Scholars may be interested in weighing in on the ITC process, particularly those engaged in research on the sectoral impact of free trade. Additionally, the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade and the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Trade held preliminary hearings on the subject

of free trade with Mexico.

The political timetable will drive the market for information and analysis. Scholars with an interest in having an impact on the process should consider that timetable carefully. Once the president requests authority to negotiate, the two congressional committees have 60 legislative days to consider the issues and give their reply. If the President submits his request to the two committees in January 1991, a reply could come sometime in April or May of 1991 (considering congressional recesses). Consequently, the most immediate period of intense debate will occur in the halls of Congress between now and May of 1991. If Congress cedes authorization, the negotiations could take between 2 to 3 years. The next period of intense debate would occur upon completion of negotiations, when Congress will be asked to approve the negotiated agreement.

The CSIS Mexico Project

The CSIS Mexico Project has several programmatic features that enable us to be a well positioned player in the debate. Each one of these program features potentially offers you an opportunity to disseminate your research.

CSIS Congressional Study Group on Mexico. The CSIS Mexico Project created and sponsors the CSIS Congressional Study Group on Mexico, co-chaired by senators Lloyd Bentsen and Pete Wilson and Representatives Jim Kolbe and Ronald Coleman since 1986. The group has 25 members of the House and Senate and includes individuals such as Pete Domenici, Alan Simpson, Dick Gephardt, and Bill Bradley. This effort typically consists of seminars held for members of Congress and their staffs, utilizing briefing papers and bringing in expert briefers from around the country.

Mexican Election Study Series. The Mexico Project has issued periodic reports on the Mexican electoral process that go to a wide community, including executive branch, media, Congress, business, and the scholarly community. We are, at this stage, interested in expanding the series to include occasional papers dealing with additional economic and policy issues.

The Mexico Monograph Series. CSIS has a publishing capacity, enabling us to issue the Mexico Monograph Series. The series offers opportunities for publishing monograph-length research and has, thus far, covered topics such as free trade, debt, bilateral issues, and the Mexican labor movement. We will soon

publish a new monograph in the series in cooperation with **Guy Erb** and the U.S.-Mexico Business Committee on the implications of free trade for the automotive and electronic sectors.

Visiting Scholars. The Mexico Project sustains Visiting Scholars from Mexico and the United States who are compatible with the mission of the program, funding permitting. Most recently, Professor **Sidney Weintraub** spent 6 months in residence. I am pleased to announce that Sidney will remain with the CSIS Mexico Project on a part time basis as a Distinguished Visiting Scholar. He has contributed mightily to the Washington debate on free trade during his stay, and will continue to be a valuable asset in the years ahead. I am also pleased to announce that in September, the Director of the Social Studies Department at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), **Federico Estevez**, will be in residence for one year at CSIS as a Visiting Scholar.

Policy Research Needs and Opportunities for Cooperation

Several clearly identifiable topics will lead the policy debate on free trade.

First, what will be the impact of free trade on the U.S. employment picture? Will free trade be a net gain or loss for U.S. jobs? If jobs are lost, in what sectors? If jobs are gained, in what sectors? What policies, if any, are advisable to counteract possible short term adverse effects of free trade?

Second, what are the estimated effects of free trade on GNP growth? Which industries are likely to grow, and which are likely to shrink? Sectoral information is urgently needed in the areas of agriculture, textiles and apparel, electronics, and automobiles.

Third, what are the possible effects of free trade on immigration flows? How should we approach questions relating to the movement of labor in a free trade negotiation, both in the short and long term?

Fourth, there is also a need for research on multilateral questions, with special need for cogent analysis of the implications for the GATT of U.S.-Mexican free trade. The impact of the U.S.-Mexican initiative for the U.S.-Canadian free trade agreement is also an item of pressing concern. Creative thinking on long-term formulas for North American economic integration, and its implications for the rest of the hemisphere is desirable.

All of these questions will require detailed replies, both in terms of macro-

economic modeling and in sectoral studies. All of these questions must also be addressed as they apply to Mexican society and economy by our colleagues at Mexican research institutions. Our Canadian colleagues will also be faced with similar issues. I have scarcely begun to outline all of the research challenges generated by the trends toward economic integration, however, I have identified the principal questions that will resound inside the capital beltway during the timeframe that I have described.

CSIS is especially interested in disseminating research that addresses the above issue areas. Most immediately, I anticipate holding a series of congressional seminars on the impact of free trade on the following sectors: agriculture, textiles and apparel, industry, and

intellectual property. I would like to seek out your expertise on these issues.

The principal CSIS vehicles that you might consider participating in are contributing congressional briefing papers, contributing economic analysis for publication in the Mexico Election Study Series, and writing for the Mexico Monograph Series. Honoraria and commission fees are available for your writing efforts. I urge my Mexican, Canadian, and U.S. colleagues to consult with either me, my Research Assistant **Ben Tonra**, or with Sidney Weintraub to explore ways in which your research might be appropriate to CSIS program activities in Washington. For more information: CSIS Mexico Project: 1800 K Street, N.W. Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20006, (202) 775-3199.

Fulbright Border Lecturers

The recipients of the first awards in the newly-established Fulbright Border Lecturer program have been announced. This innovative program recognizes the uniqueness of the border location by allowing recipients to commute to the host institution on the other side of the international boundary to offer academic courses. It is a cost effective program that maximizes contact between Mexican and U.S. scholars and students.

U.S. recipients and home and host institutions for 1990-1991 are:

Minerva Olivia Antuna, of the University of Texas at El Paso, will lecture at the Universidad de Ciudad Juárez on sociology and social work (5 months).

Stephen Richard Jenner, of the Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, will lecture on economics at the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, (10 months).

Joan N. Lindgren, of San Diego State University, will lecture at the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, on TEFL/applied linguistics (10 months).

Dan McLeod, of San Diego State University, will lecture on American literature at the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, (10 months).

William Springer, of the University of Texas at El Paso, will lecture at the Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua, Ciudad Juárez, on philosophy (4 months).

Mexican recipients and home and host institutions for 1990-1991 are:

Carmen Benítez, of the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, will lecture at University of Texas at El Paso on Chicano studies (9 months).

Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Laredo, will lecture at Laredo State University on the Mexican Revolution and Mexican history (9 months).

Roberto Domínguez, of the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, will lecture at the University of Texas at El Paso on the maquila industry in Ciudad Juárez (5 months).

Sergio Gómez Montero, of the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Mexicali, will lecture at San Diego State University, Calxico Campus, on Mexican-U.S. culture and thought (5 months).

Miguel A. González Block, of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, will lecture at University of California, San Diego, on border health care policies (5 months).

Raúl Rodríguez González, of the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Tijuana, will lecture on Mexican-U.S. studies at San Diego State University (10 months).

A call has been made for applications for next year's program.

Applicants must have a minimum of three years of university teaching experience or five years professional experience. Preference will be given to applicants in the social sciences and humanities, although applications will be considered in other fields.

U.S. scholars apply: CIES/3400 International Dr., N.W., Suite M-500; Washington, D.C. 20008-3097. Mexican scholars apply: Fulbright Academic Exchanges Office of the U.S. Embassy in Mexico/Benjamin Franklin Library; Londres 16, 2nd Floor; Col. Juárez; 06600 Mexico, D.F.

Cycles and Trends in 20th-Century Mexico

The second of two inaugural meetings of the Hewlett-funded UCLA project on Cycles and Trends in Twentieth-Century Mexico was held June 21-24, in Puerto Escondido, Oaxaca. Members of the bilateral research project are examining the long-term determinants of economic, social, and political change in twentieth-century Mexico. Historical cycles and trends in Mexico are being studied through the development and analysis of original time-series statistical data on a range of topics of interest to both academic specialists and policy makers.

The research team that met in Puerto Escondido is particularly interested in analyzing the symbiotic relationship between the United States and Mexico as a North American Free Trade Area becomes a probability. The group comprises numerous scholars from both countries who cover a wide array of topics involving the long-term interaction of the United States and Mexico, from finances, wages, and industrial productivity to higher education, migration, health care, and basic food supply.

The major goal of the research group's two meetings is to bring together scholars and policy makers from the United States and Mexico to develop the quantitative base necessary for further research and analysis. The quantitative base that will be provided by the project's publications has hitherto been lacking in both the United States and Mexico.

The project is directed by **James W. Wilkie** (UCLA) and **Sergio de la Peña** (UNAM) and coordinated by **David Lorey** (UCLA Program on Mexico). Meeting advisors in Puerto Escondido included **George Baker** (PROFMEX), **María Irma Caminos** (Informe del Gobierno), **John Coatsworth** (University of Chicago), **Fernando del Villar** (BANOBRAS), **Carmelo Mesa-Lago** (Univ. of Pittsburgh), **Silvia Ortega Salazar** (UAM-Azc.), **Jesús Reyes Heróles** (SRE), and **Miguel Sandoval Lara** (BANOBRAS).

The Cycles and Trends Project is organized around small working groups on various topics. Working papers detailing the research in progress of participants are read by working group members and each group then meets two times during the two-day conference period.

The three Working Groups and their members at the Puerto Escondido conference were as follows:

SECTORAL ANALYSIS

Fiscal Policy, **Juan Moreno Pérez** (Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto)

Tourism, **Aída Mostkoff** (UCLA)

Food Policy, **Enrique Ochoa** (UCLA)

Agriculture, **Sergio de la Peña** (UNAM)

Transportation, **Arturo Grunstein** (Instituto Mora/UCLA)

Trade, **Carlos Roza** (UAM, Xochimilco)

Planning, **Arturo Sánchez Garza** (Informe de Gobierno)

Water, **Héctor Garduño** (IMTA)

TRENDS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Politics of Industrialization, **Dale Story** (UT, Arlington)

Higher Education and Employment, **David Lorey** (UCLA Program on Mexico)

Internal Debt, **Armando Pérez Gea** (UCLA)

Maquila Development, **Carlos Contreras** (UCLA)

U.S.-Mexico Economic Relations, **Raúl Hinojosa** (UC Berkeley)

Society, Politics, and Labor Employment, **Teresa Rendón** (UNAM)

Regional Development, **Héctor Ferreira** (BANOBRAS)

Demography, **Richard Wilkie** (UMass-Amherst)

Urbanization, **Martín Valadez** (UCLA)

Social Welfare, **Eliezar Tijerina Garza** (BANOBRAS)

Salaries, **Jeff Bortz** (Appalachian State University)

Worker Movements, **Enrique de la Garza** (UAM, Iztapalapa)

Dissidence in the Revolutionary Family, **Romeo Flores Caballero** (UCLA)

Elections and the Left, **Iván Gutiérrez** (UCLA)

The second stage of the project involves the final elaboration of statistical research, analysis, and conclusions for

papers to be presented at further working meetings over the next three years. Meetings have tentatively been scheduled for Akumál in November 1990 and Guanajuato in 1991. The statistical series will be edited for a series of volumes of time-series data of use to both scholars and policymakers. Final papers will be published in a multi-volume series on Mexico's twentieth-century development.

Letter from PROFMEX President James Wilkie

In reporting on PROFMEX activities, I am pleased to announce eight important advances for the organization.

First, the full name of PROFMEX has been modified from "The Consortium of U.S. Research Programs on Mexico" to "The Consortium for Research on Mexico." This change is necessitated by the expansion of PROFMEX in Mexico.

Second, there are three changes on the PROFMEX Board of Directors. **Silvia Ortega Salazar** has been elected by the Board to represent the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco (UAM-Azc). **Cathryn L. Thorup**, who formerly represented the Overseas Development Council (ODC), has been elected to represent the University of California, San Diego. **Albert E. Utton** has been elected to the Board to represent the Transborder Resource Center.

Third, the PROFMEX Board has approved the creation of a secretariat in Mexico under the direction of Edmundo Jacobo Molina at UAM-Azc. As Secretary General, he will share duties with Executive Secretary George Baker. Lic. Jacobo heads the Department of Economics at UAM-Azc and his university

will copublish volumes with PROFMEX and will distribute the *Mexico Policy News*. Further, UAM-Azc will copublish with PROFMEX and ANUIES the results of the bilateral university meetings, beginning with the volumes from the V Conference held in Mexico City in 1988 and the VI Conference held in Mazatlán in October 1990.

Fourth, through its secretariats in Mexico and the United States, PROFMEX is organizing MEXNET, an organization based upon the PROFMEX and ANUIES memberships. MEXNET is a network of U.S. and Mexican institutions and individuals interested in Mexico and U.S.-Mexican interactions, in developing research and exchange programs, and in Mexican grassroots development, and public policy.

Fifth, PROFMEX members will regularly receive a number of free periodicals, listed in the PROFMEX membership form in this issue of the newsletter.

Sixth, PROFMEX members will receive sample issues of the following periodicals in order to be able to consider subscribing:

• *El Cotidiano* (published bimonthly by UAM-Azc)

• *Revista Mexicana de Comunicación* (published bimonthly by the Fundación Manuel Buendía)

Seventh, PROFMEX members will continue to receive the proceedings of the PROFMEX-ANUIES conference series and discounts on the PROFMEX Monograph Series.

Eighth, I am pleased to invite you to attend the VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Conference, to be held in Mazatlán, October 3-7, 1990. The program and registration form are listed elsewhere in this newsletter. The complete conference registration fee and hotel package is very attractive, \$250 (single) and \$300 (double) for four nights, banquet and receptions. PROFMEX looks forward to seeing you in Mazatlán.



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