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NEW PRESS-STATE RELATIONS IN MEXICO

Sabás Huesca Rebolledo

DOES PUBLIC OPINION MATTER?

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FAMILY MEDIATIONS IN MEXICAN CHILDREN'S
TELEVISION VIEWING PROCESS

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POLITICAL CULTURE, MASS MEDIA AND CONFLICT:
AN ANALYSIS PROPOSAL

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ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION IN MEXICO

Pablo Casares A.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, COMMUNICATION AND
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Javier Esteinou Madrid

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HECHO EN MEXICO-MADE IN MEXICO

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National sovereignty, communication, and world integration: the case of Mexico

Javier Esteinou Madrid

1. Adopting the new neo-liberal development model

The exhaustion of the traditional development model that had been followed in Mexico for fifteen years, the pressure of foreign banks on the country to pay its monumental foreign debt, and the resulting sociopolitical crisis led the Mexican state to abandon its traditional strategy of attaining internal consolidation through the classic import-substitution model that had been implemented in Mexico for the previous three decades. Starting when the old strategy was abandoned—and especially since 1982—the Mexican government adopted, as its strategy for internal growth, the urgent annexation of the country's economy to the world market; thus, it attempted to finance recovery and internal growth by increasing exports and attracting larger amounts of foreign investment.

This new shift in our development policy sounded the knell of the paternalistic and protectionist era that had been inherited from the post-revolutionary governments. This era had paved the way for the "Welfare State," or "Subsidizing State," which was characterized by the application of "the theory that the ideal state would be the state in which every social space, without exception, should be subsidized."¹ Thus, it was publicly acknowledged that one program for growth had come to an end, and it was accepted that we were entering a "new model of economic growth," in which the productive sphere and the political structure must modernize to face world competition; otherwise the "impetus of transformation that the world is going through would devastate our country."²

Thus, it was officially accepted that we cannot live outside the modern international division of labor, and the country is expected to withdraw from the old Euro-American transatlantic axis that has exercised worldwide hegemony during the twentieth century so that it can join the profound new reorganization of Western capitalism, linking up to the three new poles of world development: the European Economic Community, which will begin to function as such in 1992 when its twelve member countries (the newly-united Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, and

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Spain, along with the formerly-socialist countries of Eastern Europe, which will be annexed to the community) form a single economic bloc; the North American Common Market, the official members of which are, at this time, the United States and Canada³; and, lastly, the Pacific Rim market, formed by 24 ocean-seaport countries and 23 island countries, and which is headed by the so-called four Asian Tigers, that is, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea.⁴

In this manner, the Mexican government is creating the foundations for adopting another growth model, which is the determining framework in which Mexican society will live in the future.

2. Culture and television vis-a-vis the new modernization dynamics

Faced with this new historic panorama of the creation of new hegemonic areas, we must reexamine the industrialization process that was implemented along with the import-substitution policies of 1930 and thereafter, ask ourselves the central and timely question of whether, parallel to this, the cultural structure of Mexican society was rapidly transformed by radio and television to create a consumption-oriented, non-participatory mentality, and an erosion of our national identity. Now, what will happen to us spiritually, both as a society and as individuals, when we enter the world-integration phase and link up to international markets without planning the use of our communications media? What will happen to our structures of thinking and feeling, with our country now experiencing a stage of cultural regression, of a loss of historical memory, and of intellectual immaturity, posed to come into intense contact with the ideological saturation of the new hegemonies through television and video networks?

Thus, because of the irresponsibility of not planning the use of electronic media for the

last three decades, the absence of a commitment to use mass media to form a consciousness based on development the weakness of the post-Cárdenas governments to defend national culture, and the complicity of public authorities in the penetration of the multinational model in the country's psyche, today the Mexican state has lost enormous ground in the effort to form, through the communications industries, a strong nationalism, a solid identity, and a national cohesiveness which might be the point of departure for an internal-growth project. This will not occur, however, without profound changes in our country to renew the possibility of resuming the attempts to promote the autonomous, independent, democratic development that today seems to have been postponed.

That is, without thoroughly understanding or assimilating the cultural alterations brought on by the Spanish conquest 480 years ago, or the mental mutations caused since the 1950s by the presence of a consumption-oriented society thanks to the introduction of the import-substitution project during the period of national industrialization, without now being culturally prepared for it, we are once again caught off guard by the profound dynamics of the restructuring of economics, politics, and world-ideology with the "modernizing wave," and our society is, once again, being incorporated into that process, without the creation of an intellectual project of its own; that is, without having resolved its conflicts as an underdeveloped country, Mexican society is again being dragged along by the dynamics of highly advanced capitalism, forced to fit into the marginal slots of this extremely profound world transformation.

If we link this to the outlook for the communications media, we find that, although in terms of facts (and not discourse), television is still out of step with the modernization project, which has been implemented extensively in

the field of normative economics, and somewhat in the field cultural politics, but very little in the area of communications. We know that for the neo-liberal development model to be carried out in Mexico, there must be new legal, productive, technological, labor, and legal conditions, among others, but there is also a prevailing need for a new, massive neo-liberal consciousness to back up and strengthen these conditions. This consciousness will attempt to create, through the electronic communications media, the necessary subjective conditions for our society to operate within the new competitive relationships of the world marketplace.

Mexican capitalism, in order to strengthen itself for its industrialization phase, created, in the mid-twentieth century, a consumption-oriented cultural fabric that eventually became the religion of the cities —religion from which we erect a large part of our most profound feeling towards life; in the same manner, modernizing capitalism, to consolidate itself in its neo-liberal stage, must now produce other traits of national identity through a new structure of values, some of the pillars of which are efficiency, mechanization, intense competition, privatization, obsolescence, deregulation, etc.

That is, we appear to be initiating-through cultural industries, and in particular through television—a new phase of investment of cultural values made possible by the circulation of new ideologies to further the strengthening of the productive system and the unregulated distribution of goods, as required by the modern program of neo-liberal growth that the upper echelon of the Mexican state has chosen to follow for the coming decades. Hence, by projecting onto the field of collective consciousness the structural determinants that the new national growth program is gradually imposing, we see that the modern subjectivity that will be produced by the electronic media of the future will be characterized, in part, by

the encouragement of individualism over solitary relationships; the stressing of competitiveness over shared work (known as *Tequio* in Mexico); savage cannibalism over brotherhood; flagrant admiration for what is foreign rather than what is Mexican; interest, not in collective planning, but in highly-privatized planning; an individual, rather than group, struggle for freedom and happiness; the supreme value of "efficiency" over other, superior, human goals; extreme mechanization, rather than human closeness, as the meaning of success; and so on.

This is so because the international laws of the new capital-accumulation model that is in gestation permeate all levels of society and require, in the cultural sphere, that the collective soul constructed in this country through the electronic information media be based on a more fetishized and multinationalized vision of life that will lead us to know more and more about the great world outside (thus, we have the concept of "citizen of world"), and less about ourselves as a republic and as persons. We should not forget that the expansion of the multinational economy increasingly forces us to create a "global supermarket," to be reproduced on an enlarged scale everywhere on the planet. Faced with this the existence of nation states and regional cultural policies appears as a major obstacle that must be overcome."⁵

Given this, it is useful to bear in mind that the history of advertising in Mexico over the last forty years shows that in order to sell goods that speed up the process of capital circulation, advertisers have been willing to trivialize and even, in the end, prostitute the image of women; to present this image as a fundamentally sexual object and give it false qualities; to "fetishize" products to make them more attractive; to create artificial needs among consumers to encourage purchasing;

to spread the notion that people's value stems from the brand they choose, and not from the degree to which they know themselves; to promote the idea that the success of individuals depends on the belongings they accumulate, and not to the fact that they are human; to modify the national identity so that people value themselves socially through the progressive acquisition of more multinational products; and so on. With this history in mind, it is possible to think that upon entering the "open-borders" development phase, a vision of man and life increasingly conditioned by the requirements of the expansion and strengthening of the world-wide market, rather than by the humanization of individuals, will be massively erected.

In light of this collective spiritual context, it would seem that the new goods coming from the outside have the same effect on our consciousness as the sequins and glass beads that the first conquerors used to in order to trade strange trinkets for our precious metals.

In this respect, we can state that, a few months before the celebrations for the "500-Year Anniversary of the Discovery and Evangelization of Mexico" by the Spaniards, and especially in view of the recent preparations for the "North American Free Trade Agreement," we are today experiencing a second, silent, "Commercial Evangelization" of our identity, thanks to the electronic communications media and other cultural infrastructures that, through the laws of the Mexico-U.S.A. market, are converting and subordinating us to the proposal of "America's Manifest Destiny."

Considering the progressive abandonment of the public-television model in the country vis-à-vis the increasingly rapid annexation of our society to the cultural laws of the international market which is occurring through our membership in the General Accord on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the opening of the Pacific Rim countries, the extremely dynamic integra-

tion into the American and Canadian economy through the signing of the Free Trade Agreement, and the relationship with the new European Economic Community in 1992, if the Mexican State does not build an increasingly more solid national cultural project through a more rational use of the electronic communications media—particularly through television—it will be digging its own grave, and more quickly than deep. If this occurs, it will be because the State will have allowed the destruction, in the population's consciousness, of the mental structures required for it to exist as a nation state.

This destruction is spreading quickly, since the State's neo-liberal project advocates that the communications media operate as businesses rather than as a public service. This is especially true when, in the present phase of "modernization," the laws of the market are penetrating the very core of the information media. Therefore, it is the "forces of free competition"—rather than the people's project for social and human development—that increasingly govern the cultural project of the audiovisual industries.

Thus, as opposed to other periods in Mexico's history, in which Mexican society was held together by the cultural project of its constitution as a nation, what today keeps the social whole relatively united, and what has, to a certain degree, prevented greater civil unrest has been the model of existence in the cities, the presence of old-fashioned bureaucratic machines, the ruling party's sponge-like ability to absorb, the corporatist constitution of the Mexican State, the strengthening of efficacious military and police-support mechanisms, and so on, rather than the strong presence of a cultural project, which is now ideologically bankrupt. For this reason, "if we wish to exist in the future as a nation, we must struggle for the recognition of the importance of culture in the daily building of the country's project; culture

plays a fundamental, two-part, role: on the one hand, it contributes to the recovery of the deep, human meaning of development, by strengthening our own consciousness, and, on the other hand, it allows the national project to be carried out."⁶

From this stems the strategic priority of reviving the State's leadership at the cultural front line, rather than in the simple, traditional economic trenches that subordinate the national spirit's vocation of universal expansion to the momentary needs of capital reproduction. We cannot forget that a nation does not develop without a strong national consciousness; from this perspective, today there is a lack of national integration behind Mexican nationalism.

For this reason, vis-à-vis the content of the electronic media, which encourages the fragmentation of the country—insofar as it does not promote democratic participation, or the expression of a plurality of opinions, or, consequently, the formation of a critical consciousness—the only way of confront the vertiginous mental transformation that is upon us with the opening of the borders is to build a solid nationalist communications policy for the country. This policy should develop a strong national spirit, through the self-critical acknowledgement of our limitations as a society and the frank acceptance of what we are, in order that we may become what we should be. The only way to make a healthy leap towards the modernity that is being imposed upon us by the dynamics of global evolution is to assimilate change from the framework of a deep knowledge of our culture, rather than through the seductive mirages of modernization that, in the field of development, advanced countries and our national elites are proposing to us in order to strengthen their own structure of hegemony and material accumulation.

Hence, an essential requirement for opening the country's borders, without losing our

way once again as a society in the vast array of options of "technology-inducing and civilized progress" that offers us the glamor of "modernity" is to enhance our knowledge of who we are as a society, of what our needs are, and of what alternative solutions we have to meet these needs. Otherwise, we will be at a disadvantage vis-à-vis forces that produce infinite illusions regarding development and that, consequently, will trap us once again.

In view of this, we need to ask ourselves: What will happen to us as a society if, through a free-trade agreement, we become linked to the outside, having, as we have today, a reduced and eroded cultural base? What attitudes and norms should we use to deal with seductive external cultural forces, when we are a country in which the average educational level is six years of elementary school; with an elementary school drop-out rate of 45 percent; in which investment in science and technology is less than 0.52 percent of the gross national product; with a total of 2,000 public libraries, that is, one reading room for every 41 bars; with 22 researchers for every 100,000 inhabitants; with one school for every ten bars; with an increasing brain drain problem; with a school absenteeism rate that causes a loss of 1.5 billion dollars per year; and with other similar problems?

Thus, we are living in times of an evolution towards a new era in human history characterized by extremely wide-reaching changes in all orders, such as the falling of the Berlin Wall, which transformed the face of European power that had been drawn after World War II; Perestroika, which loosened one of the East's most bureaucratic social systems; control over reproductive matters through genetic engineering; the presence of *Lambada*, which restored the sensuality we lost upon acquiring Western urban "civilization"; the global overheating; the production of the first platforms for living in space; the creation of the neuro-

computer, which will think for itself; "cold nuclear fusion," which changes the millenary laws of traditional physics; the development of chromosome maps, which allow molecular gene damage to be repaired; and the advent of a new millennium. In these times, communications cannot continue to be conceived of mediocrity, in instrumental terms, as the simple transmission of information from one entity to another. Today, it is indispensable that we recover the essence of communication, and understand it as the creation of the process of the humanization of individuals, so that we may evolve towards the higher stages of development of the human species.

3. Towards the creation of a new organic culture

Given this panorama of cultural enfeeblement, we must bear in mind that for Mexican society to develop through the "modern Mexican state" it is necessary to implement many administrative, legislative, political, infrastructural, organizational, and similar types of actions; and in addition to these material activities, it is essential to carry out intense, very solid organic cultural projects to support government and regional-development programs. For this to occur, the Mexican state must abandon the traditional "aristocratic," "folklorist," "elitist," and "culturalist" digressions it has practiced for several decades, and which have given a restricted meaning to culture, as the expression of the most refined sensitivities in every order of art and knowledge. In place of this, the Mexican state should promote an organic culture than will respond to the principal daily problems that Mexican society needs to work out in order to survive.

This organic culture must go beyond simple efforts to raise literacy, increase the number of enrollments in basic schooling, broaden formal education, comply efficiently with instructional curricula, and so on, in order to focus on the

priority of the country's development by raising people's consciousness regarding the obstacles we face as a society. There has been greater political space for this type of action since the government, by transferring control of the state communications media from the Interior Ministry to the National Council on Culture and the Arts, which is a division of the Education Ministry. This transfer of power has returned to the media the true nature that corresponds to it and the sole meaning that justifies its existence: its educational vocation. In terms of the country's overall history, this change of status may be equivalent, in the cultural sphere, to the nationalization of the oil industry, insofar as it expropriated the erroneous orientations that the government communications media has adopted for several decades, thereby creating the political basis to allow for a new intellectual revival and flourishing in the country. If this measure is fully applied, it will permit the creation of a new era of collective culture in Mexican society.

This means that, before the national-development projects can truly lay economic and political foundations among the population in order to attain, at a basic level, the proposed objectives, the State, through the electronic communications media, and particularly through television, has to form a new comprehensive culture in the consciousness of its citizens to allow them to govern over matters related to the environment, production, organization, cities, the use of natural resources, employment, housing, energy resources, water, health, participation, food production, etc.

This implies that in the present moment of transition—and not of expansion—we are now experiencing, the State must direct its efforts to the priority of forming a comprehensive culture for national survival, rather than for the exquisite pleasures of our society's artistic elite. We must bear clearly in mind that the sole meaning that art and culture can have is

that of increasing the level of man's humanization—rather than that of increasing man's alienation. We must struggle firmly against the position often assumed by the State, which favors, in order to overcome our intellectual underdevelopment more quickly, the notion of culture for culture's sake, or art for art's sake, which eliminates the relationship of culture and art to our great social contradictions.

Today, all the resources of poetry, music, dance, theater, literature, sculpture, and plastic and other arts of our nation's intellectuals must be channeled—rather than be dispersed, spontaneous expressions—to contributions that solve the immense growth problems that hold us back as a country. In other words, the period of national awakening our country is going through calls for putting art, sensitivity, and aesthetics at the service of social change, rather than at the disposal of self-worship, individualism, and narcissism, as has been the most frequent tendency with cultural projects in recent decades.⁷

This means, fundamentally, that the Mexican State must channel most of its financial, material, artistic and spiritual efforts towards the development of a new agricultural culture to increase food production and reduce the more than 9,000 metric tons of food we now import each year in order to subsist; a new consciousness vis-à-vis nature, to prevent more animal and plant species from experiencing the same fate as the more than 200 that have been annihilated in this century in our country; a new culture vis-à-vis the countryside, to reduce the flow of the more than 10,000 persons who every day migrate to the country's principal cities; a new culture vis-à-vis forests, to diminish the erosion of the more than 500,000 hectares of our territorial reserve that are destroyed every year; a new culture vis-à-vis water, to give it a rational value in order for it to be used in a civilized manner, and thereby save the 30 percent of water supplies that are irresponsibly wasted in the cities; a new culture

vis-à-vis ecology, to contribute to the reduction of the more than 6,000 metric tons of emissions that accumulate every day in atmosphere of the Valley of Mexico and of the country's other principal cities, and which, more and more, are silently suffocating us.

A new culture vis-à-vis women, to allow the broad participation of Mexican women, who make up 50 percent of the nation's population; a new culture vis-à-vis energy resources, to allow for a more just transition from the petroleum era to the development era. A new culture vis-à-vis nutrition, to reduce the malnutrition that currently affects 60 percent of the nation's population—especially children—whose minimum food requirements for subsistence are never met; a new culture vis-à-vis organization, to include all of our 85 million inhabitants in the search for solutions to our social conflicts, since we are not yet fully organized as a society; a new culture that allows us to deeply appreciate and love that which is Mexican, in order to affirm our increasingly weak national identity, and to prevent the extremely quick loss of the country's cultural project because of the opening of the borders; a new culture vis-à-vis national emergencies, especially earthquake-related emergencies in the Valley of Mexico, since we know that seismology specialists from the National University of Mexico have predicted strong shifts in the earth's layers in the coming years, the accuracy of which was seen, once again, with the April 25, 1989 tremor, measuring 6 points on the Richter scale.⁸

Today, we must realize that the new Mexican State cannot be built on the foundation of old social values, especially since these principles led us to the profound structural crisis that we are now going through. At this juncture, it is essential that we recognize that the true modern state will not arise from simple administrative changes, from "political openings," from technological transformations, from permitting foreign investment, from cut-

ting down the size of the government, from changes in official rhetoric, etc.; rather, the modern state will arise from a change in the population's way of thinking.

That is, the true foundations of the modern Mexican State must emerge from the depth and coherence of its cultural project, and not from the the simple, momentary, bold responses that the State attempts to implement in the sphere of economics and politics. For this reason, it is essential to erect, using information channels, new values that will produce a new daily vision of ourselves, our lives, our nation, our history, and man's mission on earth.

Until now, this perspective has only been understood by the State in a very limited manner, when, exclusively through declarations, it has attempted to respond to the rise of political movements and excessive overpopulation of the Valley of Mexico. The new government has recognized the need to form a new political culture and a new culture for coexistence in the country's metropolitan areas, but in the process it has relegated a huge number of priorities that urgently need to be attended to by the government and civil society.

In contrast, the government will attempt to implement a project to promote the material development of Mexican society, without the support of a rational, collective program. This will imply governing without intellectual foundations, since the state will attempt to change the country's stomach, arms, and lungs, without transforming the social mind; this, in turn, will create a government without a brain. That is, the executive branch will govern in a schizophrenic environment, since the head of the social being will, at best, think of the values of sensorial delicacies, while the huge body struggles to survive in the crude maelstrom of national reality.

Therefore, if this organic, democratic culture does not emerge, the beauty produced by literary rhetoric, the light generated by ex-

quisite painting, the rhythmic verses of poetry, the sublime curves of perfect sculpture, the fine plastics of dance, the artistic language of movies, etc. will be of little or no use to the urgent program of national growth—if a true organic, pluralistic culture is not first created, to raise the population's level of clarity and group commitment vis-à-vis the great national problems that overwhelm us. That is, if this orientation of organic knowledge does not emerge, the state will allow the country to acquire a more refined taste, but this more refined taste will not be of any extensive use to society, since hunger, unemployment, violence, neurosis, pollution, alienation, poverty, overcrowding—in short, the dehumanization that each day grows worse in our country—will be the horsemen of the Apocalypse, putting all these pleasures beyond the reach of the population. Mexico cannot repeat the mistake made in antiquity by Byzantium, who, as the barbarians were attacking the city of Constantinople, allowed the "sages" to discuss, in all its depth, the question of whether angels had or did not have wings.

In other words, for the comprehensive-advancement proposal of the new Mexican State to be successful, in addition to the three national accords established by the executive branch (the accord to enhance our democratic life, the accord for economic recovery and stability, and the accord for productive improvement of popular well-being), it is now essential to create a fourth national accord, to change the country's way of thinking through the formation of a new intellectual order among the population, through the action of the communications media and other cultural institutions. Hence, just as in its process of modernization, to guarantee sovereignty in questions of economic leadership, the Mexican state has declared *Petróleos Mexicanos*, basic petrochemicals, the Federal Electricity Commission, radioactive minerals, the generation of nuclear energy, railroads, the mail service, satel-

lite communications, and fundamental institutions such as *Conasupo*,⁹ strategic areas. Now, with the process of opening the country's cultural borders through new information technologies, in order for the State to maintain its ideological sovereignty, it must raise cultural activity, national identity, and its instruments of collective dissemination, such as the mass media, to the level of strategic fields.

Otherwise, the country's process of modernization will succeed only in maintaining the autonomy of the social body's arms and legs, but not of its collective mind. Thus, we must ask, What type of modernization are we dealing with?¹⁰

For this reason, as long as the communications media, and especially television, do not bring about a profound intellectual and cultural change in their audiences, the State will continue to govern against the ideological inertia of the masses regarding the great national problems, and the only support it will receive to summon the will of the bulk of the population in favor of its proposal for change will be that of the logistic, administrative, police, and military bodies. That is, if a new comprehensive culture for the country's progress is not created through the communications media, the efforts to bring about structural change in Mexican society will have to be carried out through the intervention of bureaucratic and repressive mechanisms, since the government will not have the support for intellectual change of those who can, after all, speed up or slow down social evolution.

Hence, if the State fails to carry out this task through the communications media and, instead, focuses principally on promoting the enjoyment of sensitive refinements, cultural entities will become a decoration of the Mexican State, which will miss the historic opportunity society has given it to correct the direction of the national spirit, towards a new, higher stage of collective

development. Seen in broad terms, this would be like using the resources we obtained from the expropriation of the oil industry to build nothing more than luxurious shop windows with the planet's most exotic flowers and aromas. This missed opportunity would be exploited by other national and multinational entities for their voracious marketing, and capital-accumulation interests, and not for social and human growth.

For this reason, in this phase of the increasingly rapid integration of national cultural processes to the dynamics of the centralization and globalization of the world's most advanced economies, the Mexican state has the primary obligation to not abandon the use and creation of communications processes and culture to the savage dictates of "free-market forces," which seek, in the last analysis, to promote permanent capital accumulation; rather, the state should plan for the edification of a new everyday culture that will lead to the country's development and survival. Otherwise—if we do not plan the use of the means of dissemination around a project for intellectual transformation oriented to the growth of our society—the rest of the modernization reforms promoted by the current Mexican State will come to naught, since the country's mind will be cut off from its social body, which will lead our nation to crumble once again sooner or later—and with greater and greater intensity.

NOTES

(1) Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, "Nos modernizamos o el cambio mundial amenaza al país," *Excelsior*, 11 April 1989.

For more information on this, see "Urge modernizar el aparato productivo en bienes y servicios," *Excelsior*, 8 October 1988; "Describe los esfuerzos de México por integrarse a la economía mundial la carta de intención al FMI," *Excelsior*, 25 April 1989; "No será irrestricta, ni se hará de golpe la apertura comercial: CSG," *Excelsior*, 28 April 1989; "Está

agotado el model fácil," *Excelsior*, 9 May 1989; "En marzo la economía del país estará lista para su desregulación: Córdoba," *Excelsior*, 21 June 1989; "Ni liberalismo a ultranza, ni estatismo ultrajante," *Excelsior*, 21 June 1989; "Sucumbió el paternalismo hoy se necesita eficiencia; Peligran los avances por el déficit en paraestatales," *Excelsior*, 28 July 1989; "La apertura comercial es una decisión permanente: Secofi," *Excelsior*, 16 August 1989.

(2) See "En 1992 el país debe estar abierto a la Comunidad Económica Europea," *Uno Más Uno*, 23 April 1989; "Ofrece Europa a México más inversiones y abrir sus mercados a nuestros productos," *Unomásuno*, 21 May 1989; "Estamos listos para enfrentar el reto del mercado único en 1992," *Excelsior*, 27 May 1989; "Los logros de la gira de CSG por Europa base para construir un México moderno," *Uno Más Uno*, 16 July 1989; "Viaje de Carlos Salinas," *Uno Más Uno*, 18 July 1989.

(3) See "El acuerdo de libre comercio entre Estados Unidos y Canadá," *Comercio Exterior* 39 num. 4 (April 1989) pp. 339, 347.

(4) "Más nexos con la Cuenca del Pacífico," *Uno Más Uno*, 28 April 1988; "La hegemonía en el sistema capitalista empieza a desplazarse hacia el Pacífico," *Excelsior*, 3 May 1989; "La Cuenca del Pacífico: Un nuevo espacio estratégico," *Uno Más Uno*, 4 May 1988; "Vitalidad regional: Cuenca del Pacífico," *Excelsior*, 14 May 1988; "Latinoamérica está lejos del Pacífico," *Uno Más Uno*, 19 August 1989.

(5) "Nuestro retraso social, no tecnológico," *Excelsior*, 30 May 1989.

(6) "Políticas de financiamiento de la cultura." *op. cit.*

(7) This was confirmed through the resignation of the director of the House of Culture, in Juchitán Oaxaca; the director pointed out that, after 10 years, he was stepping down "because I am disappointed that the wonderful project of a group of friends was cancelled because of gossip, because of human pettiness. Intellectuals fought among themselves and they ruined the people's cultural project." "Renuncio a la Casa de la Cultura porque ahora cuida paredes," *Unomásuno*, 21 April 1989.

(8) Data given on Tomás Mojarro's radio call-in show, *Palabras sin reposo*, Radio UNAM, 25 April 1989.

(9) Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, *Primer informe de gobierno* [First State-of-the-Union Address], Secretariat of the Presidency, *Excelsior*, 2 November 1989, sec. 4 part 4 p.2.

(10) Strangely enough, in questions of autonomy, the State protects those sectors that it considers strategic so as not to lose its leadership over them, as with the provisioning of cities and other key areas; this, however, is not the case with culture, which the State is handing over to the free forces of the market. See "No está a discusión la rectoría del Estado en el abasto," *El Día*, 29 March 1989.