



Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation
5th Floor, Hunt Library
Carnegie Mellon University
4909 Frew Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15213-3890
Telephone: 412-268-2434
Email: huntinst@andrew.cmu.edu
Web site: www.huntbotanical.org

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About the Institute

The Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, a research division of Carnegie Mellon University, specializes in the history of botany and all aspects of plant science and serves the international scientific community through research and documentation. To this end, the Institute acquires and maintains authoritative collections of books, plant images, manuscripts, portraits and data files, and provides publications and other modes of information service. The Institute meets the reference needs of botanists, biologists, historians, conservationists, librarians, bibliographers and the public at large, especially those concerned with any aspect of the North American flora.

Hunt Institute was dedicated in 1961 as the Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, an international center for bibliographical research and service in the interests of botany and horticulture, as well as a center for the study of all aspects of the history of the plant sciences. By 1971 the Library's activities had so diversified that the name was changed to Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Growth in collections and research projects led to the establishment of four programmatic departments: Archives, Art, Bibliography and the Library.

sopa de choros *CEBICHE DE CURVINA*
 cabrito al pastor *CHUPE DE CAMARONES*
 cocona (bebida de frutas) *PICANTE " "*
 anticuchos *OLLUCOS CON CHARGUI*
 vino Túcana *MAZAMORA MORADA (MAIZ +)*
 pisco *MANA' (ALMONDRA +)*
 Inca cola *CAUSA (PAPA AMARILLA) 8425*
CHIRIMUYA - GUANÁBANA

 Rafael Larco Herrera Museo
 (60,000 ceramicas - huacos)
 Pedro de Osma Museo -colonial
 Dr. Jorge Muelle - antropologo
 Fernando de Szyszlo - pintor
 Miguel Mujica Gallo -colecciones

1st monkey in Amer. spaceship
 from Iquitos
 Barriada de Chorillos y Pampa de
Comas (Peace Corps)

La Prensa - Pedro Beltrán (ex-
 embajador a US - Amer. wife)
El Comercio - Miro Quesada
 (Quesada assassin. by Apristas)

KUONG MAN - RECAVARREN 193 - MIRAFLORES
KUONG TONG - CALLE CAPÓN
TON QUIN SEN - " " y PICANTERÍAS

EL CORTIJO - AV. PANAM y PLAZA S. MARTÍN
LA QUERENCIA - LIBERTAD 425, MADRE EN
DEL MAR (PARILLADAS ARG.)

ROSITA RÍOS - AV. EL ALTILLO 100.
ROXY - EN MIRAFLORES ("EL MEJOR")
LA GRANJA AZUL - CARRETERA Km 17.

TRECE MONEDAS - AV. AGANCAY (536 ANCAHA)
CHALET SUÍZO, AV. NICOLÁS DE PIÉROLA 560.

LIMA - OROYA - HUANCAYO RR. - LV. LIMA 8 AM,
AR. HUANCAYO 5:29 PM || LV. H. 6:50 AM, AR OROYA
10:10 AM, LIMA 4:21 PM || 66 TUNGS, 54 BRIDGES
22 ZIC-ZAGS. [GALERA 15,681' y 98 mi FROM LIMA]
[HENRY MEIGGS BOT 1870-93]

FIESTA: DECI 8 - INMAC. CONCEPCION.
AGO, 30 - STA. ROSA

CHIPA FLAMANTE - ARENALES } 24-XI-'69
u. RAMÓN P.

U.S. EMBASSY - AV. WILSON
1ST NAT. CITY BANK OF NY - COLMENA 1062
AIRPORT DEPARTURE TAX: SBO = ±\$6.75

Reputo que soy aficionado a toros, y añado, aun a trueque de enajenarme la simpatía de mis cofrades en afición, que si yo fuera autócrata o dictador de España suprimiría las corridas de una plumada. Las suprimiría, porque las considero nocivas socialmente, tal como hoy está la sociedad española. Pero, entretanto las hay, asisto a ellas; porque para mí, individualmente, no son nocivas, antes son provechosas, instructivas y, desde luego, solazadas. Entre la taurofobia teórica y la taurofilia práctica, no hay la contradicción que algunos se imaginan. Si un médico acertara con un remedio que evitase ya para siempre las fiebres tifoideas, es seguro que, por amor de la Humanidad o bien de la fama, lo pondría al punto en práctica. Entretanto, el médico sigue asistiendo en cuantas fiebres tifoideas se le ofrecen a consulta. Y hasta es posible que, ante un caso señaladamente definido, típico e insólito, exclame: "¡Qué hermoso caso!"

Sin embargo, como no soy hipócrita, no pretendo extremar la anterior comparación ni establecer la absoluta identidad de un médico y un aficionado a toros; sino un mero linaje de semejanza y esto sólo por lo que a mí atañe. Añadiré que, si frecuento los circos, es tanto por estudiar sociología española cuanto porque me placen las corridas, sin disimular que hay en ellas bastante que me repugna. Estoy en parte conforme, así con los panegiristas, como con los detractores de nuestra fiesta nacional.

Son los toros la causa de nuestra barbarie e insensibilidad, en suma, de nuestra decadencia, como quieren algunos de sus detractores? Si por esto se entiende que España viene declinando desde el siglo XVI, a causa de que los españoles eran entonces, y luego continuaron siendo, aficionados a lancear y ver alancear, a correr y ver correr toros, claramente se advertirá que la relación de causa a efecto es disforme despropósito. Cuando más, podrá admitirse que la afición a toros es uno de tantos efectos o manifestaciones de ciertas causas psicológicas profundas que acarrearón nuestra decadencia. Pero yo ni siquiera admito esta relación de causalidad. Nuestra decadencia histórica y las corridas de toros son, en mi sentir, fenómenos independientes. El arte de torear a pie, que es el que hoy se practica, aparece, se perfecciona, y al pronto se consolida en nuestras costumbres durante el reinado de Carlos III, único período de robustez y esplendor que la historia de España registra en los últimos tres siglos.

Pero, al grado que hemos llegado de anarquía, desorden e insensibilidad para la justicia, reputo nocivas las corridas de toros. Y el gusto por ellas crece más y más, en razón de aquella su naturaleza nociva.

Una nación, para estar bien gobernada, necesita que el pueblo sepa adoptar, enfrente de la autoridad, una de estas dos actitudes, según convenga; o de sumisión voluntaria, en tanto la autoridad no excede su jurisdicción propia, o de imperio inquebrantable, si la autoridad fuese arbitraria o abusiva. En las corridas de toros el pueblo aprende y se habitúa a conducirse justamente de las dos maneras opuestas: con mofa y escarnia, ante la autoridad justa o inofensiva; con debilidad, ante la autoridad arbitraria o abusiva. Por una diferencia de apreciación sobre el número de pares de banderillas, se le llama burró, a coro, al concejal, diputado o gobernador que preside. Si la Empresa comete un abuso fraudulento, y el presidente con su autoridad lo mantiene, se le llama asimismo burro, pero a seguida los espectadores vanse tan tranquilos a su casa. En aquel libro raro del siglo XVIII, titulado El pensador matritense, el autor de la impugnación contra las corridas de toros refiere cómo los asistentes acosan a denuestos e insultos al alguacil, "sólo por ser alguacil", desmedrada y carnavalesca encarnación del principio de autoridad. ¡Lástima que el cúmulo de energía que se malgasta en los toros no se conserve para la vida cívica y pública, fuera del caso!

Si injusto es el espectador de toros con la autoridad, no lo es menos como juez de los toreros. En los toros se practica la justicia impulsiva. Y la justicia debe ser reflexiva. La justicia impulsiva se excede, por lo pronto, en el fallo; y poco después reacciona, se arrepiente y peca por exceso de lenidad. Nunca mantiene sus sanciones. El espectador de toros aplica a los toreros la sanción momentánea e impulsiva; les asaeta con viles improperios, les denigra, les mienta la madre, les lanza almohadillas, naranjas y otras cosas arrojadizas; pero sale el toro siguiente, el torero ejecuta una pampolina revolera, y el espectador ya lo ha olvidado todo. El ciudadano español se conduce en la vida pública como espectador de toros.

Otro mal que origina en las corridas de toros es el vicio, tan español, de discutir interminablemente sobre asuntos y cosas que no admiten discusión. No admiten discusión, o bien los hechos consumados que no dejan tras de sí prueba concreta, o bien las cosas que dependen de apreciación. Se puede discutir si un torero mató un toro de tres o de dos estocadas, porque, al cabo, es fácil averiguar lo cierto. Pero no se puede discutir si las veces que entró a matar entró mal o entró bien, porque no hay modo de probarlo, y aun cuando fuera factible la reproducción del hecho, su apreciación depende del criterio de cada cual. Pues en este género de discusión incurren, ad nauseam, los aficionados a toros. Este furor polémico sobre el mérito de las faenas y la primacía de un determinado torero, furor polémico ya de suyo perfectamente estúpido, sube aún de tono y se convierte en arquetipo de la estupidez cuando adquiere carácter dogmático, asalta las planas de un periódico y acapara dos o tres columnas, con el propósito de saciarse y mover más irritación y polémica. En una partida de boxeo no cabe duda quién ha ganado, ni en una de foot-ball, ni en una de billar. Pero en una corrida de toros, ¿cómo se decidirá quién ha ganado? Sin embargo, cada espectador pretende que ha ganado su torero, y ya tiene para toda la semana discusión sobre lo que no admite discusión. Un inglés que veía por primera vez una corrida de toros, decía: "Me hace el efecto como si todos entendiesen mucho de toros menos los que están toreando." Este furor polémico, ejercitado sobre imaginaciones, antojos, personalismos y hechos consumados; este placer de disputas y quimeras, aversión a la mesura y horror de la verdad real y comprobable, todo esto lo lleva consigo el aficionado de los toros a las demás manifestaciones de la vida social y política, contagia luego al no aficionado, y no hay dos españoles que hablen apaciblemente arriba de cinco minutos. Dijérase que todos entienden de política, menos los políticos; de literatura, menos los escritores; de teatros, menos los cómicos y los autores dramáticos; de pintura, menos los pintores, y así sucesivamente. Y, por desgracia, sucede que, como en España basta ser aficionado para adquirir suprema autoridad, la mayoría de los políticos, escritores, cómicos, dramaturgos y pintores que bullen y brillan no son sino aficionados.

La psicología taurina se difunde a través de toda la vida española. A su vez, la vida española actual, por su dureza, acritud y hostilidad, empuja a los españoles hacia las plazas de toros a gustar del olvido en sorbos ávidos y les induce a la breve epilepsia y momentánea embriaguez de los espectáculos circenses.

Si la esencia del arte, como sostiene Schopenhauer, es un nirvana o nihilismo, el olvido de uno mismo, la liberación de los cuidados cotidianos, un éxtasis y goce como de eternidad, ¿qué tiene de extraño que los españoles hagan cola en la taquilla de los toros?

Si no del arte, cuando menos la esencia de la diversión es el olvido de sí propio. Eso quiere decir "divertirse". Vale tanto como matar el tiempo, lo cual, paradójicamente, significa hacerle andar muy de prisa. El tirano del hombre es el tiempo. Todas las contrariedades de la vida serían llevaderas si supiéramos que éramos eternos. Pero como no lo somos y llevarnos prisa, una desgracia acaso permanezca irreparable. Por eso el hombre se apresura y se obstina en matar el

tiempo, que es como matar el contratiempo, la desgracia. Pero no basta olvidarse. De aquí que el hombre persiga algún lenitivo más eficaz que la diversión; éste lo halla en la emoción. La emoción es la suspensión del tiempo. Para eximirse de la tiranía del tiempo no vale ignorar que hay relojes. Llevamos un reloj, con cuerda limitada, entre las costillas; el corazón. Sus latidos isócronos, como tictac de péndulo, nos dicen que el tiempo pasa, que el tiempo pasa. Mas, al sobrevenir la emoción, suspéndese el curso del tiempo, y durante un momento, que es inacabable, nuestro corazón, el reloj despiadado, se para, bien que después se dispara. ¿Qué importa? Hemos detenido un instante el tiempo.

En los toreros de hoy, Gallito, con su movilidad y jugueteos, es la diversión. Hace andar el tiempo más de prisa. Todo en él es vertiginoso, y, por ende, la impresión y recuerdo que deja, sobremanera leves y fugitivos. Belmonte es la emoción. Todo en él es paudado, casi estático. El recuerdo de su arte, perdurable. Suspende el tiempo. Un solo pase de él dura una eternidad. Esto es lo que los técnicos denominan "borear templado".

De Política y toros-Pérez de Ayala.

La Corrida.

Desde este sitio se ve el pueblo algo lejano, con esa melancolía que tienen estos viejos pueblos, pero con un sello adusto que como una garra nos atrae y hace que lo abandonemos a nuestro pesar. Me encamino a él, pues se acerca la hora de la corrida. Al entrar, se nota la gran animación de día festivo... Las diligencias llenas de polvo que vienen de los pueblos comarcanos, se paran junto a las posadas de una vieja plazuela.

Desenganchan el tiro y meten las caballerías cansadas en un ancho portal. Al lado se ve el pequeño escaparate, que se cierra con dos ventanas despintadas, de una tienda; unos panes, entre un plato de sardinas, y una cesta de alambres llena de huevos, cuelgan en racimos del techo.

En los balcones de estas casas de calles solitarias están sentadas las señoritas del pueblo, con la mantilla puesta para ir a los toros. Muchas mozas y mozos del pueblo, éstos con sus sombreros anchos, y montados a caballo algunos, y las mozas con blusas flamantes de seda de colores chillones, verde, naranja, vermellón, rosa y amarillo, que con el sol se encienden sus colores y deslumbran los ojos; muchos coches, tirados por mulas que suenan los cascabeles, llenos de mujeres, bajan por los arrabales del pueblo y salen al campo, que es donde está la plaza de toros.

Por fuera es como una fortaleza, por lo alto de la cual asoman las espaldas de la gente que está sentada en las últimas filas. Van metiendo en la plaza unos cuantos caballos atados de unas cuerdas. Tienen, de las corridas anteriores muchas costuras sus vientres. Algunos cojean. Las cuerdas de las costuras abultan como gruesas venas.

Un hombre, a la entrada de la plaza, vende juncos de forma de bastón, que utilizan los mozos en las capeas. Cuando entramos en la plaza hay mucha gente. En la presidencia se ven varios curas, con sus hábitos y el sombrero de teja. Llevan también el bastón de capea, y se ponen los manteos terciados y la teja torcida, con aire chulo. En los tendidos hay otros varios fumando grandes puros. Es como si todos los curas del pueblo se hubieran dado cita.

La Plaza es muy sólida, con barreras de piedra y macizas puertas de chiqueo; por encima de las cabezas de la gente se ven los campos y el caserío del pueblo.

Van llegando las mujeres con sus mantillas blancas y negras, las flores a la cintura y al lado de sus pechos.

Al sentarse se ciñen los mantones de Manila a las nalgas y a los muslos con gracia; rién enseñando una dentadura magnífica, y unos barbillas gruesas y coloradas que deben saber a gloria. ¡Qué importa que sean tan inconscientes, si son tan cachondas! ¡Qué gestos hacen con los ojos negros, que despiden bajo las pestañas destellos de diamante! ¡Cómo mueven y cierran de golpe los abanicos junto al pecho! Al saltar por los obstáculos de los asientos y enseñar las piernas, nos quedamos turulatos, y al sentarse y agacharse se les marca el culo enormemente redondo. Nos da gana de decirlas: ¡Viva tu madre, por lo culona que te ha hecho, hija! Y si entornan los ojos y nos miran al sentarse en las gradas con las manos cruzadas, con cara de monja boba, con el pelo caído hasta las cejas, y los labios gruesos que dibujan una sonrisa, nos ponemos malos. Pues no es nada cuando viene esa gorda cachonda con el mantón de Manila colgando de un hombro como si fuera el capote de paseo, con un lunar pintado en la mejilla y un gran escote, en que se marca el comienzo de sus pechos, acompañada de su anciana madre, y como estamos muy apretados, casi se sienta encima de nuestras rodillas.

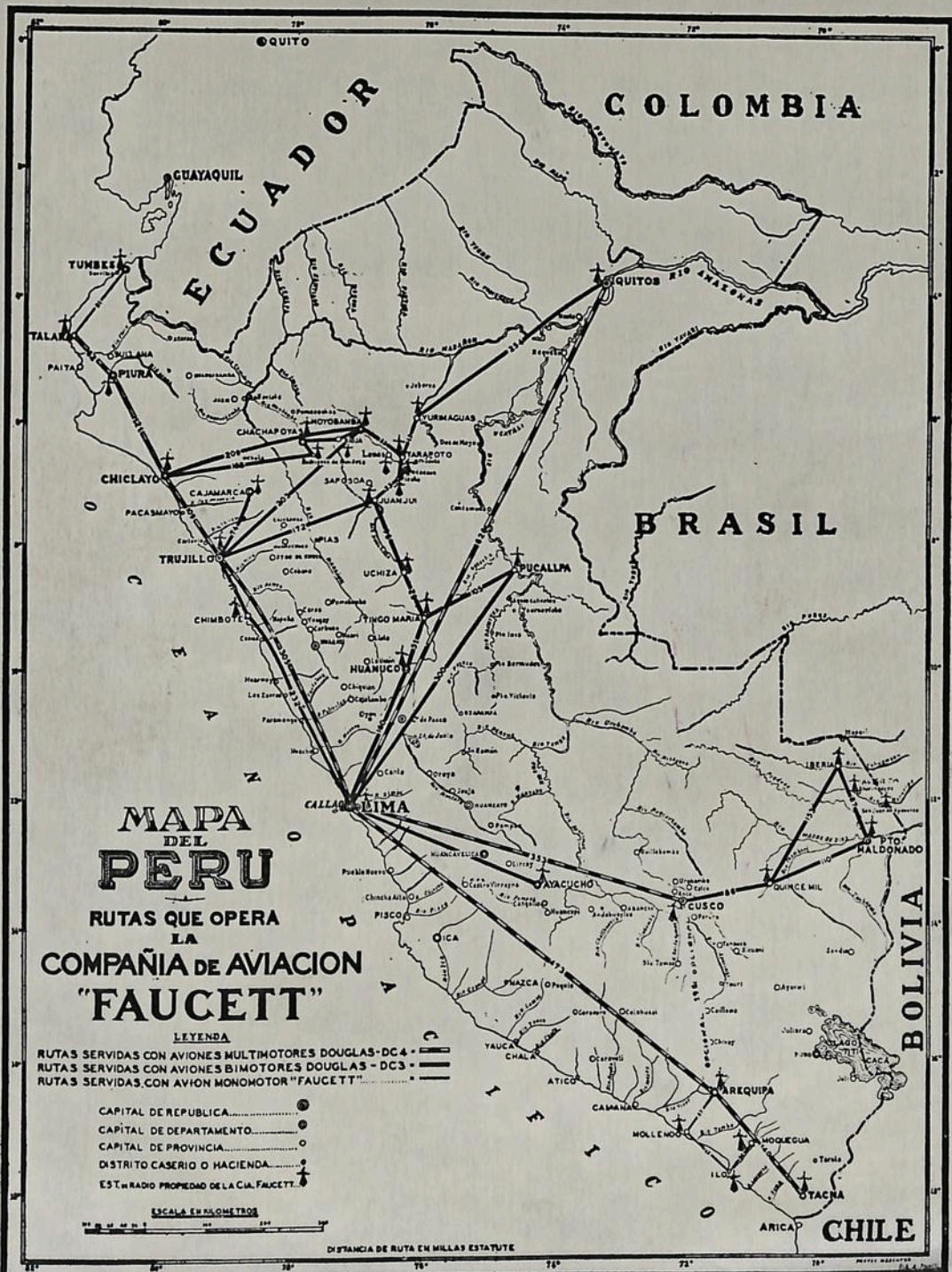
La corrida es dura; los toros se revuelven inquietos, deseando coger; los picadores y los toreros se enardecen con el sol y con tantas mujeres guapas, a las que han tirado sus capotes para que adornen el antepecho. Ellos no temen a las cornadas y se juegan la vida.

¡Cómo abren los ojos y disfrutan las mujeres cuando el toro, después de cornear al caballo, le lleva contra el estribo de la barrera y da un gran porrazo contra ella el caballo y el picador, con un chasquido de la pica rota en varios cachos! El caballo queda arrodillado, con las tripas fuera, y los monos sabios sacan de debajo al picador, que llevan como un talego a la enfermería. Sale luego otro picador, montado en un caballo muy bajo, como un burro. En él parece un gigante. Lleva este picador un traje muy viejo, y se le cae la faja. Su cabeza es muy redonda y dura, de frente saliente. Es el héroe de la tarde, y se lleva las ovaciones del público de sol, pues cuantos más porrazos se gana, más bruto se siente. Le tiran muchas botas y cuernos de vino para que beba. Tiene toda la cara y las vendas que le han puesto en la frente llenas de sangre.

En el último toro queda sólo un matador, pues los otros están en la enfermería. Después de brindar a unas mujeres que están en barreras con trajes colorados y rosas y mantillas blancas con muchos claveles, se encuentra frente a frente con un toro de mucho poder que ha matado a muchos caballos. Le trastea muy cerca, resistiendo los hachazos que le tira el toro. Se masca el peligro de la faena, basta, dura y de gran vigor, siempre presentando el pecho y pisando fuerte cada paso, con ruido de los alamares del traje. Al fin clava una estocada hasta la empuñadura, saliendo limpio por el costillar, con la mano en alto, llena de sangre, que enseña al público, mientras el toro rueda como una pelota. La gente baja al redondel y le saca en hombros hasta el coche.

Cuando salimos de la plaza están cargando en unos carros los caballos muertos, y al dejar el circo taurino, ya a lo lejos, vemos su belleza en aquella llanura. Encima se agolpan las nubes. Pensamos en los caballos, peludos y pequeños como borricos, que comen su pienso esperando su sacrificio en la última corrida de la feria.

La plaza del pueblo está muy concurrida; los músicos tocan en el tablado; se ponen las mozas a bailar alrededor del organillo y forman un conjunto de vivos colores sus blusas tan detonantes. Las mujeres que siguen con mantillas han cambiado de traje y han perdido algo de su encanto; se sientan en la pastelería del pueblo, y al acabarse los toros, firán a la novena y harán su vida sedentaria y prosaica.



PRELIMINARY NOTE

THE PERU EARTHQUAKE OF MAY 31 1970*

By C. LOMNITZ

An earthquake of Richter magnitude 7.75 occurred off the coast of North-Central Peru at 20:23:27 GCT (3:23 p.m. local time), on May 31 1970. The earthquake caused an estimated 54,000 dead and 150,000 wounded, according to the latest official estimate (June 25 1970). Property damage is difficult to assess, although figures of the order of magnitude of the national budget of Peru have been mentioned.

The preferred initial epicenter determination by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey gave 9.20°S, 78.81°W and a depth of 43 km. This is approximately 160 km north-west of the earthquake of October 17 1966 of magnitude 7.5.

MECHANISM OF THE EARTHQUAKE

A preliminary study shows that the main shock was recorded as a dilatation on all stations on the continent side of the epicenter out to a distance of 45°. First motions on the ocean side are not available at this early date.

The initial recorded motion of P was small, corresponding to an apparent body-wave magnitude of 5.5 to 6. The next recorded phase was very large, and its polarity was reversed with respect to the initial motion. The time lag of the second phase varied between 3 sec (Huancayo, La Paz) to 10 sec (Bogotá, Trinidad). It was particularly well recorded on the long-period instruments.

After carefully considering the possibility of a multiple shock (records at Bogotá appear to show successive arrivals at 3, 7, and 10 sec), it was finally decided that the large signal recorded on long-period instruments corresponds to the phase pP , reflected at the Earth's surface near the epicenter.

The earthquake was caused by the oceanic plate underthrusting the continent, at a moderate angle. This is consistent with an initial dilatation observed at near and moderate distances on the continent side. The phase reversal of pP is due to its originating in the compressional quadrant.

The observed lag of $pP - P$ leads to an estimate of about 20 km for the focal depth.

GEODETIC DISPLACEMENTS, TSUNAMI

As the magnitude of the earthquake was definitely below 8, no large-scale geodetic changes were expected. Observations along the Chimbote-Casma coast were difficult because landmarks and reference points were located on sediments. Extensive slumping and settlement occurred in these sediments as a result of the earthquake.

No evidence of coastal uplift or subsidence has been reported to, or observed by, members of the UNESCO Mission.

About 12 min after the beginning of the earthquake, the tide gage at Chimbote recorded a disturbance which began as a rapid 1-ft rise in the water level (possibly due to swell), followed by a typical tsunami. The initial downward motion of the sea level was of the order of 1 ft and the total peak-to-trough amplitude of the tsunami did not exceed 3 ft. No flooding occurred because the peak of the tsunami remained below the high-tide level at all times.

The tsunami was also recorded on the tide gage at Callao (La Punta), with a total amplitude of about 1 ft. The signal arrived roughly 1 to 1½ hr after the earthquake, but its beginning was obscured by noise. No tsunami was observed at the stations at Talara, San Juan, and Matarani.

AFTERSHOCKS

Close location of some of the aftershocks was made possible by the establishment of temporary stations at Casma, Chimbote, Trujillo, Huaraz, and Santiago de Chile.

Preliminary location of the aftershock region was off the coast in the vicinity of the epicenter. A careful analysis of the Huaraz records shows that the aftershock epicenters did not extend

* Part of an initial field report of the UNESCO Emergency Mission.

inland under the Santa Valley. One or two tiny local shocks were recorded; they were attributed to local seismicity as there was no evidence of continuity with the offshore active region. This is interpreted as evidence that the seismic disturbance was wholly confined to the continental shelf.

INTENSITY

From personal observation I would judge that Mercalli intensities of VIII were reached in river sediments and bay muds between latitudes 8° to 11° S along the coast. Intensity IX was reached in low-lying unconsolidated sediments between Casma and Chimbote where the water table came within inches of the surface.

A series of low brick walls built at the César Vallejo School (Figure 1) in Casma were left standing. These identical structures were built to provide seating space for the school's ball court. They have been overturned by rocking and pushing with one hand. A maximum lateral

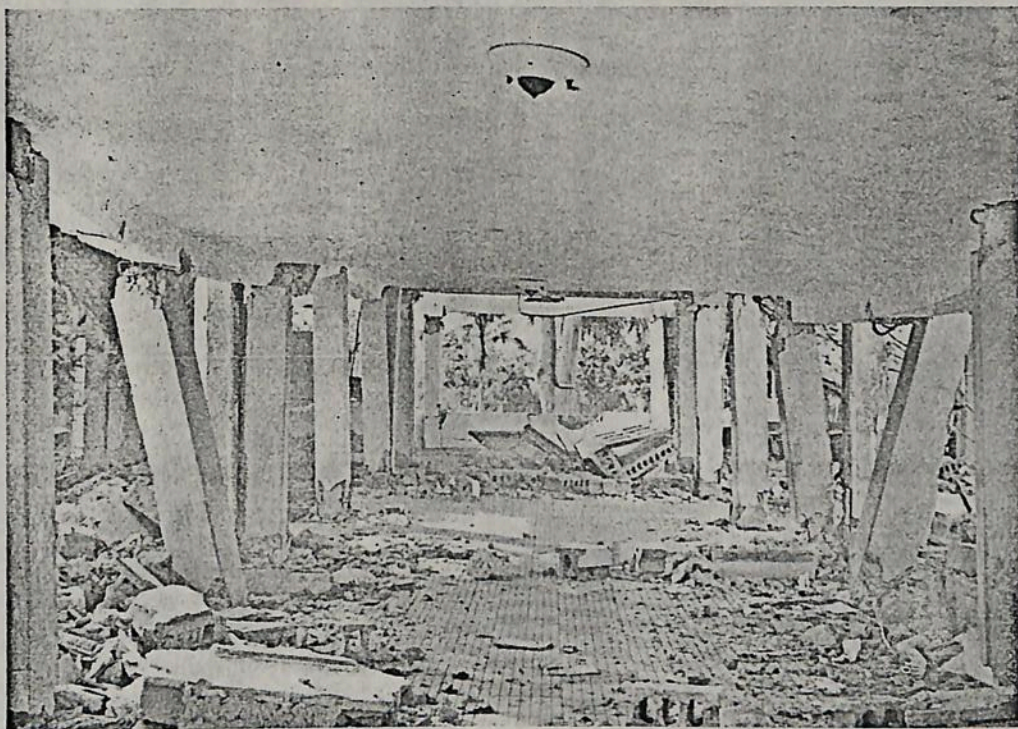


Fig. 1. Casma. Cesar Vallejo School. Concrete walk with poor longitudinal rigidity, defective joints at roof level.

force of 0.25 g at the center of gravity should have sufficed to overturn these walls. This provides an upper bound, which agrees with the estimate of intensity VIII at this location.

Evidence of important vertical accelerations in the Casma-Chimbote area has been obtained. In the Los Pinos residential housing development the ceramic lid from a flush-toilet tank was thrown off. The heavy lid was kept in place by a $\frac{1}{2}$ -in tongue, and instantaneous peak accelerations in excess of 1.0 g may have been necessary to dislodge it from the rim of the tank.

Felt reports in this area agree in describing the *P* portion of the earthquake as predominantly vertical. "The Earth was bobbing up and down," "The motion was springy," "Running was quaint because the ground motion seemed to help," are some of the reactions. The beginning of the *S* motion was clearly felt as a large horizontal motion. A hotel waiter who had never seen a seismogram drew an instructive diagram. He also noted that the *S* motion was predominantly *N-S* at Chimbote (Figure 2), and that buildings began to collapse at the beginning of the *S* phase, and not before. Duration was in excess of 1 min.

In the Santa Valley the general intensity was about VII. Vertical motion was less pronounced. There were some reports of at least three distinct *P* phases, the third being the strongest. Spotty

zones of intensity VIII were observed in the valley, but the correlation with soil conditions seemed less than clear. Structural damage in buildings other than adobe was not apparent, and many one- and two-story adobe buildings appeared to be essentially undamaged. Many tile roofs seemed undisturbed. Many adobe fences were standing. Cracking in the lower alluvial terraces was minor. Large-scale destruction was confined to very old towns, such as Huaraz, and did not extend to the more recent outskirts, of the same towns.

Many small rock slides were observed in near-vertical slopes of the Cordillera Negra, but many more unstable slopes were still standing. There was surprisingly little large-scale slumping along the edges of river terraces.

SECONDARY EFFECTS: THE RANRAHIRCA MUD FLOW

A mud avalanche came down the Ranrahirca Valley at great speed and buried the towns of Yungay and Ranrahirca, on the Santa River confluence. The initiation of the avalanche was witnessed by Japanese mountaineer Kiichi Takahashi, who was camped opposite the north peak

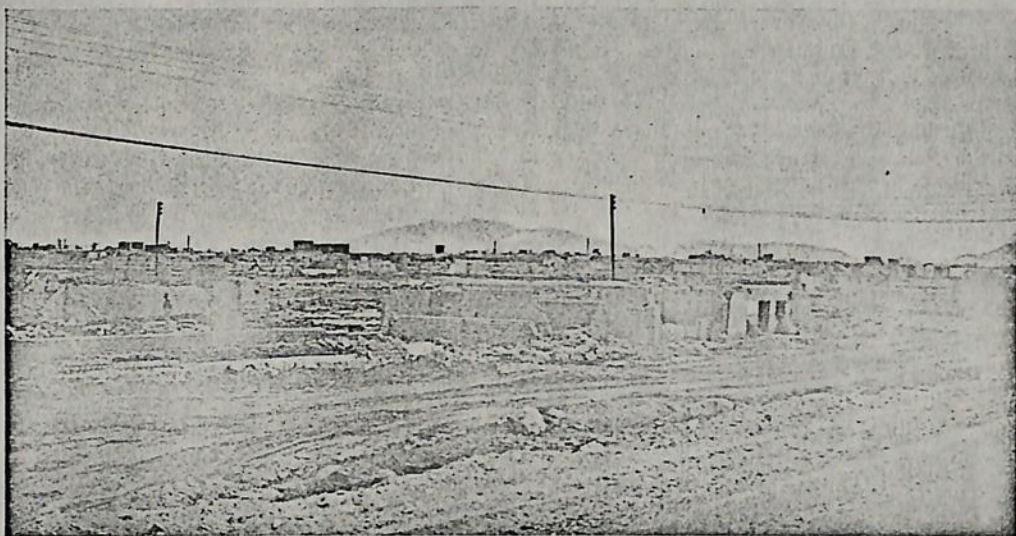


FIG. 2. Chimbote. Near-total damage in medium adobe construction. Note telephone poles are standing.

of Mt. Huascarán (altitude 6654 m). According to his description, a rim of ice about $20 \times 30 \times 500$ m broke off of the edge of a cliff located about 700 m west of the peak. This mass of ice fell about 1000 m down the cliff directly on top of Glacier 511, thus initiating the avalanche.

By the time the mud flow reached the Santa Valley it had gathered enough velocity to spill over a ridge which separates the upper Yungay terrace from the Ranrahirca Valley. The mud level on the left bank of Ranrahirca is lower than this ridge, thus showing that the mud flow which buried the town of Yungay was an overflow due to dynamic shoshing over the natural spillway shown in the figure.

After blanketing Yungay and Ranrahirca, the mud flow spilled into the Santa River and raced down the valley covering both banks to an elevation of up to 200 ft above the river level. By this time the speed of the mud decreased to the point where tall trees at the edge of the flow were left standing. The avalanche flowed at least 25 km downstream, far past the town of Caraz, before it could be contained by the river channel. The "water wave" in the Santa River reported by some observers, was actually the Ranrahirca mud flow coming down the Santa Valley.

The energy of the avalanche was high enough to float rocks weighing several hundred tons over the Yungay ridge and into the town of Yungay.

SECONDARY EFFECTS: GRAVITY WAVES

Cracking and slumping, as well as the extrusion of ground water in the Chimbote and Santa Valley sedimentary basins, may be attributed to high-strain surface effects of gravity waves.

Torsional deformation of the ground, which initiated failure in elongated buildings such as the César Vallejo School at Casma and other schools and hospitals in the coastal region, were probably caused by gravity waves. Brittle building materials, such as adobe bricks or cement blocks, are particularly sensitive to high-amplitude, short wavelength deformation of the ground.

Near-total destruction of buildings in certain linear or spotty sections of a sedimentary basin may be attributed to nodes or caustics formed by interaction of several modes of eigenvibrations of the basin. Such effects are often attributed to special soil conditions, on insufficient evidence.

The study of eigenvibrations of sedimentary basins may be approached from the theoretical and experimental angle at once. It represents the most promising field of research toward understanding the causes of earthquake damage in sediments, such as were observed in the Chimbote Basin and in the Valley of the Santa River.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Study of environmental risks (earthquake risk, landslide risk) for all major cities and towns in Peru.
2. Encouragement of research on eigenvibrations in sedimentary basins of Peru.
3. A unified building code for Latin America, to contain specific provisions for adobe construction.
4. Continued support of CERESIS, the Regional Center for Seismology in South America.

The above recommendations might best be implemented by an inter-American insurance corporation to be chartered by the governments of member states, for the purpose of providing protection against natural disasters. The need for such insurance has long been evident, and not only in Latin America.

Demographic pressures and the trend toward rural-to-urban migration magnify the earthquake risk in developing countries. Largescale disasters such as the Peru earthquake must be expected with increasing frequency, unless effective long-range measures are taken now.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Enrique Gajardo, Associate Director of CERESIS, for helpful discussions, assistance, and advice. The generous cooperation of the Corporación Peruana del Santa and of the Air Force of Peru, in making their facilities available in the earthquake area, is gratefully acknowledged. The Geophysical Institute of Peru, and its Director, Alberto A. Giesecke, provided support and coordination to all members of the UNESCO Mission.

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**A Report to the American Academic Community
on the
Present Argentine University Situation**

Austin, Texas

1967

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impaired the dignity and effectiveness of Indian universities.

To turn to a discussion of autonomy, this concept, which has institutionalized the existence of one society inside another, encourages the members of the *campus* to sustain sharply different norms of behavior than the general community. No matter what happens within university precincts it remains an autonomous jurisdiction, which neither the national nor local police can enter without conforming to very difficult legally established procedures. Inside the campus, students live quite differently from the way of life in the community where the university is located.

These privileges inherent in autonomy are used quite consciously by the radical political parties, which can protest against the government, distribute propaganda, collect money, and engage in other oppositional activities without worrying about the police. As in Czarist Russia, non-student political leaders can find a place on campus to hide themselves from the authorities in special situations. Autonomy has also helped produce the phenomenon of the "part-time" political activist. Some of the same students who are very eager to protest against society inside the campus, often behave differently outside it. They will join demonstrations inside the campus which they would not support in the larger society where they will be exposed to the dangers of repressive police action.

If autonomy contributes to the politicization of the campus, the institution of co-government increases the chances that student political activity will endanger academic freedom. Cogobierno means that the students share directly in the government of the university, that they have a voice in the different bodies that have power inside the university, especially at the level of the Consejos de Facultad (Faculty Council), where university decisions are made. It has given them substantial power on matters of academic policy and personnel. This student power has often been used for political purposes; their involvement in academic decision-making has often resulted in considerable corruption

and a high degree of factionalism. Corruption means misuse. In the case of students, corruption derives directly from the power that university students have to participate in the government of the university. There are many examples of such corruption, enough to suggest the existence of a pattern in the universities of the continent. In one case (I am not in a position to name the university in question) the student members of a special body which awarded scholarships did so only to those students who agreed to "kick back" part of the scholarship stipend to the student political leaders, whether for personal or political use, one will never know. In another case, a researcher appointed five assistants, but in fact hired only two. The salaries for the other three went to students who served on the university committee which had given funds to this researcher.

Even more important are the occurrences in which professors have been nominated for catedras after they agreed to give back part of their salaries to student leaders. As *The Economist* has pointed out in a recent discussion of Peruvian universities, the "power granted to students has led to a system of bribery, both with money and with high marks, by faculty members. I am now correcting exam papers," said one Cuzco professor, 'and at least half of these poor bastards deserve to fail. They don't know anything and they don't come to class. But if I failed them they would fire me. Believe me, I take a great risk in flunking 10 percent of my students, which few other professors would dare to do.'"⁵ These provide vivid examples of the perils to development of competent scholarship and academic freedom which, involving students directly in the process of choosing faculty, have created for various Latin American universities.

Many Latin American professors will privately acknowledge having to say and publish things that they do not believe, including favorable citations to leftist authorities, in order to win or retain the support of the student activists. To publicly approve of North American scholarship opens one to the charges of being a lackey of

Yankee power, an agent of cultural imperialism. And to be viewed in this light may affect one's chances to attain or keep a position, or more commonly to retain the good-will of the academic community, particularly of the students.

Of course, if we consider the lack of scholarly competence and particularly of objectivity of many Latin American professors, it may be argued that the faculty inhibit efforts to sustain academic freedom by their inadequacy as scholars and teachers.

In much of Latin America competent faculty simply do not exist yet. Being a professor is often an honorific post which men seek not for the sake of the small honorarium, but to enhance their general social prestige and opportunities in the professions or politics. Most faculty do not devote themselves to full-time activity at the university. The part-time professor who earns most of his income in a totally non-academic occupation is still the standard. Some would like to become full time academics, but too many, particularly in the social sciences, prefer to keep the professoriate as an honorific position, which enable them to advance themselves in professional or political life.

It should also be noted that the distinction between teaching and indoctrination which, as Max Weber noted, must always be in the consciousness of university professors, does not exist in much of Latin America. Teaching *is* indoctrination in many cases. Most professors, particularly in social sciences, feel obliged to take a strong stand on many unverifiable aspects of knowledge. Thus the continued presence of incompetent scholars and highly subjective teachers constitutes one of the principal impediments for the emergence of academic freedom in Latin America.

The inadequacies of many Latin American universities and faculty would seem to sustain the arguments of the student activists in the University Reform Movement who insist that student involvement in university government is necessary to improve the university, to press the faculty and administration to improve in their scholarly

and teaching functions. Unfortunately, however, in spite of their ideology of modernization, the organized student groups contribute to these failings by objecting to efforts to increase the standards of work required to remain in school. Student activists have resisted efforts to raise standards using the argument that higher examination standards would discriminate against students from economically impoverished backgrounds who often must work full time to attend university.

While this argument has some validity, the best way to deal with the problem would clearly be through fellowships and bursaries. Easy examinations which may be taken at the examinee's discretion as often as he desires simply undermine the efficacy of the Latin American universities as educational institutions. And students who seek an easy path for themselves can not complain in good conscience about similar behavior by the faculty.

Finally, let us turn to an examination of the role of the intellectuals in Latin America as it affects academic freedom. The imprecise and ambiguous character of the term intellectual has been frequently discussed in the United States. The concept is even more confused in Latin America, where it has some negative connotations, in part because of the old relation between *doctor* (intellectual) and *general* (dictator). Doctors and military men belong to the intellectual community in the sense that both have a "capacity for detachment from immediate experience, a moving beyond the pragmatic task of the moment, a commitment to comprehensive values transcending professional or occupational involvement."⁶

Intellectuals in Latin America conform to Shils' definition, which argues that in underdeveloped countries intellectuals are all persons with an advanced modern education and the intellectual concerns and skills ordinarily associated with it.⁷ In Latin America, intellectuals do not have an engaged attitude to the university, that is, they do not feel themselves part of the extended university community, as is true in other parts of the world. Rather they are

more likely to identify with their social class, political party, religious affiliation, or other membership group.

This lack of identification with the university means that non-academic intellectuals do not see freedom inside the academy as something that they should fight for. They worry about political freedom, but not about academic freedom. Academic freedom is not institutionalized inside the universities, and non-academic intellectuals are rarely concerned about the lack of academic freedom. Like other contending socio-political forces they want the university to support them, not to be "free."

Another factor affecting the content of university activities in Latin America is the parochialism of intellectual life. There is a considerable cultural lag between Latin American intellectuals and those of the rest of the world. As noted earlier, they are culturally dependent on the developed countries. In Latin American capital cities this dependence is reflected in the fairly adequate knowledge of what is going on in Paris or in New York, complemented by an equal ignorance of intellectual life in neighboring Latin American countries. Latin American intellectuals have little interest or respect for the work of their compeers in other parts of the area.

In Latin America one must look to the university as the only institutionalized agency of intellectual life. There, as elsewhere, as Coser points out, "the university remains today and is likely to remain in the future the major locale for intellect."⁸ On the other hand Coser's statement about the United States that "although the university is theoretically the ideal environment for the intellectual, its institutionalized practices too often operate in such a way that the intellectual vocation within the academy is fraught with perils,"⁹ is much more valid for Latin America than for the United States.

The restrictive aspects of academic life can not be dealt with in any further detail here, but it should be noted that social science research in particular is very inhibited, that objective research in sensitive areas such as politics, religion and sex is im-

possible in many countries. But as we have seen, the culprits are not solely the supporters of the political, social, and religious establishments; they also include leftist politicized intellectuals and student political activists.

In conclusion I would reiterate that discussion of the relationship of academic freedom, higher education and the process of modernization in Latin American society lacks any substantial empirical underpinning. Research on the effects of co-government, autonomy, and other factors on academic freedom is just beginning to be done. It is, however, evident that though the university in Latin America must undergo substantial reforms, the principles of Reform which emerged in Cordoba almost fifty-years ago are no longer as progressive as they seemed then. The concept of university autonomy has become an illusion, a medieval concept applied to a modern or, more accurately, modernizing society. The same thing is true for the idea of university co-government.

These ideas, of course, have a remarkably democratic sound, the notion that students hand-in-hand with their professors should try to make the best possible use of the university without external interference can hardly be disputed. In practice, however, they have not led to the improvement of the academy. It cannot be repeated too often that the politically active students are not interested in improving education through establishing academic freedom, but rather in finding political allies.

Academic freedom in Latin America is still not institutionalized. The idea of searching for truth regardless of where it may lead has been an ideal far removed from the facts of university life in Latin America. Academic freedom must still be fought for on an individual basis. The time must come when the intellectual community in Latin America will decide to unite throughout the continent in support of academic freedom. But this struggle must await the emergence of the social conditions which sustain democratic freedoms, the acceptance of the value of opposition beliefs in

the polity generally. This, unfortunately, has not happened in most of Latin America as yet.

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Being a fair-minded man, I begin this piece by admitting that I may have some slight prejudice against students. This is stronger on the negative than on the positive side. It is not that I dislike students as such; it is more that, unlike so many people, remembering their youth, I don't regard student antics through a nostalgic haze. True, I was a student myself once, but then by the time I went up to Cambridge, in the Michaelmas Term of 1919, I was a man not an overgrown boy, already in my twenty-sixth year and a battered old soldier. I wanted to get on with my life and not clown around with lads newly released from school and given their first chequebooks.

I didn't see then—and have never seen since—why young men in universities, turning themselves into mischievous and sometimes dangerous mobs, should be treated indulgently, as if they were quite different from mobs of garage hands, apprentice fitters, bus-drivers. Indeed, there is a case for more severity. Students are not supposed to be ignorant and stupid. If they are, then they should be sent home and not receive higher education at public expense. They are wasting not only their own but also other people's time, energy and money. There must be countries now in which peasants are going without substantial meals and some decent clothes so that a lot of lads can spend several years in universities. Such lads should begin to develop a sense of responsibility. They should be the last and not the first to create howling destructive mobs. They should be reading books, not burning them.

J. B. PRIESTLEY, "Student Mobs," *New Statesman*, November 26,

STUDENTS AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND HIGHER EDUCATION
IN LATIN AMERICA

ORLANDO ALBORNOZ

The issue of academic freedom has received substantial attention in the United States in recent years. There seems to be a fairly general agreement among scholars, with substantial public concurrence, that academic freedom is a necessary part of higher education. Academic freedom also has as important a role in the developing nations although it has been a good deal less secure in these nations than in many of the industrially advanced countries.

It can be argued that the quality of university life is even more important in the developing areas than in the advanced nations because of its crucial role in modernization and in technical training. Because academic freedom is a key element in determining the tone of academic life and is generally agreed to be an important component of scholarly research, it is a vital issue in any consideration of higher education and the progress of democracy in the developing nations.

Latin America offers a particularly interesting example of the relationship of academic freedom to the emergence of an adequate system of higher education because of its combination of economic and social traditionalism and a strong background of Western higher education. In this article, I want to consider some aspects of academic freedom in this area as they affect the prospects for modernization in the Latin American nations. The ideas discussed here are largely a set of observations which hopefully will be elaborated by some of the empirical research concerning education at all levels which is now under way in Latin America.¹

Initially it should be stated that it is impossible to have complete academic freedom without freedom for the rest of so-

ciety. As Polanyi has argued, "Academic freedom is never an isolated phenomenon. It can only exist in a free society; for the principles underlying it are the same on which the most essential liberties of society as a whole are founded."² Meaningful academic freedom, therefore, has been a rare phenomenon in Latin America, since freedom in this part of the world continues to be a hazardous enterprise. Dictatorship has been a recurrent part of its political life; and whenever a dictator has been in power, academic freedom has been severely limited.

Despite the undoubted relationship between academic freedom and the broader political situation in a nation, it is nevertheless also true that the universities in Latin America, as in other countries, have often retained a considerable degree of freedom even in the face of authoritarian regimes. The fact that the universities are sometimes the last stronghold of political discussion under dictatorial regimes increases their importance. Thus, while the university must in the last analysis keep in step with trends in the broader society, it has shown a good deal of independence.

Before entering into a discussion of the different aspects of academic freedom in Latin America, I should note that similar problems arise in North American society. In the United States academic freedom has frequently been an issue. Periods of drastic social change, the different crises in American society, particularly situations in which the country has been at war, or periods of economic tension have led to conflicts over the meaning of academic freedom.

In the past half century the principles of academic freedom have frequently been

threatened, particularly when linked to the issue of communism. Many in high places have taken the position, expressed by a president of the University of Washington, that "a member of the Communist Party should not be permitted to teach in an American college because he is not a free man."

During the 19th century, the doctrine of evolution as contained in the work of Darwin and Spencer provided a topic for controversy. Many issues were fought concerning the rights of evolutionists. There is, however, a radical difference between the issues. During the debates about evolution, the academic freedom fights revolved around individual cases, with *individuals* defending their right to teach a point of view which was different from the prevalent beliefs of the time. Today *organizations*, such as the American Association of University Professors, the American Federation of Teachers, or the American Civil Liberties Union, lead the fight, identifying each case as part of an effort to establish or preserve general principles. Concern for academic freedom has become an institutionalized part of the intellectual life of American society. Organizations are available to defend the rights of particular individuals.

In Latin America, the situation remains more in the preorganization stage. Cases are still fought on an individual basis. Intellectuals offer a united front only in cases of "national emergency" such as in Brazil today. In every country there is an organization of university professors, but as in the case of other Latin American professional bodies, it is concerned primarily with financial problems, and not with academic standards or freedom.

Although Latin America contains the oldest universities in the Americas, it is unfortunately true that few institutions of higher education in these nations are currently important centers of significant scholarship. Most of these universities have been concerned largely with the diffusion of knowledge imported from Europe or the United States. They are "second-hand" institutions, teaching, but not creating know-

edge. In this situation of intellectual dependence, it is impossible to raise the question of freedom of knowledge, of academic freedom in the true sense. Questions about freedom to innovate begin to arise only when genuine independent research exists, when intellectual activity results in divergent points of view.

To see in detail the current problems of academic freedom in Latin America I propose to discuss the different ingredients of the situation—the universities, the students, the professors, and the intellectuals.

The universities are, generally speaking, primary instruments in the process of social change, since they train the future elites of the country in scientific, humanistic and professional areas. To accomplish this task, universities are obliged to seek to further the universalistic objective of finding truth, as S. M. Lipset has pointed out in his much-quoted article on "University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries."³

The need for academic freedom requires that the university give institutional backing to professors against the particularistic tendencies which in every country seek to prevent innovation and change. The struggle for academic freedom in Latin America may be seen as an aspect of the struggle between those who are concerned with universalistic values, with the need for modernization and social change, and those who try to prevent such changes, who want to preserve the traditional establishment.

Such issues take on varying aspects in public and Catholic universities. There are many variations between the two. The main difference concerning academic freedom is that the latter tend to have internal consensus about basic values and ways of finding truth, which the former lack. In the Catholic universities, truth is generally established by principle, without any possibility of discussion. Truth in this case has a dogmatic basis. In the state universities, the situation is quite different. Hence, the political issue of academic freedom in Latin America, almost by definition, is a problem of the state universities. Few of the problems discussed

in this article in connection with professors, students, and other intellectuals, have arisen in the Catholic universities. Notice should also be taken of the growing number of non-Catholic private universities on the continent. Most of these, however, are largely professional institutions, devoted primarily to preparing technicians. They are quite important, however, since it will probably be in institutions of this type in which the most important independent and free research will be done in the future.

Catholic and state universities may also be distinguished by the fact that the former tend to support traditional values, while the state universities often foster criticism of the established order. In this sense, the latter are instruments of change. The scholarly weaknesses of the state universities, which have been partly a consequence of political instability and intra-university political conflict, have created support for the private secular universities and research institutes. Those interested in a fruitful intellectual life increasingly find it advantageous to participate in the private institutions as a way of escaping the political tensions involved in working in a state university. These give the scholar and teacher more academic freedom, precisely because they are less involved in politics and religion. Many concerned with freeing Latin American scholars from non-academic pressures, whether those of the politicians, the church, or the student groups, have furthered the growth of secular private universities, and of independent non-profit academic research institutions. These may eventually provide the needed "demonstration effect" in the area of academic freedom for both state and Catholic universities.

Limitations on academic freedom in the public universities are to a considerable degree related to the role of students in politics. The politically active students in the universities in much of Latin America can and often do intimidate their professors. The political parties look on the campus as a major arena for political activities. The continued strength of political activities

within the universities is, in turn, related to two elements: co-government (students' participation in the administration of the university), and the inviolability of the campus inherent in the concept of autonomy.

It is important to note that these two of most important of the Cordoba reforms—co-government and the inviolability of the campus—have had an adverse effect on the progress of academic freedom in that they have greatly increased the politicization of the Latin American state university. Political parties, as well as politically motivated student groups, have been encouraged to use the university campus both as a recruiting ground and as a headquarters for demonstrations and activities. This increased politicization has resulted in the university becoming one of the main centers of political opposition and extremist agitation in many Latin American nations and has made many governments reluctant to permit so powerful a source of potential dissent to remain free of governmental control.

Compared to students in North America and most of Europe, those of Latin America maintain a constant and very active political life, although it should be noted that the active are relatively few, to use in an inverse way the title of the article on this subject by Dillon Soares.⁴ Student political activity, of course, has many positive aspects. It helps to train many of the future political leaders, contributes to the political socialization of others who will be part of the non-political elite, and provides a forum for various opinions on controversial social issues.

In some countries the sole effective criticism of the reactionary oligarchies or of the military cliques comes from the students who are the only ones who are willing to speak up. On the negative side, however, it remains true that the political activity of students has been a primary threat to academic freedom in those Latin American countries which are politically democratic. It has resulted in a situation somewhat similar to that in India, where the widespread student indiscipline has helped to demoralize the teaching staff, and has

and the university reform movement suggest that the tradition of student participation in university government during colonial times is an important precedent for the claims made by the university reform movement in the twentieth century. However, it should be noted that at the University of San Marcos in Peru, students did not participate in the election of rector. Students were under the direct disciplinary control of the rector, who had the authority to mete out severe punishment for acts committed by students within or outside the university environs. The students' most important decision-making role appears to have been that of voting for contestants to university chairs.³ This latter privilege was eventually withdrawn, due to the tendency of professors to "... succumb to the temptation to popularize and cater to the student's plebeian tastes. . . ."⁴ Thus the precedent for student participation in university government is perhaps more appropriately referred to the University of Bologna, where students originally had the sole power to employ and dismiss professors.

The university was established and maintained primarily for the education of select members of the elite, and was slow to respond to intellectual and scientific currents from Europe and North America, to broaden its educational content to provide a wider and more practical content to meet the needs of new professions, or to conduct research directed to the economic and social problems of Latin American societies.⁵

Development of the University Reform Movement in Argentina

Argentina provides the setting for the first and most significant effort at university reform in Latin America. While the origin of the University Reform is generally given as 1918, the date of the famous Córdoba Manifesto, its antecedents were some years earlier. As early as 1871, law students at the University of Buenos Aires mounted a university reform movement which had some effect on the structure of that university, and students of law and medicine at Buenos Aires were active in a reform movement

from 1903 to 1906. In 1908 the University Federation of Buenos Aires was founded, and in the same year the first Congress of American Students was held, where the principle of student representation in university directive councils was proclaimed "by acclamation."

The First International Congress of American Students accepts as an aspiration, which should be put into practice as soon as possible, the representation of students in the directive councils of university education, by means of delegates, named directly by them and renewed as frequently as possible.⁶

This principle was proclaimed subsequently in the second and third Congresses of this body, in 1910 and 1912, and in 1916 the University Federation of Buenos Aires sought unsuccessfully to obtain student representation in the superior council of the university.⁷

In 1918, at the University of Córdoba, what appears to have been the first large-scale attack by a Latin American student body against the university system took place. A student strike was declared, the university was closed by the Superior Council of the University, and the Radical party government of President Hipólito Irigoyen intervened, resulting in the institutionalization of several university reform demands as university law. The principal reforms enacted were the following: attendance at university to be free and conditional only on successful completion of secondary school studies; students, professors and graduates to be represented on the governing councils of the university and of the faculty; the rector and deans of faculties to be ex officio members of the superior council of the university, and to be elected, the deans by majority vote of faculty councils, and the rector by the university assembly, composed of equal representation of students, faculty, and graduates; and professors to be free to teach and students free to attend classes, without compulsion or restriction. Additional reforms were also enacted, including provision of university extension courses for the public, regulations concerning examinations, and the periodic-

Why the Córdoba Revolt?

(A) the Problem

ity of the "catedra" or chair, by which professors are subject to appointment or reappointment every six years, by election within the faculty directive councils, decided by a two-thirds vote of delegates.⁸ These reforms were not enacted all at once, nor did they remain in force continually in Argentine universities from their inception, since there have been several counterreforms, in 1923, 1929-30, 1943 and 1946, involving in some cases military occupation of the universities and the enactment of presidential decrees abrogating university statutes which embodied university reform principles.⁹

The causes and consequences of the University Reform movement as these bear on a comparative analysis of the student political context in Colombia and Argentina are of major concern, since the relative success or failure of the movement has determined the character and shaped the context of contemporary student politics. It appears that the major impetus for the movement was a reaction against the archaic and oligarchic structure of the university, characterized by nepotism, an emphasis on formalism in lectures and an absence of practical training, and the domination of the university by a self-perpetuating governing council with little concern for the interests of students or lower status professors or for the cultural needs of the nation, and with little or no support of original research, development of new fields of study or new methods of teaching.¹⁰ The following passage from the "Córdoba Manifesto" of 1918 presents a perhaps exaggerated image of the old university, but expresses its ideological definition by reformist students.

Up to now the universities have been the secular refuge of mediocrities, have provided a salary for the ignorant and a safe hospital for invalids, and what is worse, have provided a place where all forms of tyranny and insensitivity could be taught. The universities have thus come to be faithful reflections of a decadent society, offering a sad spectacle of immobile senility. Before these closed and silent houses, wisdom passes silently or enters distorted and grotesque into the service of butte reactivity.¹¹

Such conditions were probably widespread in Latin American universities, despite considerable cultural diversity among Latin American nations. A typical indictment of Latin American universities up to recent times emphasizes the discrepancy between the needs brought about by major social change, and the inadequate response of the universities, which continue to prepare professionals for only a limited number of fields, and to emphasize a metaphysical, speculative approach to knowledge, rather than an experimental, pragmatic one concerned with social realities.¹²

Considering the apparently widespread decadence of the university in nineteenth century Latin America, one may ask why the reform movement developed first and with such intensity in Argentina rather than elsewhere. An adequate answer to this question would require a comparative analysis of the situation in all of the Latin American nations during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. A partial answer, however, may be provided by a close look at the development of the movement in Argentina, from the perspective of the theory of collective behavior of Neil Smelser.¹³ The advantage of this theoretical approach is that it provides categories for analysis in terms of the major components of social action, permitting the specification of the presence or absence of conditions which appear to be crucial for the character and outcome of collective behavioral phenomena. These conditions are defined in sufficiently abstract terms to permit the analysis of different social movements in varying social contexts, and avoids the difficulties for comparative analysis inherent in the natural history approach to collective behavior. The theory provides a set of determinants which, Smelser asserts, must be present for collective behavior to occur, and specifies the consequences of variations in the character of these determinants for the type of collective behavior which ensues. Two types of social movements are defined, among other types of collective behavior. These are the "norm-oriented" and the "value-oriented" move-

ments. The first is defined as "... an attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of a generalized belief,"¹⁴ the second as "... a collective attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create values in the name of a generalized belief."¹⁵ While the University Reform movement had some overtones of a value-oriented movement, in its nationalist emphasis on moral and social regeneration, its major focus was on alteration of the norms governing institutions of higher education in Argentina, and later throughout Latin America. Thus the determinants of collective behavior in the form which results in a norm-oriented movement will be applied to an analysis of the inception of the Argentine university reform movement, and to account for the less successful character of this movement in Colombia.

According to Smelser, the determinants of collective behavior are 1) structural conduciveness, 2) structural strain, 3) growth and spread of a generalized belief, 4) precipitating factors, 5) mobilization of participants for action, and 6) the operation of social control. All of these are necessary for the development of some form of collective behavior, the first five as positive and the latter as a negative, or counter-determinant. Social control serves to prevent collective behavior, or to channel it once it has begun.¹⁶

1) *Structural conduciveness.* "The most general condition of conduciveness concerns the possibility for demanding modifications of norms *without simultaneously appearing to demand a more fundamental modification of values.*"¹⁷ The University Reform movement limited its demands to modifications in university structures in the name of the need to democratize and modernize them, and in the interests of the nation as a whole. While the values appealed to as a basis for legitimating the demand for institutional reforms were general ones, they were held to be consistent with national values and interests, while the universities were held to be in the grip of old and outmoded values.¹⁸

a) "In general, the discontented must have

some degree of access to some method of affecting the normative order."¹⁹ The Reform movement, as it turned out, had direct access to and a hospitable reception from the newly elected Radical president, Hipólito Irigoyen, who not only intervened in Córdoba University, but in other universities and institutionalized many of the demands of the movement by presidential decree. Here it should be pointed out that while universities were nominally autonomous, the national government promulgated the basic organic laws of each university. As Luigi Einaudi points out, in practice the question of autonomy has centered on the means of selection of the rector, and when the university itself chooses the rector, it is considered autonomous.²⁰ Students sought to be included in the process of electing the rector, but in this sense they were not seeking university autonomy, since governing councils of the universities already chose their own rectors.

The marked success of the movement in Argentina must then be attributed to an important degree to a sympathetic government. The Radical party had developed from a movement of middle class elements directed against the Conservative oligarchy in the late nineteenth century, which became institutionalized in the Unión Cívica Radical Party, with the goal of the secret ballot and the enfranchisement of all adult males.²¹ A liberal wing of the Conservative party developed which also espoused these goals, and in 1912 it succeeded in passing the Sáenz Peña law, granting universal and secret male suffrage. Irigoyen was elected in 1916 with a majority of the popular vote, but a majority of only one in the electoral college, due in part to opposition from within his own party.²² Thus it may be argued that without the access to a sympathetic president, the movement may have become a value-oriented one with revolutionary goals, or may have reverted to "hostile outbursts," defined as "action mobilized on the basis of a generalized belief assigning responsibility for an undesirable state of affairs to some agent."²³ Its success as a norm-oriented movement permitted its in-

stitutionalization and its symbolic value as a model for similar movements elsewhere in Latin America.

b) "Any discussion of structural conduciveness must refer also to the lack of alternative channels for expressing dissatisfaction."²⁴ During the early stages of the 1918 movement and later there were acts of violence and force, including seizure of various universities on occasion, and resulting in the imprisonment of students. These manifestations may be considered an aspect of the uncertainty of the effectiveness of appeals to the president, since initial reforms did not immediately grant student participation in university government, perhaps the principal change in norms sought by the movement, and thus recourse to other forms of protest were sought. The effectiveness of social control by the government and the willingness of the government to intercede and eventually to institute the demanded reforms limited the use of violence by the student movement.

c) "Like all collective outbursts, a norm-oriented movement requires a certain ability to communicate if beliefs are to be disseminated and action to be mobilized."²⁵ University students are especially well situated in this respect, as a collectivity with a high degree of access of members to one another, due to their joint presence at university centers. As the Córdoba Manifesto and others like it attest, Argentine university students were in full command of an impelling rhetoric to dramatize and justify demands and actions, especially to fellow students in other university centers, and which served as calls to action by students in other universities to mount similar demands and actions.

2) *Structural strain*. This term is used as a general referent for words like "mal-integration," "disorganization," "conflict," "anomie," and others in the literature on collective behavior referring to some kind of trouble people experience in their environment, and which results in one or another form or collective behavior.²⁶ Strain is discussed in terms of what Smelser terms the four "components of action—facilities,

organization of motivation, norms and values." The most relevant components for locating strain in the environment of Argentine university students appear to be norms and values.

a) "Any disharmony between normative standards and actual social conditions can provide the basis for a movement whose objective it is to modify the norms. This is particularly true when either norms or social conditions undergo rapid change in a relatively short time."²⁷ The period during which the university reform developed, from about 1890 to 1918, was a period of rapid social change in Argentina, with the influx of large numbers of European immigrants, rapid urbanization, industrialization, and political conflict between the middle classes, represented by the Radical party, and the oligarchic Conservative ruling party.²⁸ Clearly the norms governing universities were inappropriate to these conditions, which brought pressures for modernization and democratization in all spheres of Argentine life.

b) "The rise of new values frequently creates bases for defining certain social conditions as 'evils'—social conditions which previously had passed less noticed."²⁹ The years preceding and during the reform witnessed the influence in political and social life of new values and ideologies. These included Radicalism, socialism, anarchism, communism, especially through the influence of the Russian revolution, and the influence of the first World War.³⁰ Carlos Cossio also attributes an important change in Argentine intellectual life to the 1916 visit of the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, in which he introduced to an Argentine audience neo-Kantian philosophy.³¹ The influence of these values and historical events is evident in the populist democratic, anti-clerical, anti-imperialist, nationalist, and pacifist sentiments of the movement, although present in a diffuse and sometimes incoherent form.³² The cumulation of these "modern" values and ideas provided ample ideological armament for judging and condemning the "old university."

3) Generalized beliefs and the role of precipitating factors.

For a norm-oriented movement, the generalized belief includes a diagnosis of the forces and agents that are making for a failure of normative regulation. It also involves some sort of program—passing a law, creating a regulatory agency, scrapping an antiquated custom, etc. Those committed to the belief that adoption of this program will control, damage, or punish the responsible agent, and thus erase the source of strain. The combination of all these components results in a 'cause' in the name of which the aggrieved mobilize and agitate for normative change.³³

The Córdoba Manifesto, cited above, provides all of these elements of a generalized belief, including diagnosis, remedy, and an element not mentioned but presumably an important one for gaining broad support, that of legitimation of the grounds for proposing the diagnosis and reforms. This latter element was put forth as an assertion of the right of inherently virtuous and as yet uncorrupted youth to play its part in university government unselfishly and wisely.

Youth lives in an ambience of heroism. It is disinterested and pure. It has not yet had time to become corrupt. It can never be mistaken in choosing its own teachers. Flattery and bribery would obtain no advantage with youth. (Córdoba Manifesto.)³⁴

The remedies in the forms of proposed university laws were set forth in considerable detail, in messages to the Minister of Education.³⁵ It must be assumed, of course, that the generalized belief expressed in the Córdoba Manifesto and subsequent declarations were the result of a cumulative development, beginning at least with the first International Student Congress in Montevideo, and proceeding through a succession of conflicts at the University of Buenos Aires during the intervening years.³⁶

a) "Precipitating factors focus the belief on a particular person, event or situation."³⁷ The major precipitating event which gave the movement its initial national and international impetus appears to have been the expulsion by indignant students of the members of the University Assembly of Córdoba

University, from the meeting called for the installation of the rector opposed by the students. This was followed by a student strike and the closing of the university by its Superior Council. The events which preceded the action of the students are the following. The University of Córdoba was one of the most backward in the country, opposing intellectual currents which challenged the dogmas of the Church. Although the University was secular and established by the national government, it remained in the control of a small group opposed to all reform. Tulio Halperin characterizes this group as follows:

... the University was in the hands of a group bound together by all sorts of ties, not only ideological or religious ones, and was disposed to avoid every change which menaced the solidity of their domination. This situation was linked to the existence of a more or less secret society—the *Corda fratres*—like that of the mysterious 'Congregation' of the French Restoration, to which was imputed the goal of assuring the triumph of ideas which promoted the prosperity of those who sustained them.³⁸

Student opposition to the hegemony of this group had taken the form of a series of public lectures challenging Catholic dogma, in 1916, and diagnosing the ills of the university. These lectures aroused considerable public interest and strong opposition from the clergy. They were followed in 1917 by a series titled the "popular university," with courses on public hygiene, civic virtue, penal law and political economy.³⁹ Student opposition gained support from the national government, which intervened in the University in April, 1918, following a student strike and the closing of the University in March. The University statutes were modified and new elections for deans and members of the University Assembly were held, in which all those candidates with student support won. But in the election for rector, a candidate of the *Corda fratres* won, and the students reacted as described above, apparently because they felt betrayed by those they had supported for election.⁴⁰

The experience by the students of defeat in the midst of what had appeared to be an

assured victory led to the dramatic occupation of the assembly hall and to the impassioned Manifesto, which together gave a symbolic significance to the movement which it had lacked previously. This may be considered an example of the "power of limited setbacks to invigorate a movement."⁴¹ The outcome of the election for rector had the advantage for the movement of giving concrete evidence of the corrupt character which students had imputed to the faculty, and served to legitimate their direct action, contrasting their moral superiority to that of the faculty and rector.

The acts of violence, for which we were wholly responsible, were done in behalf of pure ideas. We stopped an anachronistic uprising, and we did so in order to raise a new spirit in these ruins. Those acts also represented the measure of our indignation in the presence of moral destitution and cunning deceit, which pretended to infiltrate itself under the guise of legality. (Córdoba Manifesto)⁴²

4) *Mobilization of the movement for action.* "Characteristic of the mobilization of the norm-oriented movement is the complexity and time involved in organizing and implementing its program."⁴³ Smelser outlines three phases of mobilization characteristic of norm-oriented movements: "the incipient phase, the phase of enthusiastic mobilization, and the period of institutionalization and organization."⁴⁴ The incipient phase would appear to be that of the period prior to 1918, perhaps beginning as early as 1871, with the formation of the "thirteenth of December" movement by law students at the University of Buenos Aires. Reform-oriented movements or activities appear to have been sporadic in the years preceding the second decade of the twentieth century, and confined to individual faculties. The period 1903-1906 was one of student protest and strikes at Buenos Aires, culminating in reforms which made the "academias," the term applied then to the faculties, a more integral and less autonomous part of the university, and provided for greater participation of professors in university government.⁴⁵

The period 1918 to the early twenties represents the "phase of enthusiastic mobilization," since during this period occurred the organization of the Argentine University Federation, the Córdoba revolt, the first National Congress of Students (of Argentina), government intervention at Córdoba and the reform of the statutes governing Córdoba and Buenos Aires Universities, providing for the participation of students in university government. Beginning in 1919 and continuing into the twenties, the reform movement spread to other Latin American countries, with varying success in the institution of reforms. In Argentina the movement became institutionalized with the formation of university governments involving the representation of students, and other reforms. The period from the twenties up to the present may be considered the period of institutionalization and organization. There were several attempts at counterreform during this period, the most notable during Peron's rule, but these were vicissitudes of the universities as a whole, not merely of the movement. Once the principle of direct student participation was assured, the movement became a party, winning all elections at the University of Buenos Aires up to 1961, and providing an organizational base for liberals and leftists. As Smelser states, ". . . a successful movement usually begins to focus on other, related reforms, or becomes a guardian of the normative changes it has won. . . ."⁴⁶ Clearly the university reform movement conforms to the latter alternative. Each time the basic principles of university reform were abrogated by the government, the adherents of reform struggled to reinstate them. Following Peron's overthrow in 1955, students seized the universities and carried out an orderly "counterpurge" of Peronist professors, reestablishing student involvement in university government before it was officially reinstated by the national government.⁴⁷

5) *Social control.* This determinant is primarily that of the response of society to a movement, primarily through its political or other agencies of social control. The

character of this response determines whether the movement maintains its character or becomes another type of movement.

a) "Differentiation of political from other aspects of social control make for greater toleration of norm-oriented movements."⁴⁸ The reform movement appealed directly to the relevant political authority, that of the president, through his minister of education. There was no ambiguity concerning the locus of relevant authority, since the national government made the law concerning the institutions of higher education, and was empowered to intervene in disputes of sufficiently serious proportions.

b) "The success that a given agitation has in the political arena influences a movement's course of development."⁴⁹ The dependence of the movement's success on the fact that a newly elected Radical president had just entered office on a platform of widening democracy, has been pointed out above. Although Irigoyen's government had wide popular support and could be characterized initially as democratic and modern, there were strong personalist tendencies in his rule, and though universal manhood suffrage prevailed, he was careful to insure nomination of his own supporters as candidates for office. Regarding the Radicals' orientation to the university reform movement, the Argentine historian José Luis Romero says the following:

Although the Radical government, because of its militant opposition to the oligarchy, supported the university reform movement, and consented to modify the statutes regulating the institutions of higher education, the party was nonetheless remote from the true spirit impelling the young students who sensed the revolutionary restlessness of the day.⁵⁰

Thus it was not necessarily common ideals and principles but rather a common enemy which provided government support for the university reform movement.

Without the generally favorable response of Irigoyen, the movement might have become diverted into "hostile outbursts," or expanded into a value-oriented, revolutionary movement. In fact the movement's tac-

tics often included what may be considered "hostile outbursts," but most characteristic was the seizure of universities, presumably to dramatize the lack of legitimacy accorded by students to university government, and as a means to insure intervention by a sympathetic government.

The Colombian Student Movement for University Reform

Colombia, like nearly all other Latin American countries, was influenced by the Argentine student movement, and took as a model many of its proposals and much of its diffuse ideology. This emulation was not successful in bringing about major reforms through direct action, however, and the reform law which was eventually promulgated, in 1935, was not a direct consequence of student pressure, as in Argentina, and reveals only a moderate influence of the movement. Although the historical evidence for student political action in this period is inadequate, it would appear that the movement was not broadly supported by students, and also lacked the crucial advantage of the Argentine movement in 1918, that of a sympathetic government. To place the analysis in a comparative perspective, and to seek to explain its lack of success as compared to that of the movement in Argentina, the analysis will be organized in terms of the determinants of collective behavior, as in the preceding discussion.

1) *Structural conduciveness.* As noted above, the possibility for demanding modification of norms without also appearing to demand a more fundamental modification of values is the most general condition of conduciveness. To assess this possibility requires a brief discussion of the origins and situation of the student movement in Colombia. It appears to have begun, at least officially, in the early 1920's. The first national student congress took place in 1923, although documents are available only for the second congress in 1924. While the documents from this meeting and the writings of German Arciniégas, apparently the major spokesman of the movement, concentrate on critiques and proposals for reform

similar to those put forth by the Argentine movement, several of the most active participants appear to have been involved in more radical political activity oriented to the society at large. This suggests that the movement at this stage may have been compromised by tendencies toward a value-oriented movement. The period of the twenties was one of considerable social change and political conflict. Colombia was much less developed economically and socially than Argentina, as reflected by the greater predominance of agriculture in the economy and the primarily rural character of the populace, and was less influenced by European events and ideologies through the mass media and trade with Europe, than was Argentina. The World War and its aftermath nevertheless brought about change through the impact of new international markets, the influx of foreign capital, and, as in Argentina, the influence of revolutionary socialist doctrine.⁵¹ With increasing urbanization and industrialization, unions were organized and labor-management conflict increased in the cities, while Indian and peasant uprisings occurred in rural areas. During this period socialist and Communist parties were formed, largely by young intellectuals. Fluharty describes the role of the young intellectuals as follows:

This potent brew of social ferment was ably stirred by a new generation of young intellectuals. Rejecting the old ideas regarding equality, these young men, many of whom were destined to become national political leaders, were irresistably drawn into the social fray. Gabriel Turbay, Luis Tejada, Hernandez Rodriguez, and Moises Prieto organized the Communist Party. Intrigued chiefly by the doctrine of the class struggle, they actually knew little about Marx, and cared less. Others, Dios Romero and Mario Cano among them, sponsored labor syndicalism, and men like German Arciniégas, Armando Solano, and Juan Lozano plunged happily into the strong current of socialism running through the nation.⁵²

Several of those mentioned above, including Arciniégas, Turbay and Prieto, also signed declarations presented at the second Colombian student congress, in 1924.⁵³ The

young intellectuals' involvement in Marxist study groups contradicts Fluharty's statement that they knew or cared little for Marx. This group included Turbay and Prieto, among others.⁵⁴ The implication of these involvements in radical political and intellectual movements suggests that the University Reform movement may have been invigorated by radical fervor, on the one hand, while alienating potential student members, on the other hand, for the same reason. While the Argentine reform movement was radical in its demands for university reform, and while it was influenced by socialist ideology and theory and by the example of the Russian revolution as a model for the seizure of power, it nonetheless limited itself to reforms which were possible within a government dominated by the party then in power. In contrast, Conservatives dominated Colombian elections, primarily through fraud and coercion, from 1886 to 1930, when a Liberal party candidate won.⁵⁵ Thus the advent of radical left politics occurred in a period with no apparent political outlet except revolution or agitation.

a) *Access to methods for affecting the normative order.* An example of the limited access to such methods available to the reform movement at that time is provided in a message from students to the members of a German educational mission, invited to Colombia for the purpose of proposing educational reforms.⁵⁶ The message contains a comprehensive critique and set of proposals for university reform, modelled on those of the Argentine experience.⁵⁷

Proposals for reform were made to Congress by the group composed of the German Technical mission and their three Colombian university professor counterparts, in 1925, including the proposal that the university ". . . should be a juridical person governed by its own legal bodies; that is, the faculty staff, the university council, the rector, and the representatives of the student body."⁵⁸ While the students may have been influential in the drafting of this proposal, it was not enacted into law, although it

constituted a precedent for subsequent reform.⁵⁹

b) *Lack of alternative channels for expressing dissatisfaction.* Short of seizing the universities by force and seeking to impose reforms, an action which would not have met with government support, the most likely channel of reform lay in influencing the government, which, as in Argentina and everywhere in Latin America, determines the constitution of public universities. On the other hand, alternative channels did exist through involvement in various left political movements and groups, as noted above, and while these were not concerned directly with university reform, they offered a base for attacking the same oligarchy which resisted reform in the universities. The influence of such involvement, which was perhaps proportionately greater than that on student activists in Argentina in 1918, is evident in the declarations of the Third National Congress of Students in 1928. In addition to goals of university reform were several relating to broad social reform, including "equality of life chances," the "ideological liberation of women," and the legal equality of women. Another goal was defined as "national defense, demanding the effective nationalization of petroleum and the conservation of the integrity of the national patrimony. . . ."⁶⁰

2) *Structural strain.* This factor was present especially in the form of new values which provided a basis for defining persisting social conditions as evil, and discussed above. But the incorporation of critiques of university structure and content with broader critiques of national life, may have had the effect of weakening the impulse for university reform as such, and of diverting energies of student radicals into broader and more diffuse movements, lessening the norm-oriented character of the student movement and tending to direct it toward becoming a value-oriented one.

3) *Generalized beliefs and the role of precipitating factors.* Generalized beliefs have been discussed in part above, in terms of the various pronouncements of student

congresses and elsewhere, particularly in the writings of German Arciniégas, who became to an important degree the major ideologist of the movement. What might have been a precipitating event, focusing attention on the movement and gaining militant support, occurred in the context of a broader conflict. Although details are lacking in the available account, "the university," presumably students at the National University in Bogotá, led ". . . a formidable movement of popular protest against a system characterized by nepotism, incapacity to deal with pressing social and economic problems enhanced by the worldwide depression, and led by a president . . . incapable of dealing with imperialism."⁶¹ A law student was killed in a battle with police, the date of which event has been commemorated since as a "symbol of the struggles for the transformation of the State."⁶² This event occurred during a period of widespread social discontent and revolt marked by a peasant uprising in the banana zone against the United Fruit Company, put down by the army, and numerous strikes in the cities, arising from bad working conditions, low pay, and general dislocation of the economy brought on by the depression.⁶³ Student activity, while significant, was part of a general social movement, or perhaps was involved in a number of interrelated movements, which had in common a desire to remove the oligarchy from power. A Colombian observer described the character of the social movements of the period as follows:

With one thesis or the other . . . that of the conserving of the Liberal Party, or that of making new parties, the new generation understood that the people were obligated to battle, together, to gain their social rights, their political and their religious rights. All the revolutionary currents of the epoch . . . Socialists, Communists, syndicalists and anarchosyndicalists . . . participated in the same doctrine.⁶⁴

The consequences of these pressures from below led to the candidacy of Olaya Herrera in behalf of a coalition government, a solution by the oligarchies of both parties to avoid revolution and to reduce pressures

for major changes in the socio-economic structure by the choice of a candidate committed to moderate reforms, with ties to both parties.⁶⁵ At least one writer credits the student movement with playing a "decisive" role in bringing about the end of Conservative rule, but he also asserts that student influence was effective for only a brief period of time.

The conclusions of observers of this period are that the young radicals did not pursue the struggle with the oligarchy, and sought neither to further the social revolution nor to continue the struggle for university reform, since their real concerns were to gain entrance to the political oligarchy.

The student leaders used the Federation of Students as a trampoline to jump into the political arena, to perform on the model of the traditional parties. They turned in the direction of bourgeois politics, offering the programs of the University Reform for the purpose of renovating the old bourgeois programs.⁶⁶

This judgment is concurred in by Fluharty, though in somewhat broader terms, referring to the young intellectuals as a whole.

The brash young men confronted the oligarchies and threw down the gauntlet. Inspired by the new ideas that came down every wind, they became the voice of Colombia's future, her nascent social conscience. For the most part, they were laughed out of the arena. The oligarchy was certain that when they had established themselves, when they had made a mark and gained a stake in the society, these young firebrands would recant. The fever would die, the innovations pall, the challenging ideas lose their validity. By and large, the oligarchy was right. . . .⁶⁷

He goes on to discuss the liberal party leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán as an exception to this generalization, as one who was committed to radical reform throughout his life, and who never compromised his principles.⁶⁸

The preceding discussion suggests, then, that the university reform movement was transformed into an abortive value-oriented movement, and failed to realize the goals of either university reform or of the broader revolutionary movement within

which it became involved. The explanation appears to lie in several directions, all related to the particular characteristics of Colombian society and its situation at that time, but generalizable in terms of the theory of collective behavior utilized here. The conditions for a value-oriented movement in Colombia during the twenties and early thirties were clearly present, including the existence of large numbers of politically alienated in the population, an inflexible political structure, and the failure of the government to provide solutions to increasing economic misery, combined with the capacity of the government to prevent or control hostile outbursts.⁶⁹ But what might have become a revolution was prevented by the capacity of the oligarchy to respond sufficiently to pressure to put forward a moderate, reformist candidate, and thus to remove the appearance of intransigence and inflexibility in the face of demands for reform.⁷⁰ The Olaya Herrera regime was not sufficiently responsive, however, to prevent intensification of protest, but the propitious occurrence of a border war with Peru in 1931 appeared to offer an escape valve for revolutionary pressures, channeling protest into nationalist fervor and legitimating the imposition of martial law.⁷¹

Thus the student movement became diverted into a value-oriented movement which was diverted from its revolutionary course. We may here contrast the fortunes of the Colombian with that of the Argentine student movement. The latter developed during a period of considerably less structural strain and thus was not diverted into a value-oriented movement, but remained focussed upon the explicit issues of university reform. It also had the advantage of being allied with a middle class political movement, in the form of Radicalismo, which came to power prior to the major "precipitating event" of the Reform movement, and thus was in a position to accede to the demands of the movement as a further realization of the tenets of the Radical party's expressed concern for extension of electoral democracy.

The comments quoted above concerning

the apparent readiness of Colómbian student leaders to forego their radical posture, once assured a place within the traditional oligarchy, suggests a further contrast between characteristics of the middle class in the two societies. One North American observer has asserted that those who occupy middle class positions in Colombian society are largely descendants of upper class families, and maintain a predominantly upper class identification. This is assertedly due to the presumed low rate of upward mobility and to the high rate of reproduction of upper class families, with consequent downward mobility of offspring who do not inherit sufficient wealth to maintain an upper class style of life, and who enter middle class status in the professions, teaching, and business, but maintain upper class family and social contacts.⁷² This thesis has been challenged by a Colombian anthropologist who asserts there is considerable social mobility, both upward and downward. He argues that there is and has been "for a long time" a "genuine" middle class, in the sense of its having derived from lower class origins, and also that the upper class families with downward mobile members are those which ascended two or three generations ago, and "have not had sufficient time to form a family tradition, to feel inextricably linked to the upper class."⁷³ Since neither writer offers data to support his thesis, the issue is unresolved, but nearly all observers of Colombian life have commented upon the existence of an identifiable political oligarchy, based on economic power and occupying the seats of political power, both elective and appointive. The opportunity to share power with the oligarchy may be an especially compelling one in a relatively small country like Colombia, with limited access to power outside the traditional parties. Thus radical student leaders may have been more easily persuaded or encouraged to "sell out" there than in Argentina, for example, where power has been more widely dispersed during the twentieth century, at least.

A moderate university reform did come about in 1935 with the passage of the Or-

ganic Law of the National University of Colombia. With respect to the Reform movement, its most important section was that referring to university government, to be exercised by a rector, a "sindico" or treasurer, a secretary general, and a directive council. The latter was composed of nine members, including the Minister of National Education as its President, the university rector as vice-president, and seven other members, including two representatives of the national government, one representative elected by the deans of schools and faculties of the university, two elected by the professors, and two elected by the students.⁷⁴ Student representation is thus granted in the law, but is considerably less than the one-third established in Argentina and recommended by German Arceñégas in the law which he proposed to the Colombian House of Representatives in 1932. He proposed a Directive Council, to be composed of the president, secretary, treasurer and controller of the university, the rectors of faculties, heads of university departments and representatives of each faculty, the latter to include two each from the professors, students, and graduates of the university for each faculty. The functions of this body would have been broad and comprehensive, including the election of rector and faculty heads, and control of all matters pertaining to the organization of the university and the formulation of the educational program of the university, including matters concerning examinations, degrees, and courses of study.⁷⁵ The enacted organic law, on the other hand, while it contains similar functions for the directive council, states that the council should "approve the plans, methods of teaching, and of research and other regulations submitted to it by the academic council," a body composed of deans and directors of faculties and schools, without the representation of students or professors.⁷⁶

The 1935 law was nevertheless a considerable move toward reform, and it did allow for student representation. But the distinct difference between the reform instituted in Colombia compared to that in Ar-

gentina, lies not only in the substantive difference in the content of the reforms, but in the fact that reform in Colombia, while perhaps reflecting the influence of the student movement in some degree, was not precipitated by direct student pressure, but was rather enacted independently by a legislature dominated by a reformist Liberal party majority, elected in 1935 following the 1934 election of Liberal Alfonso Lopez as president. Under Lopez important reforms were instituted benefiting labor, including the right of workers to organize and strike, a minimum wage, the eight-hour day and forty-hour week.⁷⁷ Thus university reform was a consequence of the shift to a reformist government, as was the Argentinian reform movement, but since it was not directly instigated by a militant student movement prepared to strongly protest the modification of its principles embodied in a body of "generalized beliefs," as had been the case in Argentina, it was unable to significantly affect the law, which granted students little more than token representation in university government.

The consequences of this difference would appear to be the following. In Argentina, the successful culmination of the university reform movement granted students a major decision-making role in university and faculty governing councils, institutionalized the movement, and established a political subculture in which student elections were significant for the actual conduct of university affairs. A party was formed (Reformista) to embody and defend the principles of university reform, providing the organizational base of subsequent movements for reform or for opposition to the government. The failure of the movement to become institutionalized in Colombia meant that collective student political action lacked a stable and persisting base, and rather tended to be discontinuous, responding to specific issues by the formation of temporary *ad hoc* organizations. Thus Colombian students have had considerably less direct influence on university government and policy than have their counterparts in Argentina. One would also expect

that student political organizations have been less responsive to the mass of students and more easily manipulated by their leaders, since there has been a lack of the open and competitive university student party structure which has existed in Argentina. In other words, one would expect a greater tendency to oligarchy within student political organization in Colombia, along with a tendency toward organizational instability. This last point is conjectural for the period from the 'thirties to the 'fifties, but recent developments would appear to support this contention.

Consequences for Contemporary Student Politics

Perhaps the major difference between the pattern of student politics in Colombia and Argentina, which bears out the contention that the relative success or failure of the University Reform movement in the two societies has determined the course of subsequent political organization and activity, lies in the presence or absence of a relatively stable national federation of university students in the two nations. In Argentina, the continuing existence of the Federation of Argentine University Students (FUA) has provided a basis for concerted political action, among and within the universities. An example is the well-organized campaign conducted against the 1955 government decree-law, which authorized private, predominantly Catholic universities to grant degrees, formerly permitted only to state universities.⁷⁸ The student campaign was unsuccessful, and its failure perhaps contributed to the decline of leftist representation within university government and within student councils. But the development and maintenance of the Federation as an outcome of the successful University Reform struggle earlier, has provided a well established structure for political conflict, as well as norms for the conduct of such conflict. In Colombia, on the other hand, there have been several attempts to form anew a national student federation in recent years. The present National University Federation (FUN) appears to lack

legitimacy among a large proportion of students, and to be dominated by leftist student leaders oriented toward Maoist or Castroist political means and goals. Its character and ideology may be due in part to the absence of a well-institutionalized and persisting organization for national student politics in the past, leading to its being easily controlled by a minority of student radicals.⁷⁹ Students in Colombia have apparently been less ready to contest such control, in part because of the ephemeral nature of student federations in the past, and the lack of significant student participation in university government.

Thus a wide spectrum of student parties competes for office in university government in Argentina, and a much narrower spectrum in Colombia. There appears to be little representation from Catholic or non-Marxist student groups with the FUN in Colombia. In Argentina, groups reflecting a non-Marxist, "humanist" ideology have had majorities in recent elections.⁸⁰ The struggle among all ideological groups has tended to take place in the arena of the Argentine University Federation, since the fruits of victory mean significant influence within university government. In Colombia, since students lack significant representation within university government, student politics tend to be turned outward toward national and international issues, and to provide a platform for student revolutionaries.

It would appear, on balance, that in the Latin American environment, where the belief that students should participate in university government is widely held and founded to some extent on the reality of university structure, that such participation may contribute to the civilizing of politics, and to the development of democratic norms of political action which carry over into non-student life.⁸¹ The denial of participation by students in university government does not inhibit the development of student political activism in Latin America, but may rather facilitate a more ideological, utopian political orientation among student politicians who lack the experience

of pragmatic involvement in university affairs, in which authority for decision-making implies a responsibility to the university community, and thus a check on the tendency toward an "ethic of ultimate ends," in Max Weber's phrase.

To conclude, it would appear that where the University Reform was successful, as in Argentina, it provided an important impetus toward needed reforms in the character and conduct of higher education, a defense of academic freedom against the claims of the state, and a politicizing experience for students in the democratic process. Where the movement was relatively unsuccessful, as in Colombia, student politics would appear to be more alienated from university and society, and less responsible in its choice of means. The different fate of the movement in these two societies was due to quite different conditions and events, differences, however, which are part of the broad historical trends in these societies and which must be taken into account if one is to interpret the character of student politics in the two nations.

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³² Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Historia de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1962, p. 132.

³³ Smelser, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

³⁴ Federación Universitaria de Buenos Aires, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

³⁵ Del Mazo, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 9-28.

³⁶ Halperin, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-129. Moderate success was achieved at Buenos Aires in the inclusion of all faculty members in the electoral body for faculty and university governing councils.

³⁷ Smelser, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

³⁸ Halperin, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

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⁶⁶ Montaña Cuellar, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

⁶⁷ Fluharty, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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⁷⁶ Colombia, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-125. Perhaps the most significant difference between the law proposed by Arciniégas and that later enacted by Congress is the inclusion in the latter of government representatives on the directive council to the extent of three out of nine members, including the Minister of Education as president of the council. This would appear to considerably reduce university autonomy, placing it more directly under control of the government. This insertion of government representation within the directive council was contained in a

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⁷⁸ See "La Universidad de Buenos Aires y la Libertad de Enseñanza," *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Quinta Epoca, 3 (1958), pp. 506-522.

⁷⁹ This characterization of FUN is based on a reading of Colombian newspaper accounts, and various Colombian student political publications, including *Federación Universitaria Nacional* (October, 1964), the official organ of the Federation.

⁸⁰ See Mario Peralta and Ramon Gutiérrez, "Análisis Comparativo de la Trayectoria de los Movimientos Estudiantiles, Trabajo No. 1-Universidad de Buenos Aires," *CREA Boletín* (1963), pp. 5-9.

⁸¹ See Kenneth N. Walker, "Political Socialization in Latin American Universities," paper presented at the International Seminar on the Formation of Elites in Latin America, University of Montevideo, June 6-11, 1965.

In his speech before the Academic Senate Monday, Chancellor Heyns outlined his theory on the causes of the present unrest concerning political rules on campus. He pictured the "movement's" leaders as having one immediate objective—conflict.

As evidence of this conflict hypothesis, Heyns pointed to the proposed new ASUC Constitution. "Professor Searle," he said, "has repeatedly advised that the proposed constitution is in serious conflict with the Universitywide and campus policies and cannot be adopted. Yet it is being pursued in the hope—at least on the part of some—that it can attract a large vote and thereby become another source of conflict."

To a certain extent the Chancellor may be right about the intent of a few of the Convention members, but about most of them he is wrong. The time has come for trust on this campus. And the Chancellor's speech, by implying that conflict is the main objective, only served to increase the attitude of mistrust between students and administrators.

He might have assumed, as seems much more likely, that the main objective of the Constitutional Convention was to improve student government. We sense that student paranoia has given rise to administrative paranoia, neither of which is improving the atmosphere on campus.

*"The Conflict Syndrome," editorial, *The Daily Californian*, April 21, 1966, p. 12.*

A COMPARISON OF THE UNIVERSITY REFORM MOVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA AND COLOMBIA

KENNETH N. WALKER

Student politics in Latin America is looked upon by many observers as something endemic to Latin American culture, personality, institutions, or all three. While it is probably true that much of the general character and frequency of student collective action can be accounted for by specific characteristics of Latin America, including relatively unstable or despotic governments in many of these societies, we now know that student political rebellion in the Western hemisphere is not restricted to the lands south of the United States, especially after the Berkeley revolt. But the political role of students in Latin America is, by and large, of more political significance in Latin than in North America, given the direct opposition by student movements to national governments on frequent occasions, and less frequently, directed toward the overthrow of governments.

There are a number of characteristics which differentiate Latin American from North American universities and colleges, which may account for the disparity in the frequency and intensity of student politics between the two continents. Salient among these characteristics are the lack of a full-time faculty and the presence of student participation in university government in most Latin American universities. The University Reform movement has often been pointed to as a significant force in bringing about student participation in university government, and as a factor in maintaining student political involvement at a high level. There are relatively few studies in Spanish dealing with the origins, development and consequences of the University Reform movement, and almost none in English. It is generally known, however, that the movement began in Argentina and spread to other Latin American nations, with

varying consequences for student politics and universities in the societies in which it took hold. A comparative analysis of the origins and effects of the Reform movement in Argentina and another society in which the movement developed under quite different conditions, Colombia, should contribute to a deeper understanding of the present character of student politics in Latin America, especially in these two countries. This article will provide a brief historical account of those aspects of the origins of higher education in Latin America which are relevant to a discussion of more recent student political movements, and will assess the development of the University Reform movement in relationship to the character of student politics in the two societies.

The historical antecedents of Latin American universities derive from the structure of Spanish universities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the period in which the first Latin American universities were established. The participation of students in university government was instituted in these first universities, including the election of rectors and of "catedráticos," or holders of university chairs. The proportion of student representation was reduced, however, from that of the University of Salamanca, the Spanish university on which Latin American universities were modeled,¹ but the autonomous status of the university was retained.

Although there were often complaints of viceregal interference in the choice of rectors, or in the recommendation of candidates for degrees, the University was one of the few corporations in America that retained any degree of autonomy.²

Writers on the Latin American university

"... the students agreed to remain quiet during the [Olympic] Games. But few observers doubt that the students will renew their protests... the students' challenge to authority... is appealing to many Mexicans..."

Mexico: Why the Students Rioted

BY JAMES N. GOODSSELL

Latin American Editor, The Christian Science Monitor

FROM LATE JULY to early October, 1968, a mounting crescendo of student unrest in Mexico City drew widespread attention to a nation long considered Latin America's most stable and, in many ways, most progressive. The unrest, which began over relatively minor incidents, quickly involved the government of President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz in a bitter and still smoldering struggle with university and high school students not only in Mexico City but throughout Mexico.

It came when Mexico was in the final throes of preparations for hosting the 1968 summer Olympics—an event which had already focused a great deal of world attention on Mexico. The Mexican bid to host the Olympics had been questioned in some circles because of the spiraling costs of Olympic preparations. There were doubts that a nation, still relatively underdeveloped, could carry off an international event of such size and proportions. The student unrest added to the doubts and, by early October, with less than two weeks to go before the Olympics got under way on October 12, the prospects for the Games were none too good.

But then, almost at the last minute, the students called off their demonstrations and the Olympics went off with hardly a hitch—at least from the students. And Mexico, in

the eyes of visitors during the Olympics, carried off the show with considerable success.¹ It was the first time that an Olympics competition had been held in a Spanish-speaking nation, the first time in a Latin American land, and the first time in a relatively underdeveloped country.

The successful holding of the 1968 Olympic Games without any disruption and the widespread plaudits of the world press, however, tended to obscure the unrest of the previous months. In fact, there were even some suggestions that the student disturbances had been a passing phenomenon without much importance.² Actually, the student rebellion continues to cast a long shadow over Mexico. To many observers, the unrest and the reactions of the Díaz Ordaz government—which drew sharp criticism from many circles in Mexico—were evidence of a general restlessness in Mexico.

After nearly 40 years of political consensus, there were suggestions in 1968 that major and perhaps serious dissent may be in the offing for the Mexican nation.³ Just what such dissent could mean for Mexico's future and where it will lead is hard to estimate. But the prospect of growing unrest appears very real.

Despite the good record that successive Mexican governments have racked up in terms of economic growth and social justice in the past 25 years, the hard fact is that probably half of Mexico's 45 million people have shared little or not at all in this progress.

¹ *Novedades*, Mexico City, October 22, 1968.

² *Excelsior*, Mexico City, October 26, 1968.

³ *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 20, 1968. *The New York Times*, September 29, 1968.

They are the farmers of the countryside, the urban poor, the isolated Indians of remote parts of the country—all of whom eke out a rather miserable existence and provide a sharp contrast to the growing middle class in the cities and towns. While these poverty-stricken groups have shown only limited indications of restlessness, there have been occasional incidents in the past several years and the student unrest in 1968 is being taken by some observers as a warning of what may be in store for Mexico.

THE STUDENT CHALLENGE

The student unrest began in the final weeks of July and at first only involved students attending vocational and preparatory schools in Mexico City. There are several versions of how the trouble started, but the account generally accepted as being closest to the truth suggests how trivial it was at the beginning. According to this version, the trouble started on July 23 when a student from a vocational school got angry with a preparatory school student for bothering his girl friend. A fight ensued and soon several hundred students from each school were involved.⁴

Within a week, full-scale student rioting was under way in Mexico City. University students from both the National University of Mexico and the National Polytechnic Institute became involved, in part because of their schools' associations with the vocational and preparatory schools, but also because of a high degree of dissatisfaction with the government's performance in Mexico. A student manifesto, issued July 29, said that "students reject the idea that Mexico is a nation where economic progress has solved our major social problems and where revolution has given way to stability. We still need some revolution." What started as a relatively unimportant event had quickly taken on political overtones. For their part, the students composed a list of complaints including government corruption, one-party rule, heavy-handed

policy tactics, and a corrupt judicial system. None of the complaints were new. But the students drew nationwide attention to them as never before.

President Díaz Ordaz and his government responded to the student challenge with a show of force which only tended to fuel the student protest. The *granaderos*, as Mexico City's riot policemen are called, moved against the students, breaking up each demonstration with tactics which drew not only student protest, but public wrath. There were complaints of police brutality. Student leaflets circulated in early August compared the *granaderos* with "Hitler's assassination squads" and President Díaz Ordaz himself began to come in for criticism.

The students soon declared a strike and formed a strike committee, which issued a list of grievances. They continued to stage protest demonstrations and this in turn led the government to call on the army to handle the student strikers. Army forces, using tanks and tear gas, charged into demonstrating students on a number of occasions, wounding a number of students and bystanders. There were at least 47 separate demonstrations between July 23 and August 10.⁵

By mid-August, the students had made a list of six demands which they gave to the government. The demands included freedom for all political prisoners in Mexico, abrogation of Article 145 of the penal code which punishes acts of subversion, treason, and other forms of public disorder under the general heading of "social dissolution," elimination of the *granaderos*, dismissal of Mexico City's police chief and his deputy for their roles in handling the student protests, payment of indemnities to the victims of the "aggression" of the *granaderos* and army forces, and the fixing of responsibility for the "aggression."

The list appeared in Mexico City newspapers, and handbills with the demands were widely circulated in Mexico City. Government officials did not respond to the list and official silence was maintained by President Díaz Ordaz. But within the government, there was a debate over the issue of how to respond to the student challenge.⁶ Accord-

⁴ *The New York Times*, September 9, 1968.

⁵ *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 20, 1968.

⁶ *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 22, 1968.

ing to some sources, the debate was between the hard-liners who argued for repressive measures to deal with the students and the soft-liners who championed restraint and suggested a dialogue with the students. The hard-liners prevailed at first, but by mid-August the soft-line view was put into practice.

For their part, the students also changed tactics in mid-August. Until then, they had engaged in a series of minor protests, none of which involved more than several thousand students each. On August 13, the student leaders rallied close to 150,000 students in a march from the National Polytechnic Institute campus through Mexico City at the evening rush hour to the Zócalo, the central plaza in Mexico City, where the seat of government is located. More than tying up traffic during the rush hour, the protest march was a direct challenge to the Mexican government. The Zócalo is normally reserved for officially sponsored pro-government outpourings of support. The August 13 march was a far cry from that type of demonstration.

Many of the students in the August 13 movement carried placards which linked President Díaz Ordaz with the police and army actions in the earlier student demonstrations. He was called a variety of epithets including: "criminal," "hated beast," and "assassin," the latter a reference to a list of 32 students whom the demonstrators claimed had been killed in the earlier clashes. The government denied the charge and it had not been substantiated.

A second massive march on August 27 was even more impressive and more provocative. Close to 300,000 Mexicans, including a variety of groups other than students, took part in the second march. Like its predecessor, this march took place at the rush hour and snarled traffic for hours. The students marched from Chapultepec Park, passing the American Embassy and only occasionally shouting anti-United States themes, and then went to the Zócalo again, this time to restate their list of demands and to set up a vigil in

the Zócalo until the demands were met. The *granaderos* and the Army early the next morning moved into the plaza and pushed the students out.

THE STATE OF THE NATION

The next act in the student-government confrontation was President Díaz Ordaz's September 1 state of the nation address.⁷ In words both conciliatory and tough, he called on the students to end their protests, but admitted that they probably had some justification. He said he was determined to end the unrest. "We can no longer permit the continued open violations of our legal system. It is our unquestionable obligation to prevent the destruction of the basic legal principles under whose shelter we live and progress together." He denied that Mexico was holding political prisoners, as the students had claimed. But the President offered to support public hearings on the student demand that the "social dissolution" article in the penal code be repealed.

It was obvious that President Díaz Ordaz was worried about the student protest. He devoted nearly one-third of his address to the protest and related problems. Concern over the forthcoming Olympics was uppermost in his thoughts. He recounted the decision of his predecessor, President Adolfo López Mateos, to seek the Olympics and then the realization by the outgoing López Mateos government and his own government of the difficult challenge they had accepted.

"We are not going to let the student protest interfere with the Olympics," President Díaz Ordaz concluded.

But the demonstrations continued through September. And many observers, including members of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) had some uneasy moments. The Díaz Ordaz government promised the I.O.C. that the student protests would not interfere with the actual Olympic competitions. Following the state of the nation address, the government adopted a get-tough policy with the students and subsequent clashes between the students and units of the police and army resulted in a mounting toll

⁷The *New York Times*, September 2, 1968.
The Christian Science Monitor, September 4, 1968.

1968
of dead and injured. The climax came on the night of October 2, when thousands of soldiers opened fire on a peaceful student rally in the plaza of a housing project which abuts an ancient Aztec ruin. At least 19 persons were killed, 500 were wounded, and 1,500 were jailed in the ensuing melee. Before long, the students and many others in Mexico were calling it *La Noche Triste*—"The Night of Sorrow"—a name which recalled the year 1521 when Hernán Cortéz was temporarily slowed in his conquest of the ancient Aztec Empire.

With many of their leaders in jail and with the prospect of continuing army action if they pursued their protest as the Olympics approached, the students agreed to remain quiet during the Games. But few observers doubt that the students will renew their protests. While the student movement has so far failed to attract much visible support from other sectors of Mexican society, it does have both support and sympathy throughout Mexico.

In fact, the students' challenge to authority—if not their immediate cause—is appealing to many Mexicans, who have grown tired of Mexico's one-party political system and its failure to make more rapid strides in solving the nation's problems.

THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

The system, which has allowed the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (P.R.I.) to govern without much opposition, is unique. The P.R.I. is actually a party of consensus. It has become a sort of umbrella embracing and representing diverse sectors of Mexican society. By some standards, such one-party rule would hardly seem democratic. Yet there are clearly some elements of democratic practice within the framework.

Actually the Mexican system has worked reasonably well since the party was founded in the 1930's. Moreover, the system is correctly credited with helping Mexico achieve her present political peace and economic growth, while permitting a degree of social mobility uncommon to the rest of Latin America.

Wrapped up in the P.R.I. is the mystique

of a permanent revolution—a concept which the student protest is challenging. Virtually all political spokesmen, including President Diaz Ordaz, go to great efforts to ennoble the concept of a "continuing revolution." The President did so in his state of the nation address, and he cited a variety of statistics to prove his point.

He noted, for example, that the Gross National Product increased by 6.4 per cent in 1967, a rate 2.9 per cent higher than the increase in population, which puts Mexico high on the list of Latin American nations with good records of Gross National Product. He could have cited, but did not, the estimates of banks in Mexico City that the 1968 GNP increase would reach 7 per cent in 1968 and could well top 8 per cent in 1969.

Actually, the economic picture remains generally bright. Exports, which fell off in 1967 due to floods in parts of the country, recuperated sharply in 1968 and estimates for that year suggest the increases will be recorded across the board when final figures are in.

Offsetting these good economic indicators, however, are several clouds on the horizon. Mexico's petroleum industry is lagging. *Petroleos Mexicanos*, the state-owned enterprise known generally as PEMEX, is having to import certain grades of crude oil for the first time since the oil fields were expropriated in 1936 from their United States, British, and other foreign owners. The oil officials are trying to keep the news out of print and it has not appeared in the Mexican press. But there have been reshuffles of top executives in PEMEX during 1967 and 1968 in an effort to effect some sort of reorganization of the state oil monopoly.

THE POPULATION SPIRAL

Perhaps of more serious consequence is the continuing population spiral. Since 1939, the rate of population increase in Mexico has risen from 1.7 per cent per year to over 3.1 per cent per year. By 1980, at the present growth rate which shows no signs of slowing down, Mexico's present population of 45 million will have increased to 65 million. The

question is being asked increasingly whether the present economic growth can continue if population continues to spiral. Very little is done to curb the population growth. In fact, the attitude of the Mexican government is generally one of only limited concern about the issue.

Yet during August, 1968, while the student protest was gaining momentum, the ministry of labor was quoted in Mexico City newspapers as expressing "worry over the population issue." Both unemployment and underemployment are problems for the labor officials. Unemployment is currently running at 2.9 per cent. Although there are no statistics for underemployment, it is estimated that fully 40 per cent of the male working force is underemployed.

Underemployment bears heavily on millions of people in rural areas and on the urban poor where there have been signs of discontent in recent years. With an increasing number of young people entering the labor market each year, the problem is bound to grow and the discontent could well fester.

There is evidence, however, that some Mexican officials are becoming concerned over this potential discontent. There has been an increase in government assistance programs to rural parts of the nation. Loans to small farmers are more common than they were 10 years ago, and public officials are quoted frequently on the need for improving the lot of the people in rural areas. Still the contrast between those who have profited by Mexico's long political stability and economic growth and those who have not is sharp. The contrast is perhaps most evident in Mexico City.

Olympic visitors saw a city of 7 million inhabitants, with broad avenues, spacious homes, countless high-rise luxury apartments, sprawling areas of low-income housing—all backed up against even more sprawling areas of squalor. A survey issued in July, 1968, noted that 62 per cent of Mexico City's population lives in substandard dwellings, another 10 per cent in what was termed "just barely adequate dwellings."

⁸ *Excelsior*, Mexico City, August 16, 1968.

But there are mitigating factors in this analysis as far as Mexico City is concerned. It is possible, for example, for a man born into poverty to lift himself to lower middle-class status, according to sociologists who compare Mexico City favorably with both the Mexican countryside and with other Latin American cities, where such social mobility is uncommon.

For the students who launched their protests in July, 1968, such social mobility is not enough. In addition to the list of official demands made of the government, many of the student protesters want more vigorous government efforts to solve the poverty problem in Mexico—in both the city and the countryside. One of the student manifestos issued in September called on President Díaz Ordaz "to take immediate action to eliminate economic inequality."

There is general agreement that Communists were involved in the protest, but they never controlled the movement, nor did they have much influence on its direction. In his September 1 state of the nation address, President Díaz Ordaz did speak of "foreign agitators." But government spokesmen afterwards said he referred to a handful of United States citizens who were arrested in several of the early incidents. Moreover, there were hints that his statement was calculated as a warning to the students to make sure that Communists and other foreign extremists did not get involved.

There was a general consensus following the President's speech that he had some sympathy for the students. Whether this is a valid assumption is uncertain. But if there is uncertainty over the President's position,

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James Nelson Goodsell has been Latin American correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor* since 1957. His coverage of the Dominican Revolution won the Sigma Delta Chi award for foreign correspondence. He won the Overseas Press Club citation for reporting in 1966. His article on the Dominican Republic under Balaguer appears in *Current History*, November, 1967.

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Nine articles in this issue examine facets of Latin American-United States relations and other Latin American problems. This first article shows that "After making liberal allowances for the well-intentioned efforts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt as manifested in the Good Neighbor Policy, and of President John F. Kennedy as represented by the Alliance for Progress, the record of the United States relations with Latin American republics stands devoid of imagination when not actually misguided."

United States-Latin American Relations: The Roots Of Misunderstanding

BY JOHN J. JOHNSON

Professor of History, Stanford University

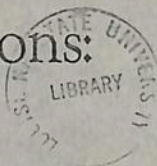
IN 1948, A POPULAR UPRISING in Bogota, Colombia, nearly terminated a meeting being held there to create the machinery for more effective Western Hemisphere understanding. The uprising failed, but the ensuing 20 years have been characterized by a deterioration in understanding that has accelerated with time. Today, the reservoir of mutual disrespect is the fullest that it has been since the late 1920's and perhaps in all history. At the official level, neither side any longer has faith in the intentions of the other. Clearly, the price of lasting reconciliation between the United States and the nations of Latin America has never been higher.*

Before turning to some specifics, let it be clear that Latin America is not a monolith, that on the contrary there are or may be great historical, ethnic and cultural differences between near neighbors.

It goes without saying that there are no simple answers to the question of why relations reached their present state, nor are there any easy cures for a very sick hemispheric community. No one country can be tagged with full responsibility for the mutual distrust that prevails. Both sides are culpable.

Let us examine some of the apparent reasons why Latin America may be held at least partially responsible for the discord that is sundering our hemisphere. Until approximately 1950, political leaders of the several republics alternately sought aid and comfort from Washington and used the United States as a whipping boy. More recently there has been a tendency—Mexico providing the most notable exception—for them *simultaneously* to solicit aid and comfort from Washington and to heap abuse upon the United States; witness the actions of Ecuador, Peru and Panama during 1967 and early 1968. The United States State Department may be aware that lashing out at the United States is a tactic often used by Latin American re-

* Much of this material was first presented by Professor Johnson in an address delivered at Central Washington State College, April 3, 1968.



gimes to rally the support of the increasingly articulate but still politically unsophisticated working elements, directing their internal frustration towards a friend-foe power.

But the recognition of these factors does not make their behavior acceptable to Washington. It only makes it somewhat less reprehensible. Our representatives would be less than human if they consistently suppressed the urge to strike back. They do not always conceal their feelings. Their frustrations surface from time to time and they take retaliatory measures.

One instance where the Latin American republics try the patience and understanding of Washington policy-makers is in the deference shown to the military and their important but sometimes ambiguous position in Latin American politics. In many countries the armed forces are sources of friction in hemisphere relations. They are a cause of concern for some officials in Washington because they constitute a heavy financial drain on the public treasuries, or because they have a propensity for involving themselves in politics, or both. Currently several of the major republics are at one and the same time seeking greater and greater amounts of United States assistance, while proposing to increase by tens of millions of dollars their spending abroad for military hardware, notably for supersonic planes. They do not need most of the arms they propose to acquire, but they want them either for prestige purposes at home and abroad or because their military establishments demand them in return for their support. Senators William Fulbright, Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening take a dim view of such proposals, as did other senators before them and as, in all probability, others will after them. The cause for concern among some officials of our government becomes evident when it is appreciated that currently more than half of the total territory and well over 50 per cent of the total population of Latin America, including the inhabitants of relatively highly developed Argentina and Brazil, are living under status-quo-minded military regimes. Nevertheless all the present military govern-

ments enjoy the official blessings of Washington. This fact helps to keep alive tensions on Capitol Hill and provides ammunition for those in Latin America who are predisposed to label the United States as one of the principal forces for reaction in their republics.

LATIN AMERICAN ATTITUDES

Returning more directly to the Latin American contribution to hemispheric misunderstanding, the curricula of the Latin American universities, except perhaps the finest institutions in Chile, Argentina and Mexico, have not produced nearly enough rigorously trained social scientists who, as public and private bureaucrats, might make reasonably efficient use of the financial resources and technological skills available through external sources. It is no secret that highly trained personnel from more developed foreign countries and international organizations often find their Latin American counterparts frustratingly incompetent. (This is not to argue against the possibility that the pot may sometimes be guilty of calling the kettle black.)

Latin American universities probably can be faulted at another level. University politics—both the faculty and student varieties—too frequently have led to the neglect of rigorous training for future leadership and to an excess of training in agitational politics. As a consequence, students become alumni with an unwarranted regard for themselves and a patent disregard for the United States, based upon the partial digestion of the varied, if not necessarily intellectually enriching, theoretical tidbits tossed from podium and soap box. Among other things, their instruction, heavily larded as it is with Marxism, encourages them to interpret hemisphere relations in economic terms.

They thus commonly miss—or choose to ignore—the point that over time—and so today—United States interest in the Latin American republics, and most particularly in those bordering the Caribbean, has sprung first of all from its search for national security and not to protect United States business interests and the almighty dollar. If this

kind of educational approach is not so widespread in Latin America as some believe it to be—and it is not—it is still prevalent enough to give us reason to question the objectivity if not the sincerity of the future generation of leaders.

Their elders have hardly done better than the students themselves. Many, probably most, of Latin America's scholars and men of letters historically have been less than meticulous in informing themselves and their constituencies about the United States and its institutions. A decade ago in their curricula only one or two Latin American universities had even minimal offerings in United States studies manned by competent personnel. Probably no more than half a dozen universities have such programs today.

BASIC U.S. PREMISES

If on balance the Latin American contribution to hemispheric understanding and welfare has in a number of areas fallen below the level of reasonable expectation, it should also be added that Latin America has some cause to be bitter; and the United States has some duty to reflect. After making liberal allowances for the well-intentioned efforts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt as manifested in the Good Neighbor Policy, and of President John F. Kennedy as represented by the Alliance for Progress, the record of the United States relations with the Latin American republics stands devoid of imagination when not actually misguided.

Over a considerable period of time the relations of the United States with Latin America have encompassed only two very basic premises. The first premise is that citizens of the United States are ethno-culturally superior to those of the Latin American republics, and that their superiority is reflected in their institutions. The second premise is that the security of the United States is the number one problem of the hemisphere and that only the United States can determine how its security is to be guaranteed. Both assumptions were firmly entrenched in the minds of United States politicians well before 1930.

HISTORICAL CONDESCENSION

While the inhabitants of the old Spanish Empire were still battling against overwhelming odds to free themselves from the yoke of the mother country, United States agents to the area showed a markedly condescending attitude towards them.

Two examples of our early envoys will illustrate this point. During the late 1820's, the United States agent to Mexico, Joel Poinsett, became so involved in saving that country from itself that the Mexican government declared him persona non grata, and he was ordered to leave Mexico. About the same time William Henry Harrison, who later became President of the United States, was named minister to Colombia. He knew nothing about Colombia but he did not let his fund of ignorance in the field of administration, domestic or foreign, deter him. On the contrary, he gratuitously gave unsolicited advice to the brilliant Liberator Simón Bolívar on how to govern the nations he had created out of the collapsing Spanish Empire. When his counsel went unheeded, Harrison intrigued against the Liberator. He was finally instructed to leave Colombia.

MANIFEST DESTINY

The judgment that Latin Americans were ethno-culturally inferior sharpened when in the mid-1840's the United States conception of its manifest destiny moved Mexico into the range of its expansionist policy. In the course of the fiery exchanges during and immediately following the war between the United States and Mexico over whether or not Mexico should be annexed to the United States, the Mexicans, who wanted nothing more than to be left alone, were castigated by deprecating American politicians and journalists as Indians, mixed bloods, mestizos, sambos, mulattos and mongrel barbarians.

More than half a century later, on the occasion of the second meeting of the Pan-American Union held in Mexico City in 1901-1902, Dictator Porfirio Díaz, himself a mestizo, out of deference to the United States' racial attitudes, ordered that for the duration of the conference white-skinned

men should replace Indians as uniformed attendants in public buildings.

The second premise—that United States security must take precedence over all other hemisphere concerns—began as a logical projection of the United States belief that it somehow held the keys to heaven. Later that supposition was reinforced and given greater significance by the unfolding of United States sea power and the construction of the Panama Canal between 1890 and 1914; by the United States “being blessed” with infinite national resources of the kinds that industrialized nations require; and by the fact that during the early 1920’s New York had become the financial capital of the world.

As early as the 1890’s, Secretary of State Richard Olney had taken the occasion of the Venezuela-Great Britain boundary controversy to set the tone for the new era, in which the United States in defense of its own interest would assert its preeminence in the hemisphere. In a communiqué to the British Foreign Office, Olney served notice that “Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition.” The United States thereafter moved quickly and firmly towards a go-it-alone policy. Theodore Roosevelt first “took Panama,” then, in a letter to Rudyard Kipling, labeled the recalcitrant Colombians a “corrupt pithecoïd community,” and finally made the United States, in effect, the policeman of the hemisphere and its judge as well, by insisting that the Monroe Doctrine be interpreted unilaterally. By 1912, the United States overwhelming preponderance in Middle America had paved the way for the use by Washington of embargoes, diplomatic blackmail in its recognition policy, financial and electoral interventions, and the landing of Marines and soldiers ten times in six different countries within the next fifteen years.

U.S. POLICY TODAY

Today these two assumptions of superiority and strategic defense still determine the basic Latin American policy of the United States. Public denigration of Latin Ameri-

cans on ethno-cultural grounds is no longer in good taste. But that it persists just below the level of official respectability is not lost on our Latin American neighbors. It is not by accident that, as a body, Latin American ambassadors to the United States have very pronounced European features or that the first three Secretaries-General of the Organization of American States (O.A.S.) have had excellent physical credentials establishing their European backgrounds. All this from an area whose population, by our standards, is approximately 70 per cent non-white.

In the present day, the United States is still defending its hegemony in the hemisphere. Historically, the major European countries were considered potential competitors; today the United States principally fears communism—in its many and varied forms—and has decided to determine unilaterally when it poses a threat. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and the United States invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 are outstanding recent examples.

Some United States legislators appear to assume that to take liberties with the feelings of the Latin American recipients of aid and favors is one of the privileges of public office. Accordingly, some individuals, because they are sincerely well-intentioned and others simply because they are bursting with unthinking patriotism, lecture the Latin Americans on the virtues of democracy—blind to its failings at home.

Or they treat their neighbors as clients or as ungrateful beggars—seemingly unmindful of the fact that the United States “gives” Latin America relatively little that is not repaid with interest, and unmindful also of the fact that the United States is exploring the heavens while the poor inherit the earth. Or they threaten them with various kinds of reprisals when they do not appear as active as the United States in stamping out foreign ideologies, heedless of the possibility that even the great resources of the United States in and of themselves cannot guarantee victories fought in the name of unpopular causes. Or with very few exceptions they

either applaud or shake their heads in resignation when it becomes public knowledge that the United States has infringed the sovereignty of a Latin American nation.

Those were the reactions from Washington when, in 1954, the United States, through the Central Intelligence Agency, connived with Guatemalan reactionaries to overthrow constitutionally elected, leftist-leaning President Jacobo Arbenz. Those were the reactions in 1959 when Venezuelan students spat on Vice President Richard Nixon, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower as if by conditioned reflex readied the Marines rather than trusting a friendly Venezuelan government to protect its official guests. Those were the reactions, in 1964—even among legislators who professed to be anti-military—when the United States government took only a few hours to recognize the Brazilian junta composed of armed forces officers who had taken the lead in the overthrow of civilian President João Goulart.

Just the other day Covey T. Oliver, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, informed Congress that a substantial cut in funds for social and economic development in Latin America could lead to violent revolution and widespread terrorism and the alignment of some governments with Communist countries. Because I favor aid to Latin America, I hope that Oliver's statement had the desired effect. But it is still a very irresponsible, meaningless statement. Of course there may be revolution and widespread terrorism if the United States reduces funds for social and economic development, and there may be revolution and terrorism if it does not.

There are two greater likelihoods. First, some countries may broaden their relations with Communist-bloc countries as an alternative to complete dependence on the United States, and they should not be criticized for doing so. (We make deals with Russia on a more or less continuous basis). Second, there is probably no better way to drive our neighbors into the Communist camp than for the United States to act as if it would be a catastrophe were this to happen.

IMPLICATIONS OF OUR POLICY

The all-pervading implication is that the United States determines Latin America's rate of development. Because the United States has not respected Latin Americans' abilities as individuals, we have not trusted them to know what is best for themselves. Because we have not had faith in their institutions, we have denied that their institutions could be depended upon to stand the stress of rapid change. Except in Mexico, Bolivia and Cuba, the total effect has been a tendency for the United States to take the initiative in inducing change and to throttle it down to where it can be safely guided. In very practical terms, the United States has left the responsibility for change in the hands of people and institutions it distrusts but not to the same extent that it distrusts the untested leaders and institutions of emerging social-economic groups. This means that although in the broadest sense the United States has not opposed change in Latin America, it has insisted that change take place under United States direction.

The United States has achieved its ends in various ways. In the political field, its lack of confidence in its allies has encouraged it to support the most socially conservative elements with any real prospects of winning popular elections. That this approach has sometimes driven the United States into association with reformist groups is an evident truth. For example, the United States supported the election of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei who, in good faith, offered the Chilean voters one of the most socially and economically radical philosophies ever set forth on this hemisphere.

But the important lesson to draw from this development is that, as far as Chile is concerned, if Frei had not offered such an alternative, the elections would unquestionably have gone to a home-grown Socialist-Communist coalition. In that light, United States support of Frei does not prove the contention that we are becoming radical reformists; only that we are prepared to make minimum concessions to the mid-twentieth century.

THE SPANISH AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

AND THE UNIVERSITY STUDENT

Preface

Knowledge of the basic institutions, of cultural patterns, and of social motivation in contemporary Spanish America is inadequate. Source materials on so basic an institution as the Spanish American university are limited in Spanish and all but non-existent in English. Historically, the function of the university in the society has been recognized, and a strong democratic tradition had existed and still exists in it. Yet limited information on the institution and the motivational sources of the students tends to restrict development of programs to treat with this fundamental social factor.

The Spanish American university, given sufficient resources, can be a more powerful force for freedom, a source of democratic government, a stabilizing social element, a vital factor in economic development, and a genuine cultural institution. If the university continues in its present course, it cannot be expected to develop into any of these things.

The purpose of this commentary is to provoke interest and to stimulate thought in relation to the Spanish American university and its student. Any commentary of this kind is by its nature limited and subject to the weaknesses of broad generalizations to which the individual exception may be found. It is not intended to be definitive. As an institution the university carries within it the individual variations which exist between the Spanish American nations, expressing in various phases the individuality of the national cultures themselves. However, until more thorough study and investigation reveal specific error, the generalizations are valid.

PART I -- THE UNIVERSITY

Patterned on Salamanca, Bologna, and Padua, the colonial university was a complete institution in accordance with the norms of those times. Despite its ecclesiastical predilection and its theological preoccupation, the Spanish American colonial university is looked upon by contemporary university authorities with great pride and as an institution which was good, effective, and complete.

The 19th Century movements -- political and educational -- are blamed for destroying the unity and universality of the colonial university. Indeed, the university as such is frequently said to have ceased to exist during these years of political turbulence and socio-intellectual upheaval and to have become merely a central administrative office.

The republican university shifted emphasis from culture, in the continental and colonial definition, to the professions. Most Schools of Humanities, or Faculties of Philosophy and Letters are of 20th Century origin. The Schools or Faculties -- this latter being the more accurate term -- are accused of opposing any central authority, and of destroying the traditional structure of the university. Doctors and lawyers are cast as the chief villains, although any professional fits the role.

The professionalistic spirit results in a multiplication of libraries, laboratories, courses, professors, and bureaucratic installations, because each Faculty insists on having its own and teaching in its own way. The Faculty division goes through the entire university life, affecting in consequence student activities and loyalties.

Organization:

Traditionally the Spanish American university had three directing units, apart from the individual officials (Rector, Vice-rector, Secretary-General, Treasurer) of the institution. These units are: (1) a General Assembly, (2) a University Council, and (3) a Faculty Council. The General Assembly is usually empowered to elect the Rector and Vice-Rector, to hear reports, and to act upon special occasions or problems. The University Council is the maximum authority of the University. The Rector, or in some instances the Minister of Education, is the presiding officer. Each faculty has its own Council with the Dean as presiding officer. The Council is the supreme authority within the Faculty.

The chief executive officer of the university is the Rector who is usually an elected official having a limited term of office. The Rector is potentially a far more powerful individual than an American university president, but he is also burdened with far more detail than the North American counterpart would consider proper. The methods of selecting the Rector vary widely from direct appointment by the Executive Branch of the government to nomination from professors of the faculty of the institution. The Chief administrative officer is usually the Secretary-General. The Dean, an elected officer, is by tradition second only to the Rector in importance and responsibility. Because of the high degree of Faculty autonomy, the Dean is

an important figure in the university life.

The Faculty:

One of the fundamental problems of the Spanish American university is its teaching staff or faculty. Two words cause endless confusion between Anglo-American and Spanish-American universities: college and faculty. College means high school in Spanish American usage. The term Faculty is used to mean that division of the university which is presided over by a Dean, while faculty is used to refer to the teaching staff. Very few individuals are willing or financially able to devote full-time to university work, although the situation is improving. Usually the university professor gains a livelihood outside and devotes a small portion of his time to teaching for the prestige it may give him, for his devotion to his profession, or for political reasons. While the salary scale is improving, it cannot match professional earnings or keep pace with the soaring cost of living. Two other factors work against the professional or full-time teacher: (1) continuing government intervention in the university's affairs for political reasons, which usually results in dismissals or suspensions, and (2) fear of a tyranny should the professors gain complete control of the institution. The selection of faculty members is by contract, by competitive examination, or by influence and prestige.

The University and the State:

The relationship between the Spanish American university and the national government is characterized by the struggle for autonomy. This struggle for the freedom of the university from government intervention and for the control of its own academic destinies has been called a re-affirmation of the colonial tradition. Quite accurately, observers point out that the colonial universities were free from the authority of government, at least local government. Since the majority of the colonial universities were either Dominican or Jesuit, the religious orders directed them from a supra-national level.

Several basic differences are immediately evident between the colonial and the contemporary university. Perhaps the most crucial difference is that the colonial university was maintained by the resources of the orders while the contemporary university is sustained by government subsidies. Also, while the religious directors of the colonial universities may have dabbled in local politics, the contemporary lay directors of the universities are either unwilling or unable to stay out of national -- and even international -- politics.

The question of political role of the university is important. Many authorities agree that a prohibition should exist against the participation -- collective, corporate, or institutional -- by professors and students in contemporary politics or party disputes. However, the liberty of the individual freely to proceed in these activities in accordance with his beliefs and interests is, of course, reserved. While the university ought to maintain itself aloof from politics, the university man, professor, alumnus, or student, should not suffer any restriction on his capacity as an individual member of the society. It would be unjust if the "best qualified" were not able to express their opinions on matters about which any ordinary citizen could express

himself freely and fully. (The phrase, "the best qualified," when referring to university students, is widely used in Spanish America.)

If everyone concerned with the university were subject to the same restrictions as ordinary citizens, the problem would be lessened. But experience shows that students are not subject to these same restrictions. Their special and privileged position is frequently abused, while restrictions on administrators or faculty is called invasion of academic freedom and university autonomy.

The University and the Faculty:

A dispute between the university and the Faculty arises from the belief that, if the university is a grouping of autonomous or semi-autonomous Faculties, then the university is not an entity capable of conserving and propagating the culture of the society. But the university is said to be the compendium of culture in Spanish America. An unsolved problem is the general cultural level of the student. Solutions have been attempted by requiring "cultural" courses of undergraduates or by founding schools of higher studies to promote additional study after the usual university courses are completed. This concern for the culture of the student is an indirect confession that the much-vaunted "bachillerato" system of secondary education does not accomplish its purpose. But despite the self-criticism of the Spanish American university for being simply collections of professional and technical schools, the university is still considered a humanistic, i.e. cultural institution, not merely a technical one.

Student and University:

The tradition of student voice and vote goes back to the university of Salamanca. The suspension of student participation in the 18th Century is blamed on increasing French influence, as well as on the worsening relations between Spain and the colonies. Since the universities were seats of opposition and hotbeds of independence, the Spanish authorities were forced to eliminate student participation in university government.

Direct intervention by government authorities in university affairs began during the first two decades of the 19th century for political reasons. It was unsuccessful. Beginning with the reform of the University of Cordoba, Argentina, in 1918, there began again the movement for the participation by students in university administration. However, participation has become a problem when the student voice grows tyrannical, when the university administration must play up to student elements to maintain a semblance of control, and when the student element makes national party politics the internal politics of the university.

The increase in the student population in Spanish American universities since 1940 has been startling. Although reliable statistics are not available, the average is probably about 400 per cent. While the building of university plants has been extensive, it has not been able to keep pace with the increase. As a consequence, academic and administrative problems have been acute, and

a steady decline in academic standards has aroused much concern.

Inflation and sharp rises in the cost of living have made the problem of university finance and student support increasingly difficult. University authorities tend to consider it unpatriotic and "against nature" to limit registration without a scientific criterion simply because there are not sufficient classrooms, teaching materials, or professors. In some instances the authorities are forbidden by law to limit registration, even by their scientific criteria. Given both philosophy and regulation, it appears evident that the university situation is not going to improve unless there be drastic changes in government policies.

PART II - THE STUDENT

To be a university student in Latin America means being something special; it means belonging to a powerful, educated pressure group in countries where often the majority of the people cannot even read or write, where often even the secondary school graduate, "bachiller" is to be looked up to. It can also mean a certain pride, "espirit", and perhaps even a sense of superior "caste". The expression "student" signifies the male Spanish-American university student in the public or "national" university, unless stated otherwise.

The student is basically the product of an environment in which there are extreme social and economic differences between various groups of people. If he is from one of the small rich ruling groups of the country, his name is known and even at times hated or feared he may not usually participate too avidly in political student outcries or in what little basic extra curricular activities there are.

Other students come from a new, rising middle class, with a mixture of the struggling from the upper-poor brackets. A good number of the former group and all of the latter find it necessary to work regularly in order to continue studying. This work, however, cannot be too menial because it would lower the student in the eyes of fellow students and would generally not be considered "worthy" of a person who has reached university status. Due to this imposed limitation and the fact that in most Latin American countries work of any kind is not always easy to find, especially for the early under-graduate student who has not yet sufficient knowledge of his future profession to have become a semi-skilled worker, the mortality rate in the first two years of study is extremely high. Even many who continue studying find it necessary to drop out from studies for a semester or two in order to accumulate sufficient funds to continue. This tends to make the average age of the student high. A number of those students who continue, and go beyond the half-way point in their studies get married and find that they have an additional burden with the arrival of the first child. Many of these young couples continue to live with relatives in very cramped quarters due to the lack of money and of any real inexpensive dormitory facilities for single or married students.

The single students who have homes in the city in which the university is established live with their parents. But, the large group who are not from this city frequently find it necessary to live in inexpensive, poorly kept boarding houses where diet is usually one of tortillas, fried beans, and some potatoes, and where one can live on anything from twenty-five to forty-five dollars a month. Some few of the students of this group are not always familiar with all social niceties.

The advanced student very often finds work in government agencies and is therefore extremely sensitive to government and political movements which might endanger his economic position. But the early under-graduate student as described above can barely make ends meet and has very little or no money for entertainment purposes. He has the usual "steam and fire" of youth but often few means of expending and diverting this energy. The "good" Latin American girl, due to social custom, is quite often not available to him for company unless he intends to marry her. This perpetuates the Latin custom of young (and even married)

men being thrown together in "wolf pack" groups during leisure time and accentuates their sense of aggressive masculinity. Also, the atmosphere of the university and its campus is basically a masculine one, since there is practically no female attendance.

Youth is basically the rebel in any country at any time. But when that same youth has little opportunity to fill its leisure time in an interesting or satisfying way; is continually plagued by financial difficulties or complete dependence on parents although physically already an adult; and when surrounded by an atmosphere of political instability in the major force of his nation, the Government, and is also witness to extreme economic differences in the population of his country, he becomes a political force and/or tool.

The majority of Latin American countries are not large either politically, economically, or even geographically. The result is often one of a small town atmosphere where everyone knows or knows about, everyone else, and gossip and rumors are the order of the day. Graft or unethical politics do not always stay hidden for long. The student generally despises the military of his country and considers it a completely unnecessary evil that is interested only in its own special privileges or in guarding the status quo. He sees its continual coups and pressures as a real threat to democracy and feels that its major task is not one of protecting the nation against would-be aggressors, but rather one of oppressing the people of its own country.

This cynicism, coupled with the lack of a tradition of stable long-lived governments, and the experience of having seen governments overthrown, constitutions ignored, and liberties curtailed, arbitrarily tends to create in the student a hypersensitivity to politics. The political student then often sincerely feels that his is the only disinterested patriotic voice, and that it is his duty to be the "guardian" of the nation, but especially of groups which he considers underprivileged. This attitude, of course, implies then an almost automatic reaction against what he considers the privileged groups, which usually include foreign investments in his country. It is easy to believe that if the political student has little faith in the leaders of his country's government, he will believe them quite capable of being "bought out" by foreign governments and foreign private enterprise with interests in his country.

Any Latin American who has the equivalent of a high school degree can generally enter the national university in any professional college without paying more than token matriculation fees, and without submitting to any special entrance examination. Although this procedure can be considered perhaps "democratic", it creates extremely large first-year classes that are difficult to control, as well as groups of "floater" students, who for special reasons of prestige, politics, etc. are interested in having the status of university student. In this group one finds the trained agitators.

Once registered, the student quickly finds that his can be an important voice when expressed through his student union. Most Latin American universities have strong student union groups. Often each college is organized on a "closed shop" basis with almost compulsory dues paid to the union. Each college student union, is responsible, with the college faculty, dean, and graduates of the college, for much of the administration and decision-making

of the college. This system is repeated on the highest university level when representatives of the various college student unions, some faculty members and deans, and representatives of the alumni form the governing board of the entire university, guiding the policy of the Rector.

It can probably be said with accuracy that seventy per cent of the student body of the Latin American university does not bother to participate actively in university politics and does not take part in the various-reasoned protest rallies, manifestations, etc. None the less, the remaining thirty per cent represents a powerful percentage of politically-oriented students.

And this group's basic political and philosophical beliefs stem principally from the Marxist schools of thought, and the rationalism and laicism of the French Revolution. As a result, their interpretation of "democracy" can seem at times like anarchy.

This group of approximately thirty per cent of the student body is the one which speaks so often throughout the world in the name of the Latin American university student. There is a tendency on the part of the remaining seventy per cent of the student body to accept any of the ideas offered by the leader-group as being true. This is not always the case, however, as is evidenced by some few universities where strong, moderate left (often considered the "middle of the road" in Latin America) Catholic Action, Opus Dei, and other similar groups have triumphed momentarily or have strong possibilities of doing so in the near future. These groups, considered reactionary by the extreme leftist, are frequently Catholic organizations which attempt to emphasize progressiveness and "social justice" within the framework of Catholicism.

These organizations are often a strong force in times of stress, when they are capable of animating members of the usually politically dormant student majority. When the crisis is over, however, they seldom keep up a permanent fight for their ideals with their full force, as do the extreme leftists.

Since there is a tradition of political action on the part of students in Latin America, they are usually feared and respected by national politicians who often make certain concessions to get their support. Students have been known to change and guide their government's policies and actions in various fields, using their most effective weapons, strikes and protest demonstrations that can deteriorate into clashes with government forces. Other weapons they have are their own various publications (sometimes suppressed and gone underground) or ones with whose cause, often leftist, they identify themselves. There are also statements, sometimes demagogical, issued to newspapers in countries going through periods of freedom of the press. The student appeals for, and often gets, the backing of the discontented working class, the poor, and the intellectual leftist. When rallies with worker and student speakers are held, the emotionally charged key words are: freedom, oppression, liberty, class struggle, fatherland, justice and imperialism. Most of these students are basically sincere in their beliefs, and if they are politically conscious, it can probably be attributed, apart from the traditional aspect, to their political and economic ambiente which they feel cries out for justice and change. Many also feel that they are the only effective check on over-ambitious

governments that can whimsically close down the congress and put a supreme court out of action. It is obvious, therefore, why most hypersensitive or totalitarian-inclined Latin American governments are sometimes quick to exile or imprison university student leaders. Those student leaders who feel that they have a responsibility to the people of their nation, since the people often have had little or no formal education, take their responsibilities rather seriously at times and often debate long before taking a public stand or issuing a statement on a national or international problem. They realize their power and importance but are not above using these at times for political purposes. The stands and statements made by the leaders are generally tempered by the ideas and political beliefs of the other members of the board of directors of the student organization. Sometimes these other members are capable of softening an extreme leftist stand or completely changing an original intention since all statements made in the name of the supreme student union must have the majority vote of the board members.

The Latin American student tends to seem mature, in spite of the fact that he is inclined to suppress his emotions and is inclined to open, nationalistic patriotism. For good or for bad, he takes an active interest in national and international politics. He is used to organizing all types of ceremonies and programs with no outside adult help, and is often quite capable in speaking publicly. His own human dignity is highly prized, and a basic humanistic appeal seems to be a guiding force in his life. Due to an apparently more complete, general, educational-cultural background in his high school studies, which are somewhat more comparable to that of the European student, he often seems profound in many fields. He admires the intellectual, and does not give the impression of the need to be liked outside of the family circle. As a Latin male he is considered and treated as an adult in nearly all aspects, even by his family, and is free to drink, smoke, and even visit houses of prostitution without fear of infringing on social custom. There is also an early sense of maturity.

Since a good portion of regular class time is lost to the student due to the numerous holidays; professors who do not arrive to teach their classes; national political difficulties and disorders; and student scheduled meetings and activities; the student receives a large portion of his education through simply reading the text material recommended by the professor and trying to memorize the salient points. Many students advocate the policy of studying together in groups of two or more so they can ask questions and discuss points among themselves.

Relationship between the student and professor is, on the whole, not close in Latin America, and there is apparently little if any attempt to change this. There is no system of professor-counsellor, and even if there were, the professor would probably have no place to receive the student, since he is allotted no office space in the school. A large number of the professors are not full-time educators and are much more interested in their private professional practice than in their classes, although a position on the university faculty does lend prestige.

There is no standard rule about compulsory attendance at classes in Latin American universities, but in the majority of them it is not required and in

some, students can merely show up at examination times and pass the course dependent upon the results of the exams.

Examinations are always "crammed" for and there is often a special period of sometimes a month between the end of classes and the beginning of exams, during which the student frequently studies day and night. In some colleges of some universities students are given an examination number by the secretary of the college. On the examination papers the student then writes his number instead of his name in order to "avoid prejudice or favoritism on the part of the professor". Theoretically, the only one having the key to the students and their numbers is the secretary to whom the professor turns over the corrected exam papers, and to whom the students go for their results.

Advanced texts in some of the professional colleges such as those of medicine, engineering, dentistry, etc. are in English. Nevertheless, some of these colleges do not always supply English classes for their students, who end up studying with a Spanish-English dictionary at hand. Some few students protest this "linguistic imperialism" although they have no special resistance to "outside learning" in the form of a foreign visiting-professor if they feel that he is capable of teaching them something that one of their own professors cannot and that he is not attempting to "propagandize" them. The national professors themselves fall into two very general categories; those who have travelled and studied outside of their country, and those who have not. The latter are generally the most nationalistically narrow and are the ones who most appeal to the political-nationalist student since they encourage him in his belief that there is no need to learn from the "outside" and that the foreigner is only interested in exploiting him.

Some basic generalizations can be made on students throughout Latin America who study the same profession, since certain patterns can be detected. The students of Law throughout Latin America are those most identified with leftist beliefs. This may be so partially because this is a field of talkers, theorists, and future politicians, and their studies are basically the social sciences, and the problems of their society, which is far from being a perfect one. Unfortunately, they sometimes feel that one of the philosopher-economists they read--Marx--offers solutions to their nations' problems.

The cases of the colleges of engineering and medicine will serve to finish this brief comparison. They, to a certain extent, are the opposite of the schools of law. Engineering with its basic "down to earth" attitudes and principles, is (often with the School of Dentistry) one of the most unpolitical sectors.

Medical students may tend to be more leftist than the engineers. However, in some countries the medical school is a more "conservative" one because it requires a longer period of study, the texts are more expensive, and there is a great deal of laboratory or hospital work which offers the student less time for outside work. As a result, medical students often come from families who can support them during their long period of study. This type of family is usually not too interested in changing the political or social status quo. This, of course, is a generalization with many exceptions.

Finally, Latin American youth is nearly always collectively rebellious and cherishes the tradition of championing the underdog. The U.S. represents, for him, established authority in almost the same way that parents do to adolescents. Politically the U.S. does not inspire them, usually because, contradictorily, they consider that on the one hand it is no longer young, adventuresome, experimental, and daring, all of which appeal to youth, while on the other they smugly regard it as immature. It is felt that hardening of the arteries has set in in the United States, and that it has forgotten its own birth pains and early struggles and no longer identifies itself or sympathises with movements for liberty in other lands, but even attempts to suppress it due to its own investments abroad. The student often states, "We know you people (except the Negroes, of course) enjoy a great deal of freedom and democracy in the U.S., but you give the impression of not wanting the people of nations you dominate economically to enjoy those same freedoms. You very obviously back governments, democratic or not, that will give favorable treatment to your investments in our countries."

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From personal observation I would judge that Mercalli intensities of VIII were reached in river sediments and bay muds between latitudes 8° to 11° S along the coast. Intensity IX was reached in low-lying unconsolidated sediments between Casma and Chimbote where the water table came within inches of the surface.

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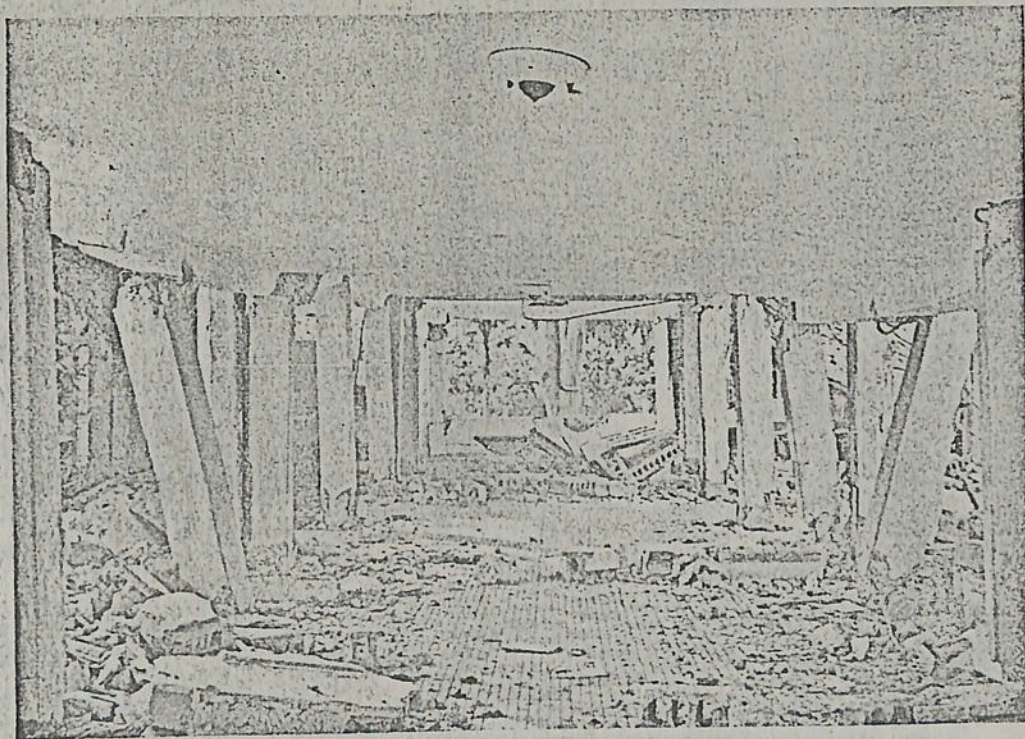


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force of 0.25 g at the center of gravity should have sufficed to overturn these walls. This provides an upper bound, which agrees with the estimate of intensity VIII at this location.

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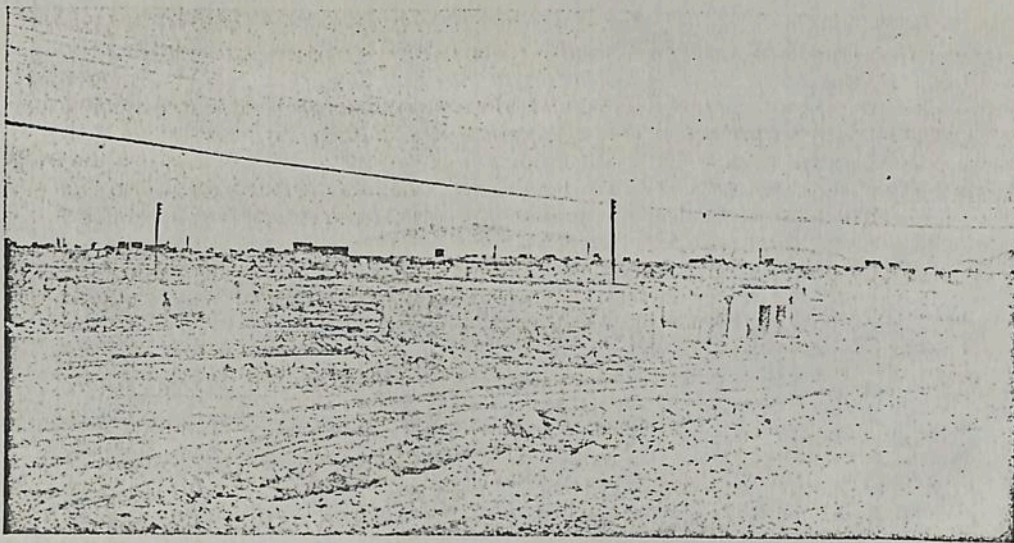


FIG. 2. Chimbote. Near-total damage in medium adobe construction. Note telephone poles are standing.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Study of environmental risks (earthquake risk, landslide risk) for all major cities and towns in Peru.
2. Encouragement of research on eigenvibrations in sedimentary basins of Peru.
3. A unified building code for Latin America, to contain specific provisions for adobe construction.
4. Continued support of CERESIS, the Regional Center for Seismology in South America.

The above recommendations might best be implemented by an inter-American insurance corporation to be chartered by the governments of member states, for the purpose of providing protection against natural disasters. The need for such insurance has long been evident, and not only in Latin America.

Demographic pressures and the trend toward rural-to-urban migration magnify the earthquake risk in developing countries. Largescale disasters such as the Peru earthquake must be expected with increasing frequency, unless effective long-range measures are taken now.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Enrique Gajardo, Associate Director of CERESIS, for helpful discussions, assistance, and advice. The generous cooperation of the Corporación Peruana del Santa and of the Air Force of Peru, in making their facilities available in the earthquake area, is gratefully acknowledged. The Geophysical Institute of Peru, and its Director, Alberto A. Giesecke, provided support and coordination to all members of the UNESCO Mission.

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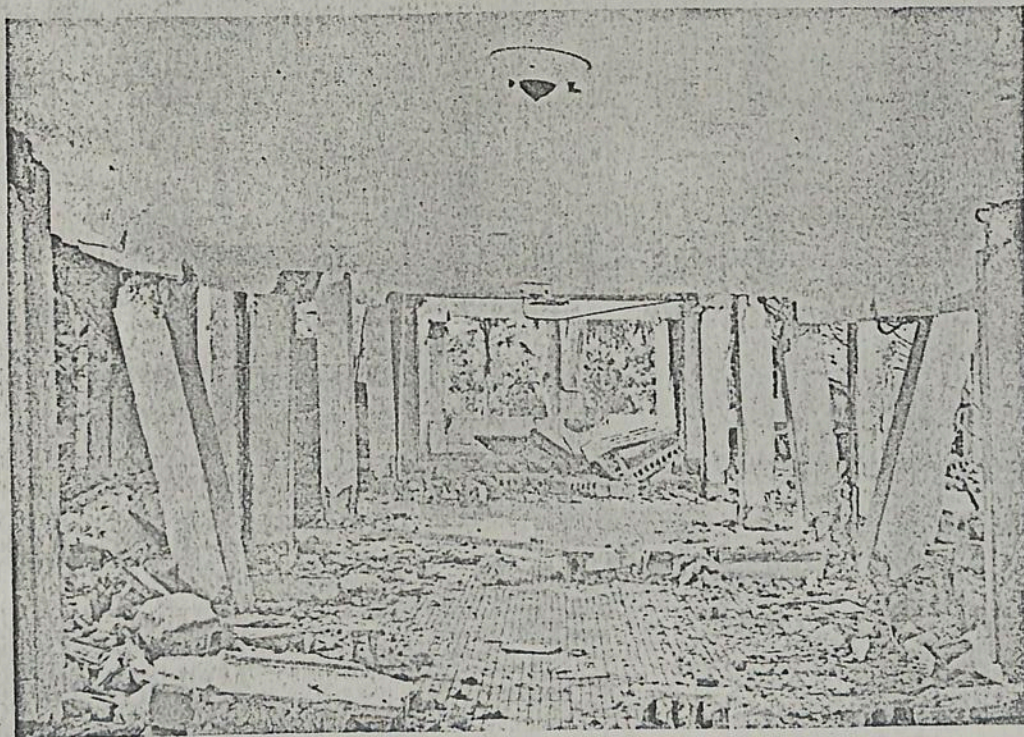


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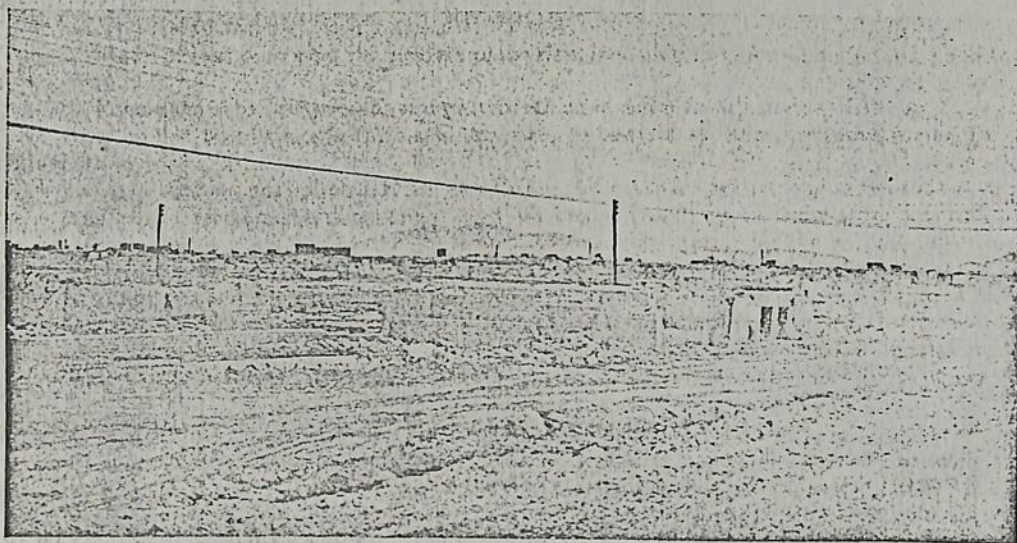


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3. A unified building code for Latin America, to contain specific provisions for adobe construction.
4. Continued support of CERESIS, the Regional Center for Seismology in South America.

The above recommendations might best be implemented by an inter-American insurance corporation to be chartered by the governments of member states, for the purpose of providing protection against natural disasters. The need for such insurance has long been evident, and not only in Latin America.

Demographic pressures and the trend toward rural-to-urban migration magnify the earthquake risk in developing countries. Largescale disasters such as the Peru earthquake must be expected with increasing frequency, unless effective long-range measures are taken now.

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TARIFAS DE PASAJES Y FLETES (HELICE)

R U T A S	P A S A J E S		F L E T E S	
	I D A	Ida y Vuelta	Hasta 100 kg. (p.kg)	Más - 50 kg. (plg)
LIMA-AREQUIPA	\$ 950.50	\$1,806.90	\$ 8.98	\$7.12
LIMA-TACNA	1,197.00	2,275.30	11.54	8.69
AREQUIPA-TACNA	343.40	652.70	3.28	2.56
LIMA-JULIACA	1,390.50	2,640.00	12.30	9.15
AREQUIPA-JULIACA	529.50	1,006.50	5.25	3.90
LIMA-TRUJILLO	637.00	1,209.80	6.20	4.56
" -CHICLAYO	870.70	1,655.90	8.48	6.41
" -PIURA	1,091.60	2,074.80	10.54	7.98
" -TALARA	1,184.20	2,248.70	11.40	8.41
" -TUMBES	1,258.30	2,391.20	12.40	9.26
TRUJILLO-CHICLAYO	295.00	560.00	2.99	2.28
" -PIURA	525.00	997.50	5.25	3.90
" -TALARA	628.40	1,195.60	6.13	4.70
" -TUMBES	692.60	1,315.30	6.92	5.27
CHICLAYO-PIURA	323.50	614.20	3.13	2.42
" -TALARA	436.00	829.40	4.13	3.13
" -TUMBES	531.50	1,010.30	5.27	3.99
PIURA-TALARA	196.70	374.80	1.99	1.57
" -TUMBES	252.20	478.80	2.42	1.85
TALARA-TUMBES	175.30	333.50	1.79	1.28
LIMA-CUZCO	981.80	1,865.30	9.69	7.41
LIMA-IQUITOS	1,390.50	2,640.00	ver 1, 2 y 3	
LIMA-PUCALLPA	940.30	1,788.00	9.00	7.00
LIMA-AYACUCHO	729.00	1,384.50	7.05	5.25
LIMA-TINGO MARIA	729.00	1,384.50	7.05	5.25
LIMA-HUANUCO	621.00	1,180.50	5.85	4.35
PUCALLPA-TINGO MARIA	322.50	612.00	3.00	2.25
LIMA-CAJAMARCA (VIA TRU)	796.50	1,512.00	7.80	5.85
LIMA-MOYOBAMBA(VIA TAR)	1,138.50	2,161.50	8.70	--
LIMA-RIOJA	1,138.50	2,161.50	8.70	--
LIMA-TARAPOTO(DIRECTO)	1,174.50	2,230.50	9.00	--
LIMA-YURIMAGUAS	1,227.00	2,329.50	9.60	--
LIMA-IQUITOS (VIA TAR)	1,668.00	3,168.00	12.83	--
TRUJILLO-CAJAMARCA	303.00	576.00	2.85	2.10
" -MOYOBAMBA	690.00	1,311.00	5.10	--
" -RIOJA	690.00	1,311.00	5.10	--
" -TARAPOTO	740.00	1,407.00	5.70	4.20

Repito que soy aficionado a toros, y añado, aun a trueque de enajenarme la simpatía de mis cofrades en afición, que si yo fuera autócrata o dictador de España suprimiría las corridas de una plumada. Las suprimiría, porque las considero nocivas socialmente, tal como hoy está la sociedad española. Pero, entretanto las hay, asisto a ellas; porque para mí, individualmente, no son nocivas, antes son provechosas, instructivas y, desde luego, solazadas. Entre la taurofobia teórica y la taurofilia práctica, no hay la contradicción que algunos se imaginan. Si un médico acertara con un remedio que evitase ya para siempre las fiebres tifoideas, es seguro que, por amor de la Humanidad o bien de la fama, lo pondría al punto en práctica. Entretanto, el médico sigue asistiendo en cuantas fiebres tifoideas se le ofrecen a consulta. Y hasta es posible que, ante un caso señaladamente definido, típico e insólito, exclame: "¡Qué hermoso caso!"

Sin embargo, como no soy hipócrita, no pretendo extremar la anterior comparación ni establecer la absoluta identidad de un médico y un aficionado a toros; sino un mero linaje de semejanza y esto sólo por lo que a mí atañe. Añadiré que, si frecuento los circos, es tanto por estudiar sociología española cuanto porque me placen las corridas, sin disimular que hay en ellas bastante que me repugna. Estoy en parte conforme, así con los panegiristas, como con los detractores de nuestra fiesta nacional.

Son los toros la causa de nuestra barbarie e insensibilidad, en suma, de nuestra decadencia, como quieren algunos de sus detractores? Si por esto se entiende que España viene declinando desde el siglo XVI, a causa de que los españoles eran entonces, y luego continuaron siendo, aficionados a alancear y ver alancear, a correr y ver correr toros, claramente se advertirá que la relación de causa a efecto es disforme despropósito. Cuando más, podrá admitirse que la afición a toros es uno de tantos efectos o manifestaciones de ciertas causas psicológicas profundas que acarrearón nuestra decadencia. Pero yo ni siquiera admito esta relación de causalidad. Nuestra decadencia histórica y las corridas de toros son, en mi sentir, fenómenos independientes. El arte de torear a pie, que es el que hoy se practica, aparece, se perfecciona, y al pronto se consolida en nuestras costumbres durante el reinado de Carlos III, único período de robustez y esplendor que la historia de España registra en los últimos tres siglos.

Pero, al grado que hemos llegado de anarquía, desorden e insensibilidad para la justicia, reputo nocivas las corridas de toros. Y el gusto por ellas crece más y más, en razón de aquella su naturaleza nociva.

Una nación, para estar bien gobernada, necesita que el pueblo sepa adotar, enfrente de la autoridad, una de estas dos actitudes, según convenga; o de sumisión voluntaria, en tanto la autoridad no excede su jurisdicción propia, o de imperio inquebrantable, si la autoridad fuese arbitraria o abusiva. En las corridas de toros el pueblo aprende y se habitúa a conducirse justamente de las dos maneras opuestas: con mofa y escarnia, ante la autoridad justa o inofensiva; con debilidad, ante la autoridad arbitraria o abusiva. Por una diferencia de apreciación sobre el número de pares de banderillas, se le llama burnó, a coro, al concejal, diputado o gobernador que preside. Si la Empresa comete un abuso fraudulento, y el presidente con su autoridad lo mantiene, se le llama asimismo burro, pero a seguida los espectadores vanse tan tranquilos a su casa. En aquel libro raro del siglo XVIII, titulado El pensador matritense, el autor de la impugnación contra las corridas de toros refiere cómo los asistentes acosan a denuestos e insultos al alguacil, "sólo por ser alguacil", desmechada y carnalesca encarnación del principio de autoridad. ¡Lástima que el cúmulo de energía que se malgasta en los toros no se conserve para la vida cívica y pública, fuera del caso!

Si injusto es el espectador de toros con la autoridad, no lo es menos como juez de los toreros. En los toros se practica la justicia impulsiva. Y la justicia debe ser reflexiva. La justicia impulsiva se excede, por lo pronto, en el fallo; y poco después reacciona, se arrepiente y peca por exceso de lenidad. Nunca mantiene sus sanciones. El espectador de toros aplica a los toreros la sanción momentánea e impulsiva; les asaeta con viles improperios, les denigra, les mienta la madre, les lanza almohadillas, naranjas y otras cosas arrojadizas; pero sale el toro siguiente, el torero ejecuta una pampolina revolera, y el espectador ya lo ha olvidado todo. El ciudadano español se conduce en la vida pública como espectador de toros.

Otro mal que origina en las corridas de toros es el vicio, tan español, de discutir interminablemente sobre asuntos y cosas que no admiten discusión. No admiten discusión, o bien los hechos consumados que no dejan tras de sí prueba concreta, o bien las cosas que dependen de apreciación. Se puede discutir si un torero mató un toro de tres o de dos estocadas, porque, al cabo, es fácil averiguar lo cierto. Pero no se puede discutir si las veces que entró a matar entró mal o entró bien, porque no hay modo de probarlo, y aun cuando fuera factible la reproducción del hecho, su apreciación depende del criterio de cada cual. Pues en este género de discusión incurren, ad nauseam, los aficionados a toros. Este furor polémico sobre el mérito de las faenas y la primacía de un determinado torero, furor polémico ya de suyo perfectamente estúpido, sube aún de tono y se convierte en arquetipo de la estupidez cuando adquiere carácter dogmático, asalta las planas de un periódico y acapara dos o tres columnas, con el propósito de saciarse y mover más irritación y polémica. En una partida de de boxeo no cabe duda quién ha ganado, ni en una de foot-ball, ni en una de billar. Pero en una corrida de toros, ¿cómo se decidirá quién ha ganado? Sin embargo, cada espectador pretende que ha ganado su torero, y ya tiene para toda la semana discusión sobre lo que no admite discusión. Un inglés que veía por primera vez una corrida de toros, decía: "Me hace el efecto como si todos entendiesen mucho de toros menos los que están toreando." Este furor polémico, ejercitado sobre imaginaciones, antojos, personalismos y hechos consumados; este placer de disputas y quimeras, aversión a la mesura y horror de la verdad real y comprobable, todo esto lo lleva consigo el aficionado de los toros a las demás manifestaciones de la vida social y política, contagia luego al no aficionado, y no hay dos españoles que hablen apaciblemente arriba de cinco minutos. Dijérase que todos entienden de política, menos los políticos; de literatura, menos los escritores; de teatros, menos los cómicos y los autores dramáticos; de pintura, menos los pintores, y así sucesivamente. Y, por desgracia, sucede que, como en España basta ser aficionado para adquirir suprema autoridad, la mayoría de los políticos, escritores, cómicos, dramaturgos y pintores que bullen y brillan no son sino aficionados.

La psicología taurina se difunde a través de toda la vida española. A su vez, la vida española actual, por su dureza, acritud y hostilidad, empuja a los españoles hacia las plazas de toros a gustar del olvido en sorbos ávidos y les induce a la breve epilepsia y momentánea embriaguez de los espectáculos circenses.

Si la esencia del arte, como sostiene Schopenhauer, es un nirvana o nihilismo, el olvido de uno mismo, la liberación de los cuidados cotidianos, un éxtasis y goce como de eternidad, ¿qué tiene de extraño que los españoles hagan cola en la taquilla de los toros?

Si no del arte, cuando menos la esencia de la diversión es el olvido de sí propio. Eso quiere decir "divertirse". Vale tanto como matar el tiempo, lo cual, paradójicamente, significa hacerle andar muy de prisa. El tirano del hombre es el tiempo. Todas las contrariedades de la vida serían llevaderas si supiéramos que éramos eternos. Pero como no lo somos y llevamos prisa, una desgracia acaso permanezca irreparable. Por eso el hombre se apresura y se obstina en matar el

tiempo, que es como matar el contratiempo, la desgracia. Pero no basta olvidarse. De aquí que el hombre persiga algún lenitivo más eficaz que la diversión; éste lo halla en la emoción. La emoción es la suspensión del tiempo. Para eximirse de la tiranía del tiempo no vale ignorar que hay relojes. Llevamos un reloj, con cuerda limitada, entre las costillas; el corazón. Sus latidos isócronos, como tictac de péndulo, nos dicen que el tiempo pasa, que el tiempo pasa. Mas, al sobrevenir la emoción, suspéndese el curso del tiempo, y durante un momento, que es inacabable, nuestro corazón, el reloj despiadado, se para, bien que después se dispara. ¿Qué importa? Hemos detenido un instante el tiempo.

En los toreros de hoy, Gallito, con su movilidad y jugueteos, es la diversión. Hace andar el tiempo más de prisa. Todo en él es vertiginoso, y, por ende, la impresión y recuerdo que deja, sobremanera leves y fugitivos. Belmonte es la emoción. Todo en él es pausado, casi estático. El recuerdo de su arte, perdurable. Suspende el tiempo. Un solo pase de él dura una eternidad. Esto es lo que los técnicos denominan "borear templado".

De Política y toros—Pérez de Ayala.

La Corrida.

Desde este sitio se ve el pueblo algo lejano, con esa melancolía que tienen estos viejos pueblos, pero con un sello adusto que como una garra nos atrae y hace que lo abandonemos a nuestro pesar. Me encamino a él, pues se acerca la hora de la corrida. Al entrar, se nota la gran animación de día festivo... Las diligencias llenas de polvo que vienen de los pueblos comarcanos, se paran junto a las posadas de una vieja plazuela.

Desenganchan el tiro y meten las caballerías cansadas en un ancho portal. Al lado se ve el pequeño escaparate, que se cierra con dos ventanas despintadas, de una tienda; unos panes, entre un plato de sardinas, y una cesta de alambres llena de huevos, cuelgan en racimos del techo.

En los balcones de estas casas de calles solitarias están sentadas las señoras del pueblo, con la mantilla puesta para ir a los toros. Muchas mozas y mozos del pueblo, éstos con sus sombreros anchos, y montados a caballo algunos, y las mozas con blusas flamantes de seda de colores chillones, verde, naranja, vermellón, rosa y amarillo, que con el sol se encienden sus colores y deslumbran los ojos; muchos coches, tirados por mulas que suenan los cascabeles, llenos de mujeres, bajan por los arrabales del pueblo y salen al campo, que es donde está la plaza de toros.

Por fuera es como una fortaleza, por lo alto de la cual asoman las espaldas de la gente que está sentada en las últimas filas. Van metiendo en la plaza unos cuantos caballos atados de unas cuerdas. Tienen, de las corridas anteriores muchas costuras sus vientres. Algunos cojean. Las cuerdas de las costuras abultan como gruesas venas.

Un hombre, a la entrada de la plaza, vende juncos de forma de bastón, que utilizan los mozos en las capeas. Cuando entramos en la plaza hay mucha gente. En la presidencia se ven varios curas, con sus hábitos y el sombrero de teja. Llevan también el bastón de capea, y se ponen los manteos terciados y la teja torcida, con aire chulo. En los tendidos hay otros varios fumando grandes puros. Es como si todos los curas del pueblo se hubieran dado cita.

La Plaza es muy sólida, con barreras de piedra y macizas puertas de chique-ro; por encima de las cabezas de la gente se ven los campos y el caserío del pueblo.

Van llegando las mujeres con sus mantillas blancas y negras, las flores a la cintura y al lado de sus pechos.

Al sentarse se cifien los mantones de Manila a las nalgas y a los muslos con gracia; rién enseñando una dentadura magnífica, y unas barbillas gruesas y coloradas que deben saber a gloria. ¡Qué importa que sean tan inconscientes, si son tan cachondas! ¡Qué gestos hacen con los ojos negros, que despiden bajo las pestañas destellos de diamante! ¡Cómo mueven y cierran de golpe los abanicos junto al pecho! Al saltar por los obstáculos de los asientos y enseñar las piernas, nos quedamos turulatos, y al sentarse y agacharse se les marca el culo enormemente redondo. Nos da gana de decirlas: ¡Viva tu madre, por lo culona que te ha hecho, hija! Y si entornan los ojos y nos miran al sentarse en las gradas con las manos cruzadas, con cara de monja boba, con el pelo caído hasta las cejas, y los labios gruesos que dibujan una sonrisa, nos ponemos malos. Pues no es nada cuando viene esa gorda cachonda con el mantón de Manila colgando de un hombro como si fuera el capote de paseo, con un lunar pintado en la mejilla y un gran escote, en que se marca el comienzo de sus pechos, acompañada de su anciana madre, y como estamos muy apretados, casi se sienta encima de nuestras rodillas.

La corrida es dura; los toros se revuelven inquietos, deseando coger; los picadores y los toreros se enardecen con el sol y con tantas mujeres guapas, a las que han tirado sus capotes para que adornen el antepecho. Ellos no temen a las cornadas y se juegan la vida.

¡Cómo abren los ojos y disfrutan las mujeres cuando el toro, después de cornear al caballo, le lleva contra el estribo de la barrera y da un gran porrazo contra ella el caballo y el picador, con un chasquido de la pica rota en varios cachos! El caballo queda arrodillado, con las tripas fuera, y los monos sabios sacan de debajo al picador, que llevan como un talego a la enfermería. Sale luego otro picador, montado en un caballo muy bajo, como un burro. En él parece un gigante. Lleva este picador un traje muy viejo, y se le cae la faja. Su cabeza es muy redonda y dura, de frente saliente. Es el héroe de la tarde, y se lleva las ovaciones del público de sol, pues cuantos más porrazos se gana, más bruto se siente. Le tiran muchas botas y cuernos de vino para que beba. Tiene toda la cara y las vendas que le han puesto en la frente llenas de sangre.

En el último toro queda sólo un matador, pues los otros están en la enfermería. Después de brindar a unas mujeres que están en barreras con trajes colorados y rosas y mantillas blancas con muchos claveles, se encuentra frente a frente con un toro de mucho poder que ha matado a muchos caballos. Le trastea muy cerca, resistiendo los hachazos que le tira el toro. Se masca el peligro de la faena, basta, dura y de gran vigor, siempre presentando el pecho y pisando fuerte cada paso, con ruido de los alamares del traje. Al fin clava una estocada hasta la empuñadura, saliendo limpio por el costillar, con la mano en alto, llena de sangre, que enseña al público, mientras el toro rueda como una pelota. La gente baja al redondel y le saca en hombros hasta el coche.

Cuando salimos de la plaza están cargando en unos carros los caballos muertos, y al dejar el circo taurino, ya a lo lejos, vemos su belleza en aquella llanura. Encima se agolpan las nubes. Pensamos en los caballos, peludos y pequeños como borricos, que comen su pienso esperando su sacrificio en la última corrida de la feria.

La plaza del pueblo está muy concurrida; los músicos tocan en el tablado; se ponen las mozas a bailar alrededor del organillo y forman un conjunto de vivos colores sus blusas tan detonantes. Las mujeres que siguen con mantillas han cambiado de traje y han perdido algo de su encanto; se sientan en la pastelería del pueblo, y al acabarse los toros, irán a la novena y harán su vida sedentaria y prosaica.

De Dos pueblos de Castilla-José Gutiérrez Solana.