

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL OF
ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LIFE
IN MEXICO*

Roderic Ai Camp
Central College, Iowa

Scholars of developing nations recognize the importance of education in the socialization process that takes place in every culture. While some students have examined the impact of education on the masses, fewer, especially for Latin America, have examined the impact of education on the political leadership.¹ Mexico, one of the most frequently studied countries in Latin America, has never been the subject of a study that examines its university system as an institution for both socialization and recruitment of political leaders. Nevertheless, it is an ideal country for investigation because the majority of its high-level office-holders have university degrees from a single institution, the National University of Mexico.²

This study will examine the careers of every graduate of the National School of Economics (Escuela Nacional de Economía—ENE) from its founding in 1929 to 1952. Only 174 persons obtained their degrees during this period, allowing us to use a complete rather than a random sample of graduates.³ We propose to examine the National School of Economics as a socializer of future political leaders, and to describe the student-professor relationship during the years of our study. Further, we will identify the most influential professors at this school and suggest their influence, if any, on their students. Lastly, we will analyze the role of the National School of Economics in the recruitment process of public men in Mexico.⁴

As the author has suggested in an article on the educational recruitment of governors in Mexico, the university is one of the single most important institutions in the recruitment of political leaders.⁵ Kenneth Johnson has concluded that the National University is a spawning ground for the political cliques that govern Mexico.⁶ In 1964, there were eighty public and private institutions of higher education with an enrollment of 116,628 students, but only 42,056 (or 36.06 percent) were enrolled at the National University.⁷ Yet, of the university-educated political elite in Mexico since 1935, approximately 85 percent received their degrees from the National University. The Ibero American University, which has held first or second place as the largest private school in Mexico, has produced one high-level public leader out of over eight hundred graduates in forty years. The

*The author would like to thank Professor Donald Mabry, Mississippi State University, for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this article; and to recognize the financial support provided by the American Philosophical Society.

Monterrey Institute of Technology, one of the finest technical schools in Latin America, has produced only two public figures of any note. This, then, suggests that the National University is proportionately overrepresented among the university-educated political elite in Mexico. E. Wight Bakke comments on why the National University predominates: "Once the possibility of students serving their political 'apprenticeship' in the university is established, the process feeds on itself. University life attracts those with political ambitions and *for this purpose*. Registration as a student becomes *the* accepted way of preparing for and entering political life. Virtually every political leader of note has been a student leader."⁸

Few political leaders have been educated outside of the National University because they cannot make the necessary political contacts to succeed in public life. The part-time, or so-called "taxi" professors, have a crucial role in this process, since it is they, not the full-time professors, who usually are employed in public life and are an impetus to careers in public administration. One of the characteristic features of university education in Mexico is the large number of part-time professors. This has been true in the past and persists today.⁹ A number of scholars have suggested that part-time professors would be poor educators and would have little time for their students.¹⁰ However, both student surveys and my own interviews indicate that many notable professors in Mexico were part-time. At the National University of Mexico in the 1960s, only 3 percent of the professors were full-time, yet 50 percent of the students rated their professors as excellent and 70 percent rated their university experience as satisfactory or very satisfactory.¹¹ In effect, professors play the role of recruiters for many public figures. Let us examine the development of the National School of Economics to determine if such recruitment took place.

The National School of Economics had a tenuous beginning. In 1929, an Economics Division was established as part of the School of Law and Social Sciences of the National University. This marked the first formal economics training and degree-granting program at the university level in Mexico.¹² However, the division nearly floundered when, during the second year, only three students registered for the economics curriculum. The lack of student interest and enrollment had several causes. First, people were ignorant of the necessity of such a discipline in Mexico and the careers which could be pursued by a professional economist.¹³ Second, there were not enough professors trained in economics to handle a second class in 1930. Because there had been no economics program in Mexico before 1929, the professors in this division were trained in other fields and held no university degrees in economics.¹⁴ Third, public accountants opposed the program as an encroachment on their own profession. However, both professors and students of the first generation were able to sustain enough interest in the program to support a larger group of students in 1931.¹⁵ The economics program remained a division of the Law School until 1935, when it became a full-fledged school of the National University.

The educational environment during the early years of the school's development permitted considerable student-faculty contact.¹⁶ A special characteristic which promoted intellectual exchange was the age and experience of the early

students; most had degrees in law or accounting, and held middle-level positions in government.¹⁷ Classes were small and each student knew his costudents. Even until 1952, such contact was facilitated since the total number of students enrolled at the school did not exceed 250. Professors and students had numerous social as well as intellectual contacts. During the May vacations, many of the economics professors took their students on field trips to private and government-owned industries as far away as Monterrey.¹⁸

In 1952, there were fifty-six persons teaching at the National School of Economics, of whom thirty-three were professors, fourteen were provisional professors, and nine were interim instructors. Nineteen of those educators had held or were holding top-level positions in government. Ten served as department heads or bureau chiefs in government agencies. Therefore, twenty-nine, or well over half of the professors, were in a position to actually hire or assist students in obtaining public employment. Jesús Silva Herzog, one of the professors in this group, helped a number of students find jobs in public administration.¹⁹ Professors also helped their brightest students by asking them to serve as assistants. This not only provided an opportunity to teach and to earn money, but gave them the first chance of becoming regular professors when vacancies occurred.²⁰

The author has interviewed or corresponded with a number of graduates and professors at the National School of Economics, all of whom have distinguished themselves in public life (see Appendix). With the exception of three students, all of them graduated between 1929 and 1959, a period in which there were only 227 graduates. The respondents account for only 6 percent of the students who graduated during these years, but as part of a selective group of twenty-six graduates who have held high-level public positions, they represent a sample of 54 percent. The persons in the Appendix named fifteen professors as those who most influenced their personal and professional development²¹ (table 1). It is striking to note that these distinguished professors, like political leaders in general, have graduated from the National University. Further, whereas all political-economic points of view were represented at the school, the leftist or socialist stamp which marks the school is reflected in the ideologies of its faculty.

What will be apparent to students of Mexican public life is that the most distinguished professors are also well-known public figures. Only one man, Francisco Zamora, could be considered a full-time educator. On the other hand, ten of these educators were in top-level government positions during the years 1929–74 (table 2). The remaining four professors have held middle-level government positions and/or have been top-level advisors. Full-time professors, then, at least in the eyes of public men in Mexico, are not the most influential teachers. Rather, it is those men and women who have distinguished themselves in both academic and public spheres who leave the greatest impression on their students and colleagues. This can be seen in another way. While it should not be surprising that seven of the fifteen professors were deans at the National University, it is significant to note which of the fifteen filled the deanship positions (table 2). With the exception of González Aparicio, who died soon after serving as dean, *all* of the others were high-level office holders and *not* career professors. These men do not

TABLE 1 *Notable Professors at the National School of Economics, 1929–61*

<i>Professor</i>	<i>Education</i>		<i>Graduate Work</i>		<i>Political Philosophy^b</i>
	<i>Location</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Field</i>	
Aguilar, Alonso	UNAM	Law	Columbia U. (U.S.)	Econ.	Left-Marxist
Beteta, Ramón ^a	UNAM	Law	UNAM	Soc. Sci.	Left-Socialist
Bustamante, Eduardo	UNAM	Law	None	None	Moderate
Carrillo Flores, Ant.	UNAM	Law	None	None	Moderate
Flores de la Peña, H.	UNAM	Econ.	American U. (U.S.)	Econ.	Left
González Aparacio, E.	UNAM	Law	U. London (U.K.)	Econ.	Left-Marxist
Loyo, Gilberto	UNAM	Law	U. of Rome (Italy)	Econ.	Moderate
Martínez Adame, E.	UNAM	Econ.	U. London (U.K.)	Econ.	Left
Martínez Sobral, E.	Chile	Law	None	None	Moderate-Neoliberal
Mújica, Emilio	UNAM	Econ.	NI	NI	Left
Navarrete, Ifigenia	UNAM	Econ.	Radcliffe (U.S.)	Econ.	Left-Moderate
Silva Herzog, Jesús	UNAM	CPA	UNAM	Lib. Art	Left
Souza, Mario	UNAM	Law & Econ.	UNAM	Law	Left-Marxist
Torres Gaytán, Ricardo	UNAM	Econ.	None	None	Left
Zamora, Francisco	UNAM	Law	None	None	Left-Marxist

^aBeteta also received a degree in economics from the University of Texas and was awarded the first Ph.D. from the National University.

^bThese labels have been suggested by former students or in published literature. They describe their philosophy as teachers, not necessarily as public men, although both often coincide within the boundaries of political life in Mexico. The more adept public figures often appear to be moderates, when in reality, they profess other beliefs. This characteristic accounts for the predictions about the political beliefs of Luis Echeverría as an incoming president in 1970. On the other hand, those persons having leftist, moderate, or conservative viewpoints within the accepted boundaries of the official philosophy are found in all administrations, regardless of their personal political beliefs. Note, for example, the close collaboration of Ramón Beteta with Lázaro Cardenas and Miguel Alemán, two presidents representing the left and right wings of the official Mexican ideology.

fit the stereotype suggested by Liebman: "These part-time professors, as well as the considerable number of full-time professors forced to hold more than one job, have little time or incentive to engage in research or even to keep abreast of developments within their field. Many are forced to rely on old lecture notes, which are read and reread to classes of bored students year after year. In addition, this system is costly to the education of the students in that it deprives them of

TABLE 2 *Career Patterns of Notable Professors at the National School of Economics, 1929-61*

<i>Professor</i>	<i>Level Reached in Government Service</i>	<i>Years in Govt.^b</i>	<i>Level Reached in Academic Career</i>	<i>Years in Teaching</i>
Aguilar, Alonso	Middle-level	11	Professor UNAM	16
Beteta, Ramón	High-level ^a	32	Professor UNAM	18
Bustamante, Eduardo	High-level	22	Professor UNAM	8
Carrillo Flores, Ant.	High-level	42	Dean UNAM- Rector ITM	20
Flores de la Peña, H.	High-level	30	Dean UNAM	10
González Aparicio, E.	Middle-level ^c	10	Dean UNAM	15
Loyo, Gilberto	High-level	40	Dean UNAM	30
Martínez Adame, E. ^d	High-level	24	Professor UNAM	NI
Martínez Sobral, E.	Middle-level	20	Professor UNAM	NI
Mújica, Emilio	Adviser	NI	Professor UNAM	NI
Navarrete, Ifigenia	High-level	20	Dean UNAM	15
Silva Herzog, Jesús	High-level	22	Gov. Board UNAM	40
Souza, Mario	High-level	27	Dean UNAM	15
Torres Gaytán, Ricardo	High-level	19	Dean UNAM	15
Zamora, Francisco	None	None	Full Time Prof. UNAM	25

^aHigh-level indicates a position equivalent to or above that of *Oficial Mayor* in a federal agency. This is typically the third-ranked position.

^bFigures for the years of government service and teaching are for known years of service, and in reality, are probably higher for some individuals.

^cGonzález Aparicio died at the age of thirty-six, after serving as the first dean of the School of Economics. Given the similar career patterns of other deans, it is likely that he would have been appointed to a high-level government position.

^dIt is important to note that among those professors who were public men, only Martínez Adame held an elected position as well as a post on the executive committee of the official party. Men who combine public service with teaching are members of the bureaucratic rather than the party leadership. See Roderic Ai Camp, "The Middle-Level Technocrats in Mexico," *Journal of Developing Areas* (July 1972), for a rationale for distinguishing between these two groups.

meaningful interaction with their professors."²² In fact, a survey of just one of the important economic reviews from 1941–58 indicates that all of the professors holding high-level public offices were authors.²³

Both the professors and directors of the National School of Economics are deeply involved in public life. Every dean of the National School of Economics, from 1935 to 1970, with the exception of the first, has been a high-level government official.²⁴ Leadership roles in government and education are interchangeable, and the relationship between the university and public life is of the utmost importance.

Who are the professors who have influenced the generations of economists going into public service? While background data is incomplete for all of our professors, two characteristics are rather well-defined (table 3). First, they were overwhelmingly from urban communities, despite the fact that the large majority of the population lived in rural communities during the years these professors were born. Further, as for regional distribution, the Federal District and Veracruz are overrepresented, and western Mexico is not represented at all. Second, where information is available, it becomes apparent that a middle-class background, at least in a cultural sense, was almost a necessity for becoming a leader in education and public administration, as further shown in table 3. Skills, evident in student leadership activities, which would be useful to a dean as well as to a high-level public administrator, were already apparent for a number of individuals by the age of twenty.

We have examined the backgrounds of this select group of economics professors because we believe, along with Arthur Liebman, that "faculties or fields of study do exert an ideological influence, precisely because they provide a social and physical environment within which students with similar backgrounds and interests group together."²⁵ We would go beyond Liebman's statement and suggest that faculties also provide an environment in which professors as well as students with similar backgrounds and interests group together, despite different ideological orientations. To test the truth of this assertion, let us examine the backgrounds of the graduates of the National School of Economics.

If we compare the regional distribution of students and professors at the National School of Economics, even though our group of professors is too small to be statistically significant, two trends are apparent: The Federal District and the North are overrepresented, and the other regions are underrepresented (table 4). If we look again at our larger sample of professors who were teaching in 1951, for whom we have birthplaces for twenty-nine (from a total of fifty-six), we find the Federal District still overrepresented with eight (27.5 percent) professors, though the North is more evenly represented in this group. We do not, however, have to go to a larger group of professors to see the obvious bias in student-professor background in favor of urban birthplace. Persons coming from an urban area, particularly in the Federal District, obviously have greater access to university education at the National University, and in particular at the National School of Economics. Even in the 1960s, Liebman found that 59 percent of the students at the National University were natives of Mexico City even though the population

TABLE 3 *Background Data on Notable Professors at the National School of Economics, 1929-61*

<i>Professor</i>	<i>Home State & Urban-Rural Birthplace</i>	<i>SES</i>	<i>Student Political Activity</i>	<i>Notable Professor as a Student^b</i>
Aguilar	Sonora (U)	NI	Leftist Student Leader	Bassols, Narciso (Left) ^c
Beteta ^a	Fed. Dist. (U)	H	Student Leader Internat. Cong.	Gómez Morin (Conservative)
Bustamante	Oaxaca (U)	H	NI	Gómez Morin (Conservative)
Carillo Flores	Fed. Dist. (U)	H	Student Oratory Champion	Suárez, E. (Conservative)
Flores de la Peña	Coahuila (U)	NI	NI	Pulido Islas (Left)
González Aparicio	Veracruz (U)	H	NI	Gómez Morin (Conservative)
Loyo	Veracruz (U)	H	NI	Gómez Morin (Conservative)
Martínez Adame	Guerrero (U)	H	Student Leader	Bassols, Narciso (Left)
Martínez Sobral	Foreign	H	Opposition Leader in Guatemala	Educated in Chile
Mújica	NI	NI	Outstanding Academically	NI
Navarrete	Fed. Dist. (U)	H	Student Activist	NI
Silva Herzog	SLP (U)	H	Supported the Revolution	Goldschmit (German)
Souza	Veracruz (U)	NI	NI	NI
Torres Gaytán	Michoacán (R)	NI	NI	NI
Zamora	Foreign	H	Student Journalist	NI

^aBeteta was born in Sonora, but spent all but several months of his boyhood in the Federal District, where his birth is registered.

^bIf more than one professor was known for an individual, the professor most influential in *economic thought* was selected.

^cIdeological identification indicates the philosophy they became identified with at the peak of their careers. Both Bassols and Gómez Morin, for example, held different views before 1930.

Key: (U) equals urban community (over 5,000), (R) equals rural. SES was divided into two simple categories, L = low occupational and social status and H = middle or higher occupational and social status, including self-made businessmen.

TABLE 4 Background Data for All Graduates of the National School of Economics, 1929–51^a

Region of Birth ^b	Students			Professors		
	No.	%	% of Pop. ^d	No.	%	% of Pop.
Fed. Dist.	58	36.0	4.7	3	21.4	4.7
West Central	20	12.4	21.3	1	7.1	21.3
East Central	15	9.3	21.6	1	7.1	21.6
Gulf	12	7.5	11.6	3	21.4	11.6
North	21	13.0	11.1	2	14.2	11.1
West	11	6.8	16.0	0	0.0	16.0
South	14	8.7	13.7	2	14.2	0.0
Foreign	10	6.2	0.0	2	14.2	0.0
Subtotal	<u>161</u>			<u>14</u>		
No Information	17			1		—
Total	<u>178</u>			<u>15</u>		
Urban	125	79.6		11	91.6	
Rural	32	20.4		1	8.4	
Subtotal	<u>157</u>			<u>12</u>		
No Information	21			3		
Total	<u>178</u>			<u>15</u>		
Employment						
Public Careers ^c	164	92.6		14	93.3	
Private Careers	13	7.3		1	6.7	
Subtotal	<u>177</u>			<u>15</u>		
No Information	1			0		
Total	<u>178</u>			<u>15</u>		

^aOur sample includes all 178 students who completed their studies between the years 1929–51 and received their degree prior to 1959. Most students complete their studies in five years and finish their thesis within six years following their last year of study. This sample has probably omitted several students who finished their studies but did not complete their thesis by 1959. If the average time lapse between completion of studies and submission of thesis is a valid indicator, then no more than three students have been omitted.

^bRegional zones include the following states: Fed. Dist. (Federal District); West Central (Guanajuato, México, Michoacán, Morelos); East Central (Hidalgo, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Tlaxcala, Querétaro, Zacatecas); Gulf (Campeche, Quintana Roo, Tabasco, Veracruz, Yucatán); North (Baja California del Norte, Sonora, Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Chihuahua); West (Colima, Durango, Jalisco, Nayarit, Sinaloa, Aguascalientes, Baja California del Sur) and South (Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca).

^cIn cases where public and private careers were combined, the author credited persons with public careers only if they had become department heads in a federal agency.

^d1910 census data, since most graduates were born between 1900 and 1925.

of Mexico City represented only 14 percent of the country's population.²⁶ The majority of students encounter both professors and students with similar urban backgrounds. Unfortunately, we do not have SES data on more than 10 percent of our sample of graduates from the National School of Economics, but the data we have is similar to that of the professors in the large proportion which comes from middle-class and upper-middle class backgrounds.

We have suggested not only that students with similar backgrounds would tend to concentrate in the same school, but also that students and professors with similar interests would be there. Indeed, the most striking conclusion from table 4 is that both professors and students are oriented to public careers. Both pursue public careers, but it is professorial influence that has often determined that choice. As will be seen in the discussion of tables 5, 6, and 7, the National School of Economics has developed several generations of professors and students who are tied to one another because they in turn produced a generation of students who became the future professors of the National School of Economics and helped their students with public careers.

University recruitment to public service in Mexico occurs in three ways: Costudents recruiting each other, professors recruiting students, and, in some cases, students recruiting their professors.²⁷ We are primarily interested in the first two types, but these, like all forms of recruitment, are difficult to analyze. Testimony as to how a person has been recruited must come from the individual himself or from someone who knows that person's career intimately. The purpose of table 5 is only to suggest that individual graduates, with an opportunity to appoint public officials, sometimes choose their fellow students, especially for key positions requiring considerable confidentiality. One position in Mexican government, for which only the immediate superior is responsible, is that of private secretary. Because we have rather detailed career information available, we know, for example, that Octaviano Campos Salas, secretary of Industry and Commerce, appointed a classmate from the National School of Economics as his secretary.²⁸ This specific example is duplicated several times in our sample.

However, students rarely are responsible for *initially* recruiting costudents into public service, since they themselves are usually in need of employment. It is professors who have helped their students obtain such positions, and those students, who themselves teach, repeat this activity. All persons interviewed indicated this was a common practice. One source stated that

Many professors at the National University were responsible for taking their students with them into professional careers. One of the most influential professors in terms of those students he introduced into specific careers was Gustavo Baz [Medical School graduate who became Dean, Rector of UNAM and Secretary of Public Health], who formed a group of students around him. A common question in Mexico among university graduates is—which group are you from? The result of these student-professor relationships is to develop a pyramid structure of three or four generations of students, former students and professors. This happens as well in the field of economics and law. Professor Silva Herzog formed this kind of group in the field of economics and helped many students get jobs in public administration.²⁹

TABLE 5 Career Patterns of Graduating Classes at the National School of Economics, 1929–51

Entering Class	No. of Graduates	Key Public Figures & the Agencies They Directed	No. of Graduates Working at the Same Agency	
			Cluster Class ^a	Same Class ^b
1929	9	Rangel Couto (SBN)	—	1
1930	1	Aguilar Uranga (FFCCNN)	—	1
1931	7	Alatríste Abrego (DDF, SBN, IMSS)	—	2
		Pulido Islas (BPCDF, PIPSA, IMSS)	—	—
		de la Peña (BNCAYG)	—	—
1932	3	—	—	—
1933	1	—	—	—
1934	9	—	—	—
1935	6	Ortiz Mena, Raúl (SHCP, SP)	—	3
1936	5	—	—	—
1937	4	Torres Gaytán (SIC, BNCE)	4	2
1938	19	Velasco Curiel (Gov. of Colima)	—	—
		Salinas Lozano (SIC)	—	2
1939	18	López Rosado (BPCDF)	—	2
		Arguello Castañedo (SIC)	—	1
		Solis Ogarrio (SIC)	—	1
1940	9	Campos Salas (SIC)	1	3
		Díaz Arias (SIC, NAFIN, FNA)	—	—
		Espinosa de los Reyes (SIC, PEMEX)	—	—
		Navarrete Romero (NAFIN, PEMEX, FNA)	2	1
1941	9	Fernández Hurtado (BdM)	—	—
1942	11	Flores de la Peña (SBN)	—	—
		Navarrete, Ifigenia (SP)	—	—
		Romero Kolbeck (SP, NAFIN)	—	—
		Attolini (ANDSA)	—	—
1943	18	Romero Espinosa (SGG, Michoacan)	—	—
		Martínez Domínguez (CFE, NAFIN)	1	1
1944	6	—	—	—
1945	8	—	—	—
1946	14	Arriaga Rivera (INJ, Gov. Mich.)	—	—
	161		8	20
NI	17			
Total	178			

^aA cluster class indicates students in the following two class years employed in the same agency under one of the public figures.

^bWe believe that the number of graduates working in the agencies directed by key public figures would be much greater if our career information for decentralized agencies and state governments was more complete.

Key: SBN = Secretariat of National Patrimony; FFCCNN = National Railroads; DDF = Department of the Federal District; IMSS = Social Security Institute; BPCDF = Small Business Bank of the Federal District; PIPSA = Paper Import-Export Agency; BNCAYG = Agricultural & Livestock Credit Bank; SHCP = Secretariat of the Treasury; SIC = Secretariat of Industry & Commerce; NAFIN = National Finance Bank; FNA = National Sugar Agency; PEMEX = Mexican Petroleum; BdM = Bank of Mexico; SP = Secretariat of the Presidency; ANDSA = National Warehouse Agency; CFE = Federal Electric Commission; INJ = National Youth Institute.

Both notable professors and students in our study provide examples of this process in practice. Most of those interviewed indicated that their first jobs in the government were the results of efforts of their professors. Those who became professors, and it should be remembered that nineteen of the twenty-four notable public figures did teach (table 6), helped their best students to obtain positions, often in their own departments or agencies. In fact, several public men admitted that one of the bonuses of teaching at the university was to have the chance to recruit the finest students.

TABLE 6 *Public and Teaching Careers of National Economics School Graduates: A Comparison*

<i>Notable Public Figures^a</i>				<i>Ordinary Graduates with Public Careers^b</i>			
<i>No. Who Taught</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. Who Were Deans or Inst. Directors</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. Who Taught</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. Who Were Sec. or Treas. of ENE</i>	<i>%</i>
19	79.2	10	41.7	23	14.0	9	5.5

^aFrom a sample of 24 (See Table 5)

^bFrom a sample of 164 (See Table 4)

Graduates of the National School of Economics have tended to concentrate heavily in two government agencies: The Secretariat of Industry and Commerce, and the Secretariat of the Treasury. There are several reasons for this concentration. As is evident in table 7, leadership of those agencies has been dominated by professors or graduates of the National School of Economics from 1929 to 1951. Gilberto Loyo, who became dean of the School of Economics in 1944, gave a great impetus to the career of being an economist by encouraging the employment of economists in the Secretariat of Industry and Commerce, which he headed in 1952 after leaving the deanship. Control of this agency by National School of Economics graduates has continued until 1974. The establishment of a Federal Income Tax Department in the Secretariat of the Treasury, which almost exclusively employed economists (ten from our sample), was soon directed consecutively by National Economic School graduates. Lastly, when costudents and professors recruited students, it was often into their own agencies.

Both our data and our interviews suggest that the men who are the most successful public officials among economists in Mexico are also responsible for the direction and education of the future generations of economists who will enter public service.³⁰ The National School of Economics is the only school at the National University to have had public officials as deans continuously from 1938 to 1970.³¹ Furthermore, these same men have often been in charge of the Research Institute at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). In effect, whether we look at economists who are high-level public officials or at notable professors, we are examining the same group of individuals. The exchange of leadership between the university and public service is indeed remarkable, and we believe that this exchange has become ingrown and adds considerably to the

TABLE 7 Public Careers of Teachers and Graduates of the National School of Economics (ENE):
A Comparison

<i>Primary Government Agencies Employing Notable Professors and Graduates of ENE^c</i>	No.	%	<i>Primary Government Agencies Employing Ordinary Graduates of the ENE^d</i>	No.	%
SECRETARIAT OF INDUSTRY					
1970–74 Torres Manzo	8	22.2	1964–74 Four Dir. Gens. ^a	33	20.1
1964–70 Campos Salas					
1964–65 Espinosa de los Reyes					
1958–64 Salinas Lozano					
1959–64 Díaz Arias					
1961–64 Espinosa de los Reyes					
1952–58 Loyo (P) ^b					
1946–53 Torres Gaytán					
1940–46 Sousa (P)					
SECRETARIAT OF TREASURY					
1952–58 Carrillo Flores (P)	8	22.2	1946–70 Two Dir. Gens.	33	20.1
1952–58 Ortiz Mena, R.					
1946–52 Beteta, R. (P)					
1946–49 Bustamante (P)					
1946–52 Loyo (P)					
1945–46 Silva Herzog (P)					
1940–45 Beteta, R. (P)					
1941–45 Carrillo Flores (P)					
1935–35 Silva Herzog (P)					
SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL PATRIMONY					
1970–75 Flores de la Peña	4	11.1	1946–64 Two Dir. Gens.	12	7.3
1958–64 Bustamante, E. (P)					
1958–64 Alariste					
1949–51 Rangel Couto					
1946–49 Rangel Couto					
NATIONAL FINANCE BANK					
1970–72 Díaz Arias	12	7.3	_____	6	3.7 ^c
1965–70 Díaz Arias					
1950–52 Ortiz Mena, R.					
1946–52 Carrillo Flores (P)					
	Total			78	47.6

^aDirector Generals in cabinet agencies are fourth-ranked positions.

^b(P) =notable professors

^cThese figures are based on a combined sample of notable professors and distinguished graduates of the ENE for a total figure of thirty-six (persons in both categories were counted once, and professors without public careers were not included).

^dThis sample is taken from table 4 (student with public careers, 164 economists.)

stability and continuity of leadership in selected government agencies in Mexico.³² We would hypothesize that an examination of students who completed their degrees after 1952 would indicate similar trends.

These conclusions are important to a more complete understanding of the Mexican political process. Further examination of the university as a political recruiter would tell scholars more about who and how individuals are involved in the political process. Perhaps the most fascinating question that begs further research is the impact of educators on the intellectual formation of their students. It is obvious that most economists at the National School of Economics become career public officials, but do the majority of them interpret economics in the same way and does this interpretation affect public decision-making? A study of public men as students and decision-makers may give us an answer to this important question.

APPENDIX

Professors, Deans and Students of the National School of Economics Who Corresponded with and/or were Interviewed by the Author

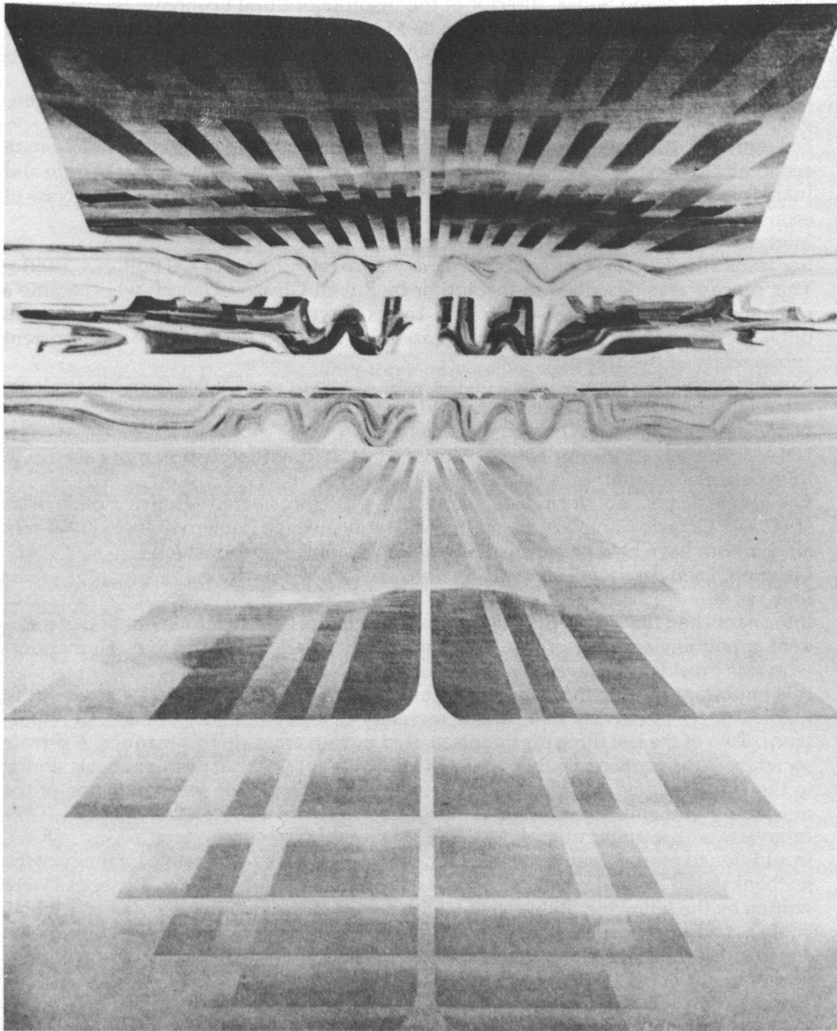
<i>Name</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Academic Position</i>	<i>Public Position</i>
<i>Graduates of ENE:</i>			
Alatríste, Jr., Sealtiel	31	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dir. Gen. of IMSS
Bermúdez Limón, Carlos	54	Prof. at IPN	Dir. Gen. of PIPSA
Castol García, Rafael	61	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dept. Head, Sec. of Treas.
de Oteyza, José Andrés	61	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dir. Gen. Fin. Nac. Azucarera
del Castillo Negrete, Irina	64	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dept. Head, NAFIN
de la Vega Domínguez, Jorge	51	Dir. ENE Graduate S.	Dir. Gen., CONASUPO
Díaz Arias, Julian	40	Dir. Tech. Educat. IPN	Subsec. Industry & Commerce
Espinosa de los Reyes, Jorge	40	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Asst. Dir. Gen., PEMEX
Faesler Carlisle, Julio	51	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dir. Gen., IMCE
Flores de la Peña, Horacio	39	Dean of ENE	Sec. of Nat. Patrimony
Gleason Galicia, Rubén	47	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dept. Head, Sec. Ind. & Com.
López Munguía, Agustín	40	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Subdir. Bureau, Sec. of Treas.
Pulido Islas, Alfonso	31	Dean of ENE	Subdir. Gen., IMSS
Salinas Lozano, Raúl	38	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Sec. of Ind. & Com.
Silva Herzog Flores, Jesús	53	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dir. Gen., INFONAVIT
Tamayo, Jorge	55	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Asst. Dir. Gen., Mex. Light & Pow.
Torres Manzo, Carlos	49	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Sec. of Ind. & Com.
<i>Nongraduates of ENE:</i>			
Bustamante, Eduardo	23	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Sec. of National Patrimony
Cosío Villegas, Daniel	17	Dir. Econ. Div. UNAM	Dept. Head, Bank of Mexico
Carrillo Flores, Antonio	25	Dean of END	Sec. of Treasury
Loyo, Gilberto	20	Dean of ENE	Sec. of Ind. and Com.
Villaseñor, Eduardo	17	Prof. at UNAM (ENE)	Dir. Gen., Bank of Mexico

Key: The class date indicates the year a student began his professional studies. Academic and public positions listed are the highest held by the individual. ENE = National School of Economics; UNAM = National University; END = National Law School and IPN = National Polytechnic School.

NOTES

1. For studies of this type see: Clark Gil, *Education in a Changing Mexico* (Washington: GPO, 1969); Richard G. King, *The Provincial Universities of Mexico* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1971); and Víctor L. Urquidi and Adrián Lajous Vargas, *La educación superior en México, 1966* (México: ANUIES, 1966). Other studies have examined student political leadership in Mexico, but have not examined the interrelationship between education and politics. Two exceptions to this are Valdemar Rodríguez, "The National University of Mexico: Rebirth and Role of the Universitarios, 1910-1957," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1958) and William Tuohy and Barry Ames, "Mexican University Students in Politics: Rebels Without Allies?" *Monograph Series in World Affairs* (Denver: University of Colorado, 1970).
2. See Roderic Ai Camp, *Mexican Political Biography* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975).
3. Manuel Pallares Ramírez, *La Escuela Nacional de Economía, esbozo histórico 1929-1952* (Mexico, 1952), p. 178. The other three universities with programs were: The University of Guadalajara, 1934; the National Polytechnical Institute, 1938; and the Monterrey Institute of Technology, 1947.
4. These are the initial findings of a broader study that the author is completing on the relationship between the university and public life in Mexico from 1910 to 1955, which includes the National University, the National Polytechnic University, the Colegio de San Nicolas, the Free Law School, and the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Oaxaca.
5. "Mexican Governors Since Cárdenas: Education and Career Contacts," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, November 1974, p. 458.
6. Kenneth F. Johnson, *Mexican Democracy: A Critical View* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 76.
7. Gil, *Education*, p. 63.
8. E. Wight Bakke, "Students on the March: The Cases of Mexico and Colombia," *Sociology of Education*, Spring 1964, p. 203.
9. At the National University, only 3 percent of the instructors were full-time. See Arthur Liebman, et. al., *Latin American University Students: A Six Nation Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 75.
10. Bakke, "Students on the March," p. 216 and Liebman, *Latin American University Students*, p. 75. Rubén Gleason Galicia pointed out to the author that three of his most influential professors from 1947 to 1952, Gilberto Loyo (who was dean at the time), Ricardo Torres Gaytán (who was mayor official of Industry and Commerce) and Jesús Silva Herzog (who was director of *Cuadernos Americanos* and president of the Technical Council for the Secretariat of National Patrimony), always had time for students, knew each of them by name, and gave them considerable personal help.
11. Liebman, *Latin American University Students*, pp. 80-83.
12. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, *Escuela Nacional de Economía, Anuario, 1959* (Mexico: UNAM, 1959), p. 17.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
14. Interview with Sealtiel Alatríste, member of the 1931 generation. In support of this statement, it should be noted that the founders of the economics program included Antonio Castro Leal and Narciso Bassols, Rector of the National University and Dean of the Law School, respectively; and Daniel Cosío Villegas, Jesús Silva Herzog, Fritz (Federico) Bach, Manuel Palacios Macedo, Eduardo Villaseñor, Manuel Gómez Morin, Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, and Manuel Mesa Andraca, professors who designed the curriculum for the program. All were public men, and all, except Espinosa de los Monteros and Cosío Villegas, who studied at Harvard University, and Bach and Villaseñor who studied at the Sorbonne and London, respectively, had degrees in law, philosophy, and engineering.
15. This was in part due to the reputations of the first professors who included Jesús Silva Herzog, founder and director of the Office of Economic Studies, National Railroads of

- Mexico, 1931; Mario Sousa, director of the Institute of Rural Economy, Secretariat of Agriculture in the 1930s; Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, professor and first director of the Institute for Economic Research, UNAM; and Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, distinguished professor at the National Preparatory School.
16. Interviews with Alatríste and with Alfonso Pulido Islas, also a member of the 1931 generation.
 17. For example, Alatríste already had a CPA degree; Estela San Inez, the first woman economist in Mexico, also had a degree in public accounting; Hugo Rángel Couto and Juan Torres Vivanco were lawyers. All were members of the first or second class of economists.
 18. Interview with Rubén Gleason Galicia, member of the 1947 generation.
 19. See Jesús Silva Herzog, *Una vida en la vida de México* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1972).
 20. This process was described to the author by Rubén Gleason Galicia, who became a teaching assistant to Professor Ricardo Torres Gaytán, a prominent economist and public figure; and by Jorge Tamayo, an assistant to Mario Ramón Beteta, the current subsecretary of the Treasury.
 21. Notable professors were selected on the basis of two or more votes from the students listed in the Appendix. The votes ranged from two to seven.
 22. Liebman, *Latin American University Students*, p. 75.
 23. UNAM, *Anuario, 1959*, pp. 124–25. Most, in fact, had written two or more articles in this particular journal, *La Revista de Economía*.
 24. The three deans, not included among our professors, are: Alfonso Pulido Islas (1942–44); Octavio Campos y Salas (1959–64); and Gustavo Romero Kolbeck (1967–69), all of whom have held or are currently holding cabinet-level positions.
 25. Liebman, *Latin American University Students*, p. 125.
 26. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
 27. Informants told the author that the best example in the current administration of a student appointing a professor to a high-level position is that of Octavio A. Hernández, who was President Echeverría's professor at the National University.
 28. It is important to note that many brilliant students or student leaders started out in public careers by serving as a private secretary to a public leader of national importance. Two of the last three presidents started public careers in this manner. A private secretary in the context of public affairs in Mexico is not a clerical position, but is similar to the United States president's appointments secretary. This position is one of the most important and least studied in Mexican affairs.
 29. Interview with a public official, Mexico City.
 30. In addition to predominating as teachers, public men were responsible for many of the textbooks used by students at the National Economics School in 1958. Textbooks were written by the following: Public men (15), career professors (Francisco Zamora only, 5 books), and other professors (11). The majority of books were authored by North American and European writers, and a number of texts were official government publications.
 31. This may surprise some readers since the Law School is thought to be the most politically active of UNAM schools. This is probably true, but no dean since Antonio Carillo Flores in 1945 has served in a high-level public position.
 32. The concentration of economic school graduates in certain federal agencies has also occurred in several states. One of the important political factions in Michoacán state politics is led by former graduates of the National School of Economics. Graduates have held the positions of federal deputy, senator, and two governorships from that state in recent years.



To find the way, acrylic paint on cloth by Pérez Celis
(Buenos Aires, Argentina: 1970)