

NOMINATION FORM MEMORY OF THE WORLD REGISTER

MEXICO - ORIGINAL NEGATIVE OF “LOS OLVIDADOS”, FILM BY LUIS BUÑUEL

PART A: ESSENTIAL INFORMATION

1.- SUMMARY

The film **Los olvidados** (in the USA “The Young and the Damned”), made in 1950 by Spanish-Mexican director Luis Buñuel, is the most important document in Spanish about the marginal lives of children in contemporary large cities, and it is also a crude, realist vision, without any concessions, of one part of Mexican society, focalized in a Mexico City slum in which the characters, who have been observed carefully and truthfully, follow their necessary destiny as a result of the social and economic circumstances that surround them.

With **Los olvidados**, Buñuel brings to world cinematography a complete work where, without abandoning the surrealist aesthetics of his first films such as **El perro andaluz** (1928), and **La edad de oro** (1930), he gives a passionate portrayal of the forgotten ones, in a brutal but honest way, both tragic and poetic; in sum, a film that will always be contemporary



Los olvidados faced many difficulties from the start. Buñuel devoted two years of research prior to writing his script, then he had to convince producer Oscar Dancigers to grant him stylistic and ideological freedom, and finally even some of his collaborators, scared of repercussions, asked that their names not be included on the screen credits.

Dancigers was aware of the problems that this film could face from censorship as well as from conservative groups of Mexican society, or that it might even not be shown at all. He therefore had a “second ending” filmed, almost in secret, which was contrary to the tragic sense of the movie. In the end, due to the support of Mexican intellectuals and the award received at the Cannes Film Festival, the film was successfully shown in its original version, and only fifty years later was the “second ending” discovered.

The original cellulose nitrate negative of **Los olvidados**, lost for twenty years, was fortunately found and is now protected in the vaults of Filmoteca of UNAM, having been placed there in deposit by its present owner, Televisa S.A., the company which acquired full patrimonial and

related rights, including the original negative, which is the document we are nominating for Memory of the World.

2.- DETAILS OF THE NOMINATOR

2.1 Name(s)

Cineteca Nacional/Conaculta, México
Filmoteca de la UNAM, México

2.2 Relationship to the documentary heritage nominated

Both institutions are responsible for the preservation and conservation of Mexico's film memory, and Filmoteca, as its legal custodian, physically has the film in its custody.

2.3 Contact person(s)

Lic. Magdalena Acosta Urquidi and Biol. Ivan Trujillo Bolio

2.4 Contact details

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3. IDENTITY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE

3.1 Name and identification details of the item being nominated

Original negative of film "**Los olvidados**" (1950) by Luis Buñuel, which is deposited in vaults under the custody of Filmoteca de la UNAM, of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

3.2 Description

*Summary

Los olvidados belongs to the last phase of the so-called Golden Age of Mexican cinema. It brings together national and international cinematographic values such as: Italian Neorealism,

English Documentary, French Poetic Realism and Surrealism together with the great artistic Hispanic tradition. It influenced cinematographic movements of the Realist School such as the New Latin American Cinema, the New French Wave, Indian filmmaker Satyajit Ray, Italian directors such as Pier Paolo Pasolini and Paolo and Vittorio Taviani, as well as Carlos Saura from Spain.

Having a controversial theme (urban misery as the other side of the coin of the “*Mexican economic miracle*”, the accusation against a correctional system that does not rehabilitate, street children living in bleak surroundings, converted into criminals due to the lack of a future), this picture signified a risky investment, in spite of its low cost (450 thousand pesos).



It was filmed in the dusty, densely populated slums of Mexico City, in an era of much publicized modernization. The premiere took place at the *Cine Mexico* movie theatre, on 9 November 1950, but lasted only one week due to overwhelming protests from unions and various associations which accused the film of presenting a false image of Mexican reality.

At the 1951 Cannes Film Festival, Buñuel received the Best Director award for the film. **Los olvidados** then returned to Mexico and was given a new theatrical distribution at the *Cine Prado* movie house, to great critical and public acclaim. The Mexican Academy of Arts and Sciences distinguished it with 11 *Ariel* awards, including Best Picture and Best Director.

Los olvidados has become a legend in the history of world films, the crudeness of its images combined with the dream sequences; show us the Buñuel of the surrealist era (*Un perro andaluz*, 1928-29, *La edad de oro*, 1930).

Mexican poet and Nobel Prize winner, Octavio Paz wrote: “Buñuel’s movie is inscribed in the tradition of a passionate and ferocious art, both contained and delirious, which claims as its heritage, Goya and Posada. (...) Misery and abandonment can happen anywhere in the world, but the cruel passion with which these are described belongs to the great Spanish art. We have already met this blind beggar in the Spanish picaresque. These women, these drunkards, these imbeciles, these assassins, these innocents, we have all seen them in Quevedo and Galdos. We have a glimpse of them in Cervantes, and Velasquez and Murillo have painted them.”

Luis Buñuel always appears in the front row with the world’s most distinguished filmmakers. His work began in the era of silent films and continued until the 1970s. His contribution to the History of Art has led to the recognition of a personal style and theme, which have been rigorously analyzed from various points of view, such as Psychoanalysis, Philosophy, Literature, Painting and Twentieth Century Art History. His specific contribution to cinema is also recognized in the works of other brilliant filmmakers influenced by him.

In many countries, retrospectives, festivals, shows and homage have commemorated his work as, for example, the magnificent exhibition organized in Mexico in the Palace of Fine Arts as part of the celebration of the centennial of his birth.

*Bibliographic and Registration Data

Plot Summary:

Los olvidados

Mexico, 1950

A prologue shows us views of some of the world's most important cities (London, Paris, New York) ending with Mexico City. A voice *off camera* comments that extreme poverty and street children, the main theme of the movie, are not exclusive to Mexican society, but are a world-wide problem; the voice also warns us that the film is not optimistic about the problem and that it provides no solution to the progressive forces of society.

El Jaibo, a young street thief, escapes from a Juvenile Detention Center, in order to return to his "barrio" where he rejoins his gang, made up of boys and adolescents such as *Pedro*, *El Cacarizo*, *El Tejocote* and *El Pelón*, among others, to again start stealing to get money and cigarettes. When they try to steal *Don Carmelo's* bag, the blind musician defends himself with his cane (which has a nail at the end) hurting *El Pelón*. In revenge, *El Jaibo*, *Pedro* and *El Pelón*, hit him brutally, in an empty lot, and destroy his musical instruments, all in the presence of a silent hen. The gang joins *El Ojitos*, an immigrant boy abandoned by his father in the market, and who becomes *Don Carmelo's* guide, despite his ill treatment, in order to be able to eat. Meanwhile, *El Jaibo* takes refuge in *El Cacarizo's* home, where he starts harassing *Meche*, a beautiful adolescent girl.

Pedro, a boy cruelly rejected by his mother, who refuses to give him food and affection, who accuses him of "being a bum", becomes friendly with *El Jaibo*; who is looking for *Julián*, the working boy who snitched on him, and when he finds him, seeking revenge, hits him with a stone, causing his death. *Pedro* promises to keep the secret. One night asleep in his home, he dreams that his mother, floating like a ghost over the beds, in the midst of a shower of plumes, offers him the meat she has denied to him. He sees *Julian* mortally wounded, laughing under his bed; he also sees how *el Jaibo*, who emerges from the floor, takes away his mother's food. When he wakes up, wanting to be a "good boy", he finds a job as a smith's apprentice. *El Jaibo* discovered by *El Cacarizo's* grandfather is thrown out on the street, and finds refuge in a building in construction (near the Bridge of Nonoalco).



During a visit to *Pedro* at his job, *El Jaibo* steals a knife with a silver handle. The owner denounces the theft to the police, who is already looking for *Pedro* at his home. As *Pedro* gets close to home, he sees the police and thinks they are looking for him because of *Julian's* death, and runs away. Meanwhile, *El Jaibo* starts visiting *Pedro's* home, talking to his friend's mother, whom he sees as a motherly figure, but he nevertheless seduces her. Meanwhile, *Pedro* tries to survive in the streets of Mexico City, facing bums, an elegant pederast, and working as a slave in

a Carrousel. When he returns home, his mother attacks him in such a way that *Pedro* threatens to hit her with a bench, but repents before doing it. His mother takes him to a Juvenile Detention farm school where the director takes an interest in him and his condition, and assigns him motivating tasks, showing *Pedro* that someone could believe in him. Aggressive in character, reluctant to accept socialization, *Pedro* gets in a fight with his fellow inmates, while they are gathering eggs, and with a thick rod kills a couple of chickens. As a result he is separated from the group.

The farm-school director, wanting to help *Pedro* recover his self-esteem, and also wishing to demonstrate to him that he is not in a jail, offers *Pedro* a deal: he gives him a fifty peso bill and asks him to go buy cigarettes at the store around the corner. *Pedro* goes out, happy, ready to do the task, but *El Jaibo* crosses his path, and tries to convince him to return to the “barrio”. *Pedro* refuses and receives some blows; his “friend” steals the bill and runs away in a bus. Once back at the “barrio” *Pedro* confronts *El Jaibo*, who indirectly suggests that he went to bed with his mother, provoking a brutal fight. *Pedro* receives the worst part and when *El Jaibo* inadvertently drops his knife, *Pedro* threatens him and shouts for all to hear that, *El Jaibo* is responsible for *Julian*’s death. Everybody hears the news, including *Don Carmelo*. The gang is dissolved and *El Jaibo* promises to avenge himself.

Seeking refuge with *El Ojitos*, *Pedro* witnesses the blind man’s ill-treatment, how he tries to abuse *Meche* when she takes him his daily bottle of milk; when he tries to fondle her, she pulls out a pair of scissors from her nylons, and threatens him. Finally *Pedro* is discovered, and the children run away, leaving the blind man alone, avariciously counting the coins he jealously guards in a hole in the wall of his home. *El Ojitos* decides to go back to the market and wait for his missing father.

Pedro walks into the stable of *El Cacarizo*’s home, to spend the night there, not aware that *El Jaibo* is also hiding there; the latter hits *Pedro* with a stick, killing him, and runs away. When *El Jaibo* arrives to his hiding place, the police is already waiting for him as a result of *Don Carmelo*’s accusations. The boy is shot in the back and the blind man hearing the shot says: “One less... One less... an so they will all fall... I wish they would kill them all before they were born.” In his agony *El Jaibo* dreams he is falling into a black hole, the image of a street dog appears to be walking towards him, and a sweet voice in off tells him “go to sleep my little boy, you are alone, as always, my son, as always.”



Meanwhile *Meche* hears the noise made by the scared animals, and accompanied by her grandfather, discovers the lifeless body of *Pedro*. They put him on a mule to take him far away. *Pedro*’s mother, looking for her son, crosses their path unaware that the animal is carrying the lifeless body of her child. *Meche* and her grandfather throw the body in a dump. The body rolls down, rolling with all the garbage all the way down, under a dark grey sky.

***The Second Ending ***

The action begins, when *Pedro* enters the stable at *El Cacarizo*’s home unaware that *El Jaibo* is also there (as in the first ending); they start a fight, but *El Jaibo* loses his balance and breaks his neck. *Pedro* searches *El Jaibo*’s pockets, and takes out the 50 peso bill and leaves. Later he finds *El Ojitos*, sleeping under newspapers; they talk and spend the night together. In the last

scene, *Pedro*, with the bill in his hands, walks through the main door of the farm-school, while a festive music is being played.

Technical data:

Production: Ultramar Films. Producers: Oscar Dancigers Y Jaime Menasce. Executive Producer: Federico Amérigo. Script: Luis Buñuel and Luis Alcoriza, with the collaboration of Max Aub, Juan Larrea and Pedro De Urdimalas. Black And White Photography: Gabriel Figueroa. Set Decoration: Edward Fitzgerald. Music: Rodolfo Halffter, on original themes by Gustavo Pittaluga. Edition: Carlos Savage. Length: 80 Minutes.

Actors: Alfonso Mejía (*Pedro*), Roberto Cobo (*El Jaibo*), Stella Inda (*Pedro's* mother), Miguel Inclán (*Don Carmelo*), Alma Delia Fuentes (*Meche*), Mario Ramírez (*El Ojitos*), Javier Amezcua (*El Julian*), *Voice off camera* by Ernesto Alonso.

The images of **Los olvidados**, are printed in a celuloze nitrate support, in 35mm, black and white, in two separate tracks, one with the images and the other with the optical sound of a variable area, consisting of 8 reels each, of a total length of 2,210 meters. It should be added that the small 35mm reel of a length of 56 meters, containing what is called "The Second Ending" (found in the Filmoteca of UNAM in December 1996) is also part of the inventory.

*** Origin**

Los olvidados was produced by Ultramar Films, a company owned by Oscar Dancigers. When he died, the original negative, the Copyright and all related rights were acquired by Clasa Films S.A., whose principal owners were Manuel Barbachano Ponce and cameraman Gabriel Figueroa. When Mr. Barbachano Ponce died, the copyright was acquired by Televisa S. A.

The original negative "appeared" later on in the vaults of Clasa Films S.A: who then took it to Filmoteca de la UNAM where it was deposited legally by Televisa S.A. The "Second Ending" was found in one of the master copies owned by Filmoteca de la UNAM.

*** State or Condition**

The original negative of **Los olvidados** in cellulose nitrate support, old and damaged by the erroneous industrial and commercial practices that took place in the Mexican film industry, by which, original negatives of their productions were never protected through the making of duplicate master copies to be used to obtain duplicate negatives, so as to be able to make multiple exhibition copies for commercial exploitation without damaging the original negative. Although the **Los olvidados** original negative is complete in its original length, it has scratches at the base and in the emulsion, and given its age and deficient initial conservation, it will be necessary to restore it integrally by passing both image and sound to a new security material, using modern techniques such as digitization, in order to reproduce a new master copy which will guarantee its permanence for future generations. .

*** Bibliography**

- 1.- ARANDA, José Francisco. **Luis Buñuel: Una biografía crítica.** (Luis Buñuel: A Critical Biography), Ediciones Lumen, S.A. Barcelona, 1975.
- 2.- AUB, Max, **Conversaciones con Buñuel: Seguidas de 45 Entrevistas con familiares, amigos y colaboradores del cineasta aragonés.** (Conversations with Buñuel; Followed by 45 Interviews with Family, Friends and Co-workers of the Aragonese Movie Director). Ediciones Aguilar, S.A. Madrid, 1985 . 565 pp.
- 3.- BAZIN, André, **Buñuel, Dreyer, Welles.** Editorial Fundamentos. Madrid, 1991. / 110 Pp.
- 4.- BUÑUEL, Luis, **Mi último suspiro** (My Last Breath), Tribuna De Plaza & Janés/ Memorias Plaza & Janés Editores, S.A. / Barcelona, 1982. / 303 pp. (Reference to *Los Olvidados* in pp. 234-237).

5.- **¿Buñuel!: La mirada del siglo.** Catalogue of the Exhibition presented at the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City, December 4th 1996 to March 2nd 1997, organized by the *Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía* and INBA-Conaculta / Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España. México, 1996 / 414 pp.



6.- DE LA COLINA, José y PÉREZ TURRENT, Tomás., **Luis Buñuel / Prohibido asomarse al interior** (Luis Buñuel/ Forbidden to look inside). Imcine-Conaculta. México, 1996. / 332pp. (References to *Los Olvidados* in pp. 83-97).

7.- GARCÍA RIERA, Emilio, **Historia documental del cine mexicano**, (Documentary History of Mexican Cinema) U. de Guadalajara, Imcine, Gobierno De Jalisco, Conaculta. México, 1993. (Reference to *Los Olvidados*, Vol. 5 (1949-1950), pp.185-194..

8.- PAZ, Octavio, **Las peras del olmo** (The Elm's Pears). (Includes the text *El Poeta Buñuel*, with references to *Los Olvidados*). Imprenta Universitaria.México, 1957.

9.- PÉREZ TURRENT, Tomás, PAZ, Octavio, *et al.* **El Ojo: Buñuel, México y el surrealismo** (The Eye: Buñuel, Mexico and Surrealism). Conaculta. México, 1996. (References to *Los Olvidados* in pp. 28-33).

Although it includes some of the basic texts, analyses, interviews and biographies, necessary to depict the artistic figure of this filmmaker who was born in Aragon, Spain, this list is only a very brief sample of the vast bibliography that exists internationally on the subject of Buñuel, his life and work. To give an example, during the year 2000 alone, for the celebration of the centennial of his birth, close to one hundred new studies, biographies and anthologies were published all over the world.

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4. JUSTIFICATION FOR INCLUSION/ ASSESSMENT AGAINST CRITERIA

4.1 Is authenticity established?

Yes. It is registered in the Filmoteca de la UNAM's Catalogue, and the information is corroborated by the Cineteca Nacional.

4.2 Is world significance, uniqueness and irreplaceability established?

Yes. This film is constantly in demand at the two institutions, both for exhibition in Mexico and abroad. Hundreds of books have been written about it and the film continues to have a great impact on audiences all over the world. The centenary of Buñuel's birth was commemorated in many countries and the film was shown and is still being shown everywhere.

4.3 Is one or more of the criteria of (a) time (b) place (c) people (d) subject and theme (e) form and style satisfied?

a) Time:

When it was filmed (1950), Mexico had a civilian President for the first time. The film industry was living its last moments of glory, the end of its "Golden Age" which had begun almost forty years after movies arrived in Mexico (1896). As years went by, both private enterprise and government contributed towards the creation of a film industry and some of the films then produced received international awards and recognition. Unfortunately this led to a series of movies made with the same structure: songs, stars, and positive stories full of optimism. For all of the above, a movie like **Los olvidados** meant a greater economic and political risk, both for the producers and for the government (as the story contradicted its triumphal message). It was filmed over 21 days and edited in three more, by a director who had previously only made two films in his new country of residence, a land where nationalism is frequently exalted and what is considered "foreign" is often seen with mistrust - since the time of the Spanish conquest.

b) Place :

Filmed mostly in the streets of Mexico City, a fast growing city, this movie realistically depicts the poverty of the slums and the life of its inhabitants. The story of the migrants from the rural areas, a circumstance common to the 20th century, which has been reproduced in many films, finds in **Los olvidados** its best expression. The few scenes shot in interiors were filmed in the Tepeyac Studios, which no longer exist.

c) People :

Los olvidados is a work that made the world rediscover Luis Buñuel after many years, despite the great name he had made for himself, next to Salvador Dali, with his surrealist creations of the silent movies era. It brought him back from the oblivion in which he lived and made him a world known movie director, not only to the specialized critics, but also to other 20th century cultural sectors. About this film, the theorist and founder of the famous *Cahiers du Cinema*, André Bazin wrote: "He chooses the worst because the real problem is not knowing that happiness does exist, but how far can human condition go in its unhappiness." One of Buñuel's great collaborators in this film was Gabriel Figueroa, cinematographer of national prestige and world fame.

d) Subject and Theme :

The violence of adults in **Los olvidados** has crystallized, while in some children and adolescents it is still budding and could be eliminated were it not for the harsh surrounding in which they live. For Buñuel there is no possibility of self-improvement, as long these social conditions continue to exist. The director uses realism to tell us about this world, and adds to it poetic surrealist scenes.

e) Form and Style:

The style of the film offers a diaphanous structure, from beginning to end, in a direct and incisive way, with the speed and efficiency of the picaresque Spanish novel, combining it with a documental tone, without false sentimentalism and with extraordinary naturalism. The film's dream sequences within a realist context, has allowed many interpretations from several disciplines, which have been recorded in abundant publications to be found in libraries and book stores throughout the world.

4.4 Are there issues of rarity, integrity, threat and management that relate to this nomination?

As a result of the technological advances, films today seem to be destined to last forever, by simply migrating them from their original support material of cellulose nitrate to cellulose acetate and then to polyester and then to ¾ tape, VHS and DVD. Nevertheless, the frailty of the original nitrate support in films like **Los olvidados**, makes it absolutely indispensable to find the way to protect them and to make sure that in the future the original film format still exists. The negative of **Los olvidados** exists and is in good hands, but the matrix has been used to generate countless copies, wearing it out and putting at risk its optimum condition and preservation. It hence needs the greatest of care and the help of new technologies in order to safeguard it.

Works of art of such social and cultural importance as **Los olvidados** must not disappear from their original support material. Film history and world history demand that said original negatives be preserved.

5. LEGAL INFORMATION

5.1 Owner of the documentary heritage (name and contact details)

TELEVISA S.A. DE C.V.

Marcela Green Pizarro

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5.2 Custodian of the documentary heritage (name and contact details, if different to owner)

Iván Trujillo Bolio

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Francisco Gaytán Fernández

Curator
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5.3 Legal status:

a) Category of ownership

The owner of the total rights of the film **Los olvidados**, is the Mexican company *Televisa S.A. de C.V.* and its film division handles all aspects related with exhibition, sale of rights for audiovisual media as well as duplication authorizations for commercial or cultural venues. Contact person is Ms. Marcela Green.

b) Accessibility

Although the images of the film **Los olvidados** follow the path of commercial television exhibition as part of the operation of the company *Televisa S.A.*, as a result of the agreements signed with *Filmoteca* of Mexico's National Autonomous University (UNAM), the latter has 6 copies of film in 16mm, available for exhibition in cultural entities such as "cineclubs", cultural centers, unions and others such as researchers and faculty members, of not from UNAM but from any other academic venue; furthermore, its library is open and has free access for all those interested, with five (5) VHS videos available to researchers and students.

In 1993 the *Fonds Luis Buñuel* of the *Cinematheque Française*, under the auspices of the *Kunst- und Ausstellungs- halle der Bundesrepublik*, of Germany, received an authorization, through *Filmoteca*, de la UNAM from the company *CLASA*, who at the time was owner of the rights, to make a projection copy of **Los olvidados** and to exhibit it as a complement of the great exhibition "**¿Buñuel! La mirada del siglo**" that was shown in several countries, including Mexico.

Upon the celebration of the 100 years of Buñuel's birth, the Mexican Commission received permission from *Televisa, S.A* to make two (2) new copies in 35mm, as part of two (2) packages made with the purpose of making Buñuel's work known in Mexico. One package travels through Mexico and the other goes all over the world, to those countries that show interest in it. In addition, *Televisa* gave to the Spanish Film Archive (*Filmoteca Española*) permission to get a master copy in 35mm from the original negative, to be held as permanent archival material, which is presently being preserved in the archives of the *Filmoteca Española*.

The original negative can be consulted at the *Filmoteca* of UNAM with the written authorization of *Televisa S. A.*

c) Copyright Status

Televisa S. A. is the legal owner of the Copyright and all the ancillary rights

d) Responsible Administration

Televisa S.A.

6. MANAGEMENT PLAN

6.1 Is there a management plan in existence for this documentary heritage? YES/NO

No.

If no, please attach further details about current storage and custody of the materials

The original negative of **Los olvidados** is stored in the special vaults for nitrate cellulose, under the supervision and care of the National Autonomous University's Fireman Department, located in a wooded area far away from homes and offices.

7. CONSULTATION

7.1 Details of consultation about this nomination with (a) the owner of the heritage (b) the custodian (c) your national or regional Memory of the World committee

Before taking initial steps, the Filmoteca of UNAM and Cineteca Nacional consulted Televisa S. A. Company, the owner of all patrimonial rights about this nomination, and received its agreement for nomination of the original negative of **Los olvidados** to the Memory of the World Register.

PART B. SUBSIDIARY INFORMATION

8. ASSESSMENT OF RISK

8.1. Nature and scope of threats to documentary heritage

The original negative of **Los olvidados** has a nitrate cellulose support which from the moment it was created, began to decompose both physically and chemically, to the extent that even though it is conserved in special vaults, there is always the possibility that it will show signs of decomposition.

9. ASSESSMENT OF PRESERVATION

9.1 Detail the preservation context of the documentary heritage

The nitrate cellulose support of **Los olvidados** presents no sign of either physical or chemical decomposition. It does not present any shrinking, warping, brittleness nor fading of images or sound. The most evident damage is scratches both at the base and in the emulsion due to an excessive handling caused by copying procedures.

PART C. LODGMENT

This nomination is lodged by:

Comité Mexicano Memoria del mundo 2001-2005
Comité Regional para Memoria del mundo de América Latina y el Caribe
CONALMEX
Cineteca Nacional
Filmoteca de la UNAM

Name(s): Rosa María Fernández de Zamora
Isidro Fernández-Aballi
Magdalena Acosta Urquidi
Iván Trujillo Bolio

Signature (s):

Magdalena Acosta Urquidi
Cineteca Nacional

Iván Trujillo Bolio
Filmoteca de la UNAM

del Rosa María Fernández de Zamora
Comité Mexicano Memoria del mundo
2001-2005

Isidro Fernández-Aballí
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mundo de América Latina y el
Caribe

Daniel González Spencer
CONALMEX

Date: December 9, 2002