VOICES of Mexico™

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Mexico City's Mayoral Race
Carlos Castillo Peraza
Alfredo del Mazo
Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas

Joaquín Claussell's
Mexican Landscapes
Xavier Moyssén

A Paradox of the 1990's
The New U.S. Immigration Act
Manuel García y Griego and
Mónica Verea Campos

A Short Story by
Alejandro Rossi

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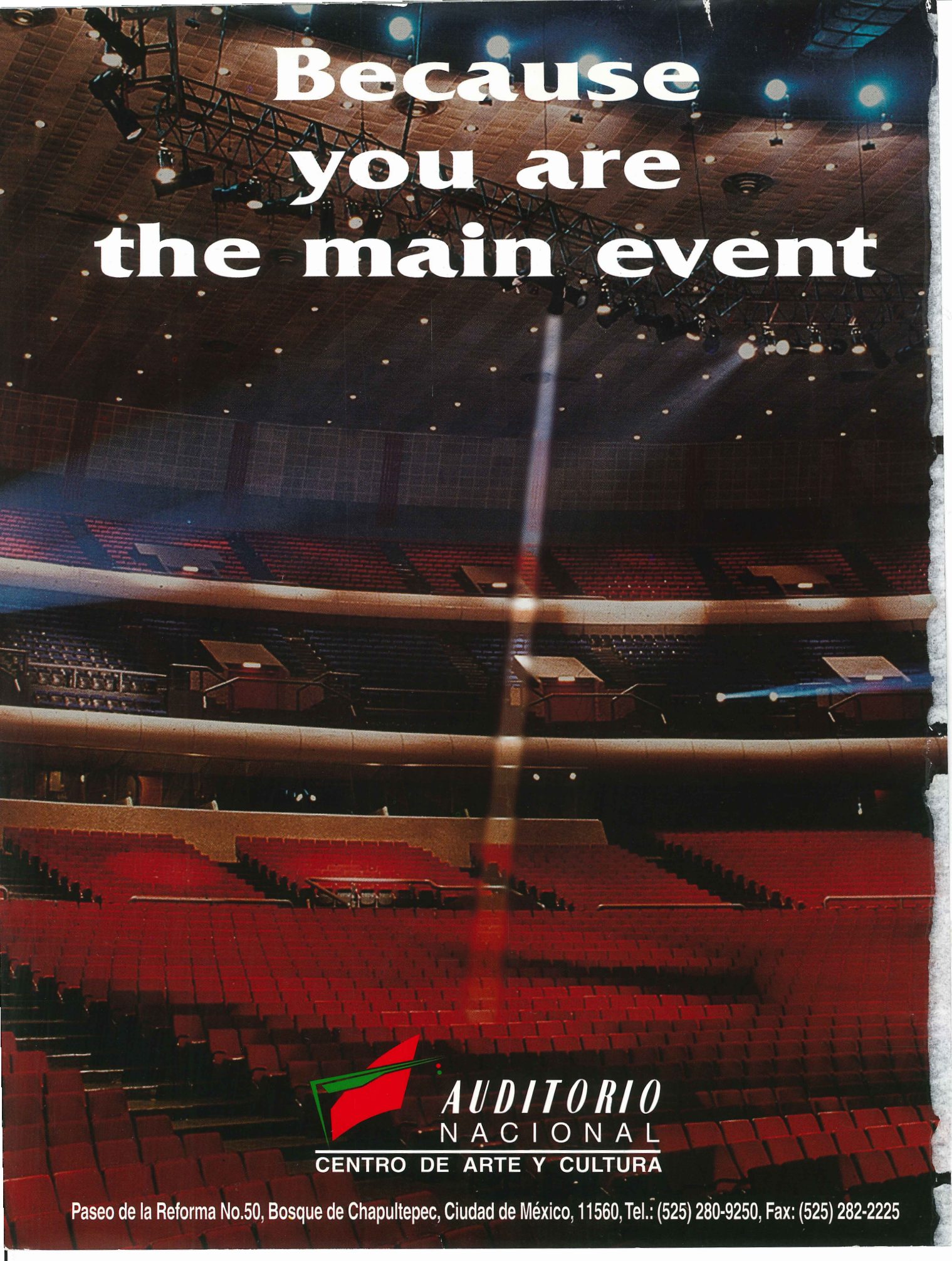
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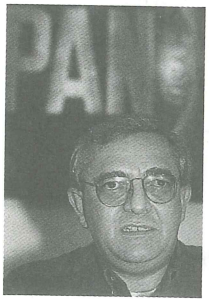

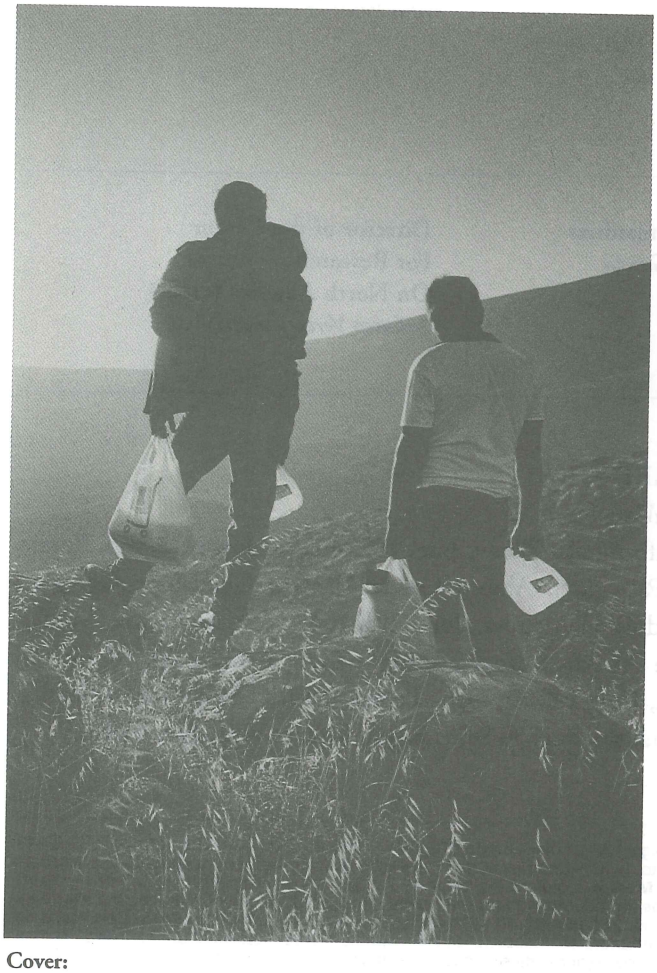

Cover:
Joaquín Claussell *El Pedregal* (oil on canvas).
Photo by Arturo Piera

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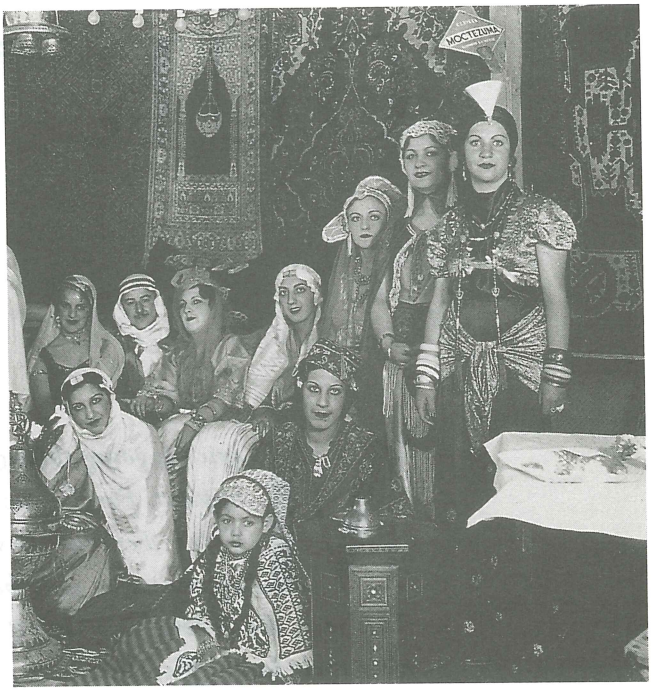

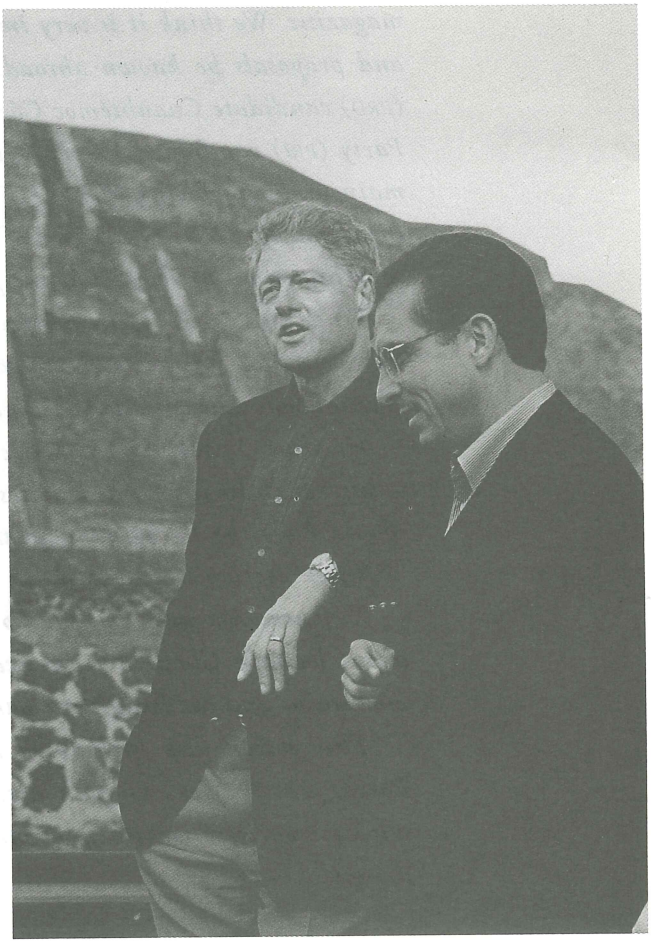

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OUR VOICE

Mexico is going through a key moment in its political development. For the first time in history, the mayor of Mexico City's Federal District —until now a presidential appointee— will be elected by direct, universal ballot. This year, the Federal District's 8 million inhabitants are empowered to elect their local officials.

Because of the importance of this election, Voices of Mexico *decided to invite the three main candidates for mayor to contribute to the magazine. We think it is very important that their political arguments and proposals be known abroad. Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) candidate Alfredo del Mazo each give their analysis of the main problems facing Mexico City and how they propose to deal with them. Carlos Castillo Peraza, of the National Action Party (PAN), has contributed an article about the problems of governability.*

When this issue of the magazine goes on sale, the results of this historic election will already be known. At the close of this edition, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas led the polls.

However, Voices of Mexico *considers that any student of Mexican politics both in the United States and other English-speaking countries should have the background to this important event. This is why our "Politics" section is devoted to it.*

"Science, Art and Culture" presents an article by Xavier Moyssén about Joaquín Clausell, a Mexican impressionist painter whose rivers, mountains and landscapes are part of our cultural heritage.

The section also includes a contribution from art expert Teresa Pomar about Mexican folk art, which has always amazed visitors with its variety, wealth and enormous originality of technique and design.

Specialist Luis Roberto Torres Escalona has written an article about the vast collection donated to the people of Mexico, via the UNAM, *by U.S. collector Donald Cordry.*

*In her article "*Poblano *Chili Here We Come," Patricia Quintana reviews some of the many ways to prepare Mexico's native chili peppers, the use and cultivation of which have spread to Africa, India and China.*

"The Splendor of Mexico" in this issue deals with migration to Mexico. Many different peoples and nations have important immigrant communities in Mexico, and Voices of Mexico *has asked representatives of some of the most significant for articles about their contributions to our country's culture, political system and economy.*

At a time when countries are restricting entry, Voices of Mexico *is concerned with explaining the important flow of immigrants into our country, famous for its hospitality to foreigners. Without a doubt, more than a threat to our identity, the wealth of these ancient cultures has had a positive influence on Mexican culture. Immigrant communities in Mexico have been understood above all as sources of a splendid cultural mix.*

This section also includes an article by Japanese-born Yoshiko Shirata Kato, who discovered the beauty and wealth of Mexican dyes when she emigrated to Mexico. Shirata, who works in textiles, explains the great variety and beauty of Mexican dyes.

"Society" includes an article about Mexican migration to the United States. Specialists José Gómez de León and Rodolfo Tuirán back up their detailed study of the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants on sound statistical data and suggest solutions to a problem that continues to be the most important on the Mexico-U.S. bilateral agenda.

"United States Affairs" begins with comments on President Clinton's recent visit to Mexico, and includes the two joint statements by the presidents of the U.S. and Mexico about the topics that most concern them: drugs and migration.

Manuel García y Griego and Mónica Verea Campos contribute an interesting article analyzing the anti-immigrant measures put into operation in the United States in the 1990s. One example: the recent restrictions on social service access to both legal and undocumented immigrants. The authors underline that, despite the fact that this problem has become increasingly tense, efforts to create bilateral mechanisms for dealing with it have moved ahead.

Luis Herrera Lasso's article explains why he thinks that the institutional development of bilateral Mexico-U.S. relations has been fundamental, allowing tensions between the two countries to be compartmentalized and not poison the entire relationship, thus making more civilized relations possible.

In the "Literature" section, we have included a short essay about the marvelous and contradictory Mexico City by writer Alejandro Rossi, whose arrival several years ago to Mexico from Argentina has contributed greatly to our culture.

In "Ecology," José Remus Araico and Patricia Schmidstdorf go into the beauties of Mexico's coastline, detailing particularly the maritime fauna of the Mexican Caribbean. Their article is illustrated with prizewinning underwater photographer José Remus's work.

"Museums" focuses on a magnificent pre-Columbian piece, the coiled serpent, from the collection of the University Museum of Contemporary Art (MUCA).

"In Memoriam" pays homage to three illustrious Mexicans from different walks of life: from politics, the scrupulously honest social fighter Heberto Castillo Martínez; from cinematography, the brilliant film photographer Gabriel Figueroa; and from philosophy, the penetrating thinker Fernando Salmerón Roig.

* * *

In closing, we want to inform our readers that as of our next issue, we will be forced to raise our prices because of increases in paper and printing costs in Mexico in the last few years. In addition, the magazine's policy has been to constantly improve its quality, and that has also meant higher costs. In the future, individual issues of Voices of Mexico *will cost Mex$30.00 in Mexico and U.S.$6 in the United States and Canada. Yearly subscriptions will be priced at Mex$110, U.S.$22 in the United States and Canada and U.S.$45 elsewhere.*

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla
Editorial Director

DO MEXICANS *Really Want to Be Governed?*[1]

Carlos Castillo Peraza *

Governability has been an object of study for many years and has been examined from many different perspectives. Scholars have invested time and personal and collective efforts in this task and have given us interesting —even gripping— studies full of precise observations, shades of meaning and hypotheses of all kinds. However, only rarely does a political leader, even one who is an amateur academic, have the time and, above all, the calm needed to explore the vast amount of literature on this or any other topic. In my case, I should also add that my field is the philosophy of the Middle Ages, which roughly means that when I have an hour free to read, I pick topics related to that time and field. Also, I am a devotee of novels and, when I have a minute to myself, I prefer reading a novel to something about politics.

This means that to talk about governability, or *contrario sensu*, ungovernability, in Mexico, I can only fall back on my experience as the leader of a political party —Mexico's largest opposition party though it is— that has had to involve itself in the different tasks stemming from the changes my country has gone through in recent years. Undoubtedly, these changes may be called a political transition, that is, a period in which the old antidemocratic

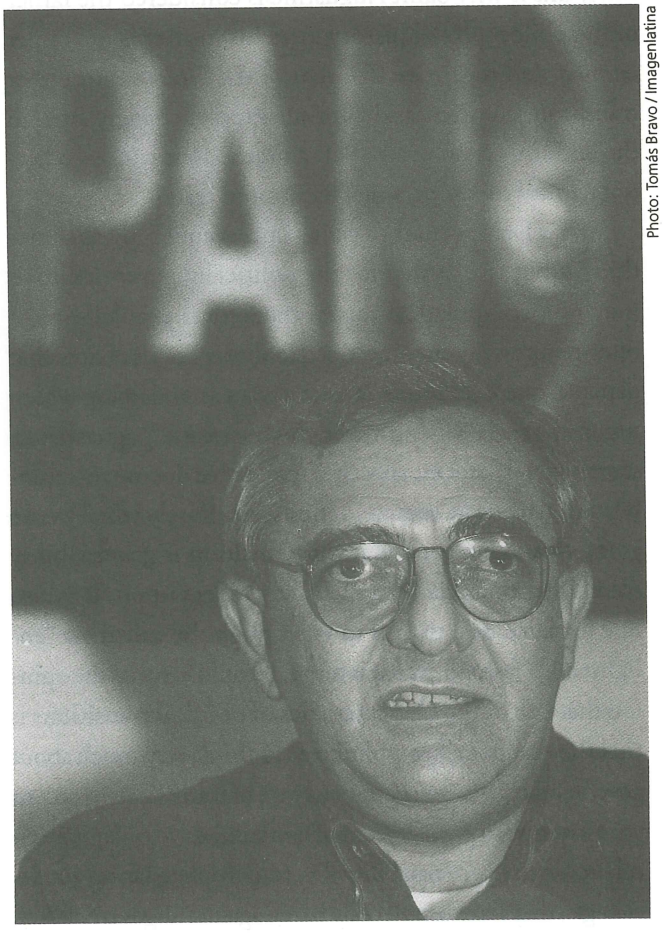

Photo: Tomás Bravo / Imagenlatina

* Secretary of International Relations of the National Action Party (PAN), currently candidate for mayor of Mexico City's Federal District.

[1] This article was originally written for a UNAM seminar. Later revised and corrected after its discussion at the Latin American Studies Center of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., it was finally presented in its current form for the readers of *Voices of Mexico*.

past has still not completely disappeared and the longed for and desirable democratic future has not yet quite been born. What we have is the past and the future mixed in the present, like in a struggle in which tomorrow, fortunately, is winning ground from yesterday.

EVOKING SAINT AUGUSTINE

A mixture like this is not surprising to anyone familiar, for example, with the philosophy of Saint Augustine. This African Christian thinker who pondered the end of Imperial Rome was sure that time was a succession of instants which bring together "the present of the presents, the present of the pasts and the present of the futures." This Augustinian view has as its starting point what he considered Man's three faculties: attention, related to the present; memory, linked to the past; and foresight, concerned with the future. The Augustinian man is compatible with time; this is why Saint Augustine is considered the father of the philosophy of history. And his history is no longer circular and repetitive like that of the Greeks, but rather transition, constant and continual crisis, change. But, in the end, this is no more than a more or less curious reflection, linked to my personal habits and tastes.

What is important to point out, even if only as something subjective, is that for the politician, governability is much more a practical than a theoretical problem, most often temporarily circumscribed to short periods of time that demand quick decisions, almost always as something which urgently needs solving through consensuses, agreements, statements, alliances, speeches, collective documents, mobilizations, public stances, actions, etc. Rarely when we are going through a concrete, real transition is governability something politicians can leisurely reflect upon. It is also rare for us to deal with it in what might be called an "enlightened" fashion. What is more, I would venture the opinion that one of the characteristics of political transitions is that they do not allow politicians to think very much about governability because the very nature of transitions in recent years has been a proliferation of concrete, day-to-day, practical problems of governability. Or, contemplated from another angle, they have been a daily battle against ungovernability.

A RECURRING BUT NEW TOPIC

As far as I can recall, in Mexico the topic of governability is relatively new and only began to be discussed when political debate touched on the question of what percentage of over-representation the PRI can or should have as the party with the relative majority in Congress. This was in late 1988, when the PRI lost the 66 percent legislative majority that for many decades allowed it to make as many constitutional changes as it deemed necessary, most of the time arbitrarily.

As you can see, only very recently did governability begin to be an issue, and at that, only in the framework of a PRI executive branch, albeit in a weakened state. It would be even longer before the general question was considered and the hypothesis of another party having a relative majority included. Until very recently, the opposition's mind-set was the mentality of permanent defeat, just as the PRI's was one of eternal victory. The result was that we in the other parties aimed only, or almost only, to take power away from the PRI through legislation that would lessen its clout and capabilities.

Then things began to happen that made us all shift our frames of reference. When the PAN won relative majorities in some state congresses, particularly, we realized that if we aspired only to tying the PRI's hands and did not try to imagine that we might actually be able to win, we would end up by building a cage for ourselves for the day we took office.

Governability has also been talked about in Mexico when the victims of electoral fraud have used more or less aggressive tactics —even though avowedly pacific ones— to demand respect for the vote. Governability has been invoked by those in government as an argument against those who take over city halls and other public buildings, block streets, openly disobey the law or the authorities or carry out spectacular actions against certain regulations to demand changes in governmental decisions, be they about elections, labor relations, wages or retirement.

THE OTHER GOVERNABILITY

Ungovernability comes up in public discussion when there is a feeling that the political authorities, whoever they may

Castillo Peraza signalling the start of an automobile marathon during his campaign.

be, are losing or have already lost the ability to make decisions, carry them out or convince society itself that it is good, advantageous or at least simply useful to obey the municipal, state or federal government. Ungovernability also comes up when the authorities are unable to offer ways out for conflict in society or for authorities at loggerheads with social, economic or political groups. In fact, recently, the topic of ungovernability has been brought up in the framework of an either hypothetical or real distancing between the Mexican government and the government party, between the civilian government and the armed forces, between government officials and PRI legislators, etc.

A foreign analogy is usually drawn for every situation in Mexico, whether it be the Philippines of Ferdinand Marcos, the Iran of the Shah, the regimes of the former "Eastern Europe," Spain after Franco, the denouement of Chile's dictatorship or the toppling of the communist regime in the ex-Soviet Union. At the end of the day, however, none of the actual conclusions of those regimes are similar to the Mexican transition's long, long swan song, which sometimes seems interminable. Those who prophesied imminent ungovernability were wrong, just like the intellectuals who foretold that the 1994 elections would end up in "a train wreck." The predictors of no change whatsoever were also wrong, since the opposition today governs almost 45 percent of the inhabitants of Mexico. And those who assured everyone that there would be many immediate changes, repeating over and over that Mexico was coming to a historic watershed, were also mistaken.

None of the more or less recent calls to armed rebellion or to support those who had opted for violent insurrection have been echoed enough to make it possible to say that Mexico has become ungovernable. What is more, the prolonging of the negotiations between the insurgent groups in Chiapas and the government seems rather to favor governability.

This is the case for several reasons. In the first place, both sides constantly talk about their determination to find a

Photo: Javier García / Imagenlatina

The PAN kicks off its campaign for mayor of the Federal District, deputies and senators.

peaceful solution to the conflict and armed confrontations have not recurred. Marcos no longer announces "imminent bloodbaths" and the federal government no longer threatens to use the armed forces. This creates an atmosphere and feeling that disallow violence as a way out. Secondly, maintaining the status quo helps the rebels continue to be both legend and threat (with less and less influence to be sure, but their possibilities would diminish even more if they took off their masks and threw down their guns to become part of Mexico's political life and competition like any other social or political group). Thirdly, if there is no formal solution to the conflict, it can be just as useful to the government in the 1997 elections as it was in 1994: the government could go to the Mexican people to ask them to "vote for peace" and avoid any risk of ... ungovernability.

THE LEAST GOVERNABLE

By now, we should ask ourselves what the least governable thing in Mexico is. In my view, the most disorderly, unstable and confused entity in Mexico today is the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). In only 3 years and 11 months, the PRI has had six national presidents; in other words, on an average, it has changed leader every 7 months and 25 days.[2] It is worth pointing out that none of these changes have been made through democratic internal functioning, openly, transparently, but, rather, following the unwritten rules that dictate that the president of the country names the new party president. In addition, we Mexicans have witnessed how the PRI has opposed the president only to submit shortly afterward, since it has been subject to changes obviously decided on by the president. Finally, clearly both militants and leaders of the PRI are withdrawing and joining, in the main, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

Why do the most of those who leave the PRI end up in the PRD and not in the PAN despite the fact that the PAN has shown its ability to win more elections against the PRI. It seems to me that this is because the PRD maintains the dis-

[2] From March 1993 to January 1997, Genaro Borrego Estrada, Fernando Ortiz Arana, Ignacio Pichardo Pagaza, María de los Angeles Moreno, Santiago Oñate Laborde and Humberto Roque Villanueva have all been national presidents of the PRI.

course and political proposals of the statist, populist PRI of the 1960s, the PRI that never lost, and because the PRD recognizes the merits chalked up by militants in the PRI as though they had been earned in the PRD. This means that whoever leaves the PRI because he/she did not win the nomination for an elected position in a democratic meeting, following PRI by-laws, is often given the nomination for the same post with no further democratic ado by the PRD. This is the case of a PRI senator from Campeche, the daughter of one of the country's best known PRI strongmen, who left the official party and was immediately given the PRD nomination for state governor.

If this keeps up, the PRI will be the most hurt by it, both in real terms and in terms of public opinion. However, it should be expected that the PRD will begin to suffer the political congestion that is part of the fabric of the PRI's own internal instability and ungovernability.

Until very recently, the PRI had to distribute candidacies among all its groups and sub-groups, among all the large unions, the party-affiliated professional associations, and even to some of the fake political parties that it has traditionally shorn up. The drop in the number of nominations for shoo-in posts due to incipient democratization and the emergence of groups within the PRI which oppose presidential policy have generated bottlenecks, frustration, irritation and departures which, as the militants flow to the PRD, will transfer to the latter —already faced with difficulties because of the number and contentiousness of its own internal groupings— one of the PRI's gravest problems.

Despite the damage to the PRI's public image that this crisis will do, it could make the most of the moment and clean itself up, close ranks around Mexico's president and thus recover internal stability and governability. It is not likely to become democratic in order to do this because, given that it has no democratic habits or mechanisms, internal democracy would only escalate its conflicts. It could manage it, but only after dealing *undemocratically* with the current tasks of picking its candidates, particularly the nominees for seats as federal deputies, who have to be a group very loyal to the president of Mexico.

In sum, we see problems of internal governability mainly in the PRI and to a lesser, but probably growing, extent, in the PRD. The PAN could see the emergence of a problem of this kind due to an excess of internal competition for the nominations or if there were clumsiness in dealing with this competition democratically and according to by-laws that work quite well in times of less intense internal competition. Internal democracy is a protective shield for the PAN vis-à-vis a flood of discontented *priistas* or people who only come to the PAN now when it has become the PRI's most important challenger.

In any case, in the strictly political sphere, I think that only growing, unsolved strife inside the PRI could generate ungovernability of national dimensions, given the size, complexity and rigidity of PRI networks, which cut across state institutions, the party itself, unions, state-owned companies and some private businesses. In this sense, the most recent PRI discourse shows up the contradiction that culturally and politically splits the party of the Mexican government: on the one hand, its spokesmen send messages threatening that if the PRI loses the 1997 elections, the country will have economic and governability problems; on the other hand, some of its representatives do their best to assure everyone that a PRI defeat in 1997 would not be a disaster.

It is interesting to note how both the Mexican business community and the U.S. ambassador to Mexico subscribe to the latter opinion, shared also by a few well-known PRI members. For me, this is a clear sign of change: in 1994, businessmen thought that an opposition victory would put the country in danger; U.S. political and financial circles shared those fears. They no longer think this way, and that being publicized and more and more broadly expounded contributes to the country's governability. However, at this crucial political juncture, before the July federal elections, the opinion of the U.S. diplomat in Mexico can be considered interventionist, just like in the old days.

Do They Want To or Not?

In my opinion, the Mexican people will only be ungovernable if they begin to believe that it is preferable to have no government or to have such a weak and ineffective or corrupt and negligent government that it would be like hav-

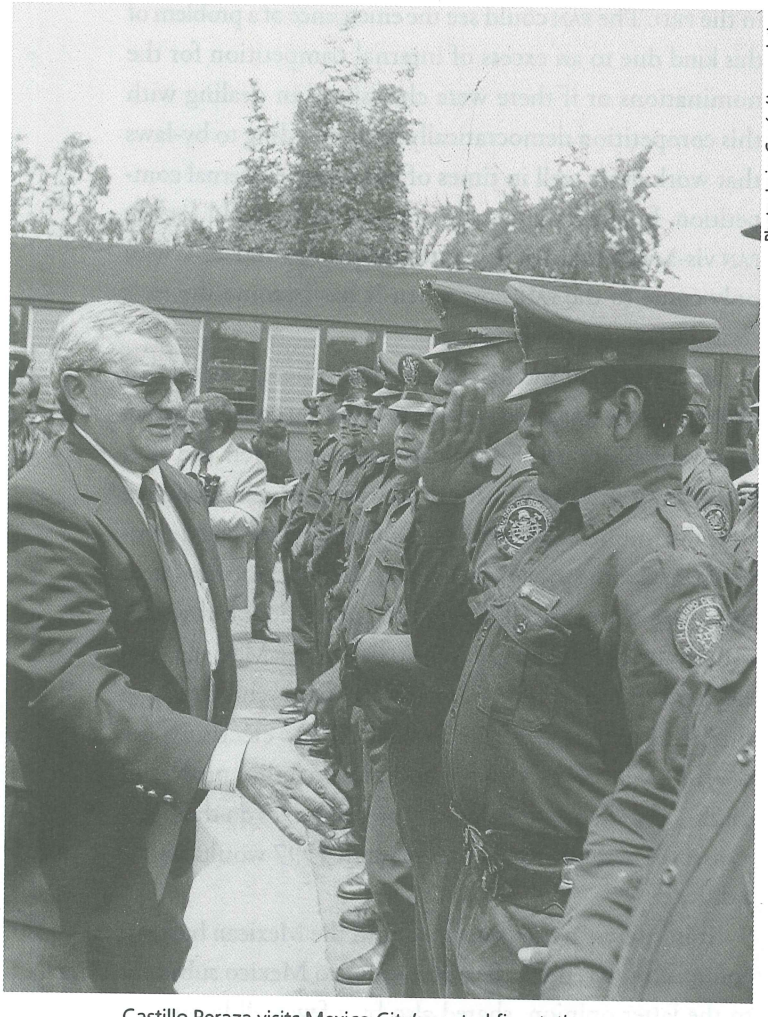

Photo: Javier García / Imagenlatina

Castillo Peraza visits Mexico City's central fire station.

ing no government at all. In other words, ungovernability could only exist if the conviction that no government is preferable to an illegitimate, inefficient, corrupt or ineffective government prevailed culturally and socially. Can this happen?

Perhaps. I will try to explain what I mean.

Recent events and attitudes fashionable in the world of high finance have been noticed in Mexico. The most surprising thing has been the discovery that if it is thought that jobs will be more plentiful, the stock market drops. The interesting attitude is that it is demanded of countries like Mexico that they put almost no restrictions on the entry and exit of capital into their money markets, and, at the same time, they must guarantee a highly predictable economy.

With regard to the first question, the conviction is growing that the government will be unable to further job growth, after a certain level of macro-economic successes, given that it is immersed in a worldwide process over which it has no control and never will have either influence or responsibility. With regard to the second question, it is trapped in a contradiction: if it does not regulate, it loses the ability to program and predict and therefore to promise and commit itself in the medium and long terms, which would bring as a result capital flight or just a trickle of foreign capital. If, on the other hand, it does regulate, it becomes able to predict, but it will scare away investors who want deregulation. If, in either case, the authorities cannot guide the economy so as to create believable prospects for just human development, the public will begin to think that it does not need to be governed and that politics, in its deepest sense, is useless.

DEMOCRACY IS NOT THE ENEMY

This could finish off any possible favorable view of politics in the minds of the most numerous members of society: the poor.

To this possibility, we should add another factor: the incessant repetition in circles close to the PRI power elite that Mexico's incipient, timid democratization causes instability and could cause ungovernability. In other words, these peoples' underlying idea is that it is not feasible to democratize Mexico, nor should it be democratized because democracy opens up the whole country to the risk of anarchy and disorder. Obviously, this is tantamount to saying that those who have been in power since the third decade of this century should stay there.

I would like to take this occasion to explore an aspect of governability that I think is worth the analysis and study by academics with the time and the tools to do so. It is related to something I wrote a few paragraphs back, the authorities' ability to propitiate or guarantee decent living conditions for the community they lead.

As a devotee of philosophy, particularly that of Aristotle, I tend to think of things around me in a framework of categories like form and matter. An old and fruitful principle of Aristotelian metaphysics tells us, in Latin,

that *forma educitur e potentia materiae.* This means that the form of a being emerges from what the matter it is to be made of allows for. More clearly, this means that you cannot make an apple with a kilogram of talcum powder, and with a ton of apples, you cannot make a marble statue.

Ungovernable Matter?

Taking this into account, we can pose the same question differently, linking it to the term "governable" in a political framework: What is the matter which we think must be governed? or, What is it that we think should be governed?, or, What matter is it that we want to give the form of "governed"? or, What is it that we think should be governable?

There is no room for doubt. What should be "governable" is human beings: people, social by nature, who live in a society; intelligent and free beings, the possessors of rights, subject to obligations, people with dignity. We do not need to repeat here what Anthropology 101 might have to say about human beings. But it bears asking whether the way they are affected by what their government must let happen in the country they live in, makes them desire or seek being governed and, therefore, being governable.

Here, I want to mention two recently published books, one by French politician Philippe Séguin called *En attendant l'emploi* (Waiting for a Job) (Seuil, Paris, 1996), and the other by French writer Viviane Forrestier, *L'horreur économique* (The Economic Horror) (Fayard, Paris, 1996). Both look at the problem of job elimination and its repercussions in France and other parts of the world.

Séguin explains how people today are being subjected to the effects of three simultaneous revolutions. One is the rapid internationalization of the economy, the main result of which is the massive transfer of industries to countries where wages are not only low but virtually unalterable because of authoritarian governments. Large Western corporations prefer to invest in these countries than in those with democratic governments. This behavior leads us to suspect that some democrats are uninterested in democracy except in their own countries, and that elsewhere, they prefer stability to democracy. Whatever the case, the fact is that the money that might generate the kind of socioeconomic stability that bolsters on-going democratization processes is going to countries where no such processes are underway. China is the obvious example. What we have just seen in South Korea shows the limits of the experiment and its grave defects.

According to Séguin, the technological revolution, especially pertinent in telecommunications, is second. In some cases, production processes, for example in publishing, can be transferred every eight hours to a different country and go around the world with stops in the places with the lowest costs. However, the determining factor in these technological advances is that they make it possible to move great sums of money electronically to different financial markets at the touch of a keyboard.

The third revolution is the rapid transformation of international finance into a freer and freer, more and more autonomous instrument vis-à-vis the other segments of the economy and social and political activity. The effectiveness of this change is magnified by the new communications media, as I already pointed out.

Until today, none of these three revolutions or any of their effects are guided by any authority or norm approved, accepted and in force worldwide. Neither do any rules exist for monetary operations, since until now it has been impossible to design a real substitute for the Bretton Woods Accords.

These three revolutions have resulted in millions of victims worldwide, Séguin says, and even more in countries like Mexico where we have seen our efforts go wrong again and again and are becoming less and less able to make sacrifices in the name of some promised future. This makes us intransigent "here-and-now-ists" and, consequently, not very governable since governing and doing politics is betting on the future.

Poor Mexicans today feel they are increasingly expendable, too expendable to be given back their hope in the future.

My fear is that the world today is creating the conditions that make it impossible to think it is a good thing to be governed.

The problem becomes even more difficult when we realize that the best imaginable national government can do little by itself to deal with the on-going revolutions and their effects. I have seen figures that support the suspicion that previous revolutions created more jobs than they destroyed, while the current revolutions do not. Or perhaps they will be able to, but far in the future, which leaves people with no prospects given that they know how very brief their lives are. In any case, poor Mexicans today —the topic under discussion— feel they are increasingly expendable for those in government, too expendable to give them back the hope, the future for which it would be worthwhile sacrificing themselves today. They seem to say, "We are sick of macro-economic data; we demand a micro-economic promise."

Is matter which only believes in the present, matter which has been taught not to bet on the future, governable? Can there be governability, can policy be made, if people can no longer be convinced that individual sacrifices must be accepted today for the general good of the future? My question is not merely an exercise in imagination or a practically literary provocation; I have seen a community which demands general, abstract public goods divide into small groups to condemn the construction of particular, concrete public goods. No one is against building a subway or a marketplace, but everybody bands together to make sure they are not built in their neighborhood.

THE THROWAWAYS

Viviane Forrestier's book goes even further. I would say that her conclusions are terrifying: for the first time in history, "The mass of humanity is no longer materially necessary for those with [economic] power." Political authorities, then, are seemingly condemned to making those who are economically unnecessary, politically unnecessary as well, since they are the source of unending turbulence. What is more, those governments which guarantee social, union, wage and political control seem to desire and even organize to do this. They are the same governments which ensure investors tiny production costs, slave labor, absolute flexibility to the detriment of sick or old workers....Is it true or not that in the Latin American part of the hemisphere there has been economic growth without job growth for ten years? If it is, how is the next generation to be convinced that it must keep waiting? How much will the probability of being able to govern decrease if those to be governed are hopeless? And how much if, in addition, the authorities lack democratic legitimacy?

If the political changes favoring democratization and democracy culminate in governments and public policies that make the same people foot the bill for economic adjustment as those who paid for the material effects of dictatorships during authoritarian or totalitarian periods, who will want to run the risks of changing to democracy? Or, even worse, who will think it reasonable to even fight for a democratic government and, in the worst of cases, to have a government at all? Who will want to be governed and therefore be governable?

My fear is that what is happening in the world today with no controls whatsoever is creating the conditions to make it impossible for human beings, especially those who live in the poorest parts of the globe, to think that it is a good thing to be governed. Many Mexicans have felt ourselves forced again and again to think that we have no future, to doubt —with good reason— that there is any hope for a better future, and perhaps this is making us less governable.

This is a cultural phenomenon which is only just beginning to manifest itself in expressions of opposition to politics and politicians. These feelings are probably the basis for the burst of initial sympathy for the discourse of the Chiapas insurgents. This is something that I think we should be sensitive to because, when politics disappears, what rears its ugly head is war. VM

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SALA NEZAHUALCÓYOTL

Toward a New City[1]

*Alfredo del Mazo**

In great societies, everything important is decided by elections. Their honesty, transparency, certainty and legality guarantee citizens and authorities alike the governability we all need to live in peace and carry out our productive activities in complete security.

Society, political parties and organizations and in general all the new political actors, should unite to strengthen a culture that fosters tolerance, inclusiveness, plurality, competition and legality.

Democracy is not subject to discussion. There should never be haggling over building it. We will be equal to the task of building bridges to all the political forces in the field to reach the necessary consensuses, all the while perfecting democracy.

I am firmly convinced when I say that, trusting in the support of the public, I will be equal to the task of loyally fulfilling my obligations to residents of the Federal District, at the same time that I exercise my rights as a citizen based on the ideology and positions of my party. This is the spirit of democracy and the principles upon which I will base public policy and the actions needed to implement it in the public interest.

I will be equal to the task of guiding this city in such a way that it is governed with respect for everyone's freedoms, dignity and rights, with the public trust we hope to be awarded.

We aspire to continue renovating the city's legal framework. We will do this on the basis of the needs and

Photo: Gustavo Graf / Imagenlatina

* Candidate for mayor of Mexico City's Federal District for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

[1] Speech made before the Federal District's Assembly of Representatives.

the principles that the public determines and in a way that furthers democracy.

The inhabitants of Mexico City's Federal District and its political forces have come to a historic agreement to elect their own officials as the best way of guaranteeing that the government act positively. This agreement is compatible with maintaining the seat of federal government in the same place and with a fully democratic public life for capital residents.

The proposal by some opposition parties that Mexico City become our thirty-second state is not realistic today. It would mean going back to outmoded forms that would mean a heavier burden for residents, a considerable increase in the size of public administration, a deterioration in the coordination needed to provide public services and, fundamentally, a step back in development.

We want this city to continue to be the capital of all Mexicans. It would only be fair to recognize steps forward in city management. However, because of its size, complexity and the imbalances accumulated over the years, more effective means must be adopted for city management.

The election of borough delegates in the year 2000[2] forces us to begin now to prepare a broad transitional city management program to match up exactly with the political reform, which extends the boroughs' jurisdiction and obligations.

This city is the mirror of what goes on in the rest of the country. Everything that happens here has both national and international impact. The D.F. cannot be experimented with, much less does it warrant untried exercises with incalculable costs.

Our solutions must take into account the fact that we are dealing with a metropolitan area that is actually several cities in one, which multiplies the problems and creates new needs in terms of equipping and investing in public services, as well as difficulties arising out of the density of the population, this means we must change our outlook in order to organize and manage it efficiently.

Public participation and welfare must be the starting point and the mechanisms for public service provision.

[2] In the year 2000, for the first time, Federal District residents will vote in universal elections for their political delegates, the officials responsible for running the 16 boroughs into which the D.F. is divided. [Editor's Note.]

Our solutions must take into account the fact that we are dealing with a metropolitan area that is actually several cities in one.

People demand public safety; no one is willing to tolerate physical aggression, robbery, muggings and the other forms of organized crime. No one is willing to tolerate the violence around us and peace officers' and public officials' inability to deal with it and reduce it to a minimum. The most important desire of every individual is to live in peace.

We will be inflexible with criminals. Society demands order and safety. We will make the city a safe place. I will propose a profound reform of the peace-keeping apparatus and the administration of justice, and I will promote a review of the different jurisdictional boundaries of public functions.

It is urgent that we integrate each of these functions to strengthen crime prevention campaigns and to broaden and deepen policing operations; to perfect informational and communication systems, data bases and computerized patrol cars; to better coordination among institutions and different states; to deepen the fight against police corruption at the same time that we give dignity to the police officer's job; to strengthen the strategies against organized crime; and to increase real wages and benefits for police officers.

We will further the administration of justice and law enforcement by increasing the District Attorney's operating capabilities and strengthening the Public Defender's Office, modernizing and improving the information, orientation and complaints services of the Judicial Police,[3] offering the public, particularly the needy, legal aid and making it easy for any citizen to make a legal complaint.

Before the Assembly of Representatives, we will promote an increase in the budget for the judicial branch and

[3] Mexico's Judicial Police are locally at the service of District Attorneys' Offices and, federally, of the Attorney General's Office. [Editor's Note.]

Photo: The PRI Press Office

Campaigning.

will support the Federal District's Supreme Court in its efforts to be more effective.

The public demands order and the government must provide it: the kind of order that combines freedom and law, in which all actions of the authorities are rooted in law.

We do not want our legislation to be a dead letter; we want the kind of order that will help make a fairer, more humane city. Sponsoring policies outside the law spurs discretionary decision making, weakens our institutions and strikes a blow against the rule of law.

My aim is to encourage non-violence, eliminating arbitrariness and maintaining respect for the individual. I am committed to the promotion, defense and protection of human rights and the causes most keenly felt by the public.

Mexico City has an enormous potential for generating its own progress. Economic development is the only way to make it viable.

We have to understand that government must be exercised intimately linked to metropolitan development as well as the national political and geographic situation, which always provides us with feedback.

Mexico does not want a broken or divided city, but a vigorous city where solutions to the great problems the Federal District faces and that hinder its development are sought. For this reason, I am committed to moving forward in the tasks of government, strictly according to the real situation, making an overall effort to coordinate with the federal government and our neighboring states and municipalities.

Our city has enormous comparative advantages which we can transform into great opportunities for creating productive, better paying jobs. It is the country's most important financial center, the place with the best means of transportation, the most visited, the place with the

greatest historical patrimony and which offers the greatest number and the most diversified opportunities. That is why we are in a position to offer companies the latest services and the technical, legal, consulting, computer and marketing services that make it possible to expand the income sources that industry needs to develop.

We will create a climate of confidence and certainty for investment, so that profitability will be fully guaranteed, and jobs and income will increase. Economic development should be consolidated through competitiveness, strengthening regional links and international projection. Achieving greater productivity in the economy will also make it possible to increase the buying power of wages through a significant effort to foster formal employment, the reduction of corporate costs and better systems for distribution of the goods families need.

The economic strategy I propose can be summarized in the idea of promoting investment to create jobs in a framework of two basic conditions: certainty and ease of investment.

The economic sectors with the greatest potential for development will be boosted through planning and creating infrastructure, setting up integral service provision and inter-institutional coordination whereby the D.F. government becomes a promotor and agent for investment. But government action is not sufficient to open up the opportunities for capital residents to progress. Growth must be based on the enormous potential of the residents themselves and their ability to organize.

We must encourage a return to neighborhood life, recover lost values and customs that make people want to keep up communication and strengthen identity. The July 6 election process offers us one of the best possible opportunities to reaffirm a sense of belonging and pride in this, the capital of all Mexicans.

In the power of neighborhood organization with government support are to be found new opportunities for jobs, housing, infrastructure and the creation of new businesses. We pledge ourselves to generate reasonable expectations and the confidence that we will all be able to live better and be better.

The Mexico City of all of us who live here is the possibility for having new lives and a healthy environment for our mental and physical health. It requires a city with balanced growth that can overcome its urgent problems of air and water quality, that has the means to regulate its own expansion and has enough public areas.

Government action must be aimed at raising educational, training, health and housing levels for the population, particularly for the most vulnerable. In a word, the government must be understood as an equalizer of opportunities.

Without this kind of social policy, the fostering of economic, productive and profitable activities would permanently exclude the marginalized population which, because of its current situation, does not participate in the process of the creation of wealth and, therefore, would never be able to benefit from it.

No one can deny the sense of frustration that both young people and adults have when they lose their jobs, when they cannot find new ones, when their real wages drop. Therefore, the difficulties they face in satisfying basic needs is a social problem that we must resolve with many different actions, particularly those aimed at prevention and that offer decent, permanent solutions.

Human problems cannot be measured simply in terms of cold statistics. Homeless children living on the streets, the unemployed, the retired, old people, the disabled and all citizens who suffer from inequality and extreme poverty demand to be recognized. They demand that the authorities act with more determination to mitigate the injustice and inequity arising from a lack of opportunities.

The world's great capitals distinguish themselves for their high cultural level. We all want a city that provides the places and conditions to be able to reach this very important objective in order to reaffirm our historic values, our national values.

Our aim is to decentralize artistic services, promote and support neighborhood initiatives that generate identity and establish fiscal stimuli for cultural activities.

To do this, we call upon the artistic and intellectual community and the public in general to act in two ways: supporting activities which tend to develop sensitivity and creative ability among all citizens and, simultaneously, fostering greater participation.

We want a city where sports are a basic element of social welfare, of living together and of health promotion. We aim to reorient policy to correct the uneven distribu-

Photo: The PRI Press Office

Visiting poor neighborhoods.

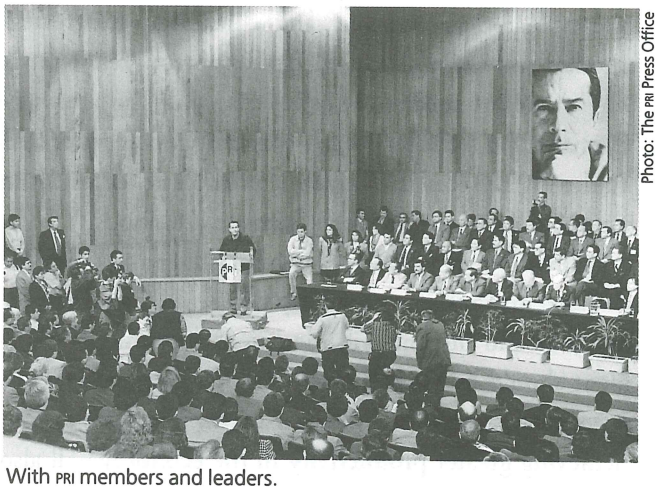


Photo: The PRI Press Office

With PRI members and leaders.

tion of installations and to train young people who already play sports to train others.

On every block, street and neighborhood, in every town and rural community, we will ask people about their needs. We will listen to how people think they should be met, and we will make their voices a guide for our actions.

All programs should reflect the determination to use resources efficiently. Productivity in public endeavors must translate into greater social well-being, and this must be a permanent commitment of public servants.

There must be a direct correlation between the quality of services, the productivity of public spending and the income that make Mexico City's functioning viable.

I do not share the idea that the city must be expensive to be viable.

The government must rigorously comply with planned spending and subject itself to the terms laid out in regulations about how to do that. Making public investment more efficient is the fundamental axis of the economic proposal we want to put forward.

Clearer actions are required so that tax money translates into public works for the benefit of all and public monies have the best possible effect on the life of the population. Also, a fiscal policy should be established that, without upsetting financial balances, makes it possible to lessen the tax burden on capital residents' pocket books.

To ensure that financing public spending does not mean higher taxes for capital residents, I propose completely reviewing the fiscal relationship with the federal government. This must be done on a fair basis that takes into consideration what our city contributes, proposing a change in the tax earnings distribution ratio between the local and federal governments. The new distribution ratio must reflect the city's real contribution in tax monies, as well as federal funding of metropolitan infrastructure, to be able to share both income and spending linked to service provision that involves surrounding states.

I pledge that all increases in productivity and efficiency in public spending will be directly reflected in lower taxes for the public.

I consider it a priority to strengthen the authority of the Assembly of Representatives, broadening out its responsibilities to include reviewing how public monies were spent, with the aim of ensuring that appropriate management and resources are available for reaching established objectives.

This vision of the future makes us look ahead with the knowledge that Mexico City is governable and that its problems will be overcome by the determination of its inhabitants and the constructive spirit of its government.

We can create a better city for all and for future generations. We have the experience, the drive and the irrevocable determination to be able to head up a democratic government, a government of safety, confidence and opportunities, a government that is honest, effective and productive; a government to meet the next century with optimism, hope and determination. VM

A City for Everyone

*Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas**

Mexico City's Federal District is half the metropolitan area. The Federal District (D.F.) is both the capital of the republic and the official seat of the federal government. Mexico City is one of the most populated cities in the world, encompassing not only the D.F., but also parts of the states of Mexico and Hidalgo. In addition, it is one of the most polluted cities in the world. Built over one of the country's most active seismic areas, the city has an extremely high concentration of industry and businesses, vehicles, and cultural and health institutions. It permanently attracts people, activities and all kinds of investment. It has not been able to organize and provide public services efficiently and equitably, nor satisfy economic, social and cultural needs. It houses the largest concentration of military in the country. It is the seat of the highest ecclesiastic authorities and is a religious center and the financial hub of the country. At the same time, the city is a jumbled complex of relations where social inequalities are the sharpest and conflicts of every kind are most acute —poverty and marginalization, family disintegration, homeless children, informal economy, etc. It is a place where the crime rate and organized crime are daily on the increase.

Mexico City was the main center of the Aztec dominions in pre-Hispanic times; later it was the colonial capital, and after Independence, the nation's capital. Since

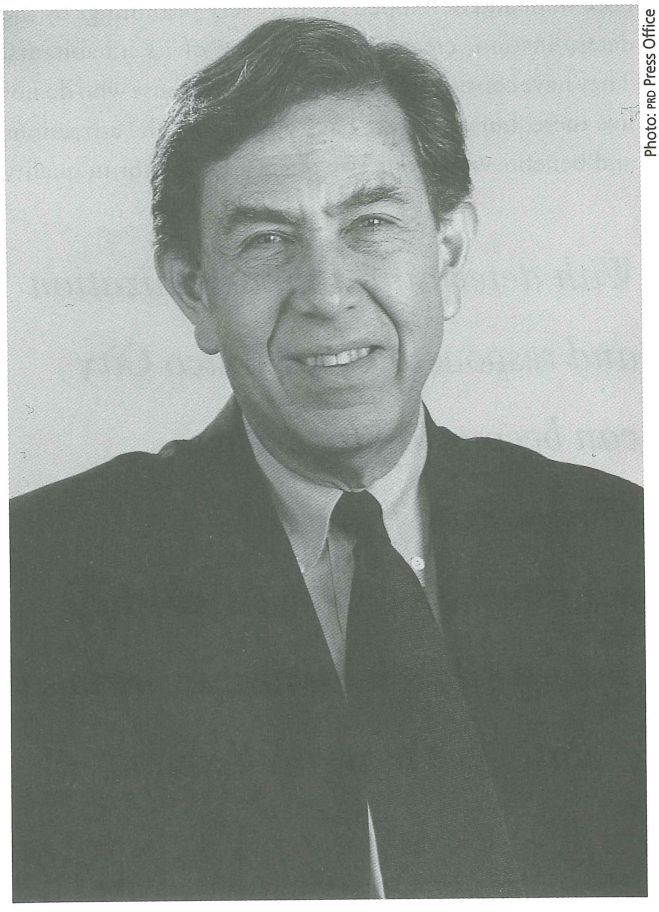


Photo: PRD Press Office

* Candidate for mayor of Mexico City's Federal District for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

Photo: Gustavo Graf / Imagenlatina

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas at Mexico's City Sports Center.

before becoming a federal district, it was the center of political decision making. But it is the only part of the country with a special form of government, which means that its inhabitants, and particularly its citizens,[1] have been deprived of their full constitutional rights.

Mexico City, with its rich and myriad heritage, has been built and developed from its very beginnings by the determination, creativity and efforts of its inhabitants. They have contributed a great deal, even those who do not live there, but commute back and forth. The attractions and benefits which our city offers are superior in quality and quantity to those of any other urban center in the country. Its economic activity and all the initiatives that emerge from it are part of its people's determination to make the nation's capital a productive, generous, hospitable and inhabitable city for everyone.

With determination, organization and responsibility, Mexico City can become a place where constructive, fraternal relationships can be established among all its inhabitants, without exclusion or marginalization.

On September 19, 1985, our city suffered one of the worst, most destructive earthquakes ever recorded in our country. Thousands died and others disappeared; many buildings were destroyed or damaged throughout the city. From this misfortune came, first, a great feeling of human fraternity which lessened the severity of the tragedy. Then, starting from that solidarity and an exemplary collective effort in the face of a government paralyzed by shock and guilt, growing awareness and collective determination would finally make it possible for the people to organize on their own and express their demands, both their immediate demands and those pent up over a long period of time, and make a new start, both materially and spiritually.

* * *

The urban policy of neoliberalism, proposed, defended and orchestrated by the PRI and the PAN and on the basis of which the capital has been developing in recent years, has resulted in a rising cost of living and things getting more and more difficult daily. Only those who can meet those rising costs are supposed to live here and endure. As for the rest of the people, neither their future nor their existence seem to matter.

The year 1997 is opening up new opportunities, different from any that have come before. The citizens of Mexico City will be able to change their quality of life by electing a new head of government and the members of the new Legislative Assembly, mandating them all to orient and guide the capital's future development.

The July 6 election is an opportunity for the democratic forces of the D.F. to oppose the policy that means that only those who can pay its rising costs should be able to live in the city. It is an opportunity to establish a policy to develop a democratic, decent way of life through active and growing public participation, an opportunity to create a city for everyone, with a different form of government.

[1] Mexicans become citizens upon coming of age. [Editor's Note.]

Photo: Gustavo Graf / Imagenlatina

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his daughter Camila campaigning for the nomination at a union rally.

The city we want is a far cry from the city we have. Can we possibly imagine a city and Valley of Mexico with clear skies, without crime, without tension or corruption? Most of us want to change our city for the better. But some want to change it for their own personal profit, even if that means degrading the quality of life for everyone and making our city into a place less and less inhabitable for the majority.

The city's problems are not insoluble. What has been lacking is the determination and political rectitude needed to face them. The population and its legitimate demands have taken back seat to corruption, insensitivity, the patronage system, complicity and favoritism.

With determination, organization and responsibility, Mexico City can become a place where constructive, fraternal relationships can be established among all its inhabitants, without exclusion or marginalization, where the wealth of resources generated by its development are benefits shared by all. It must be understood that city management, the solution of its problems and the fostering of its potentialities cannot be the task of a single person, a single official or even of a single organization. It must be the task of the entire population of the metropolis.

The Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) has presented the inhabitants of the Federal District with a proposal to positively and democratically transform the current situation of our capital. The proposal is developed with the following guidelines:

- *Decentralization*: from the redistribution of the population and economic activities in more appropriate places, to the change in jurisdiction and resource management that allow for applying policies and executing programs for the D.F. as well as the whole metropolitan area.
- *Democratization* of all spheres of political and economic activity, culture, planning and daily life, as a result of a new way of governing, with the people and for the people.
- The qualitative *transformation of government functioning*, putting an end to discretionary power, corporativism, the use of public office for personal gain and

The kick-off of the Cárdenas campaign at Mexico City's central Zócalo square.

corruption in the capital's public administration, replacing the old way with honest, effective, republican government understood by the people.

- The *construction of a state with social responsibility* which assumes its constitutional functions to end all types of marginalization and establishes a pact with the different social actors, majority and minorities alike, with the aim of sustained improvement of the population's living conditions.
- *Implementation of an alternative form of urban economic growth* with sustained and sustainable equitable distribution of income and social justice, which would have as its objective the well-being of the whole population and would preserve (or restore and increase) the natural resources and the environment for capital residents of today and the future.
- *Shared responsibility between government and society,* based on mutual trust and respect for each other's respective areas of decision making, an openness to dialogue, agreeing on joint action, public participation and the living up to agreements, at the same time that the constitutional, social and political rights of the entire population are protected.
- *Governability based on democratic practices,* an end to the violation of the people's rights through abuses and omission, the guaranteed safety of the individual, unrestricted transparency and honesty in government, far-sighted planning, an equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of economic and social development and getting at the root of problems to solve them. VM

The Donald Cordry
ARCHEOLOGICAL COLLECTION

*Luis Roberto Torres Escalona**

One of the most significant collections owned by the University Museum of Contemporary Art (MUCA) is undoubtedly the one U.S. ethnographer Donald Cordry donated in 1982. The collection boasts over 1,000 masks, puppets, jewelry, textiles and other items, including 289 archeological pieces from different Mexican pre-Hispanic sites, particularly from the so-called Western cultures.

Mexico's West includes the states of Sinaloa, Nayarit, Colima, Jalisco, Michoacán and part of the states of Guanajuato and Guerrero. Its ancient inhabitants were outstanding artisans who worked with great skill in shell, hard stone and, in the later period, metals. They distinguished themselves with their splendid artistic creations which, although small, naive and schematic, were nevertheless not without charm and beauty. Their contributions and influence on subsequent local cultures were very important.

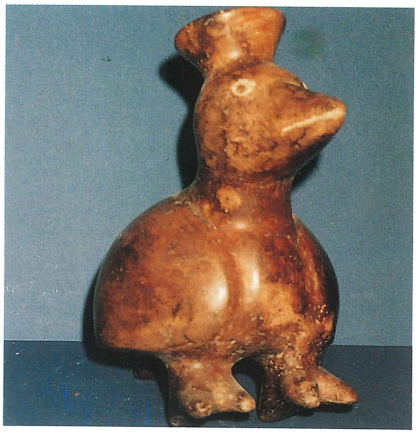
These anonymous artists have been traced mainly to the pre-classical and early classical periods. Different archeological excavations and finds have made it possible, with certain reservations, to establish when their cultures flourished. The majority of these finds were pieces from tombs and burial grounds. Sites like El Opeño, Chupícuaro, Etzatlán and Los Ortices in western Mexico brought forth an abundance of figurines, vessels, flutes, *ocarinas* [a simple mouth organ], whistles, bones, striates, necklaces, bracelets, earrings and noisemakers, among other things.

The Chupícuaro culture, one of most influential among the ancient peoples of northern Mexico, had its greatest impact in the pre-classical period. According to German archeologist Otto Schöndube, "The Chupícuaro culture is not the only pre-classical culture which flourished in the West, but data pertaining to others is very scarce and difficult to interpret. Many figurines differing slightly from the Chupícuaro style but with various similarities have been found in the highlands of Michoacán. This indicates that the overall archeological picture of the pre-classical period in the West is far from clear and that a series of cultures which may or may not have been related to Chupícuaro's were either its contemporaries or existed slightly later."[1]

The classical horizon of the cultures of the West is situated in the states of Jalisco, Colima and Nayarit. Its art work follows, in a certain fashion, the thrust of the pre-classical period, although it is freer and more evolved. The many clay figures discovered reveal a great deal about the different social and ceremonial elements that surrounded these artisans, who lived in the first six centuries of our era. Human and animal

* Researcher at the UNAM Department of Artistic and Cultural Assets.

[1] "Culturas del Occidente de México," in *Artes de México*, no. 119, year XVI, 1969.



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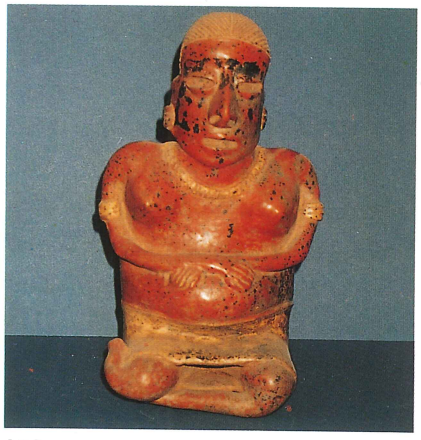
Photos by Arturo Piera



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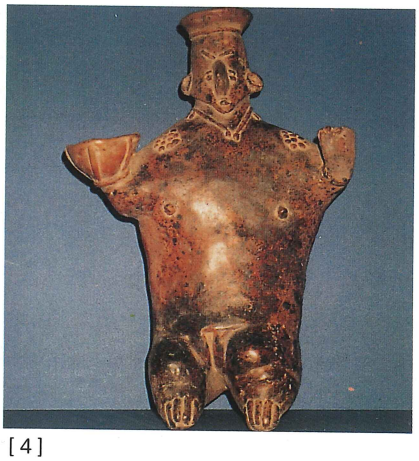

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1. Zoomorphic figure in the shape of a bird.

2. This seated, whistling male figure has a deformed spine and cranium.

3. *Chinesca* pre-classical figurine with a flat, oval head.

4. Female pre-classical figurine with prominent breasts and genitals.

forms abound, representing their ideas, tastes and beliefs.

Despite the fact that these communities were contemporary and geographically close together, archeologists have been able to differentiate their artistic styles, specifying that Colima's style is more elegant and realistic. Its ceramics and figurines are monochromatic, predominantly in shades of red and brown; they are modeled and decorated with *pastillaje*[2] and incisions. The pieces from Nayarit are notable for their rich use of multiple colors to decorate their main detail work; outstanding among them are the figures called *chinescas* and the Ixtlán variety. Finally, the Jalisco style is the least known and can only be distinguished on the basis of their slight similarity to some pieces found in the area of the Nevado de Colima mountain.

Finds of quite good pieces, both in quality and richness, have been made in Guerrero state also. Some specialists even consider this area the birthplace of Olmec sculpture. This style has been given the name *chontal* in honor of the people who lived there. A goodly number of very stylized, erect human figures and masks with geometric features have been found there.

The Cordry collection has pieces of great aesthetic and testimonial value which beautifully exemplify the craft heritage left by these ancient Mexican peoples: for example, the clay figurines of female forms of the Colima type, or the animal-shaped vessels. The oval windlasses and seals decorated with geometric designs are also noteworthy.

Particularly interesting are the representations of human beings with deformed crania and bodies. These figures usually have feminine bodies with short arms and legs, large bellies and prominent breasts and genitals. Archeologists have classified these figures as pathological. Otto Schöndube writes, "They may have made these figures to magically keep illness away, or perhaps they thought sick people had been touched by the gods

[2] A technique used in pottery decoration. The potter creates a design by applying small daubs of clay to the piece.

Human and animal forms abound, representing their ideas, tastes and beliefs.

Seated male figure with deformed cranium from Nayarit or Jalisco.

or the forces of nature and deserved special treatment."[3]

Donor Donald Cordry was a roving ethnographer and artist. Born in Detroit in the 1930s, he wandered the eastern United States with a traveling puppet show that used puppets of his own manufacture. In that period he visited Mexico for the first time, staying in Taxco to paint. He made long trips through the state of Guerrero to study the folk culture of indigenous dances, and it was there that he began to acquire masks. After a brief stay, he returned home to become a researcher at the New York American Indian Museum. In 1937, under the auspices of the Heye Foundation and Mexico's National Museum of Anthropology, he made six expeditions in search of objects from the Cora and Huichol communities.

In the 1940s, Cordry was in permanent contact with Mexican culture. He began to collect textiles, looms, spindles and other objects. In 1942 he took up residence with his wife in the city of Oaxaca and opened a crafts design workshop. Toward the end of the decade, he moved to Mexico City seeking to contact other specialists in archeology and ethnography. Between 1950 and 1970, he made many trips throughout Mexico to do research; a product of this period was his *Mexican Indian Costumes*, published in Austin in 1967. Three years later he began his fascinating study of the use and origin of pre-Hispanic masks, which he finished in 1977. After suffering several strokes and heart attacks, he died in his Cuernavaca home in 1978.

The Office for the Administration of UNAM Patrimony is delighted to be able to use this forum to inform the public about this important archeological collection, an example of the impact of the pre-Hispanic art from Mexico's West, and an important part of the university's cultural heritage.

[3] Ibid.

Poblano *Chili Here We Come!*

*Patricia Quintana**

When most people think of Mexican food, the first thing that comes to mind may be chili peppers and fiery hot dishes that threaten their taste buds!

This, thankfully, is just not so! Although chilies are essential in Mexican cuisine throughout the country, they are not necessarily added for spiciness. More often than not they are used to enhance flavor. Many kinds of chilies give zest to a dish, and each type has its own flavor, aroma and texture.

As a matter of fact, cookery in colorful Mexico has been classified into hundreds of regional varieties, and each uses chili in its own special way dating back to the country's pre-Hispanic roots.

When Columbus arrived in the New World, he took the name "chilli" from the Nahuatl language, but called this peculiar vegetable "chili peppers" since he mistook them for the native Asian peppercorn. Eventually, both the word and the ingredient spread as far as Africa, India and across the seas to China, where varieties of chili are used to this day.

Historians today consider chili one of the most important finds that Columbus stumbled on in New Spain, along with vanilla, chocolate and allspice.

Chilies are definitely native to Mesoamerica, and there are records of their being cultivated as early as 7000 B.C. They played an important role in pre-Hispanic times, used not only as food, but also as one of the main forms of tribute paid by the natives to their masters, particularly among the Aztecs, and later to their European conquerors.

Friar Bartolomé de las Casas documented the fact that Mexicans did not consider that they had eaten if their meal did not include chili and, although Mexican cuisine has become quite sophisticated over the years, this is still the case.

Chili is important not only in cooking, but also in broader aspects of Mexico's culture. It is an integral part of local sayings, songs, folk medicine, puns and the like. It continues to be cultivated throughout Mexico, although the largest crops are grown in eight states, with Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Nayarit heading up national production.

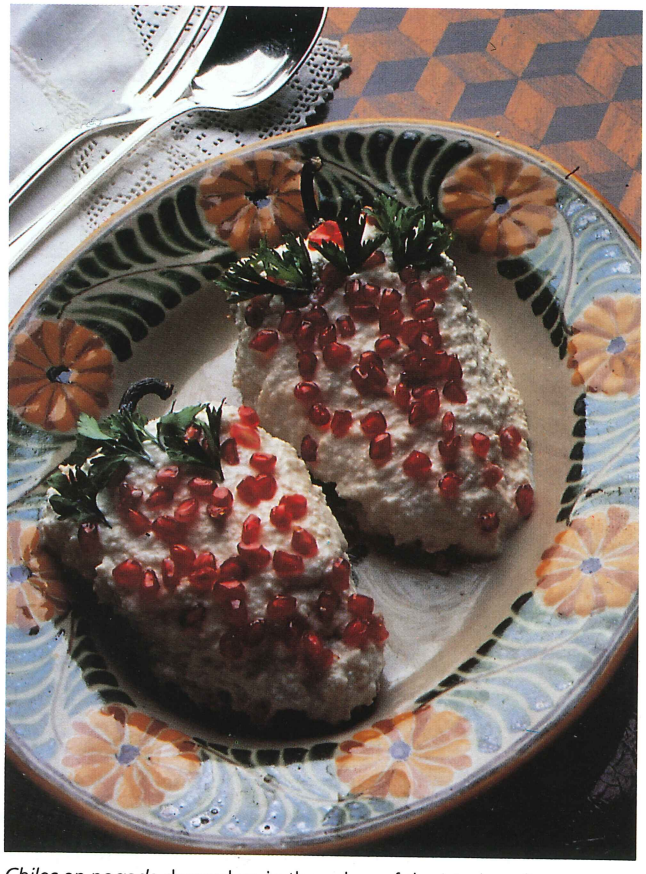
There are dozens of varieties, and since each has a local name, they can be very confusing to discuss.

Among the most popular is the delicious, bright green *poblano* chili pepper. It grows from between two to eight inches long and is shaped like a triangle or a child's toy top, with a narrow, pointed tip. Its mild taste makes it particularly popular among foreigners.

It is versatile enough to be prepared in a wide variety of ways. When stuffed with cheese, beans, chicken, fish, shredded pork, mushrooms, or the more elegant crab or lobster, this simple vegetable becomes a meal by itself. It is commonly stuffed in the Mexican tradition, dredged in

* Gastronomy expert and chef.
Photos by Ignacio Urquiza.

Stuffed *poblano* chili peppers, a Mexican traditional dish.



Chiles en nogada dressed up in the colors of the Mexican flag.

flour, coated in a light egg batter, fried until golden brown and served in a tomato-chili sauce.

Around Independence Day in September, *poblano* chilies take on a festive air. They are dressed up in the colors of the Mexican flag —red, white and green— to make *chiles en nogada*, filled with a sweet, ground beef stuffing, drenched in an off-white, creamy walnut sauce and garnished with deep red pomegranate seeds.

Poblano chilies are often eaten raw, sliced into strips or rounds, diced or chopped to top a salad, soup or main course. When sliced into thin strips, cooked with onions and cream, they become the perfect taco filling. They are also the basis for a staple in the Mexican diet, green rice.

There are other varieties of this same chili, such as a deep orange-red one with a more intense flavor. When dried, the light green *poblano* chili is known as *ancho* chili and the dark green one, the *mulato* chili. They both have a rich, smoky flavor, relatively mild yet zesty.

Both the fresh and dried *poblanos* are readily available in U.S. supermarkets and grocery stores, due to their mildness and popularity. However, it is confusing to shop for the *poblano* chili, since its name varies in different regions. For example, they are referred to as *pasilla* chilies in California, whether dried or fresh.

To prepare the *poblano* chili pepper and bring out its unique flavor, roast it over the direct flame of a gas range. If you have an electric stove, use a *comal*, griddle or heavy skillet. The traditional procedure is to place the roasted chili in a plastic bag to "sweat" which makes it easier to peel the thin skin. After removing the charred skin, rinse it in running water.

Next comes "deveining." This means removing the thin, light colored veins inside the chili by slitting it carefully on the side. These veins give chilies their potency. The aroma will fill the air, generally giving you an idea of its piquancy. If you want to tone down the spiciness, soak the chili in salt water, or a mixture of salt water and vinegar for 15 or 20 minutes. This will remove some of the bite without affecting the flavor. If you cannot find *poblano* chili, safe substitutes are fresh Anaheim or mild New Mexican chilies, mild banana peppers or canned mild green chilies.

Chili peppers are rich in vitamins A and C, enhancing even the poor man's diet with valuable nutrients. They stimulate the appetite, and, by increasing salivation, actually aid digestion.

Sauces are used to condiment most Mexican dishes.

Also common is the *jalapeño*, a smaller chili often used as a condiment, either pickled as a garnish, or in thin strips added to a stew or main course to give the recipe zing.

Smaller than the *jalapeño* and often hotter is the *serrano* chili, often referred to as "green chili" (*chile verde*). These long thin triangular chilies are firm, green, full of seeds and piquant. A favorite among fire eaters! Be careful when handling them. And remember that the chili's spiciness is usually most concentrated in the veins on the inside and the seeds, so be sure to remove them thoroughly if you want to tone down the chili. They can also be soaked in salted water or a water and vinegar mixture for a milder taste.

Chilaca chilies are long, thin and deep green and can grow up to 12 inches in length. Other fresh chilies common to Mexico are *manzano* and *habanero*.

Ancho, mulato, pasilla, guajillo, cascabel and *catarina* are all dried chilies produced in central Mexico. Although it is recommended you remove the skin by roasting, many fresh chilies such as the *poblano*, or dried chilies like the *ancho* and *mulato* are toasted or stir-fried before being added to sauces and stews, skins intact.

All dried chilies must be washed and patted dry before use, since they are often dehydrated in unprotected, outdoor environments. Seeds are often removed and saved to temper piquancy of sauces and dishes, since it is always easy to add spiciness and almost impossible to tone it down.

To roast, preheat a *comal* or heavy skillet without any oil. Once the *comal* is medium hot, lightly roast the chili, turning regularly with tongs to ensure evenness. Once roasted, the chili gives off an aroma and is somewhat more pliable. Be careful not to over-roast, or you will wind up with a toasted, burned chili. Only when preparing chilies for a *mole* sauce can they be roasted longer.

You can add the whole roasted or stir-fried chili directly to your dish, or you can crumble it. Many recipes call for pureeing it with other ingredients in a blender or food processor. Of course, the traditional, authentic way is to grind it by hand in a volcanic stone mortar called a

Mexico produces a great variety of dried chili peppers, often used to make *adobo* sauces.

molcajete or a flat volcanic stone called a *metate* in Nahuatl.

Ancho and *mulato* chilies are basic ingredients in most Mexican cuisine. They are the basis for Mexican sauces, like *adobo* —a common chili sauce prepared with onion, garlic, oregano and vinegar—, used to marinate meats, poultry or seafood. They can be combined with *chipotle* or *guajillo* chili for a special flavor.

Ancho chili peppers are traditionally prepared very much like *poblano* chilies, stuffed with cheese or avocado, and drenched with a vinaigrette sauce; or combined with onion, garlic, cumin, oregano, cinnamon, cloves, peppercorns and olive oil to be pickled or as a superb enchilada sauce.

They are also the basic ingredient for *mole* sauces, soups (like tortilla soup), and for flavoring corn tortilla dough. *Coloradito* or "little red *mole*" is one of the famous seven *mole* sauces from the Oaxacan region, made from the dried *ancho* chili.

Mulato chili can be used like *ancho*, but its taste, quite different from the *ancho*, gives most dishes a distinctive flavor. A combination of chilies, plus sesame seeds, almonds, plantains and chocolate make the sauce for Oaxaca's famous black *mole* sauce.

Ancho and *mulato* chilies can be used interchangeably in recipes. Substitute dried red California chilies or dried red New Mexican chilies if you can't find the authentic Mexican variety. These are often referred to as pod, ristra or *chimayo* chilies.

Chili peppers are rich in vitamins A and C, enhancing even the poor man's diet with valuable nutrients. They stimulate the appetite, and, by increasing salivation, actually aid digestion. Corn, beans and chili, the staple of Mexico's ancient and modern diet, complement one another. The interdependence of these components balance the overall nutritional value of the Mexican diet.

So, not only are they a delicious way to spice up an otherwise boring recipe and offer variety in menu planning, they are nutritious as well! VM

Traditional Recipes with Chili Peppers as a Basic Ingredient

Green Rice with Crayfish (Serves 8-12)

For the rice

2 1/2 cups long-grain white rice
2 cups vegetable oil
12 garlic cloves, whole
1 medium white onion, cut in half
1 1/2 medium white onions, chopped
4 *poblano* chili peppers, cleaned, seeded, deveined and chopped
3 small green peppers
3 1/2 cups hot water
salt to taste
8 red snapper, grouper or sea bass fillets, about 3 1/2 inches wide and 1/2 inch thick
2 pounds clams, soaked and cleaned
8 large crayfish, cleaned

For the Garnish

4 green or red bell peppers, roasted, peeled and sliced.

Prepare the green rice with crayfish: Soak the rice in hot water for 15 minutes; rinse in a mesh sieve until the water runs clear; drain well.

Heat the oil in a deep skillet. Add 6 garlic cloves and the halved onion. Fry until golden brown. Add rice and fry until brown, stirring frequently. Strain rice and return to skillet. In a blender or food processor, puree 6 garlic cloves, chopped onion, chilies and green peppers. Add to rice in skillet, and cook until the fat begins to rise to the surface. Add water and salt to taste.

Add fish, clams and crayfish. Add water. Correct seasoning. Cover skillet and cook over low heat for 45 minutes. Remove from heat and let stand covered for 25 minutes.

To serve, place rice on a large platter with crayfish on top. Garnish with sliced bell peppers.

Note: Add water according to the kind of rice used. Too much water will result in the wrong consistency.

Poblano Chili Soup (Serves 8)

1/2 stick butter
1/4 cup olive oil
1 medium white onion, peeled and grated or pureed in blender
3 garlic cloves, peeled and pureed
5 *poblano* chili peppers, roasted, seeded and deveined, soaked in salted water to remove piquancy, then sliced into strips
1 pound fresh or frozen green peas, cooked in salted water until tender
1 1/2 quarts chicken broth
1 1/2 cups heavy cream
3 potatoes, cooked, peeled and diced
3 *chayotes* (water pears), cooked, peeled and diced
1 tablespoon powdered chicken bouillon
1 1/2 cups gruyere cheese or other milk cheese, cut into chunks

Prepare the soup:

In a large saucepan, heat the butter together with olive oil. Lightly brown the onion and garlic, then add the prepared chili strips. Place in a blender or food processor, with cooked peas and 1 tablespoon of chicken broth. Blend well. Return mixture to a saucepan and heat for about 10 minutes.

Warm the cream separately and add it to the soup base along with the remaining broth, diced potatoes and *chayotes*. Cook for about 25 minutes over medium heat. If necessary, season with bouillon. Immediately before serving, stir in cheese, heating soup thoroughly without bringing to a boil. Serve hot.

Stewed Pork with Apricot Sauce (Serves 8)

For the pork

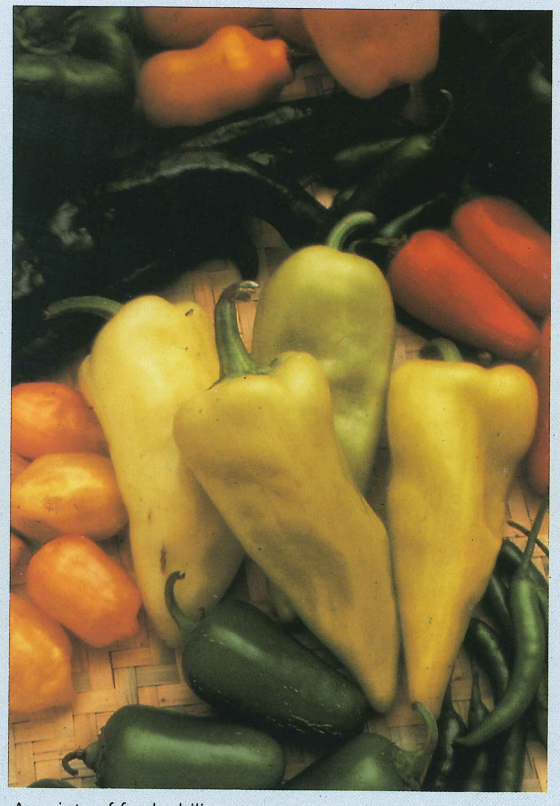
1/2 cup vegetable oil
3 1/3 pounds pork leg or pork loin,
cut into chunks
6 springs thyme
8 whole bay leaves
1 medium white onion,
spiked with 8 whole cloves
20 whole black peppercorns
1/2 head of garlic,
cut in half across the grain
8 cups water
salt to taste

For the Apricot Sauce

10 *mulato* chili peppers, washed, seeded and deveined, roasted, and soaked in salted water
6 *pasilla* chili peppers, washed, seeded and deveined, roasted and soaked in salted water (substitute dried red California chili peppers or other dried red chilies for all dried chilies called for, if necessary)
1 1/2 cups dried apricots or 1 cup prunes,
pitted
1 1/2 medium white onions,
peeled and roasted
12 garlic cloves,
peeled and roasted
20 whole black peppercorns
8 whole cloves
1 4-inch cinnamon stick
1 tablespoon oregano
1/2 cup vegetable oil or lard
sugar to taste
salt to taste

Prepare the pork: Heat the oil in a pressure cooker or heavy pot and brown the pork with thyme, bay leaves, onion, peppercorns, garlic and salt to taste. Then add water and cover. Cook for about 45 minutes to 1 hour (or more if not using a pressure cooker). Remove from heat and cool. Remove pork from broth. Strain broth and retain for another use if desired.

Prepare the sauce: Puree the chilies, apricots, onion, garlic, peppercorns, cloves, cinnamon, oregano and a little water in a blender or food processor. In a medium saucepan, heat the oil. Add the blended sauce and season to taste with sugar and salt. Simmer until the mixture releases its fat, approximately 45 minutes. Then add pork. Continue cooking about 30 minutes or until the mixture has thickened somewhat.

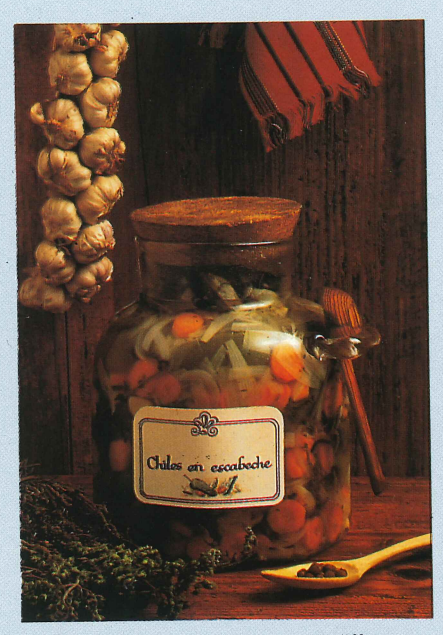


A variety of fresh chili peppers.

Chili Sauce with Orange Juice

1/4 cup olive oil or vegetable oil
6 *ancho* chili peppers or dried red California or mild New Mexican chilies, washed, seeded and deveined
2 medium garlic cloves, peeled
1 teaspoon salt
3/4 cup orange juice

Heat the oil in a heavy skillet. Add chilies and stir-fry. Place fried chilies, garlic, salt and orange juice in a processor and blend. If the sauce is too thick, add more orange juice. Season to taste with salt.



Chili peppers are made into many different kinds of preserves.

ON NAHUATL WISDOM

Let the Sun do His work, the ascending eagle, the beloved prince, the captain, the lord who warms and abides; the *macegual*,[1] the eagle and the tiger shall be honored; he shall be colored, shall be spread throughout the plain. White shall be his tresses,[2] his bones, his broken skull, but he shall know the house of the Sun, wherein the Sun delights in war cries, where the varied, fragrant, aromatic flowers are imbibed, wherein the eagles, the tigers, the war dead, the lord captains are honored.

The small boy, still a tender little bird,[3] not yet out in the world, shall be a piece of jade, a piece of turquoise in the sky, in the house of the sun; true jade, true turquoise, burnished and resplendent[4] shall be his heart, offered to the Sun. And He shall hold it up, and enter into His belly, and it shall be His provision, and He will take it there to His sister, the sister of the gods.

[1] A mythical beast. [Translator's Note.]
[2] Not from age, but from the dust the wind sprinkles over the warrior's dead body.
[3] *in oc tototl, in oc atzintli*, literally, "still a bird, watery," that is, as yet without solidity, still of a tender age.
[4] *tlamatilolli*, literally, anointed, because of the similarity of its shine.

Mexican Folk Art

*Teresa Pomar**

Art museums do not consider folk art to be art. History and ethnography museums do not encompass all its aspects; they limit themselves to its ethnographic features, or, at the very most, employ the ambiguous formula "folklore," which distorts the meaning of folk art.

The exhibit "Folk Art, 500 Years," presented in the majestic San Ildefonso building, closed recently. For the first time in 75 years, someone organized an exhibit showing the many artistic qualities of the Mexican people.

The last exhibit of its kind was promoted by Alberto J. Pani and sponsored by General Alvaro Obregón, the president of Mexico, in 1921. It included pieces gathered by a large group of visual artists like Jorge Enciso, Roberto Montenegro and Javier Guerrero, a group headed up by Gerardo Murillo, the painter from Jalisco better known as Dr. Atl.

They gathered what pieces they could in marketplaces and rural villages, all contemporary pieces according to the exhibition catalogue. Naturally, at that time they made no attempt at a retrospective look at folk art, but rather aimed to simply gather the pieces to publicize their existence and make a first, very special, attempt at better integrating our multi-cultural nation.

Art, undoubtedly including so-called folk art, is the highest expression of any culture. It has allowed human beings to express everything they valued creatively, everywhere and through the ages, in a fresh and universal language.

As Dr. Melville Herskovitz says, "In any given era, the arts superlatively express the qualities valued, the human actions preferred and the ideals that give it dignity. In the aesthetic attitude, we can capture a culture, not as a series of mere facts to be tabulated statistically, but as the joy of the labor of human minds."[1]

For the first time, thanks to the understanding of almost 170 collectors, the management of San Ildefonso, determined government support as well as that of the artists themselves, we were able to get a glimpse of work by Mexicans done over a 500 year period. Of course, the 500 pieces shown are only a minimal part of the enormous amount of folk art to be found throughout Mexico in rural homes, museums and in many, many more private collections.

One outstanding piece among the exhibit's magnificent selection from the last century was a shawl, woven on a waist loom and embroidered with motifs popular at the time. It shows elements of *ikat*[2] as well as extraordinarily well made edging.

* Mexican art critic.

All photos reprinted courtesy of the Old San Ildefonso College, taken from the book *Arte Popular Mexicano* (Mexican Folk Art), Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso-CONACULTA-UNAM-DDF, Mexico City, 1996.

[1] Melville Kerskovitz, *El hombre y sus obras*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1952.

[2] *Ikat* is a knotting technique used to block the dye when dying thread. [Editor's Note.]

Photos by Michel Zabé

The show included ceramic objects from every period: pre-Hispanic, the Viceroyalty, the years around Independence and the early and late twentieth century. The techniques are enormously varied, ranging from modeling to casting, including decoration in the *pastillaje* style with daubs of clay, multicolored sheens, majolica ware, multicolored leaded glass and with *engobes*.[3] Simple polishing, multicolored gloss, the black Oaxaca burnish made by firing the pieces and the use of *engobes* are all pre-Hispanic techniques which have developed immensely in our times. Majolica ware and lead polish were brought by the Europeans and over the years have acquired profoundly Mexican forms and decorations.

The exhibit also boasted delightful lacquered objects, mainly from Olinalá in the state of Guerrero. Discoveries

[3] *Engobes* are a sort of under-glaze made of white clay or paste covering the still unfired, damp ceramic pieces and their dark color, serving as a base for the application of other glazes. [Editor's Note.]

Opposite page: clay mermaid.

Above: decorated trunk.

Below: inside of the same trunk.

Enameled Guanajuato-style platter.

Cotton and silk shawl.

at archeological digs show that these techniques and materials date from pre-Columbian times.

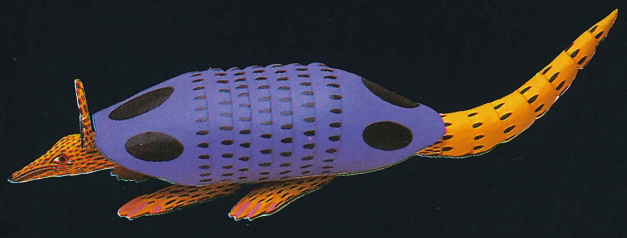
Though the lacquer work may have had Chinese influence, only traces are left and have been almost completely erased from the decorative forms: the lacquer designs went from their original pre-Columbian forms to the Mexican *creole* style, both of which continue to be worked beautifully into folk art today.

Because of the diversity of its textures, the ease of obtaining it and the variety of its applications, wood has been used in folk art for thousands of years. In Mexico, it is used both for domestic items, like kitchen utensils (spoons, beaters, churn-staffs, etc.), and for sculpture. In Oaxaca, wood used to be carved and then colored, particularly in making religious objects and toys in Arrazola and the city of Oaxaca. The inhabitants of an entire town, San Martín Tilcajete, in the central valleys of Oaxaca, became carvers and decorators. These artisans follow the shapes of branches and trunks to make fantasy figures that they decorate with joyful colors. Because of their similarity to Don Pedro Linares' papier-mâché figures, which he dubbed *alebrijes*, the Oaxaca wood carvers adopted the same name for their figures.

Almost no material daunts Mexican folk artists. Wool, silk, cotton or *ixtle*,[4] tin plate, brass, iron, silver, gold, copper; cane, rods, *otate*,[5] rattan, wicker, sisal fiber; bone, stone, clay, wax, feathers, leather, gum, resins; a great variety of soft and hard woods; corn husks, glass, paper, straw and many more are used masterfully with just the right techniques for making each into beautiful objects, whether they be for daily or devotional use, a luxury or pure flight of fancy.

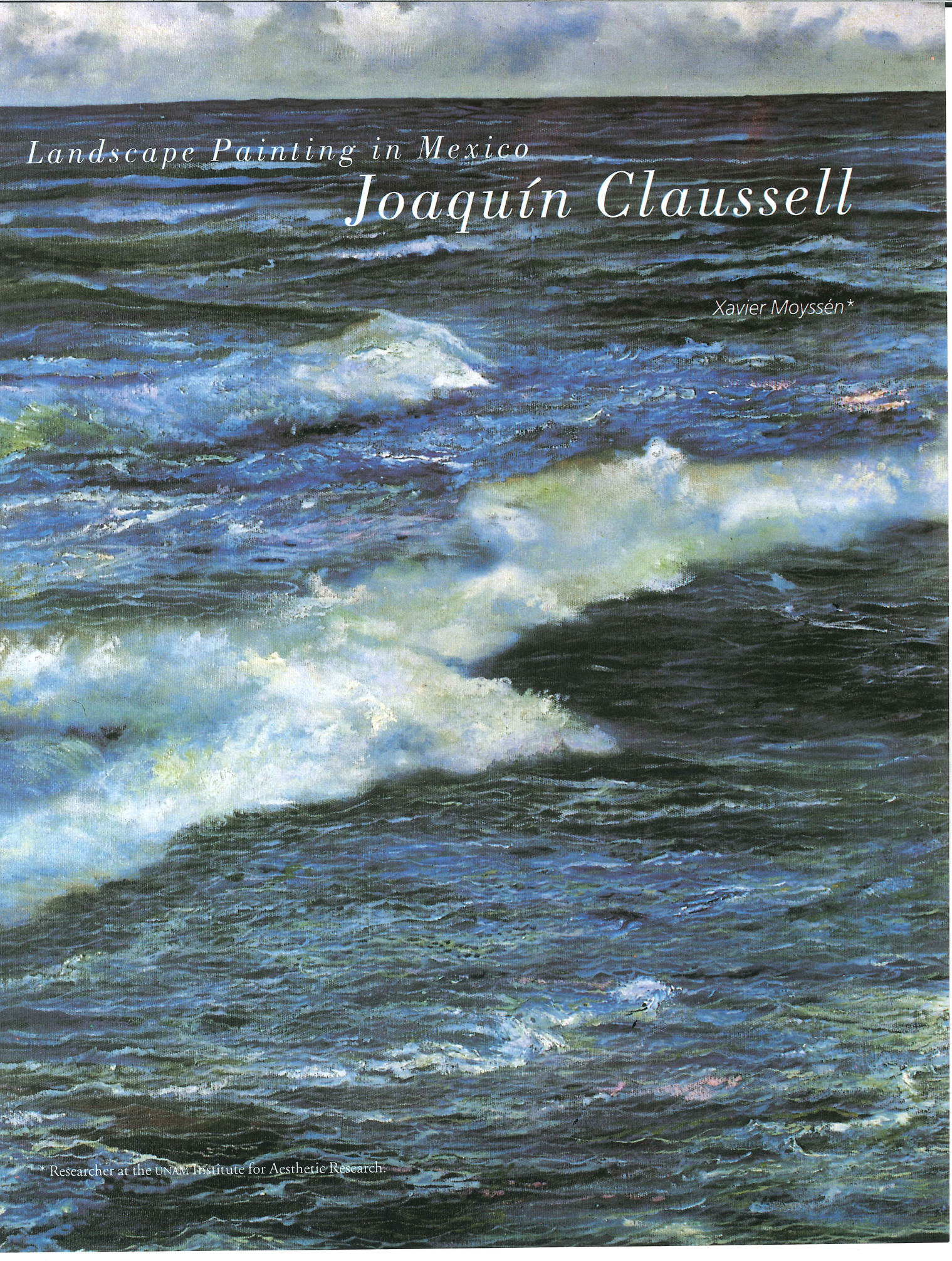
I would like to close with a quote from the well-known art critic and historian, Don Manuel Toussaint. Although here, he was referring to folk painting particularly, his opinion is applicable to all forms of Mexican folk art.

> One of the most interesting manifestations of Mexican art in the eighteenth century is so-called folk painting. If we did not have those naive, storybook paintings, those childlike portraits, those *retablos* in which simple souls express their gratitude to the Creator, our eighteenth century would be much the poorer. Next to paintings by the masters, whose nature and mannerisms almost always make them intolerable, folk painting —completely clear, like the pure art it is— is invaluable. (*La pintura colonial mexicana*, vol. 1, UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas. Mexico City, 1962).



Alebrijes, fantastic animals carved in wood.

[4] *Ixtle* is a hard fiber obtained from Mexican agave plants. [Editor's Note.]
[5] A species of tall grass. [Editor's Note.]

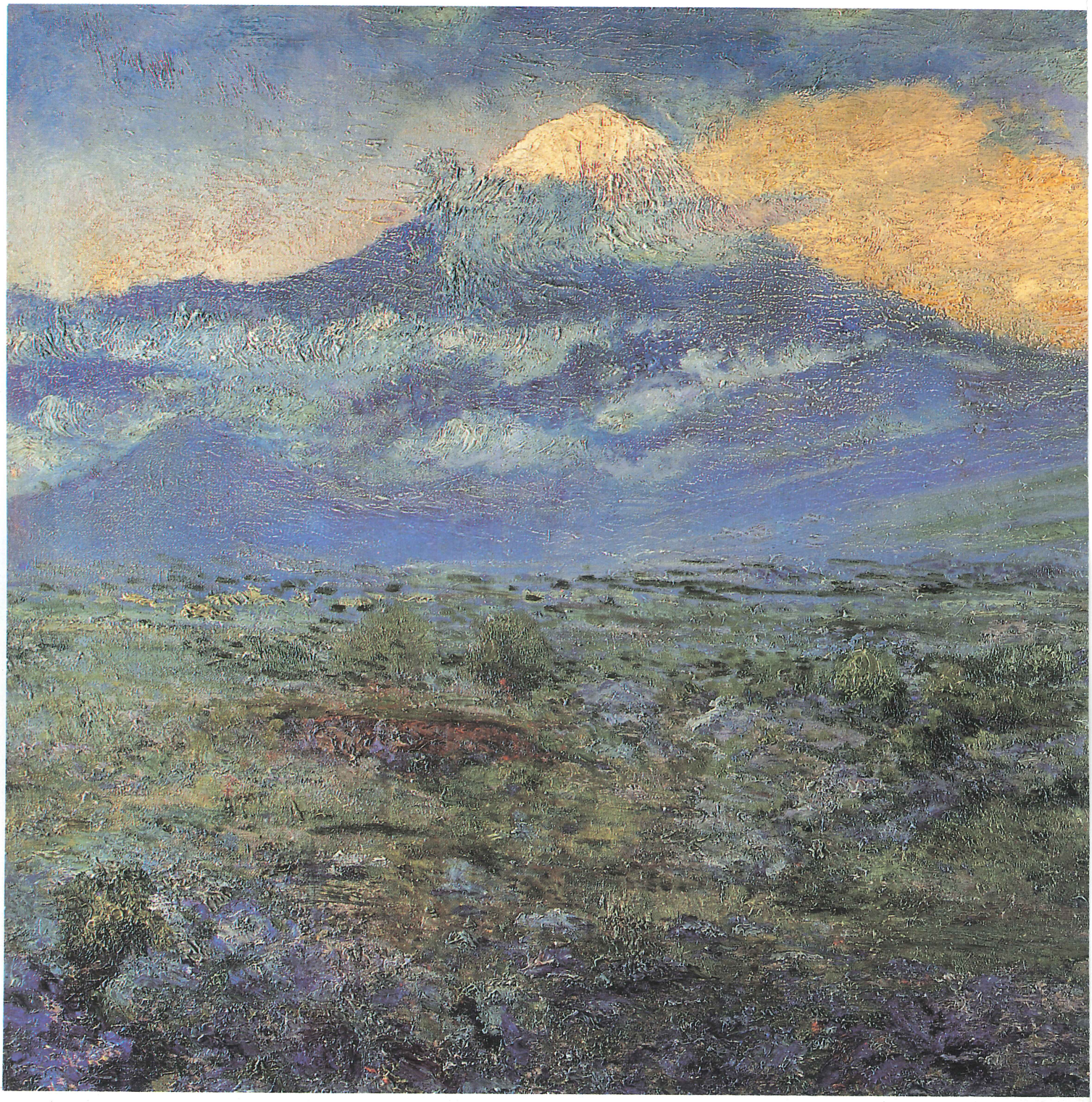


Landscape Painting in Mexico

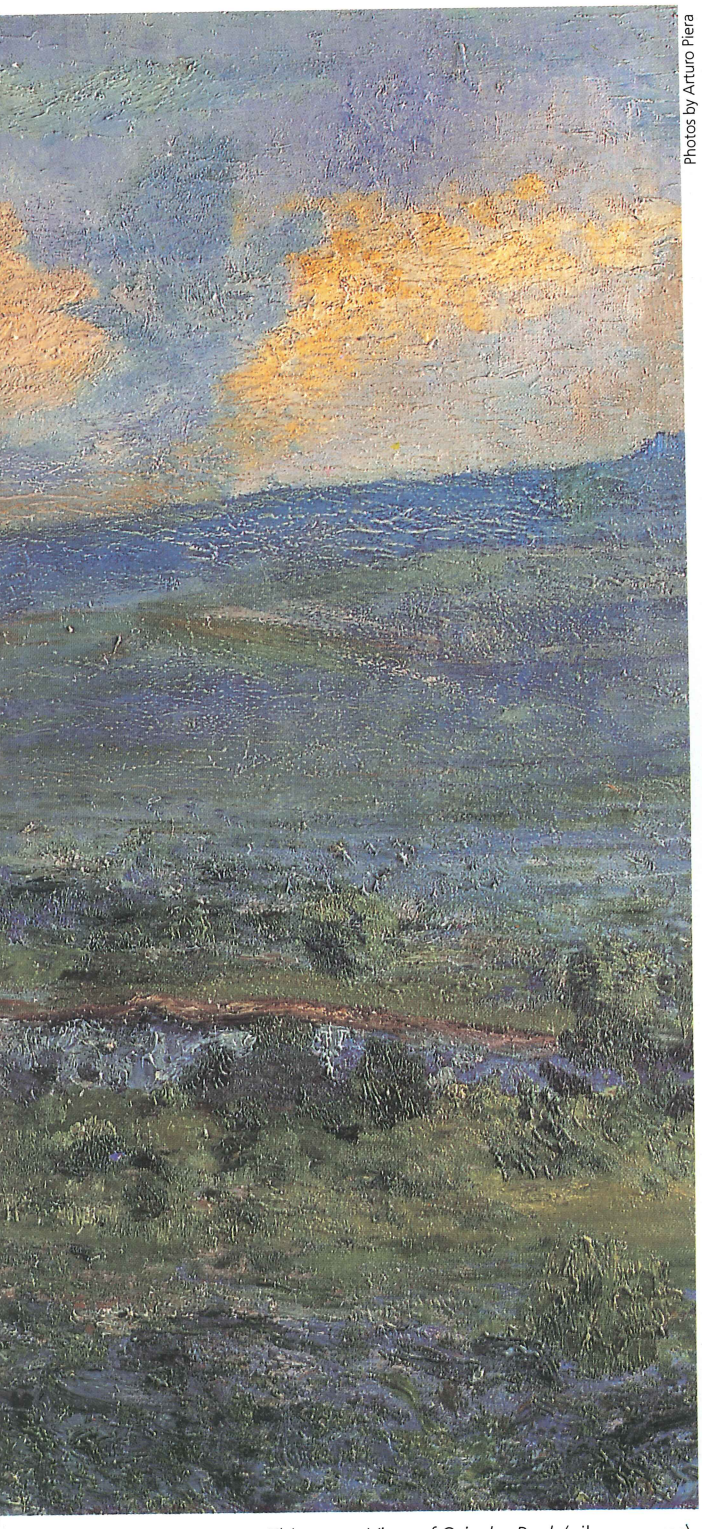
Joaquín Claussell

*Xavier Moyssén**

* Researcher at the UNAM Institute for Aesthetic Research.



Most of Clausell's extensive body of work is made up of landscapes, mainly using impressionist techniques mixed with a style all his own.



Photos by Arturo Piera

This page: *View of Orizaba Peak* (oil on canvas).
Previous page: *Surf* (detail) (oil on canvas).
Next page: *Fuentes brotantes* (oil on canvas).
No years are given because Claussell did not date his canvases. [Editor's Note.]

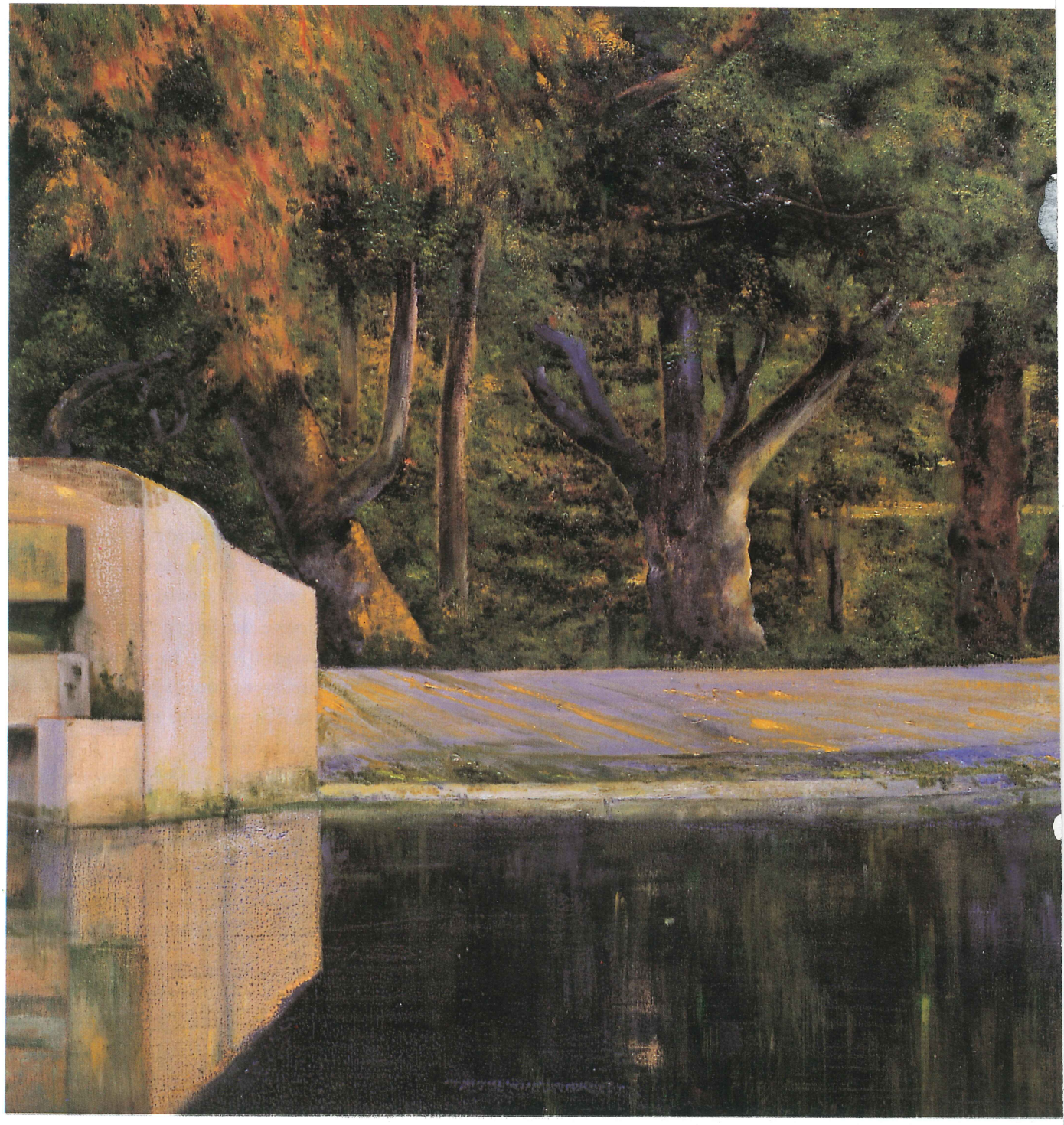
Landscape painting in Mexico has attracted magnificent artists, from the foreigners who were inspired here to use their palette to capture the country's breathtaking natural beauty to painters born here. They all have put on canvas Mexico's clouds in a blue sky, the rivers and coastlines, the thick foliage, the multicolored jungles, the snow-capped volcanoes and the wide valleys. But there have been three great masters of the Mexican landscape, and all three painted from their own particular aesthetic convictions. José María Velasco represents the academic style; Joaquín Clausell, impressionism; and Dr. Atl, modernism.

Joaquín Clausell was born in 1866 in the Gulf of Mexico port of Campeche. When still a very young man, he went to Mexico City to study law. Despite his natural talent for sketching and painting, he did not enter the San Carlos Academy[1] then. He was interested in politics and participated actively in the opposition movement against the Porfirio Díaz regime for which he was arrested and jailed. After escaping from jail, he went to New York and from there sailed to France. Settling in Paris at the end of the rise of the impressionist school, he visited museums, art galleries and the ateliers of famous painters. He visited Camille Pissarro's atelier, where he must have learned about impressionist technique.

Clausell returned to Mexico in 1895. Two years later he concluded his law studies and, a year later, in 1898, he married Angela Cervantes, a descendent of the old Viceroyal nobility. Together, they set up housekeeping in an old mansion that Angela owned, the house of the Condes de Santiago de Calimaya. Joaquín had his studio built on the top floor where he painted the walls with surprising images.

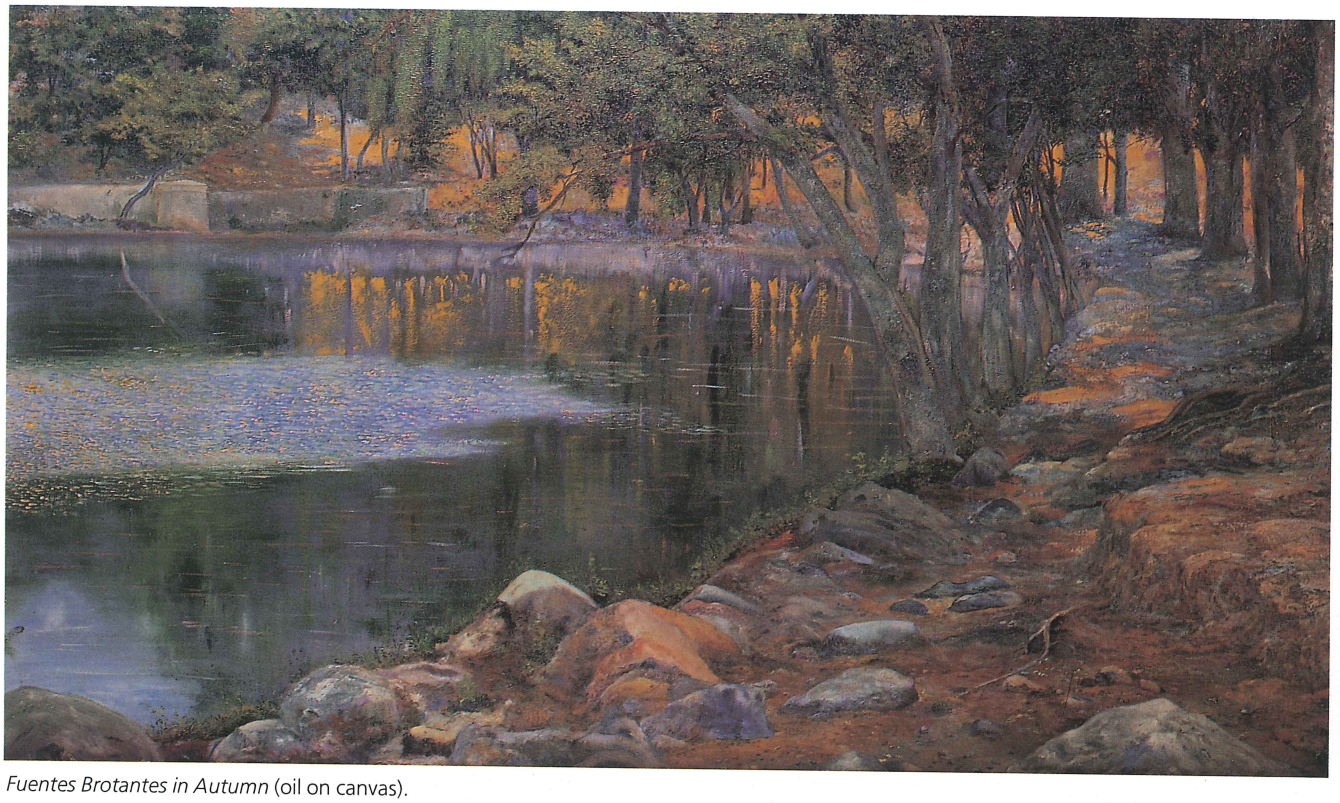
Most of Clausell's extensive body of work is made up of landscapes, mainly using impressionist techniques mixed with a style all his own. He was particularly attracted to scenery on the Pacific and Gulf coasts, and he depicted them magnificently with his becalmed waters and his storm-whipped seas. Examples of this kind of scene in his work can be found in his seascapes *Storm on the Gulf*,

[1] Ever since its founding in 1785, the San Carlos Academy has been the most prestigious school of art in Mexico. [Editor's Note.]



Clausell may well have owed his interest in valley landscapes, and particularly

in scenes of volcanoes, to Gerardo Murillo, Dr. Atl, who was a close friend.



Fuentes Brotantes in Autumn (oil on canvas).

Spirals in the Sea of Campeche, Nocturnal Storm at Sea, The Bay of Manzanillo, The Bluff and *Whirlwind on the Gulf.*

Rivers and lagoons also captured Clausell's spirit. However, he will be remembered as the first to discover the pictorial attraction of the seas, whose beauty he rendered in many of his works.

He was close friends with Gerardo Murillo, Dr. Atl, and to him he may well have owed his interest in valley landscapes and particularly in scenes of volcanoes. Clausell did several paintings of both the Popocatépetl and the Iztaccíhuatl volcanoes, although he never dared climb them, as Dr. Atl did. The mountainous Ajusco area and Xitle Peak also appeared repeatedly in his canvases, as did the very stark Pedregal area.[2]

Landscape and Bather (oil on the wood of the painter's palette).

Clausell painted the four walls of his studio with very unusual images, apparently with no unitary thread and at no particular date. Everything that went through his mind seemed to invade these walls: some images are exotic, emanating from the Far East; there are wild beasts semi-hidden in undergrowth. He was particularly obsessed with women, nude, bathing or dressed luxuriously. He also painted portraits of young ladies. There are landscapes, of course: in a small series of paintings worked as such on the walls. He even included religion, with several images of Jesus Christ and symbolic representations of Adam and Eve.

Joaquín Clausell's constant interest in landscape painting led him to travel untiringly around the country. On one of these trips, an accident ended his life in the Zempoala Lagoon region at the center of the Valley of Mexico, November 28, 1935. VM

[2] The Pedregal is a volcanic area with impressive rocky terrain in the southern part of Mexico City. [Editor's Note.]

Traditional Dyes of Mexico[1]

Yoshiko Shirata Kato*

What a surprise the conquistadors must have had when they saw the enormous number of coloring materials available in Mexican markets. For example, in the *tianguis* (open-air market) of Tlatelolco, they found baskets full of cochineal insects (cactus lice), stems of *texioate* and *pericón*. The *zacatlascalli*, used as a yellow dye, was sold interwoven, forming a sort of tortilla and, besides many other herbs, there was *tequesquite*, *alum*, *xishi* (a maguey fibre used for scrubbing), *sanacocho*, etc., for setting colors.

The cochineal insect was so highly valued that the Spanish rulers demanded tributes be paid in "cochineal grain". Mexico, Tlaxcala, Puebla, Hidalgo, Oaxaca, Campeche and Yucatan had haciendas to raise cochineal insects where the peasants were virtual slaves. In Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí, tribute was paid in cochineal insects as no other form of payment, in currency or kind, was accepted. The commercial value of the cochineal insects was slightly lower than that of gold, and the Spanish made huge profits exporting it to Europe.

Among the famous chroniclers of that era who wrote about the subject are Friar Bernardino de Sahagún, who left us meticulous observations, and the illustrious royal physician and biologist, Francisco Hernández, a member of the tribunal that authorized the practice of medicine in New Spain. He studied the flora, fauna and minerals of this new world with such detail that it was possible for him not only to describe their physical characteristics in writing, but also draw the animals and plants with absolute precision. He added all known information about each animal and the use of each plant: food, medicinal, dyeing, or other uses. He also drew the terrain of the regions where minerals could be found. Many other studies during this period only described the use of natural coloring materials superficially, mentioning just a few pieces of data in their writings.

In the pre-Hispanic period, silk and wool were unknown in Mexico. There were only vegetable fibres such as cotton, jute, sisal and other similar ones. Without special treatment, sisal cannot be dyed.

During my research, I found that in spite of the fact that there were many excellent dyes and mordants which would keep the colors from running in clothing after dyeing, they were washed to discolor them before they could be used. The colors "ran" or "bled." This discoloration was done in some regions after weaving the garment; it was soaked in the river and left to "weep." Only then was the piece of clothing considered pretty, as everything made by man, even though with the greatest care, could not be perfect until it had received the blessing of the goddess of the water, *Chalchiutlicue*.

* Restorer at the National Institute of Anthropology and History.

[1] Translated by Andrew B. Martín H. Jr.

Photos by Arturo Alanís

Wool yarn and plants used to make dyes.

A woven flower design.

Nowadays animal fibres, like wool, dye easily and tend to fade less, but among traditional ethnic groups a garment is still preferred if the colors run.

Several colors were highly valued in Mexico:

1. *Purple*, obtained from the marine snail, which gave a very firm color. To obtain it, dyeing was done *in situ* with a special technique and the snail was returned to the sea alive. Its production was limited and highly valued.
2. *Scarlet*, obtained from the cochineal insect, said to be native to Mexico. This useful little animal is a parasite of the prickly pear cactus and was specially cultivated.
3. *Campeche wood*, which when it comes from the state of the same name, offers the best quality. It's used to obtain tones ranging from black to purple. It produces absolute tones that today are very popular abroad; so much so that the sale of Campeche wood has become a state monopoly for export and Mexican artisans and dyers cannot get it in Mexico.
4. *Blue*, from the indigo plant, greatly facilities cotton dyeing since it is very strong. It was widely used in

Woven representation of pre-Hispanic dwellings, colored with vegetable dyes.

Pre-Hispanic symbol from Cacaxtla next to a Buddhist symbol.

daily life and people believed (and still do in some places) that it prevented snake and scorpion bites.

5. *Yellows*, obtained from the wild flowers of each region, of which there are an infinite variety.

Few of the garments constantly mentioned in the conquistadors' chronicles have survived, due to Mexico's climate. The study of the materials with which they dyed these garments has been possible analyzing all the data from the pre-Hispanic era that could be found.

Thorough research was done studying the codices, carefully analyzing the wearing apparel of high priests, kings, high-ranking military officers and people in general. In these drawings, clothing is highly detailed, as is the appearance and decoration of the places where these scenes took place.

We must remember that the pre-Hispanic world had huge gardens and greenhouses, some for chosen visitors and others for the general public. When they painted them in the codices not only the flowers and plants can be seen, but also the visitors and their apparel: priviledged castes, courtesans and common people.

To draw and paint these codices, pigments of a very limited range of colors were used: blue, red, yellow and combinations of these. This made it impossible to color the codices the same way clothes were! Nevertheless, they did depict the variety of colors, the complex and luxurious designs, the symbols representing power, the hierarchies, whether they were religious, military or political. VM

Nowadays animal fibres, like wool, dye easily and tend to fade less.

Silk fabrics dyed using a knotting technique.

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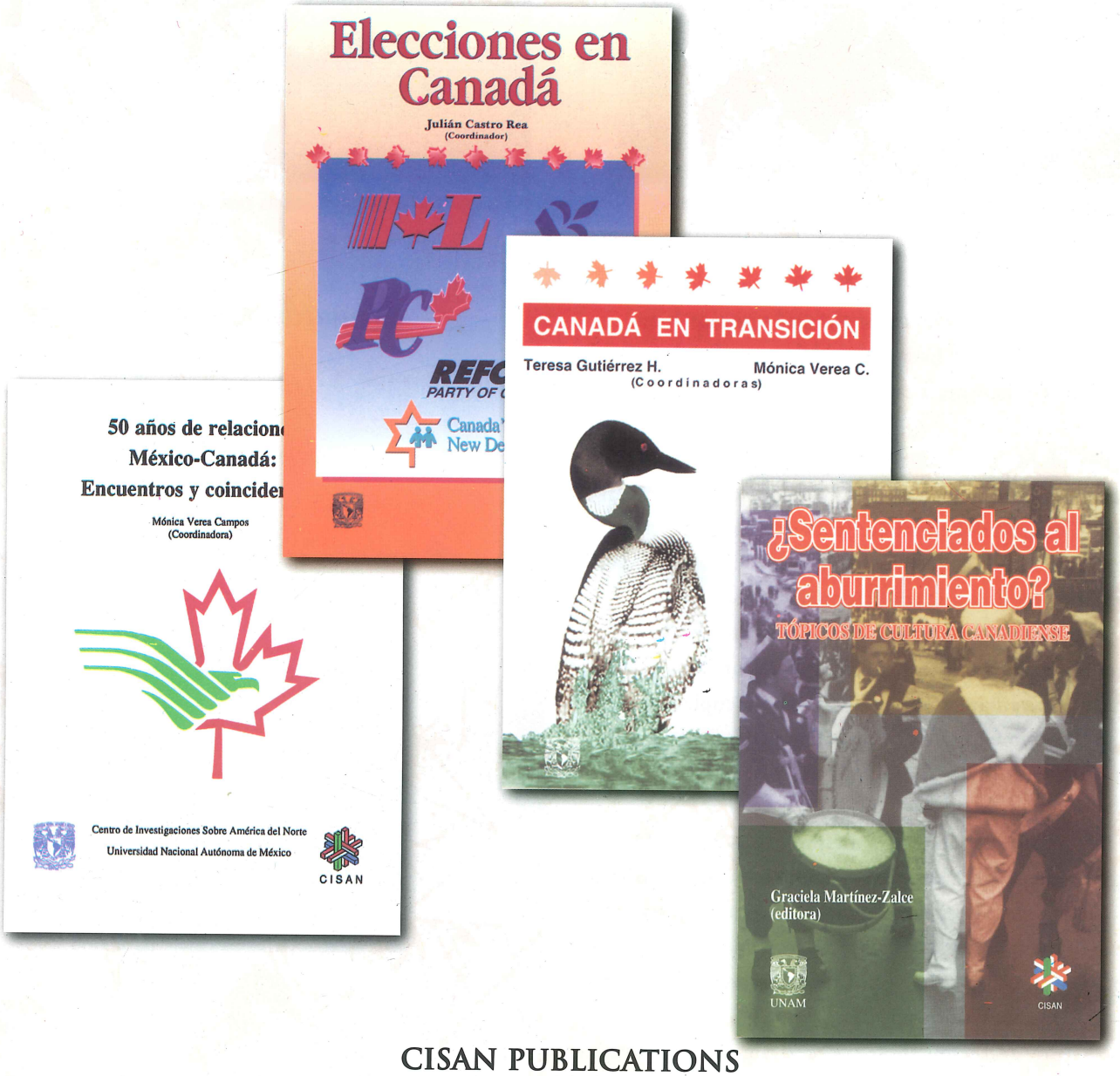

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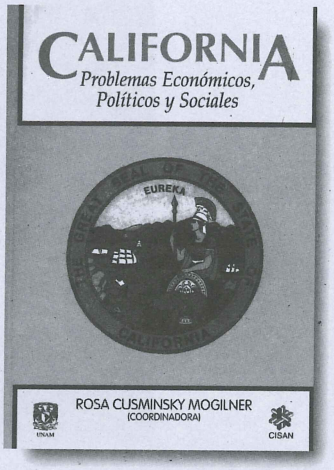

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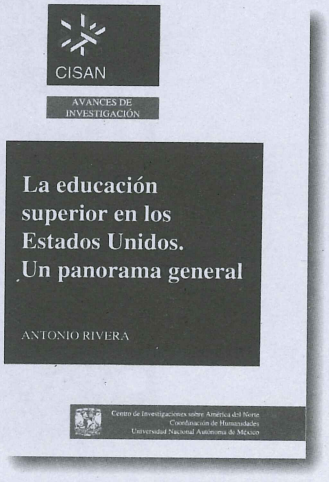

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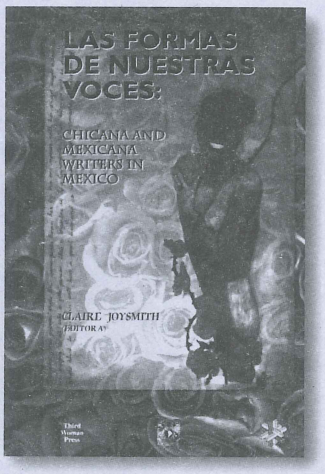

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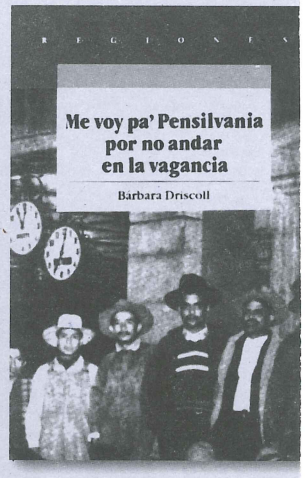

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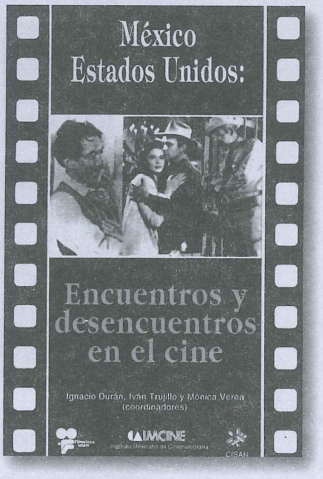

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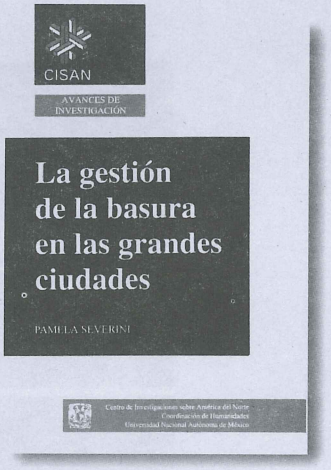

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The Jewish Community IN MEXICO

*Judith Bokser-Liwerant**

While today's Jewish community originated in the waves of migration to the Americas at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, there have been Jews in Mexico since colonial times.

After being expelled from Spain, the Jews sought freedom in the New World. Both for Jewish converts to Catholicism (new Christians) and those converts who practiced their Judaism in secret (crypto-Jews), New Spain was a life option. As actors in the drama of the conquest of Mexico and, as some of the first Old World settlers, participants in its reconstruction, Jews took part in different trades and professions in New Spain. They distinguished themselves as merchants, in small trade, in medicine and in letters. However, the new horizons did not guarantee the freedom they sought, and they had to hide their faith to avoid the persecution of the Inquisition, which they often were unable to escape. The prohibition of their nurturing their original identity and culture led to their gradual assimilation into the mainstream of society.

When Mexico won its independence, it began to see immigration as a fundamental way to increase its small heterogeneous population, dispersed throughout an enormous territory with deficient communication. However, the country's political and economic instability rendered it unattractive to immigrants. Of the growing stream of Jewish migrants who abandoned Europe for the Americas to escape the romantic Christian reactionary movement, only a few came to Mexico. Despite this, throughout the nineteenth century there was a permanent, though small, Jewish presence in Mexico.

After 1879 and during the three decades of the *Porfiriato* (the 30-year regime of Porfirio Díaz), the Jewish population began to grow slightly in answer to incentives to immigration and foreign investment. Natives mainly of Western and Central Europe, these immigrants took an outstanding part in different spheres of national life: in the development of trade, industry, mining and railroads; in the establishment of the national banking system; and in intellectual and cultural life. The free and prosperous living conditions in their countries of origin and their motivation to participate in Mexico's development gave this wave of immigrants an eminently individual character.

It would not be until the last years of the *Porfiriato* that Mexico would see the arrival of Jewish immigrants in groups. The growing political and economic deterioration of the Ottoman Empire and religious intolerance propitiated emigration. Recent arrivals had to support each other to be able to fit into the country's occupa-

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A family portrait, Poland, *circa* 1920. On the table, a photograph of a son who emigrated to Mexico.

tional structure. This, together with their strong religious and traditionalist Jewish identity, fostered their banding together as a community. At the same time, the immigration of the Sephardic Jews from the European countries under Ottoman domination began around 1900. The organizations founded at that time supported the immigrants who arrived during the second decade of the century and constitute the initial nucleus of Mexico's contemporary Jewish community.

During the Mexican Revolution, an important number of foreigners left the country, among them, the majority of the Jews who had come from Western and Central Europe. At that time, the Jewish community was about 100 families strong. During this period, however, immigrants from the Ottoman Empire continued to come, and by 1921, around 6,000 had arrived in Mexico.

Jews from Eastern Europe arrived throughout the 1920s, mainly from Poland and Russia as a result of increasing discrimination and socioeconomic and political marginalization. Their need to emigrate coincided with the explicit interest expressed by Presidents Obregón and Calles in fostering immigration to rebuild Mexico's war-torn society and national economy. This meant that the period of greatest Jewish immigration to Mexico was between 1921 and 1929. About 15,000 immigrants entered the country, 9,000 Ashkenazim from Eastern Europe and 6,000 Sephardim.

In the next decade, however, new Mexican demographic and economic policies that established growing restrictions on immigration, as well as pressure from nationalist organizations and interest groups, would cause the immigration to lessen. The

1936 Population Law did not consider immigration a central strategy for increasing the population, and therefore restricted and prohibited the entrance of workers and foreign immigrants. The establishment of a quota system to protect Mexican nationals according to criteria of ethnic similarity or affinity would directly affect the entry of Jewish immigrants to the country precisely at the time when they most needed to be able to leave Europe because of the rise and consolidation of the Nazis. Between 1939 and 1949, about 400 families of German and Austrian Jews and 200 from Eastern Europe entered Mexico. At the end of the 1940s, Jewish immigration stopped being significant. By 1950, there were about 24,000 Jews in Mexico; today, there are about 35,000.

Upon arrival, Jewish immigrants faced the double challenge of becoming part of and adapting to their new country and, at the same time, preserving and developing their own group identity, their values, tradition and Judaic culture. This led them to carry out an intense and varied organizational process, reproducing in Mexico a historical organizational tradition, the community or kehilah. The kehilah was able to answer the group's different needs and facilitate its encounter with existing society since ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences made it necessary to have a buffer in the process of adapting to and interpreting a new situation. In other words, it aided in meeting the serious challenge that immigrants faced as they attempted to integrate themselves into their new homeland without having to renounce their original identity and culture.

Two tendencies interacted simultaneously during this process of community structuring. On the one hand, the small size of the community, its lack of resources and the similarity in conditions favored centralization; on the other hand, the diversity of traditions, customs and cultural practices favored internal differentiation and diversity. Therefore, they organized according to countries or areas of origin: the Jews from Damascus, Syria, organized around the first charity and mutual aid society, the Mount Sinai Alliance; those from Aleppo, Syria, established the Israelite Sedaka Umarpeh Charitable Society; and the Sephardic immigrants from Turkey and the Balkans set up the Sephardic Union.

In the beginning, the Ashkenazim also had to congregate at the same time that they maintained internal differentiations. From the very beginning, parallel to the mutual aid societies emerged cultural and political groups that reflected the ideological currents and different world views that came from Europe. A vigorous cultural life made it possible for immigrants to express themselves through lectures, cultural events and a great deal of literature and journalism produced in their mother tongue, Yiddish. The 1920s saw the development of an equally diversified press, and by 1927, the first book published in Yiddish. This diverse and heterogeneous sector would gather around the Nidje Israel community.

The different parts of the community developed educational institutions that, with time, became complete schools that had the dual aim of integration and maintenance of the original culture to educate the new generations in both cultural codes, the Jewish one and the Mexican one, which was gradually being incorporated. At the same time that this functional and sectoral diversity was evolving, the community developed central institutions that assembled and represented all the groups, reflecting the similarities in their situation and needs. This community mosaic continues to exist today, although its functions and internal structure have changed successively as a result of the transformations in the population itself and its needs.

The generation of original immigrants was followed by other born in Mexico, for whom the conditions and opportunities for integrating into society culturally and socially and in terms of employment have broadened. An initial community composed mainly of itinerant salespeople and artisans transformed itself into formal merchants and participants in small and medium-sized manufacturing. Later, industrialization policy which developed and diversified these activities

Together with their growing participation in national life, the Jews have been able to maintain their ancient culture.

Leaving Lithuania.

From Moscow, I went to Sebezh [Russia] and from there to Holland, where I took a boat to Mexico. All the hubbub of the trains and meeting new people could not drown out my sorrow over saying goodbye to my loved ones. I had one consoling thought: soon I will bring them all out with me.

Meyer Rapoport, *Judíos mexicanos entre los montes (Mexican Jews in the Mountains) (Yiddish)*, Mexico City, 1956, p. 19.

led the community to broaden its participation to the different branches of the economy. Government import substitution policy in the 1970s reinforced this tendency.

For the generations born in Mexico, the university and the sciences, the liberal professions and the arts are the new channels which have allowed them to develop their abilities and commitment. Their marked tendency to enter professions like medicine, dentistry and engineering has broadened out to include the humanities and the social sciences. Unlike the majority of the intellectual activity of the first generation immigrants, which in the main stayed within the cultural bounds of the original communities, particularly because of the language barrier, the creativity of later generations is a visible, substantial part of Mexican national culture. Among the Jewish community in Mexico are nationally and internationally recognized scientists, writers and artists who project creativity of the Mexican people as a whole.

Together with their growing participation in national life, the Jews have been able to maintain their ancient culture, putting down the different kinds of roots that nurture their identity. This, of course, reflects the complex and successful creation of ways of living together which has allowed the Jewish community to open up to new alternatives for individual and collective development and Mexican society as a whole to benefit from the diversity and cultural pluralism that enriches it. VM

Photo: Elías Poplawsky

Street vendor selling ties in Córdoba, Veracruz.

ON THE CENTENNIAL OF THE ARRIVAL OF

Mexico's First Japanese Immigrants

*Alfredo Román Zavala**

The last five years of the twentieth century are of special significance for the historical relationship between Japan and Latin America. Regardless of Japan's extraordinary industrial and economic boom since the end of World War II that has made its economic model practically a symbol for many developing countries, its relations with Latin America, although scant, have been intense. The historical ties that already existed bring the Japanese and Latin American cultures even closer together. In 1995, Brazil and Japan celebrated 100 years of diplomatic relations. In 1997 the centennial of Japanese-Chilean relations and of the first Japanese migration to Mexico are commemorated. In 1998, Argentina will celebrate its centennial of diplomatic relations with Japan, and Peru that of its first Japanese immigrants in 1999. Six generations later, there are approximately one and a half million Latin Americans of Japanese descent.

Japanese emigration was the most important feature of Japanese-Latin American relations until the 1960s when the explosion of world trade and foreign investment began to change them. However, the Japanese communities in Latin America have played an important role by often serving as intermediaries for Japanese companies and contributing to the establishment of greater affinity between Japan and Latin America.

MEXICO'S JAPANESE COMMUNITY

At the end of the nineteenth century, Mexico had a population deficit and so needed to recruit workers to begin modernization. Under the Porfirio Díaz government, development was based on Mexico's "unlimited natural resources" and the workers needed to exploit them. Given the urgency of availing itself of enough labor to continue agricultural production, mining and many other activities linked to the international economy, the government fostered the entry of migrants from both China and Japan.

In addition to Díaz government policy, other external factors and circumstances spurred emigration to Mexico. The most important are the series of wars Japan fought at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The armed clashes with China in 1894 and 1895 and with Tzarist Russia from 1904 to 1905 were an indirect reason for many Japanese to seek new opportunities in other lands. Also, the Japanese government fostered emigration[1] as a

* Researcher at the Mexico College.

Unless otherwise specified, all photos are reprinted courtesy of the Northern Border College from Atsuko Tanabe, *Huellas japonesas en la cultura mexicana* (Mexican Imprints on Mexican Culture), El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, 1997.

[1] The creation of the Migration Department in 1891 and the passage of the 1894 Law for the Protection of Migrants are only two examples of the Japanese government's fostering of migration. It also instituted direct subsidies to migration; among them was paid passage for emigrants, especially those who went to Hawaii or Brazil.

A Japanese immigrant family at the end of the nineteenth century.

solution for two basic problems: first, to finance domestic industrialization, for which it needed hard currency it hoped would be sent home by Japanese emigrants; second, to ameliorate demographic pressure in rural areas.

Another factor which contributed enormously to migration to Mexico was the U.S. ban of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the early twentieth century. A limit on the number of migrants had already been set in 1874 and 1888 when the U.S. also totally prohibited the entry of Japanese and Chinese immigrants. With the limit set in the early twentieth century by the 1907 so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement,"[2] emigrants were diverted from their original destination, the United States, to alternative, secondary destinations: Mexico and other Latin American countries. In the first years of the century, then, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Argentina and Mexico became targets for much of this migration.

In Mexico, aside from the economic needs which fostered immigration, a whole body of legislation was created to regulate it. In 1888, Mexico became the first "Western" country with which Emperor Meiji of Japan established consular relations and legal reciprocity. Undoubtedly the most transcendental step in the relations between the two countries, this also had an impact on the motivation of Japanese migration to Mexico. In 1891, Japan established its consulate in Mexico, headed by Fujito Toshiro, and three years later, in 1894, passed the Law on Colonization which, among other things, favored the legal entry

[2] With this accord, Japan agreed to stop sending Japanese citizens to the United States. After this restrictive legislation went into force and some anti-Japanese actions were carried out in the United States, Mexico became an intermediate point between the United States and other countries of South America. Kenneth B. McCullough, *America's Back Door: Indirect International Immigration via Mexico to the United States from 1875 to 1940*, Ph D. thesis, University of Texas A&M, 1992.

Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Tijuana, Baja California, 1996.

of Japanese immigrants. Mexico, for its part, named Mauricio Wollheim its first plenipotentiary ambassador to Japan.

On Mexico's Pacific Coast, specifically in Chiapas, were the first lands colonized by Japanese immigrants. By 1892, the municipality of Escuintla in the Soconusco area had been selected for colonization. Not until May 10, 1897, however, did Kusakado Toraji lead the first group of colonists on a 47-day crossing from the Japanese port of Yokohama to what is today Puerto Madero. On May 18 of the same year, the Japanese colonists took possession of their lands, setting the date of the founding of the colony, which they called Enomoto Takeaki, as May 19, 1897.

For many reasons, the economic results of the Enomoto colony left much to be desired in terms of its initial objective of supporting the community and repatriating profits to Japan. However, they did have an impact on the later —though ephemeral— Mexican-Japanese joint ventures. The Japanese-Mexican Company and the Nichiboku Kyodo Gaisha Cooperative sought to continue the work of the original colonists in agriculture, pharmaceuticals and textiles, but they did not have much luck, greatly due to the 1910 Mexican Revolution. However, the experience did encourage many of the first Japanese immigrants (*issei*, or first generation) to settle permanently in Mexico's Southeast.

In 1888, Mexico became the first "Western" country with which Emperor Meiji of Japan established consular relations and legal reciprocity.

The Japanese immigrants, although they suffered certain limitations upon entering the country, which were sharpened with the 1926 Immigration Law, were able to bring their parents, children and close and distant relatives of all kinds to Mexico. The only requirement was that they be able to legally prove their family tie. Immigration took on a whole other dimension with the popularization of the *yobiyose* system, a mechanism whereby to enter the country, immigrants required only an express invitation from someone already legally residing in Mexico.

With the *yobiyose* system, the flow of immigrants increased somewhat

and they also began settling in other parts of the country and integrating themselves into more and more diverse sectors of the economy. It is not an exaggeration to say that even before this kind of extremely-extended family migratory system began to operate, the basis for the future stability of the colony had already been assured. At the beginning of the century, the immigrants had already gone into mining, construction and sugar cane processing and, with Mexican government encouragement, had also begun to move to other centers of development. Emigration to northern Mexico made it possible to set up new communities all along the Mexico-U.S. border. The small groups of Japanese in Mexicali, Ensenada, Sinaloa, Ciudad Juárez, Coahuila, Chihuahua and Sonora showed the beginnings of a longer term settlement, particularly since, with the outbreak of World War II, both legal and illegal access to the United States had become not only difficult, but also excessively risky.[3]

Immediately after World War II and later, the atmosphere of security that Mexico offered foreign investment contributed to its increase. The United States was the largest investor

Japanese actor Toshiro Mifune with the musical group Los Panchos.

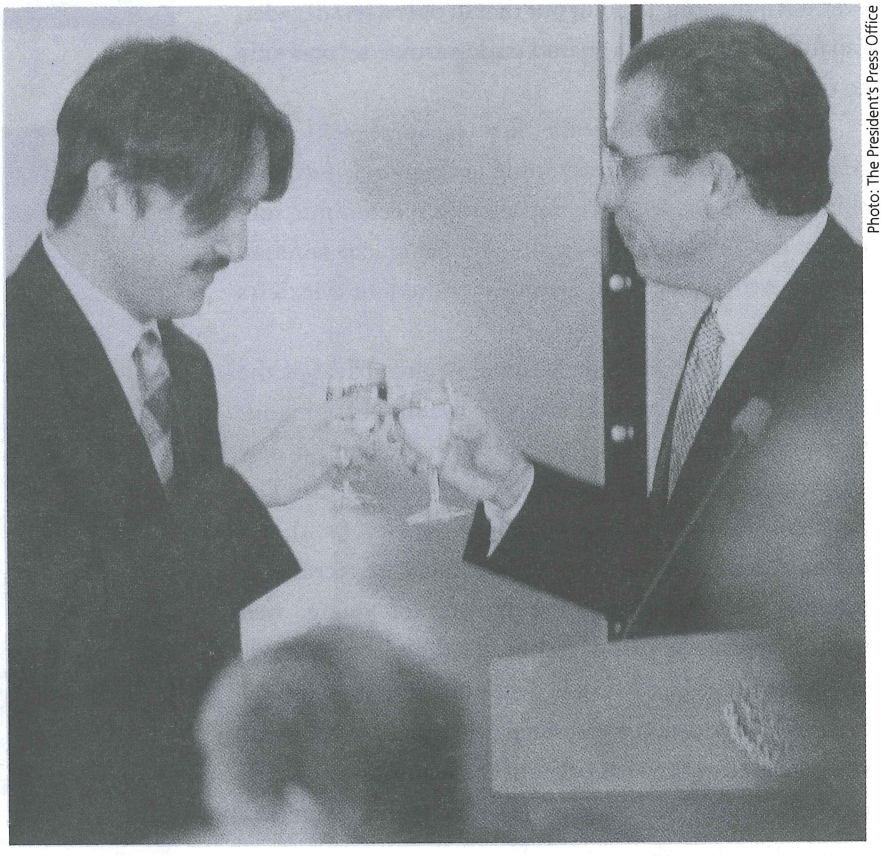


Photo: The President's Press Office

President Ernesto Zedillo and Japan's Imperial Highness, Prince Akishino, toast the 100-year anniversary of Japanese emigration to Mexico.

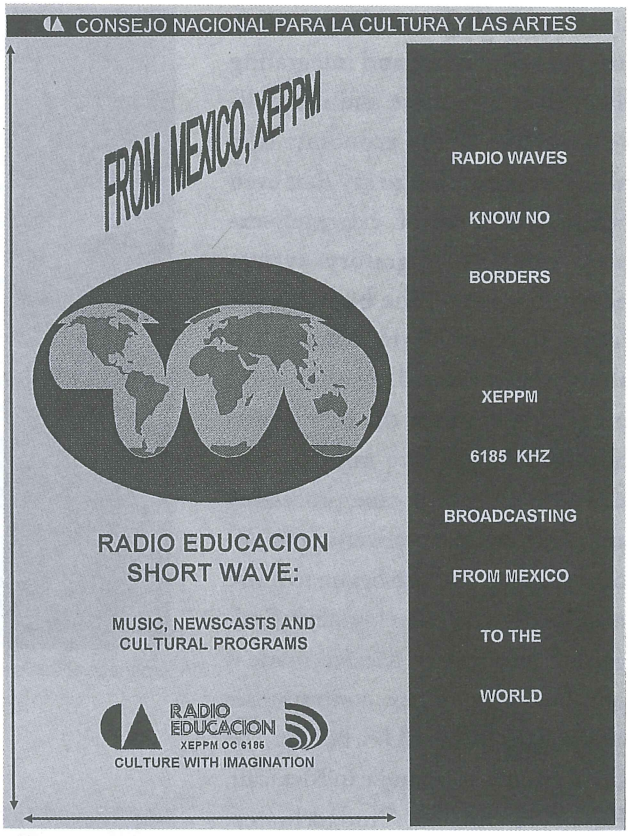
[3] Many of the immigrants even lost what they had been able to accumulate: property, position and social ties. During and after World War II, most of them decided to stay permanently where they were, abandoning the idea of entering the United States or returning to Japan. Kunimoto Iyo, "La emigración japonesa a América Latina," *Japón, los Estados Unidos y la América Latina*, Barbara Stallings and Gabriel Székely (comps.), Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1994.

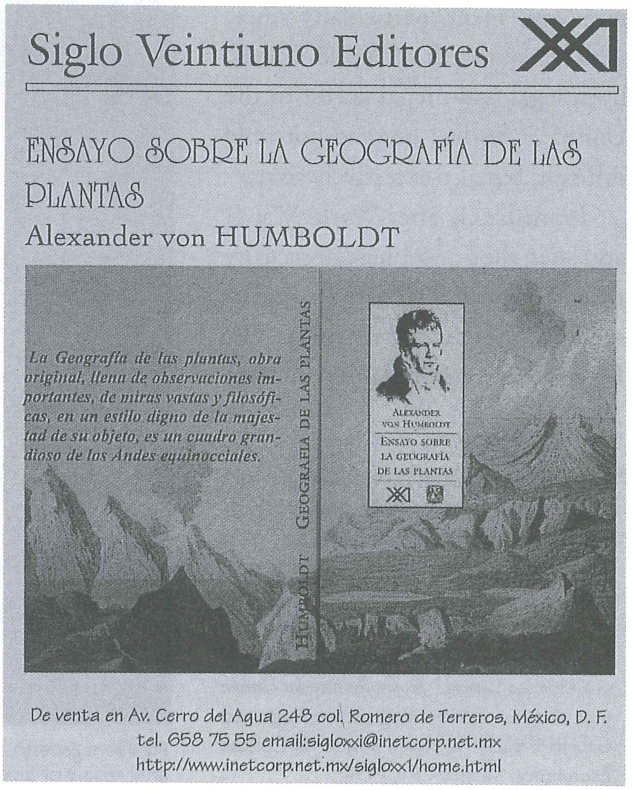
until the 1990s. Japan successfully reinitiated its economic development and rekindled its interest in trade and financial links with Latin America. Its most ambitious projects centered on countries which had taken in the most Japanese immigrants, like Brazil, Argentina and Peru, followed by Paraguay, Bolivia and the Dominican Republic which had accepted immigrants after the war. But there was also interest in countries like Mexico which offered the advantage of geographical proximity to the U.S. market.

In the post-war period, Mexico and Japan began to recover an over half-a-century-long relationship, when Mexico was one of the first countries to ratify the 1952 Treaty of San Francisco. The arrival of Japanese companies to Mexico, beginning with Toyota in 1957 during the administration of President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, and Datsun Motor Company in 1966, increased modestly but gradually the number of investors in different branches of the economy. It would not be very practical to try to list here the flow of Japanese investments in Mexico. However, it is interesting to point out that in only a few decades, Japan became Mexico's second trade partner, second only to the United States.

The descendants of the first Japanese settlers in Mexico, born in Mexico as second generation (*nissei*) and third generation (*sansei*), enjoyed modest economic successes: the Matsumoto, Kimura and Sekiguchi families, among others, became strongly rooted in Mexico's economy.

To conclude, on the centennial of the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants in Mexico, we should point out that migration has not stopped, but has taken on new characteristics and dimensions over the years. The Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), for example, has taken on the responsibility of recruiting, training and subsidizing the transfer of young, well trained Japanese as part of technical aid projects in developing countries like Mexico. Technological and cultural exchange, in addition to personal dealings, have been and will continue to be yet another of the many kinds of contact between the two countries, in tune with the international nature of today's world. VM



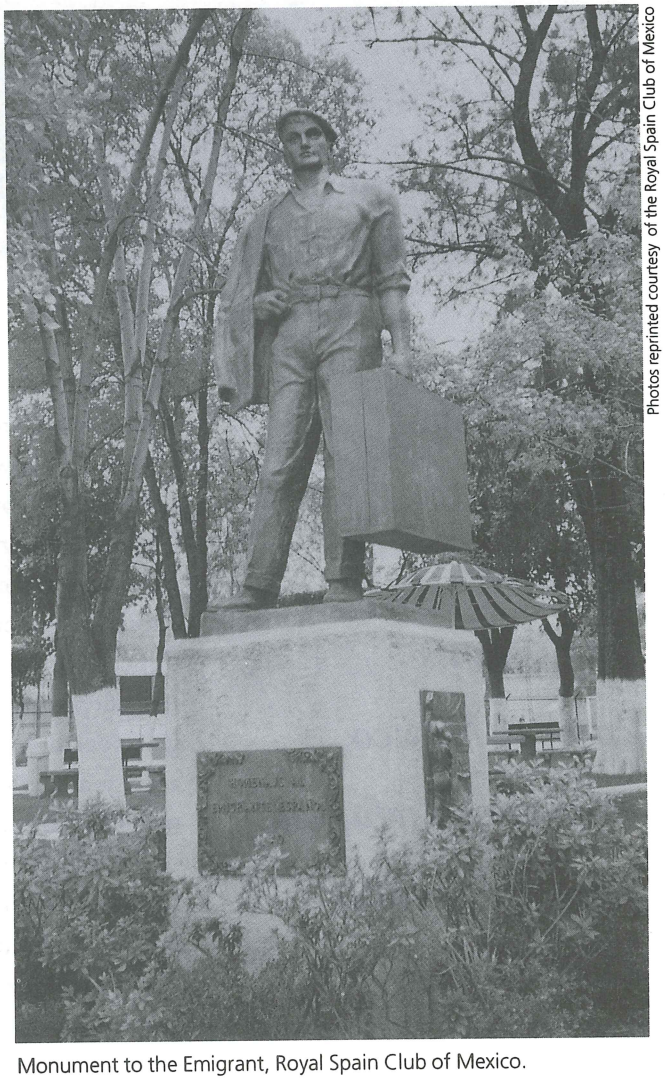


A CENTURY OF *Spanish Emigration to Mexico*

*Alvaro Matute**

From the late nineteenth century to 1950, Spanish immigration made the Spaniards the largest foreign community in Mexico and the second largest today. Several factors contributed to this: Spain experienced a mass exodus around 1880, particularly from Galicia and Asturias, and Mexico's liberal policies attracted foreign colonists to populate vast uncivilized tracts of land. Both countries were spurred by the common language and the links established throughout the colonial period. However, compared to countries in the extreme south of the Americas, Spanish migration to Mexico was relatively small, reaching, for example, just 10 percent of the flow of migrants to Argentina in the same period. Despite this, Mexican figures show that between 1895 and 1940, Spaniards constituted the largest group of foreign migrants. In 1950, they took second place to U.S. migrants.[1]

When the Mexican Revolution broke out, about 30,000 Spaniards were living in more than 20 states, with the largest communities in Mexico City, Puebla, Veracruz and Yucatan. Things changed later. By 1980, the capital continued to have the largest Spanish community, but second place was held by the State of Mexico because it



Photos reprinted courtesy of the Royal Spain Club of Mexico

Monument to the Emigrant, Royal Spain Club of Mexico.

* Researcher at the UNAM Institute for Historical Research.

[1] For an overview, see Delia Salazar Anaya's book, *La población extranjera en México (1895-1990)*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, 1996, 489 pp.

Women from Mexico's Spanish community in traditional dress.

After 1939, a new wave of Spanish immigrants came to Mexico, Republican refugees from the Spanish Civil War.

included a large part of Mexico City's metropolitan area.

Migration was initially 85 percent male, but by 1940, women were 35 percent of immigrants. The fact that the censuses asked about both nationality and place of birth made it rather difficult to measure the real size of the migrant population since many immigrants opt for Mexican nationality after a few year's residence, although they maintain links to their places of origin.

During the Porfirio Díaz regime, the Spanish immigrant community began to be particularly enterprising. The prototype of the Spanish immigrant was a young man, underemployed by a relative or countryman. After a short time, he used his savings to start his own business, which might be a small shop, transport or a modest manufacturing establishment, like a soft drink bottling plant. With time, he built his investment up into a medium-sized concern and reinvested, in turn attracting more immigrants. A balance between the sexes became possible because the successful immigrant sought to marry "a home-town girl," although many also married immigrants' daughters, born in Mexico and therefore Mexican citizens. These women escaped the notice of the census takers at the same time that they contributed to creating an endogamous community.

Mexico boasts a singular mixture of Spanish and indigenous cultures.

Spanish migration during the Porfirio Díaz period produced several large capitalists, among them, Iñigo Noriega, from Colombres, Asturias, who developed agriculture and agribusiness in the Chalco Valley; Angel Urraza, a Basque, who invested in the cotton industry and, later, in partnership with the U.S. company B.F. Goodrich, in rubber; and Adolfo Prieto, who became prominent in the iron and steel industries. These three men represent the lofty heights reached by Spanish immigrants.

Spaniards were the victims of the Mexican Revolution's xenophobia, although they were never the brunt of the kind of aggression suffered by

The first May roses to bloom in Madrid's Retiro Park are sent to Mexico's Spanish community, which takes them as an offering to Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City.

Table 1

Spanish Citizens Residing in Mexico

	1895	1900	1910	1921	1930	1950	1960	1970	1980
Male	11 072	13 395	22 899	20 203	21 646	23 854	29 826	18 128	17 962
Female	2 655	2 907	6 642	6 472	7 209	13 686	19 811	12 910	14 278
Total	**13 727**	**16 302**	**29 541**	**26 675**	**28 855**	**37 540**	**49 637**	**31 038**	**32 240**

Table 2

Residents of Mexico Who Were Born in Spain

	1895	1900	1910	1921	1930	1940	1950	1960
Male	9 544	13 290	22 749	21 067	27 939	14 397	17 036	16 313
Female	2 327	2 886	6 583	8 052	19 300	6 625	9 840	2 507
Total	**11 871**	**16 176**	**29 932**	**29 119**	**47 239**	**21 022**	**26 876**	**18 820**

Source: Delia Salazar Anaya, *La población extranjera en México (1895 - 1990)*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, 1996.

Chinese immigrants. After the revolution, Spaniards gave over their predominance in heavy industry to multinational capital and went into different branches of medium-sized industry, trade and services, for example, the hotel business.

After 1939, a new wave of Spanish immigrants came to Mexico, Republican refugees from the Spanish Civil War. They went into different activities, everything from academia and sophisticated intellectual circles, to the professions, commerce and the service sector. These Spanish migrants have had qualitatively the largest impact of any group in Mexico's modern history. Everyday language distinguishes between "old residents" and refugees, which initially clashed because of their opposing political positions. However, with the years, the differences have disappeared.

Republican Spanish migrants have had the largest impact of any group in Mexico's modern history.

Spaniards have constituted a community with different profiles of their own through creating organizations by province of origin: the Asturian Center of Mexico, the Galician Center, the Catalonian Orpheus and the Basque Center, as well as the Royal Spain Club which unites Iberians from all the different provinces. Unlike their brethren in the Southern Cone, whose organizations serve as credit unions, in Mexico, they have been social clubs to maintain community ties. In addition, the Spanish Beneficial Society, together with the Spanish Covadonga Board, sponsor the Spanish Hospital.

After 1980, Spanish migration dropped considerably given Spain's economic recovery. Spanish Mexicans, however, continue to be a tightly-knit group, with an identity and a profile of their own in Mexican society. VM

Lebanese Immigration to Mexico

AND THE AMERICAS

*Antonio Trabulse Kaim**

To emigrate is to relinquish,
to rend the flesh of the soul.

Emigration is an existential metamorphosis in which the individual throws overboard the possibility of living in the land of his or her forebears, of enjoying the warmth of parents, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters. It is saying good-bye to dear friends to meet again, in the best of cases, only when their faces are disguised by the passing years and their hair whitened by the snows of time.

Emigration is so painful that there must be extreme reasons for doing it, like hunger, political persecution, oppression or war. We descendants of Lebanese immigrants who arrived in Mexico in the first quarter of this century have those reasons.

This emigration began in the mid-nineteenth century with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the aggression it exercised against its subject peoples and the medium-term impossibility of change in the region. First, the intellectuals went into exile, those who fought with paper and pen. Countries like Egypt were fertile ground for their writings about their homeland, and among the founders there of prestigious newspapers like *Al Ahram* were two Lebanese named Takla. A country's liberation is achieved with drops of blood, drops of sweat and drops of ink.

The first important waves of migration to the Western Hemisphere came around 1860. At first, only a few arrived seeking their fortunes, better living conditions or decent work that the "Sublime Door" had denied them. My father used to say, "Many of us left our homelands so you could sleep peacefully."

Those emigrants walked a road with many obstacles and traversing many craggy hills and unexpected ravines. Most of them first went to the tinsel world of the United States, but Latin America began to rise up before them with its myriad of possibilities. In the early twentieth century, thousands of men and women emigrated from Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iraq to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and other countries in the hemisphere, countries whose generosity made their hospitality a creed. We, their descendants, acquired a double commitment: loyalty to our families' new homeland and understanding that our native soil was not a matter of chance, but a deliberate choice.

The Lebanese came to Mexico at the end of the last century from the United States or by ship at the Mexican ports of Veracruz, Tampico and Progreso. Research has shown that the first Lebanese immigrant who arrived was R.P. Boutros Raffoul in 1878. Three years later Joseph M. Abad arrived, and in 1882, Santiago Saouma Adued settled in Mérida.

After 1900, migration increased. Honest men and women in great need

* Director of the Mexican Lebanese Cultural Institute.

All photos reprinted courtesy of Martha Díaz de Kuri and Lourdes Macluf co-editors of *De Líbano a México. Crónica de un pueblo emigrante* (From Lebanon to Mexico. Chronicle of an Emigrant People), n. p., Mexico City, 1995.

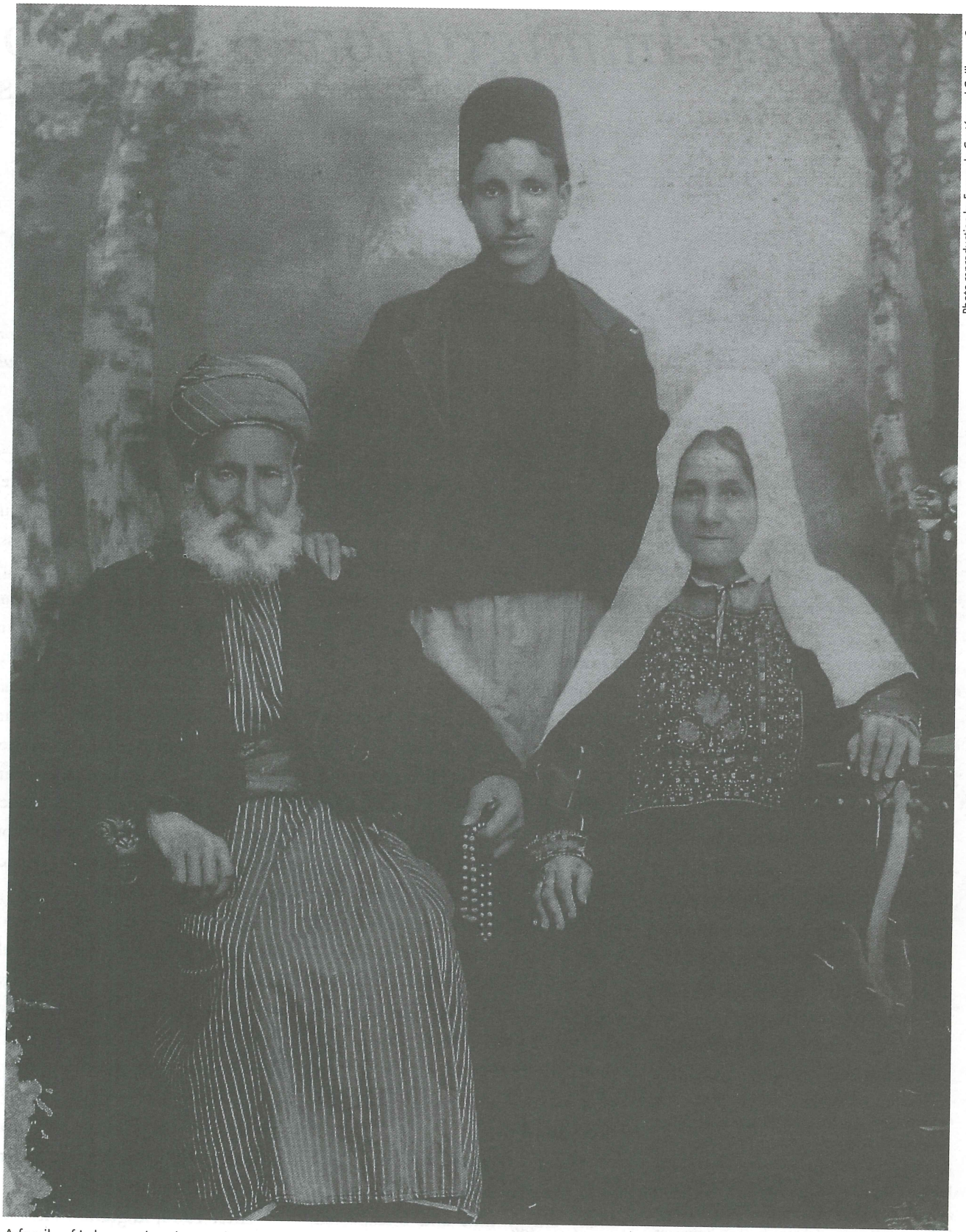


Photo reproduction by Fernando Gaytán and Guillermo Sena

A family of Lebanese immigrants in 1899.

learned the language and the customs of the Mexican people, making them their own. They became part of the society that opened its heart to them. They sold anything they could: belts, needles, thread, shoelaces and even dreams! From peddling their wares from a box hung around their necks, they progressed to small shops and from there to factories. Their descendants were given what they themselves never had: a university education.

One of their ways of doing business was on the installment plan, the immediate precursor of today's great retail phenomenon, the credit card. Their audacity and vision led them to occupy political positions in Latin America, everything from congressional seats to presidencies. It is important to point out that they never acted as pressure groups, but always as individuals integrated into a plural, national society.

Celebrating Lebanese Independence Day outside the Lebanese embassy in Mexico City.

In Mexico, they have played outstanding parts in culture, trade, industry and finance. For example, the great poet Jaime Sabines' father was Lebanese and his mother, from Chiapas; noted movie maker Miguel Zacarías, co-founder of Mexican sound film who, at the age of 92 has published 22 books, including essays, novels and poetry, is a descendent of Lebanese, as is international screen star Salma Hayek and other greats of the arts and sciences like Héctor Azar, Elías Trabulse, Charlotte Yazbek and the late Mauricio Garcés, to name only a few. Among the outstanding businessmen and financiers are Carlos Slim and Alfredo Harp; among politicians, Emilio Chuayffet; philosophers, Miguel Manzur.[1] Hemisphere-wide, we have famed scientist Michael Debakey, actors like Murray

Mixture of cultures.

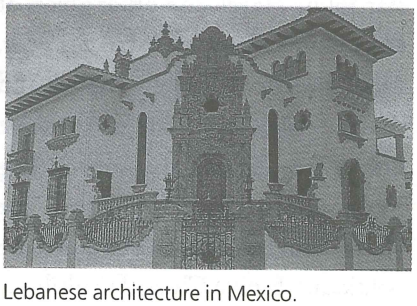
[1] Héctor Azar is one of Mexico's most promising playwrights and stage directors. Elías Trabulse made very important contributions in the history of science in Mexico and Latin America. Mauricio Garcés gained fame for the roles he created in Mexican comic cinema. Carlos Slim is the owner and main stockholder of such important companies as Teléfonos de México and Sanborn's Hermanos (one of Mexico's most important store and restaurant chains). Alfredo Harp is currently president and a major stockholder in the country's largest banking institution, Grupo Financiero Banamex. Emilio Chuayffet, of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, is currently Mexico's minister of the interior. Miguel Manzur is one of the country's foremost philosophers, noted for the originality of his thinking. [Editor's Note.]

Lebanese immigrant women in sumptuous traditional dress.

In Mexico, Lebanese have played outstanding parts in culture, trade, industry and finance.

Abraham and Danny Thomas or even the "madman" of Ecuadoran politics, Abdalá Bucaram.

The Lebanese in Mexico and the Americas are like any other ethnic group, the majority acting for the general good with good results. They water the fields of racial mix with the sap of the thousands-of-years-old cedar tree. Their ancestors did not abandon their homelands, but carried them to other shores like the revitalizing shadow of the legendary tree, emblem of the ancestral homeland. VM



Lebanese architecture in Mexico.

Mexican Migration to the United States

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

*José Gómez de León**
*Rodolfo Tuirán***

Migration from Mexico to the United States depends on demographic, economic and social factors. Outstanding among them are those linked to the supply/expulsion and demand/attraction of the Mexican labor force and migrants' ties to relatives and friends, both in their communities of origin and destination. In this article we will explore the importance of some factors on the supply side.

Our hypothesis is that the evolution of demographic and economic factors are changing the conditions that trigger the flow of migrant workers from Mexico and will contribute to its gradually decrease. Therefore, studying the direction those changes will take, as well as their specific character, may aid in formulating migratory policies both in Mexico and the United States. Before examining those factors, it will help to have a more precise idea of the size and character of Mexican migration to the U.S. over the last few decades.

PROFILE OF MEXICAN MIGRANTS TO THE U.S.

In the 1960s, just after the Bracero Program ended, Mexican migration to the United States was predominantly circular: young people and adults from rural areas went to the U.S. as temporary agricultural laborers and six or eight months later returned to their homes. A great many of them came from a small number of rural communities in seven or eight of Mexico's states that had established migratory traditions since the beginning of the century. Today, this profile of Mexican migrants is no longer valid.

Some of the most important changes are the following:

1) *Regional diversification of migration.* The geographical origin of migrants is no longer limited to traditional states and municipalities. This does not mean that people from those areas migrate less, but rather that the overall flow has increased. Puebla, Hidalgo, the State of Mexico, Mexico City and Morelos, not originally sources of migrants, are currently the starting point for a great many.

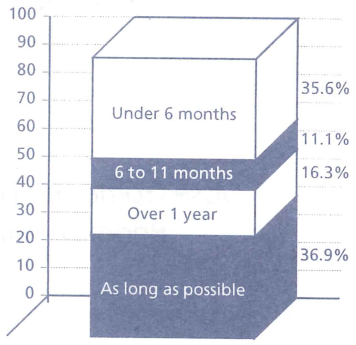
2) *A notable increase of migrants from urban areas.* Evidence suggests that the great urban centers and some intermediate cities not only absorb internal migration, but are also a jumping-off place for migrants to the United States. For example, in recent years the Mexico City metropolitan area has become an important source of emigrants to the United States.

3) *Migrants' occupational and sectoral diversification both inside Mexico and in the United States.* Agriculture is no longer the sole or main occupation of migrants, either in their place of origin or their destination.

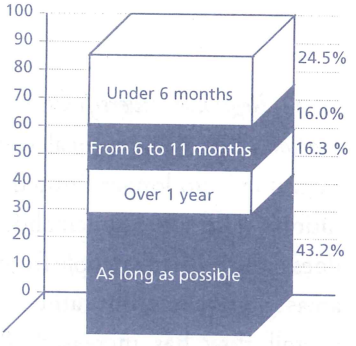
* General Secretary of the National Population Council of Mexico (CONAPO).
** Director General of CONAPO Population Programs.

Mexican Immigrant Workers
In the United States by Expected Length of Stay

Phase I *



Phase II **

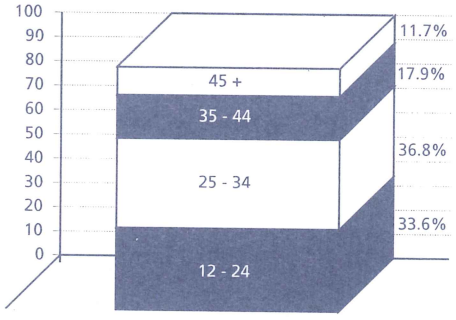


*Phase I: Mar. 28-Dec. 13, 1993.
**Phase II: Dec. 14,1994-Dec. 13, 1995.

Source: Survey on Border Migration (EMIF).

Mexican Immigrant Workers
In the United States by Age

Phase I *



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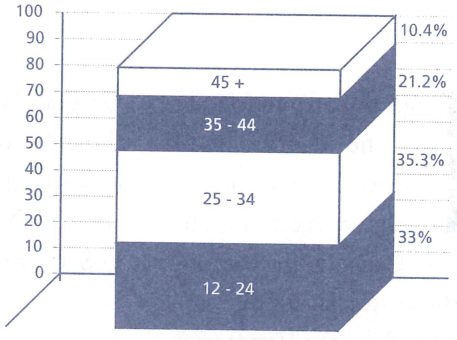


*Phase I: Mar. 28-Dec. 13, 1993.
**Phase II: Dec. 14,1994-Dec. 13, 1995.

Source: Survey on Border Migration (EMIF).

In sum, the flow of migrants toward the United States has taken different forms throughout recent decades, following a more complex, heterogeneous pattern. Also, as will be seen next, the flow of migrants is large and growing.[1]

THE SIZE OF MEXICAN MIGRATION

One of the dimensions of migration most easily prey to conjecture and speculation is its size. This is at the center of the controversy and public debate, both in Mexico and in the United States, because the impact of migration depends, to a great extent, on its size.

To establish a conceptual framework for measurement efforts, interpret results and evaluate the impact of migration, both on communities of origin and of destination, it is important to recognize that Mexican migrants are not a single, homogeneous whole, but rather fall into relatively distinguishable groups. The main ones are the following: 1) *settlers*, or people with more or less permanent residence north of the border; 2) *sojourners*, or migrant workers without fixed U.S. residence but who regularly enter and leave the United States to work or to look for work and, 3) *commuters*, or people who reside in Mexico and for different reasons go back and forth across the border.

[1] According to Wayne Cornelius, these changes intensified in the 1980s as a result of four main factors: a) changes in the Mexican economy; b) changes in the U.S. economy; c) the effects of modifications in U.S. immigration policy, particularly the legislation passed in 1986; d) the consolidation of social and family networks that link places of origin with destinations, thus increasing the probabilities of migration. Wayne Cornelius, "The U.S. Demand for Mexican Labor," in Wayne Cornelius and Jorge Bustamante, *Mexican Migration to the United States*, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, San Diego, 1989.

Today, the problem of the size of migration is expressed in different questions:

- How many Mexicans, whether documented or undocumented, are in the United States at any given moment? Of these, how many reside there?
- How many work or seek employment in the United States at some time of the year but live in Mexico?
- How many Mexicans enter the United States annually to either live or work?
- How many return to Mexico in the same period?
- What is the net flow?

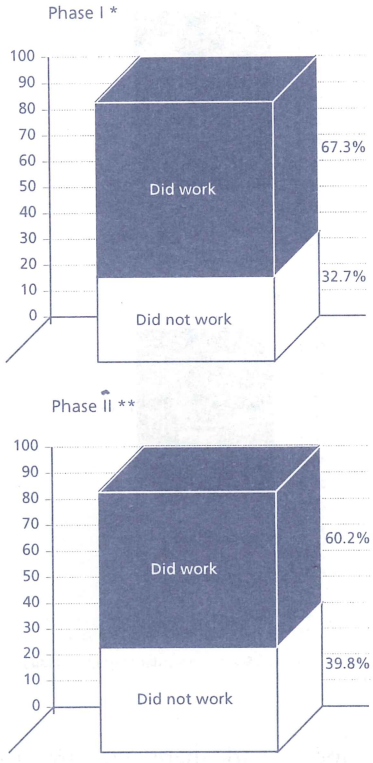
Many methodological and technical problems must be overcome to obtain precise, up-to-date answers about all the different kinds of migration.[2] Measurement efforts have included a broad variety of methods and techniques that can be classified in two groups: 1) direct methods that imply locating and listing the migrant population,[3] and 2) indirect methods based on using incomplete or partial information and combining different demographic variables.

Size and Characteristics Of Migrant Labor

The Survey on Border Migration (EMIF),[4] carried out jointly by Mexico's Border College, National Population Council and Ministry of Labor, has been an inestimably valuable information source for directly measuring the magnitude and characteristics of migrant labor to the United States. Some of the most outstanding findings on migrant labor derived from the survey are the following:

- Migrant workers are predominantly male.
- Migrants are mainly youth and adults of working age.
- Migrant workers usually had a job in Mexico before traveling to the United States, although recently the number of those who did not is on the rise.
- Migrant labor continues to come mainly from states that have traditionally fed Mexican migration: Durango, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas, among others.
- Mexico's urban areas —defined as cities with more than 15,000 inhabitants— are the starting point for most migrants, although there has recently been a slight increase of migrants from rural areas.
- California is the main destination for migrant workers and this preference increased in the period under study.
- The percentage of those planning to stay for more than six months in the United States is on the upswing.
- Migrant laborers in the main have a history of migration to the United States, although recently the number of people who have never been there has risen.
- Most migrants are undocumented, authorized neither to enter the U.S.

Mexican Immigrant Workers in the U.S. By Economic Activity Before Emigrating



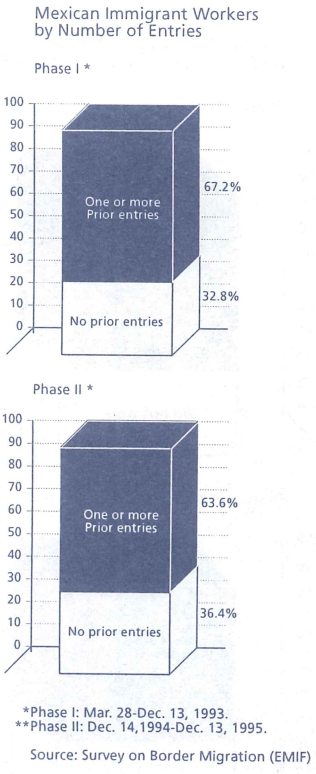
*Phase I: Mar. 28-Dec. 13, 1993.
**Phase II: Dec. 14,1994-Dec. 13, 1995.

Source: Survey on Border Migration (EMIF).

[2] In addition to the difficulties in quantifying migration under any circumstances, the very nature of the movement toward the United States complicates the process: among the most important factors that cloud it is the surreptitious character of much of it, the migrant population's constant renovation, the indeterminate length of migrants' stay in the U.S. and the considerable number of people who return to Mexico, even after long residence abroad.

[3] The operational difficulties in actually counting this population in the United States (among other things, because undocumented migrants are afraid of being caught by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials) is the reason that these procedures have been, up to now, more the exception than the rule.

[4] The EMIF, a continuing survey carried out for observational purposes and to generate data, is inspired in statistical biology techniques used to quantify mobile populations. It conceives of migrant workers as units in movement, observed at certain moments and at certain places on their migratory route and identifies different target populations. The first phase of the EMIF began March 28, 1993, and ended 12 months later; its second phase included all of 1995.



*Phase I: Mar. 28-Dec. 13, 1993.
**Phase II: Dec. 14,1994-Dec. 13, 1995.

Source: Survey on Border Migration (EMIF)

nor to work there. This trend has accentuated recently.

- The number of migrants who enter the U.S. without documents for both the first time and a repeat stay is increasing.

PERMANENT EMIGRATION

Along with the flow of temporary migrant laborers, others go to the United States to set up permanent residence; their numbers have been estimated both through direct and indirect methods.[5]

An important source for directly measuring permanent migration are surveys done of sample households in Mexico since the late 1970s. The Survey of the Demographic Dynamic (ENADID, 1992) is the most up-to-date study of this type.[6] Among its questions designed to measure migration is whether any member of the household went to live in the United States in a specific time period.

This procedure has some limitations which, taken all together, tend to underestimate the magnitude of permanent emigration. However, the figures are very useful. According to these sources, about 1,823,000 people left Mexico to live in the United States between January 1988 and November 1992. Of those, 973,000 continued to live there at the time of the survey (permanent emigrants), and 850,000 had come back to Mexico to live (returned migrants, or returnees).[7] This gives us an annual average of 195,000 and 170,000 people respectively.[8] The first number represents the net annual balance of migration to the United States.

The ENADID figures bear out the idea that there is massive migration of the population and that a considerable number of Mexicans return after living a while in the United States. It has also confirmed that migrants now come from a much larger portion of the country than simply from places with migratory traditions.

Given the difficulties in directly measuring migration, indirect procedures are frequently used. Even when they offer far from definitive or conclusive results, they contribute to considerably reducing the margin of uncertainty.

Mexican efforts produce results consistent with the demographic trends of the Mexican population and, in general, are compatible with estimates made in the United States.[9] U.S. studies reveal that the drop in Mexican population due to international migration has accentuated since 1970 and is estimated to be in the following ranges:

1) between 1,200,000 and 1,550,000 in the 1970s, and

2) between 2,100,000 and 2,600,000 in the 1980s.

Figures indicate that estimated migration in the last two decades was considerable, and its impact on demographic growth is perceptible. In fact, in 1980, approximately 2,500,000 people living in the United States had been born in Mexico; in 1990, that number reached 4,500,000. This rep-

[5] These moves often reunite families or imply whole families migrating at the same time, which explains the increasing number of women immigrants.

[6] This survey has important advantages, outstanding among which are the following: a) its national coverage; b) the considerable size of its sample (64,000 households nationwide), which allows for using and interpreting the data by state; and c) its use of different approaches, complementary to a certain extent, for quantifying some of the different forms of migration.

[7] R. Corona and R. Tuirán, *México: medición de la migración internacional con base en la Encuesta Nacional de la Dinámica Demográfica de 1992*, a U.S.-Mexico binational study on migration, Mexico City, 1996b, mimeographed.

[8] The distribution of permanent emigrants and returnees follows a well-known pattern: returnees tend to be young men in their early working years who are heads of families; permanent emigrants tend to be unmarried young men.

[9] R. Corona and R. Tuirán, *Estimación del saldo neto de la migración internacional de residentes mexicanos en el quinquenio 1990-1995*, a binational U.S.-Mexico study on migration, Mexico City, 1996c, mimeographed.

resented 3.6 and 5.4 percent, respectively, of the population resident in Mexico in the same years.

Indirect measurement using Mexican informational sources revealed a net balance of 1,400,000 permanent migrants for the 1990-1995 period, a yearly average of about 280,000.[10] With regard to the reliability of these figures, it should be pointed out that they differ very little from those derived from indirectly generated U.S. data (using the April 1990 Census and the September 1994 Current Population Survey) which estimated a net balance of 1,560,000 migrants, an annual average of 340,000, for the same period.[11] Estimates put the figure at slightly more than 6,100,000 people living in the United States in 1995, who had been born in Mexico, a number equal to about 6.6 percent of all residents of Mexico in the same year. Some indications suggest that about 35 percent of those U.S. residents, or about 2,150,000 people, may be undocumented.[12]

There are Mexicans residing in the vast majority of U.S. states and counties, although they tend to be concentrated in particular counties in California, Texas, Illinois and Arizona, which account for about 90 percent of all Mexicans living north of the border.

[10] This figure, which is higher than those for the decade of 1980 to 1990, gives us a yearly negative international migratory rate of 0.31 percent. See R. Corona and R. Tuirán, op. cit.

[11] F. Bean and J. Van Hook, *Estimates of the Size and Growth of the Illegal Migrant Population of Mexican Origin in the United States*, a Mexico-U.S. binational study about migration, Texas, 1996.

[12] Ibid.

Demographic Tendencies and International Migration

Changes expected in the size and composition of the Mexican population, particularly the inertia implicit in the division of the population in different age groups, may have an important effect on the future make-up of migrant labor. Demographically, it is of interest to ask the speed with which Mexico's working age population will grow in the future. When will the drop in Mexico's birth rate that began in the late 1960s have a noticeable downward effect on the growth in potential supply of migrants?

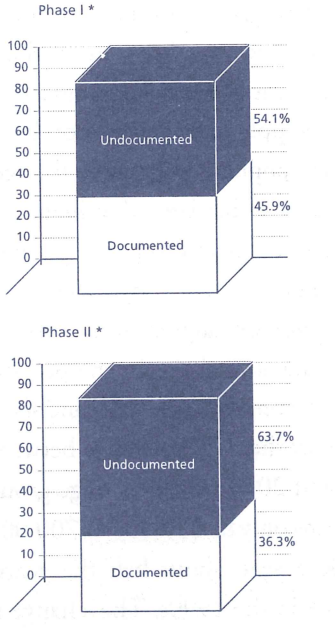
Using official national and state population projections, we have explored the implication of two possible scenarios for the 1996-2010 period. One scenario presupposes that current international migration patterns will continue as a constant; the other presupposes that migration stops altogether as of 1996. Our study concentrates on projecting the group of men and women between the ages of 15 and 44, since 70 percent of migrants are part of this group.

Using the first scenario, given the premises for birth and death rates, internal migration and a constant rate of international migration set at current levels, the total population of Mexico in the 15- to 44-year-old age group:

a) would increase from 44,500,000 in 1996 to 56,100,000 in the year 2010;

b) would have an annual growth rate of 2.3 percent and 0.78 percent respectively; and

Documented or Undocumented Mexican Immigrant Workers in the United States



*Phase I: Mar. 28-Dec. 13, 1993.
**Phase II: Dec. 14,1994-Dec. 13, 1995.

Source: Survey on Border Migration (EMIF).

c) would increase by 1,100,000 and 435,000 in the same years.

In contrast, the projection that eliminates the effects of international migration gives us the following figures:

a) a population of 45,600,000 in 1996 and 59,600,000 in the year 2010;

b) growth rates of 2.74 and 1.17 percent respectively; and

c) annual increases of 1,300,000 and 659,000 in the same years.

If we compare the size of the population in both projections, the cumulative difference is 3,500,000 by the year 2010, the net cumulative number of inhabitants who would not migrate between 1996 and 2010. This represents about 25 percent of

the expected increase of the national population in that age group if there were no migration in that period.[13]

These results throw into sharp relief the importance of demographics for the supply of migrant labor. Until now, the population between the ages of 15 and 44 has been dominated by the inertia of Mexico's past high population growth rate.[14] By 1991, rapid demographic change in Mexico slowed down the annual rise in the population between the ages of 15 and 44, a tendency that will accelerate between now and 2010, when that age group will grow only by 650,000 or 700,000 people a year, about half the yearly increase in the 1990s. This change is very marked and will undoubtedly contribute to lessening the pressures to emigrate from Mexico due to a drop in the supply of Mexican labor.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MIGRATORY POLICY

The evolution of the processes which cause international migration, including economic and demographic tendencies, allow us to foresee that migration to the United States will continue to be significant, at least for the rest of this millennium and the first years of the next. The transition toward a new development model, recently initiated in the Mexican economy, has implied regional readjustments in economic growth patterns and in domestic labor markets, as well as in living conditions both in the cities and the countryside.

Migrants now come from a much larger portion of the country than simply from places with migratory traditions.

The gradual emergence of these tendencies has led some authors to say that Mexico is on the threshold of a new geography of production which, if consolidated, will bring with it a new geography of migration.[15] On the one hand, regions and cities whose economies are growing based on exports or activities that are competitive on the domestic market are also rapidly able to supply more and more jobs, a magnet for immigrants. In contrast, in regions and cities more affected by the economic crisis and the trade opening, job opportunities tend to drop, unemployment and underemployment increase and living conditions deteriorate, encouraging emigration. The regional aspect of this new model of development is and will continue to be crucial for the emergence of this new geography, as will the reinforcement of the role played by many different urban centers of various sizes as alternative destinations for internal and international migration, which currently originate more and more from urban and even metropolitan areas.[16]

In this framework, it is indispensable to promote a better understanding of migration between Mexico and the United States in order to envisage options for action and solutions useful to both countries. Dialogue must take into account the rapid and profound demographic change that Mexico is undergoing and its medium- and long-term implications for the factors that influence migration to the United States. VM

[13] The results for each of the four regions the country was divided into are available in the longer work from which this article is an extract.

[14] Given the rapid growth rate of Mexico's working-age population (over 3.0 percent), it should not come as a surprise that emigration to the United States accelerated over the last two decades. If we also take into account the marked and persistent economic disparities between the two countries and the secular tradition of migration to the U.S., it is actually surprising that Mexicans did not migrate to the United States in even greater numbers than they did.

[15] A. Aguilar and B. Graizbord, *La reestructuración regional en México 1980-1993*, Mexico City, 1993, mimeographed.

[16] As Roberts and Escobar point out in "Mexican Social and Economic Policy and Emigration," presented at the conference on Mexican Migration and U.S. Policy, in Washington, D.C., held from June 13 to 15, 1996, "While Mexican cities were successful during Import Substitution Industrialization at attracting and retaining migrants from the rural areas, they fail to do so after 1975-1980. This change is responsible for the growth of international migration, but also for the growing convergence in the factors driving internal and international migration and in the characteristics of internal and international migrants. This means that, rather than focusing on the rural crisis in Mexico, migration-relevant social and economic policies should pay much more attention to the viability of Mexican cities in terms of their employment structures, the living and working conditions that they offer and the prospects for migrants' families."

Clinton's Visit to Mexico

There have been 54 U.S. presidential visits to Mexico. President William H. Taft made the first in 1909 to El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez to meet with Porfirio Díaz. A particularly important visit was Franklin D. Roosevelt's meeting with Manuel Avila Camacho in 1943, in the middle of World War II, when both presidents and their retinues traveled together in Mexican and U.S. railroad cars from Monterrey, Nuevo León, to the border. Catholic President John F. Kennedy and his charming wife Jackie made an

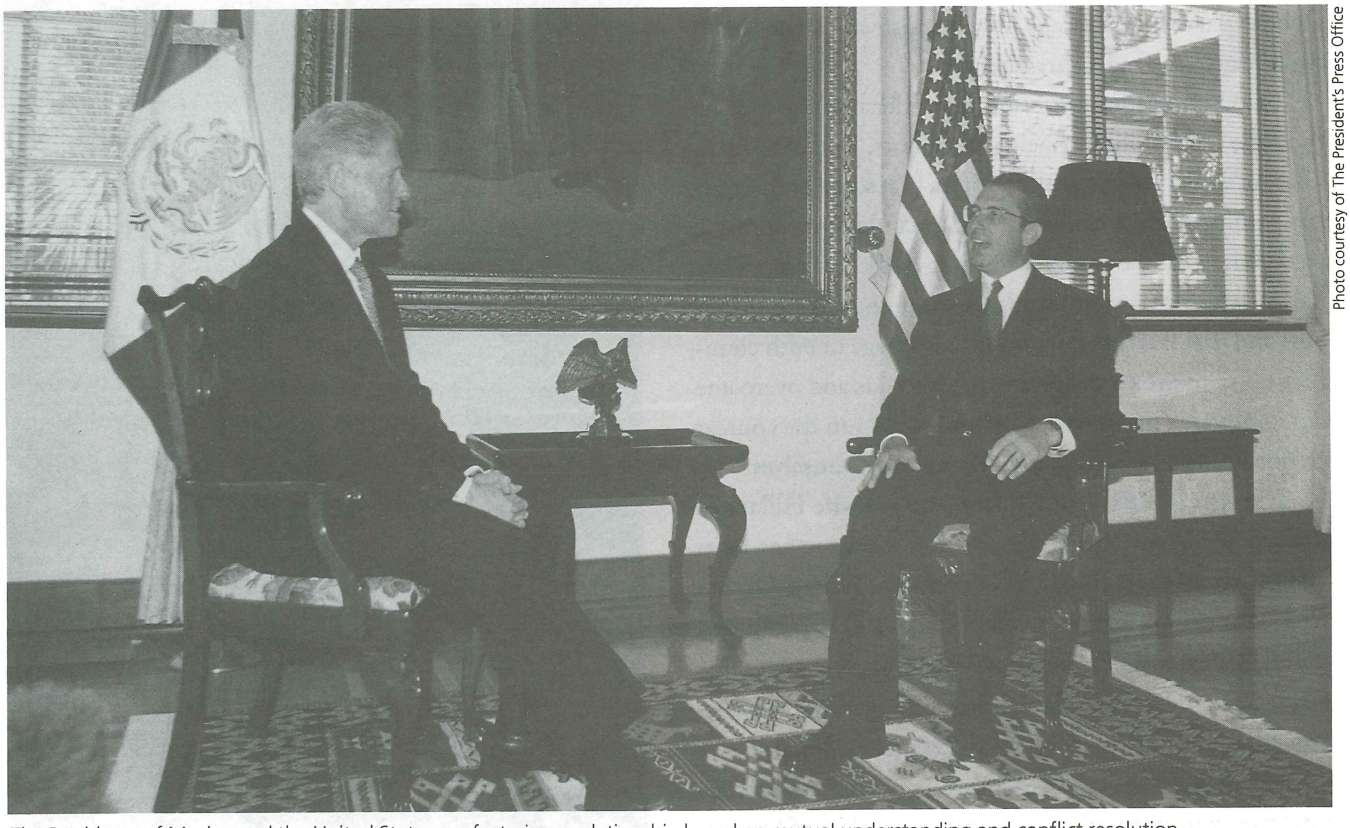


Photo courtesy of The President's Press Office

The Presidents of Mexico and the United States are fostering a relationship based on mutual understanding and conflict resolution.

Both President Clinton and President Zedillo realize that some of their citizens would change neighbors if they could, but they have paid no heed to the empty clamoring of those voices.

unforgettable visit in which Jackie's speech in Spanish won the hearts of the Mexican people, who would later mourn President Kennedy's death. Former President Salinas met 12 times with U.S. presidents around the globe as part of the strategy to win approval for the North American Free Trade Agreement.

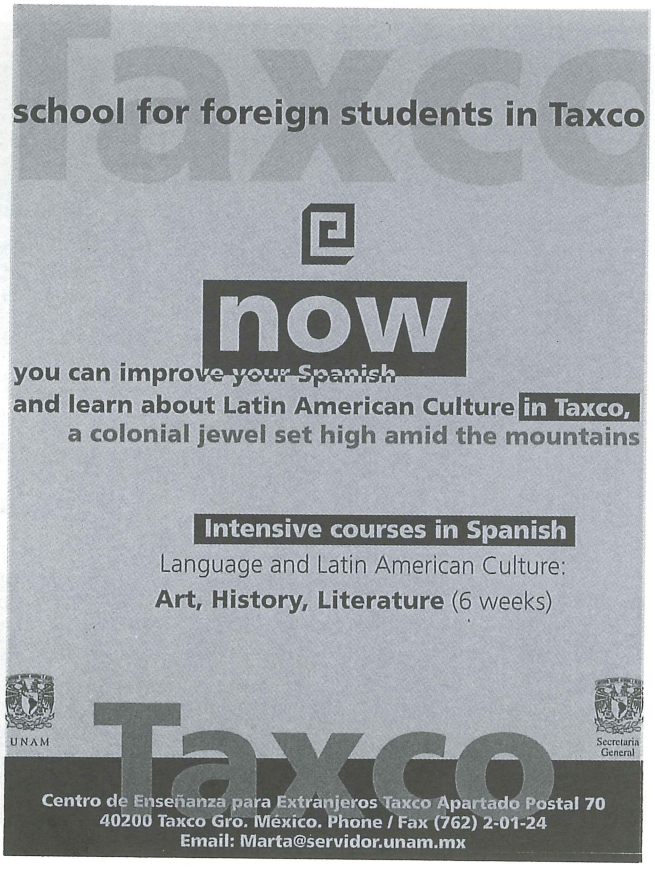
The Clinton administration has understood for the first time the inevitability of being neighbors. Both President Clinton and President Zedillo realize that some of their citizens would change neighbors if they could, but they have paid no heed to the empty clamoring of those voices. They have established a relationship based on our being neighbors and that it is therefore to the advantage of both countries to try to promote our mutual interests and overcome our conflicts. This is particularly important in the context of globalization, which shapes the regions themselves.

The visit of President Clinton and his wife Hillary to Mexico was particularly significant because it has been more than 20 years since a U.S. president visited Mexico City. In addition, almost the entire U.S. cabinet attended the XIV Mexico-U.S. Binational Meeting, to go over different aspects of the agenda together seeking solutions when possible and to understand the differences when not.

Sitting down together, one-to-one, is a mutual recognition of your partner's sovereignty, regardless of his special role or strength in the global economy. It means approaching the new century with a global outlook.

During the visit, 11 accords were signed and 2 joint statements made about the most sensitive questions on the bilateral agenda, migration and drug trafficking, two problems with no quick solution. In the past, encounters of this sort produced only dissonant monologues from each of our countries. Now, for the first time, however, the level of mutual recriminations has been overcome and a dialogue begun based on agreements that take into account the interests and rights of both nations. For the first time, both countries have the express intention of working together to avoid a sharpening of conflicts in these two very sensitive areas. The declarations are the beginning of the creation of a much-needed framework that can foster new forms of cooperation to deal with these not easily soluble problems. VM

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla
Editorial Director



DECLARATION OF THE MEXICAN/U.S. ALLIANCE

AGAINST DRUGS

Drug abuse and drug trafficking are a danger to our societies, an affront to our sovereignty and a threat to our national security. We declare our nations united in an alliance to combat this menace. With trust in one another and in our commitment as Chiefs of State, our collaboration will go forward based on the following fundamental principles: a) absolute respect for the sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction of Mexico and the United States; b) shared responsibility for confronting the problem of illegal drugs and related crimes, such as illegal arms trafficking and money laundering; c) adoption of an integrated approach against illegal drugs, which will confront the problem from the demand and supply sides simultaneously; d) balance and reciprocity in the actions, programs and rules developed to confront the drug threat in both countries; and e) effective application of the laws in both countries.

Our governments have issued a joint threat assessment detailing the nature of illegal drug use in both our societies, and the extent of drug trafficking and related crimes as they threaten both our peoples. Mexico and the United States are fully agreed on the magnitude of the problem in both countries, and are determined to combat it with all resources at our disposal.

Accordingly, we have instructed our responsible Cabinet Officers, acting through the U.S./Mexico High Level Contact Group for Drug Control, to work out a common counterdrug strategy, and to develop mutually reinforcing implementation plans for this common strategy, consistent with each other's National Drug Control Programs.

Acting together in accordance with this political commitment, and working to enhance trust, mutual support and confidence, Mexico and the United States will:

- Reduce the demand for illicit drugs through the intensification of anti-drug information and educational efforts, particularly those directed at young people, and through rehabilitative programs.
- Reduce the production and distribution of illegal drugs in both countries, particularly marihuana, methanphetamine, cocaine and heroin.
- Focus law enforcement efforts against criminal organizations and those who facilitate their operations in both countries.
- Strengthen U.S./Mexican law enforcement cooperation and policy coordination, and assure the safety of law enforcement officers.

- Ensure that fugitives are expeditiously, and with due legal process, brought to justice and are unable to evade justice in one of our countries by fleeing to or remaining in the other. To this end, we agree to negotiate a protocol to the extradition treaty that, consistent with the legal system in each country, will allow, under appropriate circumstances and conditions, individuals to be tried in both countries prior to the completion of their sentence in either country.
- Identify the sources of, and deter the illegal traffic in firearms.
- Work together to conclude a hemisphere agreement outlawing illegal traffic in firearms.
- Work together for the success of the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Illicit Drugs in June 1998.
- Increase the abilities of our democratic institutions to attack and root out the corrupting influence of the illegal drug trade in both countries.
- Enhance cooperation along both sides of our common border to increase security.
- Control essential and precursor chemicals to prevent chemical diversion and illicit use, and improve information exchange on this subject.
- Implement more effectively the laws and regulations to detect and penalize money laundering in both countries, and enhance bilateral and multilateral exchanges of information and expertise to combat money laundering.
- Seize and forfeit the proceeds and instrumentalities of drug trafficking, and direct these to the use of drug prevention and law enforcement, in accordance with legal procedures in force in and between our countries.
- Improve our capacity to interrupt drug shipments by air, land, and sea.
- Implement training and technical cooperation programs to ensure that anti-drug personnel acquire needed capabilities and perform with the highest level of professionalism and integrity.
- Enhance and facilitate exchange of information and evidence to prosecute and convict criminals and deter drug trafficking, and ensure the security and appropriate use of the information and evidence provided.

Our Alliance's counterdrug strategy, along with respective plans of operations for its implementation shall be completed by the end of the year. Prior to that we will meet again with our respective responsible Cabinet Officers to resolve any outstanding issues and review the progress in our cooperation.

In pursuance of this Alliance Against Drugs, we hereby pledge the fullest support of ourselves and of our governments to construct drug-free societies for the twenty-first century. VM

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León *William Jefferson Clinton*

Photo: The President's Press Office

Joint Statement on Migration

ADOPTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The issue of migration of Mexican nationals to the United States is a priority on our bilateral agenda. We, the Presidents of Mexico and the United States, hereby politically commit our respective governments to strive to ensure a proper and respectful management of this complex phenomenon taking into consideration its diverse causes and economic and social consequences in both countries.

During the last two years, our governments have engaged in consultations and exchange of information through many mechanisms and have produced significant progress in the bilateral treatment of issues such as the human rights and consular protection of migrants and efforts to combat migrant trafficking. This constructive dialogue should serve as a first step leading to specific proposals to manage migration between our nations in a mutually beneficial manner.

In pursuing these proposals, our governments reaffirm a commitment to enhance bilateral cooperation in the management of migration. We will be guided by the following principles:

- The sovereign right of every State to formulate and enforce its immigration laws in a manner that addresses its national interests, always in accordance with the rules of international law and in pursuit of a spirit of bilateral cooperation;
- Full compliance with the objectives of the Memorandum of Understanding on Consular Protection of Mexican and United States Nationals, signed on May 7, 1996, especially the respect for human rights of all migrants.
- Dedication to a comprehensive vision of managing migration and our shared border that turns differences between our nations into sources of strength, and that leads to mutually beneficial economic and social development that preserves family reunification and protects human dignity.

On the basis of these principles, we, the Presidents of Mexico and the United States, commit our governments to intensify dialogue and to accelerate efforts to achieve the following goals:

- Explore ways to strengthen mechanisms and fora for consultation and cooperation on migration and consular protection that the two governments have established at the national and local level.
- Protect the rights of migrants, pursue vigorously the administration of justice in situations in which migrants and border communities register complaints concerning unlawful actions and respect due process and constitutional guarantees in the implementation of immigration laws.

- Ensure implementation of safe and orderly procedures for the repatriation of migrants.
- Design and implement new ways to reduce violence along the border and to protect innocent victims of traffickers from the dangers of crossing in mountainous and desert terrain, including a vigorous educational and public information campaign to advise families on both sides of the border of the hazards of the crossing in those areas.
- Combat trafficking in migrants and forging of documents and, to that end, develop effective mechanisms of exchange of information and cooperation, with full respect for the sovereignty of each country.
- Achieve a comprehensive approach on the migration phenomenon between the two countries through scientific and cooperative studies that contribute to a bilateral understanding of this issue.

We, the Presidents of Mexico and the United States, affirm our governments' political will to strive to fulfill a vision of our shared border in the twenty-first century as a place that supports and depends on building communities of cooperation rather than of conflict. In pursuance of this vision, our governments will work together to expand upon the foundations of progress made through joint planning and cooperation during the last two years in certain border areas. Both administrations will intensify efforts to achieve the following goals:

- Encourage binational strategic planning activities that seek to design new integrated approaches to mutually beneficial economic, social, environmental and cultural development in border communities.
- Support and expand public and private partnerships in developing cross-border interests and activities and in pursuing shared interests on either side of the border.
- Intensify the dialogue on financing mechanisms that promote and implement cross-border development projects.
- Test new ways to design infrastructure and community development projects that provide a dignified approach to public safety in border communities.
- Explore new approaches to managing temporary travel between border communities, consistent with the laws of each nation, recognizing the economic, social and family benefits of vigorous cross-border exchange.
- Promote effective management of ports of entry to foster orderly movement of traffic of goods and people and to reduce the waiting times for daily commuters and other commercial vehicles.

We, the Presidents of Mexico and the United States, call on the relevant agencies of both administrations to report to us in one year, through the Binational Commission, on the progress made towards the better management of the migration phenomenon and the transformation of our border into a model area of bilateral cooperation. VM

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León William Jefferson Clinton

Photo: The President's Press Office

U.S.-Mexican Relations in the Year 2000[1]

Luis Herrera Lasso*

Historical Background

The last direct U.S. interventions in Mexico's internal affairs occured during the Mexican Revolution: Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson's participation in the murder of President Madero in 1913, military intervention in Veracruz in 1914 and the punitive expedition in northern Mexico in 1916 in search of Pancho Villa. After that a more civilized and harmonious relationship between the two countries began, and later U.S. administrations have been more respectful of Mexican sovereignty.

Mexico has never been a threat to the United States. Since the founding of the Mexican Republic, and especially in the twentieth century, Mexico has maintained a clear position on international conflict: it has put negotiations before the use of force. The military has never been an instrument of Mexican foreign policy.

Mexico and the United States have been on the same side in most international conflicts that to a greater or lesser extent have affected the northern part of this hemisphere: World Wars I and II; and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, when the Mexican government firmly resisted the very idea of nuclear weapons in Cuba. Mexico has never had an active international military policy, but we have always practiced very active, high profile diplomacy, favoring peace and stability in the international and regional arenas.

Strategic interest has been historically the most important concern for the United States in its relationship with Mexico. In this respect, for over eight decades there have been no situations in Mexico that could be considered threats to U.S. security or strategic interests.

With different perspectives, histories, traditions and cultural values, our economies have always paralleled each other. Being neighbors has been both a challenge and an opportunity for Mexico. With an economy 20 times smaller than the U.S. economy and a 3,000 kilometer border, economic interaction is intense and of utmost importance to Mexico. In the past 60 years, 70 percent of our trade has been with the United States. Direct foreign investment has come in the same proportion from the United States. In times of Mexican financial or balance of payments crisis, the U.S. government has always played an active role, even before NAFTA. The relationship has been productive, constructive and functional for both parties.

Nevertheless, the institutional framework for solving differences and advancing in areas of cooperation has traditionally been weak. Cases like the 1985 assassination of DEA agent Enrique Camarena in Mexico showed the weakness of institutional development: one unfortunate event jeopar-

* General Consul of Mexico in San Diego.

[1] Presentation made at the United States International University, San Diego, California, February 13, 1997.

Photos reprinted courtesy of the President's Press Office

Presidents Clinton and Zedillo with their wives.

dized the whole bilateral relationship. With this perspective in mind, in the late 1980s, steps to strengthen the institutional bilateral relationship were taken, initiating a process which has advanced significantly in recent years.

FIVE PRIORITIES

Considering our history, common aims and a foreseeable future of increasing globalization that make us strengthen our plans for bilateral cooperation, authorities from both countries have been working toward a new age of understanding. That does not mean that all problems are going to be solved or simply vanish. In an intense and complex relationship like the one between Mexico and the United States that is impossible. What it means is always having the right channels of communication and understanding to deal in the best manner with the great variety of issues on the binational agenda: the positive aspects of cooperation and the natural difficulties of wide ranging and increasing interaction.

On this agenda we have, from the Mexican perspective, five priorities: strengthening political dialogue and institutional development; consolidating the economic institutional framework to benefit both countries; reinforcing our mechanisms for cooperation against organized crime, especially drug trafficking; redefining U.S. immigration policy concerning Mexican nationals; and improving cooperation on the broad agenda of border issues.

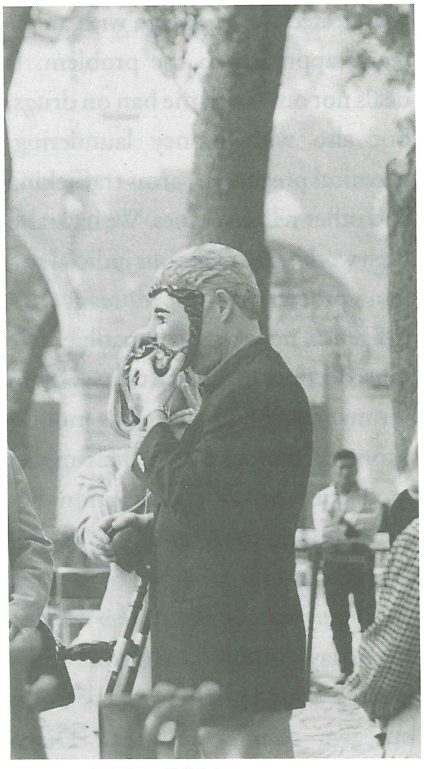
Strengthening Political Dialogue. Improving political dialogue is essential to reaching a new understanding. Last year, in May 1996, the 13th Meeting of the Binational Commission took place in Mexico City. Eight U.S. cabinet members attended. High ranking officials of both countries jointly discussed the different topics on the agenda in 16 groups that work year around to report and make major decisions in the annual meetings: finances, trade, migration, education, law enforcement, judicial cooperation, border issues, agriculture, fishing, science and technology and culture, among others. The first meeting that recently appointed Secretary of State Madelaine Albright had was with her Mexican counterpart from Mexico, José Angel Gurría, the first week of February in Houston, Texas. In May, President Clinton visited Mexico. At the same time, the commissions and committees of the 16 high level binational groups work together regularly. The topics on the agenda are not likely to change; what has changed is the treatment and the attention both governments give to the different aspects of the relationship.

Economic Interaction. Economic interaction has been one of the most successful areas. The economic relationship was not a result of NAFTA: NAFTA simply made it clearer, easier and more efficient for the three countries. In 1990, bilateral trade between Mexico and the United States came to U.S.$50 billion. In 1993, it reached U.S.$82 billion. After three

years of NAFTA, trade between the two countries increased almost 60 percent, reaching U.S.$140 billion in 1996. Despite Mexico's economic setbacks in 1994, exports from California to Mexico have been steadily increasing, totaling more than U.S.$7 billion. Since 1994, 200,000 new jobs have been created in the U.S. manufacturing export sector, many of them related to exports to Mexico.

The good news comes not only from trade. As a result of the intense modernization process of the Mexican economy begun in 1995, many sectors traditionally reserved for Mexican governmental agencies or Mexican investors have been opened to foreign investors: railroads, ports, petrochemicals, airports, telephones, telecommunications and gas and electric utilities are all now open to foreign investors. We expect foreign investment of more than U.S.$11 billion in 1997, mostly in production. This better atmosphere has also made it possible to increase bilateral trade by reviewing existing bans, such as ending the prohibition of avocado imports from Mexico or the tuna embargo, which we hope will finally be lifted in the first half of 1997. Other aspects of NAFTA are currently under discussion.

Joint Cooperation Against Organized Crime. One of the topics on the bilateral agenda that has caused great difficulties and distrust has been drug trafficking. The first heroin produced in Mexico was to supply the U.S. government for its medical needs on the European front during the World War II. In the 1960s a good percentage of the marihuana consumed in the United States came from Mexico. Nowadays, only 10 percent of the total U.S. marihuana consumption comes from Mexico. The most important problem started in the 1970s with the increase in U.S. cocaine consumption. Mexico does not produce cocaine; our country is only a stopover on the drug trail into the United States. In Mexico, consumption of hard drugs is not a major problem. Besides, most of the profits from the cocaine traffic do not go to Mexico: they go back to the producers or to U.S. dealers. The big business begins when the drugs arrive in the United States, and its value increases geometrically.



President Clinton trying on a mask during his visit to Tlaxcala.

We do care very much about drug trafficking. It brings corruption with it, corruption of our people and our institutions. It brings crime and violence. Arms trafficking is closely related to the drug market, facilitating the possibility of expanding our domestic market for drug consumption. It brings tensions and conflict to our partnership with the United States. Drug trafficking is considered a matter of national security in Mexico and has the highest priority.

Some of the worst moments in the bilateral relationship have been related to this problem. This has led the Mexican government to seek a better framework for communication and cooperation with the United States. With full respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, we have made enormous achievements in institutional development for cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking. A high-level binational group for this purpose

was created two years ago with an integral approach to the problem. It deals not only with the ban on drugs, but also with money laundering, chemical precursors, arms trafficking and other related crimes. We have also been working to make our judicial systems, prosecuting procedures and intelligence networks compatible. We must decrease organized crime's room for maneuver and cut off its mobility on our common border. This implies more and better coordination between our agencies, as well as greater trust and commitment on both sides.

Immigration and the Labor Market. Nowadays, immigration is one of the greatest sources of tension between our two countries. In San Diego alone, in January 1997, 18 Mexicans died in their attempts to enter the United States without documents to work or join their families. In 1996 there were 38 cases of this kind: a total of 56 cases in 13 months.

When people are dying as a result of a policy, something must be wrong with that policy. These people are good people, peaceful, and excellent workers. They come to the United States because they have ambitions; they want prosperity; they want to make better lives for their wives and children. Why do they come to this country? First, because of higher wages. Second and most important, because there is a need for them to fill jobs here.

Nobody knows the real figures on migrants. We all work with estimates. A recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* says that in 1995 the contribution of all immigrants to the U.S. economy was U.S.$150 billion and the social cost U.S.$143 billion. The INS reports 275,000 newcomers every year; 54 percent stay illegally after entering legally; and the other 46 percent enter without documents. In this region in 1996, the Border Patrol effected 450,000 detentions. If we consider that they caught each person an average of 10 times, we are talking about 45,000 people who failed to enter the United States while perhaps an equal number succeeded.

The problem is that despite all the increases in manpower, equipment and high technology used by the INS and the Border Patrol in the area, people are still trying to come even at the risk of their lives. The Mexican government is warning its citizens about these dangers. Efforts against smuggling people across the border have made unprecedented progress in Mexico. All these actions have not been enough. The continuous flow of undocumented immigration despite all the action taken seems to be a good indication that we are not taking the right approach to the problem. We are dealing with an economic phenomenon with very profound social impact. We are economic partners. We have NAFTA. This is, above all, a labor market question that involves Mexican workers and U.S. employers, Mexican and U.S. authorities. This is the great challenge that we will have to face in the near future.

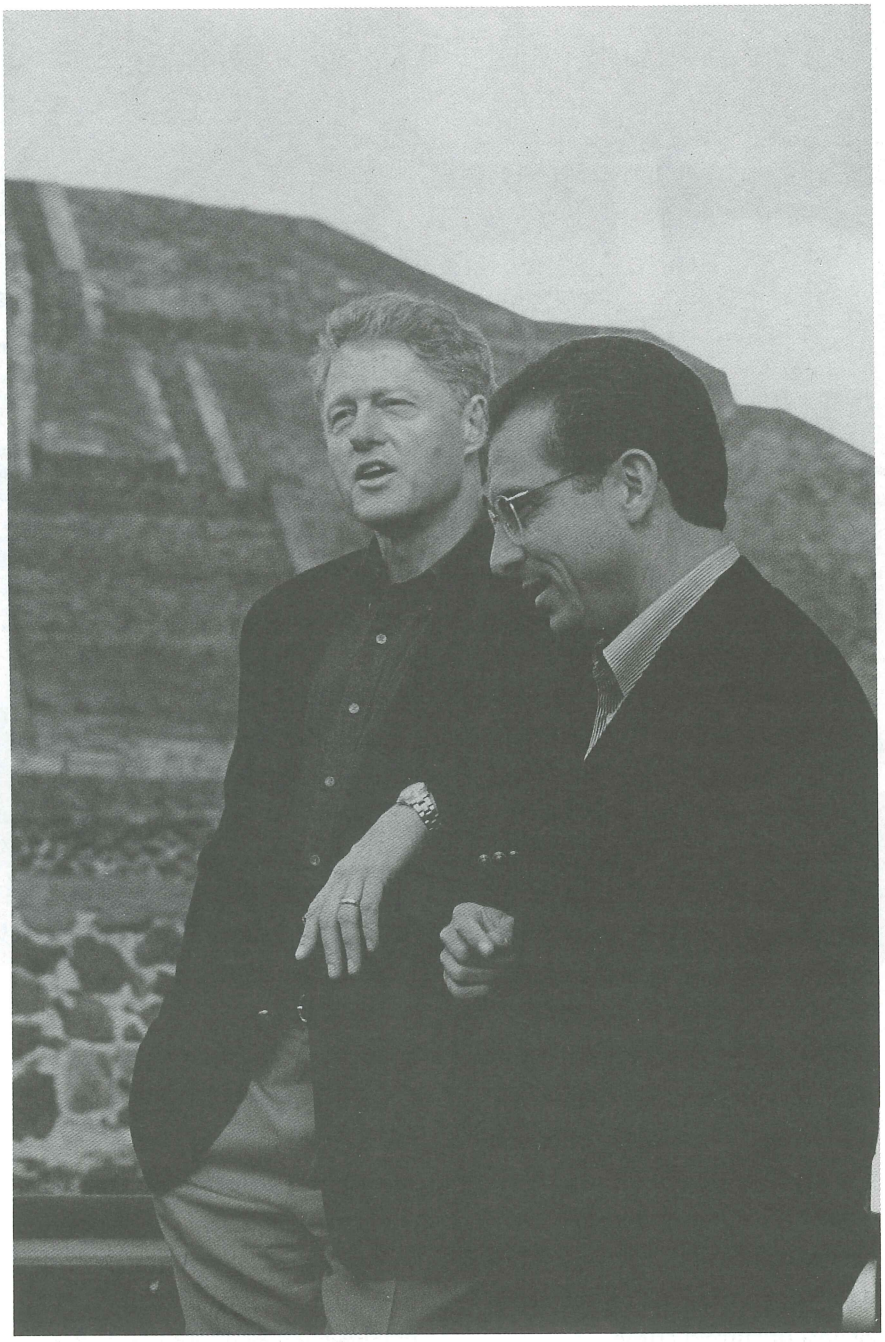
Border Issues. The Tijuana-San Diego region is the world's busiest port of transit between two cities of different countries. Just at the port of entry of San Ysidro, more than 80,000 vehicles and 200,000 people cross in both directions every day. More than 2,500 trucks come through Otay port of entry daily. Exports from San Diego to Mexico amount to more than U.S.$3 billion yearly. People from Baja California spend an estimated of U.S.$2 billion every year in San Diego.

There are more than 530 maquiladora plants in this region. Seventy percent of all televisions sold in the United States come from this area. Tijuana has Mexico's lowest unemployment rate and is one of its most dynamic cities.

In the 1960s a good percentage of the marihuana consumed in the United States came from Mexico. Nowadays, only 10 percent of total U.S. marihuana consumption comes from Mexico.

In this area we live every day in a microcosm of the bilateral relationship between the two countries. Parallel to the increasing regional economic and social interaction, we have here one of the most critical points for drug trafficking, which is logical if we consider the intense movement across this border. Also, 40 percent of the undocumented workers from Mexico attempt to cross at this point, which is also understandable considering that the main labor market for them is California. This makes the San Diego-Tijuana region a typical case of a cooperation-conflict relationship, where the interests of the local, state and federal actors demand a high level of efficient institutional coordination between authorities from both countries.

Here, it is difficult to see the border as a political dividing line between the two countries. Economic, social and cultural exchange, natural resources, environment, transportation and infrastructure of different kinds are some of the areas of interaction that transcend the border. There is a clear contrast between this and the physical control of the border.



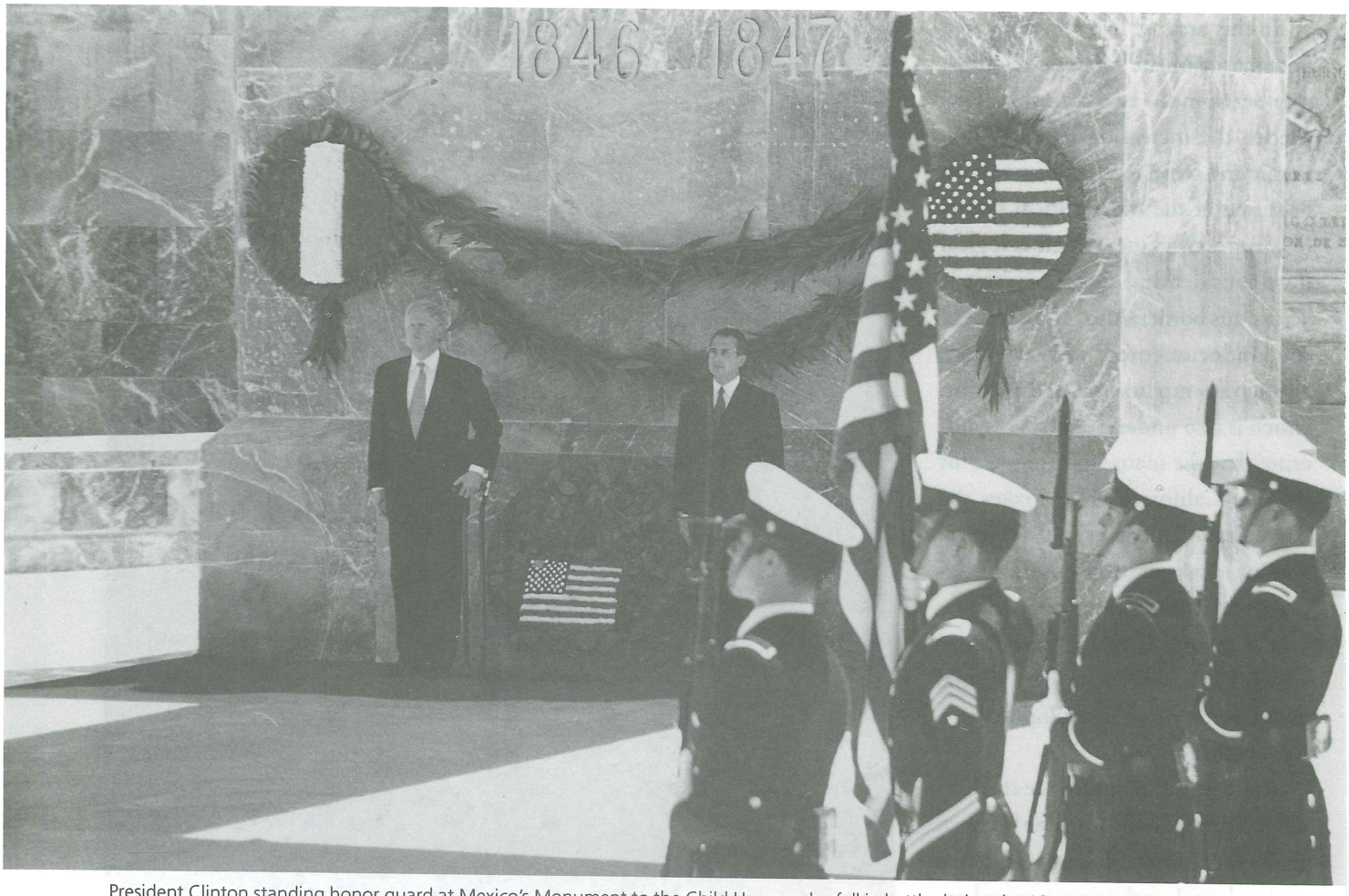
William Clinton and Ernesto Zedillo in Teotihuacan.

Main Challenges for The Year 2000

We are very close to the end of the millennium. What do we expect for the bilateral relationship between Mexico and the United States?

Economic interaction between the two countries is likely to grow more rapidly. That is good news for both countries. Cooperation on border issues also offers a wide range of options and opportunities for both. It is a natural ground of common interest with challenges that have to be faced through constructive and extended cooperation.

Political dialogue is of utmost importance for the bilateral relationship as a whole. Relations between the executive branches of the two governments have improved significantly in recent times. Still, much work has yet to be done by members



President Clinton standing honor guard at Mexico's Monument to the Child Heroes who fell in battle during the 1847 U.S.-Mexican War.

of Congress and other politically influential actors on both sides to improve mutual knowledge and understanding.

For all long-term purposes, we have to handle two items on the agenda better: immigration and joint efforts against organized crime.

Cooperation in these two areas must improve. There is no use blaming others for our own problems. The biggest market for drugs in the world is in the United States. We have a common enemy. Distrust and mutual blame between partners only benefits our common enemies. Diplomatic pressure will not help us do better. Both parties have to do their best and pool the results against organized crime.

With regard to immigration, chances are better. There is no common enemy in this realm: this is something that can be discussed with everyone involved. It is an economic challenge, not a criminal one. It has to be approached bilaterally. It is a social and economic issue involving the labor market and should not be handled as a police or criminal matter. We are economic partners and the labor market is an economic question. I am convinced that we can find better responses to this common concern. We have NAFTA to help us discuss it constructively. We have to face the challenge together and find long-term solutions. It is a difficult task, but there does not seem to be a better way to do it.

Better understanding and a constructive relationship will depend very much on the ability on both sides and of most actors to find and strengthen avenues of cooperation, to consolidate institutional cooperation and to seek with creativity and imagination the mutual benefit for our communities, taking into consideration the enrichment derived from the cultural and historical diversity of our societies. VM

A Paradox of the 1990s

THE NEW U.S. IMMIGRATION LAW

Manuel García y Griego *
Mónica Verea Campos **

After several months of negative responses from different quarters in Mexico about the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA), effective in April 1997, and attempts to decertify Mexico for its supposed lack of cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking, President Clinton made an official visit to Mexico City May 6 and 7.

During the visit —which presented the Mexican government with certain challenges given the difficult political situation— the migration of Mexican nationals to the United States was widely discussed. In the "Joint Statement on Migration," both presidents commit their governments to increased efforts and dialogue to strengthen mechanisms and fora for consultation and cooperation on migration and consular protection to ensure respect for migrants' rights while enforcing the new law. They mainly emphasized repatriation procedures, trafficking in migrants and developing a joint comprehensive approach to migration through specific and cooperative studies that will contribute to a bilateral understanding of the issue. They also proposed exploring new approaches to the design of development projects for a better managed border.[1]

Undoubtedly the attitude of both the U.S. public and government became more hard-nosed because of the 1990-1994 economic recession and the Republican Party majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate. The anti-immigrant climate was clear in a new verbal offensive against immigrants in general and Mexican undocumented immigrants in particular. The media in both Mexico and the U.S. reproduced statements of U.S. political players, from inside and outside government, who continued to justify and sometimes even reinforce a general sentiment against the growing wave of undocumented workers.

In the 1990s, immigrants have been dubbed "a problem," justified with arguments frequently used in the past. Unions criticize them for taking jobs away from U.S. workers; xenophobes, for not learning English and bringing with them foreign customs considered unacceptable to U.S. society. However, the anti-immigration arguments specific to the 1990s came mainly out of the fiscal crisis that many local and state governments faced, like the one in California. This is why emphasis was put on the cost of educating undocumented children in public schools and providing free health services to the poor, especially undocumented immigrants.[2]

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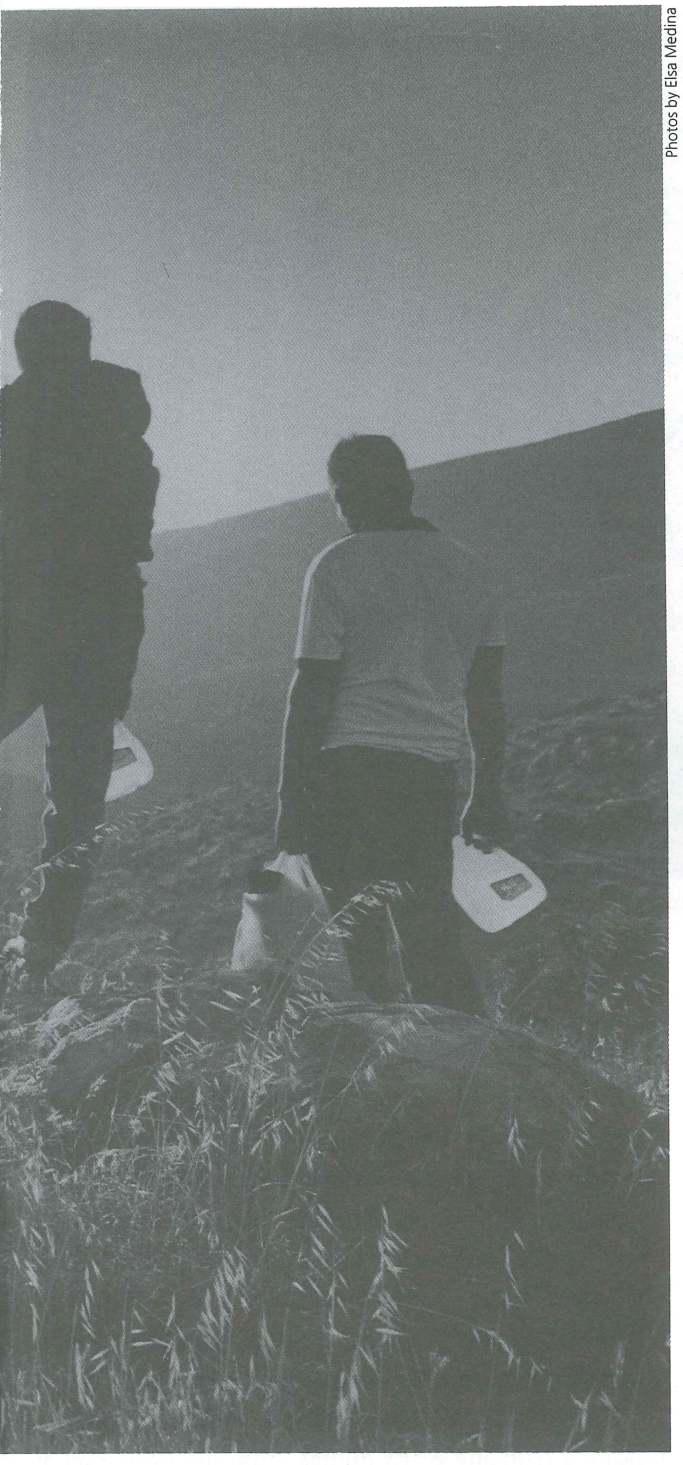
** Director of the UNAM Center for Research on North America (CISAN).

[1] William Jefferson Clinton and Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, "Joint Statement on Migration Adopted by the President of the United States and the President of Mexico," May 6, 1997, mimeograph.

[2] For more information, see Manuel García y Griego and Mónica Verea, "La crisis económica y fiscal de California y la nueva ofensiva verbal en contra de los indocumentados," in Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner (comp.), *California: Problemas económicos, políticos y sociales*, CISAN-UNAM, Mexico City, 1995, pp.25-151.

The dream of a better life in the promised land is becoming more and more remote given the trends that gave rise to proposition 187 and new immigration legislation.

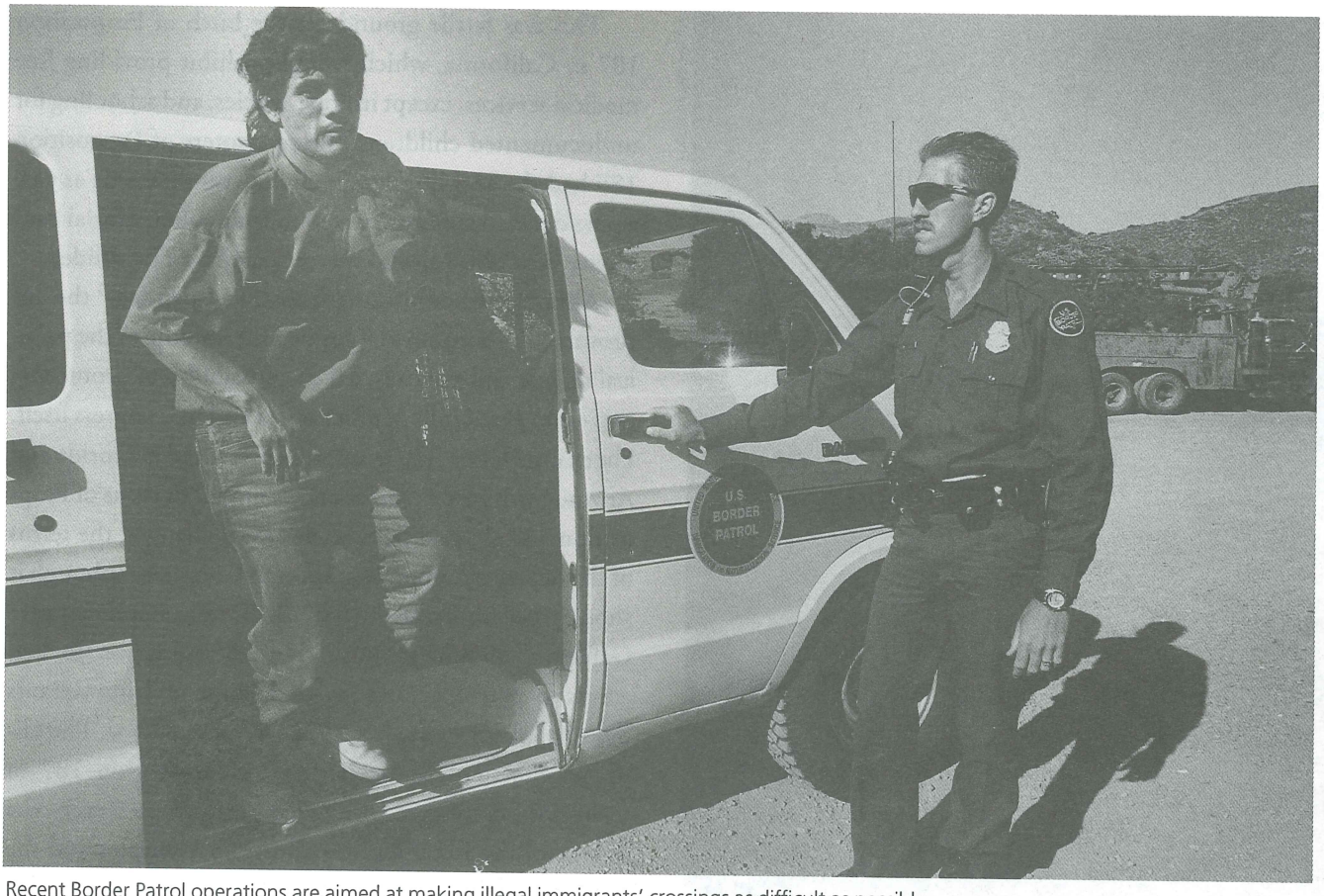


Photos by Elsa Medina

This was fertile ground for the birth of Proposition 187 in California, which would prohibit providing free medical services, except in emergencies, and schooling for undocumented children. The promoters of Proposition 187 had the anti-immigrant climate on their side as well as the decided support of Republican gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson, who was reelected by a landslide.

Although its enforcement is still suspended,[3] the approval of Proposition 187, upped the volume of the political debate and radically fed the possibility of promoting anti-immigrant bills in other states and in Congress itself. For example, two initiatives were presented in Florida and Arizona with names and contents similar to those of Proposition 187. In addition, its approval changed the terms of the debate about immigration in Congress, although it should be underlined that California Representative Gallegly's attempt to push through legislation to ban access to public schools for undocumented immigrants did not attract enough support to become law. The climate generated by the passage of Proposition 187 in California, combined with two other political factors, the advent of the Republican majority in Congress and the 1996 presidential campaign, had two important results: legally denying immigrants federal services and creating fertile ground for promoting more radical forms of immigration control. Even though Senator Phil Gramm and Representative Lamar Smith, current president of the House Sub-committee on Immigration and Refugees, lost their bids for the Republican Party 1996 presidential nomination, they were successful in getting anti-immigration legislation passed in 1996, which President Clinton (then also the Democratic candidate for reelection) felt forced to sign. A good number of their proposals became law in three bills passed and signed between August and September 1996: the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWORA), the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal

[3] In late 1994, federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer indefinitely froze those sections of Proposition 187 which impede undocumented workers' access to education and health services, and called upon users of these services to take into account that the law is not in force. "Darán a conocer públicamente en California que la 187 no procede, un juez federal dio la orden," (Mexico City) *El Financiero*, 14 January 1995, p. 20.



Recent Border Patrol operations are aimed at making illegal immigrants' crossings as difficult as possible.

Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). We should emphasize that both Gram and Smith had already proposed one of the IIRIRA's most important measures (doubling the number of Border Patrol agents every year until the year 2000) during the 1996 presidential primaries.[4]

Despite Lamar Smith's proposing the most audacious initiatives, only a few became law: a) building a triple metal fence, illuminated in urban areas, along the entire border with Mexico (approved); b) uniting Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Customs Service efforts to improve control of undocumented migration and drug traffick (amended); c) fining anyone arrested for crossing the border without documents up to U.S.$250 (amended); d) confiscating funds or property of people arrested for trying to enter the United States without documents more than once in a year (not approved); e) trying and sentencing to 10 to 15 years in prison anyone attempting to enter the United States without documents for the third time (not approved); f) demanding undocumented foreigners repay all benefits they have received in the way of public services (not approved); g) eliminating the right to citizenship for the children of undocumented workers born in the United States (not approved); h) giving state governments the option of denying access to public schools to undocumented migrant children (not approved); i) employing fenced military bases as detention centers for illegal foreigner immigrants (approved).

With regard to legal immigration, Smith proposed significantly reducing yearly quotas, from the 1994 level of 804,416 to 535,000. Of these, 330,000 would be immediate relatives, 135,000 skilled workers and 70,000 refugees (not approved).[5]

[4] "Clinton Will Seek Spending to Curb Aliens, Aides Say," *New York Times*, 22 January 1995.

[5] "House GOP Moves to Cut Immigration," *New York Times*, 22 June 1995, p. A10.

Despite Border Patrol operations having reduced the number of crossings in areas with heavy surveillance, undocumented migrants have changed where they cross to more remote areas and increased the use of forged documents.

President Clinton has been energetic, although not always clear, about migration. His aim is to find a middle ground vis-à-vis the extremes of the U.S. political spectrum on the question and keep up his profile in the debate in order not to be marginalized. Despite his recognition of legal immigrants' important contribution to U.S. society, his most recent statements show intolerance for undocumented immigration, although simultaneously recognizing the need to limit the measures against it. Clinton, then, proposes a series of immigration control initiatives that he himself terms the "most aggressive and broadest [plan] in the fight against illegal immigration ever proposed by any administration."[6] This plan was made public shortly after Attorney General Janet Reno announced that an additional U.S.$369 million would be apportioned to the Border Patrol to increase its roster to 7,000 agents.[7] Clinton proposed tolls of U.S.$3.00 per vehicle and U.S.$1.50 per pedestrian for crossing the border to increase funding for southern border security. After getting the publicity it wanted, the administration took a step back on this controversial issue, which would have been a clear violation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. It suggested instead a plan for voluntary tolls to be collected by the states to improve border services.[8]

President Clinton's position against undocumented immigration should not be interpreted as a simple, unconsidered anti-immigrant stance. He emphatically opposed Proposition 187 on the basis of a 1982 Supreme Court decision giving undocumented children the right to access to public schools.[9] At the same time, his proposal of cutting public services to undocumented immigrants did not include access to public schools or health care. In addition, he proposed apportioning U.S.$250 million to the states that shouldered health care spending for undocumented immigrants.[10]

The Clinton administration has emphasized stepping up surveillance along its border with Mexico. Previously, Border Patrol efforts were directed at expelling recent entries and maximizing the number of detentions near the border and expulsions. Since 1993, however, the Border Patrol has carried out the well publicized "Blockade" operation in El Paso, "Guardian" in San Diego and "Safeguard" in Arizona, aimed mainly at making it as difficult as possible for undocumented migrants to enter the general localities where the majority of crossings occur. Despite the fact that these operations have reduced the number of crossings in these closely watched areas, undocumented migrants have changed the site of their crossings to more remote and dangerous places like, for example, the mountainous area east of Tijuana, and have increased their use of forged documents at ports of entry.

[6] With the exception of a toll for crossing the border, all the measures in this plan were later approved. The original proposals included the following: a) increasing the personnel to hunt down immigrants; b) extending and improving the verification system for work permits; c) cancelling all public services for undocumented immigrants, except education and medical attention; and d) levying a toll for crossing the border. See "Propone E.U. ampliar barreras fronterizas," (Mexico City) *Reforma*, 7 February 1995.

[7] At the end of 1994, the Border Patrol had 4,367 agents. See "Clinton Will Seek Spending to Curb Aliens, Aides Say," *New York Times*, 22 January 1995.

[8] "Propone EU ampliar barreras fronterizas," (Mexico City) *Reforma*, 7 February 1995.

[9] The decision in the case of Pyler vs. Doe was the basis for the states making public education available to all children, from kindergarten through high school, regardless of their migratory status.

[10] Holly Idelson, "Proposals Would Crack Down on Illegals and Tighten Rules for Legal Immigrants," *Congressional Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 15, Washington, D.C., 15 April 1995, p. 1068.

Clinton's attempts to contain the anti-immigrant wave were only slightly successful in Congress. The Republicans have insisted on seeking ways to significantly cut spending to balance the budget in compliance with their party's overall platform. In August 1996, then, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (better known as the Welfare Act) passed and was signed into law by Clinton. This law eliminates the right of legal immigrants to certain free federal services. The measure mainly affects the aged, cancelling their access to social assistance and health services, and those in low income brackets (mainly agricultural laborers) who sometimes depend on food stamps to keep going, particularly when they are out of work. The budget plan Clinton negotiated with the Republican congressional caucus in April 1997 provides for restoring almost half of the free federal services for legal immigrants that were cut.

The president also signed the new immigration law (IIRIRA) in September 1996, which signalled a radical change in U.S. immigration law, particularly with regard to undocumented migrants' rights.[11] As can be appreciated in the summary we have prepared (see box), the law is like a regulation in its minute detail and because it has many small clauses with far-reaching consequences. Despite the fact that the IIRIRA is not as extremist as Lamar Smith's proposals, many of which might have been overturned as unconstitutional, it is tougher than the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in that it is harder on undocumented immigrants.[12]

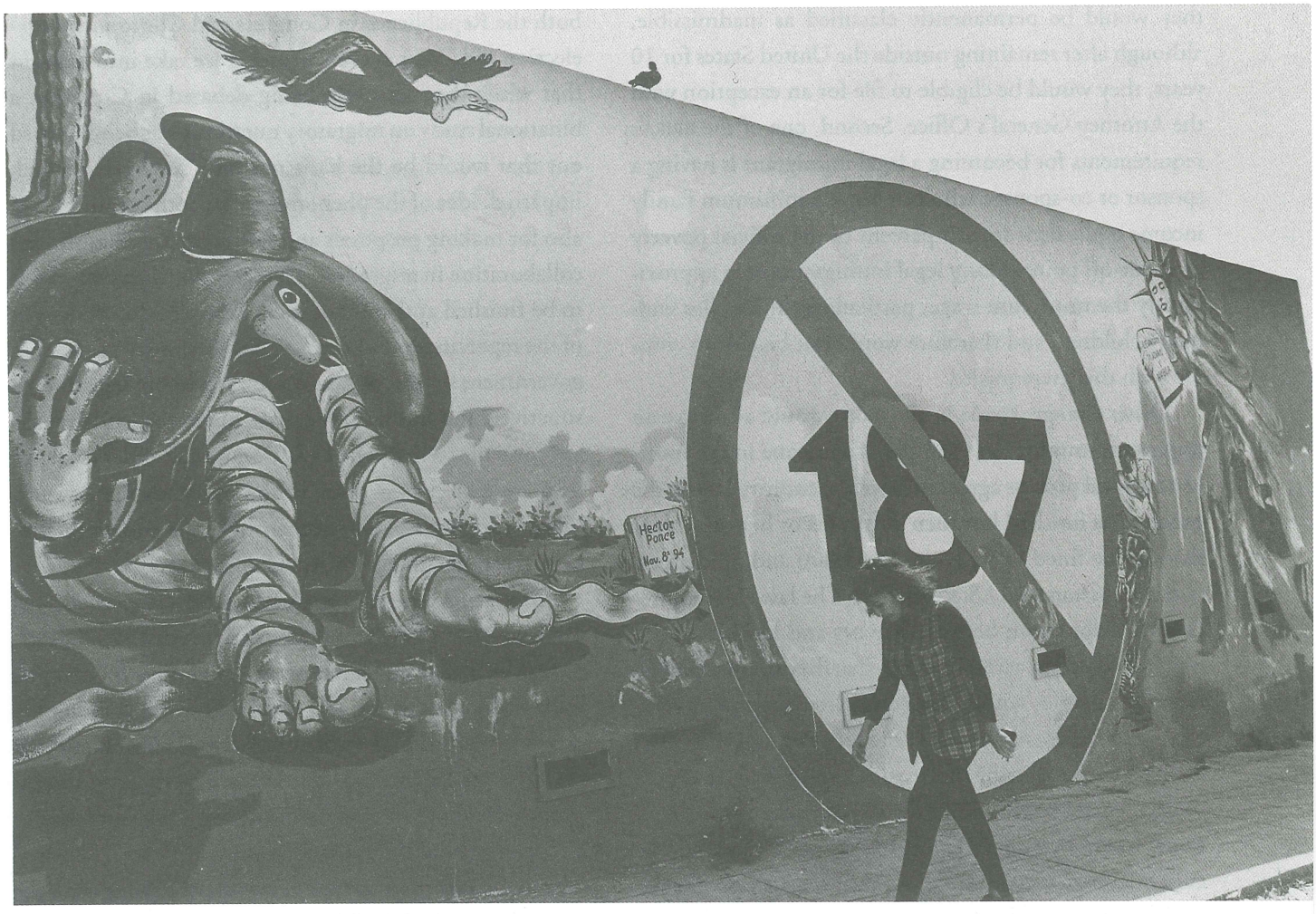
In the first place, the IIRIRA is an attempt to considerably increase the number of police officers for immigration control. It authorizes an annual 1,000 agent increase for five years for the Border Patrol, effectively doubling its personnel on the southern U.S. border, bringing the number to 10,000 agents by the year 2001.[13] It also provides for an annual increase of 300 workers for the Border Patrol support staff for five years, plus more police officers to investigate employers who hire undocumented workers and immigrants with forged papers. It approves the hiring of 300 police officers for three years to investigate the cases of foreigners who legally enter the country, mainly as tourists, and who stay after their visas have expired. Six hundred new posts have been created to review requests for political asylum, and the number of judges and state's attorneys for dealing with immigration cases has increased. The IIRIRA proposes U.S.$150 million in additional spending to finance the expulsion of undocumented immigrants. To do this, it considers it necessary to augment INS detention cell space to a 9,000 prisoner capacity. It assigns U.S.$12 million for building a 22 kilometer triple fence along the border with Tijuana that the INS itself publicly said was unnecessary. In conclusion, then, Congress insisted on a considerable increase in public funding for controlling undocumented immigration, emphasizing surveillance of the Mexican border. These new measures underline the U.S. Congress' policing and criminal focus on the question of undocumented immigrants.

The IIRIRA also initiates a series of important changes for immigration control within U.S. borders, the effects of which will not be immediately felt. To simplify compliance with the law penalizing employers, the number of documents that a worker must present to prove his or her U.S. citizenship or permission to work was reduced. Simultaneously, a process of harmonizing birth certificate forms issued by the different states began and the social security system authorities are mandated to design a card that would be difficult to forge. Three pilot programs have been set up to better control the hiring of citizens and authorized foreigners, thereby preventing the employment of undocumented workers. New procedures for more accurately verifying the exit of non-immigrants (mainly tourists)

[11] "Immigration Overhaul," *Migration News*, vol. 3-96/MN, University of California at Davis, California, October 1996.

[12] Our analysis of the IIRIRA is based on the text itself (Pub. L. 104-208, 110 Stat. 3009), the summary prepared by the Commission on Immigration Reform ("Section-by-section Analysis of the Illegal Immigration [Reform] and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996," unpublished text, 50 pp., 17 October 1996) and different issues of *Interpreter Releases* from September 1996 to January 1997.

[13] The approval of the budget in the U.S. Congress goes through two major stages: "authorization" and "appropriations." During the authorization stage, jobs are created and spending ceilings set for each of the items. In the second phase, annual federal spending is decided and amounts below or up to the pre-established ceilings are fixed. The amounts authorized in the IIRIRA will be discussed each year from 1997 to 2001 during the debate on the annual budget. This means that while INS spending for immigration control may well increase sharply, it will not necessarily reach the maximum amount authorized by the IIRIRA.



Proposition 187, a symbol of racism and discrimination.

from the country have been set up. The law increases sentences for users of forged documents and people falsely claiming U.S. citizenship or aiding and abetting the traffick in undocumented immigrants. Lastly, it makes fleeing an immigration check a crime. While each of these measures may be limited when taken alone, when appraised all together, they represent a appreciable expression of political will and a considerable effort to tie up loose ends with regard to domestic immigration control.

The IIRIRA abolished the deportation and expulsion hearings that had survived a number of years, and in doing so, eliminated many of the rights of undocumented immigrants slated for deportation. The new procedure, called "removal," and another called "expeditious removal" allows for anyone who applies at a port of entry without documents or with forged documents to be removed without any hearing at all. In addition, it eliminates the courts' authority to legally review any removal order.

For undocumented Mexican migrants who live with relatives and seek entry as immigrants, the IIRIRA introduced two important changes that affect them negatively. First, they run the risk of indefinitely postponing the acquisition of legal status if they do not leave the United States within 180 days. Those who remain over 180 days but under a year without documents and leave the country before a removal process begins will not be allowed to file for legal residency for the following three years. Those who stay over a year will not be allowed to file for 10 years. If they stay for an "aggregate" period of more than a year,[14]

[14] "Aggregate period" here means a sum of stays: when the person stays for a total of more than one year, even if at different times; for example, a first stay of eight months and a second stay of six. [Editor's Note.]

they would be permanently classified as inadmissible, although after remaining outside the United States for 10 years, they would be eligible to file for an exception with the Attorney General's Office. Second, one of the IIRIRA's requirements for becoming a legal immigrant is having a sponsor or co-sponsor who can prove a minimum family income equivalent to 125 percent of the official poverty level cut-off point. Many legal immigrants earn approximately the minimum wage, particularly in families with many children, and therefore would not be able to comply with this prerequisite.

Other changes made in the IIRIRA would also have an important impact. For example, if someone in the midst of a removal process agrees to leave the country before the process has finished but then delays his or her exit, he or she may be fined U.S.$1,000 to $5,000 and, under certain circumstances, U.S.$500 a day. The law also requires closer collaboration between the INS and local and state police. In addition, it recommends that the executive branch negotiate treaties with other countries which permit exchange of prisoners even when the prisoner refuses to serve his/her sentence in his/her country of origin; it denies social security benefits (in the U.S. case, this means pensions) to undocumented workers, even though social security deductions continue to appear on their paychecks.

There is no doubt that the approval and recent implementation of IIRIRA affects Mexico's interests, limits the possibilities of continuing rapprochement of the two nations and causes tension in bilateral relations. Despite the fact that it is a sovereign decision of the United States, it has caused irritation and wounded feelings and exacerbated anti-U.S. sentiments among Mexicans. The Mexican press and public have interpreted many of the events of the 1990s as aggression against their countrymen/women in the United States. Anti-immigrant operations aimed at Mexicans in the border areas of El Paso, Arizona, and California and the approval of Proposition 187, for example, generated a heated debate in Mexico, in addition to a series of protests and proposals from different sectors of society.

It should be noted that the IIRIRA was passed and signed relatively quickly. The congressional debate did not take as long as the IRCA debate in the 1980s. The dispatch with which it was approved showed the electoral intentions of both the Republicans in Congress and Clinton in his re-election bid. That is even clearer if we take into account that while the IIRIRA was being debated in Congress, a binational study on migratory questions was being carried out that would be the basis not only for having a real, impartial, idea of the phenomenon in both countries, but also for making proposals and setting up mechanisms for collaboration in migration. That binational study is about to be finished and will not include any in depth analysis of the repercussions of the new law. Perhaps the Mexican government should have continued the lobbying efforts it so actively and successfully carried out in the 1990s for the approval of NAFTA by the U.S. Congress in order to, if not stop, at least change some of the measures that severely injure our countrymen/women who live and work with or without documents in the United States.

Given such a negative panorama, it should be pointed out that since 1986, and particularly since 1993, bilateral U.S.-Mexican consultation on migratory matters has increased in frequency and depth. This is a paradox: on the one hand, the new offensives create tension and, on the other, the new closeness between both governments propitiates more frequent consultation, new attempts at cooperation and joint activities that imply lower costs.[15] The many meetings to seek new ways of dealing with the issue, the fact that Mexican instructors have been sent to the Border Patrol academy, the setting up of a group of academics to do the bilateral migratory study and the different acts of cooperation along the border, while modest, are still all activities that show greater bilateral activity and a genuine effort to establish closer collaboration. It would seem, then, that U.S.-Mexican relations have come quite a way from the barely courteous dialogue of the 1970s to a new spirit of cooperation in the 1990s. If this very negative panorama for migration had come to the fore a few years ago, we would have been justified in expecting a significant cooling in bilateral relations. VM

[15] For more information see Manuel García y Griego and Mónica Verea, "Colaboración sin concordancia: la migración en la nueva agenda bilateral," in Rafael Fernández de Castro, Mónica Verea and Sidney Weintraub, *La nueva agenda de la relación bilateral*, FCE-CISAN-ITAM, at press.

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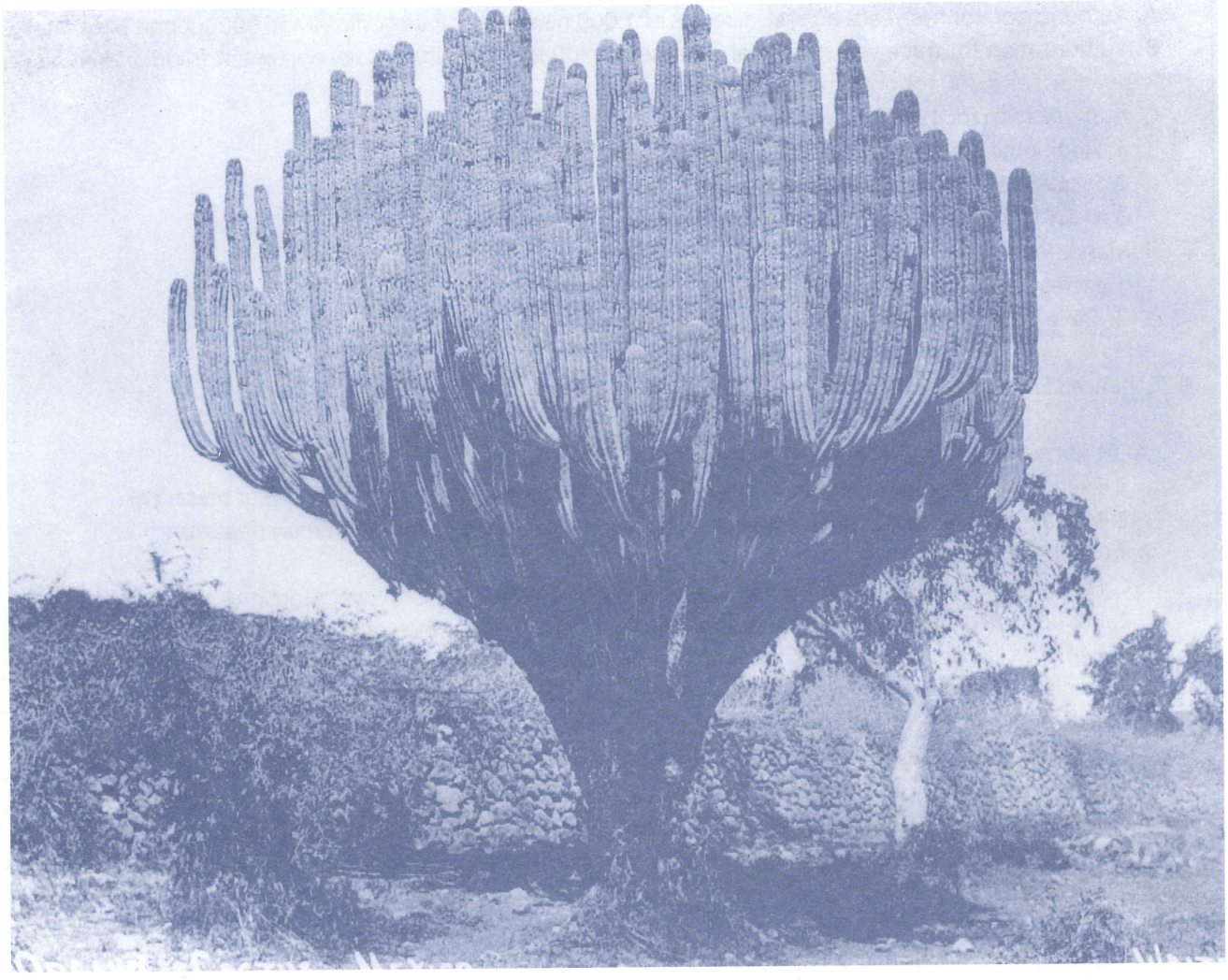

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SELECTED PROVISIONS OF THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION REFORM AND IMMIGRANT RESPONSABILITY ACT OF 1996

I. Increased Resources for Immigration Administration and Enforcement

A. Authorization for five years: annual increases of 1,000 new Border Patrol officers and 300 support personnel
B. Authorization for three years: annual increases of 300 INS investigators for document fraud and employer sanctions and 300 for non-immigrant overstay cases
C. Authorization for 1997:
   1. Additional border inspectors to reduce crossing delays at peak hours
   2. Increase of 25 Assistant U.S. Attorneys
   3. U.S.$150 million for investigations, detentions and removals
D. Mandates
   1. Increase of detention space to 9,000 beds
   2. Triple 14 mile fence at the border near San Diego

II. Enhanced Enforcement Authority and Immigration Control

A. At ports of entry and after illegal entry
   1. Expeditious removal without a hearing (exceptions: credible asylum claim or 2-year presence)
   2. New procedures to tighten inspection of non-immigrants and to monitor timely departure
B. In the labor market
   1. Federal government to comply with paperwork requirements of employer sanctions
   2. Reduction in number of documents applicants can use to demonstrate eligibility to work
   3. Removes liability for good faith of employers who violate paperwork requirements
   4. Employers do not engage in unfair employment practices if they do not honor documents of genuine appearance or require documents not required by law unless intent to discriminate can be shown.
C. Cooperation with international, state and local governments and local law enforcement
   1. Recommends new prisoner transfer treaties that allow for transfer without prisoner's consent
   2. Authorizes INS agreements with local agencies to assist in immigration enforcement
   3. Prohibits restrictions of communication between public agencies and INS regarding immigration status of individuals

III. Increased Penalties for Immigration Violations

A. Enhanced criminal penalties for failure to depart, illegal re-entry and passport and visa fraud
B. New criminal penalties for false claims to U.S. citizenship
C. New civil penalties for persons who engage in document fraud under Immigration and Nationality Act

IV. Activities Mandated for Future Enhanced Immigration Control

A. Use of documents
   1. Mandates Social Security administration to develop a prototype of a counterfeit-resistant social security card
   2. Mandates federal regulations to tighten design of birth certificates issued by states

B. Three four-year pilot programs to test employment verification procedures
   1. Basic program: Voluntary for some employers; required for some; all new hirees of these employers required to participate. Toll-free electronic verification of work eligibility based on social security numbers and other data
   2. Machine-readable document program: Toll-free electronic verification based on machine-readable driver's licenses and other identification.
   3. Citizen attestation program: Employees who attest they are U.S. citizens are not required to document. Program tested in states where driver's licenses have enhanced security features and procedures

V. New Grounds for Inadmissibility of Certain Aliens

A. Public charge exclusion raised to 125% of federal poverty line; affidavits of support are binding contracts enforceable by government agencies; and contract duration for 40 quarters of employment by sponsored alien or until naturalization
B. Persons illegally present for more than 180 days or who comply with other conditions are inadmissible as legal immigrants for extended periods after their departure. These aliens are:
   1. Inadmissible for three years if present for less than one year and departed before initiation of removal proceedings
   2. Inadmissible for 10 years if present for 1 year or more
   3. Permanently inadmissible (waiver possible 10 years after departure) if present for aggregate period of 1 year after certain immigration violations
   4. Inadmissible for 5 or 10 years if failed to attend removal hearing or previously removed, depending upon prior departure
   5. Inadmissible for 20 years if previously removed twice or more
   6. Permanently inadmissible if previously convicted of aggravated felony ("aggravated felony" redefined to include less serious crimes with 1 year sentence)

VI. Ineligibility for Public Benefits

A. Persons unlawfully in U.S. not eligible for Social Security benefits
B. Persons unlawfully in U.S. not eligible for postsecondary education benefits
C. Acceleration of transition of ineligible immigrants out of public housing

VII. Mandate to Report to Congress

A. Attorney General is required to report to Congress
   1. After 3-4 years regarding implementation of pilot programs to test employment verification procedures
   2. Within 1 year on additional authority or resources needed to enforce employer sanctions
B. The General Accounting Office is required to report to Congress
   1. Each year for 3 years regarding efficacy of INS border strategy to deter illegal entries
   2. Within 180 days to report on means-tested public benefits received by ineligible aliens on behalf of eligible persons

Streets and Houses[1]

Alejandro Rossi*

I am neither a manual worker, nor a government employee, nor a millionaire. Still, I exist and if I went in for pious, vaguely hypocritical pigeonholing, I would say that I am an intellectual worker. But I eschew this bit of solace and state the plain truth: I am a teacher of philosophy. I do not, therefore, live in a working-class neighborhood; I am unfamiliar with water and power cuts; I have not had to put up with a lack of proper sewage; I do not walk through puddles; and I am not forced to share my bedroom with six other people. By the same token, I have no garden of my own, no swimming pool, no tennis court, no greenhouse, no sculptures, no conservatory, no eighteenth-century courtyard, no damp corridors in which to sit in a rocking chair and contemplate the falling rain.

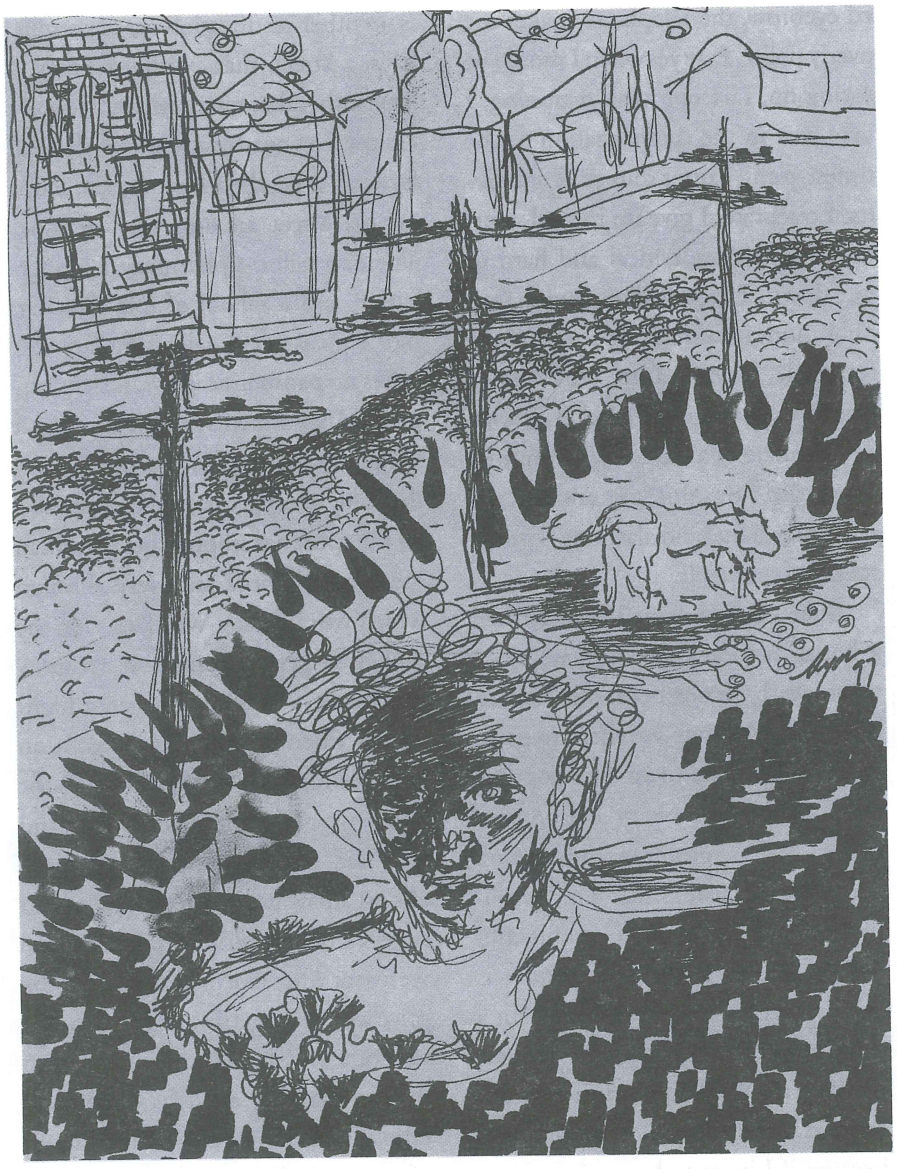
I live in an average apartment —average in size, in furnishings and in comforts. Its best features are its high ceilings, wooden floors and white walls. The walls could obviously be thicker, so that I might be spared unnecessary intimate sounds, such as my neighbors' gripes, their laughter, their nightmares, their favorite radio announcers. My apartment overlooks the street via floor-to-ceiling windows. It would be very nice if, while I were dining, these windows allowed me to take in a pine forest, a lake, or even a field. But, alas, all I am permitted is a view of bedsheets, towels and television antennae. The windows are my link with the outside world, it's quite true, which is why my tables and chairs shake every time a plane passes overhead. Whenever I open these windows, in blows a dust-storm, along with carbon monoxide and a din of automobile traffic.

Perhaps the architect who built this apartment house was dreaming of a different city. Maybe he thought that petroleum reserves would soon run out and that everyone would be driving around in electric cars. He may also have believed in the advantages of public transportation, and I am sure he never foresaw the development of commercial aviation. The motorcycle he doubtless looked on as a prehistoric animal, on the brink of extinction, an interesting specimen out of some museum of technology. I suspect that he entertained a theory about the steady loss of solar energy, too, so that in the very near future his windows would allow in a soft sort of golden afternoon light, and we tenants would no longer perspire and have to tear off our shirts and ties, nor would the covers of all my books buckle. I do not live badly, I am not grumbling, I am in sympathy with this architect's utopian vision. I simply conclude that my home needs a different city.

As do my habits. I have friends, and every now and again I am overcome by a desire to see them, an

* Writer, member of the National College.
Drawings by Lydia Peña.

[1] Translated from the Spanish by Norman Thomas Di Giovanni.



urgency to talk to them about something—a feeling, a passion, a pang of anguish— to deepen through conversation some small insight we may have had. Or to go to them to pour out my heart, to complain, to win support. Or to say nothing, to grind no ax, to converse quietly in some roundabout, relaxed, random way, without a specific topic. These are fairly straightforward needs, but they must be satisfied within a limited period of time. Enthusiasm flags if we have to wait five days to meet someone, and within such a period it is possible that one's depression may have abated. Of course, there is Valium, self-delusion, and sleep, I should therefore like my friends to be near, so that we could get together in some familiar place without having to walk more than a few blocks. I should like friendship to be the repository of these spur-of-the-moment enthusiasms, these instances of spontaneity and sincerity, the living warp and weft of our hours.

The city does not favor such intimacy. Not one of my friends lives anywhere nearby. We continue to see each other, we still talk, but we have lost the habit of daily contact. Distance and our jobs impose complicated strategies. Tomorrow's out of the question, the day after is impossible for me, we'll have to arrange something for the weekend—not this one, of course, because he'll be out town, but maybe the one after or better still a holiday, there's one just around the corner and, anyway, Christmas isn't far off. Friendship has to rely on dinners planned formally in advance, on occasional wearying encounters, for he, obviously, lives on the south side of town and I on the north.

There's always the telephone. For some, I know, it resolves everything. They use it to call the plumber, to find out the time, to be wakened at a particular hour, to seduce, to express their indignation, or to recount in minute detail the wonderful, unique state of mind they find themselves in at that very moment. These are people who use the phone not to set up meetings but as a meeting. In my case, it's quite the opposite; I become awkward and have no telephone presence. The phone becomes a symbol

of alarm, a device used to communicate pressing matters, to receive information that alters my plans or upsets the normal course of my day. It is as though I regarded the telephone as a vehicle for the out-of-the-ordinary. When it rings, my first reaction is to hide. I approach it gingerly and am always relieved if it's a wrong number. A telephone conversation does not tolerate pauses, silences, or interruptions. Yet even in the most animated discussions we all fall into them. It is rare, however, for friends to resort to the telephone to spend an hour together barely speaking a word, each of them sipping a leisurely cup of coffee at home, uttering a sentence now and again as he or she listens to the other breathing. We say more by telephone, and our verbal halts are minimal, for our exchanges are governed by a principle —that of having to respond with words or, at least, with certain sounds. What is more, the telephone suppresses a speaker's physical reactions, the sympathetic look, the nod of approval, signs that calm or encourage the listener. As I can't see the other party, I don't know whether he has begun counting matches, is leafing through a book, or is rolling his eyes. For all I know, he may be drawing boats, fishes, flowers. Maybe, because I cannot detect a lifted eyebrow, the telephone makes me overly polite. I say yes when I should be saying no, I accept weak reasoning, I take part in the dramatization of the tiniest event, I utter sounds of solidarity, I celebrate, I give in, I avoid argument. I am hypocritical and hard to pin down. I would like to exchange only blunt information —an airplane timetable, the weather, the pope's health, the name of a Nobel Prize winner, the date of a battle. What may be concluded from this is at one and the same time banal and alarming. I prefer speaking to myself.

Streets define a city. They lengthen a house, a room, the intimate space where we have our beds...

Streets define a city. They lengthen a house, a room, the intimate space where we have our beds, our clothes, our meals. Artisans use them to go to work. We all use them for shopping and for diversion. Noisy and promiscuous, streets promote indiscretion and affection, just as they hinder solitude and make anonymity difficult. The opposite case is a street that is characterized as foreign territory. In a decisive way, it signals the division between the public and private world. Such a street does not attract me, because if I want to buy a newspaper there I will not find one, and if I want to drink a glass of water I shall have to return home. Aspirin tablets, pencils, paper, erasers and wine are always sold much farther away. The street where I live is less arid, but it plays little part in my life. It is broad, with sidewalks and small trees on either side. I use it because I feel like walking, because I like stretching my legs, because I feel nervous, because I am sick of sitting in a chair. I use it like an athletics track or a piece of equipment in a gym. There is no other justification for my strolls. It is a street that, without being a labyrinth, takes me nowhere. Nobody I know lives nearby, and my work is too far away to get there on foot. The shops on my street are not very exciting. There's a tailor, a pharmacy, a kindergarten and a school of folk dancing. Nor is the street visually stimulating. It offers no panoramic views, it lacks surprises. Abandoned by the pedestrian, it is rapidly turning into a public way that only accepts cars and high speeds. So the street has stopped being human space and is now an artery through which we circulate. We like seeing the asphalt in perfect condition, we grow impatient —as with cows on a highway— when people try to cross it on foot, we long for synchronized traffic lights, we praise the street's width and well laid out curves. Little by little, almost unawares, we have renounced streets. They are no longer places where we live or where we meet others but the price we pay for getting from one house to another. We have become resigned to the fact that they are ugly, violent and inhospitable. This seems to us the result of a vast, nebulous, unrelenting process. Mystery is the refuge of indolence.

A bad poem implies a bad poet, a poor story presupposes a clumsy writer, and a silly painting always makes us think of its painter. A city on the skids, by contrast, offers a multiplicity of authors, avaricious architects, complacent public figures, speculators, cowed citizens and demolition men masquerading as city planners —active players all, tireless termites who have been working away and gnawing away for years. VM

The Caribbean Sea[1]

*Patricia Schmidstdorf**
*José Remus Araico***

On the southeast coast of Mexico, surrounded by exuberant, indescribably green vegetation, is the Caribbean Sea, where the majesty and beauty of nature meet. With its unlimited shades of blue, this sea was witness to the birth of one of the most powerful and enigmatic civilizations the world has ever known, the Mayans, who had a profound respect and admiration for it.

Flourishing cities like Mujil, Tulum, Cobá and Ixhil demonstrate the intense relationship between these people and the sea. Food such as octopus, lobster, fish and crab and the manufacture of utensils with materials taken from the sea show the deep influence the Caribbean had in the Mayans' daily lives. Sea snails were considered sacred and only nobles could wear their shells and pearls, as can be seen in the frescoes found in Cozumel, Kabah, Xel-há and Tulum. The Caribbean is also the graveyard for hundreds of pirate ships and bucaneers who came to conquer the New World.

The Caribbean Sea is located on a calcarcous substratum formed by the millions of years of erosion and destruction of reefs. The bounty of its waters is due to a combination of factors such as temperature, salinity, incidence of light, transparency and winds, which along with the nutrients by the currents from Brazil and the Gulf of Mexico, have allowed an infinite variety of species of invertebrates and fishes to develop.

The Mexican Caribbean is located at the eastern end of the Yucatan peninsula, from Celustúm in the state of Campeche to the border of Belize, delimited by the Chinchorro Bank. Xcalac is the last lighthouse before Belize, and indicates the entrance to the shallow waters of the channel of Chetumal, the state capital of Quintana Roo.

Along the Caribbean shore there are three ecological reserves: Río Lagartos, Isla Contoy and Sian Ka'an to protect and preserve terrestrial and marine life.

There are three islands in the area: Contoy, which shelters hundreds of migratory birds; Isla Mujeres, so-called because when the conquistadors arrived there, they found hundreds of little clay figures representing women,[2] and Cozumel, or the Island of the Swallows. These islands are surrounded by mangrove swamps (*Rizophora sp.*). Toward the westernmost part and south of the Mexican Caribbean is the Chinchorro Bank where the remains of many ships lie, sunk by hurricanes and storms or wrecked on the reefs. This

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** Photographer and professor at the UNAM Psychology and Political Sciences Schools.

[1] Translated by Andrew B. Martín H., Jr.

[2] Isla Mujeres was sacred to the Mayans, and they built many temples there dedicated to *Ixchel*, the goddess of fertility and health. [Editor's Note.]

Photos by José Remus Araico

School of fish (*Lutjanus sp.*).

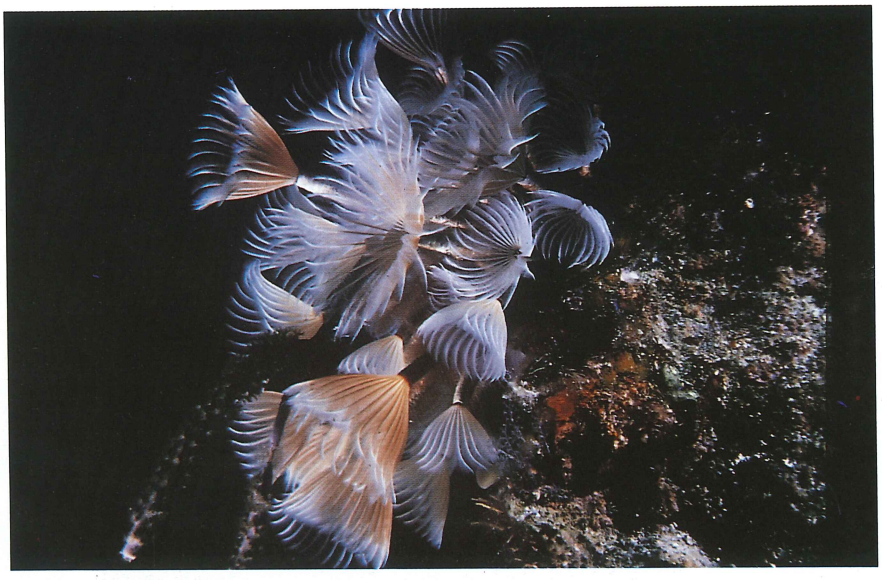
is a place visited by many divers dreaming of vast treasures scattered among their remains.

The greatest tourist attraction along the coast is the modern city of Cancún, with its white sandy beaches and transparent water. Near this recreational center is Puerto Morelos, where the research station of the UNAM Institute of Marine Sciences and Lymnology is located. Further south are: Akumal, with small reef formations near the beach; Tulum, with its beautiful ruins above the cliffs, and the pyramids of Cobá; Xel-há, where there is a wildlife sanctuary for marine life, and shortly before you get to Chetumal there is the Lagoon of Bacalar with its myriad colors.

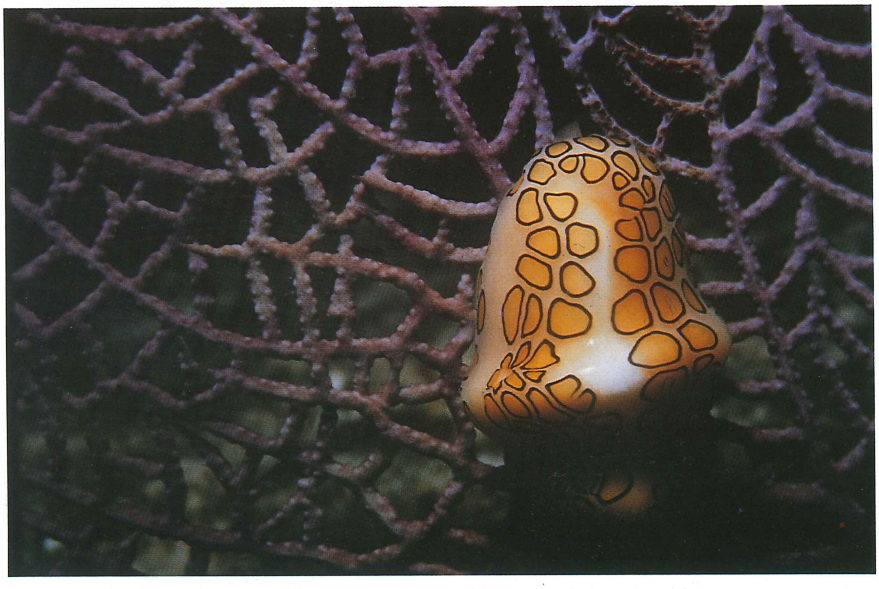
The great variety of species that inhabit this region make the Mexican Caribbean a virtual paradise for divers. In places lacking coral, we can see large belts of seaweed (*Thallasia sp.*, *Siringodium sp.*, *Halodule wrightii)*, on which giant sea snails lie (*Strombus gigas)*. Buried in the sand we can find mantarays (*rajidae*) and among the hollows formed by dead coral, we can find lobsters (*Panulirus argus*).

Among the corals that form reefs there is a large variety of species, like star coral (*Monastrea cavernosa*), deer's horn (*Acrophora palmata*), fan coral (*Plexaura hommomala*) and finger-like coral (*Porites sp.*); all very attractive for their different forms and colors, which range from light yellow shades to purple and red.

The corals function as a substratum for other marine species, among which we have red sponges (*Tedania*

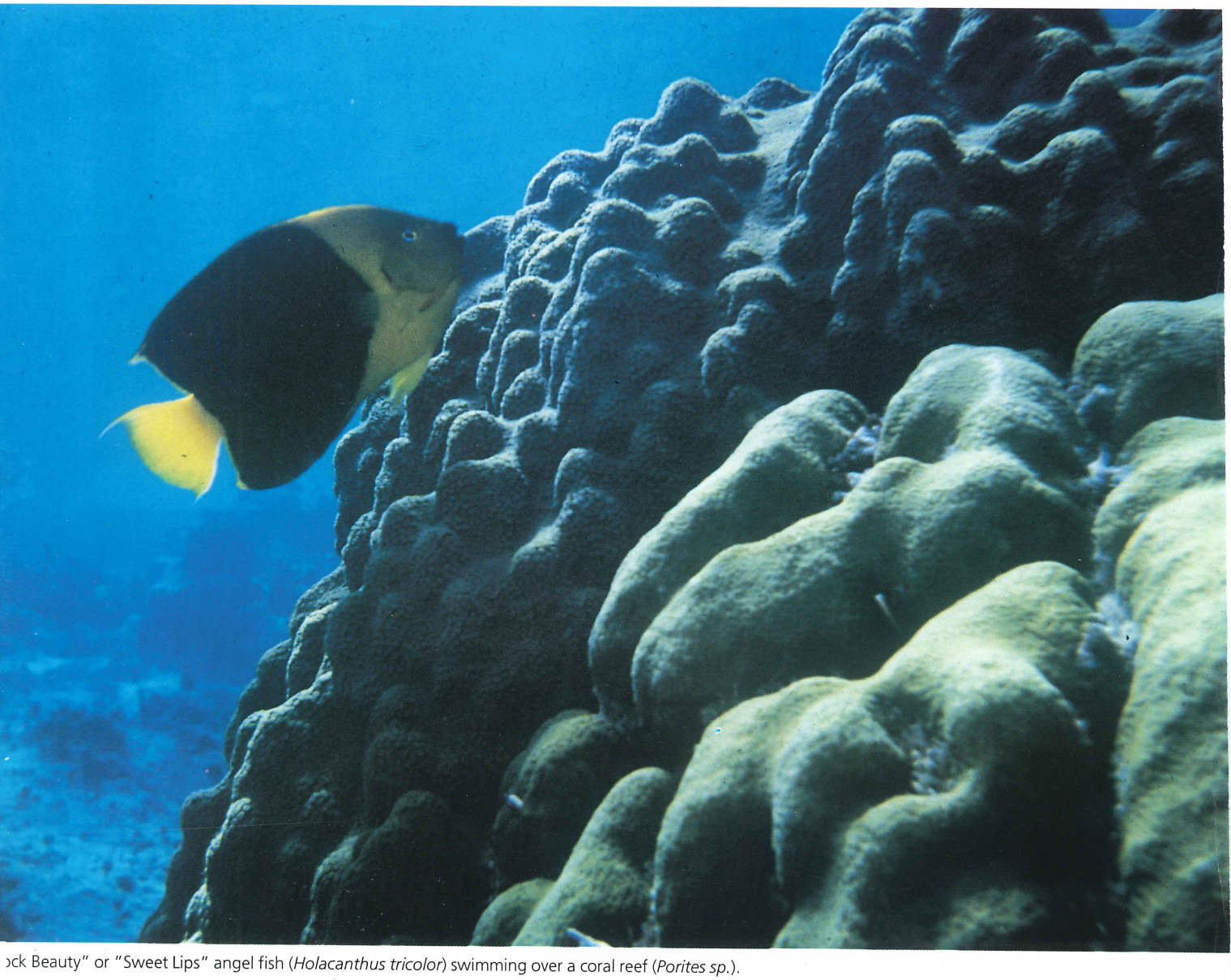


Penachos (*Sabellidae*).

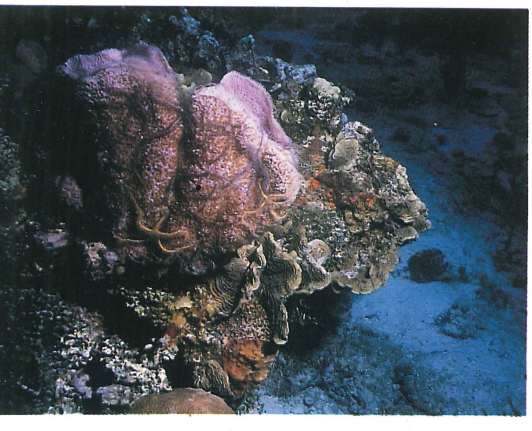


Flamingo tongue (*Cyphoma gibbosum*) on fan coral (*Plexaura hommomala*).

The great variety of species that inhabit this region make the Mexican Caribbean a virtual paradise for anyone who likes diving.



ɔck Beauty" or "Sweet Lips" angel fish (*Holacanthus tricolor*) swimming over a coral reef (*Porites sp.*).

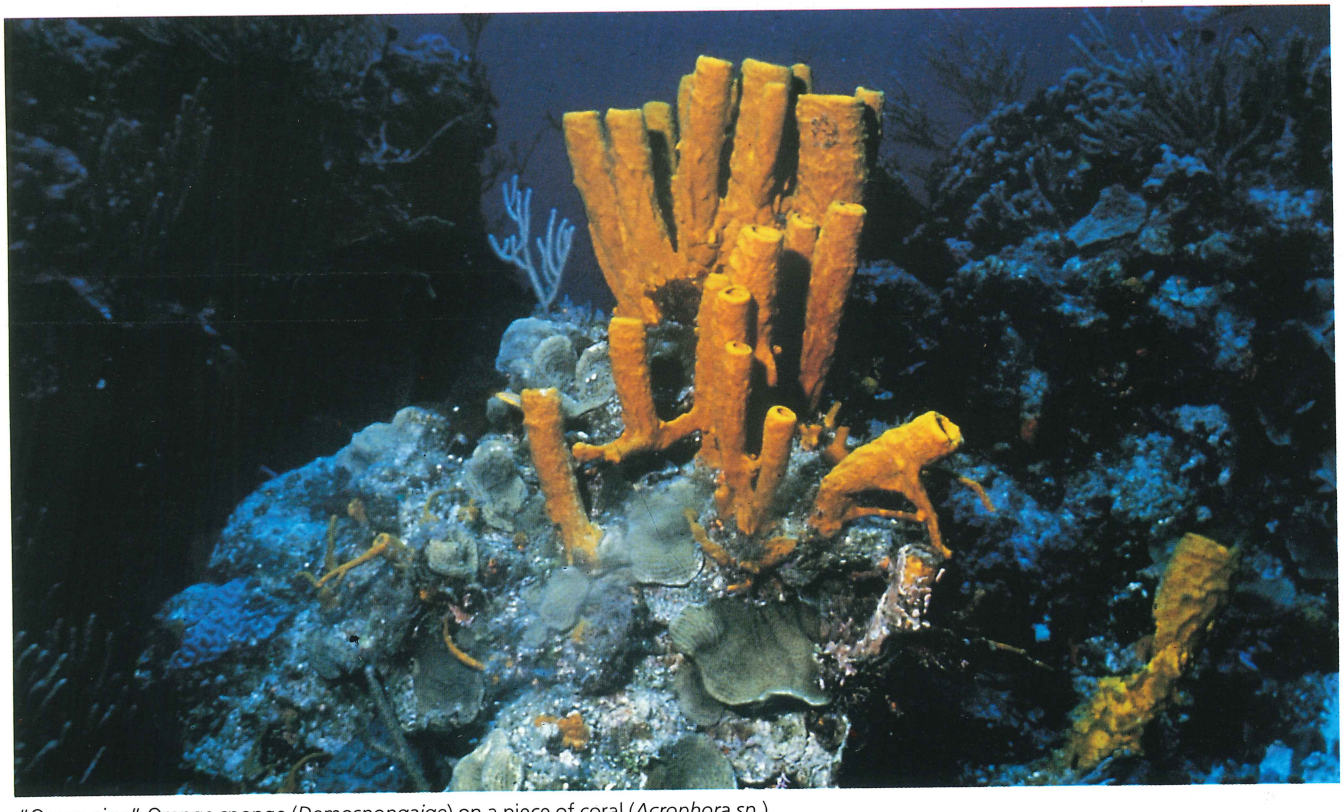


Starfish (*Ophithorix orstedii*) on coral reef (*Oxyphora sp.*).

ignis), calyx sponges (*Aplisina sp.*) with their orange and black tones, red and black sea urchins, starfish (*Ophiuridos*), as well as a wide variety of spider and hermit crabs (*Majidos* and *Paguridos* respectively), and shrimp (*Carideos*) that live in the hollow spaces left by the coral. Some of the smaller shrimp live associated with white anemones (*Candylactis gigantea*). Reef fish can be found in schools or swimming alone, as the case of the surgeon fish (*Naso sp.*) parrot fish and angel fish (*Pomacanthus arcuatus*), and it's not unusual to see moray eels (*Murenidos*).

The combination of shapes and colors can only be seen in these waters where you can really enjoy moments of peace and tranquility. VM

Jellyfish (*Scyphozea sp.*)



"Organ pipe" Orange sponge (*Demospongaige*) on a piece of coral (*Acrophora sp.*).

A Coiled Serpent

Formal and Abstract Aztec Expression At the University Museum of Contemporary Art

Emilio Coral García*

The Nahua peoples held "the flower and song," or art, in great esteem: they considered it the only road to a more authentic form of knowledge, closer to reality, less subject to the relative, illusory nature of the earthly world. This is clear in their extensive legacy to universal art: poetry, architecture, murals, sculpture and textiles were only some of the many disciplines which the Nahuas developed.

In Nahuatl culture, Mexica or Aztec art —at its height between the early fifteenth century and the 1521 Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlan— occupies a special place. Being an artist was reserved for only a few particularly gifted individuals and was directly linked with the realm of ritual and divinity, central to Aztec society. For someone to become an artist, different considerations were taken into account: first and foremost, he had to be destined to it, and that was determined by the position of the stars at his birth; secondly, he had to have "countenance and heart," which in the metaphoric Nahuatl language means having a strong personality, a meticulously forged spirit.

The Mexicas considered the artist a *tolteca*, or a man of knowledge. The artist was heir to the genius and splendor of the Nahuas' oldest ancestors, the Toltecs. Different kinds of artists, then, were considered the direct beneficiaries of the rich legacy of Toltec aesthetic traditions and ideals and were called *toltecáyotl*.

Sculpture is one of the most representative disciplines among the vast body of Aztec art. It combines two main characteristics: the monumental nature of Toltec art and the formal plasticity of sculpture in the Gulf of Mexico and the Mixtec region of Puebla, blending great volume with a flexible aesthetic full of movement. These characteristics can be seen in representations of humans, animals and gods. The latter were symbolized in a multiplicity of images in which the life-death, heaven-earth, night-day duality is a constant. This duality, which makes up the human universe, the result of the interaction of divine forces, was exemplified in the image of two serpents facing each other: life and death in their eternal encounter. This is none other than the encounter of times, just as it appears in the culmination of the monumental *Coatlicue*, mother of the gods, on display at the National Museum of Anthropology and History.

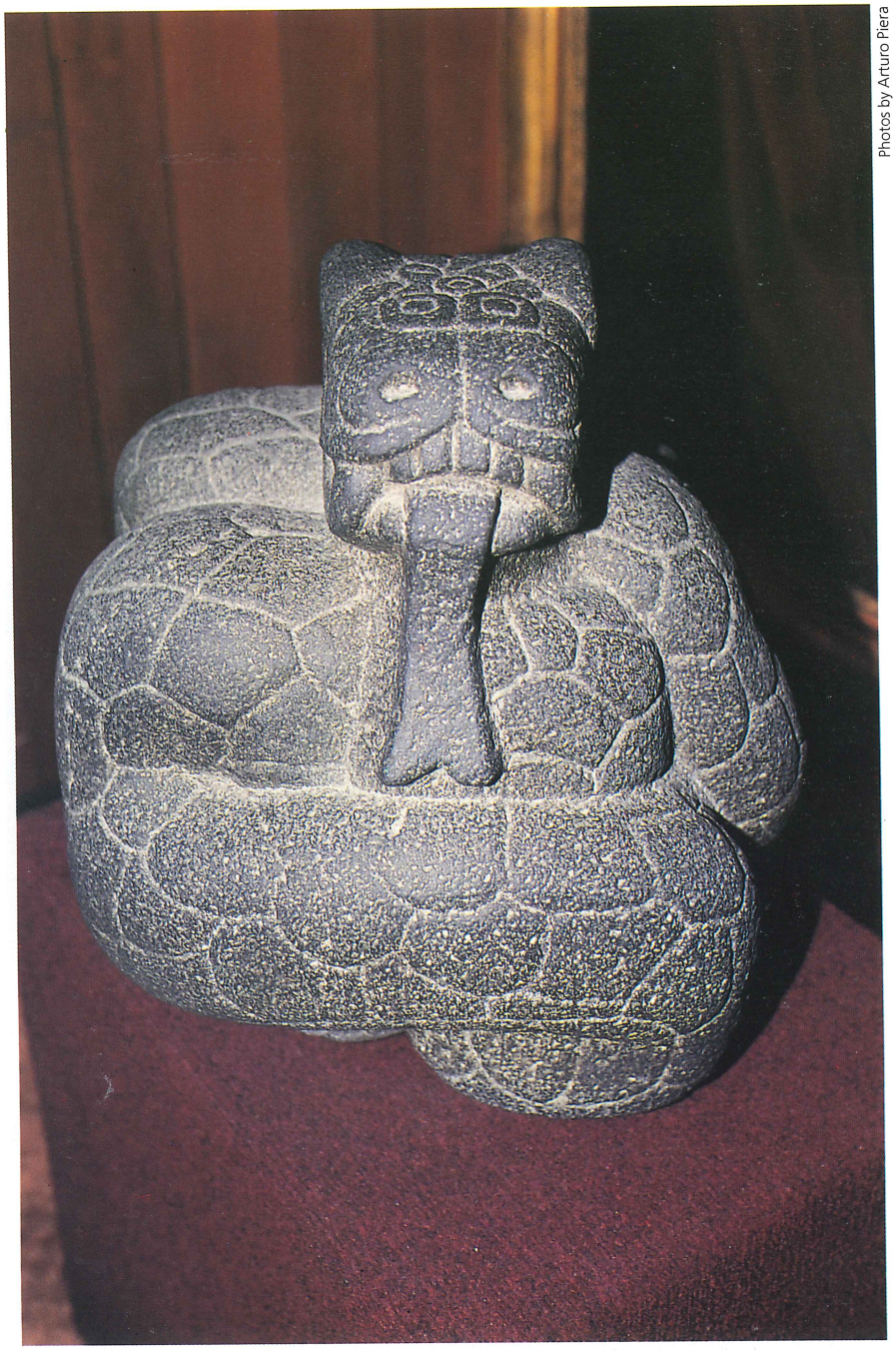
This article deals with a sculpture in basalt of a serpent owned by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and housed in its University Museum of Contemporary Art (MUCA). The serpent is at the ready, prepared to attack, as is often the case in Mexica representations of serpents and other animals, particularly jaguars. The snake's jaws are open and its fangs and forked tongue are

*Researcher and Publicity Coordinator for the Department of Artistic and Cultural Assets of the UNAM Patrimony Administration Office.

plainly visible. However, the rest of its body seems to be totally relaxed: it is as though it were both alert and in complete repose at the same time, an apparent contradiction common in Aztec zoomorphic statues.

The work may be from the fifteenth century since it displays the total realization of sculpture attained in that period. Aesthetically, it is outstanding. The morphology of the coiled snake and the details of its scales are plastically excellent. The head, majestically wrought, portrays the animal's essence using a synthesis of formal means: the eyes are concentric circles surrounded by voluminous protuberances like eyebrows in the upper lids; well defined nostrils are placed on either side of a long line stretching from the upper part of the mouth and dividing the head symmetrically; and, in contrast with other Aztec serpents which have prominent sharp fangs, in this case they are smoothly dissimulated, blended with the lower jaw; in addition, the front teeth, though of a good size, are not especially noticeable.

In the Nahuatl cosmology, snakes were associated with earthly matters, the night, all things femenine, pleasurable and sensual. In the eminently solar Mexica culture, the serpent represented the underworld and darkness, although that did not make it any less important as part of the balance of the universe. In fact, the serpent was one of the most important sacred symbols, associated not only with darkness, but also with precious things, such as in the case of *Xiuhcóatl*, or the turquoise serpent used as a weapon by *Huitzilopochtli* (a link between the blue of the heavens and the green of the earth), or the plumed serpent, *Quetzalcóatl*, simultaneously earth and sky, the sacred serpent which could fly.



Photos by Arturo Piera

The coiled serpent, an outstanding example of Aztec sculpture.

Mexica sculpture boasts many representations of both *Xiuhcóatl* and *Quetzalcóatl*. *Xiuhcóatl* is represented as a serpent whose main feature is an upper mandible extended like a crest, festooned with several eyeballs and which has two arms with hands and claws and a body that looks like blazing torches. *Quetzalcóatl* is symbolized

The details of its scales are plastically excellent.

as a serpent covered with the plumes of the sacred bird, the *quetzal*.

Nahuatl tradition says that the world as we know it was created during the nocturnal transfiguration of *Ometéotl*, the Absolute. This transfiguration is known as *Tezcatlipoca*, or "the smoky mirror," from which the four directions of the universe emerged: black, the North; white, the West; blue, the South; and red, the East. Night, then, was decisive in Nahuatl cosmology; and since the serpent was a symbol associated with the night, the abundance of serpents in Aztec art is not at all surprising, despite the Mexicas calling themselves "the people of the Sun."

The piece at the MUCA is an important sample of Mexica artistic virtuosity. Besides the qualities inherent to artistic realism, it incorporates elements that transcend realism: the incisors and the size of the canine teeth; the rigorous geometric shape of the facial features, including small ornamental concentric circles almost at the level of the joining of the upper and lower jaw; the eyebrows; and the size of the eyes.

Combining realism with abstraction, the different parts of the statue blend formal simplicity and an aesthetic result of great impact, throwing into relief the Mexica aim of integration. Simplicity leads to complexity; synthesis transmits multiplicity. From this we can infer the main symbolic meaning of this type of representation in which the original *Ometecuhtli-Omecíhuatl* duality, the masculine-feminine principle, manifested itself as life-death, rain-fire, light-darkness, plumed serpent-earthbound serpent. However, the artists and *toltecas* always understood these antitheses as part of a single absolute principle, *Ometéotl*, *Ipalnemohuani*, or as *Tloque Nahuaque*. Therefore, the symbol of the serpent, whether in sculpture, relief or a mural, among not only the Nahuas, but also Mexico's other pre-Hispanic cultures, alluded primarily to one of the facets of the Absolute which, despite its earthly qualities, at any moment might appear covered in feathers and take flight into the firmament. VM

Gabriel Figueroa

IN SEARCH OF "MEXICAN-NESS," THE HALLMARKS OF AN AGE

1908-1997

A prestigious master of the movie camera, Gabriel Figueroa studied for a time at the National Conservatory of Music and the Academy of San Carlos. He cut short his studies to work as a still photographer in 1932 for the film *Revolución*. In 1933 he received a scholarship to study movie camera work in Hollywood with Gregg Toland. His first job as director of photography was on the film *Escándalo*, sharing the credit with Víctor Guerra. His first film as sole director of photography was *Allá en el Rancho Grande* shot in 1936.

Gabriel Figueroa, third from the left.

To try to get across the genius of Figueroa's work, we must make reference to painting. There are a series of contrasts between photography and painting. In Figueroa's work, we cannot tell when painting becomes part of photography, just as it is difficult to tell when normal people, from real life, have come down off the screen or when they jumped onto it. Life, in the expression on a face, the portrayal of the Mexican people's ideal existence, with all its good qualities and its defects.

Nature in movement. Figueroa is the José María Velasco[1] of film; he does things in slow motion, well thought out, without rushing, like in a small town. His shots of faces are more a complete narrative concept of the image than mere photography. Where have those faces of Mexico of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s gone? We seem to be losing them.

How can we talk about one talent without talking about others? It's almost impossible. These discoveries and encounters are not done by magic. They are the accumulation of an entire culture. We cannot explain a Gabriel Figueroa without a Goya, a Diego Rivera, a Siqueiros or an Orozco. Neither could we think about him without other great talents of cinematography like Luis Buñuel, Fernando de Fuentes, Emilio "Indio" Fernández, Chano Urueta, Alejandro Galindo, John Houston, John Ford, etc.

Allá en el Rancho Grande was the first of a series of formula films that would be repeated ad nauseam. Gabriel Figueroa did not portray reality, but what people wanted reality to be like. Figueroa, like all men of his time, was seduced by that term conceived of by philosophers and formulated by literati: "Mexican-ness." He could not escape the hallmark of his age, a hallmark sought also by Dr. Atl, Siqueiros, Octavio Paz, etc., and that Figueroa depicts in many of his films, like *The Pearl* and *Enamorada*. Both an able technician of photography and a penetrating

[1] José María Velasco (1840-1912) was one of Mexico's most important landscape painters.

Esther Fernández, Tito Guízar and René Cardona in *Allá en el Rancho Grande* (1936).

psychologist, Figueroa was a master at shaping contradictory feelings. The contrasts he deals with are terrifying. Beautiful scenery may be followed by incredible desolation. It is an entire philosophy of fatality and entrapment with no way out. His scenes of cities of low buildings moving at a sickening pace toward ruin while Mexico sleeps, for example, are famous.

A penetrating psychologist, Figueroa was a master at shaping contradictory feelings.

In *Los olvidados*, directed by Luis Buñuel, terrific violence is simply random, a blind man lashing out at the empty air. His shots of the countryside present us with marvelous skies, agave plants, clouds and horses cantering into a sunset, getting lost on the horizon.[2]

When foreign directors wanted to film something Mexican, there was no question: they hired Gabriel Figueroa.

[2] Film expert Emilio García Riera notes that Figueroa "does a good job of photography [on *Los olvidados*] despite his surprise and chagrin at Buñuel's refusal to use filters to capture the photographic gems that adorned the films of 'Indio' Fernández." Emilio García Riera, *Historia documental del cine mexicano*, vol. 5, Universidad de Guadalajara-Jalisco State Government-Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía, 1993, pp. 186-187.

Allá en el Rancho Grande, Figueroa's first film as sole director of photography.

John Huston's *Under the Volcano* and Don Siegel's *Two Mules for Sister Sara* are only two examples.

His camera had such an impact on the characters created by directors Fernando de Fuentes, Alejandro Galindo or Luis Buñuel that shots from their movies are still remembered with nostalgia, like, for example, the famous image of María Félix walking next to Pedro Armendáriz' horse in shadow against a background of the sky and clouds on the clear horizon in the film *Enamorada.* Working with director "Indio" Fernández, Figueroa captured his best shots of tragic expressions, for example, in *The Pearl* and *María Candelaria.*

Gabriel Figueroa immortalized the most important faces of that period of Mexican film: Arturo de Córdova, Dolores del Río, Carlos López Moctezuma, Pedro Infante, Emilio Fernández, Ma. Elena Márquez, Cantinflas, Jorge Negrete, Joaquín Pardavé and many others owe him a good part of their fame.

There has been nothing to equal him, not even anything close, in Mexican film since. Those takes seem to have caught "Mexican-ness" on film for an entire era, and even today, they continue to be repeated. Strong images that need no explanatory dialogue because they can stand on their own. Lighting that brought out the beauty of faces and landscape like nature herself.

Enrique Sevilla
Film critic

SELECTED FILMOGRAPHY OF GABRIEL FIGUEROA

Director: Fernando de Fuentes
Vámonos con Pancho Villa, 1935
Las mujeres mandan, 1936
Allá en el Rancho Grande, 1936
Bajo el cielo de México, 1937
La casa del ogro, 1938
Papacito lindo, 1939
Allá en el trópico, 1940
El jefe máximo, 1940
Creó su Dios, 1940
La gallina clueca, 1941

Director: Alejandro Galindo
Refugio en Madrid, 1938
Mientras México duerme, 1938
Ni sangre ni arena, 1941
El rápido de las 9:15, 1941
Virgen de media noche, 1941

Director: Emilio Fernández
Flor Silvestre, 1943
María Candelaria (Xochimilco), 1943
Las abandonadas, 1944
Bugambilia, 1944
La perla, 1945
Duelo en las montañas, 1945
The Torch (Del odio nació el amor), 1945
Enamorada, 1946
Río escondido, 1947
Maclovia, 1948
Salón México, 1948
Pueblerina, 1948
La malquerida, 1949
Un día de vida, 1950
Víctimas del pecado, 1950
Islas Marías, 1950
Siempre tuya, 1950
La bienamada, 1951
El mar y tú, 1951
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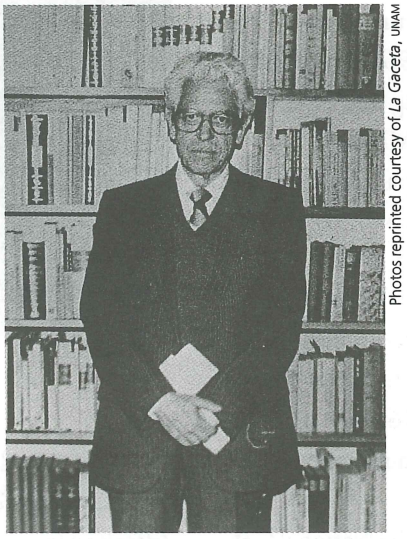
Source: Emilio García Riera, *Historia documental del cine mexicano,* vols. 5-10, Universidad de Guadalajara-Gobierno de Jalisco-CONACULTA-Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía, Guadalajara, 1993 and 1994.

Fernando Salmerón Roig

PHILOSOPHER AND EDUCATOR

1925-1997

For the last century, philosophy in Mexico has gone through periods of effervescence and creativity and long, dormant periods. The same cannot be said of Fernando Salmerón Roig, a philosopher who left behind him a vast body of creative work and a legacy of untiring dedication to teaching: several generations of aspiring Mexican philosophers.



Photos reprinted courtesy of *La Gaceta*, UNAM

Salmerón was part of that outstanding generation of Mexican intellectuals who, educated at the beginning of the 1950s, were concerned with a broad spectrum of disciplines and committed thinking. Part of that generation was the Hyperion Group, philosophers immortalized by their attempt to define the status of philosophy in Mexico, delimit its specificity and distinguish it from the currents that existed in the great cultural and philosophical centers of their time, Germany, France and the United States. In a word, they attempted to define the "originality" of Mexican philosophy.

Mexican philosophers like Ricardo Guerra, Luis Villoro, Miguel Portilla and, particularly, Leopoldo Zea, shared with Salmerón this theoretical concern together with the hope of changing philosophy into a tool at the service of our nationality, an instrument capable of reflecting about "Mexican-ness" with the noble end of joining thought with the recovery of a culture and a people, the Mexican people, in its search for identity and happiness. They founded the "philosophy of 'Mexican-ness,'" and with it, influenced the country's cultural milieu, such as for example, the "indigenousist" writers like Rosario Castellanos, the poets of "Mexican-ness" like Jaime Sabines, or the musicians and dramatists whose work forged a link between art and the emotional heritage of their people, like Pablo Pascual Moncayo and Emilio Carballido. Also devotees of this mystique were cinematographers like director of photography Gabriel Figueroa and director Emilio "Indio" Fernández, and painters like Rufino Tamayo.

The ideas of the Hyperion Group, were basic, foundational ideas, and not only of an aesthetic. They pointed mainly to a system of ethics that permeated Mexican politics and society.

Born in Córdoba, Veracruz, in 1925, Salmerón also had a long career as a leader and director of teaching institutions and of higher education. Therefore, it is not surprising that his theoretical contribution was in the field of the ethics and philosophy of education.

For Salmerón, the language of education was the same as the language of morality. Teaching could not be conceived of without the theoretical-reflexive basis of a philosophical system to base it on.

Salmerón studied law at the Veracruzana University and philosophy at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. He also did graduate studies in philosophy at the Albert Ludwig University in Freiberg, Germany.

He was influenced by the emigre philosopher José Gaos, whom he always considered his teacher and with whom he shared both experiences and illusions in the seminars and courses Gaos taught, attended assiduously by Salmerón until Gaos' death. Salmerón dedicated his life, like Gaos, to universities: at the age of 30 he was a founder and the first director of the School of Philosophy and Letters of the Veracruzana University in his home state. From 1959 to 1963, he was dean of this university.

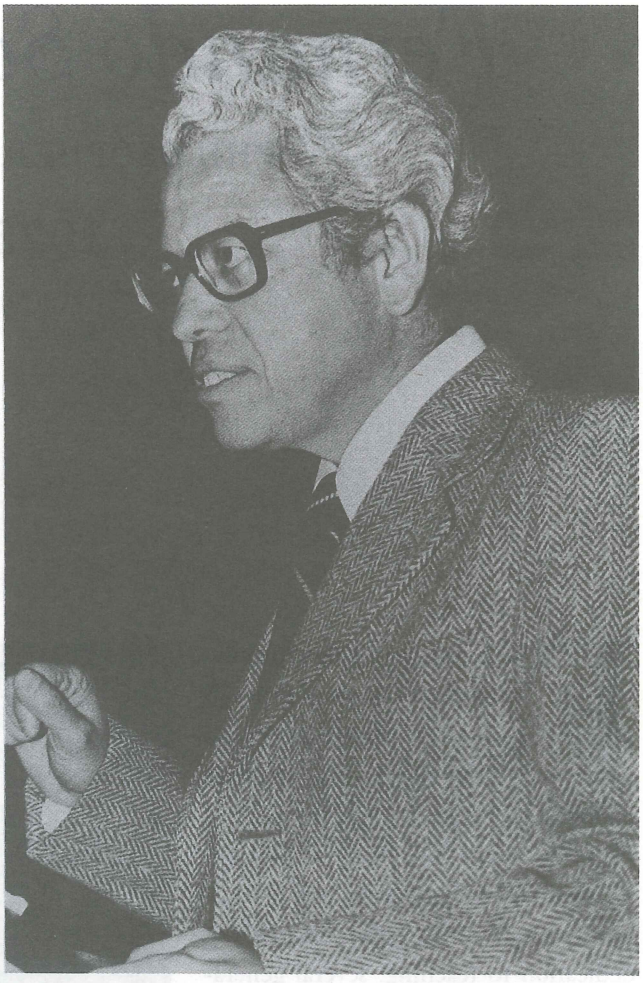
He later returned to the UNAM and in 1965 was appointed General Director of Higher Learning and Scientific Research of Mexico's Public Education Ministry.

After a period as dean of the Iztapalapa campus of the Autonomous Metropolitan University (UAM), he became dean of the entire UAM between 1979 and 1981.

However, it was at the UNAM that he lived out most of his professional life. He was twice the director of the UNAM Institute for Philosophical Research and held the Special Chair for Philosophy of Education, in 1966 and in 1978. From 1983 until his retirement, he was a member of the UNAM Board of Governors.

In 1972 he was made a full member of the National College, an academy of the country's most outstanding scientists and humanists. He was also a distinguished member of the International Institute of Philosophy, the Executive Board of the National System of Researchers[1] and the Board of Governors of the Mexico College, perhaps the country's most prestigious and best known research and graduate center of learning both here and abroad. He also received the National Prize for Science and the Arts for his important contribution to ethics and the philosophy of education.

[1] The National System of Researchers is an institution that evaluates the work of Mexican scientists and researchers to give them financial support to develop their work.



His vast body of work includes *Las mocedades de Ortega y Gasset* (The Youthful Frolics of Ortega and Gasset); *La filosofía y las actitudes morales* (Philosophy and Moral Attitudes); *Enseñanza y filosofía* (Teaching and Philosophy); *Los estudios cervantinos de José Gaos* (Studies on Cervantes by José Gaos); *Etica y análisis* (Ethics and Analysis); *Filosofía y teoría de la historia de México* (Philosophy and the Theory of History of Mexico); and *Concepciones de la ética* (Conceptions of Ethics).

The death of Fernando Salmerón is an irreparable loss to Mexico's cultural and philosophical circles. Mexican society as a whole also suffers for it because he was one of the men who, through his thinking, became the moral conscience of an entire nationality.

Diego I. Bugeda
Managing Editor

Heberto Castillo

CONSTRUCTOR OF IDEALS

1928-1997

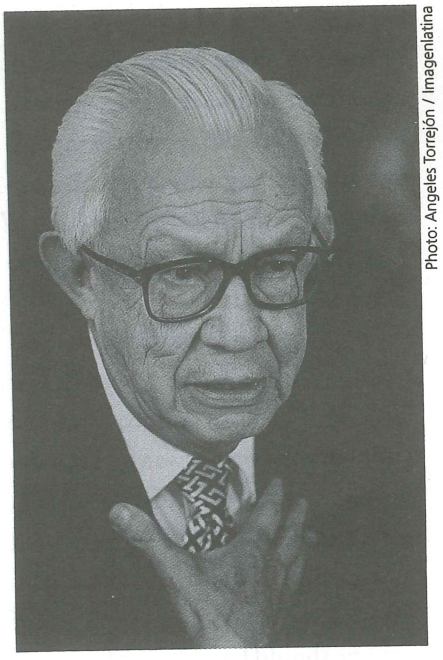


Photo: Angeles Torrejón / Imagenlatina

There are men who fight for one day and they are necessary; there are men who fight for a year, and they are even more necessary; and then, there are men who fight for a lifetime. They are indispensable. Heberto Castillo belonged to this last category, an untiring fighter for just causes and an irreplaceable creator of utopias, a builder of ideals.

Heberto Castillo Martínez was a man of achievement and conviction. His death last April 5 at the age of 68 inevitably creates a void in Mexican politics. But he also left behind him an example: Heberto will always be remembered —and hopefully emulated— for his integrity and adherence to his ideals.

The political biography of Heberto —as he was affectionately known by his friends, the people of Mexico, his comrades and even his political adversaries— a man of the left, is a winding road, with its ups and downs and successes and failures, but the whole way is characterized by his clarity, perseverance and, above all, his loyalty to his ideals.

From the time he was a young man, Castillo participated in social struggles. He actively supported the 1959 railroad workers struggle, the 1965 national doctors movement and the 1968 student movement. For his participation alongside the students in 1968 as a leader of the Coalition of High School and University Teachers, he was jailed for over three years in the infamous Lecumberri prison.

Stubborn, and sometimes even obstinate, in the defense of his ideas —the fight for democracy and social justice in Mexico— he was never dogmatic. He dedicated a great part of his life to what he believed was a profoundly creative activity, politics. In the 1960s he founded the National Liberation Movement (MLN) together with important political figures like former President Lázaro Cárdenas, great intellectuals and writers such as Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes, and old leftist leaders like railroad worker Demetrio Vallejo. The aim: under the influence of the Cuban Revolution, to take Mexico forward toward a socialist form of government.

While in jail after 1968, he developed the idea of creating a new political party; when he was reléased, he founded the Mexican Workers Party

Always energetic, he worked untiringly for peace, yielding neither to threats nor political pressure.

(PMT), under whose banner a decade later he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Later, he played a major role in the founding of the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS), which merged several different left-leaning parties, and for which he was the presidential candidate at the beginning of the 1988 electoral campaign. However, he resigned his candidacy in favor of that of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who was backed by the PMS, the Popular Socialist Party (PPS), the Party of the Cardenista Front for National Reconstruction (PFCRN) and the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM), all grouped in a coalition called the National Democratic Front (FDN).

Out of that movement came the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), of which Heberto was a founder. Under the aegis of the PRD, he was elected to the Senate, retaining his seat until his death.

A dedicated fighter for peace, he formed part of the Senate's Pacification Commission (COCOPA) aimed at achieving peace with dignity and justice in Chiapas. Always energetic, he worked untiringly for peace, yielding neither to threats nor political pressure. Some of his ideas were widely known and roundly criticized, particularly by the more Jacobin sectors of the left, like for example, his critical opinion of some of the negative aspects of the Cuban Revolution, or his efforts to lead the left down a more democratic road, leaving behind the Leninist principles of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Heberto Castillo was an engineer by profession, an innovative scientist and audacious technician. He had an intense professional career in civil engineering. He was famous as the inventor of the *tridilosa*, a system for rationally distributing materials in concrete constructions, saving on costs without skimping on materials. Using this technique, he helped build numerous bridges and highways around the country, as well as the landmark Pemex Tower. Heberto followed this same logic of rationalization and distribution of resources in his political life.

A visionary, he always acted not only prudently, but also judiciously and tolerantly. To him, democracy meant above all dialogue. Perhaps this is the key to the fact that, in the second half of the twentieth century, Heberto Castillo was one of Mexico's most revered politicians, respected by both his own colleagues and his political opponents.

A man of action, he was also a man of ideas. His passionate, convincing speeches in Congress will go down in history. Perhaps the most outstanding of these were his speeches during the José López Portillo administration, brilliantly criticizing the executive policy then called in political circles the "petroleumization" of the economy.

Time proved Castillo right in that case and on many other national political issues, particularly because the seasoned politician and fighter always sought creative solutions for the grave problems the country faced.

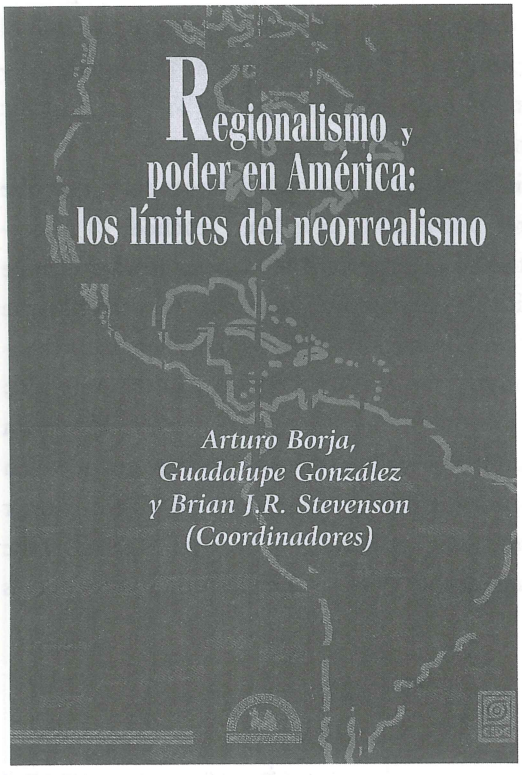
A builder of utopias, journalism was also one of his passions, which he engaged in with the same fervor he brought to all his endeavors. He left behind him a myriad of magazine and newspaper articles, particularly outstanding among which are his contributions to the Mexico City daily *El Universal* and the weekly magazine *Proceso*.

In many ways, his death was premature, not because of his age, but because it came at a time when the country is moving toward greater democracy, without authoritarianism, unrestricted to a single party, toward an ideal that Castillo had dedicated his life to. It was also premature because if anyone should have enjoyed the consolidation of democracy in our country it was precisely Heberto Castillo.

As his daughter, Laura Itzel Castillo, today a leader of the PRD, has said, "Some men are not buried. Some men are sown like seeds on the land."

Diego I. Bugeda
Managing Editor

Reviews



Regionalismo y poder en América: los límites del neorrealismo
(Regionalism and Power in America: The Limits of Neorealism)
Arturo Borja, Guadalupe González And Brian R. Stevenson
Miguel Angel Porrúa-CIDE
Mexico City, 1996, 495 pp.

This book's central aim is to explain how some currents of thought in the realist and neorealist schools in the social sciences explain international integration today. A second objective is to offer up an initial critique of neorealism in the existing complex international political and economic system. Lastly, it presents us with a stimulating analysis of regionalism in the post-Cold War period, some case studies and considerations about political coalitions and non governmental organizations (NGOs), of great importance in the Americas.

This critical look at different realist and neorealist theoreticians (Carr, Kehoane, Nye, Watz, etc.) has the virtue of restricting itself to the Western Hemisphere. This makes it especially original and important, both in terms of theoretical proposals for the study of international relations in our time and, more particularly, its focus on countries in the Americas as its central empirical reference point.

This Mexican-U.S. collaborative effort was made in and from Mexico on the initiative of Mexican academics who invited Canadian, U.S., Mexican and Latin American experts to participate, including J. Ikenberry, U. Pipitone, M.K. Hawes, J. Chabat, J.M. Grieco, B. Torres, C. Escudé, V. Arriaga and the book's coordinators themselves. Besides being a theoretical reformulation of the study of the new phenomena in the Americas, it is an

"The traditional view of international politics as a chess board is no longer tenable, given that not all the players on the important boards are states."

introspective work on the methodology used for understanding regional phenomena as a watershed for the reorganization of the end-of-century new order.

In commenting the book's proposals, a first mention should be made that a study about any country's territorial expansion (in this case, the United States, the dominant actor in the region) would be unfortunate if at the same time an effort is not made to theoretically understand its regional dimension. Along these lines, and with reference to K. Boot, we can say that divorcing strategic from area or regional studies is ineffectual since it amounts to thinking in a void.

Throughout the entire book, the authors persevere in the analysis of the realist and neorealist schools, attempting, in addition, a parallel study which reveals the relatively divergent temporal, spacial and political planes that they occupy in the global organization of the past-present. In this sense, it is estimated that "the traditional view of international politics as a chess board is no longer tenable given that in contemporary world politics not all the players on the important boards are states, and variation of the boards limits state behavior. Some are more susceptible than others to the use of force."

In the light of this historical approximation, the authors reexamine ideas of neorealist thinkers about realism and "complex interdependency." They maintain that "from the start, their intention was to make a synthesis of —not completely reject— realism like their predecessors, the modernist liberals, had. At the center of their analysis is the creation of an ideal type, which they called 'complex interdependence'."

Outstanding among the articles on regionalism vs. the nation-state is the work by Jorge Chabat, who expounds the case of Mexico's integration into the post-Cold War world; by Ugo Pipitone, who deals with new regional actors; and by Alan Grieco, who writes about regional economic institutionalization.

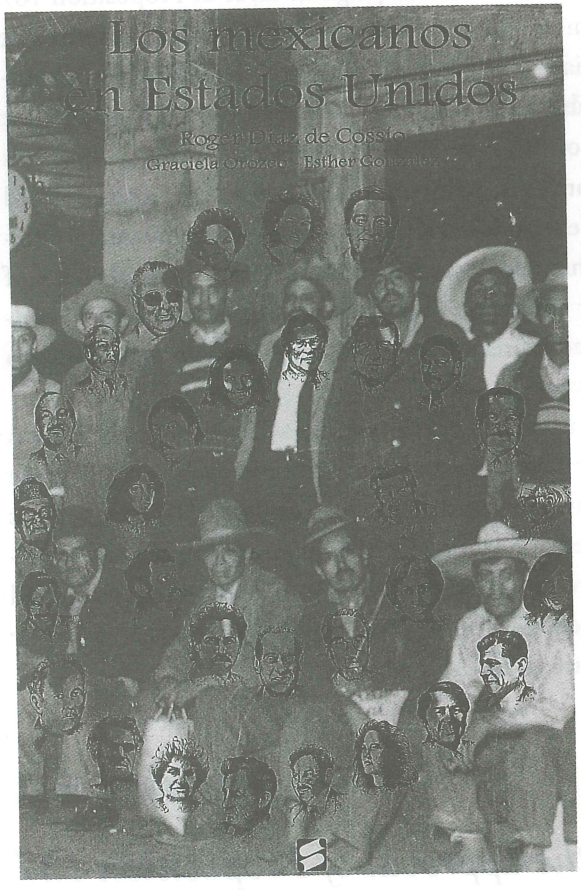
The last part of the book includes several case studies vis-à-vis the systemic level as a limitation of neorealist theory. Agustín Arriaga's article is about U.S.-Mexican commercial reciprocity from 1883 on, and Héctor González delves into the relationship between Colombia and Mexico in the domestic and international fight against drugs. Brian R. Stevenson and Guillermo Torres present an interesting article in which they analyze the role of non governmental organizations in the relationship between Canada and Latin America in the context of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

In their conclusion, the coordinators state that the book's three initial aims have been reached: 1) understanding the most important tendencies toward change in the political system of the Americas; 2) evaluating the usefulness and limitations of realist and neorealist theories for studying international relations in the Americas; and 3) establishing points of contact between European and U.S. internationalists (the two laboratories in which these theories were initially experimented with) and their Mexican and Latin American counterparts. Finally, the authors suggest that this is a contribution to the process

The authors reexamine ideas of neorealist thinkers about realism and "complex interdependency."

of generating theories "from the South and from the North" which "would help us, through empirical analysis, to better understand and predict the international forces that will mark the behavior of societies and states in the Western Hemisphere as we approach the twenty-first century."

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde
Researcher at CISAN



Los mexicanos en los Estados Unidos
(Mexicans in the United States)
Roger Díaz de Cosío, Graciela Orozco and Esther González
Sistemas Técnicos de Edición
Mexico City, 1997, 331 pp.

It is difficult to deal with a topic as complex as the contemporary history of Mexicans who have temporarily resided or settled for good in the United States. However, Roger Díaz de Cosío, Graciela Orozco and Esther González, in their book *Los mexicanos en los E.U.*, do a novel, up-to-date and complete overall analysis of the demographic, political, socio-economic and cultural situation of our fellow Mexicans who live within our northern neighbor's borders. To be sure, there are already many specialized academic texts on this topic that, for example, deal with these peoples' history (and what was Mexican territory before the U.S.-Mexican War); Mexican migration to the United States from the nineteenth century on; the Civil Rights Movement; the great wealth of cultural manifestations —which are increasingly revolutionary— of the Chicano movement; general educational questions and the growing number of studies on Chicanos in particular; the economic and social situation of Hispanics in different parts of the U.S.; the growing role of Spanish-language and bilingual media in these groups' self-expression; and finally, the impact on bilateral relations with the United States.

The originality of this book lies in its detailed description of these questions from a global, interdisciplinary perspective. That is what makes it an obligatory reference book with an up-to-date compendium of figures and timely interpretations.

I could go into more detail about all the topics the authors touch on. However, I will refer exclusively to the Mexican government's recent effort to get closer to the Mexican-American community it had forgotten for so many years, and the new activism stemming from that, an unprecedented period in Mexican foreign policy. In many essays, I have maintained that from the start of the NAFTA negotiations, the U.S. and Mexican governments adopted a more positive attitude which resulted in the development of a continual, constant dialogue and the formalization of the links between different actors in both countries. As a result, dozens of bilateral agreements about different questions were signed and officials of both nations met more and more frequently, creating the basis for our government changing its relatively passive foreign policy style.

Despite the always very intense personal relations between Mexicans living in both countries, generally Mexican institutional links with U.S. Hispanic groups have been quite weak.

The positive impact this had on Mexican-U.S. relations, but particularly in Mexican relations with the Hispanic community, is indisputable. The Mexican government finally recognized that the population of Mexican origin in the United States was crucial and that it should try to establish ties with it. Mexican authorities became interested in the projections that this group will be the absolute majority in California and Texas in the year 2020, with the enormous attendant political potential.

Despite the always very intense personal relations between Mexicans living in both countries, generally Mexican institutional links with U.S. Hispanic groups have been quite weak. Negative stereotypes had even developed on either side of the border. The Mexican government, aware that there were only isolated projects, that very few meetings took place among federal agencies and that almost all the effort was going into defending our countrymen/women, set different goals for diversifying its relations with the Hispanic community. This growing activism was carried out in four basic stages:

1) *Getting closer to leaders of the Mexican-American community.* As I have already pointed out, in 1990 the Foreign Relations Ministry created the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad aimed at establishing a policy for getting in touch with these community organizations for different ends.

2) *Lobbying Congress and U.S. society.* Beginning in 1990, when the Mexican government decided to begin the NAFTA negotiations, it decided also to openly lobby Congress and U.S. society. It adopted this new political tactic despite the prior abandonment of its lukewarm, little publicized lobbying attempts due to the concern that the United States might feel that, tit for tat, it had the right to lobby in Mexico. The Mexican government lobbied all key political figures, but made a special effort to link up with Hispanic members of Congress.

3) *An energetic response to the California government on Proposition 187.* Greater government activism in defense of our interests clearly emerged as a new political tactic abroad when the campaign in favor of Proposition 187 began in 1994. Protests from both Mexican government officials to U.S. officials and as well as those from innumerable different groups and sectors of U.S. society are part of this new internationalization of our policy. It is important to point out that this stance is unprecedented in Mexican foreign policy, one of whose historic principles has been non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Our diplomats have traditionally considered expressing an opinion of this type tantamount to intervention.

It is not surprising that the Mexican government was concerned about the approval of Proposition 187 given that it spurred a new anti-Mexican attitude that has injured our countrymen/women, added yet another irritant to an already conflictive bilateral relationship and affected the cooperation programs in place to jointly solve this sensitive problem.

It is not surprising that the approval of Proposition 187 added yet another irritant to an already conflictive bilateral realtionship.

4) *The dual nationality law.* Formulated after the approval of Proposition 187, this law is an answer on the part of the Mexican government, since its main beneficiaries are Mexican immigrants who have lived and worked legally in the United States for several years and have not decided to become naturalized U.S. citizens. The approval of Proposition 187 in California showed up the weak position Mexicans who had not acquired U.S. citizens found themselves in and the question of dual citizenship became relevant.

The legislation is also an answer to the anti-immigrant climate in the United States, mainly California, a climate which feeds into discrimination and threatens both the human and labor rights of our countrymen/women.

Because of Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant (particularly anti-Mexican) atmosphere in California, has made it possible for different sectors of U.S. society to exert pressure and propose changes in U.S. migration policy. In late 1996, U.S. congressional reforms to welfare and immigration legislation affected the right to different social services that both legal and undocumented immigrants had access to. These new laws evidence an increasingly aggressive and intolerant attitude on the part of conservative U.S. society to undocumented immigration, but also with regard to legal immigrants. This book analyzes this topic at length.

Lastly, I would like to mention that the authors have written an eminently readable book; it could easily be of interest not only to academics and specialists, but also to anyone who wants to be informed about the situation of our fellow countrymen/women in the United States, or who needs to look up a particular fact about the Mexican community there. The boxes featuring biographies of outstanding Mexican-American leaders are particularly attractive. I am sure that this book, with its wealth of material, will also spark interest in the Mexican-American community itself.

Mónica Verea Campos
Director of CISAN

¿Qué son los Estados Unidos?
(What Is the United States?)
Rafael Fernández de Castro and Claudia Franco (comp.)
PARMEC-ITAM, McGraw Hill
Mexico City, 1996, 314 pp.

Thinking about the role that the United States has or could have in today's world has been behind countless debates and unfinished exercises. More attention has been paid to the United States in our country since the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the need to know better the neighbor with whom we share a 2,597 kilometer border has also increased. But for most Mexicans, understanding what the United States is means saying, "It's very close, but very far away at the same time." It means knowing that it is the world's most powerful country, but also recognizing that we really know nothing about it, its culture, its interests or its inhabitants, among other things.

The complexity of our proximity to the United States has led a group of internationalist academics concerned

with knowing and understanding our northern neighbor —with which we share not only a border, but also economic interests and common problems— to bring out a book entitled *¿Qué son los Estados Unidos?* (What Is the United States?).

The book covers 10 different topics that the compilers considered the most important for an initial understanding of the country. *¿Qué son los Estados Unidos?* provides a general overview of the country, from its origins and the development of U.S. political thought, to its consolidation as a nation-state. Important actors like the Congress, the executive branch and the judicial system are examined clearly and concisely from a Mexican perspective.

Throughout history several systemic and internal elements have permeated Mexico-U.S. relations. Mexico's economic transformations undoubtedly played a preponderant role; Mexican economic liberalization enormously facilitated transactions between the two countries. The systemic factors had important repercussions in the new bilateral relationship. The end of the Cold War, in addition to having freed Washington from enormous expenditures, also made it clear that there had been steps forward in the different economic regional blocs, mainly in Western Europe.

One of the little studied but essential factors in understanding the new relationship between the two governments is their new way of dealing with it. To exemplify how the complex U.S. political system works, particularly its decision-making processes, the book takes a look at Mexican lobbying efforts during the NAFTA negotiations. Topics like trade and foreign policy underline how important it is for our country to have a systematic understanding of U.S. international behavior in politics and trade.

Important actors like the Congress, the executive branch and the judicial system are examined clearly and concisely from a Mexican perspective.

One of the little studied but essential factors in understanding the new relationship between the two governments is their new way of dealing with it.

The book allows us to understand the prerogatives shared by the executive and legislative branches of U.S. government, as well as detailing the relationship between the institutional prerogatives of the presidency, Congress and the political process itself. Finally, questions like the unequal relationship between the majority and minorities —particularly the Hispanic minorities— and the role of the media in determining the U.S. political agenda are carefully examined.

¿Qué son los Estados Unidos? comes out at a time when Mexican-U.S. relations have to be realistically and systematically analyzed. As Robert Pastor said in his review of the same book, "One of the great obstacles that the Mexico-U.S. relationship has to overcome is the lack of mutual understanding. The United States is seen as a big corporation from the point of view of Mexico-based research. This is explained in part because the relationship has been one of constant frustration."

Gabriela Bernal
Communications specialist, UNAM

Universidades

REVISTA DE LA UNION DE UNIVERSIDADES DE AMERICA LATINA

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ESPECIAL

Reunión entre la Asociación para la Unidad de América Latina (AUNA) y la Unión de Universidades de América Latina (UDUAL)

Contenido del número 12 Julio-Diciembre 1996

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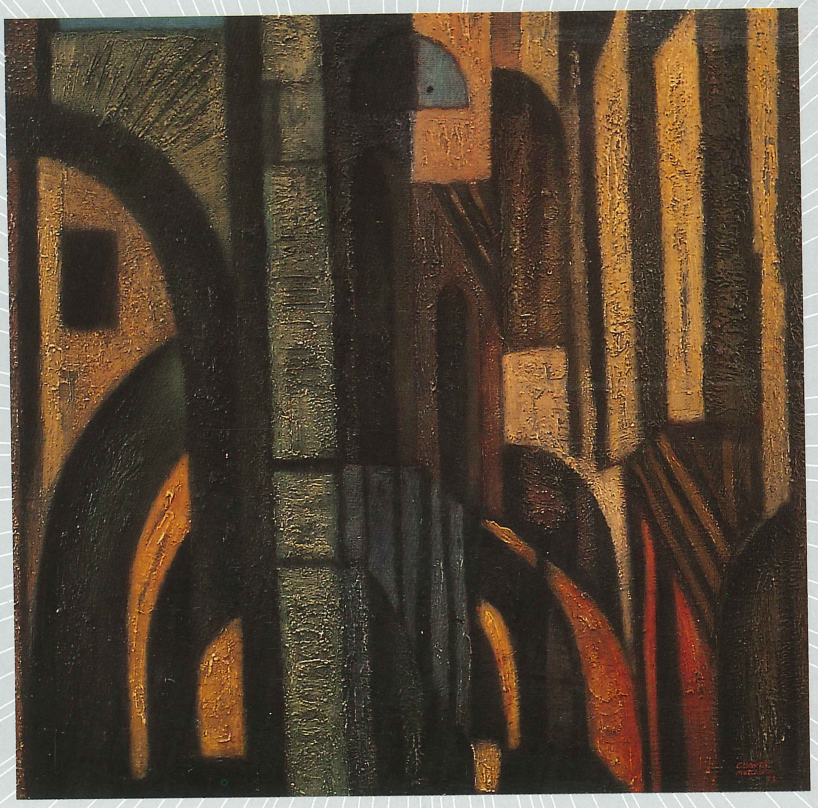

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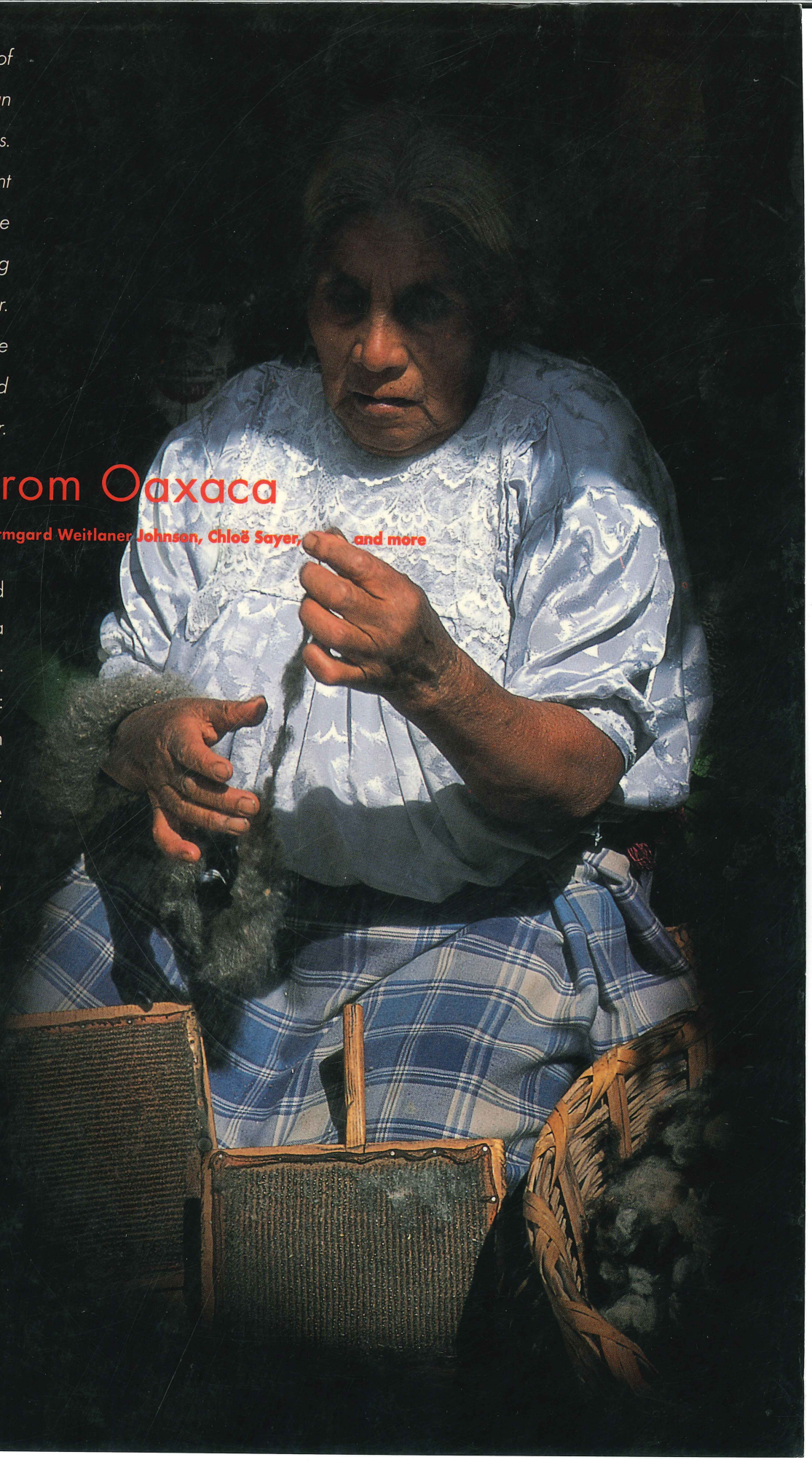

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