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Interview With Cándido Morales
Head of the Institute Of Mexicans Abroad

Mexicans In The United States
Articles by César Pérez, Vicente Quirarte, Esperanza García, Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Arturo Madrid, Elaine Levine, Mario Melgar, Jaime Chahín, Graciela Orozco, Bruce Novoa

Mexican Politics
Articles by Ricardo Raphael, José Buendía and Marco A. Morales

State of Mexico: Archaelogical Sites, Pre-Hispanic Cultures, Religion and Colonial Art

The Art of Kathy Vargas

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VOICES of Mexico™

Issue 64 July-September 2003

Daniel Mungula

Cover
Kathy Vargas, *Este Recuerdo–Dad*,
24 x 20 in., 2003 (hand colored gelatin silver print).

Back Cover
Kathy Vargas, *I Was Little,*
20 x 30 in., 1999 (iris print hand coloring).

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Daniel Mungula

Our Voice

Mexico-U.S. bilateral relations do not seem to be normalizing as they need to. The distancing of the two presidents and the apparent gap on common issues that this distancing shows has and will continue to have long-term negative implications for the many items pending on the two nations' agenda. The first and most important is the regularization of the situation of undocumented Mexican workers in the United States, and signing a migratory agreement that would make it possible to foresee these kinds of recurring difficulties that could become obstacles to negotiating other issues of the highest national interest for both parties.

The United States is making a grave mistake when it supposes that Mexican immigration is a security problem. And Mexico also makes a mistake if it assumes that the migration negotiations should favor it without being willing to offer something in exchange. Actually, however, today in the United States, the Latino population in general and the Mexican population in particular represent a sociological and political phenomenon of major importance. The more than five million Mexicans with irregular migratory status presuppose another fact of utmost significance: cash remittances (which come to more than U.S.$10 billion annually) are about to become the fundamental component of Mexican national income, surpassing oil, the maquila industry and tourism. If we add the fact that the growth rate of the Mexican-origin population in the United States is extremely high and has even surpassed that of Afro-Americans, Asians and other Latinos, we have a budding process of exponential growth of Mexicans that is impossible to ignore in either country.

In the United States the political establishment is already highly sensitive to the growing importance of the Mexican population. In Mexico, on the other hand, there does not seem to be agreement about the implementation of a consistent long-term strategy to approach that population. It should be emphasized, however, that in the last three years our government has shown willingness to create some kind of link with the Mexican community in the U.S. that would help to eliminate possible differences and support it in the defense of its rights, frequently violated both by employers and other social and political actors. Washington has an unavoidable obligation: forcefully assuming the same respect for human rights at home that it demands of other countries. No justification for not upholding this principle is acceptable, whether invoking the irregular status of millions of Mexican immigrants, or the principle of national security that the United States has reinforced particularly since 9/11 and has imposed today both unilaterally and arbitrarily on the rest of the world's countries. What is more, the application of this principle to justify the delay in negotiating a migratory agreement negates precisely what it strives to affirm: the irregular status of any citizen in any country is, in and of itself, a high risk for that state and that society since it makes it impossible to locate the resident in question. In reality, the solution lies in taking the opposite tack. Recognizing the problem (the existence of an important number of Mexicans without proper legal status) is probably the only possibility of finding a viable solution: offering them the opportunity of residency with dignity and a work environment consistent with the most cherished principles of U.S. democracy.

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The issue of the different dynamics of the Mexican-origin population in the United States (demographic, economic, social, political and cultural) has taken on unprecedented relevance in recent years. Its importance is undoubtedly one of the definitive matters in the bilateral relationship for the new century, as well as for the future of regional economic integration. This is the reason why *Voices of Mexico* has called upon specialists from both sides of the border to reflect about the future of the Latino population —especially

that of Mexican origin— in the United States. In this and the next issue of our magazine, we will publish interviews, essays and articles about the main problems that affect our compatriots and the Hispanic population in general on the other side of the border. In the current issue, we begin our "Politics" section with an interview with Cándido Morales, the man in charge of relations with and matters pertaining to our compatriots in the United States. Morales explains the main programs and policies designed in recent years to facilitate relations with the Mexican diaspora in the United States that include a broad gamut of activities and concerns in the fields of the economy, politics, culture, the protection of migrants' human rights, legal aid, labor support and bilingual education, among others. He also describes the structure and functions of the recently created Institute of Mexicans Abroad, which has a broad Advisory Council made up, among others, of more than 100 persons of Mexican origin residing in the United States. The section continues with an article by César Pérez Espinosa about the Hispanic caucus in the U.S. House of Representatives, which in his opinion has functioned in a very limited fashion within the rules imposed by the bi-partisan system, with scant real impact in favor of Latinos as a national ethnic minority. The section also includes two articles about burning issues for Mexican politics today. On the one hand, independent Deputy José Buendía and legislative specialist Marco A. Morales have contributed an article about the new Law of Transparency and Access to Public Information, which the two authors co-designed in its local version for Mexico City. This law establishes for the first time the mechanisms and procedures for the public to have access to government information previously denied to it despite the fact that the right to information was established in the Constitution. The new law also stipulates the criteria the authorities will use to classify certain information for reasons of national security, public safety or respect for personal privacy. Analyst Ricardo Raphael de la Madrid has contributed a balance sheet on Mexico's outgoing Fifty-Eighth Congress, which he considers one of the most productive in history, despite the general impression of its supposed stagnation and inability to process the most important legal reforms the country requires to consolidate its democracy. The author situates that inability, rather, in President Vicente Fox's administration, which has not understood Mexico's new pluralism, and therefore repeats the vices and behavior of the presidentialism that it previously criticized.

Our "History" section brings our readers a contribution from well-known Mexican writer Vicente Quirarte, who reviews the literature about New York produced by nineteenth-century Mexican travelers, among them renowned politicians and writers.

Mexican specialist Esperanza García contributes an article to our "Society" section about the Chicano movement and its struggles, not only for social justice, civil rights and non-discrimination, but to define an identity that would bring it closer to but at the same time distinguish it from its origins and its present. To do this, her analysis moves through the proposals of the main exponents of Chicano thought of the last four decades. In this section, we also present a vision of what could be called "neo-Chicano-ism" written by one of the most important contemporary representatives of that movement, Guillermo Gómez-Peña. Beyond the search for his own identity, he also reflects on the conditions imposed on Mexican Americans by new circumstances like September 11, regional integration, the emergence of democracy in Mexico and U.S. neo-conservatism and its unilateralist international policy.

Our "United States Affairs" section begins with a sweeping contribution from Mexican-American academic Arturo Madrid, who presents a critical review of the history of Chicano studies and the struggle to win for them a place as an academic discipline in U.S. universities. Elaine Levine, for her part, reflects on the important issue of continuing and even increasing segregation —sometimes hidden and sometimes totally open— of the Mexican-origin population in the United States. This segregation has confined Mexicans to barrios, ghettos in which they reproduce their culture of origin without a positive integration into the social reality of the host nation as a whole. Mario Melgar Adalid writes about the important issue of migration and its impact on bilateral relations. He shows how neither the North American Free Trade Agreement, nor the events of September 11, nor economic globalization and regional integration have reduced the flow of migrants, but rather, to the contrary, have contributed to increasing it because of the rising poverty in developing countries caused precisely by these phenomena. Another Mexican-American academic, Jaime Chahín, presents

the results of his research on Latinos and education in the U.S., showing how, while in some southwestern states the majority of students are of Latino origin, there are big gaps in the quality of education received by different ethnic groups. As a consequence Latinos tend to enroll much more in trade schools and community colleges than in universities and professional schools. This section concludes with an article by Graciela Orozco that shows a very complete panorama of not-for-profit Latino organizations in the United States. Orozco describes how, despite the fact that in recent years there has been a veritable explosion of new Latino organizations, they are increasingly confronting problems in getting funding both from government and large U.S. foundations, the majority of which still have discriminatory practices with honorable exceptions like the Ford Foundation.

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The "Art and Culture" section is dedicated to Mexican-origin artists in the United States whose themes may be considered universal. Lucy Lippard has presented us with an intuitive essay about the motivations and complete career of photographer Kathy Vargas, a San Antonio resident. Her images have multiple meanings, always related to the transcendental forces that mold our life experiences, among them love and death. For his part, Xavier Quirarte looks at the acid, transborder work of La Pocha Nostra, a forum for artists of different generations, disciplines and ethnic origins. Founded by Guillermo Gómez-Peña, the group explores, among others, issues like migration, the politics of language and the hybrid, intercultural identities that help go beyond political borders between countries.

This issue's "The Splendor of Mexico" section examines the cultural past of the State of Mexico, which formed part of the Mesoamerican highlands. María del Carmen Carbajal writes about four of the 17 archaeological sites that have been excavated in the state, which are representative of the cultural, economic and geo-political pre-Columbian development reached by the region. For their part, Gustavo Ramírez and Carlos Madrigal take us to mystical Malinalco, telling us about its pre-Hispanic and colonial past, visible in its ceremonial and civic architecture. Lastly, in Mexico, the rites of the Catholic faith are undeniably linked to the world of the gods that dominated these lands before the arrival of the Spanish, as can be seen in the fervent worship of the Holy Lord of Chalma, whose sanctuary is the second most visited in the country.

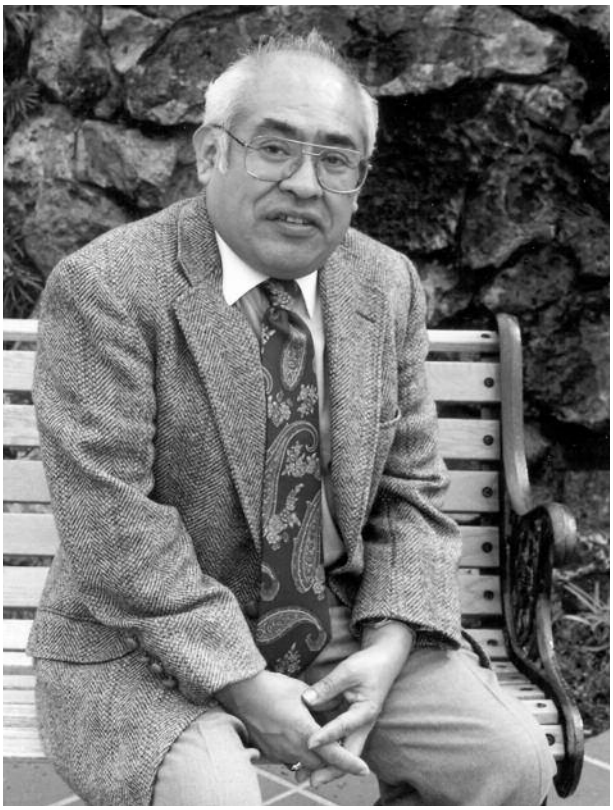
The National Museum of the Viceroyalty, in the beautiful city of Tepotzotlán, graces our "Museums" section, not only because it has one of the country's richest and most splendid collections of viceregal art, but also because of the context in which they are exhibited: the former Jesuit San Francisco Javier College.

"Ecology" describes one of the most ambitious environment protection projects of the State of Mexico and the country as a whole carried out in recent years: the restoration of the waters of what was once Texcoco Lake. Engineer Gerardo Cruickshank, director of the project, describes its importance for ecological recovery and the area's sustainable economic development.

Continuing our review of new Chicano literature, Bruce Novoa has written an essay about the poetry of Rita Maria Magdaleno, whose first book introduces us to a collection of poems that renew the concepts of the search for origins and identity, turning it into a fresh surprising literary proposal. Naturally, we also present our readers with a brief selection of Magdaleno's poetry.

José Luis Valdés-Ugalde

Interview with Cándido Morales
Head of the Institute Of Mexicans Abroad



Courtesy of the Institute of Mexicans Abroad

VOICES OF MEXICO: What is the current administration's policy about Mexicans in the United States, particularly the most vulnerable, like undocumented immigrants or those who have not yet acquired resident status or U.S. citizenship?

CÁNDIDO MORALES: With the creation of the Institute of Mexicans Abroad, the IME, the Mexican government has increased attention to communities outside the country. Of course, those who most need protection are people who go to the United States without documents; according to the U.S. census, of the approximately 8 million undocumented migrants there, about half are Mexican.

Through its network of consulates, the Mexican government offers these people information about their rights as human beings, as well as their labor rights, and a place to lodge complaints if a boss doesn't pay everything he owes or a sub-contractor commits abuses. Often the consulate will hire lawyers who know state law to defend these people's rights. For example, when the INS was carrying out raids at airports last year and many of those arrested were Mexican, the consulates mobilized to give them the most protection they could. Sometimes the only thing that could be done was to make sure that they were in good conditions and facilitate their safe return to Mexico because that's what the law stipulates: people without documents have to return. In other cas-

es with special conditions, the government intervened.

VM: In your view and with your experience and vision as a migrant, what are the main problems Mexican communities in the United States face and what is being done to deal with them?

CM: I think there are several central problems. First on the list is a migratory reform so those 4 million Mexicans can come out of the shadows. Their being undocumented reduces their earnings. Many can't go to clinics to get health care; they have no access to public housing. So, those four million Mexicans would like the U.S. and Mexican governments to make a migratory agreement. Unfortunately, since September 11, 2001, the United States has postponed the issue. I believe that what the Mexican government is doing is to increasingly emphasize it —sometimes through the Ministry of Foreign Relations, sometimes through the Ministry of the Interior, sometimes through Congress— to persuade the U.S. government that it cannot be postponed. Inside the United States, particularly in the Senate and the House of Representatives, there are those who would like the matter to be dealt with immediately because millions of people are living with undocumented status; and not only Mexicans: there are Asians, Europeans, South Americans, Canadians; people from all parts of the world.

VM: What are the most powerful organizations of Mexicans, the organizations of legal immigrants, doing to support the undocumented?

CM: There are very organized campaigns that have even reached the White House, the Capitol, and a bill has been written so that a congressperson or senator could present it to Congress. There have been national delegations with members from California, Texas, Illinois, New York, that have made alliances to have a greater impact and not take on a partisan mantle —whether Democrat or Republican— but as mixed groups. Once again, President Bush's official position has been, "Let's talk about this another time."

> The U. S. has demanded that the border be more secure and has increased measures to keep people out. As a result, sometimes human rights are violated.

VM: What measures has the Mexican government designed to support the political, social and economic development of our compatriots on the other side of the border? What programs of mutual aid have been set up among Mexicans on both sides of the border, of the migrants with their communities of origin?

CM: The Mexican government has fostered community development inside the United States at several levels. Many groups of compatriots have organized and the consulates have participated. It has also been the case that other organizations of Mexican Americans or even of Anglo-Americans promote community development to have an influence on U.S. politics on a local level, let's say to elect a Hispanic to the city council or for supervisor, let's say at a state level. The California state Congress, both House and Senate, has a 30-member Hispanic Caucus, most of them of Mexican ancestry, and they have influence as a group on the laws passed in the state.

VM: And on a federal level?

CM: On a federal level less has been achieved, but we do have congresspersons. Until now, there's no one in the Senate, but Rosario Marín will run next year in California. I think that things are in motion and Mexican-American, as well as Mexicans, have political clout: there's the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, MALDEF; the Mexican-American Political Association; and the League of United Latin American Citizens, LULAC. I think that with time, much can be achieved on all levels of U.S. politics. In the economic and social spheres, Mexico and the United States have been working on projects that would facilitate trade between the two nations. These are projects that can create jobs in Mexico so that people don't need to go to the United States as undocumented migrants. One of these is Partnership for Prosperity. I believe there is agreement between the Mexican and U.S. governments to try to promote and facilitate trade, both imports and exports.

VM: What are the links that the IME has established with the main organizations of Mexicans in the United States like La Raza, MALDEF and others?

CM: Well, when the IME Advisory Council was created it was with the very appropriate vision of including U.S. national organizations that exercised the most protection and were oriented to benefit Mexicans and Mexican Americans; 10 seats on the council were reserved for them. The list includes the Association of Farm Worker Opportunity Programs, the Hispanic National Bar Association, the Hispanic Scholarship Fund and the oldest organization, LULAC. Also included are MALDEF, the National Council of La Raza, the New Alliance for America, the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and the United Farm Workers of America, founded by César Chávez. These organizations contribute their views to enrich the deliberations of the Advisory Council. Clearly, each brings its own vision. For example, there are the farm workers —a job so many people do— and educators, bilingual educators, professionals, businessmen. We have a broad gamut of talent.

VM: What is the new structure that President Vicente Fox stipulated for attending to the needs of Mexicans abroad. What are the National Council for Mexican Communities Abroad, the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME) and the IME Advisory Council?

CM: Last August 6 President Fox announced the creation of the National Council for Mexican Communities Abroad, whose aim is to increase government attention to these groups living abroad. Previously what existed was the President's Program for Mexican Communities and the Ministry of Foreign Relations' Program for Mexican Communities Abroad. The president wanted to join these two efforts together to form the Institute of Mexicans Abroad. The IME is the body that executes the policies of the National Council, which is made up of the Ministries of Foreign Relations; the Interior; Finance; Social Development; Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Food; Public Education; Health; Labor; Tourism; and the Environment and Natural Resources. These institutions all have programs that one way or another affect communities outside Mexico as well as the migrants' home communities in Mexico. The president has instructed these cabinet ministers to jointly deal with matters pertaining to Mexican communities, migrants, and he himself presides over this National Council. That's why I think this is of the highest priority for the government of Mexico.

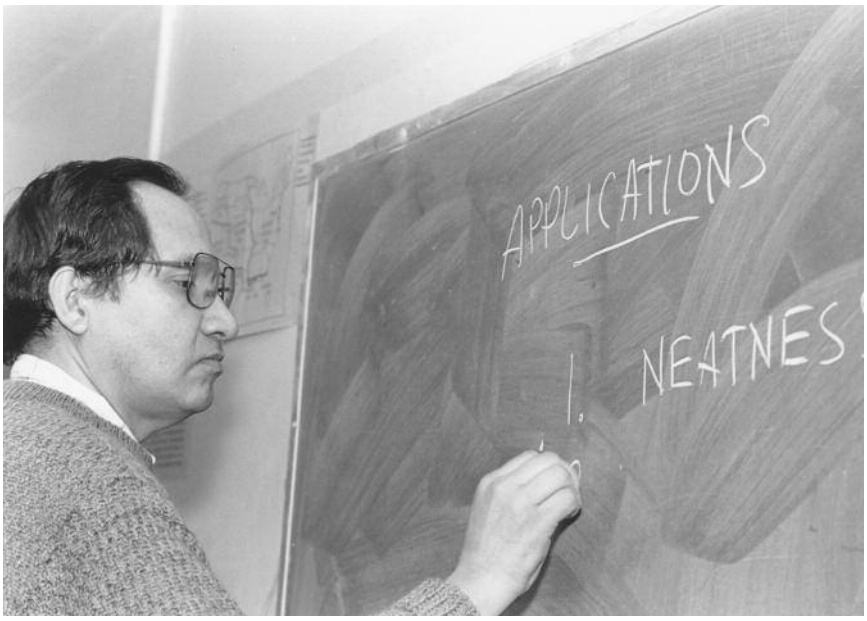
U.S. authorities —municipal, state and national— should accept consular registration for U.S. security reasons and to give Mexicans certain guarantees.

VM: How was the Advisory Council set up? Who is a member? How often does it meet?

CM: The Advisory Council is made up of four groups. One hundred of its members are migrants living in the United States who were elected by their own communities through consular networks. We have 45 consulates in the United States, from Seattle, Washington, to Orlando, Florida, and San Diego, California. Each one was assigned a certain number of advisors in proportion to the Mexican population in their area. In addition to these 100 advisors, there are the 10 organizations I already mentioned, like MALDEF, LULAC and the National Council of La Raza. The states that send migrants to the United States are also represented. The ones that send the most are Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla, but in the end, we decided to invite all the states in Mexico. Up until now 15 have officially confirmed their participation, and the others are in the process of naming a representative. We also added 10 special advisors, people with great experience in education, business or community development. Today, then, we have 135 advisors and the council will continue to grow as the other states send their representatives. The Ministry of Foreign Relations also reserves the right to add other communities from outside the United States because we received some complaints from Mexicans in Europe who also wanted to be represented. Canada is another of the countries that could be added to the council. The entire Advisory Council will meet in Mexico City twice a year.

VM: Yes, Canada now has important programs for temporary migration.

CM: That is correct. That is why I believe that we should find the way to include them. This Advisory Council met for the first time March 20 and 21 here in Mexico City. The president made the welcoming speech and the council created six commissions:



Cándido Morales

We can say that the conservative tendency is today turning around to favor bilingual and free education for undocumented migrants.

Community Organization, Health and Culture; Economic Issues; Education; Border Issues; Legal Issues; and Political Issues. All of these commissions are meeting in the United States to follow up the problems they identified as priorities at their first meeting, and eventually they will come to conclusions that they will recommend to the IME itself.

VM: Speaking of the IME itself, what kind of infrastructure and resources does it have? Does it have offices abroad? What are its plans and programs for this year?

CM: The institute has 29 employees at the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Mexico, and in the consulates, we have another 86 distributed in different parts of the United States. The consulates that attend to the largest populations, like Los Angeles, Chicago and Dallas, have larger IME staffs. We would like to have at least one IME person at each consulate. Up until now the programs have been in the sphere of assistance for community development for compatriots who want to form their clubs. The Education Ministry, among other things, has been distributing free books to school children who do not speak English and need to get their education in Spanish until they learn it. Other programs include what we have called "Mexican Days," in which we invite people from the judicial branch in the United States to understand Mexican laws and the Mexican judicial system so that if our compatriots have run-ins with the U.S. court system they can benefit from that knowledge. The idea is that U.S. judges not be as severe; they don't know how we Mexicans think, what we are like, what our customs are, which are all different from the philosophy and way of thinking in the United States.

VM: With regard to education, what have you done or what are you planning to do to deal with the nativist, anti-immigrant current, with its corollaries of the English Only movement and Proposition 187?

CM: Well, the consulates have monitored these propositions and have allied with previously existing organizations in the United States, be they of Mexicans, Mexican Americans or Anglos who favor bilingual education to help children, even if they are undocumented. And they report their achievements and also their failures to us. In general, we can say that the conservative tendency is today turning around to favor bilingual and free education for undocumented migrants. Some states are more racist, but I believe that the established communities have been able to create a sufficiently active political presence to show that they are not going to allow these kinds of laws to come into effect in that part of the United States. I believe they have made some headway both through the consulates and through the Mexican and Mexican-American organizations, naturally with the help of many liberal people who believe in justice.

VM: What do you, as an immigrant, think of the new structure you just described and of the fact that the IME's director is a migrant, and its council has more than 100 members of Mexican origin who reside in the United States?

CM: I think that the designers of this new structure had a very positive idea

when they took into account the requests to the president and former presidents of many Mexicans and Mexican Americans living in the United States —for example, from organizations like LULAC, MADELF and La Raza—, which for years now have wanted to be recognized by the Mexican government. The government understood that the three elements were necessary: the National Council, representing the Mexican government, the Advisory Council, with 110 members who live in the United States and, lastly, the representation of the Mexican states that send workers to the other side of the border. The fact that the president decided that a migrant should be the director of the institute shows without a doubt the importance he gives to the communities living outside Mexico. For me, it is a privilege to be the first to hold this post. I think there's a new point of view. I lived in the United States for 44 years. For 30 of those years, I worked for an organization that administered U.S. government programs to help farm workers, the poor, and so I think that that experience can contribute to the design of programs in Mexico or the U.S. For me, it is not only a privilege, but a great responsibility, and I accept that. It is a responsibility not only to be the director of the IME, but also to be accountable to the Advisory Council, because we want to take into account all the recommendations that the council makes to the Mexican government. It would be useless to invite people to be simply titular members of the IME Council and not take into account their points of view, their proposals. The council is not a legislative body; that has already been thoroughly explained to them. It isn't a group that can legislate for Mexico, but we do want to take its recommendations very seriously.

Cándido Morales

Another boon for communities in Mexico is the "Three-for-One" program whereby Mexican clubs in the U. S. have done fund raising for community projects.

VM: A large number of Mexicans in the U.S. now have dual nationality, but not the right to vote in Mexican elections. They don't want to be considered Mexican migrants, but Mexicans with all their political rights. What do you, as a migrant, think of that?

CM: I think there is a group of people who at a distance are very interested in Mexican politics. They have come to Mexico City and met with the different parties and presented their proposed bills. They have met with the current administration asking that the law allow them to run as candidates in Mexican elections. They are very disappointed when they are told that since they have dual nationality they cannot be candidates. But I think that the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies should have taken into account that to prosper in the United States you have to take out U.S. citizenship, but that we still love Mexico and we want to participate here, too. There's another part of the same community that is taking part in U.S. politics. They are of Mexican descent; some of them were born in Mexico and became naturalized citizens and are now politicians in the Congress or the state Congresses in California or Texas. We don't all think alike, but I think that the road should remain open on both sides of the border for political participation.

VM: You were one of the first to receive the recently created consular registration. Has it worked as expected to protect our compatriots in the United States?

A lot of work has been done through a program called "Migrant Education," targeting the children of parents who go from harvest to harvest.

CM: Well, the Mexican government promoted this new campaign for the consular high security registration so that our fellow countrymen could identify themselves in the United States, because if you don't have an ID, you can have problems, especially since 9/11. Through efforts by the consulates, little by little, the registration has been more accepted. In addition to being an ID, it allows you to open bank accounts to keep your money in or to send money to your family in Mexico through the banks. I think what nobody expected was for there to be opposition to the registration; that has been bad for our compatriots. There is a congressman in the House of Representatives and some at the state level who say that the document should not be given official status because it is issued by a government other than that of the United States. Nevertheless, Mexico and other countries maintain that it is a practice permitted under the Vienna Convention and that Mexico has been doing it for more than 100 years. It is simply a registration. I read that in Nava, California, the city council approved accepting consular registration. However, this has to come about city by city. Other cities are waiting to see what happens. But I think it's preferable that the police in the U.S. know that a driver is named Rubén Martínez Jiménez and that he's a Mexican citizen, to them not knowing where he's from. My opinion is that the U.S. authorities —municipal, state and national— should accept consular registration for U.S. security reasons and to give Mexicans who have no other way of identifying themselves certain guarantees.

VM: Speaking of national security, how has the tightening up of borders since 9/11 affected issues like migrants' human rights and what are we doing about it?

CM: The United States has demanded that the border be more secure and has increased measures to keep people out. As a result, sometimes people's human rights are violated. For example, the United States maintains that if the police stop someone and they have no way to identify themselves, the officers can detain them until they do. This is against the law. In all countries it is illegal to detain people if they haven't committed a crime. But these kinds of measures hurt our compatriots who have no ID. What Mexico is doing is explaining this to U.S. and Mexican society, explaining that these kinds of actions are unjust, that these actions by the U.S. government should be stopped and that the fundamental rights of any human being from any country should be respected.

VM: What has the IME and the ministry strategy been with regard to Mexican-American lobbying and its relation to the interests of Mexico as a nation? That is, how have both interests been reconciled, since they can be contradictory in areas, for example, like migration and trade?

CM: I think that the IME, the Ministry of Foreign Relations and the staffs of the consulates have tried to reconcile the differences that come up sometimes. For example, with regard to the migratory reform. I think that most Mexicans and Mexican Americans want one, because four million people are involved. However, there is another, minority, group —among them some Mexicans and Mexican Americans— who already have U.S. residency and think that the doors should be shut to migration. They are a minority, but there are people who think this way. That's why I believe that it falls to us to persuade them of the humanitarian nature of an accord that would allow people to go to work in the United States in an orderly fashion so that the four million undocumented migrants could do the paperwork for their permanent residency so that they could work and progress, because they are already contributing to the U.S. economy with their efforts, with their talent. And they are also contributing to Mexico's economy with the remittances they send their children. They are also in schools, academically developing all their potential. So, I think we have to continue to campaign to overcome the differences that sometimes come up.

VM: What is the real penetration of the institute's programs? How well have they been accepted? What impact and results have they already had?

CM: Well, the institute itself is new. But the Program of Mexican Communities Abroad, in its 10 or 12 years of existence, has had a very positive impact in the communities, particularly with its educational and health programs. A lot of work has been done through a pro-

gram called "Migrant Education," targeting the children of parents who go from harvest to harvest or who are recent arrivals. The Ministry of Education sends books and sometimes teachers. There is even an exchange program for teachers who travel from the United States to Mexico to get training in how to better serve Mexican children who are living and studying in the United States. The other projects that have been well received are in health, the arts and some sports activities. So, the program overall has been well received. Of course, like all programs, it could be improved, but in general it has been welcomed wherever we have been able to take it in the U.S.

VM: What are the institute's and the ministry's plans to ensure migrants maintain links to their history and culture?

CM: Well, this is done through exchanges, events, and sometimes we send artisans, not just the IME, but sometimes state delegations. For example, last year the governor of Oaxaca took the Guelaguetza Festival to Los Angeles and presided over it himself. Other states also take their culture, their music, their songs. Another example is that people from Zacatecas are going to have a convention in Dallas, and they will be taking artists to it. Inside the United States, there is already a movement to enrich our culture. In Los Angeles, for example, mariachis have been spreading at several levels, so much so that UCLA has music classes for mariachis. So, the culture is there and we support and foster these kinds of artistic and cultural activities.

VM: What kind of strategy is there for making sure that social and economic

Cándido Morales

links (for example, remittances and developing communities of origin) between migrants and their hometowns are effective and promote well-being on both sides of the border for our compatriots?

CM: The IME wants to pay quite a lot of attention to remittances because, up until now, even though the cost of sending money from the U.S. to Mexico has declined, the percentage being charged is still exorbitant. So, we believe that if we foster competition among the different companies, the cost will go down. Another boon for communities here in Mexico is the "Three-for-One" program whereby Mexican clubs in the United States have done fund raising for hometown community projects, and the state, federal, and sometimes even the municipal governments, each match the amount they have collected, thus increasing the benefit to the communities. I was reading in Internet that in Los Angeles, the Federation of Zacatecas Clubs wants to launch a new, very similar project, but now with the idea of creating jobs in Zacatecas to reduce the number of people who want to go work in the United States. I think that this is the direction that the other groups of compatriots from other states will follow, and the IME is willing to collaborate in this effort.

VM: Lastly, *Voices of Mexico* is distributed in the United States and a high proportion of its readers are Mexican American. Is there anything you would like to add for them?

CM: I would like to say to my Mexican-American friends and compatriots that Mexico's culture is very rich, whether it be literature, music, anthropology or our customs, and if they have the opportunity to read the magazines they receive, to visit Mexico, I would recommend that they do. It has many beautiful things to enjoy. If they want beaches, there are lots of beaches, too, but culturally, almost every state has a historical, cultural contribution to benefit the whole community, but especially Mexicans and Mexican Americans who live in the United States, because they can relate to the Mexican culture; it is a very meaningful experience. VM

Hispanics in the U.S. Congress

César Pérez Espinoza*

Larry Downing/Reuters

Hispanic or Latino federal legislators have won an important place in the last 30 years among the ethnic identities with political representation in the United States.[1] While it is important to take into consideration political scientist Robert Dahl's statement that the idea that the U.S. is a racial melting-pot is more myth than reality,[2] it cannot be denied that the politically strongest and most distinctive sub-cultures among the country's numerous ethnic groups have been able to integrate into the general culture and political life thanks to the voluntary and necessary rapid integration of immigrants and their children into the society they live in.

The existence for over 30 years of a group of Hispanic federal legislators shows their integration into the dominant political culture.

This legislative group now exercises national leadership partly because of the continual participation and organization, above all in elections, of different Latino groups with a local, regional and national presence. This political participation reflects the joint work of legislators and interest groups; it also signifies an advance in the forg-

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ing of agreements about common ideas and goals, as well as the acceptance of both actors of the suppositions upon which the play of power in the U.S. polyarchy is based, according to which participating means accepting certain beliefs about the role of authorities and the effectiveness of government and the regimen in dealing with social problems.

Thus, these legislators do their jobs and react to these suppositions and to the pressure that interest groups constantly bring to bear during the legislative process. Although the legislators defend concrete interests, the very dynamic of inequality prevailing in this model of social and political pluralism only allows them a certain degree of autonomy. Nevertheless, it is also true that some groups, above all large corporations, have more power and influence than others. For some, this inequality in the acquisition and exercise of power among groups is an old concern. James Madison said, "Freedom is to the factious spirit what air is to fire."[3] With this metaphor, he expressed just how inevitable organizations and the proliferation of interests were in a "free society." And his vision continues to be true: when interests compete with each other, they automatically regulate their participation in an atmosphere free of rules, open and very prone to participation. Limiting them would be like limiting freedom. In his romanticism, Madison thought that if there were an automatic balance of power among them, none would be able to dominate the political process.[4]

However, history has taken it upon itself to show the partiality of the political play in a pressure system where groups of all kinds are the important actors in organized life. Thus, the supposed equal right to actively participate in politics does not prevent the difference in power among them from being noticeable, making their ability to participate and their influence in the legislative process unequal. The Latino groups are part of a game dominated by the rich, and therefore powerful, groups, and not by the poor and weak. The former have a greater capacity to constantly intervene in the government both legally and illegally. In this way, while current trends have been able to regulate institutionally, that is, achieve a formal balance, the political participation of both powerful and weak interest groups favors the political status quo. The powerful groups —considered such because of their economic prowess— do not prevent the others from participating, but do take advantage of their privileged position to constantly intervene in government.

The ratio of men to women in the Hispanic Caucus is no different from the overall norm in Congress: there is a marked minority of women.

Latino legislators are not separate from this political reality and it is in this situation where they have to work with the groups with which they share a cultural heritage and common political ideas in search of the social betterment of their constituents. In an ideal political world, the Latino groups would be able to join together in a single organization, a plural Latino grouping that would not necessarily be barred from coexisting or making alliances with other blocs to live up to the culture of U.S. political pluralism's maxim of "politics is exercising pressure."

The existence for over 30 years of a group of Hispanic federal legislators shows their integration into the dominant political culture, where the degree of trust that the public has in its representatives allows them to believe in the solution of social demands through institutional means. Thus, these legislators are not only the personification of that Latino power, but are part of the authority of that small group of people who make up the federal Congress.

At the same time, unequal access to power is still manifested inside Congress since Latino legislators are forced to share political strategies with other groups (for example, other minorities), or make coalitions around concrete questions that will bring them certain results. To a great extent, they dedicate their political lives to achieving personal and group political goals in a dynamic dominated by conflict and cooperation.

In the same fashion, not only ethnically but also politically, the Latino legislative group is plural. They represent a broad gamut of political, economic, social and cultural interests. Understanding this heterogeneity explains the reason they take specific positions with regard to the national agenda. In the last three decades Democratic Latino legislators have been the most integrated and identified with low-income Latino sectors of society. The

PLACE OF BIRTH AND ANCESTRY OF HISPANIC LEGISLATORS, 102ND TO 108TH CONGRESS

	NAME	PARTY	STATE	DISTRICT	PLACE OF BIRTH	ANCESTRY
1	Joe Baca	D	California	42	Belen, NM	Mexican
2	Xavier Becerra	D	California	30	Sacramento, CA	Mexican
3	Henry Bonilla	R	Texas	23	San Antonio, TX	Mexican
4	"Kika" de la Garza	D	Texas	15	Mercedes, TX	Mexican
5	Mario Díaz-Balart	R	Florida	25	La Habana, Cuba	Cuban
6	Lincoln Díaz-Balart	R	Florida	21	La Habana, Cuba	Cuban
7	Dennis Cardoza	D	California	18	Merced, CA	Portuguese
8	Henry González B.	D	Texas	20	San Antonio, TX	Mexican
9	Charles González	D	Texas	20	San Antonio, TX	Mexican
10	Raúl M. Grijalva	D	Arizona	7	Tucson, AZ	Mexican
11	Luis V. Gutiérrez	D	Illinois	4	Chicago, IL	Puerto Rican
12	Rubén Hinojosa	D	Texas	15	Mercedes, TX	Mexican
13	Ed López Pastor	D	Arizona	2	Claypool, AZ	Mexican
14	Grace Napolitano	D	California	34	Brownsville, TX	Mexcian
15	Matthew Martínez	D	California	31	Walsenburg, CO	Mexican
16	Robert Menendez	D	N. J.	13	Nueva York, NY	Cuban
17	Solomon Ortiz P.	D	Texas	27	Robstown, TX	Mexican
18	Silvestre Reyes	D	Texas	16	Canutillo, TX	Mexican
19	Bill Richardson	D	N.M.	3	Pasadena, CA	Mexican
20	Ciro Rodríguez	D	Texas	28	Piedras Negras, Coahuila	Mexican
21	Lucille Roybal-Allard	D	California	34	Los Angeles, CA	Mexican
22	Edward Roybal R.	D	California	25	Albuquerque, NM	Mexican
23	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	R	Florida	18	La Habana, Cuba	Cuban
24	José Serrano	D	N. Y.	16	Mayagüez, P.R.	Puerto Rican
25	Linda Sánchez	D	California	39	Lynwood, CA	Mexican
26	Loretta Sánchez	D	California	47	Lynwood, CA	Mexican
27	Hilda L. Solis	D	California	32	Los Angeles, CA	Mexican
28	Frank Tejeda	D	Texas	28	San Antonio, TX	Mexican
29	Esteban E. Torres	D	California	34	Miami, AZ	Mexican
30	Nydia Velázquez	D	N.Y.	12	Yabucoa, P.R.	Puerto Rican

SOURCE: Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal 1996, 1998, 2000 and 2002).

poverty of most Latinos makes them demand better education for their children as a way to access better living standards. This kind of social demand is a point of unity for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Central Americans.

We should remember that the term "Hispanic" is the name Congress has given to all U.S. inhabitants with Latino roots to create the idea of homogeneity, which facilitates political manipulation when justifying government actions vis-à-vis this minority. We should remember that the United States has immigrants from almost all of Latin America, the Caribbean and the Iberian Peninsula. The largest groups are the millions of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Cubans and Cuban Americans, among other minorities who live there and, generation after generation, change their culture, although not necessarily radically changing their social needs. The social spectrum also includes all those who live and work there, temporarily or permanently, whether they be Latin Americans or from the Iberian Peninsula. The governmental view of the concept "Hispanic" and its homogeneity are unfor-

tunate, since the diversity among the groups is notable both in terms of political ability and social demands; this is why it is precisely that diversity that best defines both these demands and the make-up of the legislators.

Table 1 allows a first look at the Latino legislators who have been elected to the U.S. Congress. They were selected based on their affiliation to the Hispanic Caucus. They all belong to one of the two hegemonic parties, the Democrats or the Republicans.

As the table shows, the legislators' place of origin and ancestry is diverse, although the majority are of Mexican origin. Some were born in homes where little English was spoken, such as the case of Rubén Hinojosa; others are second generation Mexican Americans, like Javier Becerra and Lucille Royball Allard. In other cases, we have legislators whose parents were low-income Mexican migrants and who have done post-graduate college work, such as Loretta Sánchez.

The border states with Mexico are the ones that have sent the greatest number of Latino legislators. This political advance is not by chance, since, historically, it is in this region where the greatest number of Mexican or Mexican-origin migrants are located. A great number of Mexican migrants, above all in the state of Texas, have taken out U.S. citizenship, and this is currently the group with the greatest interest in participating with Hispanic-origin legislators, particularly in matters regarding trade.

In the northern United States, in New York, Illinois and New Jersey, the Latino legislators are of Puerto Rican and Cuban descent. Cuban-origin legislator Robert Menendez has had a rapid and efficient political career inside the Democratic Party and is the Latino who has occupied the most important post inside the party. As a young legislator with broad support in the Latino community, he is expected to play an important political leadership role in the House of Representatives.

In the south, Florida has three Republican representatives of Cuban descent: two are the Díaz-Balart brothers and the third is the only Republican woman, Representative Ros-Lehtinen. Together they dominate the political scene of conservative, Republican Latinos.

The ratio of men to women in the Hispanic caucus is no different from the overall norm in Congress: there is a marked minority of women. However, in the last eight years, women's participation in Hispanic politics in the United States has increased notably: of the last six House seats that Latinos have won, four have gone to Democratic women. The majority of all these men and women are Catholics and represent urban constituencies.

It is important to point out that the presence of the representatives from Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands is almost symbolic, since they do not have the right to vote in Congress. This sub-group of Latino legislators is an example of the under-representation that their constituencies have, and shows the limited political rights in the so-called "protectorates."

Finally, the representation of Hispanics in the House does not correspond to the number of Latinos in the country, a situation similar to that of Afro-Americans, who are currently fewer than 50.[5] The total number of Hispanics comes to 30, counting all the representatives from the 102nd to the 108th Congresses. No generation has come even close to being 10 percent of the House of Representatives. The Democratic Party has contributed the most Hispanics during the period analyzed as well as for all the generations who have come to Congress.

The number of Hispanic legislators is far from desireable. However, their presence in Congress can mean the consolidation of a group with national leadership on important issues for the Latino community, as long as they increase their political participation through the vote and seek to win greater political space. VM

Notes

[1] The U.S. government has made the use of the term "Hispanic" official for referring to the different Latino identities that live within its borders. In this article, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" will be used interchangeably.

[2] Robert Dahl, *La democracia y sus críticos* (Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós Ibérica, 1992), p. 311.

[3] Alexander Hamilton, *El federalista* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985), p. 36.

[4] In contrast with this pluralist optimism, the reality of organized life allows one group —which could be called the plurality of the elites— to dominate the rest, up to and including through tyranny. See Giovanni Busino, "Elite," José Luis Orozco Alcántar and Consuelo Dávila, comps., *Breviario político de la globalización* (Mexico City: Fontamara/UNAM, 1997), pp. 89-100.

[5] The 107th Congress had 38 Afro-American representatives. For more information on the under-representation of the Latino and Afro-American minorities, see David Lublin, *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interest in Congress* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 61-66.

Problemas del Desarrollo
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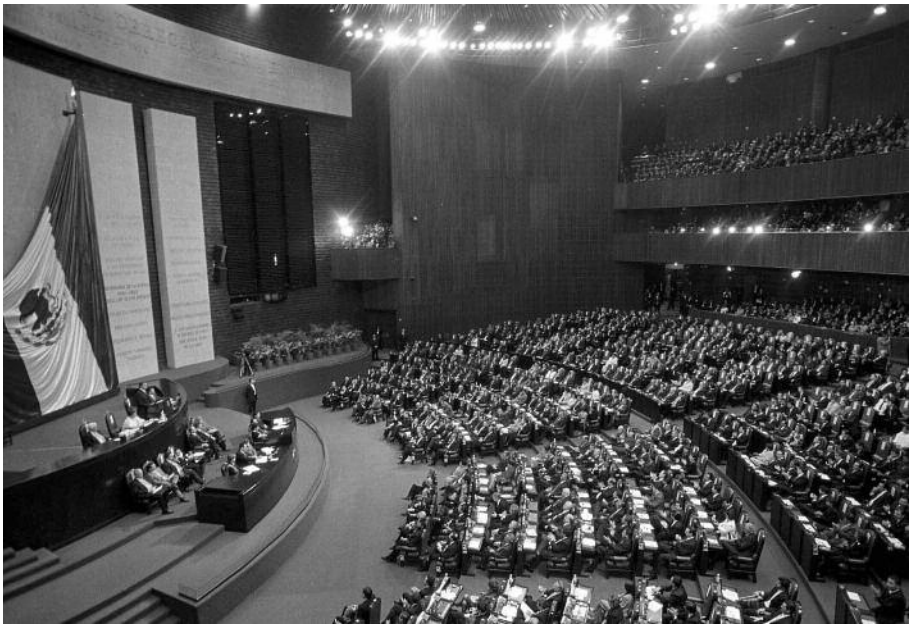
Índice

Access to Public Information A Step Forward in Consolidating Mexico's Democracy

José Buendía Hegewisch*
Marco A. Morales**



Oswaldo Ramírez/Cuartoscuro

Mexico's Federal Chamber of Deputies.

One of the major legislative achievements of Mexico's burgeoning democracy has been the unanimous approval of the Law of Transparency and Access to Public Information.

While the right to information was already guaranteed in the Constitution, there was no regulatory legislation stipulating what information could be accessed and how to access it. It was left to the authorities to decide what information would be made public and what would remain classified.

Therefore, for decades, information was used as a political weapon in the power struggle among different cliques of the hegemonic party. Only in very few cases, almost always as a result of public pressure, the citizenry was informed about specific issues, like, for example, when the files on the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre were opened. The new law establishes a series of areas and issues about which it is mandatory to report information publicly, transparently and clearly: for example, government salaries and how our tax monies are spent. It also establishes criteria and procedures for declaring certain information classified, at the same time that it stipulates time-limits for declassifying it. The law also creates the Federal Institute of Access to Public Information (IFAI), which is autonomous and has a collegial directorate. The IFAI's main functions will be to monitor the application of the new law and act as judge in cases of controversy. The law is undoubtedly a step forward in the consolidation of Mexico's young democracy.

Usually, the first step toward transparency is the most difficult. Global experience has given us clear examples. With the exception of a few countries in northern Europe, the right to access to public information has been a recent achievement of the world's political systems.

The difficulty of legislating about access to information generally has two origins closely linked to the degree of development of the political system: on the one hand, in liberal or industrialized democracies, the reticence is based mainly on what the law dictates is public and private information and the mechanisms for implementing the right to it, which may be controversial. On the other hand, in emerging democracies, the reticence is derived from the obscurity in which public power has traditionally operated and the weakness of civil society in exercising this right. In both cases, the evident problem is the novelty of the circumstances. Legislatures have tended to deal with the dilemma of having to apply a right without having the previous reference points of the most efficient ways of implementing it. Transparency is obviously a luxury that no autocrat is willing to stand in their authoritarian governments.

This is why the most recent cases of implementing legislation about access to information have been sustained both by international experience and by the innovation allowed within the framework of the legal system. The result is that, in most cases, a kind of pilot legislation is passed. That is, implementation is implicitly guided by a process of trial and error.

But it has been precisely these processes that have created the most important contributions to the application of norms of transparency. One of the clearest examples is the United States. Before the Watergate scandal, which implicated President Nixon in attempts to maintain secret information that should have been public, the Freedom of Information Act already existed, but was used very little. This suggests that, as long as people had complete confidence in their government as a result of the system of checks and balances, attempts to maintain a balance between what was public and/or private were not necessary. However, when that trust waned, citizens began to perceive the need to look into government activities to detect actions that could negatively affect their lives.

This demonstrates that a Law of Access to Public Information that is not applied, or is unviable, is as useful as no law at all. But even more importantly, this example uncovers a more complex reality because a series of political, cultural, administrative and economic factors converge in the efficient execution of the law.

At bottom, the problem is not producing a law, but ensuring that the law passed be the best one possible, and viable. Therein lies the success of legislation on access to information.

Property Is a Right

James Madison said, quite rightly, that just as we can say a man has a right to his properties, we can also say that his rights are his property. This condenses an important problem that the country must deal with and solve: for legislation on access to information to be useful, citizens must know that public information is their property, and the authorities must be able and willing to guarantee the right to that property.

What relevance does this have for us and for the debate about access to information in Mexico? Simply that the viability of legislation on access to public information depends on the way we deal with this problem.

We do not need to point out that in consolidated democratic systems, which embrace a logic of shared power, there should be no difficulties in generating and applying norms that guarantee citizens access to information that is theirs to have.

However, our case, and that of many other emerging democracies, is different. Long experience of authoritarian government can lead to many factors that counter access to public information, which we can summarize in two. The first is linked to the fact that public administration structures are built hierarchically, vertically, based on connivance and complicity to hide the corruption they often house. The creation of democracies commonly brings to light enormous networks of corruption inside states, and even the presence of organized crime incrusted in government apparatuses, like in the Soviet Union and later Russia.

The second obstacle to the correct use of a law about access to public information is the weakness of civil society in countries where power has been concentrated. This generally translates into people having weak values and behavior, precisely in the opposite sense from Madison's statement. Citizens have little confidence in their own rights and the possibility of exercising them.

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** Coordinator of the bill that became the Mexico City Law of Access to Public Information.

But these problems are by no means insurmountable and, in the case of a recent democratic transition like Mexico's, there are allies for creating new institutions. The best ally is the legitimacy of the change itself; that is, the perception that citizens have that it will always be better to advance toward transparency than to remain in subordination, concealment and darkness, even if the task at hand is as huge as making a 180-degree turn with regard to authorities and the governed.

In other words, the legitimacy of these laws is based on them being the best possible way forward in the real, effective consolidation of democratic change. And a crucial part of the current operating definition of our democracy is, precisely, the reestablishment of the balance between authorities and the citizen in favor of the latter. Democracy, then, must serve so that the citizen can easily monitor the actions of his/her government and limit them through clear participation in political decisions. The simplest way to achieve this new balance is through access to public information.

However, failing in the task of creating effective mechanisms for access to public information also implies failing to devise a crucial tool in the consolidation of democracy. It implies creating the risk of having a democracy that does not produce results or that produces partial results in favor of only a few.

When democracy does not produce the expected results, disillusionment and nostalgia for authoritarian regimes burgeon. Permanent dissatisfaction does not necessarily lead to the downfall of democracy or the return of the old regime, but it can lead to the establishment of low-quality democracies, governments that are not very representative and apathetic, demobilized citizens; undoubtedly one scenario in which prosperity, social well-being and hope could also disappear. There is too much at stake, then, to not take on board the task with the greatest responsibility.

> One obstacle to the correct use of a law about access to public information is the weakness of civil society in countries where power has been concentrated.

This point is particularly sensitive in our case. We have just gone from a regime of a hegemonic party to a democracy, and we are in the process of consolidating it. Expectations are myriad, particularly because politicians, analysts and academics spent a great deal of time disseminating the change that democracy would imply. But, without the appropriate institutional changes, it is difficult to expect results.

The implementation of access to public information requires, above all, the clear determination of the authorities to establish a new equilibrium with society. If this new balance of forces, a new co-responsibility, is not established, society's dissatisfaction could end by undermining the legitimacy of change itself or producing a democracy of very low quality. It is not sufficient to create good laws on access to information if their implementation is slowed by administrative sophistry or by trying to control the bodies that must guarantee their application. Naturally, the operation of new institutions will occasion technical problems like the generation, classification and filing of public information, but, at bottom, this functioning will depend on there really being new forms of authorities' exercising power.

The Importance of Access To Public Information

From democracy, people expect a better quality of life, greater possibilities for political participation, more freedom and greater legal certainty. When citizens exercise the right to access to public information, it contributes to achieving all of this.

With the transparency derived from access to information, to satisfy the demand, government administrative systems must be modernized. Governments must obtain, classify and efficiently handle information to be able to distribute it, and this also has an impact on informed decision-making by authorities.

With better mechanisms for processing information, transaction costs drop, freeing up resources for carrying out other tasks that have been relegated to the back burner or have not been covered because of inefficient use of resources derived from the lack of systematized information.

When governments function more efficiently, economic actors operate with fewer costs, and this improved performance has a positive effect on productivity. Certainty in governmen-

tal operations generates confidence and economic actors initiate long-term activities, establishing the basis for future economic development. All these conditions interact with the strategy of fighting corruption to generally improve the public's quality of life.

The Last Stretch

In short, although we still have not seen the palpable results of the laws on access to information because of the time they take to implement, we have a very clear idea of the results we are expecting. A detailed analysis of the bills makes it possible for us to suggest the institutional reforms that can lead us to them. Certainly, it is necessary to make an additional effort in this last stage to design the best possible institutions, but this does not imply that we should not constantly review and perfect them. To consolidate, democracy requires new institutions as well as a new relationship between government and society. If the will to achieve new balances exists, this will contribute in the medium term to the generation of values and attitudes of a new citizenry that will participate and defend and monitor its rights more. When conditions are not ripe, it is necessary that there be at least the will to reform, to show that politics enjoys real autonomy to seek to create social goods and forms of well-being. VM

2003 Election Results

Federal Chamber of Deputies

Party	Deputies 2003	Deputies 2000	Vote 2003 (%)
National Action Party (PAN)	154	207	30.64
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	223	209	36.47
Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)	96	53	17.66
Green Ecological Party of Mexico (PVEM)	17	16	3.97
Labor Party (PT)	5	8	2.40
Convergence for Democracy (CD)	5	–	2.27
Other parties*	–	7	2.76
Non-registered candidates	–	–	0.10
Invalid votes	–	–	3.74

* Nationalist Social Party (0.27%) Social Action Party (0.70%); Possible Mexico Party (0.91%); Mexican Liberal Party (0.41%); Citizen Force (0.47%).

Source: Federal Electoral Institute.

Gubernatorial Races

State	Winning Party	Vote (%)	Runner-up	Vote (%)
Nuevo León	PRI	56.4	PAN	33.9
Sonora*	PRI	46.4	PAN	45.3
Campeche*	PRI	39.0	PAN	37.0
San Luis Potosí	PAN	46.0	PRI	41.0
Querétaro	PAN	45.7	PRI	42.0
Colima	PRI	42.0	PAN	35.0

* Both elections are so close that PAN candidates have not recognized the official numbers.

Sources: Electoral Institutes and Commisions of the six states.

The Legislature that Held The Reins of Change

Ricardo Raphael*

Pedro Mera/Cuartoscuro

In Mexico, one of the most socially disparaged professions is that of legislator. Being a deputy is almost as badly viewed as being a prosecutor or a judicial policeman. In the public's imagination, the legislator is a person, both lazy and pushy, who abuses power and contributes little to society. A large part of this perception about legislators was constructed during the long decades that our country lived under a practically single-party system. Congressmen were seen as mere "hand raisers" pushing through presidential bills. That is why their credibility as representatives of the citizenry has been so low. Just as public officials were the employees of the president in government offices, legislators were nothing other than subordinates to the chief executive in the Congress. It is clear that after 1997 when the opposition won a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, the relationship between the executive and the legislature quickly changed. After those mid-term elections, the legislature stopped being the president's docile pet. However, what is not so clear is that the public's perception of this branch of government has varied at the same rate as the change itself. While people no longer think of the legislator as someone at the service of another branch of government, it is true that

The Fifty-eighth Congress contributed laws that are going to transcend our time because they gave the Mexican legal system very well drawn lines of legal modernity.

* Political analyst.

We can say that several of the bills approved may be considered re-foundational for the future of the Mexican state.

in the value judgments of at least part of society, legislators are still viewed with contempt. The thing is, reputations are not changed overnight, and, when it is a matter of state institutions, the process required to make them credible is usually a long one. Mexico's legislative branch went through too many decades in a very undignified position, and a few sessions of Congress have not been enough to give Mexican congresspersons and senators the legitimacy they would need to operate correctly in a democratic regimen.

The central object of the following analysis is the performance of the Fifty-eighth Legislature.[1] To understand the role it played during its three-year mandate, we have to situate it in a broader and more slowly maturing process: the long journey the Mexican Congress is beginning with the goal of becoming a credible institution, appreciated by Mexican society. The Fifty-eighth Congress has undoubtedly been one of the most questioned by the public. Columnists, journalists, reporters and commentators from every side have spent many hours questioning its performance and pointing out its mistakes. However, making a serious commitment to objectivity, it is undeniable that this legislature has been one of those that worked the most in contemporary Mexico. To draw an acceptable balance sheet, we have to look at some numbers. During its short life, the Fifty-eighth Congress deliberated on 1,279 bills, passing 218, several of which were of great importance for continuing on the road of the democratic consolidation of the Mexican state. It is also fair to say that during this legislature's mandate, some of the laws the country most urgently required remained mired in the swamp of useless partisan and bastardized electoral disputes. Concretely, the labor, fiscal, energy and telecommunications reforms were not felicitously concluded, thus continuing to feed the popular belief that legislators in Mexico earn high salaries, talk a lot and are useful for practically nothing. In contrast with this view of things, in this article, I want to express that, at the end of the day, the Fifty-eighth Congress contributed laws that are going to transcend our time because they gave the Mexican legal system very well drawn lines of legal modernity. And while it is true that other vitally important bills for the political community were not passed, our evaluation of the current legislature cannot be essentially negative.

The 1,279 bills that were presented to the floor of the Chamber of Deputies touched on an enormous diversity of topics: rural development, science and technology, education, the reform of the state, the fight against discrimination, health, telecommunications, women, public administration, indigenous rights and many, many more that show how this institution omitted very few issues of interest to Mexican society. Over the last three years, an average of one bill a day was presented on the floor of the Legislative Palace of San Lázaro: that is, 426 bills a year, or about 142 bills per session. On an average, 2.5 bills were presented per deputy and about 160 bills per congressional caucus. If we can say one thing about the outgoing legislators, it is that, as a group, they were particularly productive.

This overabundance of proposals crystallized in 218 bills passed, about 24 at each congressional session. If we consider the enormous effort required in writing a bill, evaluating its social, economic and political impact, and then getting the number of votes needed to get it approved, and we add that, in addition to the legislators themselves, a very large number of public officials make observations so the executive does not veto it, it is undeniable that the current legislature invested an enormous amount of energy in its work.

Putting to one side the number of bills approved to look at the quality and depth of the legislative endeavor, we can say that several of the bills approved by the Fifty-eighth Congress may be considered re-foundational for the future of the Mexican state. The first, chronologically, was the law on rural development that —people still remember— was voted unanimously by the Congress and then vetoed by the executive. The effect this veto produced in the relations between the two branches of government was dramatic. And, nevertheless, once the president presented his observations, the bill went back to committee and was later passed by the full chamber. Then came the Law of Indigenous Rights and Culture, which, once passed, put an end to the long conflict between 1994 and 2000 in the state of Chiapas. This was a bill without a single author. Neither the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), nor the administration, nor any of the con-

gressional caucuses could take credit alone for either the constitutional reforms or the law itself. And, despite the fact that some of these parties complained about the final result, what is certain is that the law achieved sufficient legitimacy to take the discussion about ethnic discrimination in our country out of the stalemate it had been in since the armed uprising.

A little later came the Law of Transparency and Access to Information, also voted unanimously by both chambers of Congress, which forces the state to make all its information public and clearly stipulates the time limits for this to be done.[2] This law is perhaps one of the most important ever passed in our country. It is an evident symptom of the democratic evolution Mexico is continuing to experience. It opens the doors for society to be informed of all public-governmental matters precisely when events are taking place or, in very specific cases, so the government cannot perpetually withhold information that is of general interest. In this same dynamic of the civilizing process is the Law of Professional Service, just as important as the previous law. Thanks to this bill, the public administration can no longer be booty for parties, cliques and sectarian complicity. When this law clearly regulated the career of the public servant and at the same time protected him/her from pressure from interest groups and political parties, it separated what must be separated in any country that considers itself democratic: electoral competition from the administration of public goods. Another bill that unfortunately was ignored by the media and that, nevertheless, transformed the notion of civil rights that Mexico had until recently used is the reform of the third paragraph of Article One of the Constitution, which guarantees the individual the right to not be discriminated against in our country. Complementing this, the Fifty-eighth Congress approved the Law to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination, which forcefully regulates this individual right, compelling citizens' rights to evolve, just as happened in recent years in all democratic countries, to protect people vulnerable because of their identities from discrimination.

Vicente Fox's government of change very quickly began to blame the legislature for everything the administration failed to solve.

This sample of bills passed allows us to say that the Fifty-eighth legislature responded, both qualitatively and quantitatively, at least partially to the commitment it acquired with the balloting on July 2, 2000. Now, this analysis would be incomplete if we left out four issues that the outgoing legislature could not deal with completely: the fiscal, energy, labor and telecommunications reforms. In the political context of these bills, the possibility of the legislature finalizing with complete success was lost. However, the analysis of the legislative processes that each of these bills went through leads to the idea that the legislature is not the only entity responsible for their erratic course. For example, in the case of the fiscal reform, we can say that the different bills presented by the executive to Congress were mortally wounded from the start. This is for two reasons: first, the Finance Ministry pompously baptized as a fiscal reform a proposal that was really just a bill seeking to slightly increase tax revenues. In effect, the aim of the executive's bill was to increase state revenues by only two percent of the gross domestic product, which, clearly was going to give a breather to public finances, but only that. It was not a proposal that truly structurally transformed tax collection in our country, and this sapped the executive's political strength at the moment of congressional negotiations. In the second place, this bill proposed applying the VAT to medicine and food as a solution, a regressive, and therefore unpopular, measure. In other words, it was the federal executive that raised the political costs for the legislature approving such a tarnished bill.

The labor reform also bogged down due to the executive. Two different bills have circulated: one developed by the National Workers' Unity and the Party of the Democratic Revolution, and the other written by the Ministry of Labor in 2002. Clearly a consensus between the two is impossible. The former emphasizes the need to guarantee the freedom to organize unions, that is, that labor relations be ruled by democratic practices. By contrast, in the latter bill, the interests of the large workers' confederations that for too many years have enjoyed the impunity to continue to direct union life through authoritarianism and patronage are protected. In this concrete case, the government should have chosen between a labor reform that bet on the future and another that continued to maintain the status quo of the last 70-odd years. The federal government's

The ratification of a plural composition of Congress demonstrates that the citizenry is putting more and more stock in what goes on in the legislature.

bill chose the second option, making it materially impossible for the Congress to develop the labor reform this country needs.

With regard to the energy reform, it should be said that here Congress was unable to form a sufficiently broad majority to appropriately resolve the legislative process begun by the executive's bill. It is clear for anyone who wants to put to one side prejudice and dogmatism that both national and international investors consider this bill almost symbolically marked with the sign that structural reforms to the Mexican economy are not prospering. At this point it is no longer important to know if opening up the energy sector to foreign investment is really indispensable for guaranteeing the supply of gas and electricity. What is certain is that not having approved the electricity-sector reform has been sufficient proof that Mexico's recently inaugurated democracy is unable to resolve the great problems of the national economy. Now, for all that this fact is glaringly obvious, several of the country's most influential legislators decided to make the non-privatization of the electricity sector their great political-electoral crusade. With that, they polarized the discussion to the point that it became impossible to find coordinates of agreement among the different congressional caucuses or even inside them. Perhaps no other failed piece of legislation tarnished the image of the Congress more than the electricity bill.

Finally, it would be unjust to place the delay in passing the telecommunications reform on the same level as the others. It is a law that needs to take into account too many technical and economic considerations to run the risk of passing it in a hurry. This project will have to wait until the next legislature to mature.

If this analysis is objective, it is clear that much of what public opinion says about the Fifty-eighth Congress has been unfair. From its first months, an adverse, dense and critical environment was created around the current Congress. In addition to the bad reputation with which the Congress entered the era of Mexican democracy, this was due to the increasing tension between the prestigious figure of the president and the scorned Mexican Congress. At that moment and during the first two years of its mandate, public opinion resolved this dichotomy in favor of the chief executive. Although at his inauguration, Vicente Fox coined the phrase, "The president proposes and the Congress decides," the government of change very quickly began to blame the legislature for everything the administration failed to solve. It would be no exaggeration to say that instead of making use of the enormous legitimacy with which Vicente Fox went into office to fortify the entire Mexican state, the tension between these two branches of government injured the dignity of one to the benefit of the other. The phrase oft-repeated by the president and now a campaign slogan was that the Congress had put the brakes on change. Anyone who has heard the chief executive or his closest collaborators directly knows that this phrase includes the legislators from the National Action Party, who on several occasions have been seen as detractors of the president's power. Pointing the finger at Congress to blame it for all the lost battles is irresponsible because even if the new legislature were made up only of PAN deputies, Congress could never again be the docile little animal it was in the past. But above all, it is irresponsible because the Congress that will session as of next September will be just as plural as the outgoing one.

This shows that, at the end of the day, the electorate did not believe the hype against Congress. The ratification of a plural composition demonstrates that, even though slowly, the citizenry is putting more and more stock in what goes on in the legislature. That is, after long decades of presidential omnipotence, citizens prefer to put a harness on the president than to be in a situation in which he can go forward unbridled. In the last elections, the message from the electorate was loud and clear: it is appropriate that someone hold the reins of change. And, this shows that the construction of legislative legitimacy has moved up another step. In that sense, it will finally be obvious that the Fifty-eighth Congress contributed what it should have so that this could happen. VM

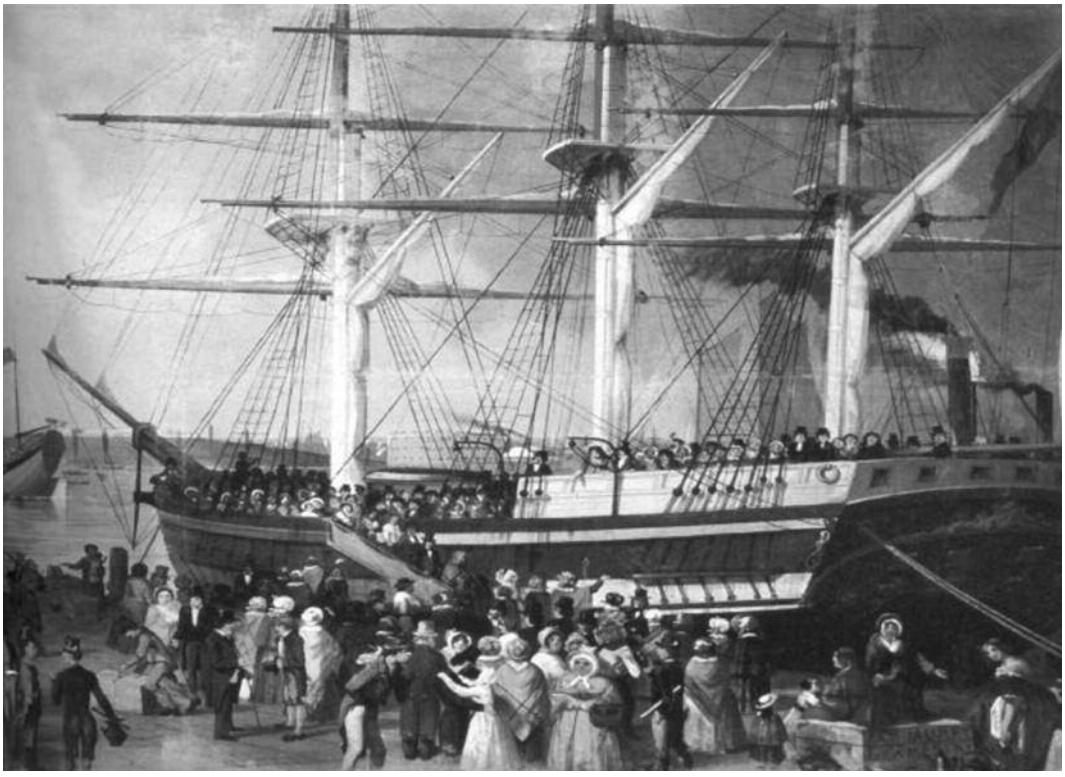
NOTES

[1] The Fifty-eighth Congress sat for the first three years of President Vicente Fox's administration. [Editor's Note.]

[2] The reader will find an article about the importance of this law in this issue of *Voices of Mexico*.[Editors Note.]

Visions of the Imperial City
Mexicans in New York (1834-1882)

Vicente Quirarte*



Taken from Burns, Ric and Sanders, *New York: an Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

Samuel Bay Waugh, *The Bay and Harbor of New York* (1855).

From the outbreak of the French Revolution until the first years of the twentieth century, Paris was, in the words of Walter Benjamin, the capital of the nineteenth century. New York, for its part, gradually became not only the most important commercial emporium of the United States, a place where the achievements and splendors of material civilization were concentrated, but also, as its visitors had to admit little by little, where culture was drawn.

The list of Mexicans who in the nineteenth century left written testimony of their passage through New York is short but illustrious.

Both its own inhabitants and outsiders began to call New York the imperial city, and, by extension, its state became the Empire State. Although by the nineteenth century, this name was

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Taken from Burns, Ric and Sanders, *New York: an Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

Home for the Friendless, 29th Street and Madison Ave.

During the French intervention in Mexico, several liberals went to live in New York, where they formed a group called the Mexican Club of New York.

in common use, it was not until 1931 that the Empire State Building renamed the city again.

The list of Mexicans who in the nineteenth century left written testimony or other marks of their passage through New York is short but illustrious. Their names are familiar, and their reasons for passing through New York are almost always due to happenstance, not pleasure. Politician Guillermo Prieto's expression "travels of a supreme order", also the title of one of his books, gives voice to the forced nomadic existence of the Mexicans of his time.

A pioneer among our explorers is Father José María Guzmán, who, on the way to the holy city of Jerusalem in 1834 stopped over in New York, a city of commerce. His observations are succinct, but show the admiration that order and discipline awakened in the foreigner's imagination.[1] However, the urban scene that he witnessed would be radically changed a year later. On the evening of December 17, 1835, a fire destroyed 600 buildings. The fact that there were only two fatalities reinforced New York's fame as an essentially commercial center, since almost all the ruined buildings were commercial.

The city recovered with the speed that characterized it even then and was rebuilt with constructions modeled after the Greek and Roman temples of antiquity. The most conservative asked themselves whether "the imposing Merchants' Exchange and the vast Customs House on Wall Street [did not] mark the loss of Republican virtue, and the arrival of an Imperial culture of excess and power which would threaten the survival of democracy itself."[2]

In 1841, the journal *El Mosaico Mexicano* (The Mexican Mosaic) published a descriptive article about the prosperity of the eastern United States, particularly New York.[3] The Texas war was already over, but the giant of the North had not yet openly displayed the magnitude of its territorial ambitions vis-à-vis Mexico.

In 1848, politician Luis de la Rosa and writer Manuel Payno each journeyed to New York for different reasons shortly after the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty whereby Mexico lost more than half its territory. Curiously, neither of them talked about the city. Payno arrived in mid-August and decided to make an excursion to Connecticut. However, he left a brief written impression about the New York summer that —then as now— drives its inhabitants to more temperate climes.[4]

Luis de la Rosa was one of the most able architects of the Querétaro provisional government, as minister of internal and foreign relations, and one of those who most intelligently obtained for Mexico the least shameful conditions possible under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Despite this, De la Rosa was not motivated by resentment, but by a need to get to know the victor, and to live, as José Martí

would later say, in the belly of the beast. He does not describe New York either, but what he says about an increasingly unnatural and artificial scenery is decisive for understanding the ontological feeling of Mexican outsiders abroad.

Luis de la Rosa writes, "Although I later visited Baltimore, Philadelphia and ultimately New York, and although in all those places I found things worth describing, it has not been the beautiful and the picturesque that has most caught my attention, but the useful."[5] Like later travelers, when he speaks of the material virtues of the United States, De la Rosa compares them to Mexico's. Further along, he writes, "In the long way from Washington to New York, the population is so numerous and compact, so active and industrious, that nature appears silent and unmoving before the view of a society so mobile, so agitated and bustling. One's attention is drawn involuntarily to society, to its industry, its arts and commerce, and one forgets nature."[6]

During the French intervention in Mexico, several liberals went to live in New York, where they formed a group called the Mexican Club of New York, formally founded October 16, 1864. José Rivera y Río, one of its members, emphasized the virtues of a city that, while it had received all manner of scoundrels, "in revenge, New York has seen its streets and its theaters filled with the illustrious banished from all the world's peoples: it pompously received Lafayette in 1824; it took Kossuth and the Hungarian patriots to its breast in '51; the Spaniards in 1830; Garibaldi and many of his comrades; the Mexican deportees or emigrés in 1864; the Polish a few months later. In sum, all the men whom the revolutionary tempest has swept away to await better days on the banks of the Hudson, whose melancholic mists have brought forth our best canticles."[7]

Taken from, Mary Black, *Old New York in Early Photographs 1853-1901* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976).

Broadway and Duare Street, ca. 1859.

Guillermo Prieto lived in New York from May 8 to July 27, 1877. He used his whole body, inventiveness and intelligence in his New York explorations.

Rivera y Río was a novelist whose book titles denoted his eminently social concerns. During his stay in New York he wrote *Los dramas de Nueva York* (The Dramas of New York), published for the first time in 1869, in which he included lithographs that naively but freshly illustrate both the city's public and private life.

There was an additional geopolitical consideration: Benito Juárez wanted his supporters to stay as close as possible to the Union administration to diplomatically prevent the U.S. government from throwing its support to Maximilian after the death of Abraham Lincoln.

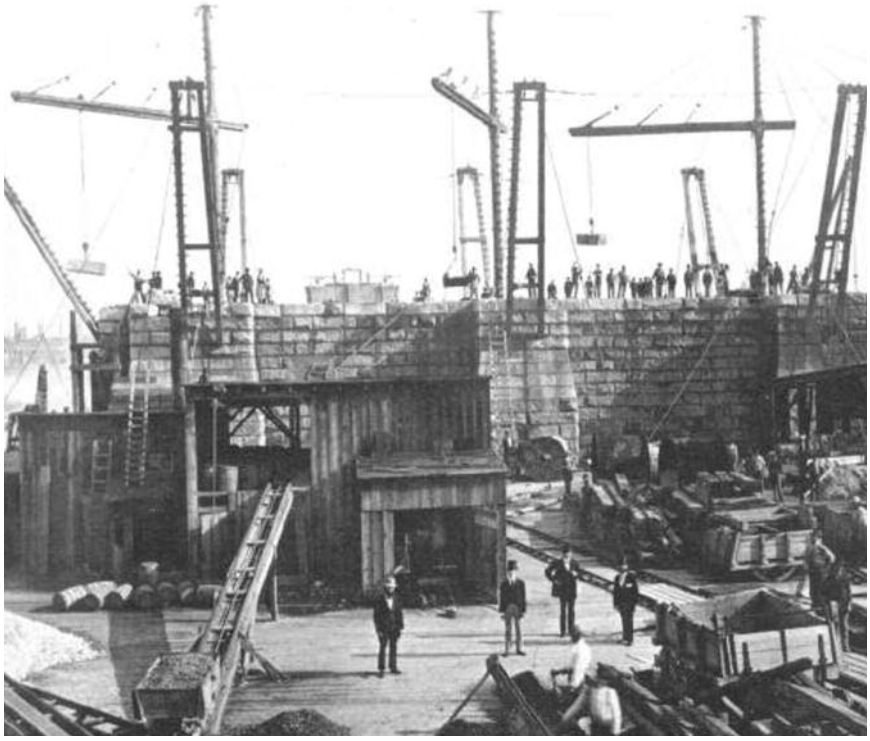
The most noteworthy of the Mexican exiles was Margarita Maza de Juárez, who initially lived where 208 East 13th Street is now located. The building no longer exists but at that address there is a bilingual plaque marking the spot where Benito Juárez's wife lived between 1864 and 1866.

The neighborhood where the Juárez family lived was warm and full of people, populated mainly by Irish im-

migrants fleeing famine. The Mexicans who lived there felt at home, particularly if they remembered the shining solidarity displayed by the Saint Patrick's Battalion in the war against the United States. Later on, the Juárezes moved to 31st Street, where their son Pepe died of pneumonia in December 1865. Their correspondence about the boy's death reveals a moving stoicism on the part of Juárez and Margarita, also seen in the very Mexican necrophilia —and particularly from the state of Oaxaca— that led the family to embalm the body until it could be buried in Mexico.

Margarita's neighbor in her first New York home was the untiring Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, "el Zarco," who lived at 39 East 15th Street. It is interesting that despite being one of his generation's best writers about customs, he decided to not speak of the wealth of traditions New York provided and dedicated his writing entirely to defending the Republican cause, and making it known to the whole world.

In May 1866, Antonio López de Santa Anna arrived in New York. With an ambiguous, enticing discourse, he said that he would place himself at the disposal of Juárez, his old antagonist and former prisoner, and fight against the French intervention. With both cynicism and dangerous naivete, he made statements to U.S. authorities, recounted here by Matías Romero, who said, "I am told that Santa Anna says that he cannot spend anything of his own and that if the United States is willing to send him to Mexico and pay all the expenses of the expedition, he will be pleased to go. They also tell me that his plan has been to procure the 50 million pesos that it is said that the U.S. government is going to loan or guarantee us."[8] The Mexican Club of New York reacted energetically and published a manifesto that concluded, "Mexico's Republicans will never commit the irreparable mistake of dishonoring their number by admitting the man who was always an enemy of liberty and [who], abusing his power, sought for Mexico the ominous foreign yoke."[9] The signatures on this document tell us which members of the club were still in New York: Juan José Baz, Pantaleón Tovar, Felipe Berriozábal, Jesús González Ortega, Rafael de Zayas and Epitacio Huerta.



Taken from Burns, Ric and Sanders, *New York an Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

Brooklin Bridge in construction (1877).

The most noteworthy of the Mexican exiles was Margarita Maza de Juárez, who initially lived where 208 East 13th Street is now located.

Guillermo Prieto, a veteran of a thousand journeys and other battles, lived in New York from May 8 to July 27, 1877. His forced exile was due to having supported José María Iglesias for president against the rising star of Porfirio Díaz. Prieto used his whole body, inventiveness and intelligence in his New York explorations. Although his notes are those of an enlightened liberal who wishes to study institutions, their structures and statistics, which take up several pages, he manages to pen descriptions full of color, critiques and admiration.[10] He visited civic and religious buildings, cemeteries and markets, or simply described the vast street scene, the ideal place to follow the lead of his muse. His exploration of the customs building and the attention he gives to the administrative structure of that operational center of the commercial city are interesting.[11] Rivera y Río erroneously wrote that, "In music and literature, despite the

amount that is sung and written in the United States, the backwardness is noteworthy."

In 1880, the Larráinzar sisters' five-volume work *Viaje a varias partes de Europa* (Journey to Several Parts of Europe) was put out by the Filomeno Mata publishing house.[12] The Larráinzar sisters must have gone through New York at the same time as Guillermo Prieto, since his book also came out in 1880. However, the differences are noteworthy, since, while Prieto stayed in a modest hotel due to the weakened state of the Republic's finances, the Larráinzar sisters stayed in the luxurious Hotel Clarendon on Union Square.

The sisters follow the common model of nineteenth-century books: they recount their impressions, including descriptions and guided tours. However, it is very interesting that, from their high social and cultural position, they observed that New York's refinement began to be similar to that of Paris and sometimes superior, particularly with regard to hygiene.

We will conclude this review of travelers' experiences with that of Jesús E. Valenzuela, poet and patron of *Revista Moderna* (Modern Review). The most interesting thing that happened to him was his meeting with Oscar Wilde, who was in the city as part of a triumphal lecture tour through the United States. Valenzuela writes, "In the saloon I frequented, Hoffman House...I met Oscar Wilde, wrapped in a large fur coat. 'Who is that?' I asked, upon seeing that sympathetic, long-haired man who had asked for a glass of plain water in which he put a tropical flower that he had been wearing in his buttonhole, and that he looked at for a long time."[13] Wilde's appearance, with the fur coat Valenzuela saw him in, can be reconstructed thanks to the 1882 photographs of Wilde taken at Napoleon Sarony's studio.

Between Father José María Guzmán's trip in 1834 and Valenzuela's in 1882, New York had changed dramatically. The ancient isle of the Manhattan tribe could be reached by steam boats and engines, and the 28 days that the pilgrim priest had taken to go there had been considerably reduced. Valenzuela saw the arm of the Statue of Liberty and considerable progress in the construction of the Brooklyn Bridge, the triumph of steel over other materials. The powerful magnet of U.S. life centered in New York would reach its pinnacle with poet José Juan Tablada, the turn-of-the-century author who in the 1920s would settle there and write, "We come from Paris's Trianon and go toward the Yankee orchard; no more boats to the isle of Cythera, but aboard express trains of hurried, automatic tourism."[14] VM

Notes

[1] José María Guzmán, *Breve y sencilla narración del viaje que hizo a visitar los Santos Lugares de Jerusalén* (Mexico City: Office of Luis Abadiano y Valdés, 1837).

[2] Erik Homberger, *The Historical Atlas of New York City* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), p. 72.

[3] Ignacio Cumplido, "Prosperidad de los estados del Norte en general y particularmente del estado de Nueva-York," *El Mosaico Mexicano, Colección de amenidades curiosas e instructivas* VI (Mexico City) 1841, p. 5-16.

[4] Manuel Payno, "Fragmentos de un viaje a los Estados Unidos," *Crónicas de viaje*, Borins Rosen Jélomer, comp., volume one of complete works (Mexico City: Conaculta, 1996).

[5] Luis de la Rosa, "Viaje de México a Washington," *Impresiones de un viaje de México a Washington en octubre y noviembre de 1848*, Emmanuel Carballo, ed. (Toluca: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 2002), p. 85.

[6] Ibid.

[7] José Rivera y Río, *Los dramas de Nueva York*, 3rd. edition (Mexico City: Imprenta Litográfica y Tipográfica de J. Rivera, Hijo y Comp., 1873), p. 10.

[8] Benito Juárez, *Documentos, discursos y correspondencia*, v. 10, Jorge L. Tamayo, comp. (Mexico City: Secretaría del Patrimonio Nacional, 1966), p. 912.

[9] Ibid., p. 914.

[10] Guillermo Prieto, *Viaje a los Estados Unidos* (Mexico City: Imprenta del Comercio de Dublán y Chávez, 1878).

[11] It is ironic that in the customs building Prieto visited a man named Herman Melville worked, a man who 25 years earlier had written *Moby Dick*, the most important novel of his time that only posterity would recognize. Like his character, Bartleby, the writer Melville manipulated unheroic figures and words, while through the windows he could watch the sails of the ships that had carried away the years of his youth.

[12] Enriqueta and Ernestina Larráinzar, *Viaje a varias partes de Europa. Con un apéndice sobre Italia, Suiza y los bordes del Rhin por su hermana Elena L. de Gálvez* (Mexico City: Tipografía Literaria de Filomena Mata, 1880).

[13] Jesús E. Valenzuela, *Mis recuerdos. Manojo de rimas*, Vicente Quirarte, ed., Memorias Mexicanas Collection (Mexico City: Conaculta, 2001), p. 93.

[14] José Juan Tablada, *Las sombras largas*, Third Series 52 (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1993), pp. 295-296.

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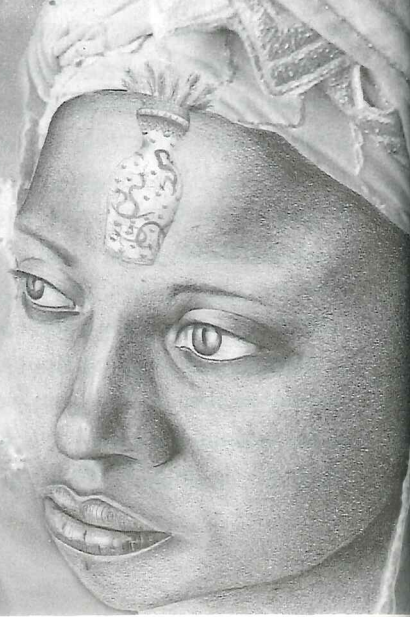

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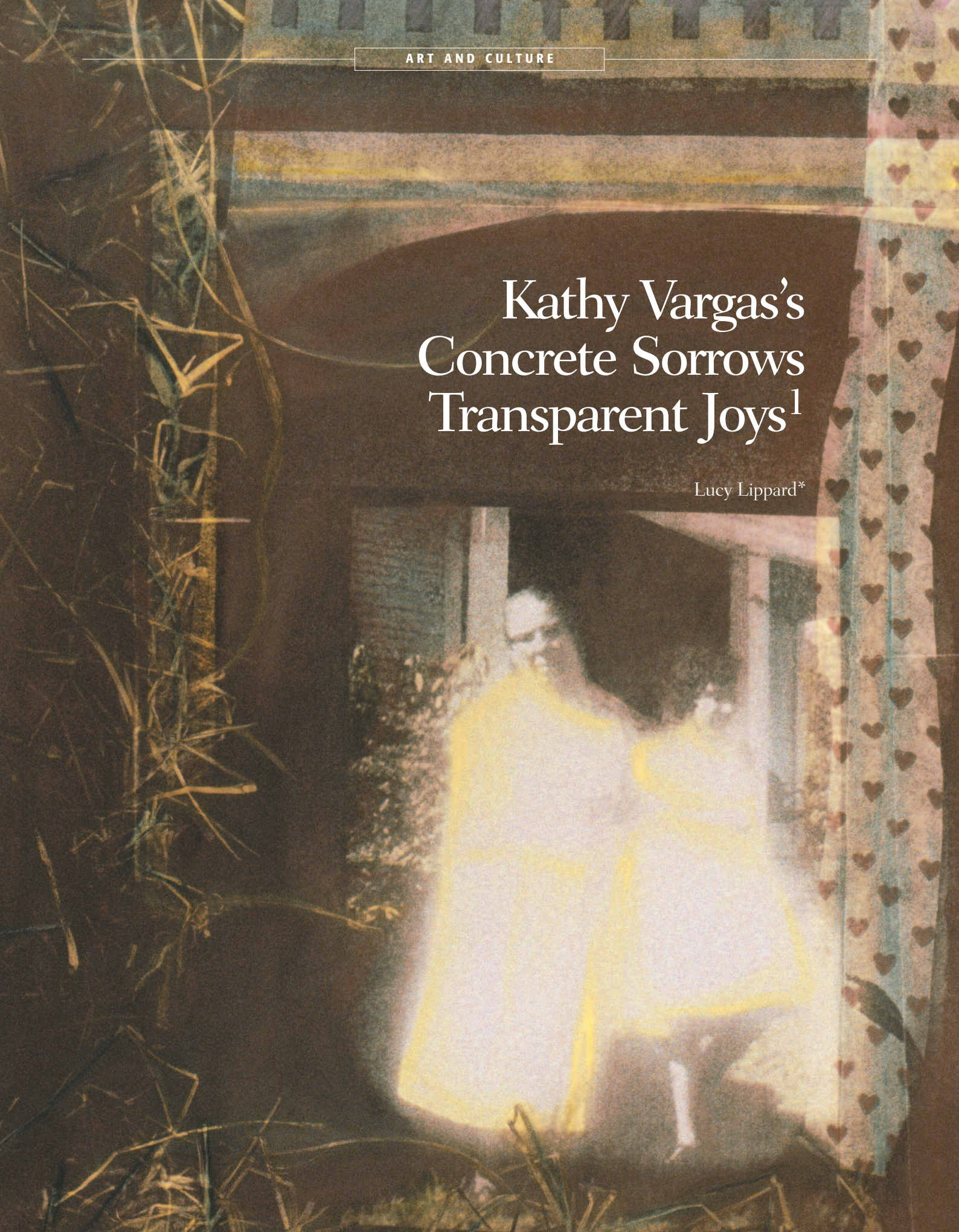


Kathy Vargas's Concrete Sorrows Transparent Joys[1]

Lucy Lippard*

Photos reprinted courtesy of Kathy Vargas

Corazón de luto (Heart of Mourning), 26 x 16 in., 1998 (hand colored gelatin silver print).

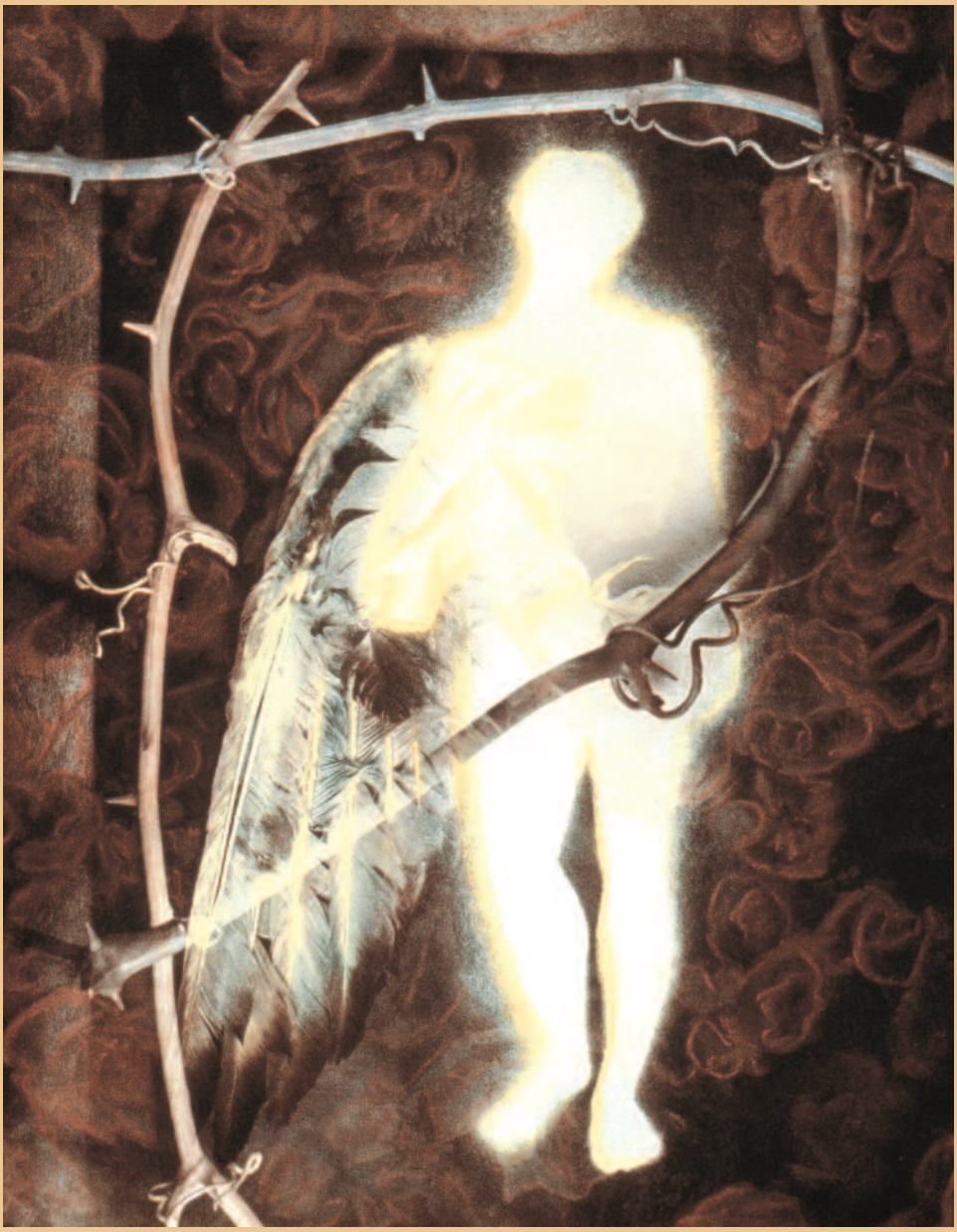
Everyone is fragile.
Every sorrow is concrete.
Nothing is distant or nameless.
Kathy Vargas

Kathy Vargas works in a twilight zone between laughter and tears, light and dark, taking life as it comes, folding its unexpected events into her art. She has focused the gifts of her Chicano (Indo-Hispano) cultural roots upon a lifelong meditation on death and love —not as fear and sex, but as the transcendent forces that mold all lives. Her hand-tinted photographic montages and still lifes are nearly monochromatic, subtly evoking color in a manner that is as pansensuous as it is visual.

In all of Vargas's work, to this day, the delicate beauty of the first impression gives way to an acknowledgment of the pain, and even ugliness, that is inherent in beauty, if only by suggestion of duality. Thorns counter blossoms, dismemberment

* Writer and art critic.

Photo previous page: *Este Recuerdo–My Grandmother and Me*, 24 x 20 in., 2003 (hand colored gelatin silver print).



Angel Denny, 60 x 36 in., 1997 (hand colored print).

counters wholeness, disjunction counters harmony. In her carefully composed images, the spiritual and the political —too often seen as antitheses in North America— coexist in syncretic harmony. Racism, feminism, AIDS and censorship are the issues that have driven her. Yet even as she acknowledges suffering and would love to change the world, Vargas's political sophistication, her sense of humor and a certain wisdom combine in a serene acceptance of the way lives play themselves out, perhaps inherited from her Zapotec and Huichol ancestors. Which is not to say that she is free of anger at injustice.

Personal and social implications are stratified in each of Vargas's photographs. In 1987, pondering sarcophagi from Palenque, she was struck by the contrast between the Mayan confrontation celebration of death and what we see on the nightly news, "so full of death all over the world [yet] everyone here refused to look at it, wants it clean and sterile and removed, something that isn't real. I want to shake them and say 'look at it; it's a great offense to humanity; stop killing'." This is what Vargas's work is all about. This is the purpose of these beautiful, deceptively gentle images, to make us realize our communal madness, to encourage the

patience, fortitude and courage to resist injustice, to make contact with each other.

Her first photograph, taken when she was 21, is a shadowy portrait of a neighborhood woman who had suffered a stroke. Almost immediately she began to work in series. She explored her own environment and became a tourist in her own town. In 1980-81 she did a huge series of local household shrines and yard art. Always fascinated by people, and having lived most of her life in the house on Martin Luther King Drive she has now inherited from her parents, Vargas the photographer began, naturally enough, in the documentary tradition, looking at her own family, vernacular architecture and surroundings.

These works illuminate her roots in a poor east side neighborhood of Latinos/Mexicanos and African Americans, rich in culture, plagued by social problems. "My parents raised me in a bed of roses," she has recalled. "But the thorns were always close at hand." Despite sporadic attempts to leave, she is deeply rooted in San Antonio.

From 1985 to 2000 Vargas was director of the Visual Arts Program of the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center on the traditionally Latino west side of town. From 1973 to 1977 she was a professional rock-and-roll photographer, as well as working in commercial fashion and product photography and in television. The world of rock-and-roll became a major, mostly invisible, influence to which she returns constantly in memory. ("I always find rock-and-roll very comforting when I think about death," she wrote recently.) In the mid-1970s, Vargas was a member of *Con Safo*, a local organization of Chicano artists (which she continued to support after leaving the group and of *Ladrones de la Luz* (*Thieves of Light*).

By the end of the 1970s, her work had matured and turned inward. She returned to school at the

The deaths of family and old friends have, sadly, sparked Vargas's best work.

Broken Column: Mother (detail), 24 x 20 in., 1997
(hand colored gelatin silver print).

The Living Move–Mary Ann, 24 x 20 in., 2001
(hand colored gelatin silver print).

University of Texas in San Antonio, receiving her BFA in 1981 and her MFA in 1984. She began the work for which she is now nationally known. The titles of those early works (*Attachments*, *Tantalizations*, *Suspension*, *Silence)* evoke an emotional rather than a physical space and time. "A quick glimpse into a distorted mirror is good for the soul," she says.

As Vargas's concerns became more overtly philosophical, objects and spaces merged in a floating realm of photographic reality that replaced the social realities of the earlier series. The dead plants, birds and other creatures became apparitions in an undefined space. In fact, she speaks matter-of-factly of seeing spirits, or ghosts, even in her workplace. Once she saw "a cloaked man (death) flying behind the car she was driving." Her grandmother, who died in 1992 just short of her 104th birthday, often conversed with the dead. Vargas's mother, saw angels and demons as she "charted death."

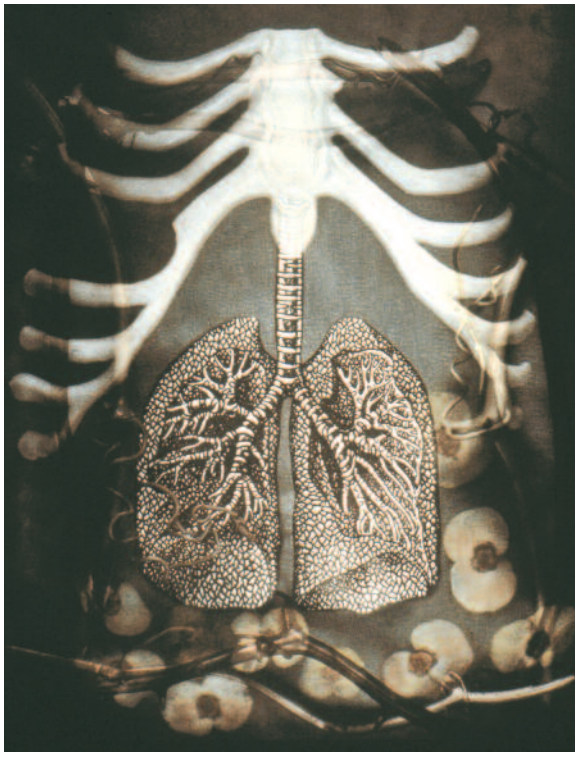
These stories, like her father's tales from Zapotec culture, gave form to the work that Vargas began in the early 1980s. The *Discard This Image* (1984) and *The Priests* series (1987-89).

The deaths of family and old friends have, sadly, sparked Vargas's best work, giving her a place to hang her preoccupation with death and love. While the humorous *Seafood Saints* series (1989-92) may seem an anomaly, it was made at a time when death was becoming more visible in the artist's life. She was amused by a conversation with "a man named Karp" about eating frog's legs, which evoked both giggles and thoughts on cannibalism, which in turn evoked thoughts on war (the Gulf War took place in the interim) and Wall Street and the dolphin/tuna controversy.

This series is not only about commodities, but literally about blurred boundaries (animal, vegetable, mineral, human, inhuman) and made her

Objects and spaces merge in a floating realm of photographic reality.

Discontinuous Series, 24 x 20 in., 2002
(hand colored gelatin silver print).



Cuerpo de milagros # 4 (Body of Miracles # 4), 24 x 20 in.,
(hand colored gelatin silver print).

I Was Playing Out My Fantasies When Reality Reared Its Ugly Leg # 2, 24 x 20 in., ca. 1990-1991 (hand colored gelatin silver print).

question her own life. "I was forced to a humorous confrontation of my own conspicuous consumership – and there's a lot of it."

In *I was Playing Out My Fantasies When Reality Reared its Ugly Leg*, the stuffed musician frogs (a Mexican folk/tourist art form) have their hands nailed to their instruments; wear tutus that have been danced to shreds – perhaps a kind of Red Shoes commentary on the life of the artist in a capitalist society, the alternatives being sellout and starvation.

At the same time these almost grotesque figures were also a reference to a pre-Columbian space, with the musicians as "underworld" deities. The dollar signs/musical notes and the stock market report represent modern reality or earthly concerns, and the sky deities are perversely represented by the weight of "those Botero/Venus of Willendorf legs." But like everyone else, the deities are also bound to money's song.

Pre-Columbian thought pervades Vargas's work, though rarely direct, and virtually invisible to viewers unfamiliar with her preoccupations. What she learned from pre-Columbian art was the use of symbols: "to allude to a whole cosmos or belief system by a simple symbol. Their U shape could be an entrance to the cave, to the earth, to Mother Earth, to burial, death and rebirth. I like doing that too: the double symbol of a heart and a *milagro*, love and prayer, praying for the beloved; the double role of thorns as pain and as a symbol of Christ, death and rebirth."

3 Frog Plate Lunch, 20 x 24 in., 1990 (hand colored gelatin silver print).

With the advent of AIDS and the death in 1989 of her friend Ted Warmbold, progressive editor of

The Living Move–Gabriela. 24 x 20 in., 2001
(hand colored gelatin silver print).

Despite Vargas's verbal grace, it is the subtle brilliance of her visual expression that makes its mark.

the now-defunct *San Antonio Light* newspaper, and collector of Mexican folk art, Vargas realized, "Everyone is fragile. Every sorrow is concrete. Nothing is distant or nameless." She became involved in the AIDS crisis as a friend, an activist and an artist, although up to then her politics had been more subliminal in her work. The result was the striking series *Oración: Valentine's Day/Day of the Dead* (1989-90) which brought together the most deeply embedded themes of her art (and life) – love/friendship and death, Eros and Thanatos.

From this time on, her images generally became larger in scale, less pale, lacy and ephemeral, the central images more defined and powerful, the colors deeper. And portraits were beginning to reenter her repertory. At the same time, Vargas was commissioned to participate with Jim Goldberg, Nan Goldin, Sally Mann and Jack Radcliffe in the Corcoran *Gallery's Hospice* exhibition, curated by Philip Brookman.

Rather than succumbing to darkness and making ugly images, Vargas sees making art in the face of death as part of a healing process. Her photographic secular shrines were not only for those who died in a hospice, but also for those who remembered them, among whom the hospice workers themselves figure prominently. Each memorial consists of a collage memorial portrait and a simple image shrine.

Though it seems somewhat incongruous, given the lyricism of her work, Vargas has been temperamentally drawn to minimalism because of its inherent theme of absence: "What isn't there becomes the 'weight' for what is there, the anchor."

Folk art, almost the antithesis of minimalism's stripped-down cerebralism, is another major influence to which Vargas's actual work bears little direct resemblance. Folk art is a very political issue. Deploring the condescending attitudes that locate folk artists as exotic savages, she contended in 1989 that the folk artist is "probably the 'secret' politician of the arts, in that [s/he] preserves and respects cultural diversity and cultural integrity, validating cultural experiences."

Vargas's own work is not overtly political. "I don't use a lot of 'reality' in my photos," she writes. "I don't take pictures in/of the world, but I refer a lot to events in the world. I'm not taking pictures on the front line of the Persian Gulf, but I am talking about it, and about AIDS and apartheid. I'd like to think that I'm fighting death that way."

My Alamo was a second departure from the still lifes, which stood in for but rarely pictured people. Commissioned by Chon Noriega for the Mexican

Vargas recreated her childhood with fictional figures, blurred again in passing, combined with nostalgic artifact.

I Was Little, Shoe, 10 x 8 in., 1998
(hand colored gelatin silver print).

Museum in San Francisco, it is one of the most coherent series Vargas has made to date.

Her recollections of the Alamo are sad, humorous, and biting. "But it's a bite I didn't invent", she writes. "It's a bite that recurs in the inherent aggression and often racism that is part and parcel of standing before war monuments and thinking oneself to be on one side or another, either by choice or because history gives us no choice."

The tableaux are immensely successful because the visual strategy of motion and stillness is carried through on so many levels. *The Miracle Lives* series was also begun in 1995. Like the *My Alamo* series and the *State of Grace: Angels for the Living/Prayers for the Dead* installation created after her mother's death in 1997, it centers on moving figures, which can be seen as either ghost-like or life-like. Either way, they are elusive, simultaneously present and absent. While the still lifes began once again to take center stage, life —and death— conspired to have the portraits continue.

In the *I Was Little/They Were Big* series (1998), Vargas recreated her childhood with fictional figures, blurred again in passing, combined with nostalgic artifacts: a little girl's dress and shoe, her mother's dress and shoe. These haunting pieces, which evoke almost anyone's childhood, seem to have provide a bridge back to Vargas's trademark still lifes. The most recent works from the *Cuerpo de Milagros* series often merge real body parts (a heart, teeth) with the little silver symbols, blurring the boundaries, balancing on the thin edge between planes, making clear yet again that Vargas's religion is the search for meaning rather than any static belief.

I find I haven't written as much about love as about death. Although they are equally important in Vargas's work, they are not equably visible. Love of even the most generalized and generous kind is a private emotion in this society, while death, although its richness is denied, is all too evident. Despite Vargas's verbal grace, it is the subtle brilliance of her visual expression that makes its mark. To a mutual friend mourning a husband of 50 years, she wrote, "Stop looking for the answer to death in books. There is no explanation. Just make some art – make it about your pain and your joy....After all, art is life. And one always answers death with life." VM

NOTE

[1] Excerpts from Lucy Lippard's essay "Concrete Sorrows, Transparent Joys," published in *Kathy Vargas, Photographs 1971-2000* (San Antonio: The Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum 2000).

Outsmarting Borders
Guillermo Gómez-Peña And La Pocha Nostra

Xavier Quirarte*

Photos reproduced courtesy of La Pocha Nostra

The preservation of one's own culture does not imply disdain or a lack of respect for other cultures.
CÉSAR CHÁVEZ

Border crossing has been the leit motif of the work of Mexican artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña, not only because it refers to his experience as an immigrant in the United States and his being a Chicano, but also because without preconceptions, he freely passes from video to poetry, from performance to journalism, from installation to essay, from radio to digital art. The author of six books, among which are *Warrior for Gringostroika: The New World Border*, winner of the American Book Award, *Dangerous Border Crossers* and *El Mexterminator*, published in Mexico by Océano last year, he deals with the complexity of the culture being woven together along the Mexico-U.S. border.

According to Gómez-Peña, who has lived in the United States since 1978, in Mexico, people are profoundly unaware of what the new generations of Chicano artists are doing, while in the United States, little is known about what young Mexican creators do. For this reason, he is convinced of the

* Journalist and music critic, author of the book *Ritmos de la eternidad* (Rhythms of Eternity) (Mexico City: Conaculta, 2000). Member of the musical group Sociedad Acústica de Capital Variable.

need to "build bridges of communication between the new generations who are working with more complex languages on both sides of the border and have much more complex notions of identity."[1]

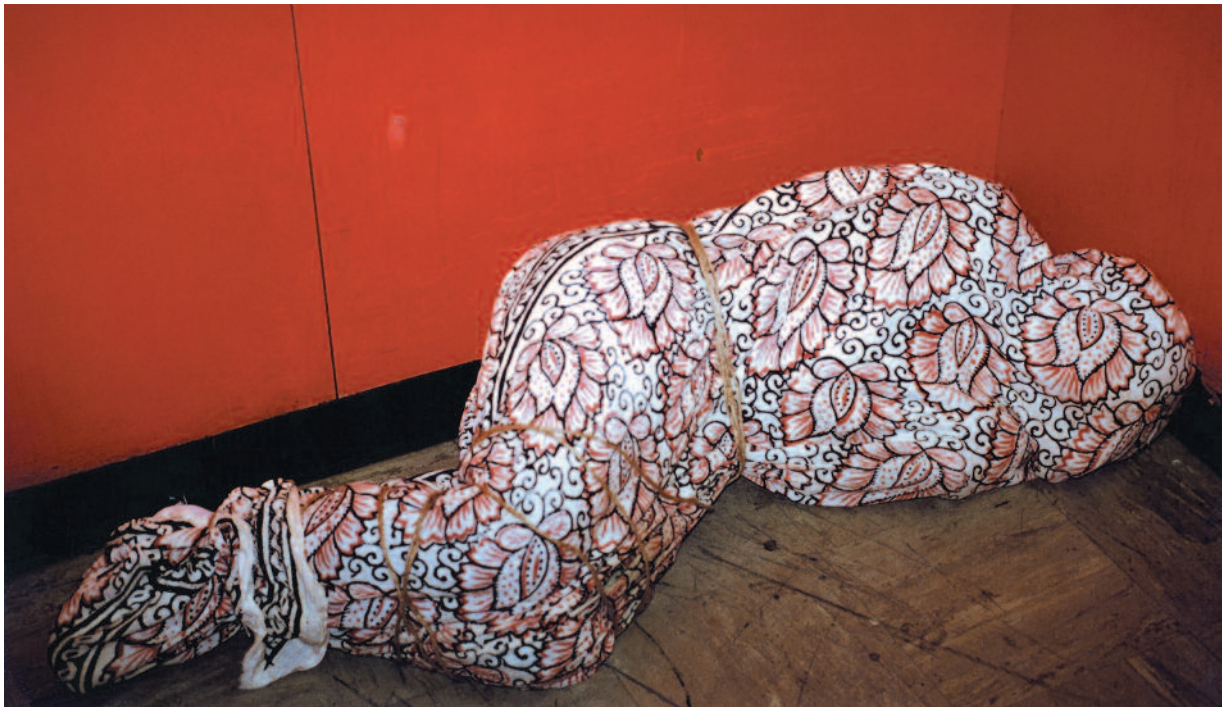
The publication in Mexico of *El Mexterminator* sparked interest in the work of the founder of La Pocha Nostra, an organization of multi-disciplinary arts. Created in 1992, La Pocha Nostra seeks to be a forum for artists from different disciplines, generations and ethnic origins to explore matters like globalization, migration, inter-cultural identity, new technologies, the politics of language, hybrid identities and the culture growing up along the border. It is also a basis for networking.

La Pocha Nostra agrees with community art as practiced by its predecessors in the 1970s Chicano movement and therefore dedicates at least 40 percent of its cultural activities to the Chicano-Latino community. "Since we perform for non-specialized audiences [among whom are professionals, students, activists and ordinary people], our work has a certain populist character. It cannot be too esoteric or hermetic; we are aware that we are experimental, but also populists. We want people to understand us and we want to have a broad audience because one of the things I learned in the Chicano movement is that the artist has to conceive of himself as a responsible citizen who participates in the great debates of his time and not as an agonized or isolated bohemian." Although it is aware that it works for a multi-generational audience, since its art is "very acid", it is among the young that it is most accepted.

Another point of coincidence with the 1970s Chicano movement is the belief that art has a profound political meaning. "Actually, all the work we do in this country has a profoundly political character. The simple fact of being Mexican Americans is an act of political defiance. Having the possibility of creating, thinking, responding and insinuating yourself into public debate is an act of political defiance," says Gómez-Peña.

Through performances, La Pocha Nostra develops works in which the participants play many roles, bringing to the fore its multi-cultural character. While its members are well-rooted, they also take on board new trends, like projects in digital art, in order to achieve a new artistic model that

La Pocha Nostra develops works
in which the participants play many roles, bringing
to the fore its multi-cultural character.



responds to the needs of our time. Their mission "is to explore the role of the artist in society and develop models of radical democracy. We believe that through art, consciousness can not only be influenced but also stimulated to grow."[2]

An acid, critical sense of humor is part of their proposal, as can be seen in the introduction to TECH-ILLA SUNRISE (*.txt dot con Sangrita*): "According to a spokesperson from the Michoacán Institute of Technology (MIT), 'Latinos are currently interested in the terms image-imagination and poetic technology. Their premise is the following: Given that the majority of Latinos do not have access to new technologies, we imagine the access. All we have is our political imagination and our humor to participate in the conversation....It is an imaginary act of expropriation. Our aesthetic-intellectual complexity compensates for the lack of bucks. You Mexi-get it? Have another drink, buddy. *More disturbed* [3] than ever.'"[4]

Museum of Fetishized Identity

Recently, Gómez-Peña, Juan Ybarra, Michelle Ceballos and Violeta Luna represented La Pocha Nostra on a trip to Mexico City. They performed at the Lighthouse of the East and at the National Autonomous University of Mexico's Chopo University Museum. At the latter, they organized the museographical performance-installation *The Museum of Fetishized Identity*, which included a *Cabinet of Futuristic Curiosities for Exotic Voyeurs and Housewives*, as well as lectures and workshops where they tried to answer questions like: What has happened to the cultural bridges between Chicanos and Mexicans? What is the new aesthetic that will articulate our new crises? How has globalization transformed our notions of identity and nationality? How, when and why have borders and margins become mainstream? What the hell is performance, anyway? A form of radical democracy, a hybrid genre that responds to the cultural hybridization of our society or nonsense.

Performed in several countries, the project puts forward the quest for a techno-Chicano aesthetic and a new dialogue between the Mexicans who have gone to the United States and those who stayed behind. In order to involve the community of artists, 15 Mexico City performance artists were invited to develop "hybrid characters" and "ethno-cyborgs" inspired in the global media culture. The result impressed the director of La Pocha Nostra since he detected many similarities to their own. "Their sensibilities are very Chicano-ized. The work that we presented with these artists was trans-bor-

der and we did not impose our aesthetic on them. Actually, the work was the result of a workshop that lasted two and a half weeks, where we discovered a great many affinities which I think didn't exist 10 years ago."

Recognition of Chicano Art

Gómez-Peña has presented his work in countries like the United States, Canada, Mexico, Europe, Australia, Russia, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Brazil and Argentina and is the first Chicano artist to receive a MacArthur fellowship (1991-1996). This fellowship was also a recognition of the artistic community with its increasing presence. "As a part of the great Chicano Latino cultural project of the last 20 years, Latino critics have developed, as well as an intellectual discourse to explain the Latino experience that didn't exist before. In that sense, I think that Chicano culture has been completely accepted in academia and the participation of Chicano artists and intellectuals is decisive in all sectors of U.S. society."

The MacArthur fellowship, explains Guillermo Gómez-Peña, gave him a national presence as not only the first Chicano, but also the first performance artist to be so recognized. "Right off the bat, this gave me the possibility of having a national voice. I tried to use it with a great deal of caution and responsibility. Of course, a grant like this one brings you all kinds of personal problems like envy, but I also think it allowed me to have access to the places in the MacArthur Foundation where decisions and recommendations are made so that later other Chicano artists can receive this fellowship. That has made me very proud." VM

Notes

[1] All quotes from Guillermo Gómez-Peña are from an interview with the author, June 16, 2003.

[2] www.pochanostra.com

[3] The original Spanish is a play on words in which "more disturbed" also spells out "masturbate". [Translator's Note].

[4] Ibid.

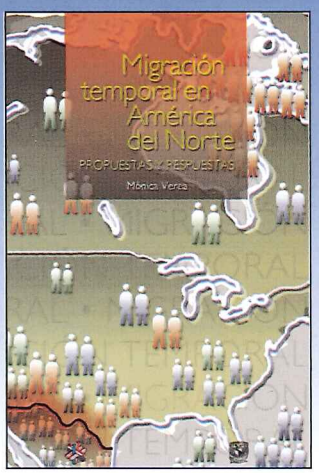
CISAN

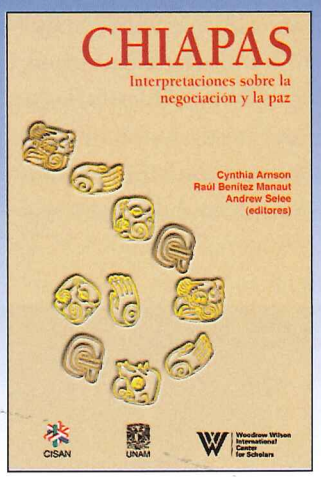
publications

Migración temporal en América del Norte. Propuestas y respuestas

Mónica Verea

The author puts forward the causes behind international migration and studies the evolution of policies on temporary migrants (tourists, businessmen, workers and students) to the United States and Canada, their impact on the integration of Latino communities in general and Mexican communities in particular, and how the September 11 attacks were a turning point in the regional migratory debate.





Chiapas. Interpretaciones sobre la negociación y la paz

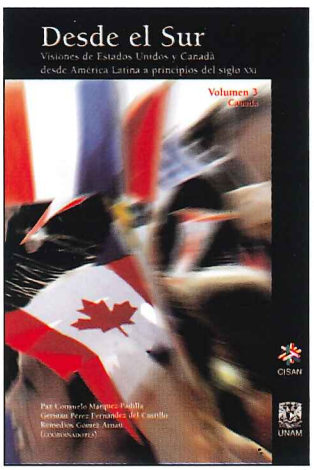
Cinthia Arnson,
Raúl Benítez Manaut,
Andrew Selee, comps.

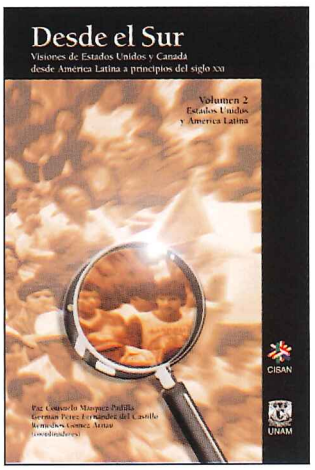
This book presents the debate on the Chiapas peace process and the causes behind the failure of the negotiations. Mexican and foreign academics, as well as some of the conflict's protagonists, analyze its structural causes, indigenous rights and the San Andrés Accords.

Desde el sur. Visiones de Estados Unidos y Canadá desde América Latina a principios del siglo xxi, vol. 3, Canadá

Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla, Germán Pérez Fernández del Castillo, Remedios Gómez Arnau, comps.

Stimulating articles by well-known Canada scholars make up the third and last volume of this series, reflecting the country's different characteristics: a post-national, multicultural, pro-internationalist and multilateral state, receiver of migrants, a paradigm of economic policies and development and a dynamic player in America's and the world's political and economic concert.





Desde el Sur. Visiones de Estados Unidos y Canadá desde Amércia Latina a principios del siglo xxi, *vol. 2.*

Paz Consuelo Marquéz-Padilla, Germán Pérez Fernández del Castillo and Remedios Gómez Arnau, comp.

This book looks at relations between Latin America and the United States. Although national security subsumes bilateral agenda issues, reality demands observers look at other matters of continuing importance: migration and human rights, employment and productivity, international trade and labor, as well as resurfacing nativism in U.S. immigration policy.

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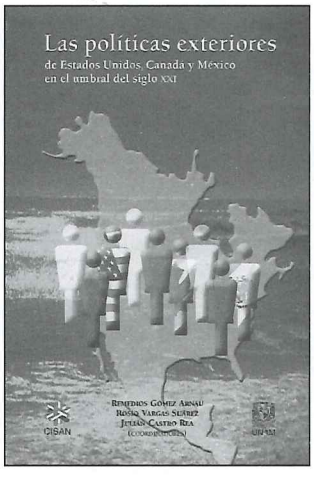
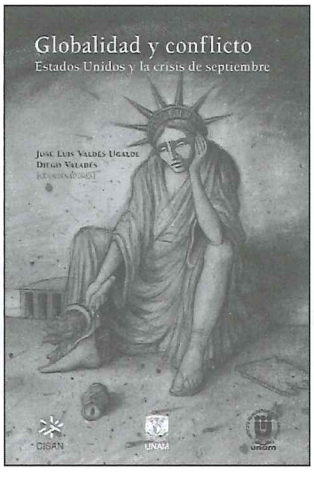
Las políticas exteriores de Estados Unidos, Canadá y México en el umbral del siglo XXI

Remedios Gómez Arnau, Rosío Vargas Suárez and Julian Castro Rea, comp.

Foreign policy design in North America has been reformulated with the beginning of the new century. The U.S. faces the choice of acting alone or through multilateral cooperation in matters of national security. Using the concept of "human security", the authors look at the perspectives for Canadian foreign policy. Mexico, for its part, is seen in light of the redefinition of its foreign policy, particularly vis-à-vis its multiple trade agreements.





Globalidad y conflicto. Estados Unidos y la crisis de septiembre

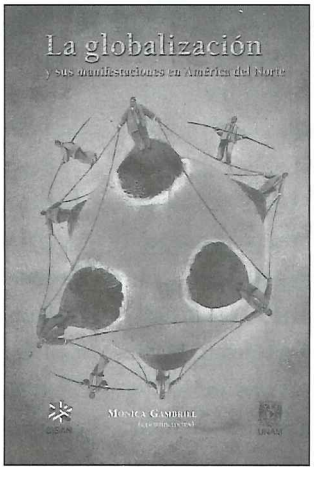
José Luis Valdés Ugalde and Diego Valadés, comp.

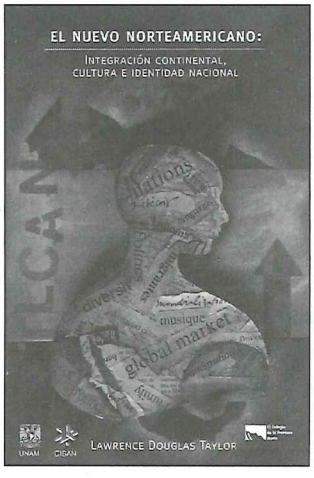
The events of September 11, 2001 have prompted the concepts of security and globalization to be posed in different ways and have given them new meaning. This book is the first Spanish-language academic publication in which specialists from different fields analyze these issues.

La globalización y sus manifestaciones en América del Norte

Mónica Gambrill, comp.

In light of the importance of globalization today, scholars from different countries have contributed articles to this book about issues that it affects: the economy, political power, NAFTA, the labor market, drug trafficking, the environment, the judicial branch of government and cultural industries.





El nuevo norteamericano: integración continental, cultura e identidad nacional

Lawrence Douglas Taylor

This book examines the implications of NAFTA and hemispheric integration for the cultural interaction among Canada, the United States and Mexico. It also ponders the demands and effects on these three countries whose future holds similar or greater challenges in the field of cultural unification.

Forthcoming:

East Los Angeles. Historia de un barrio
Los nuevos actores de América del Norte
Testimonios de latinos sobre el 11 de septiembre
Frontera y comunidad latina

The Chicano Movement And Identity

Esperanza García*

Laura Cano

The psycho-social process of people of Mexican origin in the U.S. Southwest becoming aware of their cultural identity up until the beginning of the 1970s Chicano Movement took place in the framework of a conflict with the popular imagination of the "authentic, American" identity based on Anglo-Saxon values and ethnocentrism.

The identity of the individual depends not only on primary identifications, but also on secondary ones, which occur when the social circle of identifications with models that promote the possibility of formulating and creating hierarchies of future expectations about oneself broaden out. When the usefulness of primary identifications ends, the individual's identity begins to form, depending, in turn, on the process whereby the community in question identifies the individual.[1]

On the other hand, we say that the formation of identity is a dialectical process in which not only similarities play a part but also the differences that separate out the "other," those exogenous to the group. Personal affirmation also goes through the negation of the "other" and "otherness," although this negation does not define the totality of the being.

* Professor at the International Relations Department of the Iberoamerican University.

Americans, who claim to be the possessors of the true identity, have also needed at different times and places the "other" to construct this identity: the Amerind, the Irish, the Jew, the Mexican.

An ethnic group shares not only origins, but also values about these origins, and the positive appreciation of these values is an important part of the formation of the identity of the individual inside the group. Ethnocentric solidarity includes the dimension of consciousness and counter-distinction in the sense that many groups exist only because of the awareness that they are not other groups. Identity is not only the individual, but also a group, phenomenon; it is a process localized in the individual nucleus and in the nucleus of its common culture. Thus, the consciousness of being in the world of the collective creates its own social or ethnic identity. However, we must add that cultural identity, whether social or ethnic, is not necessarily national identity. A cultural group is not necessarily —nor is it always— a national group.

The way in which the community identifies the individual is joined to the ways in which the individual identifies with others. If the individual is recognized as someone who bothers others, the community can suggest different ways for the individual to change. In this way, through both repudiation and the assimilation of previous identifications, a new configuration emerges. That is why Erickson said that cultural and historical change is traumatic for the formation of the individual's identity.[2]

We think this happens in the case of Chicanos. Given the primacy of Eurocentric ethnicity and Anglo-centric values, the internal coherence of the expectations that have been formed in the process of identifications breaks up. The early relationship of Chicanos who stayed in the Mexican territories lost in the War of 1847 and those who later migrated to the United States is one of power and domination, in which power is both concrete and amorphous. It is a domination understood as some ruling over others by virtue of the existing order.[3] Over time and down through history, Chicanos have sought their maturity and cultural identity from this place of defeat and marginality.

Over time and down through history, Chicanos have sought their maturity and cultural identity from a place of defeat and marginality.

The acquisition of collective consciousness demands a self-assumed identity proposal. The struggle for improving the Chicano community's socio-economic level is carried out within a conceptual framework that assumes the need for a search for its identity. When World War II veterans returned to the same social surroundings they had left behind, disillusionment and discontent with middle-class Mexican-American assimilationist organizations increased. The difference was not initially ideological, but, rather, centered on the lack of social mobility achieved by participating in these organizations and other, national, organizations like the Democratic Party. This split resulted in the leadership of the traditionally conservative Mexican-American organizations demanding more of the U.S. federal government with regard to equal opportunities and access to jobs.

During the social ferment of the 1960s, before Chicano student organizations emerged, several waves of protest occurred because of the inequalities Mexican-Americans were subject to. The most significant thing was the symbolic twist that these movements took through the affirmation of ethnic identity and the Mexican cultural heritage. Particularly important in this sense was a small Mexican farm workers union strike in Delano, California, led by César Chávez. This union joined in the struggle of Philippino grape pickers who had struck demanding the same pay that the braceros received. Chávez's union, in turn, went out on strike September 16, 1965. They marched toward Sacramento carrying a strike flag, the Mexican flag and the standard of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

That same summer, the black urban ghettoes had exploded, starting with Watts in Los Angeles. In New Mexico, activist Reies López Tijerina struggled by constitutional means to recover communal lands that under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which finalized the war between Mexico and the United States in 1849, should have been respected, but which the U.S. government had turned into federally-owned forests.

When previously repressed left movements re-emerged in the United States, some Mexican-American students joined them. Among them were Luis Valdez, Roberto Rubalcava and

Ramón Macias. Valdez and Rubalcava, both student activists at San José State College in California, became members of the Progressive Labor Party and, in 1964, on returning from a trip to Cuba, produced a first radical manifesto against the leaders of the Mexican-American community and their assimilationist policy.

When he finished his studies, Valdez joined the anti-establishment radical theater group the San Francisco Mime Troupe and from there continued his critique of assimilation. In 1965, he participated in farm workers' efforts in Delano, led by Chávez, and wrote the Delano Plan, which proclaimed the principle of a social movement. In that same year, he founded the Teatro Campesino, recruiting its members from among student activists in northern California. Ramón Macías, a student at the University of California at Berkeley, became one of the original playwrights of the Teatro Campesino. According to Chicano author Carlos Muñoz, many of the concepts about Chicano identity and the emergence of the Generación Chicana came out of the ideas of Luis Valdez and the cultural work of the Teatro Campesino. However, Muñoz also said that these young people were the exception and not the rule in the 1960s.[4]

The inferior place of Mexicans in U.S. society cannot be maintained solely with discrimination and brute force. There had to be acceptance or recognition by Mexicans themselves of their own inferiority, even if only unconsciously. "Mexicans...had contradictory feelings of gratitude, anger, frustration and resignation concerning their experience with Anglos. Some Mexicans accepted Anglo beliefs about Anglo superiority... yet others could never believe such things, because they hated them [Anglos] too much."[5] Although this idea has some merit, it is only part of the truth and implies that the refusal to accept Anglos' pejorative description was owed to the hatred felt for them and not the outright rejection of these stereotypes.

Despite this distance, what remains and what differentiates the Mexican American persists: the skin color, the color of the eyes, the rhythm of speech.

The acquisition of consciousness of Mexican-Americans' identity is complicated by several phenomena. Their traditional rejection of being called "Mexican" is not only because of the deformed reflection of negative stereotypes in the United States, but because of the discriminatory, devaluing prejudice that they have suffered in their own country. Just because this prejudice has a high degree of class content does not mean that it is not racist. As Guillermo Bonfil says:

> The faces speak to us of genetic continuity and the predominance of Indian features. This people remains. There was a mixing of the races; there still is. But it is not a balanced mixture of blood in which the Indian and European blood weigh the same, but rather grafts from there on the solid trunk from here, or like little streams that become part of the majestic river that is the Indian. The notion of the mestizo Mexican is an ideological fable, a euphemism to try to hide —or at least minimize— the overwhelming predominance of the Indian in the Mexican people as a whole. Only the growing isolation and stubborn racism of some elites allows them to fail to recognize in that brown skin, that black, straight hair, those high cheekbones and those almond-shaped eyes the intense gaze, the distinctive, more generalized features of the Mexican face. Our true face, without cosmetics, dissimulation or impossible negations. That is, at the end of the day, an Indian people, no matter how hard it is for some to accept.[6]

All these elements of rejection suspend the Mexican-American, from his/her origins, in a space where physical features and the symbols of original ethnicity are not necessarily attractive. But in the cultural vacuum in which he/she is submerged, the cultural symbols are indispensable to him/her despite the fact that they continue to change because of the distance —not only physical, but cultural— of his/her country of origin. Despite this distance, at the same time, what remains and what differentiates the Mexican American persists: the skin color, the color of the eyes, the rhythm of speech; it persists to clearly distinguish him/her and, as a result, he/she is marginalized and rejected. The abyss that separates him/her from acceptance also persists through the new Mexicans who are continually arriving so that those features and that speech, that skin color, are not forgotten. It persists in a way

that, even though he/she may have been there, on the other side of the border, for generations, he/she is not allowed to find meaning or be included by the symbols of the other, adopted culture, a culture that for innumerable reasons is always an adopted culture, but not totally adopted because it cannot recognize itself in it.

We have a typical case in Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzáles, who had gone through all the byways of the frustrated identity in the search for assimilation. He was the product of an urban barrio. He had a long history of activism and in his personal attempt to capture that identity that so eluded him, he managed to capture the imagination of young people through his epic poem, "Yo soy Joaquín."

"Yo soy Joaquín" filled a void for the generations that had lived without access to their historical and cultural roots, or to the history of their community in the United States. All of those who had been lost between two worlds, the Mexican and the American, who in different ways rejected their attempts to concretize who they were could identify with the character Joaquín.

"Yo soy Joaquín" by no means sets out a strategy or a political ideology to be followed, but it does capture the very essence of the frustration, the pain and the anger at rejection, marginalization and racism suffered by people of Mexican origin in the United States, as well as the rift with the two cultures. As Gonzáles himself says in the prologue, the poem was a journey through history, a painful self-evaluation, but above all a quest for his people and his own identity. In that sense it was a foundation of the new identity called being "Chicano," since many of its lines express that search and try to respond to it.

Cándido Morales

Though he/she may have been there, on the other side of the border, for generations, he/she is not allowed to find meaning or be included by the symbols of the other.

The character does not assume a particular ethnic nature, but puts himself forward as the continuum of the synthesis of the dialectic of his history, a history that takes on the mantle of Cortés, Cuauhtémoc, Malintzin, Hidalgo, Juárez, Villa, Zapata; master and slave; hero and executioner; Juan Diego, Our Lady of Guadalupe and Tonantzín; Cortina and Murrieta; a soldier bleeding to death in Normandy, Korea and Vietnam; the son of a culture and a violated treaty; the mariachi, Rivera, Siqueiros, *corridos*, El Cid.

Luis Valdez is the one who gave ideological direction to the Chicano identity when he declared that the Chicano heritage was not rooted in the Spanish component, but in the indigenous, working class component. The Chicano position on mixed blood was that Anglo-American racism that refused to integrate Mexicans after 1848 encouraged lighter-skinned Mexicans to identify themselves as Spaniards, and that others sought to differentiate themselves racially from blacks and Amerinds.

Following this ideological line, Chicano student groups met in the summer of 1969 in Denver, Colorado and proclaimed the Spiritual Plan of Aztlán, which contained their proposal for their group identity. "Most of us know we are not European simply by looking in the mirror...the shape of the eyes, the curve of the nose, the color of skin, the texture of hair; these things belong to another time, another people. Together with a million little stubborn mannerisms, beliefs, myths, superstitions, words, thoughts...they fill our Spanish life with Indian contradictions. It is not enough to say we suffer an identity crisis, be-

cause that crisis has been our way of life for the last five centuries."[7]

They assume the predominantly indigenous component of which Bonfil speaks. They rectify the position vis-à-vis mixed blood that encouraged lighter-skinned Mexicans to identify themselves as Spanish and that others, in an attempt to "whiten themselves," sought to differentiate themselves racially from blacks and Amerinds. "Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the Bronze Continent, We are a Nation. We are a Union of free pueblos, We are Aztlán. We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields and gather the crops, and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent."[8] The last point in the plan refers to the aim of achieving an autonomous nation, culturally, socially, economically and politically free, which would make its own decisions about the use of land, taxes, using its people for war, the promotion of justice and the profit from the fruit of their labor.

By including power relations in ethnic relations and demanding autonomy and self-control over their institutions, at the same time that it shared some things with the dominant society, such as the use of English alongside Spanish, the Spiritual Plan of Aztlán's pronouncement of what Chicanos considered to be their true identity was ahead of its time because it proposed a community structured by what today is known as the model of pluralist cultural policies. VM

NOTES

[1] Erik Erickson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton, Inc., 1968).
[2] Ibid., p. 67.
[3] Max Weber, *Economía y Sociedad* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984), p. 63.
[4] Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity and Power: The Chicano Movement* (London: Verso, 1990), p. 63.
[5] David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1991), p. 283.
[6] Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *México profundo: una civilización negada* (Mexico City: Editorial Grijalbo, 1990).
[7] Luis Valdez quoted in Muñoz, op. cit., p. 63.
[8] Jack Forbes, *Aztecas del Norte: Chicanos of Aztlán* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Premier Books, 1973), p. 174.

Journal of An Immigrant Border Artist

Guillermo Gómez-Peña*

Photo courtesy of La Pocha Nostra

I

I left Mexico City in 1978 to study art in California, "the land of the future" as my lost generation saw it. Too young to be a *hipiteca* and too old to be a *punketo*, I was a 22-year old interstitial rebel, a writer and artist who couldn't find space to breathe in the suffocating official culture of Mexico. There, the art and literary cartels were structured in an ecclesiastical fashion, accountable to one untouchable capo. He was the archbishop and final arbiter of what was acceptable as "high culture" and "Mexican-ness," Don Octavio Paz.

In those days, identity in Mexico was a static construct, intricately connected to national territory and language. A Mexican was someone who lived in Mexico and who spoke Spanish like a Mexican. *Punto*. There weren't many alternative ways of being Mexican. Despite the fact that we came in all shapes, colors and even races, *mestizaje* (the mixed race), was the official dictum and master narrative. The millions of *indios,* the original proto-Mexicans, were portrayed as living in a parallel (and mythical) time and space outside *our* history and society. The paternalistic *indigenista* jargon of the government and the intelligentsia reduced indigenous people to infantilized, colorful ethnographic specimens that seemed to be co-sponsored by the Department of Tourism and *National Geographic*. Their photographic image, folklore and traditions were "ours," but not their misery, joblessness and despair. Not surprisingly, many chose to leave.

Those who dared to migrate *al otro lado* —to the other side— became instant traitors, inauthentic and bastardized Mexicans destined to join the ranks of the infamous *Pochos* who were the other forgotten orphans of the Mexican nation-state. And so, when I crossed the border, I unwittingly started

* Border artist.

my irreversible process of *Pocho-ization* or de-Mexicanization.

When I arrived in the U.S., I innocently engaged in what turned out to be taboo behavior: I began to hang out with Chicanos (politicized Mexican Americans) and to write in Spanglish (the tongue of the *Pochos*) about our hybrid identity that was demonized by both countries —the only identity my generation knew. I found that once you cross the border you could never really go back. Whenever I tried, I always ended up "on the other side," as if walking on a moebious strip. My ex-*paisanos* on the Mexican side of the line made a point of reminding me that I was no longer "a true Mexican," that something, a tiny and mysterious crystal, had broken inside of me forever. After five years of "returning," in their minds I had forgotten the script of my identity. Even worse, I had "shipwrecked" on the other side (Octavio Paz used this loaded metaphor in a controversial essay that once angered the Chicano intelligentsia).

II

For decades, both the U.S. government and Mexico's PRI had been immersed in a stubborn chess game of self-defensive nationalisms. Both sides saw the border between them as a straight line, not our moebious strip; a dead-end, not an intersection. For the U.S., the border was the scary beginning of the Dantean Third World, and therefore "the most sensitive zone of national security," For Mexico, *la frontera* was a conceptual wall that marked the outer limits of Mexican-ness against the mighty *gringo* otherness.

Neither country understood (or pretended not to understand) the political and cultural significance of the great Mexican migration that was taking place. In its more generous moments, Mexico saw us migrants as helpless *mojados* at the mercy of the INS, and, with a few exceptions, didn't do much to defend us. Despite the nationalistic jargon of its politicos, Mexico's hands were permanently tied by loans from the Washington bosses and secret commitments to business partners in the North. The *gringos* conveniently saw us as a primary source of America's social ills and financial tribulations, especially during tough economic times. To put it bluntly, we were perceived as a bunch of transnational criminals, gang members, drug lords, Hollywood-style greaser bandits and job thieves —and we were treated accordingly. One country was relieved we were gone; the other was afraid to have us. Luckily, since we were Catholic, we accepted our post-national limbo stoically. After all, our goal was not to attain happiness on earth, but simply to make a decent living and send money back to our families in Mexico.

In the painful process of becoming Chicanos, we built invisible bridges between South and North, memory and identity, art and politics.

Being a Mexican "alien" in Southern California meant waking up every day and, as an act of volition against all odds, choosing to remain a Mexican. Whether we liked it or not, consciously or not, we became part of a culture of resistance. Just to look "Mexican" or speak Spanish in public was in itself an act of political defiance.

If it hadn't been for Chicanos and other U.S. Latinos, I probably would have died of loneliness, nostalgia and invisibility. Chicanos taught me a different way of thinking about myself as an artist and as a citizen. Through them, I discovered that my art could be developed as a means to explore and reinvent my multiple and ever-shifting identities (something that had been unthinkable in Mexico). Thanks to this epiphany, I began to see myself as part of a larger U.S. Chicano/Latino culture in a permanent process of reinvention. I was no longer a nostalgic immigrant yearning to return to a mythical homeland. I learned the basic lesson of *El movimiento*: I began to live "here" and "now," to fully embrace my brand-new contradictions and my incipient process of politicization as a much-touted "minority," — to "re-territorialize" myself, as theorists would say.

And so my abrupt process of Chicanoization began.

III

For a decade I was asked by Chicano nationalists and hardliners to pay expensive dues and submit myself to thorough identity searches and blood tests. My desire to "belong" far outweighed my impatience and I waited stoically for my "conversion." During this time I was struck by an existential predicament which caused me to shed many tears, create performances ridden with pathos and engage in obsessive inner questioning: How to ground my multiple repertoires of identity in a country which does not even regard me as a citizen? What are the crucial factors that determine degree of Chi-

canoization? Time spent as a politicized Mexican in the U.S., or a long-term commitment to *our* grassroots institutions and *causa*? Did I ever become a full Chicano? If so, when exactly did this happen? The day I was busted for talking back to a cop, or the day my father died, and my umbilical cord with Mexico broke for good? Perhaps it happened when my ex-Mexican *paisanos* began to see me as Other?

Today, after 24 years of crossing that bloody border back and forth by foot, by car and by airplane, as I write this I wonder, does it even matter anymore when it happened? As I write this text, I realize that the space between my remote Mexican past and my Chicano future is immense and my identity can zigzag across it freely.

Eventually, it was my art and my literature that granted me the full citizenship denied to me by both countries. I invented my own conceptual country. In the "inverted cartography" of my performances and writings, Chicanos and U.S. Latinos became the mainstream culture, with Spanglish as the *lingua franca,* and mono-cultural Anglos became an ever-shrinking minority (*Waspbacks* or *Waspanos*), unable to participate in the public life of "my" country because of their unwillingness to learn Spanish and embrace our culture.

IV

On January 1, 1994, the Zapatistas staged their legendary insurrection in Chiapas as NAFTA came into effect with its promise of "unifying" Mexico, the U.S. and Canada in a free-trade zone. Bringing the needs of indigenous Mexicans into the national political discussion for the first time, the Zapatistas effectively used poetic allegories, cyber-communiques and wild performance strategies to broadcast their worldview and effect change. Mexico has never been the same. Nor have U.S.-Mexico relations. The Zapatista lesson was crystal clear: democracy in Mexico could only exist if we acknowledged and incorporated its forbidden diversity, which, in the words of *Subcomandante* Marcos, included not just the indigenous peoples, but also women, gays, youth, and even those on the other side of the national mirror, the Chicanos and "undocumented" Mexicans.

Being a Mexican "alien" in Southern California meant waking up every day and, as an act of volition against all odds, choosing to remain a Mexican.

Zapatismo played an enormous role in the awakening of the *sociedad civil* (civil society) on both sides of the border. It also re-energized the Chicano movement on this side of the border, which was under attack by virulent anti-immigration politicians and cultural backlashers. By 1996, Marcos was practically an honorary Chicano rocker, the avatar of Rage Against the Machine. Many Chicano and border activists, artists and intellectuals, including myself, made the obligatory pilgrimage to the *Chiapaneca* jungle. We were in search of a utopian political site in which to locate our voices and aspirations, but couldn't find it. Instead, we found yet another Mexico, *el profundo,* one much different from those in the photo albums and distorted memories of our immigrant families, or in the TV shows of Televisa. In this other Mexico, indigenous men and women were risking their lives on behalf of all the orphans of the two nation states. Seven years later, my heart continues to be with them.

V

NAFTA sponsored several mirages. Among others, it created the illusion that the U.S.-Mexico border was fading away to allow the exchange of products, capital, "global media" and corporate dreams. Unfortunately, the free transit of people and ideas, especially from South to North, and respect for labor, human rights and environmental standards were not part of the original deal. It was clear that both governments favored open borders going from North to South and carefully supervised borders from South to North. It is no coincidence that along with the implementation of NAFTA we witnessed the construction of a sinister metallic border wall that eerily resembles the old Berlin Wall. This gesture of despotic arrogance coincided with the implementation of Operation Gatekeeper and the radicalization of the "English-Only" movement.

The new wall contradicted the borderless rhetoric of the free traders, revealing their true intentions. For the Northern countries, the wealthy ones who invented "the Global Project," the evil other was no longer the Eastern Bloc; it was now the Southern Hemisphere, especially Latin America and Africa. The unfortunate Immigration Act of 1996 and California's Propo-

Since 9/11 "suspicious (brown) immigrants" are rounded up and kept indefinitely in detention centers, while the *migra* has doubled in numbers and ferocity.

sition 187 clearly targeted brown and black immigrants, formalizing this new paradigm shift.

Given this backdrop, it became clear to many artists and intellectuals on both sides of the border that what we really needed was a "Free Art Agreement." From 1995 to 1998, many bi-national cultural initiatives that bypassed government agencies were created on both sides. Our main objective was, to quote from one artists' manifesto, "an ongoing exchange of thorny ideas, non-commercial artwork and literature across the border." But it soon became clear that the cultural power brokers on both sides were more interested in the financial benefits and the hype of the "international" art market than in visionary ideas. The border region became an Art Expo.

Of course, the more acid, critical and outrageous voices were left out of the bi-national fiesta. No biggie. We made our own party in the parking lot. We knew the best DJs.

VI

In the year 2000, the opposition candidate Vicente Fox made an appeal to Mexicans living in the U.S. These voters were traditionally anti-PRI, favoring the PRD, a more progressive party. Fox asked us to return and vote in border towns. Many of us went, although there were not enough ballots for us when we got there. Still, we trusted Fox and celebrated his victory. Why? First and foremost, because he had democratically defeated the 71-year-old PRI, a monumental achievement, bigger, perhaps, than winning the soccer World Cup.

Though Fox came from the corporate right, he began to behave more like a European social democrat. In his first official trip to *El Norte*, he told President Clinton, Prime Minister Jacques Chrétien and then-candidates "Gush and Bore" of his utopian vision of U.S.-Mexico relations: he wanted to create "a tri-national fund" that would eventually equalize the Mexican economy with its northern partners and slowly erase the border; he would reform NAFTA on behalf of Mexican workers; and he especially hoped to guarantee respect for the human rights of migrants. U.S. and Canadian politicians flipped out. Even Chicanos and U.S. Latinos, even I flipped out. Fox's "border project" sounded like a progressive Chicano activist proposal. The mirror of ideology was suddenly hanging upside down.

Fox's emotional inaugural speech was even more perplexing than his "border project." Alone, with little support behind him, and before an audience of adversaries, he promised indigenous peoples that he would implement the sensitive San Andrés Accords. If this weren't enough, he boldly told the political dinosaurs sitting before him that "no corruption would be tolerated," and that "the *peces gordos* will end up in jail." Later on, he even welcomed the *Marcha Zapatista* into Mexico City, and allowed masked *Comandante* Esther to address the country at the congressional Palace of San Lázaro.

Fox's multi-ideological stances seemed to announce the beginning of a new, more enlightened era, surgically marked by the beginning of the new century.

VII

In 2001, U.S.-Mexico relations became a priority for both presidents. Or so they said over and over. From a distance, Fox and Bush seemed to be infatuated with one another. Whenever they got together, they behaved like nineteenth-century hacienda owners who loved to chat in each other's language about boots, cattle, quaint border culture and, of course, *negocios* (business). Both Mexicans and Chicanos were carefully waiting and watching with binoculars as the new *rancheros* in power introduced a series of unprecedented proposals to improve border relations. Perhaps the most outrageous was the "regularization" of three million undocumented Mexicans in the U.S., an unquestionable step in the right direction, but a hard one to believe.

One couldn't help but ask out loud: Were these *cheros* for real? Did "Jorge" Bush really mean it, or was he trying to appeal to us as part of his greater plan to seduce Latino votes to assure the survival of his party? After all, up to that point the nativist Republicans had been extremely aggressive toward immigrants. What then, was Bush's secret Mexican agenda? Water, electricity, petroleum. A powerful ally for his "Free Trade Area of the Americas"?

The abrupt transformation of political structures in Mexico proved to be much more complicated than Fox's good intentions, messianic personality and media savvy combined. Dissent

erupted from all directions. The president was besieged by the passive-aggressiveness of the old PRI constantly stonewalling his new legislation and by the far right in his own party, along with the drug lords and corrupt *judiciales* on whom he had declared war.

Fox was more lonely and sober than ever. His short-lived affair with the citizenry was over, and so were his outrageous promises of instant economic prosperity "for all Mexicans." To complicate things even more, when the tragedy of September 11 came, the Bush administration shifted its foreign policy 180 degrees toward Afghanistan and "the war on terror." As the Jetsons carpet bombed the Flintstones, Bush's Mexican *amigo* faded into the dusty background of a bad Spaghetti Western, and the many border projects concocted by Bush, Fox and Associates were indefinitely postponed.

VIII

Under the pretense of "national unity," and "national security," a frightening culture of intolerance, patriotism, paranoia and isolationism has permeated our private and public lives, poisoning even more our already precarious relationship with our neighboring Others. With the country in a state of "maximum alert," its two borders have been tightened considerably since 9/11; "suspicious (brown) immigrants" are rounded up and kept indefinitely in detention centers, and the *migra* has doubled in numbers and ferocity. The border, once hailed by free traders as the porous gateway for goods and services, is now "the entryway for potential terrorists," and the "information superhighway" of the past administration, which promised to narrow the gap between cultures and communities, is now the largest surveillance system on earth.

Zapatismo re-energized the Chicano movement, which was under attack by virulent anti-immigration politicians and cultural backlashers.

IX

In addition to the myriad challenges that President Fox faces in Mexico, he's got a formidable one on this side of the border: the fulfillment of his promise to develop a respectful, ongoing relationship with the Mexicans and post-Mexicans living in the U.S. who literally sustain the economy of both countries. Like Bush, Fox knows we can no longer be ignored. Despite their self-serving hope that we might be induced to keep their respective parties in power, I truly hope that both presidents and the strange men behind them will soon realize that post-national Mexicans perform extremely beneficial roles for both nations as bi-national brokers and entrepreneurs; informal ombudsmen and diplomats; chroniclers and intercultural interpreters.

But reconciliation won't be easy. Understandably, we are wary. We've been profoundly hurt by the Mexican government's legacy of abandonment and by a history of institutionalized racism in the U.S., which since 9/11 has become official. Besides, it is clear to most Mexican Americans, even apolitical ones, that the historical relationship between *Los Pinos* and the White House is in some way responsible for us being here.

And so we came, like so many orphans from other countries, seeking the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, only to find hardship, citizen vigilantes and punitive immigration laws. We overcame these obstacles, and in the painful process of becoming Chicanos, or *Americanos* in the widest sense of the Spanish term, we built invisible bridges between past and future, South and North, memory and identity, indigenous America and high-technology, art and politics. And these handmade bridges may be more useful to contemporary U.S.-Mexico relations than the rhetorical ones supposedly built by NAFTA and global media.

Our numbers have only continued to grow. We now constitute an archipelago that spreads from North County San Diego to Homestead, Florida; from East Los Angeles to East Harlem; and from San Antonio to Kodiak Island. We are 20 million post-national Mexicans, acculturated or Chicanoized to varying degrees, and involved, often silently, in every aspect of American culture, economy, and public life. In chorus with at least 15 million other U.S. Latinos, our mere existence demands the creation of a new cartography capable of containing us —a virtual nation in which Latinos, documented or not, can enjoy the same rights and privileges as other "Americans;" an imaginary place, where our contradictions and extreme differences are not just acknowledged or tolerated, but encouraged.

This "other Latin America," part of the larger Third World within the First, with a population larger than that of

Canada and Australia put together, is currently being co-imagined and drafted by Spanglish poets, hip-hop artists, fusion musicians, radical scholars, performance artists and independent filmmakers.

In the year 2002, both the U.S. and Mexico's monolithic visions of nationhood are being confronted by multiplicity, hybridity, tolerance, and *autogestion ciudadana* (citizen self-organization), direct products of the border wound. It is the new South reminding *El Norte,* and the new North warning *El Sur,* in Spanglish and from the grass roots up, that no democratic vision of the future can be fully realized without including the Other —which, it turns out, is no longer so "other." As ghost citizens of a borderless nation, we may soon have to redefine the meanings of a long list of dated twentieth-century terminology. Words such as "immigrant," "alien," "foreigner," "minority," "diaspora," "border," and "American" may no longer be useful to explain our new condition, identity and dilemmas.

X

Two years ago, when Mexico and the U.S. finally allowed "dual citizenship" for the first time ever, many colleagues and I decided to apply. We hit the jackpot. We exchanged our green card for a gold one, and went from being partial, incomplete citizens in Mexico and the U.S. to becoming full citizens in both countries. Our rationale for applying was that if our two countries were engaged in a seductive rhetoric of "free exchange," it was only logical that all Mexican Americans should become dual citizens, and vote in both countries (what a scary thought, *¿qué no*?). It was only logical that we should demand to be treated as true partners in the project of imagining a more enlightened future for both countries.

For the moment, the image in the mirror is frozen. I am extremely scared about Bush's and Ashchoft's notions of America and "homeland." "Their" cartography seems to have very little room for "us." VM

No llegamos ayer (y no nos vamos mañana)[1]

Arturo Madrid*

Photos by Laura Cano

Introduction

The last three decades of the twentieth century constitute a period of extraordinary productivity vis-à-vis the documentation of all aspects of the historical experience, cultural expression and social praxis of Mexican-origin populations of the U.S. The pioneering scholarship produced by Chicana/o scholars during this period re-conceptualized the socio-economic and political experience and the cultural production of the multiple *mexicano* communities of the U.S.

Without a doubt the most problematical dimension of the experience of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. has been the legacy of denigration of all things Mexican.

It used and continues to use cutting-edge methodology to address issues of class, ethnicity, gender, race and sexuality, and in so doing challenges in a highly sophisticated fashion an academic and cultural hegemony which continues to see *México, mexicanos* and *lo mexicano* as irrelevant or inferior or marginal or all of the above. The oppositional scholarship, the paradigm-challenging research that characterizes Chicano studies came from the collectivity of intellectuals and scholars spawned by the Chicano Movement. Chicana/o scholars put themselves at risk professionally by challenging their academic mentors and sponsors, established disciplinal canons and methodologies and institutional policies and practices. Some did not survive; many function at the mar-

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gins of the academic enterprise; most are still waging a century-long battle for legitimacy and attention. [2]

Long before there was a field of study called Chicano Studies there were writings that focused on the *experiencia* (the historical experience) and the *vivencia* (the lived experience) of the people of Mexican-origin living in the United States, whether the latter were migrant workers, refugees from political and/or economic turmoil in Mexico or the descendants of those peoples who settled Spain's *Provincias Internas* in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and who subsequently were absorbed into the U.S. as a consequence of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). The pre-Chicano Movement examinations of the Mexican-origin population fall broadly into three categories:

- Reconnaissance reports on the territory that went from being Mexico's *Norte* to becoming the U.S. Southwest;
- Historical studies concerning the exploration and the colonization of the *Provincias Internas* of the Spanish Empire, which came to be known as the Spanish Borderlands; and
- Ethnographic studies of the cultural expression and the material culture of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. that grew out of compilations of data concerning Mexican laborers.

These three types of studies have multiple points of contact. All played a role in the evolution of Chicano Studies. All still shape popular as well as scholarly interpretations of the historical experience and the cultural expression of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. All continue to inform social and public policy in both Mexico and the U.S. And to one extent or another the legacy of these studies has been problematical.

The Disparagement Of *Todo lo mexicano*

Without a doubt the most problematical dimension of the experience of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. has been the legacy of denigration of all things Mexican (*de lo mexicano)* that has been a central aspect of Anglo-American interpretation to this day. This legacy was the product of a historical Anglo-American antipathy towards Spanish-Mexican society as well as of the rationalization that accompanied U.S. imperialism in the nineteenth century. It was driven by the descriptions and interpretations of the cultural makeup and expression of the Mexican population by Anglo-American travelers and spies both preceding and following the occupation of Mexico's *Norte*. *Mexicanos*, whatever their class or cultural origins, and particularly those who were indigenous or mestizo were examined and judged to be inferior. These views and interpretations determined what the U.S. populace came to understand and believe; the basis on which policy was made; as well as the justification for the apartheid that subsequently informed societal policies and practices vis-à-vis *mexicanos*, whatever their civic or socio-economic status.[3]

These tendentious interpretations informed subsequent early twentieth-century studies having to do with the foundational historical experience —the period of exploration and colonization under the Spanish Empire— of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. The scholarly studies of explorers and colonizers are fundamentally marked by a distancing process from the historical subject, one that essentially denies its relationship to the present. The former, i.e. the explorers, are exoticized in terms of a glorious Spanish imperial past; the latter, the colonizers, are frequently characterized as debased and/or degenerate. Only

the aspects of that past that could be romanticized —conquistadors, missionaries et al.— have been preserved, either as the stuff of tourism or the domain of antiquarians. As a consequence, the historical experience of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. in the second half of the nineteenth century was ignored, misrepresented, or dismissed as insignificant. Matters of conquest, subjugation, displacement and expropriation as well as violence against the resident populations were elided. The lived experience —*la vivencia*— of the Mexican-origin communities of the U.S. was distorted and its cultural expression denigrated. The only cultural expression given value was the one deemed to be Spanish and judged to be unadulterated by *lo mexicano*. [4]

The first set of studies of a scholarly character on the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. grew out of efforts of U.S. and Mexican agencies to track a phenomenon that had multiple dimensions and major social, political and economic implications for both nations: the migration north of thousands of citizens of the Mexican nation in the early part of the twentieth century.[5] These studies were based on data collected on the demand for Mexican laborers: their numbers; the type of employment they obtained; their geographical distribution once in the U.S; the conditions of their employment; and their income. Some of the studies had ethnographic dimensions. Although methodologically sophisticated, the ethnographies were fundamentally flawed in that they were reductionist, essentialist and normative. The norm against which matters Mexican were measured was Anglo-American society and culture. Vis-à-vis that norm and its essentialist ideological perspective, Mexican society and culture —and therefore all *mexicanos*— were profoundly lacking. The conclusions arrived at in many of these ethnographies were that Mexican values, traditions, modalities, etc. were retrograde and reactionary. Moreover, notwithstanding the differences in historical experience, ethnic origins, cultural traditions and practices and class construction among the various populations of *mexicanos* living and/or working in the U.S., the lines that marked those differences were frequently blurred. Their diverse historical and lived experiences (*su experiencia y su vivencia*) became conflated. All Mexican-origin people came to be imagined as recent immigrants; in addition, as destitute, despairing and deprived; and furthermore as undeserving of the opportunities, benefits and protections offered by U.S. society.[6]

This twentieth century version of the nineteenth century legacy served to justify both the exclusion and/or marginalization of the historical experience and the role of *mexicanos* in shaping U.S. society as well as to rationalize the scapegoating of the Mexican population during times of crisis. During the Great Depression it justified dismissing anyone deemed to be "Mexican" from their jobs, denying them rights and protections, and repatriating thousands of persons, including native-born and naturalized citizens of the U.S.[7] During World War II it permitted exploitation of *braceros,* physical attacks on Mexican-origin population and public denigration of *lo mexicano.* In a trial that took place in that environment of the so-called Zoot-Suit Riots of 1943 and that involved various Mexican-American youths accused of a gang murder, the prosecutor presented and the presiding judge admitted into the trial record expert testimony to the effect that Mexicans, descended as they were from Aztecs, were by nature perverse, barbarian, murderous and bloodthirsty.[8]

In brief, Mexico, Mexicans, *y todo lo mexicano* have been imagined over time and found wanting. Mexico's historical and contemporary presence in the area known as the Spanish Borderlands continues to be dismissed. All persons of Mexican origin residing therein are to a greater or lesser extent viewed as newcomers and interlopers. Their cultural makeup is still viewed as lacking and used as justification for exclusion and exploitation. The disparities that exist between the Mexican-origin and larger U.S. population continue to be conceptualized as private problems informed and driven by cultural modes and historical ways of being rather than societal conditions created by social policies and practices and thus subject to being resolved or improved by appropriate public policy. These complications, and the contradictions they led to, have taken deep root. They are not confined to the past, but continue to confound us in the present. Mexico's migrants continue to enter a space historically occupied by *mexicanos* and continue to be defined by the terms of the occupation of that historical space by Anglo-Americans.

Setting the Record Straight

Not all of the early twentieth-century studies of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. are tendentious or flawed. Among the students of the migratory phenomenon were the U.S. labor economist and activist Paul Taylor and the Mexican sociologist and statesman Manuel Gamio. Paul Taylor's explorations of the deleterious effects that large scale agricultural enterprises were having on the rural society of the U.S. led him inevitably to the examination of the agricultural labor force which in the West was already overwhelmingly Mexican in origin. Starting in 1928, with the publication of his study on Mexican labor in the Imperial Valley of California, Paul Taylor went on to document the working conditions of *mexicanos* in the agricultural sector throughout the U.S. over the next three decades. His research formed the basis for attempts to implement legislation to eliminate or attenuate pervasive exploitation and abuse of agricultural workers as well as for union organizing efforts.[9]

Manuel Gamio documented the numbers and deployment of the *mexicano* workers in the U.S. in his pioneering study, *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (1930). Gamio was, moreover, concerned with the historical experience and the *vivencia* of *mexicano* migrants in the U.S., which he addressed in his book *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story* (1931). Deeply aware of the political and economic implications for Mexico of large-scale migration, he also perceived that the coming and going of the *migrantes* would also have a significant impact on Mexican society and Mexican culture. Thus his research not only documented the number of migrants, their diffusion and the remittances, but also provided information about their origins, their experiences and their views on various matters, including their opinions of their Mexican-American brothers and sisters.[10]

The studies of Mexican migration defined by Taylor and Gamio continue to this day and are principally marked by policy considerations. They reflect the desire of scholars, policymakers, labor leaders, political activists or persons concerned or charged with attending to migrants and refugees to understand the phenomenon and its implications for both Mexico and the U.S., whatever the arena. These types of studies are cyclical if constant, and are driven in large measure by the ebbs and flows of migration and by both push or pull factors, whether civil unrest, economic instability, political turmoil, labor shortages and demands or other factors. Notwithstanding the historical understanding and sophistication Gamio and Taylor brought to the subject, some of the prejudices and misrepresentations of their contemporaries continue to inform policy to this day.

Carey McWilliams published *North from Mexico*, the first popular historical study to lay out the cultural legacy of Mexico in the U.S, in the atmosphere of cultural denigration and political repression created by the Depression and World War II. In it he affirmed the connection between Spanish past and Mexican present, documented the history of injustices suffered by Mexican Americans at the hands of Anglo-Americans, described their struggles against oppression and gave the lie to the century-long campaign of cultural defamation of *lo mexicano*. [11]

The Challenge to Hegemony

The publication of *North from Mexico* took place during a period in which there were also substantive challenges in the policy arena to segregation in employment, education and housing; inequities in the allocation of public resources and services; abrogation of rights and protections; denial of opportunities; and exclusionary practices in the institutional arena. Individuals

and organizations spoke out against discriminatory policies and practices and organized political and legal challenges to them. Some were groundbreaking, establishing precedents that African-American organizations used to challenge *de jure* segregation and exclusion.[12]

Out of one such struggle, over the educational inequities experienced by *nuevo mexicanos,* the Spanish-Mexican population of New Mexico, came a landmark policy study, *Forgotten People*, by George I. Sanchez, which argued that schools attended by *nuevo mexicano* children should be provided with equitable financial resources. George I. Sanchez also asserted that the historical experience of *nuevo mexicanos* and their cultural legacy were as much a part of the history and the society of the U.S. as those the descendants of original North European colonists or the immigrant populations that succeeded them.[13]

During the 1950s the dean of Mexican-American scholar-activists, Ernesto Galarza, laid the basis for follow-up studies to Paul Taylor's documentation of the exploitation of agricultural laborers. In his later books *Spiders in the House; Workers in the Fields* and *Merchants of Labor*, Don Ernesto documented the collusion between agribusiness interests and governmental agencies to maintain a pool of cheap agricultural labor, the epitome of which was the Bracero Program, a Mexico-U.S. government program that provided low-wage Mexican labor to U.S. enterprises from the 1940s until the 1960s.[14]

The scholarly cornerstones of what came to be known as Chicano Studies were two scholars who were immersed in the atmosphere of academic, cultural and intellectual defamation and denigration: the late Américo Paredes and Julián Samora. Paredes was a *tejano*, a descendant of the eighteenth-century colonizers of the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Samora was a *nuevo mexicano*, whose roots went back to the settlement of *Nuevo México* at the end of the sixteenth century. Both sought to respond to the hegemonic ideology and discourse that dismissed and denigrated *todo lo mexicano*, but especially to its reification in academic scholarship. Over the course of his career Don Américo rescued the *tejano* cultural legacy from oblivion and established the basis for the study of Mexican American cultural expression related to but distinct from its U.S. or Mexican counterparts.[15]

Julián Samora's battle was equally sharp, since it involved challenging an established social science paradigm that characterized Mexican culture and Mexican-origin peoples in deficit terms. Samora not only challenged the conceptualization of *nuevo mexicano* society as static and traditionalist but in addition made the material culture of *nuevo mexicanos* a legitimate subject of academic study. Samora and his illustrious students, Jorge Bustamante and Gilbert Cardenas, additionally carried out the first significant studies on those migrants who entered the U.S. without documents both during and subsequent to the Bracero Program.[16]

Both Paredes and Samora trained scholars who expanded on their work and took it in new directions, and in so doing laid the intellectual and scholarly foundation that undergirded the nascent field of Chicano Studies and that provided intellectual and scholarly support to the political challenge to U.S. hegemony represented by the Chicano Movement.

Plus ça change...

The circumstances of the Mexican-origin communities of the U.S., however, are significantly different at the beginning of the twenty-first century as compared to those at the beginning of the twentieth. They are proportionally larger than they were a century ago; the percentage who are native-born is also considerably greater; then regionally concentrated, the population is now diffused throughout the U.S.; its purchasing power is recognized and actively courted; the Mexican-origin electorate is a major force in presidential elections and is able to exercise considerable electoral muscle where it is concentrated; the artistic and cultural production of the Mexican-origin community is increasingly more visible and valued; Mexican-origin workers, once principally concentrated in the agricultural labor force, now also constitute a significant proportion of the labor force in the building construction and maintenance, meat processing, food preparation and service, landscaping and gardening, and retail sales sectors; the number of Mexican-origin entrepreneurs, elected and appointed public officials, professionals and white collar workers is large and growing.

Different also is the economic, political and social environment in which the Mexican-origin communities of the U.S. find themselves at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Dramatic advances in rapidity and cost in the technology of communications —whether in physical transport or in connectivity— permit virtually instant and continuous contact between and among members of the *mexicano* communities, wherever they might be situated. The principal barrier to movement is political and not economic. Spanish is for all intents and purposes the second language of the U.S., used in both private and public spaces. The staples of Mexican society and culture are widely and readily available. Spanish-language media, now widely diffused, provides not only up-to-date information on matters relevant to *mexicanos* but also cultural reinforcement. Social interaction and intermarriage with Anglo-Americans has increased significantly. *Mexicanos* today live side by side and intermix with immigrants from throughout the Americas. As was the case a century ago, the most recent immigrants include many with middle- and upper-class origins. These immigrants have the economic and social wherewithal to affirm their cultural modes, to maintain the use of Spanish, as well as to protect their children from the seemingly irresistible cultural currents that flow in U.S. society. The assimilative processes of the twentieth century may not hold to the same degree, with as yet indeterminate but substantive implications for the entire range of U.S. institutions (especially schools and hospitals) as well as for the social dynamics of communities and regions (particularly those located in the U.S. South). These and other phenomena bear close attention and analysis.

There is a continuing gap between the members of the community who identify as Mexican and those who identify as Mexican Americans, between long-time residents and recent arrivals.

...Plus c'est la même chose

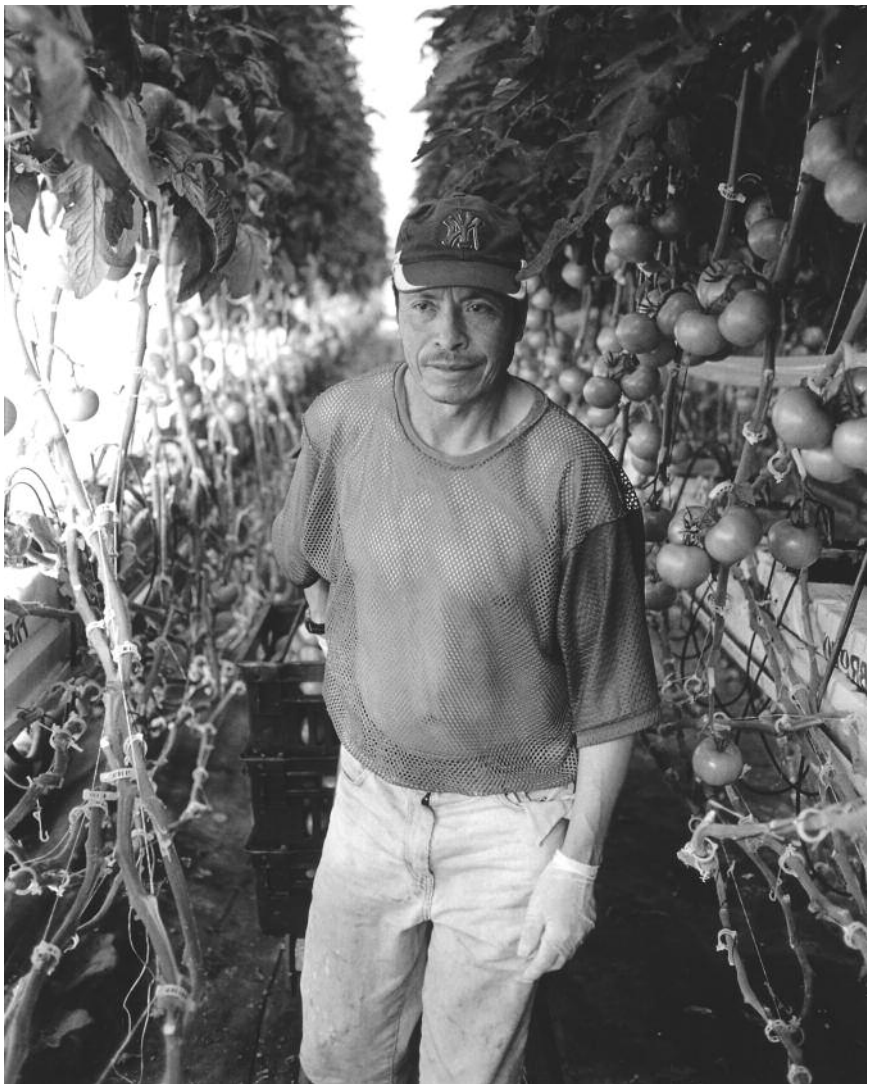
What is fascinating at the end of one century and at the cusp of a new one is that some things remain constant. Considered in its totality the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. is still younger and consequently has a higher birthrate than the general population. Its familial size is also larger than that of the general population. As a consequence the individual and family income as well as the financial worth of the Mexican-origin population are significantly lower than that of the general population, as are its levels of educational attainment and achievement. Furthermore the Mexican-origin population still finds itself concentrated residentially, whether by choice or perforce, and thus also segregated in terms of schooling, notwithstanding the growth of the native-born segment of the population, the improvements it has realized in its economic conditions and its victories in the civil rights arena at the end of the twentieth century. Moreover the northward flow of migrants continues unabated and their diffusion is now continental. Their passage north has become even more harrowing than it was a half-century ago, when Samora and Bustamante first documented it. As was the case when Paul Taylor first examined the issue in the 1920s and 1930s, the living and working conditions of *mexicano* agricultural workers continue to be appalling, notwithstanding the advances in collective bargaining realized by the United Farm Workers Union.

"Once Again into the Breach..."

The past thus lives on into the future,

even as new conditions and new circumstances present themselves, and thus the scholarly challenges that reigned in the twentieth century continue into the twenty-first. Unfortunately, given the continued vitality of the historical legacy of disparagement, scholars are still having to respond to characterizations of matters having to do with the Mexican-origin population that diminish or degrade it and that disparage its cultural expression. The subtle nature of latter-day manifestations of the historical legacy of denigration should not be interpreted as weakness; rather they should be understood as temporary remissions in a cancer that can rapidly become virulent when the economic or political environment is appropriate. It is a challenge that has faced activists, intellectuals and policymakers since the nineteenth century and continues to do so today. It is the continuing challenge for scholars concerned with the Mexican-origin populations of the U.S.

Complicating the matter further is the internalization and advocacy of that legacy by some erstwhile members of the Mexican-origin community of the U.S. Notwithstanding a century-long effort to connect the *mexicanos de este lado* and the *mexicanos de aquel lado*, there is a continuing gap between the members of the community who identify as Mexican and those who identify as Mexican Americans, between long-time residents and recent arrivals, between citizens and non-citizens. These sentiments have a continuing vitality and create powerful tensions between long-time residents and recent arrivals. While the views of the Mexican-American population vis-à-vis continued immigration have not been systematically recorded or rigorously analyzed, Mexican-American voices are to be found among those that disparage *lo mexicano* and call for Mexicans living in the U.S. to strip themselves of values, cultural ways of being and practices that allegedly impede social acceptance, educational attainment and economic advancement. The resulting tensions have profound policy implications, given the constant political conflicts over immigration, educational and social services, welfare, employment policies and the looming policy battles about national security, the ecology and water, policy struggles in which the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. will increasingly participate, because its interests are at stake.



Laura Cano

The matter is further complicated by the views and attitudes held by Mexicans about their Mexican-American brethren. The characterization of Mexican Americans as *pochos* attributed to José Vasconcelos is alive and well among the *mexicanos* who live among us, as the negative reactions of migrant workers to their Mexican-American brethren that Manuel Gamio recorded a century ago. Octavio Paz, wittingly or not, perpetrated an image of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. in *El laberinto de la soledad* that continues to haunt us to this day. Ostensibly intelli-

gent and informed Mexicans imagine the U.S. Mexican-origin population in ways that are not significantly different from those of their Anglo-American counterparts. Particularly worrisome is the fact that Mexico's leadership has yet to accord Mexican-American policymakers, policy analysts and political figures appropriate attention or recognition, despite the increasingly significant role that Mexican Americans are assuming in Mexico-U.S. relations. Nor are Mexican academics or policy researchers appropriately informed (nor apparently much interested) about the complex and highly charged dynamics of the Mexican-American population.

The growth of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. and its changed circumstances creates conditions for collaboration on policy and scholarly issues between Chicano and Mexicanos that were not present previously. Moreover the dynamics of globalism have made it eminently clear that the *mexicanos de este lado y los de aquel lado* are now more than ever before inextricably interconnected in economic terms and are part of the same cultural, historical and social continuum. What is still critically important is a mindset that places the Mexican-origin population at the center and not at the margins of scholarly and policy consideration in both Mexican and U.S. institutions, and as an active participant rather than a passive observer in shaping history and culture. Despite three decades of effort, the economic, political and social circumstances of the Mexican-origin population of the U.S. are by and large still conceptualized as individual, familial or group problems that are due to cultural factors and not subject to solution through public policy. The challenge facing scholars concerned with setting the record straight and with properly informing policy formation and implementation remains a compelling one. The task is daunting, but may be more necessary at the beginning of the twenty-first century than it was during the twentieth.

Notes

[1] We didn't arrive yesterday (and we're not leaving tomorrow). [Translator's Note.]

[2] For a summary of some of the scholarship see the bibliographic essays in Richard Griswold del Castillo and Arnoldo de León, *North to Aztlán: A History of Mexican Americans in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), and Manuel G. and Cynthia M. Gonzales, *En aquel entonces: Readings in Mexican American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

[3] See, among others, Burl Noggle, "Anglo Observers of the Southwest Borderlands, 1825-1890)," *Arizona and the West 1* (1959); Raymond Paredes, "The Mexican Image in American Travel Literature, 1831-1869," *New Mexico Historical Review* 52 (1977), as well as "The Origins of Anti-Mexican Sentiment in the United States," *New Directions in Chicano Scholarship* (La Jolla: Chicano Studies Monograph Series, University of California, San Diego, 1978); and Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1963).

[4] See Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); Mario Barriera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979); Octavio Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of Mexican Americans," *El Grito,* vol I. no. 1, 1968.; Arturo Madrid-Barela, "Towards an Understanding of the Chicano Experience," *Aztlán: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts,* vol. 4, no. 1, spring 1973.

[5] Américo Paredes, *Folklore and Culture on the Texas-Mexican Border* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

[6] See, among others, Edwin Banford, "The Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, September 1923-August 1924; Emory Bogardus, "The Mexican Immigrant," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, May-June 1927; F. Calcott, "The Mexican Peon in Texas," *Survey,* June 26, 1920; Victor Clark, "Mexican Labor in the United States," *Bureau of Labor Bulletin*, no. 78; Ruth Allen, "Mexican Peon Women in Texas," *Sociology and Social Research*, November-December 1931; and Herschel T. Manuel, "The Mexican Population of Texas," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 15, no. 1, June 1934.

[7] Francisco Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929-1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), and Camille Guerín-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

[8] See, among others, Mauricio Mazón, *The Zoot-Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1984), and Arturo Madrid-Barela, "In Search of the Authentic Pachuco," *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts,* vol. 4, no. 1, spring 1973.

[9] Paul Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928).

[10] Manuel Gamio, *The Mexican Immigrant, His Life Story: Autobiographic Documents* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), and *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930). Taylor and Gamio's studies were complemented by the work of various other U.S. researchers, including Emory Bogardus's book-length study titled *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1934).

[11] Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

[12] See among others Griswold del Castillo and De León, op. cit.

[13] George I. Sanchez, *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans* (Albuquerque: n/p, c. 1940).

[14] Ernesto Galarza, *Spiders in the House; Workers in the Fields* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970); *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story* (Charlotte, North Carolina: McNally and Loftin, 1964); and *Farm Workers and Agri-business in California, 1947-1960* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, c. 1977).

[15] See also Américo Paredes, *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958) and *A Texas-Mexico Cancionero: Folksongs of the Lower Border* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[16] See Julian Samora, *La Raza: Forgotten Americans* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), and Gilbert Cardenas and Jorge Bustamante, *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story*

Living in Two Worlds
Chicanos and Latinos In the United States

Elaine Levine Leiter*

Laura Cano

Many Mexicans who have emigrated to the United States in recent years cannot expect socio-economic mobility there either for themselves or for their children. Mexico's labor market interacts with that of the U.S. to create favorable conditions for a hybrid "immigrant job niche" to flower in innumerable places throughout the United States.

While in a certain sense the constant flow of migrants blurs the border between the two countries, new boundaries inside the United States are emerging: the neighborhoods where Mexicans live and Spanish is spoken and the occupations in which the Latino work force is concentrated. The great number of U.S. labor market niches occupied by Mexican workers and the "Latino barrios" —where people tend to be crowded in and everything is in Spanish— are a kind of limbo, a space suspended or caught between two worlds.

The people living in these areas tend to measure their well-being by the Third World conditions they left behind. This makes their surroundings quite acceptable to them even when they are often the worst in terms of prevailing U.S. standards. Mexican workers generally have the least desirable and worst paying jobs and congregate in run-down neighborhoods where their children go to schools filled with children who also belong to the so-called ethnic or racial minorities. Given the low educational levels they arrive with and their lack of knowledge of English, they cannot have greater expectations in a labor market as segmented and stratified as that of the United States. Nevertheless, it can turn out to be even more difficult for their children than for them to find out who they are, where they are and why they are there.

Growing U.S. Latino Population

Between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. population increased by 13.2 percent, while

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the Latino population grew 57.9 percent, more than the Asians' 53 percent, and more than predictions had forecast. In the last decade, the Latino population also grew the most in absolute terms: 12.9 million. The non-Hispanic white population only increased 6.5 million; Afro-Americans, 4.7 million; and Asians, 3.5 million.

While it is true that Latinos have among the highest birth rates, a considerable part (approximately 46 percent) of the enormous increase in their numbers in this period was due to immigration. Latinos were forecast to become the country's largest ethnic or racial minority by 2005, but that had already happened by the 2000 census, despite the fact that a good number of undocumented immigrants evaded the census-takers. The 2000 census puts the number of Afro-Americans at 33.9 million, or 12 percent of the population, and Hispanics at 35.3 million, or 12.5 percent of the entire population. Even though there are differences of opinion about the number of undocumented migrants, a certain consensus exists on two issues: half or perhaps more are Mexican, and about 40 percent of the total reside in a single state, California.

Latinos and the Job Market

Although there are enormous differences among all these people, who come from more than 20 countries, the rest of Americans identify them as Hispanics or Latinos, even when this label means nothing for the majority of them, who identify themselves as from their countries of origin. Throughout the 1990s, one factor that contributed to this enormous influx of Latino immigrants —both legal and illegal— to the United States was the ease with which they could find jobs. Mexicans who go north are generally seeking a better job or to join their relatives already employed there.

As is to be expected, non-skilled immigrants almost always enter the lower levels of the job and wage market where, in any case, they make more than they would in their home countries. On the other hand, several countries lose highly qualified professionals and technicians for the same reason. With notable exceptions —such as our Nobel Prize winner for chemistry and other scientists, professionals and artists— the majority of Mexicans who emigrate are low-skilled workers, who, even if they have more schooling than the average Mexican, generally have less than the least qualified U.S. worker. Mexican immigrants have earned the reputation of being good workers because they withstand long work days and lower wages than other groups. Since many are recent arrivals and undocumented, they generally do not protest bad or unfair treatment by the boss. They make few demands and do not answer back. For all these reasons, in several areas in which English is not a prerequisite, they have become businessmen's favorite workers.

> Mexican neighborhoods emerge from the quest for affinity and solidarity in a hostile environment.

Where racism and discrimination against Afro-Americans prevails, Mexicans are also more accepted as workers; however, many of the people who hire them to work in their shops and factories do not want them as neighbors. The availability of this cheap labor was one of the key elements of the 1990s economic boom. For the last 10 years, the U.S. economy created more than 20 million jobs, most of which did not require university schooling and were therefore low-paying. It is by no means fortuitous that Latinos' mean income —for both men and women— is much smaller than that of non-Hispanic whites and even than Afro-Americans, traditionally the worst paid, poorest sector of the U.S. population.

Mexicans are the most disadvantaged economically. Their mean pay —for both men and women— is lower than that of other Latino groups. These disadvantages are explained in part by the fact that Mexicans have lower educational levels at a time when schooling weighs more than ever in determining income. In general, women also earn less than men given the same schooling, and Afro-Americans and Latinos earn less than non-Hispanic whites with the same educational level.

The labor market's segmentation and stratification increased in the 1980s, creating greater labor and wage polarization. The number of positions and wages increased at the high end of the job market, but with a greater demand for education. At the same time, low-skilled, low-paid jobs also increased in number. Getting promoted from the assembly line to the board room is now practically impossible. Managers of big companies come out of the most prestigious universities' business schools, not the ranks of the workers.

The percentage of the work force employed directly in the production of goods tends to drop. On the other hand, low-paying service sector jobs requiring little formal education abound. There are fewer and fewer jobs that offer high incomes without requiring a high level of education. Therefore, in general, Latinos and most non-Hispanic whites do not compete for the same jobs, live in the same neighborhoods or send their children to the same schools.

Mexican Neighborhoods In the U.S.

Socio-economic stratification derived from —among other factors— a greater segmentation of the labor market can also be seen in the residential fragmentation and division of cities and their suburbs into very differentiated neighborhoods. Economic segregation is sharper and more effective for determining where people will live than any municipal ordinance, like those that exist in some places, prohibiting Afro-Americans, Jews or other groups from buying houses in areas reserved for white Anglo-Saxons. Latino or Mexican neighborhoods, like ethnic neighborhoods in the past, emerge from the quest for affinity and solidarity in a hostile environment. Staying in them for many years or even several generations, however, is also due in part to the economic limitations that make other places inaccessible.

Today, Mexican neighborhoods are sprinkled throughout the United States from Boston to San Diego. These areas have stores where tortillas, tamales and chili peppers are sold; signs and ads are in Spanish, just like the music and the voices that can be heard on the streets. Here, housing is more modest and cars older. Municipal clean-up and garbage services are usually less efficient than in other areas of the city. There are always more people in the street, but they are usually short and dark, with brown eyes. In addition, even though banned, street sales and itinerant salespeople that cannot be seen elsewhere are to be found here. There are also gangs, graffiti and drug sales. Sometimes people are afraid to go out on the street at night.

Los Angeles' Mexican barrio has existed since before the city was part of the United States. East Los Angeles, on the east side of the Los Angeles River, is in the heart of the largest Mexican area north of the Rio Grande. Of those living there, 96.8 percent are Latinos, almost all Mexican, or children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren of Mexicans. Their markets, restaurants and mariachi bands make some Mexican neighborhoods with a deep, long tradition, like those in Los Angeles, Chicago and San Antonio, tourist attractions for their cities. Others, like the ones in Boston or Atlanta only emerged recently and are much smaller.

Los Angeles is the country's second largest city in terms of inhabitants in general and Latino inhabitants in particular, who make up more than 46 percent of the total. The vast majority are Mexican, but the flow of Central Americans has increased greatly in recent years and now Los Angeles has the largest settlement of Salvadorans outside their native country. In eight of 10 of the U.S.'s largest cities, Latinos make up 25 percent of the population or more. For example, in San Antonio, they are almost 60 percent. In several small and medium-sized cities in California, Texas and Florida, Latinos make up two-thirds or more of the population.

Even when they originally come from remote villages, more than 90 percent of Latino immigrants congregate in U.S. urban areas. There, they have networks of contacts with family members and people from their hometowns who preceded them in their odyssey and who can help them get a job and a place to live, even if only a rented couch to sleep on for a few hours when it is their turn.

> Most Latinos live apart from the rest of the U.S. population; they are the most segregated group in terms of residence.

Survival strategies are myriad and small dwellings' capacity to absorb yet another inhabitant seems infinite. Going through the streets of East Los Angeles, where the houses are generally small and the apartment buildings not over two or three stories, it is difficult to take in the fact that this city is third nationwide, after New York and Patterson, New Jersey, in the number of inhabitants per square mile. It is also third nationwide for the number of people per dwelling, after two other nearby cities, Santa Ana and El Monte, where more than 70 percent of the population is Latino.

Besides living in crowded housing, most Latinos live apart from the rest of the U.S. population. They are today probably the most segregated group in terms of residence. They can be seen driving and riding everywhere to get to their jobs, but when the day's work

is over, they retreat to their barrios, both refuge and barrier. Many immigrants think that their children are the ones who manage to build a bridge between themselves and the alien world surrounding them, but wherever Latino populations are large, this becomes more difficult because children's contact with the world outside their barrio is limited.

Today, Latino children are the most segregated group in U.S. public schools; they have the least probability of having schoolmates who do not belong to an ethnic or racial minority. In the Los Angeles Unified School District, with its 11 sub-districts, Latino children constitute 70 percent of enrollment. In 10 of the 11 sub-districts, they represent more than 50 percent of students; in two of these, they come to 95 percent or more; in two more, 82 percent or more; and in still two more, 72 percent.

Exclusive Beverly Hills, an incorporated city in the middle of Los Angeles, has its own school district, just like Santa Monica. Generally, in the United States, rich and poor children do not go to the same schools because they do not live in the same neighborhoods. Schools in poor districts are poor because their financing depends largely on local property taxes. Latino children suffer de facto segregation, the result of economics determining where they live and therefore, the school they go to. They also suffer from another kind of segregation through bilingual programs and tracking (channeling students into study programs that do not include all the subjects needed for getting into the university). Undoubtedly, this academic and social isolation has a repercussion in their scholastic performance. For this reason, getting a higher education is doubly difficult for most young Latinos, which also limits their job options and therefore, their prospects for inter-generational, socioeconomic mobility.

Final Considerations

It is well known that for practically its whole history, the United States has been a country of immigrants. However, Mexican immigration has very particular characteristics. For a start, strictly speaking, the first Mexicans to arrive, in the mid-nineteenth century, did not emigrate from one country to another: it was the United States that took over the place they had always lived, making them foreigners in their own homeland and separating them from family members who remained on the Mexican side. That began a never-ending process of coming and going between the two countries, making this more than 150-year-old migration seem interminable. In addition, instead of diminishing, in recent decades it has increased enormously in direct proportion to Mexico's economic problems.

Economic exile may be the most difficult kind of all, precisely because of its ambiguity. It means having to go in one sense but not in another; wanting to go and at the same time wanting to return almost before leaving. It means always having to figure out if you have saved enough money to go back, even if you never go back. In the case of Mexican migrants who go to the United States, it means being better off materially, but many paying a very high spiritual price for that material well-being.

This is the longest border in the world between a country as rich as the United States and another where the majority of the population is as poor as Mexico's. The abysmal differences between one nationality and the other have turned the border into "an open wound," as Chicana writer Gloria Anzaldúa says. It is a place where, as she says, "The Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms, it hemorrhages again, and the lifeblood of two countries mix to form a third country —a border culture." And, beyond metaphor, the border is stained with the blood of thousands of Mexicans who have lost their lives in a desperate attempt to get to the "Other Side." Those who have made it often find that, even if they end up geographically far from the border, they have arrived in a border area suspended between two worlds. VM

Further Reading

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Mexico-U.S. Migration The Central Issue On the Bilateral Agenda

Mario Melgar Adalid*

Legal Implications of Migration

Migration is a phenomenon of the modern world. Most countries, particularly in the West, have been forged with groups of different nationalities, races and religions. The United States is a clear example.

Migration is linked to the concept of nationality. If there were no nationalities, there would be no migratory problems, or, at least, they would exist for other reasons. There is a conceptual relationship between nationality and foreignness. They are categories that mutually define and delimit each other because they are exclusionary and complementary. The matter is socio-political, but it also presupposes a legal content linked basically to human rights. For example, in Mexico, foreigners have the right to constitutional guarantees; however, the Constitution gives the president the exclusive prerogative to make foreigners whose presence is deemed inopportune leave the country immediately without trial, which is an indefensible exception to the rights the Constitution confers on them.[1]

It is only logical that each country establish the norms dealing with for-

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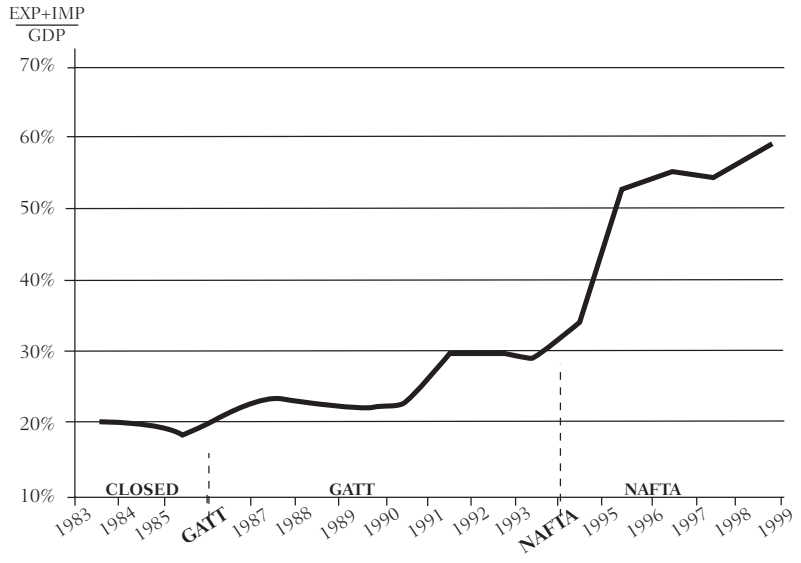
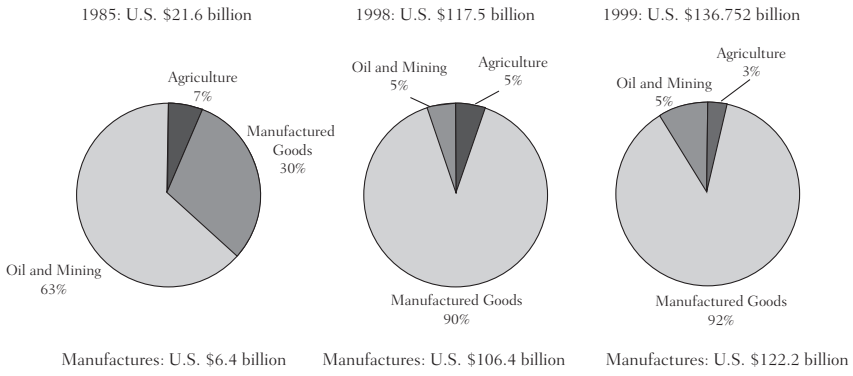
GRAPH 1
DEGREE OF ECONOMIC OPENING



SOURCE: INEGI.

GRAPH 2
COMPOSITION OF EXPORTS



SOURCE: Banco de México.

eigners' situation inside their territory according to its need to protect its sovereignty. On the other hand, these norms are part of international law. Each state writes laws about foreigners, and sometimes they are given similar treatment to nationals, although there are also exceptions. Some norms are based on an international convention, whether because they stem directly from a treaty or because provisions of a treaty have been incorporated into national legislation.

From the legal point of view, the situation of foreigners in Mexico is ruled by federal instruments such as the Law of Nationality and Naturalization and the General Law on Population. The latter gives the Ministry of the Interior the prerogative of issuing permits for foreigners to enter the country, imposing the conditions and requirements it considers appropriate. It can also revoke these permits.

MIGRATION AND THE ECONOMY

Migration has many causes, although Mexicans' migration to the United States is fundamentally economically based. Given the disparity between the two economies, people migrate seeking better working conditions. The economic interdependence between Mexico and the United States —our country is the biggest purchaser of goods produced in the United States and the U.S. is the best buyer of Mexican products— has also contributed recently to increasing migration.

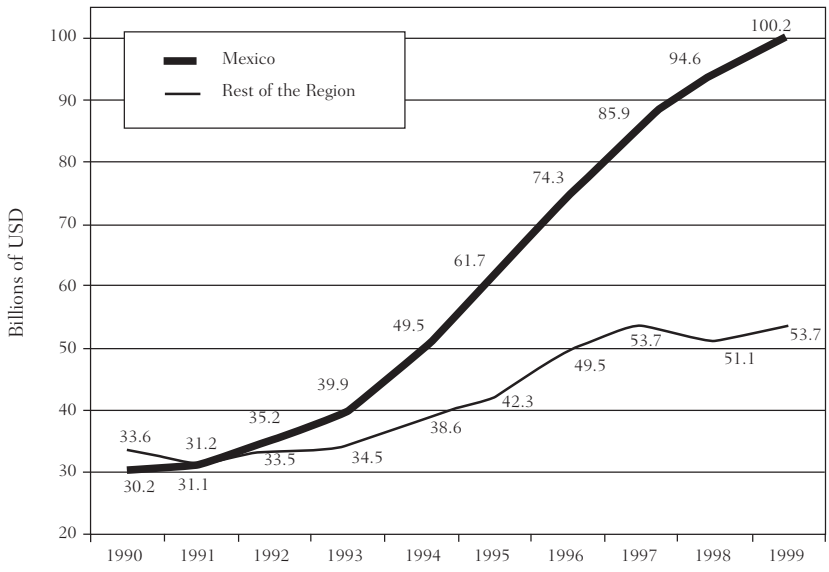
This became more noticeable upon the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). To explain the dimensions of the migratory phenomenon we need some figures that demonstrate the complex relationship between Mexico and the United States.

THE ECONOMIC OPENING AND LIBERATION

Mexico had been functioning with a mixed economy with major state participation in public enterprises, a protectionist duty system and import substitution development model. The economic opening and liberation of our markets beginning in the 1980s has had an impact on migration: the economic liberation of Mexico coincided with the growth of migratory flows to the United States.

Graph 1 shows the increase in the degree of economic opening, from 20 percent in 1983 when the new economic policy began, to 60 percent in 1999, when NAFTA was almost completely in operation. Graph 2 shows the change in the Mexican economy when it diversified and reduced its dependence on oil products. In 1985, the majority of exports were oil-related; however, by 1999, the majority were manufactured goods. From then until now, this type of exports has increased more than 20-fold, which has created important growth and integration of Mexican trade with the United States. As can be seen in graph 3, Mexican exports to the United States were practically double those of the rest of Latin America. Graph 4 situates Mexico in the world in terms of foreign direct investment.

GRAPH 3
LATIN AMERICAN EXPORTS TO THE U.S.
(1990-1999)



SOURCE: U.S. Commerce Department.

This information might make us suppose that Mexico finally found its way toward economic development and that the industrial and commercial activity generated by the liberalization of the economy would increase employment and improve the population's socio-economic conditions. Nevertheless, some indicators are cause for concern and doubt about the benefits of the strategy adopted.

In a recent debate, experts on the issue like John Cavanagh and Sarah Anderson said that the 50-percent growth in productivity derived from NAFTA made it impossible to foresee that there would be a drop in real wages between 1994 and 2001.[2] The impact on the Mexican countryside is even more serious. According to these experts, Mexico opened up its borders to make imports of U.S. corn less expensive, and corn imports multiplied 18 times in this period. The devastating impact on small Mexican peasants is reflected in the increased poverty rate, which, according to the World Bank, rose from 79 percent in 1994 to 82 percent in 1998.[3] This is Cavanagh's and Anderson's answer to the question of why the increase in trade and investment have not reduced poverty or increased wages: part of the explanation is that in globalized markets, management tends to get rid of workers who fight for more benefits. Many of these companies, they say, find allies among governments desperate to attract foreign investment.

On the other hand, U.S. workers have also felt the effects of globalization. Cornell University professor Kate Hofenbrenner has documented how U.S. business owners increasingly threaten to move their factories to Mexico and other countries in order to reduce wages and fight unions.

Another critique that is frequently loudly voiced relates to environmental deterioration. People residing on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border perceive the environmental damage due to industrial development spurred by NAFTA. The treaty's defenders say that the economic growth derived from it would generate greater economic spillover. Cavanagh and Anderson conclude, as part of their argument against the treaty, that for 10 years they have warned NAFTA negotiators that we had to learn the lessons of the European Union treaty, which promoted a "social protocol," channeling resources to the poorer countries, which has increased the level of the overall playing field at the same time that economic integration advances.

For their part, treaty defenders Jaime Serra Puche and J. Enrique Espinosa, participants in the design of the model, claim that it has fulfilled its pri-

mary objectives.[4] One of their arguments is the comparison of the evolution of Mexican exports with those of the rest of Latin America to the United States: 10 years ago they were practically the same and today, Mexico's are almost double those of the rest of Latin America. Data on foreign direct investment (FDI) has been equally decisive. For the 10 years prior to NAFTA, average yearly FDI in Mexico was U.S.$3.47 billion. By 1994, this average surpassed U.S.$13 billion. However, they say, the poverty of Mexican peasants is a legitimate concern, but it is not due to NAFTA. They agree with Cavanagh and Anderson that to close the gap between the United States and Mexico, a social program financed by the treaty's rich partners is needed.

When NAFTA was announced, then-president of Mexico Carlos Salinas de Gortari promised that it would raise Mexicans' living standards and reduce migration to the United States. The truth is that, regardless of the benefits or misfortunes that the treaty has brought, the flow of Mexicans to the United States in search of better living conditions continues to increase, as does the proportion of the Mexican population that lives in poverty.

Migration

The twenty-first century begins with migration as a distinctive note. The explanation of this may be that in globalization, the trend is toward the integration of economic blocs that contribute to eliminating traditional barriers to the flow of individuals. Among all migratory flows worldwide, the most important in terms of magnitude and consequences is the one between Mexico and the United States. While this has been the thorniest issue on the bilateral agenda, it has become important because of its economic, social and even national security implications for the two countries.

Mexican migration to the United States, particularly of laborers and agricultural workers, began in the time of Porfirio Díaz due to the socio-economic conditions and the asymmetries between both countries' economies and markets. Nevertheless, the United States had already been picked by the world's migrants as the promised land.[5] U.S. authorities, beginning to see a problem of over-population and the risk of jobs being lost to Americans, passed laws restricting immigration. Entry began to be denied to persons with mental illness, criminals and indigents. This measure was particularly applied to the Chinese. Nevertheless, between 1866 and 1915, the wealth and size of the country made it possible to give 25 million foreigners the opportunity to live better than they had in their countries of origin.

The Mexicans, mainly peasants, who began to arrive in the late nineteenth century, also suffered discrimination, although as low-waged, easily hired workers, they were needed to work on railway lines, in agriculture, mining and the construction industry.

In his book about the history of the East Los Angeles barrio in California, Ricardo Romo points to the fact that the expropriation of communal land by the Porfirio Díaz regime (1873-1910) had grave social and economic consequences.[6] For example, Jalisco, Michoacán and Guanajuato, three of the states that send the most Mexican migrants to Los Angeles had an estimated rural population of 2.5 million. In 1910, of that population, only 3.2 percent of heads of families owned their own land. According to Romo, the loss of their lands forced the majority of these rural workers to seek jobs in mining, as peons on haciendas or emigrate to seek employment. The history of migration crisscrossed the twentieth century, becoming the biggest and most transcendental problem of bilateral relations. The flow of Mexicans led the United States to build electronic fences and put up other barriers, like a system of police surveillance, whose efficiency is measured by the very high number of daily deportations. After 9/11, border security has been reinforced even more.

We Mexicans have changed the demographics of the United States, modifying its social and cultural life, particularly in southern states. It has been said that in these communities, life has been Mexicanized, contrary to the usual idea that culture is becoming Americanized. An estimated eight million Mexicans live in the United States and 18 million more are of Mexican descent. A total of seven percent of the whole U.S. population is of Mexican descent. While Mexico is the country that generates the largest number of migrants in the world, the United States is undoubtedly the one that receives the most.[7]

Though Mexican migrants to the United States have traditionally been peasants, the difficulties in employment opportunities the middle class is confronting has changed that trend. Since the 1990s, there has been a constant and growing flow of migrants from urban areas, particularly from Mexico City, which has substantially raised the average levels of schooling of Mexican migrants.

Mexicans' crossing the border is not just a matter of migratory policies, but

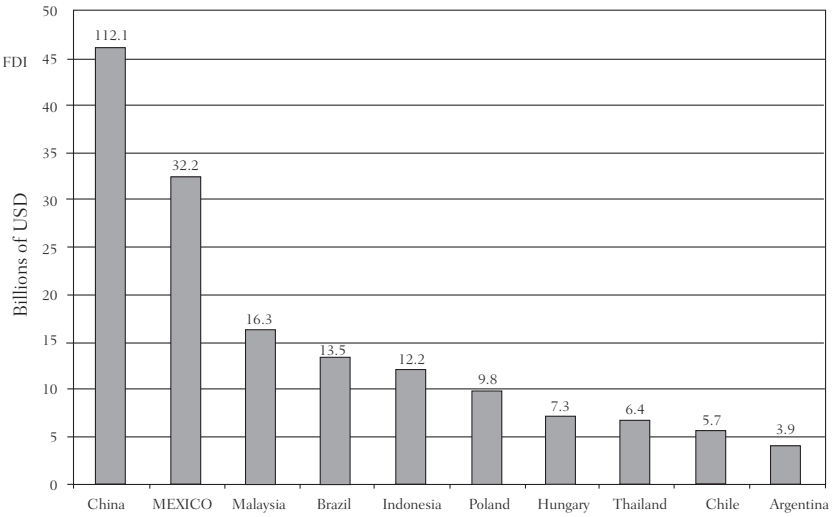
has broader social and human implications. It is alarming that during the last four years more than 2,000 Mexicans and Central Americans have died in the attempt. However, the issue of Mexican migration to the United States had not been considered important on the bilateral agenda until the meeting of Mexico's and the U.S. presidents in Guanajuato in February 2001. At that meeting, they made the statement that their objective was to create a regimen of legal, safe, ordered migratory flows.

The content of that agenda created enormous expectation, as well as many reactions both pro and con in Mexico and the United States. Mexican immigrants who preserve their nationality, together with the population of Mexican origin —that is, born in the United States of Mexican parents, and even the second generation of Mexicans born there— represent 60 percent of the Hispanic population, which 2001 U.S. census data puts at 35.5 million people.

The age of these people indicates that most of them are economically active. About two out of every three migrants are between the ages of 15 and 44, and half have an average of 12 years of formal education, while in Mexico, only 37 percent of that age group has that level of schooling. In the years between 1993 and 1997, only one out of every three temporary migrants had any junior high school. The average number of years of schooling increased from 1998 to 2000, as can be seen in table A.

While the educational level of Mexicans in the United States is increasing because of a change in their socio-economic origins, there are still millions who have dropped out and do not have what the Constitution deems the mandatory years of schooling. Some elements are difficult to quantify, but indicate the seriousness of the social problem generated by disorderly migration to the United States. One of these issues that merits immediate attention is the situation of children who cannot cross the border to follow their parents and who are left in the hands of U.S. immigration officials, who send them back to their Mexican counterparts. Media reports from an official in Mexico's migration offices put the number of children detained and deported in 2000 at 2,552 boys and 897 girls. The same official declared that in 2001, the number of minors who did not make it across the border came to 2,652.[8]

GRAPH 4
CUMULATIVE FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES



SOURCE: U.S. Commerce Department.

TABLE A
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF TEMPORARY MEXICAN MIGRANTS

	1993-1997 %	1998-2000 %
No schooling	8.5	5.8
Incomplete Primary School	28.2	22.6
Graduated Primary School	29.2	30.8
Junior High School or Higher	34.0	40.7

SOURCE: Alfonso de María y Campos, "The Mexican Communities Abroad", *El Mercado de Valores*, No. 4 (Mexico City: Nacional Financiera, July-August 2000), p. 16.

One of the Mexican government's main programs related to migrants is that of Mexican communities abroad.[9] Among its aims is to foster education among these Mexicans. The head of the program recognized that educational levels of Mexicans in the United States is insufficient if we take into account that the lower their educational level, the fewer opportunities for development, the worse the jobs they can get and the less able they will be to integrate and participate in society. This judgement is supported by 2001 U.S. census data, according to which only 51 percent of the population of Mexican origin has finished secondary school and only 6.9 percent has gone on to college.

The reasons the official gave are valid and the interest in developing educational programs among Mexican communities in the U.S. is plausible. Nevertheless, it is irrefutable from my point of view that the Mexican state has a responsibility to these citizens, who have not stopped being Mexican just because they have sought work outside their own country.

Prospects

It is not easy to determine whether immigrants are a burden or a help. The debate is raging all over the world, and it depends on your point of view. It seems to be a dilemma for politics and the economy.

From the political perspective, in the case of receiving countries, it is a matter which captivates public interest.[10] To the contrary, the economy would seem to invite an increase in migration, which strengthens it by invigorating the work force, creating an outlet for certain heavy, badly paid jobs, often rejected by nationals, who have better employment and wages. Some economic studies have shown, however, that the people most seriously affected by new migration are those who arrived before. One study showed that a 10-percent increase in migration depressed this group's wages by four percent.[11]

Prospects are dim if the United States persists in its refusal to attend to Mexico's legitimate request to discuss a migratory accord that was part of the agenda before the September 11 terrorist attacks. Some of the actions that are indispensable for dealing with this problem could be:

1. Increase the number of visas, as stipulated in NAFTA;
2. Regularize the migratory situation of more than three million undocumented Mexicans who live in the United States;
3. Establish a temporary worker program that would allow authorized access of the Mexican work force to specific regions and sectors of the U.S. labor market;
4. Increase the number of visas available for Mexicans to reduce the number of undocumented migrants;
5. Strengthen border security to prevent traffic in human beings and the dangers migrants face;
6. Lastly, foster regional development programs in the areas that send the most migrants and link them to an eventual temporary worker program between the two countries. VM

Notes

[1] In addition, the Constitution stipulates that foreigners cannot participate in the country's political matters. That is, they cannot use the right to politically petition, and they have no right of association to deal with political matters. There are other exceptions that restrict foreigners' ability to enjoy their individual rights in order to preserve national order and security, such as the ability to acquire land or water within 100 kilometers of the borders and 50 kilometers of the sea coast, or the right to own rural land used for agriculture, cattle raising or forestry.

[2] See "Happily Ever NAFTA? A Bad Idea that Failed," *Foreign Policy* (September-October 2002), p. 58.

[3] http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,pagePK:43912-piPK:36602,00.html

[4] Jaime Serra Puche and J. Enrique Espinosa, "The Proof Is in the Paycheck," *Foreign Policy* (September-October, 2000), pp. 60-61.

[5] From 1815 to the beginning of the War of Succession, five million Europeans had already arrived in the United States, half from England, 40 percent from Ireland and the rest from continental Europe. Between the end of the war between the North and the South and 1890, another 10 million came from Northeastern Europe: England, Wales, Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia. Between 1890 and 1914, another 15 million arrived, the majority from Eastern and Southern Europe: Poles, Jews, Russians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Croatians, Slovenians, Hungarians, Greeks, Rumanians and Italians.

[6] Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles. History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), pp. 36-37. (A UNAM edition in Spanish is currently at press.)

[7] In 1996, the U.S. received 1.191 million persons, of whom 916,000 were legal migrants and 275,000, undocumented. If we consider that only half of the undocumented migrants were Mexican and that in that same year, there were 165,000 legal Mexican migrants, this brings the total migration up to 302,500. This figure surpasses total migration to Canada in 1996 (225,000) or migration to Australia (100,000), two countries characterized by a favorable policy for foreign immigration.

[8] Hernán Rozemberg, "Niños migrantes a la deriva en la frontera," *Milenio Diario* (Mexico City), 3 January 2002, p. 30.

[9] An interview with Cándido Morales, head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry's Institute of Mexicans Abroad, is also featured in this issue of *Voices of Mexico.* [Editor's Note.]

[10] In England, for example, a recent survey indicates that voters considered migration the second most important issue, preceded only by health and before others like law and order or education. Source "Immigration. Who Gains from Immigration?" *The Economist*, 29 June 2002, p. 54.

[11] Ibid.

Latino Demographics And Education in the U.S. Southwest

Jaime Chahín*

Cándido Morales

According to the 2001 census, Latinos are the largest minority in the United States, with 35.3 million, or 13 percent, of the U.S.'s total 284.8 million inhabitants.[1] This is partly the result of a 57.9 percent growth rate in the Latino population from 1990 to 2000, a trend that will continue for the next 20 years. The census classifies Latinos as an ethnic group, but also creates sub-categories by country of origin: 60 percent are of Mexican descent. These demographic changes will determine the future role that Latinos will play as leaders and workers, participants in the U.S. domestic and the world economies (see graph 1).

Seventy-nine percent of the Latinos in the U.S. live in seven states: California (10.9 million); Texas (6.6); New York (2.8); Florida (2.6); Illinois (1.5); Arizona (1.1) and New Jersey (one million).

Demographic change can also be seen in other figures: in 1900, 85 percent of U.S. immigrants came from Europe; by 2000, 51 percent were Latino.[2] The fertility rate (2.1) and the birth rate (95.1 percent) indicate that the growth will continue until this new generation "replaces" the previous one.[3]

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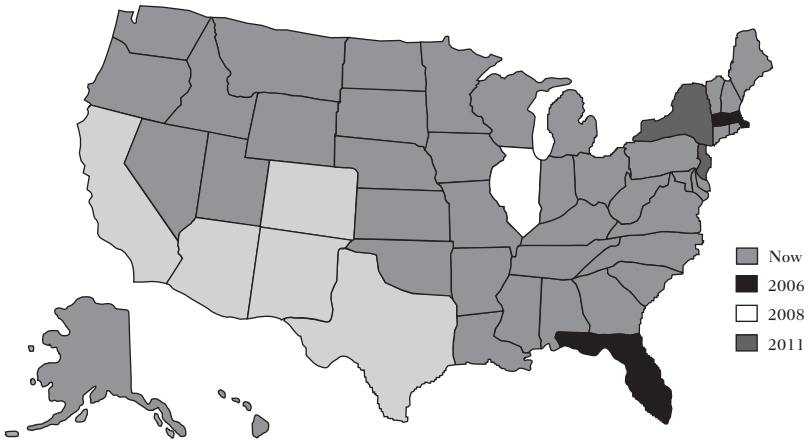
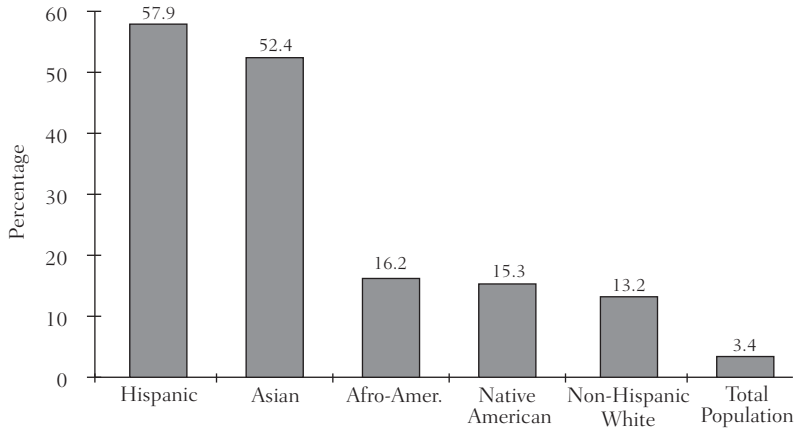
THE YEAR WHEN LATINOS WILL BE THE LARGEST MINORITY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS



SOURCE: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education "Knocking at the College Door," 1998.

GRAPH 1
POPULATION GROWTH BY RACE OR ETHNIC GROUP, 1990-2000.



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau 2000, Census 2000 PHC-T-1.

Considering age, Latinos are the youngest segment of U.S. population and they will remain the same way, at least until 2020 (see graph 2).

Today, Latinos make up 13 percent of the student body in primary schools and 23 percent in secondary schools. Projections state that by 2005, 38 percent of students will be Latino, and by 2008, Latinos will be the largest minority among secondary school students (see map).[4]

Commission for Higher Education figures show that more than 325,000 Latinos finish high school every year. During the last decade, the number of students that need to learn English increased 105 percent, since the number of immigrants enrolled in school systems was over 8.6 million (see graph 3).

These demographic changes have a significant impact on the Latinos' getting degrees at universities and community colleges, especially in the Southwest, where more than 50 percent of the Hispanic population is concentrated.

In 2002, of the 928,013 people awarded bachelor's degrees, 74,963, or eight percent, were Latinos. More than 59 percent of these were women. Of the 317,999 master's degrees given out, 19,093, or six percent, went to Latinos; of these, 11,550, or 60 percent, went to women. Of the 27,520 doctorates awarded, Latinos received 1,291, or 4 percent. Again, Latina women received a majority of this number, with 53 percent.

At professional schools (medicine, dentistry, veterinary, pharmacology, law, engineering and architecture), women received 45 percent of the 59,601 degrees granted, and Latinos, 6 percent, or 3,865, 45 percent of which, in turn, went to Latina women (see table 1).

Although the participation of Latinos in higher education continues to grow, it has still not reached a representative number compared to the minority's total population.

THE SOUTHWEST

TEXAS

In southwestern states like Texas, Latino children make up 51 percent of public kindergarten and primary school enrollment. They are 41 percent of all the state's students and projections say that by 2005, they will be the majority (see

TABLE 1
DEGREES AWARDED BY RACE AND ETHNIC GROUP

		U.S. CITIZENS AND RESIDENT ALIENS					
	TOTAL	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN ALIENS	BLACK	HISPANIC	WHITE	NON-RESIDENT
Associate							
Men	224,721	2,224	12,001	20,951	20,933	164,197	4,415
Women	340,212	4,270	15,763	39,230	30,608	244,311	6,030
Total	564,933	6,494	27,764	60,181	51,541	408,508	10,445
Bachelor's							
Men	530,367	3,459	35,789	36,972	30,255	402,368	21,524
Women	707,508	5,252	42,004	70,919	44,708	525,645	18,980
Total	1,237,875	8,711	77,793	107,891	74,963	928,013	40,504
Master's							
Men	191,792	829	10,853	11,093	7,543	126,522	34,952
Women	265,264	1,403	12,046	24,532	11,550	191,477	24,256
Total	457,056	2,232	22,899	35,625	19,093	317,999	59,208
Doctorate							
Men	25,028	56	1,329	863	603	14,241	7,936
Women	19,780	103	1,051	1,357	688	13,279	3,302
Total	44,808	159	2,380	2,220	1,291	27,520	11,238
Professional							
Men	44,239	285	4,368	2,312	2,095	33,982	1,197
Women	35,818	279	4,208	3,240	1,770	25,619	702
Total	80,057	564	8,576	5,552	3,865	59,601	1,899

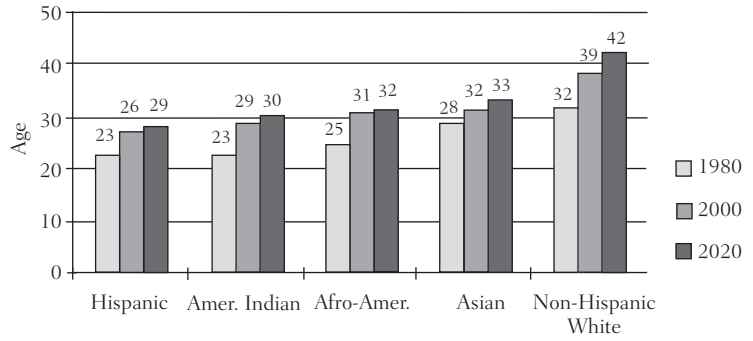
SOURCE: U.S. Departament of Education.
"The 2002-03 Almanac," The Chronicle of Higher Education, 2002.

TABLE 2
TEXAS PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT (2001-2002)

	AFRO-A	AFRO-A	LATINO	LATINO	AM. IND.	AM. IND.	ASIAN	ASIAN	ANGLO-S	ANGLO-S	SUB-TOTAL	SUB-TOTAL
Grade	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Early Education Pre-K & Kinder	67,935	14.32	242,288	51.06	1,528	.32	13,359	2.82	149,413	31.49	474,523	100
1st-6th	276,899	14.45	822,761	42.94	6,299	.33	51,362	2.68	758,960	39.61	1,916,281	100
7th-11th	223,727	14.45	595,894	38.50	4,374	.28	43,642	2.82	680,228	43.95	1,547,865	100
Senior	29,800	13.16	74,973	33.11	576	.26	7,877	3.48	113,205	50.00	226,431	100
Totals	598,361	14.37	1,735,916	41.68	12,777	.31	116,240	2.79	1,701,806	40.86	4,165,100	100

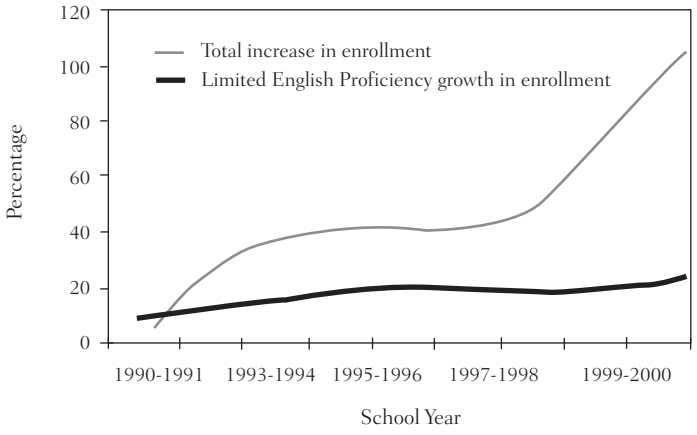
SOURCE: TEA, 2001.

GRAPH 2
LATINOS ARE YOUNGER



SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of Census 2000.

GRAPH 3
STUDENTS WHO NEED TO LEARN ENGLISH



SOURCE: THECB, 2001.

TABLE 3
ENROLLMENT IN TEXAS PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES BY ETHNIC GROUP (2002)

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER ENROLLED	PERCENT
Anglo Saxon	245,639	55.9%
Latino	93,003	20.4%
Afro-American	48,271	10.6%
Asian	27,201	6.0%
American Indian	2,320	0.5%
International	26,684	5.8%
Unknown	3,600	0.8%
Total	455,718	100%

SOURCE: THECB, 2001.

table 2).There are more than 93,000 Hispanics enrolled in Texas universities, or 20 percent of the total 455,718 students (see table 3).

In 2002, technical community colleges, which only offer the first two years of a bachelor's degree, enrolled 515,770 students. Of these, 129,308, or 29 percent, were Latinos. This is the same percentage as the overall Hispanic population in the state: 29.5 percent.[5]

ARIZONA

In Arizona, of a total public school population of 893,446 students in 2002, more than 33 percent, or 303,101, were Latinos. Over the last decade, Arizona's population grew from 3,665,228 in 1990 to 5,130,632 in 2000. Of this total, 1.3 million are Latinos, most young and of Mexican origin.

Of university students, 11 percent (12,407) of a total of 109,373 are Latinos, enrolled in the state's three public universities: Northern Arizona, Arizona State and the University of Arizona (see graph 4).

At the end of 2002, community and technical colleges had an enrollment of 183,104, 19 percent (35,357) of whom were Latino. These colleges are the first opportunity for Latino students interested in a bachelor's or technical degree.[6]

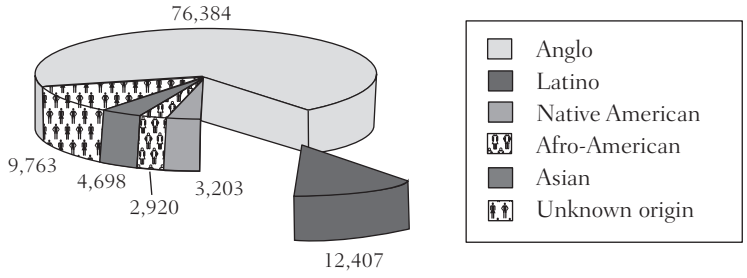
CALIFORNIA

California is the most highly populated state with 33,871,648 inhabitants, and the largest number of Latinos, with 10,966,556, or 32.4 percent.[7] Latinos make up 44.2 percent of public school enrollment, with 2,717,602 students. From 2001 to 2002, 33.7 percent

(98,644) of high school graduates were Latinos. This number continues to grow and by the end of this decade, the majority of those who finish high school in California will be Latinos.[8]

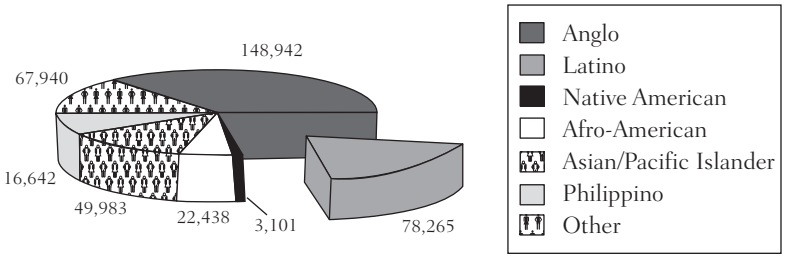
In the State University System, from 191,903 enrolled students, 21,836, or 11.1 percent, are classified as Latinos (see graph 5). With a total enrollment of 1,640,033 in California technical community colleges 440,436, or 26.8 percent, are Latino. The young Latino population continues to grow and the challenge for the state will be to increase their participation, investing in the development of public schools in order to increase these new generations of immigrants' capabilities to take advantage of all academic opportunities.

GRAPH 4
ARIZONA UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT (2001)



SOURCE: IPEDS, 2001.

GRAPH 5
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT (2001)
(TOTAL = 387,311 STUDENTS)



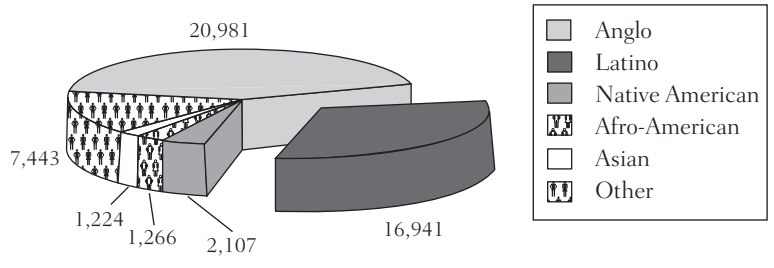
SOURCE: California Postsecondary Education Commission, 2001.

NEW MEXICO

New Mexico has 1,819,046 inhabitants, of whom 765,386, or 42.1 percent, are Latino. In 2001, 50.7 percent of the 318,035 students enrolled in public schools in the state were also Hispanic. Every year, more or less 17,000 students graduate from high school; of these 7,084, or 41.4 percent, are Latino.[9] In 2001, 49,962 students were enrolled in universities, of whom 16,941 (33.9 percent) were Hispanic (see graph 6).

Until the end of last year, technical community colleges in the state had an enrollment of 53,752, of whom 20,043, or 37.2 percent, were Latino. Given that Hispanic students are a majority in public schools and Latinos in general come to almost half of the population, participation continues to be high. However, these rates should increase to improve this group's capabilities and the state's economy.

GRAPH 6
NEW MEXICO UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT (2001)



SOURCE: IPEDS, 2001.

Conclusion

Latinos:

- Have the highest birth and fertility rates.
- Estimated future growth rates surpass the current population.
- Have the fastest growing number of children enrolled in the Southwest's public school systems.
- Are the group with the largest young population, surpassing all other groups by a wide margin.
- Have high levels of participation in community colleges and technical schools.
- Have a low level of participation in the Southwest's universities and professional schools.
- Continue to be concentrated in seven states (79 percent). Half live in the West, the majority in metropolitan areas.

School and academic systems must take into account language and community rules to create trust and more effectively incorporate Latinos. The effectiveness of public school education will determine performance in higher learning. At the same time, academic training will determine the economic, civic and leadership opportunities that Latinos will have in the U.S. Southwest. VM

Notes

[1] U.S. Census, July 2001 at http://www.census.gov/

[2] U.S. Census Bureau, CPA, March 2000.

[3] U.S. Census Bureau, *National Vital Statistics Reports* 40, no. 1 (17 April 2000) and *National Vital Statistics Reports* 49, no. 1 (17 April 2000), Table 4.

[4] Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE), "Knocking at the College Door: Projections of High School Graduates by State and Race/Ethnicity," 1998, http://www.wiche.edu/Policy/Knocking/

[5] Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (THECB), 2001, http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/

[6] Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), 2001, http//nces.ed.gov/ ipeds/

[7] *The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education Magazine*, 10 September 2001, http://www.HispanicOutlook.com

[8] California Department of Education, 2001-2002, http://www.cde.ca.gov/

[9] Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), op. cit.

Latino Organizations In The United States

Graciela Orozco*

Laura Cano

The Latino community in the United States has growing political, economic, social and cultural influence in society. This is borne out by the solid organizational infrastructure constructed through an intense process of struggle that began a little over a century and a half ago. Currently, there are around 3,000 Latino organizations of the most diverse type, whose common objective is to contribute to the development and a better quality of life for the Latino population.[1]

In order to expand the relationship between Mexico and that community —which is 58.5 percent Mexicans and Mexican Americans—[2] and bring them closer together, it is very important to understand Latinos' organizational efforts and the role their organizations play in U.S. society, particularly with regard to issues on the bilateral agenda, given that the potential for these organizations' collaboration in matters of common interest is a resource that we Mexicans must not underestimate.

General Overview

The Latino community's organizational process has been long and difficult. The Mexican population in the U.S. Southwest, mainly in Texas, California and Arizona, made the first organizational efforts after the 1848 war. These were resistance movements that generally operated clandestinely, but which played an important role in the defense of that population, subject to cruel abuses when the border moved. Later came the mutualist societies that, in addition to promoting cultural belonging and ethnic identity, offered health services, life insurance and loans and fought for the political and labor rights of the Mexican population. These and other forms of association proliferated until the late 1930s. That is when the first formal civil rights organizations appeared, diversifying into industrial workers' and agricultural workers' unions. Later, the years after WWII and the Afro-American civil rights struggle established solid bases for Mexican-American organization that were strengthened by the Chicano Movement. From that time on, the forms and mechanisms of the community's organization have consolidated. From the mid-1980s until today, several umbrella organizations have achieved greater presence with their concerted

* Founding member and executive director of the Mexican-American Solidarity Foundation.

Table 1
Distribution of Organizations

State	No. of Organizations
California	226
Texas	130
Illinois	109
New York	85
Washington, D.C.	79
Florida	46
North Carolina	42
Arizona	33
New Mexico	31
Colorado	25
Michigan, Washington	23
New Jersey	20
Massachusetts, Ohio	16
Indiana, Oregon	13
Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Wisconsin	12
Louisiana, Missouri	9
Minnesota, Utah	7
Maryland	6
Kansas, Oklahoma	5
Connecticut, Georgia, Nevada	4
Arkansas, Hawaii, Iowa, South Carolina, Wyoming	3
Tennessee	2
Alabama, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island	1

efforts around different specific policies. In addition, a series of low-profile grassroots organizations have the ability to mobilize important groups of the Latino community when their rights are affected.

Despite the 150-year history of the Mexican and Mexican-American community's organizational process, today's formal organizations are of relatively recent creation. Most are less than 40 years old. They were founded between 1964 and 1980, when the number of Mexican and other Latino immigrants was reaching a critical mass, and they participated in the struggles for civil rights and equal opportunities.

Today, the universe of Latino organizations in the United States is very diverse, including informal groups like clubs of people organized by hometown and sports groups of Mexicans and other Latinos, as well as student organizations and religious associations whose work benefits Latino groups, among others. If a stricter criterion, like being registered by the U.S. Treasury Department's Internal Revenue Service (IRS) as a tax-free organization, is applied, the universe shrinks considerably.

Using different criteria, we can say that the number of Latino organizations in the United States ranges from 3,000 to 5,000. Despite their importance, they are a minuscule part (0.3 percent) of the IRS total of 1.6 million registered tax-exempt organizations.

As with the "third sector" in the rest of the world, Latino organizations are a very unstable universe in which organizations are constantly being formed, some surviving and consolidating and many others disappearing. Until the 1960s, the vast majority of these organizations depended on resources from the community itself, whether through the payment of services rendered or membership dues. In the mid-1960s, Mexican Americans and other Latinos began their struggle to access funding from the government and foundations, which historically had ignored them. Under Lyndon B. Johnson, with the "War on Poverty," government funding became key to financing and creating organizations in the Hispanic community. With time, political priorities changed and these government funds decreased significantly. Many organizations closed their doors and others were forced to seek resources from foundations, which have been very cautious in supporting Latino organizations.

Today, only 1.5 percent of the U.S.$29 billion dispensed yearly by foundations goes to causes linked to the Hispanic community. In addition, only seven foundations participate wholeheartedly with funds, 50 percent of which come from a single donor, the Ford Foundation.

Among the reasons for this low participation of mainstream philanthropic organizations in Latino issues are ignorance about the community, despite its being the country's largest minority; latent racism; and the still scant —although constantly increasing— presence of Hispanics in these institutions' boards, where they represent only 0.5 percent of members. This is why in the last decade, Latinos, continuing their historical tendency to build their own institutions to achieve greater control over their lives, have begun to create their first community funds.

Another alternative source of funding for Latino organizations has been large corporations, which have increasingly responded mainly because of the growing importance of the Hispanic community in the U.S. economy and their interest in penetrating this dynamic ethnic market. It should be mentioned that 56.6 percent of the revenues of the 25 largest Latino organizations in the U.S. —altogether more than U.S.$260 million in 2000— was contributed by corporations.

Nevertheless, it should be supposed that it is the largest organizations that concentrate most of the resources given by corporations for projects in the Latino community. The small organizations fight a constant, difficult battle to continue operating.

Geographical Distribution By Country of Origin

Overall, we can say that the distribution of Latino organizations corresponds to the distribution of Latinos in general. States that have the largest number of Latinos also have the majority of community organizations. Washington, D.C. is an exception, since, although its Latino population is not very large, a sizeable number of organizations, several of them national, have their headquarters there.

Table 1, based on a sample of 1,062 Latino organizations distributed in 44 U.S. states shows the distribution of Latino organizations in the U.S.[3] As the table shows, five of the states with the largest Latino population (California, Texas, Illinois, Florida and New York), together with Washington, D.C., totaled 63.5 percent of the sample, although Latino organizations exist in almost the entire country.

The great majority of the Latino organizations are Mexican-American, whether because it is the origin of their founders, because they mainly deal with people of Mexican origin, or because they are led by Mexican Americans. This is a logical result of their larger comparative weight vis-à-vis the other Latinos. Nevertheless, since the mid-1970s, the community has tended to define itself and its organizations using the term "Hispanic" or "Latino," in an attempt to include all the other communities of Latin American and Caribbean origin.

In contrast with this trend, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, mainly, do include their origin in the names of their organizations, which has led some of the important groups of Mexicans and Mexican Americans to propose once again mentioning their origin in their organizations' names to show their majority presence and the leadership they have always had in the Latino community. In fact, some organizations never relinquished their Mexican-American identity in their name. This is the case, just as an example, of the Mexican American Legal and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation (MAOF).

Distribution by Kind of Activity

Latino organizations are as diverse as the community itself, whose causes include a broad gamut of aims and issues. Although with different action strategies and even ideological differences, the common denominator in these organizations' struggles continues to be the quest for economic, political and social demands aimed at creating equal opportunities in U.S. society.

These groups' efforts are directed not only at U.S. Latino-origin citizens, but also at recent immigrants, both documented and undocumented. They are frequently multi-issue and multi-area oriented. On occasion, their activities focus on a particular group: young people, senior citizens, the differently abled or marginalized people.

Education is the field with the largest number of organizations. This is because it is precisely one of the sharpest problems of the Latino community and, therefore, a common banner.

Business promotion, mainly through Hispanic chambers of commerce, is also a very frequent aim, linked to the visibility that Latino consumers have acquired over recent decades —with around U.S.$500 billion a year in buying power— and the dynamic growth of the Hispanic business community.

Labor training, health care, advocacy, community development, culture and housing are also the issues that hundreds of groups organize around.

Although important advocacy groups work on matters that affect the community as a whole, like defending its labor and civil rights, it is very common that several associations join forces around these issues, regardless of their main objectives. Thus, they gain strength to defend a cause in the courts or vis-à-vis the government, to change a public policy or a law that harms or discriminates against Hispanics.

Today, Latino organizations are very diverse, including clubs organized by hometown, sports groups, student organizations and religious associations.

Special mention should be made of Latino organizations that deal with migration, an issue of interest to the Hispanic community, and of bilateral interest. In this field, they have historically played a very active role, and, although their influence has not been sufficient to have an impact on federal decision making, on a local and state level they have been more successful.

For these groups, the priority is both documented and undocumented immigrants who are already in the United States. This makes them a key factor for greater effectiveness in protecting our compatriots who continue to emi-

grate despite reinforced surveillance of our northern border and the terrible murders by immigrant-hunting neo-Nazi groups. Latino organizations daily defend the causes and the rights of people of Mexican origin and other Latinos, offering information and legal services.

As is to be expected in a highly decentralized country like the United States, the vast majority of the organizations operate on a local level. Nevertheless, there are also state, regional and national groups, although none of them really have a presence in the entire country, but rather in those states with a high concentration of Latino population.

Mexican Organizations

People of Mexican birth now living in the United States now come to 8.7 million, that is 42.5 percent of the entire population of Mexican origin. Their organizations are almost invisible for the rest of U.S. society, and they even have little contact with Mexican-American and other-origin Latino groups. The vast majority are not formally constituted under U.S. law, making it impossible for them to request funds from foundations, corporations or the government. Their fund-raising is mainly done through events they organize and support given them by compatriots who have managed to set up prosperous businesses, although in recent years, they also have begun to approach local companies and even large corporations.

Many of these groups are organized by state of origin and began to proliferate in the 1980s given the interest of the governors from states that had high emigration rates and receive a large part of remittances sent back to Mexico. Today, almost all the state governments have recognized the need to approach the people from their states in the U.S., both to channel resources for local economic development and to win votes. Twenty-five states have set up offices in Mexico to attend to migrants with different levels of resources and activities, showing the growing importance that emigrants and their clubs have for their native states. This is also having a positive effect in encouraging the creation of new clubs, and, although there is no systematic effort that can tell us the number of these organizations, estimates put them at about 1,000, distributed in at least 20 states of the United States.

Another form of traditional associations among Mexican immigrants have been sports leagues and groups: estimates put the number at about 20,000 in the entire U.S.

For immigrants, sports is the cheapest form of entertainment; it also has the advantage of bringing the entire family together. Thus, every Sunday, sports matches are common in local parks anywhere there are enough Mexicans to form at least two teams to play against each other. The most popular sports are, of course, soccer, baseball, basketball and *charrería*, or rodeos, among others, and leagues organize regular competitions. The best established leagues raise funds with local businesses to rent parks and pay referees. Today, their tournaments are also sponsored by different companies, even Mexican ones.

Recently, political organizations of Mexican immigrants have emerged in the United States, like the Coalition for Political Rights of Mexicans Abroad and the International Coalition of Mexicans Abroad (CIME), whose central aim is to lobby for legislation that would allow immigrants to participate in the Mexican political system. Several of these groups have partisan agendas and demand the right to vote for Mexicans abroad, and not only in presidential elections. Some ask for the creation of a sixth proportional representation district that would allow them to vote for and be elected as deputies and senators. Also, recently, the Council of Presidents of Federations of Mexican Community Clubs was formed in Los Angeles, a mechanism to influence the bilateral agenda on migration issues as well as domestic U.S. affairs linked to improvements in health and educational services and giving driver's licenses to undocumented migrants. With regard to Mexico, this council seeks to promote Mexicans' voting rights abroad and to spread the "3 for 1" program.[4] This is a demonstration of greater activism on the part of some organization leaders who today seek to have a political impact not only in Mexico but also in the United States. VM

Notes

[1] In this article, we will only take into consideration not-for-profit Latino organizations.

[2] This percentage is based on the 20.6 million Mexicans and Mexican Americans registered in the 2000 U.S. census, a very conservative figure if we consider that at least half of the six million Latinos who did not specify country of origin could be Mexican or of Mexican descent.

[3] G. Orozco, E. González and R. Díaz de Cossío, *Las organizaciones mexicano-americanas, hispanas y mexicanas en Estados Unidos* (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de México, 2003).

[4] The "3 for 1" program fosters fund raising in the U.S. for social and infrastructure projects in migrant sending communities in Mexico, whereby every dollar raised would be matched by both Mexico's federal and state governments. [Editor's Note.]

Daniel Mungula

Four Archaeological Sites In the State of Mexico

María del Carmen Carbajal Correa*

In the context of the development of the major Mesoamerican cultures of Mexico's central highland in cities like Teotihuacan, Tula and Tenochtitlan, we can situate different cultures with distinctive characteristics. At different moments in their history they were subjected or influenced by the hegemonic groups of their time. In what is today the State of Mexico alone, 17 archaeological sites open to the public testify to the multiple human settlements that were scattered over the central highlands. Teotihuacan is the most noteworthy and studied, but others, not quite as famous, played a role in the overall development of the areas. Examples are San Miguel Ixtapan, Huamango, Tenayuca and Calixtlahuaca, whose cultural evolution dates from the formative period (5000 to

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2500 B.C.) to the post-classical period (A.D. 900 to 1521), shortly before the arrival of the Spanish.

San Miguel Ixtapan[1]

Before the conquest, Ixtapan (from the Nahuatl words "*iztatl*," or "salt" and "*pan*," meaning "where salt is extracted") produced enough salt, one of the most valuable trade goods among pre-Hispanic peoples, to cover local consumption and export to different regions.

Ixtapan's first inhabitants must have arrived at the end of the late pre-classical period (400 B.C. to A.D. 200), as can be inferred from the anthropomorphic figures found there.[2] There is also evidence of later occupations in the epi-classical period (A.D. 700-900). It may have been at this time that the basalt rock called the great "model," discovered in 1958, was sculpted.[3] This stone displays designs of architectural structures: temple complexes with sunken patios; basements with stairways, patios and ball games, whose characteristics coincide with Xochicalco and Teotenango architecture. Some Teotihuacan figurines found make it possible to connect this occupation with groups from the great Teotihuacan.[4]

The location occupied a strategic place on the border between the Mexica and Tarasco lands, where constant confrontations took place. The Chontal, inhabitants of this border area, supplied salt both to the Tarasco and the Mexica before being conquered by the latter around 1476.

According to the Temascaltepec Account, the salt was extracted from a stream that flows down a deep ravine, "and they pour the water into holes they make in some stones, where it evaporates and they pick out the salt with which they support themselves...every four days, they take out a half bushel of it, and that, in the dry season."[5]

This site was occupied until the late post-classical period (after 1476 and until 1521), right before the conquest. Evidence of this —three-legged Azteca III receptacles—[6] has been found in the excavations of the ball game court. Other objects found in burial spots in the area have made it possible to identify the regions they traded with, including the Tarasca, the Valley of Toluca and the middle Balsas area.

Calixtlahuaca's great agricultural production was one of the reasons the Mexica army forced the city to pay them tribute.

Daniel Mungula

Daniel Mungula

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Huamango was the forefront of the Toltec empire, possibly dominated by some families from Tula.

Huamango[7]

Huamango, from the Nahuatl word "*Quahmango*," meaning "place of logs or unworked wood" or "where wood is worked," was occupied by Otomí tribes, who spoke a proto-Otomí-Mazahua language. Huamango is located in an area of uneven mountain terrain which practically surrounds the Valley of the Mirrors, or the Valley of Acambay, 2,850 meters above sea level. The Otomí and Mazahua who today populate part of the northern State of Mexico are descendants of the groups of the same name mentioned in historical sources. They are related to the Matlatzinca of the Valley of Toluca, with whom they lived in the times around the Spanish conquest.

In the pre-Hispanic period, Huamango was subjected to Jilotepec, which, in turn was dominated by the ancient city of Tula. According to W.J. Folan, this was the forefront of the Toltec empire, dominated possibly by one or more families from Tula, whose main deity was Tezcatlipoca.

Its geographical position was determinant because it served as the gateway to the valley, from where they could control both entry and exit of people, goods and foodstuffs produced locally and imported. Its privileged location turned it into a crossroads.

From Huamango's highest points, the entire Valley of Acambay can be viewed; this made it possible to create a system of roads that became part of the trade routes and a communications network for trade and alliances with its neighbors and far-away peoples. The longer routes (*yadonñu*) went to Atotonilco, Araró and Jerécuaro, Michoacán; Chalma, in the State of Mexico; Guanajuato and Salamanca; San Juan de los Lagos; Tenochtitlán, Tepititlán, Tecozuautla; Tlaxcala; Tula, Tulancingo; Zihuatanejo; and all the way to Guatemala. The shorter routes (*yahuenño*) went to Atlacomulco, Calixtlahuaca, El Oro, Jilotepec, San Bartolo Morelos and Valle de Bravo. These routes were useful for alliances, the payment of tribute and trade, as well as facilitating relations with far-away places.[8]

After the fall of Tula in 1168, the area may have maintained its independence under the mandate of Jilotepec until it was conquered by Moctezuma I in the fifteenth century.

Tenayuca[9]

The name Tenayuca comes from the Nahuatl words "*tenamitl*" meaning "wall" and "*yohcan*," meaning "place," and means "place with walls" or "fortified

place." After the city of Tula was destroyed and burned in 1168, around the Year 5 Técpatl (or 1224 in our calendar), many Chichimec tribes headed by Xólotl appeared in the north of the Mexico Basin. According to documents such as the Tlotzin and Quinatzin maps, they wore animal skins, used bows and arrows, lived in caves and straw huts and spoke a language closely related to Nahuatl.[10]

Xólotl's journey began near the Huastec region of the state of Hidalgo and continued to Tenayuca, where he founded his capital.[11] Ixtlilxóchitl relates that Tenayuca was the first capital of the group of hunter-gatherers who arrived in Central Mexico toward the end of the twelfth century, when the fall and destruction of great Tula (Tollan) had left a vacuum of power in the central highland.[12] In 1925, Reygadas considered that the Chichimec culture was only a prolongation of Tula's and that, therefore, its fundamental elements are Toltec.[13] It is a fact that despite the abandonment and physical destruction of the Toltec city, the "Toltec culture" was preserved in the central valleys and was the source for the development of the high cultures of the late post-classical period.

Xólotl founded a dynasty that began with himself as king; he was succeeded by Nopaltzin and Tlotzin, who resided in Tenayuca, but the fourth king, Quinatzin, moved the capital to Texcoco, diminishing Tenayuca's importance.

Tenayuca shared spaces with the Tepaneca, the Tenanca of Chalco or the Acolhua of Coatlichan, whom Pedro Carrasco mentions as semi-civilized groups; before migrating to the Mexico Basin, they inhabited some of the "provincial" centers of the Toltec empire. These lands later merged with those of Xólotl to found the great province of Acolhuacan, producing a high degree of cultural development in central Mesoamerica.

Calixtlahuaca[14]

Calixtlahuaca is from the Nahuatl words "*calli*," or "house" and "*ixtlahuacan*" or "plain" or "wide expanse of houses." When the Mexica arrived, the place was inhabited by Matlatzinca, who called themselves the Nepinthathuhui, or "those of the land of corn."

Calixtlahuaca is on the high central plateau and typically has abundant agricultural production and is rich in game, plants for gathering and fish.

From the late pre-classical period (400 B.C. to A.D. 200) on, there were organized settlements with Olmec influence in the Valley of Toluca. The archaeological evidence from this period in the Tejalpa

Enrique Trejo

Tenayuca was the first capital of the group of hunter-gatherers who arrived in Central Mexico in the twelfth century.

Valley allows us to infer a relationship with groups from the Mexico Basin. Receptacles and figurines similar to those from sites in Ecatepec, Tlapacoya and Tlatilco, make it possible to suppose that from there, the Olmec influence was transmitted to the Valley of Toluca through natural corridors.[15]

The late classical period (between A.D. 600 and 900) was distinguished by the cultural influence of Teotihuacan, possibly due to the exchange of agricultural and aquatic products carried out on the communication routes established years before. In this period, customs and rites from the great metropolis were adopted: the ball game, the form of burial and the worship of Quetzalcóatl and Tláloc. At the fall of Teotihuacan, settlements under its influence like Tecaxic, Teotenango, Calimaya and Calixtlahuaca, acquired importance as new centers of power.

In the early post-classical period (from A.D. 900 to 1200), Tula's influence was important, and its relations with the towns in the valley seems to have been very close. Rosaura Hernández says that the collapse of Tula brought the dispersion of the Toltec families and some of them, like the children of Meconetzin, moved to the Valley of Toluca "to save there the Toltec culture."[16]

The Toltec influence can be observed in the Mazapa and Coyotlatelco ceramics that characterizes them and seem to have been the beginnings of Matlatzinca ceramics.

Evidence of Otomí, Mazahua, Matlatzinca and Mexica settlements have been found dating from the late post-classical period (A.D.1200 to 1521).[17]

We know that the Matlatzinca culture is identified as the one from the Matalcingo Valley (now Toluca), the place where 12 fiefdoms were created by the Mexica empire after conquering it. When the Spanish arrived in the region, Calixtlahuaca was one of these 12 fiefdoms, as can be seen in the Registry of Tributes and the Mendocino Codex, where the glyph that identifies it as a fiefdom appears.

At the height of the Matlatzinca (from A.D. 1116 to 1474), Calixtlahuaca belonged to the northern province of the Valley of Toluca and, according to the chronicles, it was the capital of the Toloca. At this time, it became clear that there was a high density of sites with diverse hierarchy, covering the entire valley, and relations between the Valley of Toluca and other areas intensified, as can be seen by the presence of ceramics, objects and materials from regions of Michoacán, Puebla, Morelos and Guerrero.[18]

However, its great capacity for agricultural production, plus disputes between the lords of Toluca and Tenancingo, prompted the intervention of the Mexica army. This began the campaign of conquest

After the destruction of the great Tula, Toltec culture was preserved in the Central Valleys by cities like Tenayuca.

Enrique Trejo

Rubén Nieto

San Miguel Ixtapan's first inhabitants must have arrived at the end of the pre-classical period.

in 1474, commanded by the chief, or *tlatuani*, Axayácatl. By 1476, Calixtlahuaca and the rest of the towns in the valley had been subjected to the Triple Alliance and forced to pay tribute.

Several attempts at rebellion by the Matlatzinca of Calixtlahuaca were put down by Moctezuma Xocoyotzin, who finally achieved total domination after burning the temples and populating the land with Mexicas. Defeat brought the emigration of a large number of Matlatzinca, who "abandoned their lands in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Mexica, or rendering homage, paying tribute or dying, sacrificed to the gods of the victors."[19]

With the Mexicas, Calixtlahuaca became important; new buildings were erected on already existing monuments: "El Calmecac," the Pantheon, "El Tláloc" and the Ehécatl Quetzalcóatl Temple. The culture went through the resulting changes; Aztec ceramics, characteristic of the Mexica, were introduced; the migration of Mexicas caused the assimilation of customs and traditions, although the Mexica also adopted forms of organization learned from the Matlatzinca, and they integrated them into a single order of power. VM

Notes

[1] San Miguel Ixtapan is located 15 kilometers from Tejupilco, on the road to Amatepec and Tlatlaya.

[2] Patricia Aguirre Martínez, "Descripción de Figurillas de San Miguel Ixtapan," *Expresión Antropológica*, New Era 1-2 (San Miguel Ixtapan, State of Mexico: IMC, 1996), p. 64.

[3] Morrison Limón Boyce, "El proyecto Arqueológico de San Miguel Ixtapan," *Expresión Antropológica*, New Era 1-2 (San Miguel Ixtapan, State of Mexico: IMC, 1996), p. 12.

[4] Patricia Aguirre Martínez, op. cit., p. 55.

[5] Morrison Limón Boyce, op. cit., p. 9.

[6] Norma Rodríguez G. and María Soledad García S., "La Cerámica de San Miguel Ixtapan," *Expresión Antropológica*, New Era 1-2 (San Miguel Ixtapan, State of Mexico: IMC, 1996).

[7] Huamango is located north of the town of Acambay.

[8] William J. Folan, "San Miguel de Huamango: Un centro regional del Antiguo Estado de Tula-Jilotepec," *Investigaciones sobre Huamango y región vecina*, vol. 1 (n.p.: n.d.).

[9] Tenayuca is located 10 kilometers north of Mexico City.

[10] Ignacio Marquina, *Arquitectura Prehispánica* (Mexico City: INAH, 1981), pp. 164-165.

[11] Ibid., p. 165.

[12] Morrison Limón, op. cit., pp. 7-10.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Calixtlahuaca is located nine kilometers northwest of Toluca, the capital of the State of Mexico.

[15] Yoko Suguira, "El Valle de Toluca después del ocaso del Estado Teotihuacano: el Epiclásico y el Posclásico," *Historia General del Estado de México, Toluca*, vol. 2 (Mexico City: El Colegio Mexiquense/Gobierno del Estado de México, 1998), p. 102.

[16] Rosaura Hernández, "Historia Prehispánica," *Breve Historia del Estado de México* (Toluca: Colegio Mexiquense/Gobierno del Estado de México, 1987), pp. 28-36.

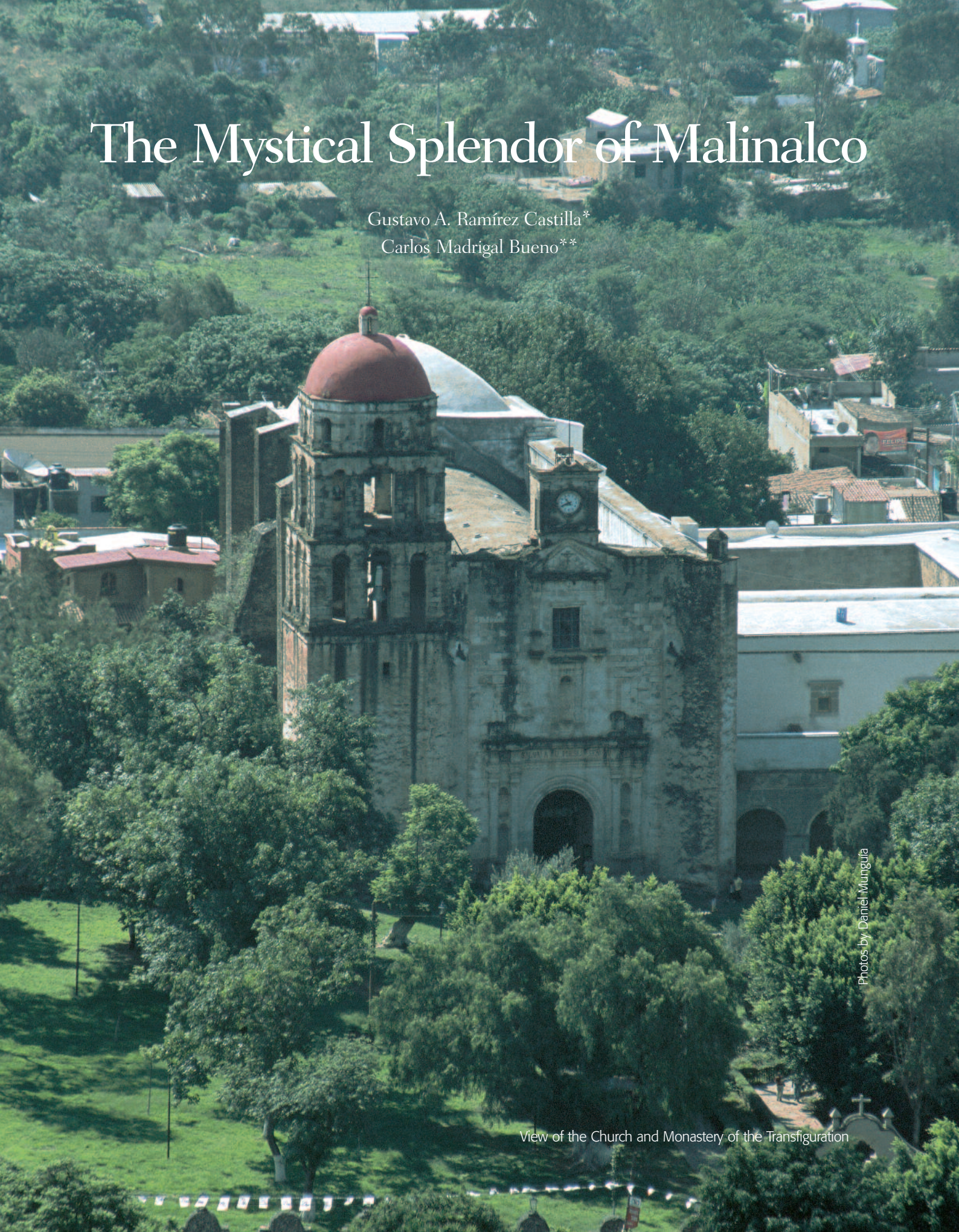
[17] José García Payón, *La Zona Arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca y los Matlatzincas*. Part 2 (Toluca, State of Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de México, 1974).

[18] Yoko Suguira, op. cit.

[19] Ma. Noemí Quezada Ramírez, *Los Matlatzincas época pre-Hispánica y época Colonial hasta 1650* (Mexico City: INAH, 1972), p. 180.

The Mystical Splendor of Malinalco

Gustavo A. Ramírez Castilla*
Carlos Madrigal Bueno**



Photos by Daniel Munguía

View of the Church and Monastery of the Transfiguration

The Pre-Hispanic Era

Positioned on the east side of Matlalac Heights, a mountain range that runs north-south separating the valleys of Malinalco and Tenancingo, the Hill of the Idols rises majestically flanked by the canyons of Santa Mónica or Rincón de San Miguel and Rincón de Techimalco. The Hill of the Idols has a particular geological structure, composed of alternating layers of volcanic and andesitic detritus that form a sedimentary rock both soft enough to be molded by the human hand and at the same time resistent to the inclemencies of the weather.

The particular topography of the Malinalco Valley, formed by peaks and canyons rising capriciously out of the mountain, makes for scenery that evokes cosmic planes: Tlalocan, the paradise of the rain god Tláloc; Tanmoachan, the birth place of Quetzalcóatl, god of the wind; or Chicomoztoc, the Place of the Seven Caves, where the Mexica and their sister tribes originated. The thick, low brush, typical of warm, humid climates, completes the scenery: in summer, shining emerald, washed by copious rains, and during the dry season, amber, burned by the blazing sun, the two sides of a single coin that infinitely recreate the dual cycle of life and death to which our ancestors were so devoted.

In 1935, Zacatecas-born archaeologist Don José García Payón, climbed to the top of the hill with the firm intention of drawing back the veil of its mysteries. At 120 meters, he discovered the remains of ancient temples and palaces carved into the rock, unique in all of the Americas, comparable only to the monolithic temples of Petra, Abu Simbel or Nash-i-rustam. After long digging, he uncovered walls, steps, the remains of a mural and

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Malinalco's ceremonial center.

imposing sculptures, revealing the Mexica as the creators of this wonder.

However, the history of Malinalco did not begin there. In the higher part of the hill, at 220 meters, recent exploration has revealed the remains of huts and skeletons of the first inhabitants. The domestic materials are related mainly to two neighboring regions: Tlahuica ceramics, linked to the Cuernavaca Valley, to the southeast, and Matlatzica ceramics, associated with the Valley of Toluca, to the north, both in the early post-classical period between A.D. 900 and 1200. Some vessels, however, from the classical period of the Mexico basin (A.D. 250 to 600) suggest earlier occupation.

The most recent establishment involves the Mexica, who conquered the region shortly after 1476, when the hosts of Axayácatl, the ruler of Tenochtitlan, came with the aim of establishing a military outpost that would control the tribute to the Mexica capital at this point, where important lines of communication among the Valleys of Toluca and Cuernavaca and the north of Guerrero crossed.

By 1520, Malinalco suffered a second military invasion because of the help it had given to Tenochtitlan during the siege by the Spanish army. Hernán Cortés' troops under the command of Andrés de Tapia raized the town, stopping short the carving of new buildings in the ceremonial center.

With time, the forest covered the remains of the settlement. Only the efforts of the seekers of the past would rescue the previously imposing fortress from oblivion. The main body of the site is situated on the part of the hill known as Cuauhtinchan. It is made up of 12 structures arranged on an artificial plateau, surrounded by walls on the south and the east. The center is composed of three buildings, the Cuauhcalli or "house of the eagles," a ceremonial site consecrated to the initiation of elite warriors of the Mexica army, and Buildings II and VI, a pyramid-shaped temple dedicated to Tláloc, god of water, and a split-level temple with a circular room.

To the east is another set of buildings known as Tzinacalli, or "house where the burners are located," because it has two square burners, and

The Cuauhcalli, where the initiation of elite warriors took place.

Building IV or the Temple of the Sun, a large rectangular space carved into the rock with a built-in bench along its walls suggesting its possible use for mass ceremonies dedicated to the "star king." In addition, we find Building V, a circular platform barely 30 centimeters high where ostensibly gladiator battles took place.

It is said that in the interior of the Cuauhcalli, the most important military ceremony of the initiation took place. The young aspirant to an eagle or jaguar warrior climbed to the temple on a 13-step stairway flanked by imposing feline sculptures and a standard bearer. At the threshold of the temple he found himself face to face with Zipac, the monster of the earth, whose open maw welcomed him into the cave of the underworld, extending his serpentine tongue as a carpet. Access to the room was guarded by two monoliths, one representing an eagle warrior poised on a serpent with arrow-shaped feathers and the other, the jaguar knight, standing on a

Church and Monastery of the Transfiguration.

Under the Spaniards, another form of worship, this time of a languid crucified god, imposed itself, condemning the ancient temples to oblivion.

drum. After tense moments of waiting, the youth was called to by a voice in the interior of the temple; for the first and only time, he would have the privilege of experiencing the mysterious underworld. Magnificently carved on a bench around the circular room were a pair of eagles with unfolded wings, situated on each side of a third relief representing the jaguar. On the back of a third eagle standing in the center of the room, on a lower level, the aspirant showed his courage by practicing the painful self-sacrifice: with eagle or jaguar claws, depending on his vocation, and thorns and cords or sharp obsidian razors, he perforated different parts of his body. He stained thin strips of *amate* bark paper with his own blood and burned them in the *cuauhxicalli*, a receptacle carved out of the floor to burn offerings. Thus, transformed into columns of smoke, the bloody strips were the favorite delicacy of the gods. After long hours of penitence and prayer, after the harsh trial by resistance, he came back to the earthly world strengthened, ready to devote himself completely to war: he was now an initiate.

Historical and Traditional Malinalco

By the sixteenth century, blood ran into the valley; indigenous and Spanish blood that seemed to justify the long decades of preparation of the eagle or jaguar warriors, who, nonetheless, could not overcome the Spanish steel and gunpowder. Malinalco, "the place of the twisted grass," was never again what it had been. Another form of worship, this time of a languid crucified god, imposed itself, condemning the ancient temples to oblivion. But, from the same quarries the rock was extracted for able indigenous architects, under the direction of the clergy, to erect churches or monas-

teries, places of worship no less imposing, consecrated to self-sacrifice, penitence and pain.

The area was devastated by war until the arrival of the evangelizing Franciscan Friars Jorge de Ávila and Juan de Cruzarte in 1543. The foundation of the New Spain city began with the construction of the open chapel and Convent of the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ. The open chapel has seven arches symbolizing the seven days of Creation.

Twenty-eight years later, the Church of the Divine Savior was built. The walls of the interior passageway were decorated with a mural that mixed indigenous and Spanish motifs. In this task, *tlacuilos* may have participated, indigenous painters who before the Conquest had done the codices.

By 1578, Spanish edicts dictated the construction of housing in New Spain with the new orthogonal floor plan, using two axes that intercepted at the center, something by no means easy in Malinalco given the unevenness of the terrain. At the center of the axis was the Church and Monastery of the Transfiguration, surrounded by two blocks on each side and one to the north. This plan divided the city into four quadrants, creating neighborhoods, each with its own church consecrated to a patron saint that gave its name to the area. One of the oldest neighborhoods is San Guillermo; the little chapel is known affectionately as "San Guillermito," or "Little Saint William," and has an isolated bell tower.

Santa Mónica has a raised chapel and is on the outskirts of the old center of the town, dating from the sixteenth century. It was built on a pre-Hispanic foundation. La Soledad, from the seventeenth century, is the only one with a cross-shaped foundation.

The church of the neighborhood of San Juan Bautista was built to enhance the main access to the town in 1712. The Santa María Mother of God Chapel, despite its simple facade, has columns decorated with small niches, and its decoration is an incipient baroque, although it was changed slightly during the nineteenth century.

The chapel in the San Martín Caballero neighborhood continues to be one of the best examples of Malinalco's popular baroque. Although construction on it began in the seventeenth century, the facade was not finished until 1765. The Saint Peter the Apostle Church was built in the seventeenth century; its austere facade bears a main entrance flanked by columns and topped by an arch. The open chapel is off to one side.

Lateral exit and small chapel of the Monastery of the Transfiguration.

From the same quarries the pre-Hispanic builders had used, the rock was extracted for able indigenous architects to erect imposing churches or monasteries.

The last neighborhood, San Andrés, founded at the same time as its chapel, toward the end of the eighteenth century, has a simple facade. The neo-classical doorway is framed by two columns holding up an architrave around the access itself.

Experienced indigenous labor, accustomed to the rigor demanded of their own recent monumental religious architecture, was used to build the first churches.

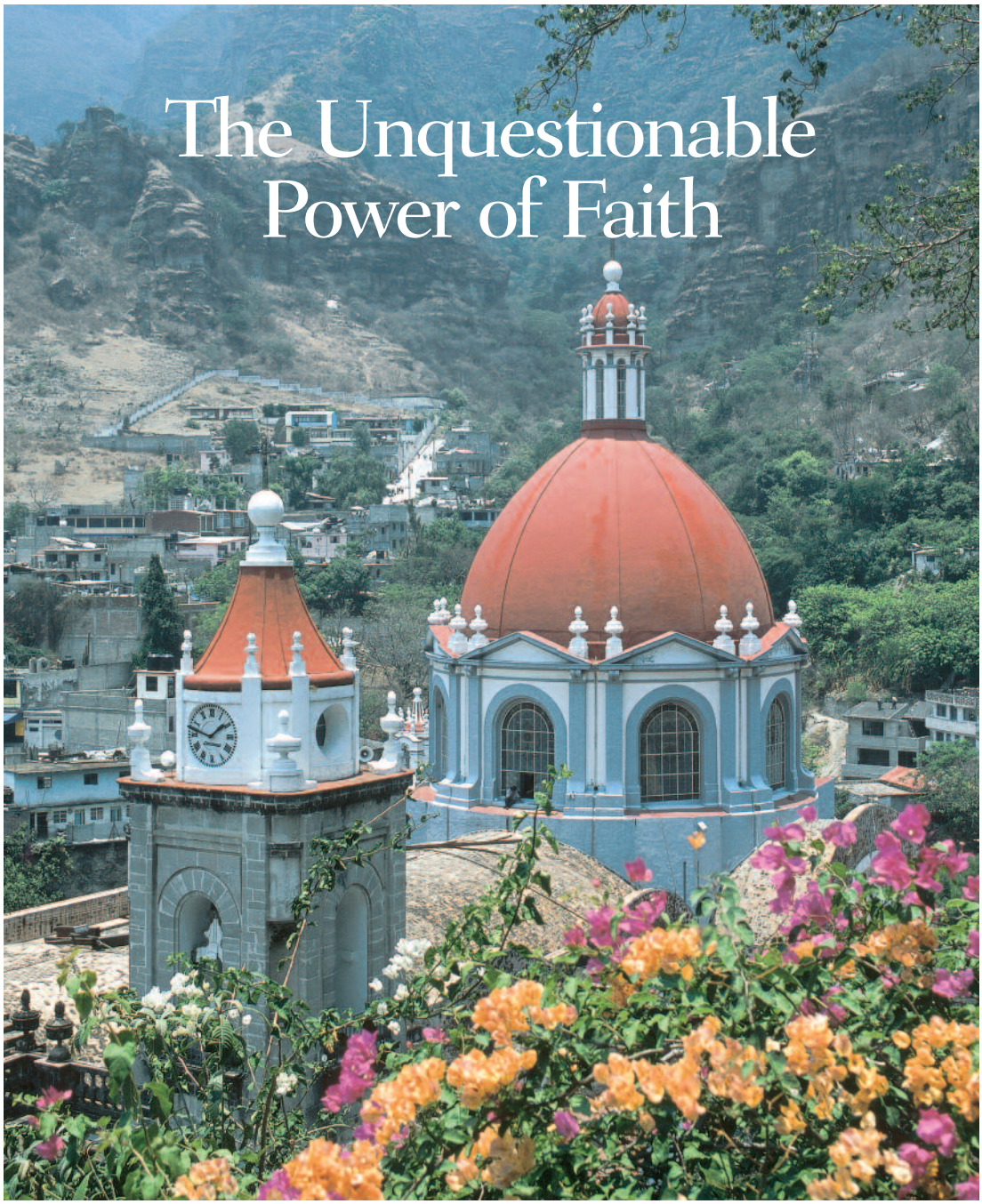
Civil architecture also followed the Spanish models. In the historical perimeter of the city, buildings were erected that were monumental both in proportion and quality of construction. The Portal House is a prime example, situated on the main plaza, with its characteristic semi-circular arches and cylindrical buttresses in the shape of pylons. Less spectacular, but typical, are the single-story dwellings and the vernacular houses in which elements of the indigenous tradition prevail, such as adobe; but both make use of techniques and materials developed during the colonial period, like roof-tiles, brick, flagstone floors, wooden windows or doors and wrought-iron work.

Religious festivals maintain the community's link to its origins, reinforce its faith and form the basis for an explosion of phenomena rooted in the indigenous and mestizo tradition, between pandemonium and mystical fervor. The celebrations of Easter Week, the Divine Savior and Our Lady of Guadalupe, as well as those of each patron saint, are very important.

In its mysticism, Malinalco fuses past and present, manifest in the grandeur of its buildings. The oft-cited meeting of two worlds produces here one of its most genuine expressions. VM

The remains of murals and imposing sculptures reveal the hand of the Mexica culture in Malinalco.

The Unquestionable Power of Faith



Photos by Daniel Mungula

"It'll never happen, even if you go dance at Chalma." For many Mexicans, this saying means there is no hope whatsoever. And, the thing is, whatever they want is surely so impossible that not even a visit to the sanctuary of Our Lord of Chalma can fix it, even though the miraculous powers of this Christ are widely respected and recognized, as proven by the thousands of pilgrims who prostrate themselves every year at his feet to request his aid or thank him for favors received. And although little is known about when and how he began to show his divine power, his story began almost five centuries ago, shortly after the Spanish arrived in these lands.

The Reasons and the Legend

The campaign to spiritually conquer the pre-Hispanic peoples was not easy. The evangelizing friars

began by destroying the indigenous temples and the representations of their gods, building monumental churches under which they thought they could bury the manifestations of a culture that for thousands of years had rested on a theocratic state. However, for a long time the "converted" indigenous worshipped a god that was still foreign to them while keeping in their minds the image of their fallen gods and in their hands an offering secretly dedicated to them. This is why in Chalma, like in many other places, a miracle was required to justify complete surrender to the new faith.

Thus, according to legend, in 1539, two Augustinian friars who were preaching in the region of Malinalco and Ocuilán heard that the natives made pilgrimages to a place called Chalma, whose name means "place of caves." They walked for days carrying flowers, copal and other offerings on their heads, finally reaching a cave where they worshipped Oxtoteótl (the lord of the cave).[1] Before entering, the pilgrims bathed themselves in the river born of a nearby spring. On their visit, the Augustinians found flowers, other offerings and traces of blood, evidence that human sacrifice was practiced there. They decided to begin their evangelizing by exhorting the indigenous to abandon these bloody practices and convert to Christianity. The miracle occurred a few days later: on the floor of the cave a figure of Oxtoteótl was found in pieces, replaced by a figure of Christ crucified, with fresh flowers at his feet. It is said that, given this demonstration of power, many indigenous began their conversion right there.

Whether a miracle or an intelligent substitution by the friars, in a short time Chalma became a place of worship so important that by the end of the sixteenth century, the decision was made to found a monastery there to attend to the pilgrims. Built at the bottom of the ravine and flanked on the west by a river, the first building was inaugurated in 1683, rebuilt in 1721 and renovated in 1830. But the most significant thing about its history was that it was given the title of Royal Monastery and Sanctuary of Our Lord Jesus Christ and Saint Michael of the Caves of Chalma by King Carlos III of Spain, on September 6, 1783.

Nevertheless, we should recognize that the worship of the old, vanquished gods did not die out altogether. It would survive in the dances, the rites

The *ahuehuete* tree (left), one of the decorated crosses left by pilgrims (center) and the cave of the apparition (right), located outside the church.

and the floral offerings that are part of the basic practices of those who today still come to see the miraculous benefactor.

The Rituals of the Faith

Chalma is the second most visited sanctuary in Mexico after the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The church and monastery, from the bottom of the ravine that surrounds them on three sides, rise imposingly, giving the impression that a true power inhabits them. More than three centuries have made for experience in housing pilgrims. All along the left side of the atrium, the hospice lodges travelers and receives them with words of encouragement and reflection at the door of each room. At the church entrance, the words "Come unto me all ye who are worn and charged, that I shall succor thee," is a promise that everyone who crosses the threshold takes to heart.

Pilgrims come to Chalma from the states of Mexico, Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Puebla, Querétaro, Guanajuato and Michoacán, as well as Mexico City, among others. Men and women of all ages, carrying small children or infants, travel long distances, mainly on foot, to fulfill an oath or a tradition handed down for many generations. People come the whole year long, as do the delegations from towns and organizations that make annual visits. The biggest celebrations are on the Day of Kings, Easter Week and Christmas, but the calendar of fiestas and pilgrimages is very full.

As long as people can remember, every visit to Chalma more or less includes the same activities. A few kilometers before arriving to the sanctuary, the pilgrim stops at the *ahuehuete* tree, an ancestral symbol of the dialogue the pre-Hispanic peoples engaged in with nature, from whose roots a spring emerges that is attributed with miraculous powers. There, he or she must bathe or wash his/her hands as a form of purification. Some people take away water from the spring in bottles. At this place, the pilgrim places a wreath of flowers on his or her head that he/she will wear for the rest of the journey.

Dances are also frequent and an special esplanade is used for them. The visit to the church to pray is preceded by placing votive candles on the altar after rubbing them against the body of

A river next to the complex serves as a resting place (left). The interior patio (center) is seldom visited. The *ex-votos* room (right), testimony of the wonder of faith.

the petitioner, the child or the sick person who is asking for protection. The Christ can also be approached from behind his niche in the large altar, and, even though he can only be partially seen from the side through a transparent curtain protected by glass, people form long lines to be closer to him. To one side, in the sacristy, two Augustinian fathers bless pilgrims and religious objects like crucifixes, images of Christ, books, charms, rosaries, etc., bought there or brought from home. With the display of mysticism and religious fervor, the monastery, its interior patio and its decorations and paintings are usually ignored. Chalma is seldom cited for its architectural value.

On the rocks around the church are large crosses called "penitences." Some pilgrims carry them down to the church either by foot or on their knees as payment for a favor received or to purge themselves of an evil deed. The belief that a debt to God is paid with sacrifice and pain translates into injured, bloody knees that stain the ground with blood, just like the blood that the Augustinians tried to erase 300 years ago when they assured people that their God did not demand human sacrifice.

In the back of the monastery, a small place holds the *ex-votos*, or devotional paintings, of hundreds of the faithful. This popular custom, very widespread in Mexico, demonstrates the incomparable faith in miracles that the most needy have. Just like our indigenous ancestors, today's visitors to the sanctuary deposit offerings and show their gratitude when they are blessed with the salvation of their bodies and spirits. The *ex-votos* thank the Lord for having saved the petitioner from death, disease, vice or temptation. The smallest aid is always welcome, even just passing an examination.

Thus, the ancient pre-Hispanic ceremonies did not die out altogether; they adapted to the god of the victors and survived in the practice of purification, offerings and flowers, dances, the votive candle, a symbol of the light on the way, the amulets in today's form of crucifixes, rosaries or stamps, but, above all, in the unquestionable belief in a supernatural power that extends its protecting mantle over everyone who needs it urgently and comes humbly to request it. VM

Elsie Montiel
Editor

NOTE

[1] The god's name varies according to the source: Ozteotl, Oxtoteótl and Ostoctheotl. The latter is how the name is spelled on a plaque at the entrance to the so-called cave of the apparition in the Chalma sanctuary.

The National Museum Of the Viceroyalty

Mónica Martí Cotarelo*

Photos courtesy of the National Museum of the Viceroyalty

The San Francisco Javier Church's facade is one of the most impressive representatives of the baroque style in Mexico.

Churrigueresque-baroque facade of the seventeenth century San Francisco Javier Church. Tepotzotlán, State of Mexico.

The first thing visitors see at the National Museum of the Viceroyalty, located in Tepotzotlán, in the State of Mexico, is the facade of one of Mexico's most impressive baroque churches, the San Francisco Javier Church, built by Ildefonso de Iniestra Bejarano in the mid-eighteenth century. Usually, its rich ornamentation sparks the visitor's interest, and he or she feels compelled to enter the museum and discover its other treasures.

When entering the museum, you face a small, very sober door; this is the access to the vestibule and the old concierge's hall of what was from 1606 to 1767 (the year the Company of Jesus was expelled from all Spanish dominions) the novices' college. Here New Spain's aspiring Jesuit priests were trained. The building also held a college of indigenous languages where the Jesuits themselves studied in order to participate in evangelizing the northern part of New Spain. In addition it operated as a school for indigenous children, the sons of *caciques* (strongmen or chiefs), whom the Jesuits taught Spanish, the Catholic creed and different arts, like music. The Jesuits' music students reached

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Previous page: San Francisco Javier sculpture. Detail of the main altarpiece of the San Francisco Javier Church. Tepotzotlán.

Patio of the Orange Trees, used for rest and recreation by the novices.

From this patio, the novices also had access to the large orchard and garden where they grew fruit and vegetables.

such a degree of technical prowess that the indigenous children's choir of Tepotzotlán was renowned during the viceroyalty.

Further along is the Cistern or Reservoir Cloister, imposing in its size and the harmony of the vault covering it. A large patio at the center has two cisterns or wells that today still hold rainwater gathered through conduits in the walls. Even today, we still have no documents explaining the use the Jesuits made of the different rooms and spaces in this building. However, the analysis and comparison of some Jesuit writings like *Ratio Studiorum*, the lives of the novices today, as well as the analysis of the architectural spaces and the paintings on the walls allow us to infer that the school for indigenous children operated in the cloister and, usually, only the Jesuits and the children would have had access to it.

In the cloister was the apothecary's room, which still preserves the original seventeenth-century mural depicting scenes of the lives of doctor-saints Cosme and Damián. One of the most important activities the Jesuits who lived in the Tepotzotlán college carried out was medical attention for the town's sick.

At the bottom of the cloister, a large seventeenth-century carved stone doorway leads to the inner sanctum of the fathers and the novices.

Right after that, on the left is a gate incrusted with rare woods that is the access to the novices' chapel, also known as the Domestic Chapel. On its vault, you can still see the mannerist-style plaster work fashioned in the early seventeenth century by unknown artists, depicting the crests of the religious orders that arrived in the sixteenth century to contribute to the evangelization of New Spain: Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and Carmelites.

Continuing along the passageway, we discover different rooms that the Jesuits seem to have used as offices, storerooms and hospital rooms, since several of them have murals of the Passion of Christ. Another carved stone doorway marks the entrance to the novices' cloister. When you enter the high cloister —known today as the Orange Tree Cloister— you see that the architectural proportions are much smaller than in the previous spaces. In addition to having a great deal of light, this cloister is much cozier than the Cistern Cloister. These differences make sense if we remember that this area was for the novices to live and study in, and that they entered the seminary when still adolescents.

Virgin of the Light. Lateral altarpiece (detail).

The students' library is also in this area. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the college was abandoned for almost 100 years and most of the library's original contents seem to have been taken to others like the one at the Royal Papal University of Mexico. Today, the library has almost 4,000 volumes, in Spanish, Latin, Greek and French, dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, from several Jesuit colleges and some Dominican monasteries, as well as a general stock of unknown origin. The books deal mainly with religious topics, since that is what the members of the orders needed to consult.

The oil paintings that decorate the full and semi-circular arches in this cloister were done by Juan Rodríguez Juárez in the early years of the eighteenth century, and depict scenes in the life of the Virgin Mary and the Baby Jesus.

Going down the stairs, we encounter the Patio of the Orange Trees, an area the novices used for rest and recreation. It has an open passageway and spaces with *poyos*, or seats in which the novices could rest and protect themselves from the rain. In addition, we know they had games like billiards and bowling. From this patio, they went into the refectory where they all ate while someone read fragments of the Gospel from the pulpit. The rigorous hierarchy of the Company of Jesus demanded that the novices ate at one time and the priests at another.

From this patio, the novices also had access to the large orchard and garden where they grew fruit and vegetables for consumption at the college. They could also pray and meditate in the small

Main altarpiece with objects and liturgical vestments that are part of the museum's collection.

chapel at the bottom of the garden, known today as Montserrat Chapel, consecrated to a multi-colored, eighteenth-century stone relief image that the Jesuits baptized the Virgin of the Company.

Leaving the novices' cloister, we find the patio of the kitchens and the workshops. The college had to have its own places for making all the objects and tools it needed to function. Therefore, it certainly must have had a tailor's workshop, where one of the assistant brothers would have made the clothes that the fathers, novices and the few servants who worked in the college wore all year round. There must also have been spaces for carpentry, iron working and many other workshops.

A single kitchen was not enough, since, in addition to making food for the priests and novices, they also cooked for the sick of the town, particularly in times of plague, when the Jesuits took food to the houses of the stricken.

Returning up the stairs, you come once more to the passageway of the novices' chapel, in front of which is another stairway that leads to the High Cistern Cloister reserved for the priests. The architecture once again is of large proportions like in the lower cloister; here, we have large rooms that the museum uses today to display some of the historic processes of New Spain's viceroyalty; specifically, sixteenth- to eighteenth-century art. Everything seems to indicate that in each of these large spaces, a single father lived with his library and private study.

The priests also enjoyed a space for their recreation and rest, which is why this high cloister has a look-out point, which serves the same function as the Patio of the Orange Trees that the novices used. To one side, we find a stairway that leads down to, first, the choir and the ante-choir of the San Francisco Javier Church. Then it leads to the lower Cistern Cloister, in whose rooms is the permanent exhibition "Colonial Mexico", which describes the social, political, economic and cultural processes of New Spain's viceroyalty. The

stairway continues down until it finally takes us to the inside of the San Francisco Javier Church, a gem of Mexico's eighteenth-century baroque.

Mexico has countless churches with gold-leafed, carved wooden altar pieces from the viceregal period, whose creation depended on the economic capabilities of the institution that commissioned them. For this reason, almost all the churches have altar pieces from different periods. In the mid-eighteenth century, when the Jesuits commissioned Miguel Cabrera and Higinio de Chávez to make the San Francisco Javier Church altar pieces and Ildefonso de Iniestra Bejarano to make the facade, the Mexican Province of the Company of Jesus was very powerful economically thanks to the production of *pulque* at its haciendas in central Mexico.

This economic power gave the artists who created this work the opportunity of making a spectacular space that includes every kind of artistic expression of the period, like painting, sculpture and architecture, and creates a great, integral baroque work. We would have to add the music, the incense and the rich vestments and liturgical ornaments used by the priests to the visual impact of the church itself in order to approach the aesthetic experience that eighteenth-century New Spain society must have had.

The National Museum of the Viceroyalty has used this magnificent setting to present different permanent expositions illustrating Mexico's viceregal period. The most important, "Colonial Mexico," in the low Cistern Cloister and part of the high Orange Tree Cloister, deals with the events prior to the 1521 conquest all the way to the social unrest that preceded the 1810 insurgent movement. Here, visitors can see the Zumárraga lapcloth, embroidered in silk in the sixteenth century, or the San Pedro and San Pablo reliquary, made of gold-plated silver in the sixteenth century and considered one of the most outstanding of its kind in Mexico.

Two other exhibits describe the production of objects d'art during the viceroyalty: "Sixteenth-Century Monastery Workshops" and "Guilds of New Spain." Among the items displayed in these exhibits are two oil paintings, beautiful examples of New Spain's baroque: the late seventeenth-century *Expulsion from Paradise*, by Juan Correa, and *The Annunciation of San Joaquín*, painted on wood by Juan Sánchez Salmerón in the early seventeenth century.

Ornament topping the door in the Domestic Chapel.

Other objects of note in museum displays include the collections of portraits of crowned nuns and ivory sculptures considered the most important of their kind in Mexico. VM

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The Recovery of the Former Texcoco Lake Pro-Environment Engineering

Gerardo Cruickshank García*

In 1971, Mexican scientist Nabor Carrillo proposed a project to rehabilitate the region of the former Texcoco Lake. It had three main aims: 1) to combat pollution and the diseases caused by the gigantic clouds of dust generated there; 2) to contribute to the water supply for the Mexico City metropolitan area through treatment and recycling of residual water, and 3) to restore the habitat of several plant and animal species. Thirty years later we can say that this has been one of the most momentous projects of environmental, hydrological and soil recovery programs ever carried out in Mexico.

Centuries of History

The lake region of the Valley of Mexico became the home of the powerful Mexica kingdom, the capital of New Spain and of independent Mexico,

* General manager of the Texcoco Project since the 1980s.

Photos and maps taken from the book by Gerardo Cruickshank, *Proyecto Lago de Texcoco, Rescate hidroecológico* (Mexico City: n.p., 1998). Mexico City, 1998. Reproduced by permission from the author.

today considered the most populated city on the planet, mainly because of the natural wealth that its five lakes and its bountiful rivers offered. However, the passing of the centuries and the unstoppable advance of human activity turned a paradise into a desert where nothing more than dust, garbage and disease flowered.

The history of the desiccation of the lakes and the ecological deterioration of the Valley of Mexico basin has been intimately linked to the increasing urbanization and over-population of the country's capital and its metropolitan area.

When the Spaniards arrived, a large part of the Valley of Mexico was a lake region, fed by five lakes: the Zumpango, the Xaltocan, the Texcoco, the Xochimilco and the Chalco. The recipient was Texcoco Lake, located in the central, lowest part of the basin. This position made the waters salty because sediment poured into them from the higher areas. Since it had no outlet, the lake became a veritable internal sea. The size of the lakes and the lake region varied with the seasons and the cycles of abundance or drought. According to historical data, the lake region measured almost 2,000 square kilometers, with Texcoco Lake occupying about 50 percent of the total area.

The complex hydrological geography of the valley created a serious danger of floods for pre-Hispanic settlers in the rainy season. Before the conquest, the magnificent city of Tenochtitlan, founded on one of the basin's lake beds experienced several catastrophes of this kind. The most important was in 1449, during the reign of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina, who requested aid from Netzahualcóyotl, the lord of Texcoco, to solve the problem. Netzahualcóyotl suggested building a dike to separate the lagoon of sweet water from the salt water that came down from Texcoco Lake.

The priority, from that time on, would be to get rid of the valley's excess water. But the hydraulic works were never sufficient and flooding would persist until the twentieth century. Viceregal authorities repeatedly had to invest in repairing dikes, leveling causeways and clearing out rivers and canals. The idea of building a general drain was also considered. In that period, the basin was first artificially dredged, which also initiated the lakes' process of desiccation.

The Nabor Carrillo Flores Lake, where migratory birds land again.

The Former Lake Region of the Valley of Mexico

After independence, the works to control the area were constantly interrupted because of a lack of resources, civil wars and foreign intervention. The creation of a large drainage canal began under the restored republic of Benito Juárez but was not concluded until 1900 under the regime of Porfirio Díaz; simultaneously a sewage system was projected and studied. These works noticeably improved the situation in the first decades of the twentieth century, but around 1950, the problem would present itself again.

Renewed flooding was the manifestation of a growing unbalance in the Valley of Mexico's ecosystems, created by several related factors: the population explosion, the expansion of urban areas, the change in the use of the land, the growth in industrial activity, the destruction of green and forest areas, the expulsion of surplus rainwater and residual water through drainage systems and the over-exploitation of underground water resources to supply drinking water to the population.

The second half of the century saw the complete dehydration of the lake region. Recovering even a part of what had been lost became a hydrological challenge, but also one in the sphere of sanitation and ecology.

Dealing with the Problem

The Texcoco Project was divided into two large areas of work: the Texcoco lake bed, where hydraulic and ecological conservation works were carried out, and the main lake bed's eastern tributary basin, taking in several settlements, where integral management work was done, such as correcting the rivers' course, stopping erosion, recovering soil and wild animal species, as well as creating alternatives for raising domesticated animals. Also, a garbage dump for Mexico City was established.

Works to Stop Erosion

To reduce erosion and preserve soil and water, activities were carried out on 54,000 hectares of devastated land where *tepetate*, a porous, yellowish rock, was to be found. Different techniques were used:

Mechanical means: Tiered dams were built along the main causeways to lessen erosion due to the flow of the water and the formation of gullies by the uncontrolled running of surface water. Land with steep inclines were terraced.

Using plants: Land with little or no vegetation was planted with trees, particularly where mechanical means were also used, taking into account the *tepetate* content of the soil.

Agricultural and animal husbandry measures: The Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Technical Aid Program was put into effect for local producers, since the devastation of the basin included problems of agricultural productivity.

Treatment Plants

The Texcoco Lake Project was one of the country's pioneers in establishing large-scale treatment systems with modern technology. Three plants process the discharge of the Churubusco and Compañía Rivers that arrive to the former lake with a mixture of residual rainwater. The resulting liquid has two uses: agricultural and industrial, on the one hand, and also potable water, which is injected into the lake strata. In addition, it is hoped that filtering the water through membranes will solve problems of water scarcity, the overexploitation of subterranean water deposits and sinking subsoil.

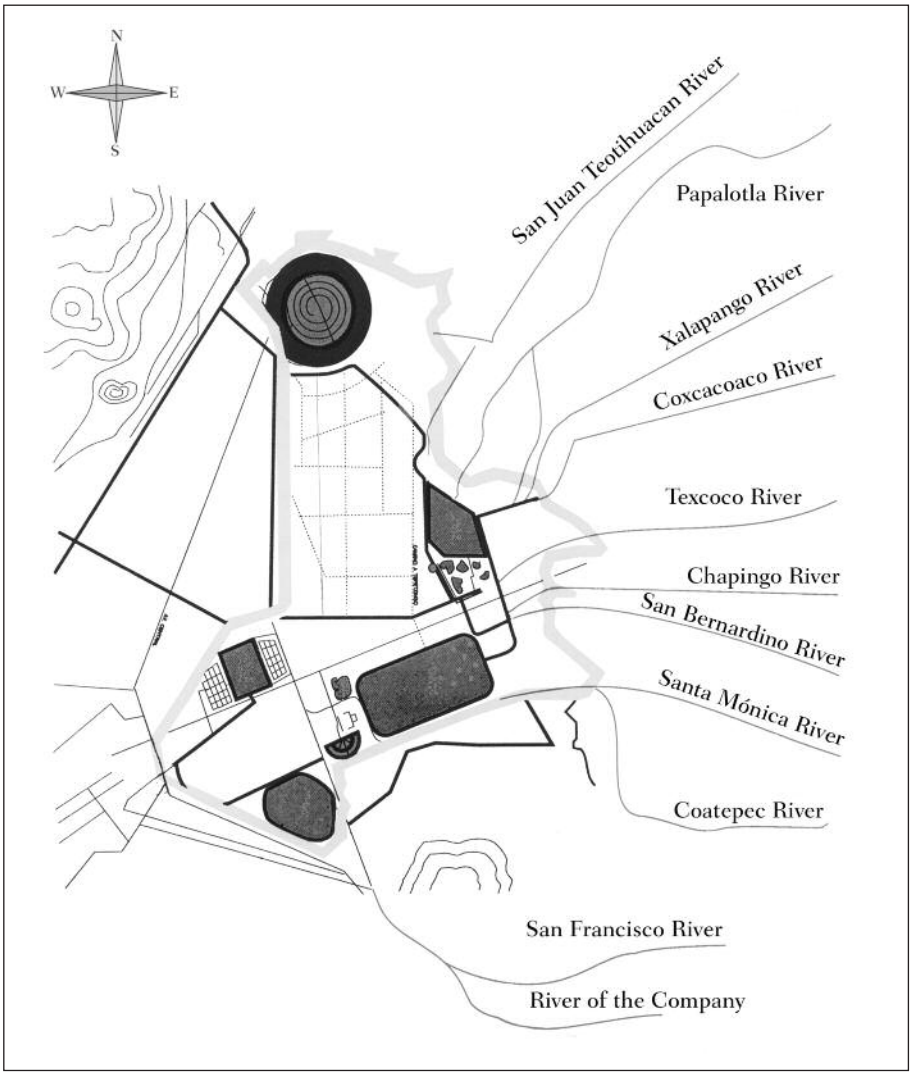
Building Lakes

To store treated water and the run-off from the rivers in the eastern part of the basin, five very deep, narrow artificial lakes were built to reduce loss by evaporation:

1. *Nabor Carrillo Flores Lake*. Surface area, 1,000 hectares; diameter, 12 kilometers; capacity, 36 million cubic meters. To create this lake, a process of natural sinking that took six years was used. It is the most important of the five lakes; migratory birds land here and several water and land species have been recovered.
2. *Schedule Regulation Lake*. Surface area, 150 hectares; capacity, 4.5 million cubic meters. The treatment uses aeration, where microorganisms are used to degrade organic material without any need to use chemicals.
3. *Churubusco Lake*. Surface area, 270 hectares; capacity 5-10 cubic hectometers. It only operates as a storage space for feeding works.
4. *Xalapango Lagoon*. Surface area, 240 hectares; capacity, 0.375 cubic hectometers. It stores the water that trickles down from higher areas during the rainy season.
5. *Recreational Lake*. Surface area, 25 hectares; capacity, 0.375 cubic hectometers. This is a model for environmental education.

Channeling

The integral management of the eastern tributary sub-basin includes channeling and correcting the rivers that cross the lake bed to avert overflowing, contamination and flooding.



Artificial lakes built to store treated water and the run-off from the rivers in the eastern part of the Basin.

Control of Dust Clouds

On 150 square kilometers of land with excessive saline, alkaline and sodium content and shallow subsoil water levels that impeded the growth of natural vegetation, a grass native to the region, *distchlis spicat*, was planted since it thrives in a salty environment, as well as a tree of the *Tamarix* genre. This program made it possible to control the dust clouds.

Waste Dump

About 11,400 tons of solid waste a day generated by Mexico City's Federal District are processed on the 233 hectares called the Western Edge. This is not an open-air dump; garbage is handled with a cover: the waste is encapsulated under a layer of soil compacted at the end of each day of operation to avoid flies, rodents and birds, to diminish bad smells and to protect it from water leakage, the possibility of fires and vents caused by bio-gas.

Fish Farming

A fish producing module has introduced species to recover the fauna of the zone and improve the community's diet.

Dust clouds were controled and dry lands were recovered thanks to the Texcoco Project.

Social Activities

Several sub-programs have fostered the development of local rural communities: environmental improvement, community organization, technical assistance, housing improvement, etc. Recreational and sports activities have also been fostered: athletics, model airplane making, sports fishing, rowing and canoeing, photography and bird-watchers' clubs.

The Benefits

Given the recovery project's integrated approach, the benefits have touched all aspects of the problem:

1) The danger of flooding in Mexico City and its metropolitan area has been reduced.
2) Health conditions for neighboring communities have improved because diseases and epidemics caused by dust clouds have diminished.
3) Conservation efforts and management of the basins has increased the filtration of rainwater, incorporating practices that save water in agricultural irrigation, fostering the exchange of treated water for potable water in industry and agriculture, favoring an important degree of replenishment of the valley's underground water supply.
4) By improving environmental conditions, biodiversity has been fostered, and different species of endangered fauna and flora recovered, with an increase in the number of migratory birds to total more than 300,000 of 134 species.
5) The project has contributed to the formation of the country's most important green area for the world's largest city thanks to the fact that the five lakes generated a microclimate that has favored the development of more than 4,000 hectares of meadows, tree breaks and forests where more than 25 million trees have been planted.
6) On the infrastructure that has been built, parks and centers for raising different species are being developed, including the development of products in great demand on the international market like "spirulina".[1]
7) On the 10,000 hectares of protected federal land, the practice of sports like athletics, rowing and canoeing, soccer, baseball, etc., has been encouraged.

We should remember that this successful project has been developed using technology adapted to the specific characteristics and problems of the area, by Mexican technicians and scientists. Its fame has spread beyond our borders and not a few governments from different parts of the world have come to study it and even to request assistance in solving their own problems. If we have not recovered the paradise of our Mesoamerican forebears, we can say that we have recovered the hope for a more promising future. VM

Note

[1] "Spirulina" is a blue-green algae sometimes added to food for its nutritional value.

New Chicano Literature
A Voyage of Rediscovery

Bruce Novoa*

Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother's cover floats the portrait of a young mother and daughter ghostlike beneath the surface of a house.[1] Seldom has cover art conveyed so accurately its subject and technique. Rita Maria Magdaleno's book is a rich, provocative reading of multi-layered experiences and ghostly apparitions. Let me explain.

For those conversant with Chicano writing, certain words and phrases ring familiar, certain themes reappear like habitual fellow travelers. The literature seems to require passwords for admittance into the canon, coins of the Chicano realm, well worn, though still circulating as symbolic currency despite a devaluation in emotive and expressive power. Who can be surprised at this point at finding "they were split/ by the border" on the first page of a collection of poetry, or to discover later that the poetic persona has set off on a search of origins: "this journey back/to my Mother"? Or that the mythic subplot renders the border symbolic: "I'm thinking of my dead mother, of the borders/ we once constructed between one another"? In her first book Rita Maria Magdaleno[2] creates a persona who refers to herself as a "wetback" "*hija natural*" who "speak[s] two languages," is preoccupied with "green cards" and the "immigrant dream" in relation to implicitly broken "promises," and claims to possess an "Aztec heart" pumping "mixed blood." More than familiar, clichés. But not in Magdaleno's work. In her hands, tired stand-bys revive —perhaps more appropriately stated, in Magdaleno's context old usages become uncanny in the best literary sense of the word. The result is a poetry collection that is fresh, surprising, new.

The uncanny, according to Freud's study of it, occurs when something taken for granted is displaced from the usual sense we have of it. The German word lends itself much better to Freud's coupling of familiar and unknown: *unheimlich*. Its core, *Heim* (home) is the family's space, the

* Professor of advanced and intermediate fiction writing and Latina/o literature, Vanderbilt University.

intimate residence where one comfortably resides in one's own surroundings. The uneasiness felt in something *unheimlich* arises from the contradiction between expected familiarity and the unknown, sensed when an element appears in the object or its context to turn it suddenly strange, other … and yet, still close, somehow the same. Within the context of Chicano literature Magdaleno's book addresses well-known themes and elements from an unusual perspective —hence my initial interest.

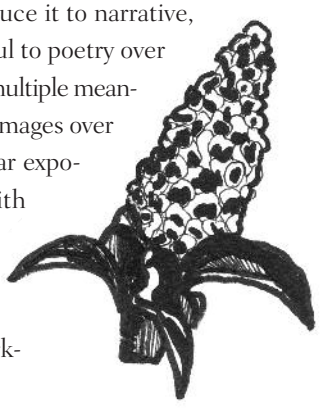
Coming across Magdaleno's book in the University of Arizona Press' latest catalogue, I was intrigued: *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother.* On first glance, the mother in close proximity to these two classic stars sparks immediate questions. *Dietrich … Hayworth …* more than actresses with star billing and sex-goddess status, they have endured as icons of Hollywood's golden age, becoming myths recalled over and over like queens of a lost continent of memory, a paradise when film personalities were larger than life, and some, like these two, would prove it by surviving beyond their death. To seek them is to search for meaning in a world nostalgic for whatever it was that made those women what they were and are, something forever lost. Placed in this context, *Mother* evokes the mythic search for the distant source of meaning. The celluloid context Magdaleno places her in, however, also tinges her search with the danger of disillusionment, of finding that the goal was less than real in the first place because they were no more than human and perhaps even less.

> Magdaleno opens her tale at the border, but immediately placing the topic in an alternate linguistic and national geography.

A closer reading, especially an ethnically sensitive one, taps another level of significance: the juxtaposition of the German Dietrich and a Hayworth now considered a U.S. Latina despite her Spanish descent.[3] Thus the title puts into play Magdaleno's new take on stock themes: A German/Latino dialogue within the maternal space where we expect to find a Mexico/U.S. binary. Magdaleno's poetic persona's search for roots leads to a familiar archetypal labyrinth, but through distinctly different double doors —hence the unexpected displacement that heightens our interest and pleasure while infusing new life into clichés. And both the press and the text —the "Notes" especially— provide clues to an autobiographical reading: the book is Magdaleno's tale of her own search.

Magdaleno was born in 1947 in Bavaria of a Mexican-American father and German mother. A child of fraternization between the survivors of a devastated Germany and their U.S. occupiers, her conception and birth mark the start of the post-WWII international —now global— culture's miscegenation that now characterizes our times. Before anyone spoke of post-colonialism, Magdaleno's mother was a colonial conquest who refused to be left behind when the conquering soldier was repatriated. Her first act was to claim her daughter's birthright by naming her after a symbol of U.S. culture, Rita Hayworth. In the poem that gives title to the collection, the mother, called "Marlene Dietrich pretty," tells her "Mexican American GI" lover that their child will be named Rita, "*Yes, after Rita Hayworth*." She later took the "illegitimate child" to the United States, married the father, and, if dates from the poems can be believed, divorced him shortly after. Cover copy says that Magdaleno "was raised with her father's traditions," but some poems allow glimpses of a Jewish stepfather with a number tattooed on his arm. Her family life growing up is left obscure, almost totally silenced.

Magdaleno's book contains a story; several in fact. Yet, she refuses to reduce it to narrative, insistently remaining faithful to poetry over prose, to the possibilities of multiple meanings woven by interrelated images over the singular plot line of clear exposition. One comes away with the sense of having accompanied the poetic persona on a voyage of rediscovery, strewn with some solid mark-



ers of space and time, yet lacking specific data to answer many of the questions raised. Magdaleno recuperates a family of laconic, reticent relatives and a national tradition haunted by dark ghosts of religious repression, political violence and the unavoidable Nazism. At the same time, she voyages in the historical present of 1990 shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, creating another fusion of symbolic orders: the reunification of the alienated sides of the German nation and the poet's reuniting with her mother's German family. Neither project proves easy, as many old wounds reopen in the process of bringing voice to the silence imposed over the period of separation and of probing tabooed memories for revelations.

Magdaleno opens her tale appropriately at the border, but immediately placing the topic in an alternate linguistic and national geography: *Grenze* the poem is titled, and we are told it means "border." On this bilingual dividing line the poet declares the essence of her voyage: "Here, I can feel an old separation—/ of heart and land, of mother and daughter. This/ trip is like going back more than forty years/ and I'm thinking of my dead mother, of the borders/ we once constructed between one another." But this border has already disappeared, opening possibilities for the future that the author merges with her past: *"die Grenze*, wet border. She is/ wide open like a mother/ who is ready to give birth." From this open womb the poet extracts mostly painful images of her mother's tradition: extermination camps, an uncle who belonged to Hitler's SS and would have hated a dark-skinned Rita, a grandfather who sexually abused his daughter and a grandmother who lost her sons in a useless cause, a promiscuous daughter (mother) —"her need/ to be loved & loved/ & loved, each night"— impregnated by a GI, then forced by nuns "to birth me/ without analgesics,/ her sin for delivering" an illegitimate daughter … and always the recurring torment of WWII: "I was born thirty-six kilometers/ from Dachau, this/ memory more difficult/ to shape/ than blood/ on frozen snow."

Magdaleno's Mexican-American father —and culture by extension— comes off unscathed in comparison, simply because that border south of the poet's Arizona home is left as solid as the pre-1989 Berlin Wall. He emerges the carefree, though jealous, GI, pursuing the sexually free teenage beauty. A romantic dreamer, he "wanted/ that Hollywood film/ to go on & on." When it didn't, "he broke down," and forty years later he refuses to visit her grave. While the poet probes the darkest recesses of her mother's secret past, she leaves her father's motivation unquestioned. If she inherits something from her father besides the few Mexican signs mentioned above, it is his obsession with Rita's mother, the woman who seduced and left them both yearning. But the mother's spirit prevails in the poet; like her, she goes in search of herself, refusing to be left behind. The mother's determination created a daughter; the daughter's determination recreates the mother, although the poet warns us that everything is susceptible to the "magnification/ of memory, of what we recall to be true."

Whatever truth can be garnered from the representation, Magdaleno's book is well worth the investment. On its own terms, it is a fine collection of well-realized poems. And as Chicano literature, it is a fascinatingly uncanny reworking of the canonical heartland. All the central materials appear, but reflected in the facets of fine German crystal. VM

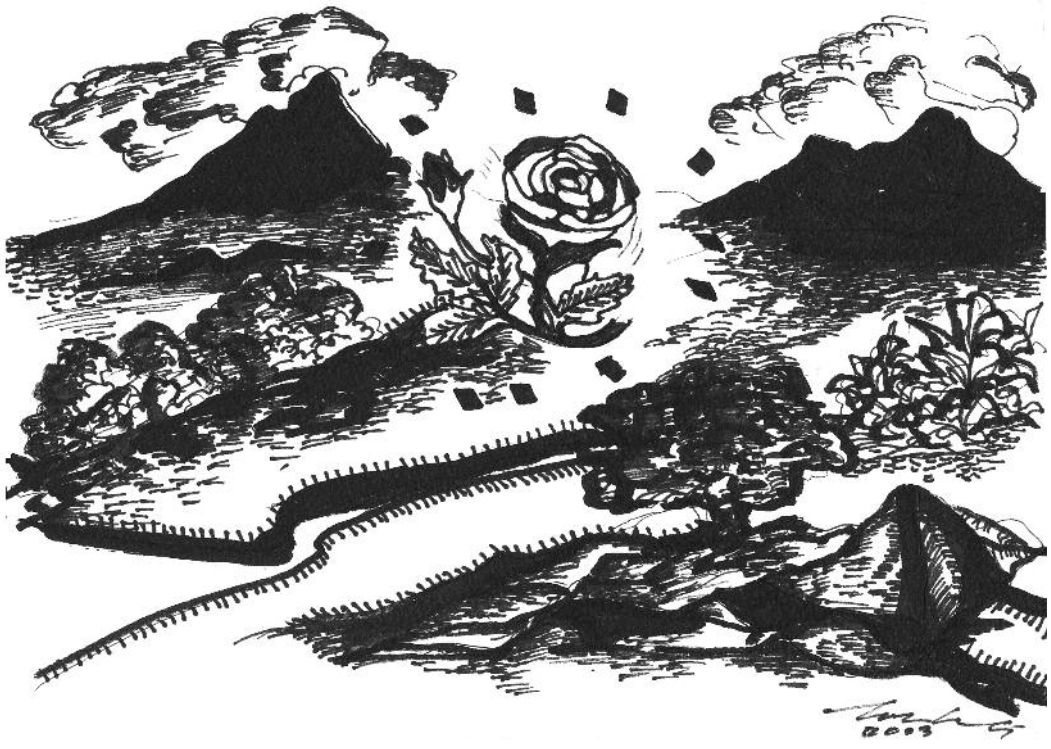
Notes

[1] Rita Maria Magdaleno, *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003).

[2] Rita Maria Magdaleno teaches creative writing as a "Poet in the Schools" for the Arizona Commission of the Arts.

[3] Despite efforts to claim Mexican status for Hayworth, she was "born Margarita Carmen Dolores Cansino on October 17, 1918, at New York Nursery and Child's Hospital, in New York City. Her parents were Volga Hayworth, of Irish and English descent, and Eduardo Cansino, who came from Seville, Spain." Source: Claudia de la Hoz, phttp://members.tripod.com/~claudia79/early.html

Selected Poems By Rita Maria Magdaleno



My Mother's Hair

When I think of my mother at seventeen, I see her
sitting on the floor of the warm kitchen
on Brunnenlechgässchen. It is 1946
and the war is over, a bright spring afternoon.
The earth has stopped trembling.
My mother has gotten a perm, curls shining
like copper. "Pretty girl," my father is singing
and dancing around her. "Yes,
you are my pretty girl," smell of bread
rising, calendulas on the table.
Martha, my mother's best friend,
is riding away on her motorcycle.
The war is over.
My mother's hair
is shining.

Schutzstaffel, SS Uncle

Luis, I never knew you, seen more coldly
in this winter light. You had a decent life.
Your mother, now dead, called you
my damp rose. Your brother still searches
for you, never wanted to admit you were
the one who hid the tattoo, that stark symbol
fired into the pit of your arm.
You were cruel;
the song of light never entered your throat,
and the Aryan blood I carry is tinged blue,
the sky grieving a sea of shining skulls,
a cruel streak
silver as the oar of a boat drifting on a lake of bones.

Brunnenlechgässchen, the small source street
is where you begin to feel yourself opening, but the horror
grew daily and you became a fist punching the gray sky.

You were the one who hated dark ones.
Would you have hated
me too? I'm not hiding in the sacred plumes
of a white swan, blonde boy
you were the one plucking the heads of doves
there at the creek with your father.
If they knew the truth
of this dying century, the Hungarians
would hand you over.
Uncle, traitor, SS, gunner, killer,
exterminator of all that was,
how many times did you refuse to say, "*It ends now*"?

If the world holds your redemption,
white flower of truth
conceived in darkness, I cannot find it,
der Bayerische Marsch marsch marsch!
Black boots, goose-stepping

Einundzwanzig, zweiundzwanzig,
twenty-one, twenty-two
marching marching, *zwanzig, zwanzig,*
dreissig, vierzig
twenty thirty forty more
to kill. White flag of surrender,
I want to stake it into your heart.

Luis, I am waiting at the winter river, branch
of a linden tree shining in my Azteca
heart, mixed blood you would have
spilled without hesitation,
Schutzstaffel, SS uncle,
I am waiting for you.

Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth & My Mother
—1946

PFC, smart in that khaki
uniform, she fell in love
with your wide smile
& thick black hair,
glint of a gold tooth
like a star or a broken
promise you still carry.
How easy it seemed
you fell in love, your
baby sister saying,
She's too purty!
Marlene Dietrich pretty,
her smoky voice
& those wide Aryan
eyes that promised
never to lie, bore you
a child she named Rita.
Yes, after Rita Hayworth
she said that balmy eve
you left the movie theater
at the Sheridan Kaserne
arm in arm. *My pretty girl*
you called her and summer
was ending, chestnut trees
lining the sidewalk
of Königstrasse, King Street,
the untranslatable language
of love. Mexican American
GI with your pretty girl,
you were the one who wanted
that Hollywood film
to go on & on. You
still recasting
its beautiful ending.

Green Cards, Promises, & the Berlin Wall

One

Come together, they chanted, *the border is falling apart between us*. You said "it was beautiful in Berlin before the war." *Beautiful*, you were, believing the fortune teller who arrived after the war. She saw green cards & promises, sunlight falling on the face of the New York Harbor. You wore a bronzed butterfly in your hair, the crystal necklace (gift from my GI father) hovering like a chunk of sunlight, radiant, above your breasts. It was a shining moment & you believed America was *the pure dream*— my face, a dark moon surfacing between your thighs.

. . . .

Ten

Lines & creases etched the small mistakes on your face. "You were the one," my father said. And you bore me —dark daughter, *mojada* still swimming the harbor. I have cleared the rubble of stones, Berlin hailed as *the new capital*. Reconciliation. *Come together*, the border people are singing, our mothers dreaming in glass caskets for another hundred years. We are riding ships on the Rhine & I am crossing blue mountains, water —a wetback escaping to an American education.

Reviews

El norte: una experiencia contemporánea en la narrativa mexicana
(The North: A Contemporary Experience in Mexican Narrative)
Miguel G. Rodríguez Lozano
Consejo para la Cultura y las Artes de Nuevo León
Monterrey, 2002, 151 pp.

In distant but frank correspondence with Gabriel Josipovici,[1] Mexican researcher and literary critic Miguel G. Rodríguez Lozano mentions in the introduction to this volume of articles and reviews that his interest and enthusiasm for contemporary narrative of the North, to a certain degree relegated or forgotten, despite its offering novel, interesting proposals, is due, as he pointed out elsewhere, to the fact that "one writes what one likes; if not, there's no point."[2] That is, one writes not out of discipline, but also out of pure pleasure.

This view, based on a personal taste for this literary spectrum, underlies the essays about two women and four men border writers (three of whom live in Monterrey, Nuevo León; one in Tijuana, Baja California; and the two women live in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and Reynosa, Tamaulipas, respectively). The essays are:

*"Desde el norte de México: los cuentos de Eduardo Antonio Parra" (From the North of Mexico: The Stories of Eduardo Antonio Parra),
*"Desde la frontera: la narrativa de Luis Humberto Crosthwaite" (From the Border: The Narrative of Luis Humberto Crosthwaite),
*"Entre fronteras: el espacio narrativo en *Callejón Sucre y otros relatos* de Rosario Sanmiguel" (Between Borders: The Narrative Space in *Sucre Alley and Other Stories* by Rosario Sanmiguel),
*"La otra experiencia del norte: aproximación a la narrativa de David Toscana" (The Other Experience of the North: Approach to the Narrative of David Toscana),
*"La diversidad escritural: *Distancias de jabón* de Olga Fresnillo" (Writing Diversity: *Soap Distances* by Olga Fresnillo)
*"Joaquín Hurtado: el lado marginal de la literatura" (Joaquín Hurtado: The Marginal Side of Literature).

In addition, Rodríguez Lozano offers three more articles:

*"Yoremito: el caso de una editorial del norte de México" (Yoremito: The Case of a Publishing House in Mexico's North)
*"Nuevos narradores del norte de Tamaulipas" (New Writers from the North of Tamaulipas),
*"El desierto como espacio literario y cultural" (The Desert as a Literary, Cultural Space).

These three articles deal with other aspects of Mexican end-of-century narrative, which the researcher classifies as a new aesthetic, literary experience in which the border (as a social, geographic, literary and cultural space) is prefigured, configured and reconfigured from very different perspectives, as can be seen by the different fruit of the literary orchard of the northern border, that vast strip of Mexican territory

> [that is] 798,729 square kilometers in size. It is not only where people eat *machaca*,[3] goat or grilled steak, dance *norteño*, drug kingpins surface and the Almadas' movies[4] take place. No. Beyond this reductionist vision that simply repeats cardboard cut-out models, culturally, the states of the northern border have become a substantial part of our understanding of Mexico, closing one century and beginning another. (p.8)

This volume aims to disseminate a double discourse both among specialized academics and the general reading public: the discourse of criticism —this book in itself is one of the numerous examples— and that of creation, those other voices or literary talents that are not included in the centralist cannon of Mexico's literary tradition.

In addition, this is a book in which explicit or alternative visions of problems coincide: poverty, marginality in all its splendor, violence, death —though it is strange that there is no mention of the murdered women of Ciudad Juárez as a literary topic[5]— sexuality in general and homosexuality in

particular, racism, discrimination, among the very diverse literary issues that these writers deal with.

In fact, this geographical, political, economic, social and cultural space that the borders represent has a particular meaning in the case of Mexico's northern border: it is a symbol of the door or the preamble to access to U.S. soil, where the fugitives from poverty want to experience and enjoy the American dream. It is also the inherent scene of the stories shared by actors and authors who have turned this area not into "a laboratory of post-modernity," as Tijuana has crazily been called, but into a place where life expectations fall apart and the human condition is brutally and atrociously revealed, or is imaginatively, fictionally and artistically recreated.

This territory with no face or owner, whose defining characteristic is being the limit, the border, the edge, the margin, in many senses, is equally, figuratively, the ends of the earth of two spheres: the first world and that of the uprooted of underdevelopment, the ones who want to accede to development and well-being. They also find on their arduous migratory pilgrimage, a hope of entering through this geographical paradigm, seen from the south and from left to right, made up of Tijuana, Mexicali, Nogales, Agua Prieta, Ciudad Juárez, Ciudad Acuña, Piedras Negras, Nuevo Laredo, Reinosa and Matamoros —just to name the most important— cities that are worlds with bordering but not equal landscapes, close and at the same time distant, before which passersby and spectators succumb, with nostalgia, with puzzlement or with pain, and perchance with certain pride, like in the words of a character from "Tijuana para principiantes" (Tijuana for Beginners) by Rafael Saavedra, "We're very proud to live here in la city fronteriza más visitada del mundo. Do you understand that, ese? Si no, fuck off," but never with joy or full satisfaction. The environment will not allow it.

Readers of *El norte: una experiencia contemporánea en la narrativa mexicana* will discover all of this and much more.

Hugo Espinoza
Editor and Mexican essayist

Notes

[1] Gabriel Josipovici, in his book *Confianza or sospecha. Una pregunta sobre el oficio de escribir* (José Adrián Vitier, trans. [Madrid: Turner-FCE, 2002], p. 15), says about writing, "In simple terms, it has to do, on the one hand, with the need to write being a physical need, like the need to breathe; and, on the other hand, with feeling that it is no longer possible to deal with writing as a craft, and therefore [you are] often [resigned] to feeling it as a small luxury, as a gratification."

[2] Miguel G. Rodríguez Lozano, *Desde afuera: narrativa mexicana contemporánea* (Mexico City: Abraxas, 1998).

[3] *Machaca* is dried, shredded meat used to make different dishes in the North. [Translator's Note.]

[4] Movies about drug traffickers and border life in general. [Editor's Note.]

[5] Almost three hundred women have been murdered in Ciudad Juárez over the last ten years, with similar *modus operandi,* but local and state authorities have made scant progress in their investigation. This has sparked a nationwide demand for an end to impunity. [Editor's Note.]

Las políticas exteriores de Estados Unidos, Canadá y México en el umbral del siglo XXI
(The Foreign Policy of the United States, Canada and Mexico on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century)
Remedios Gómez Arnau, Rosío Vargas and *Julián Castro, comps.* CISAN, UNAM
Mexico City, 2002, 303 pp.

Las políticas exteriores de Estados Unidos, Canadá y México en el umbral del siglo XXI (The Foreign Policy of the United States, Canada and Mexico on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century) is the product of an international seminar on this topic. Specialists from three distinct academic communities share their vision about the international behavior of their nations through the analysis of issues such as discourse and foreign policy planning and action vis-à-vis different regions.

Divided into three sections, the book begins with the United States. Stewart Patrick's article "Unilateralismo y multilateralismo en la política exterior estadounidense" (Unilateralism and Multilateralism in U.S. Foreign Policy) examines the U.S. dilemma in "the quest for equilibrium between unilateralism and multilateralism" in its international action. For Patrick, U.S. decisions are the product of a mixture of unilateral and multilateral strategies that seek to respond to the country's interests, with a predominance of the unilateral. Washington's preference for regimens that accept its dominance explains its propensity toward unilateral practices, which are possible due to 1) the weak-

ening of multilateralism; 2) concern about the loss of sovereignty because of the creation of new international mechanisms like the International Criminal Court; 3) the domestic context in which foreign policy is designed, reflected in the kind of separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches giving the latter broad attributions to brake multilateral cooperation; and 4) the rectification of the country's role as protector and promotor of the world order. Despite a clear inclination toward unilateralism, Patrick says that, in its attempt to balance its international activity, the United States will not seek to decide between multilateral and unilateral actions but rather combine them, or, in any case, apply forms of multilateralism that do not circumscribe it vis-à-vis its counterparts.

With this conceptual framework, the article "Estados Unidos frente a los foros regionales en la Cuenca del Pacífico" (The United States and Pacific Basin Regional Fora), by Carlos Uscanga, refers to U.S. strategies regarding APEC, the Asian-Pacific mechanism for cooperation, observing that foreign-policy makers decide based on geo-strategic interests. In its relationship with APEC, the United States has implemented a three-tiered strategy with unilateral, bilateral and multilateral actions. Thus, the strategy is based on the idea of liberalizing the area's markets with very specific objectives: reducing its chronic deficit with Japan and China through the opening of their markets and discouraging the building of regional systems outside its geo-strategic spheres, thus imposing its hegemonic project in the region.

The book's second section looks at Canadian foreign policy. The concept of "human security" is fundamental for understanding Canada's international behavior. Mark Neufeld, in his "La economía política de la seguridad: el discurso sobre la seguridad en la política exterior canadiense posterior a la guerra fría" (The Political Economy of Security: The Security Discourse in Post-Cold War Canadian Foreign Policy), talks about reformulating the concept of security and how it began to be a central part of Canada's foreign policy discourse. The new concept of security seeks to "explain a radical progressive change in terms of disarmament, economic development and redistribution of wealth, environmental policy and democratization of the process of foreign policy decision making." In fact, it is the latter that is interesting for the theoretical study of the external action of states: the role of different social actors in the design of Canadian foreign policy and how the government appropriated the concept of human security as a mechanism of ideological legitimization internationally when it proclaimed a new image abroad that reflects the virtues of the political system.

In this same sense, Vilma Petrásh's article, "La vocación liberal internacional y el principio de seguridad humana en la política exterior canadiense: una mirada crítica" (The Liberal International Vocation and the Principle of Human Security in Canadian Foreign Policy: A Critical Look), deals with the ideological basis underpinning the reorientation of Canada's foreign policy in recent years: the promotion of liberal, democratic values with the aim of channeling its multilateral vocation. The concept of human security is situated in this framework. Its novelty notwithstanding, the author considers it has some weaknesses if we take into account that it runs the risk of becoming a "catch-all concept" which, in practice, leads to relative ineffectiveness because it does not allow for establishing priorities and carrying out concrete operations.

For his part, David Gamache, in his article "Idealismo pragmático: la política exterior hemisférica de Canadá (Pragmatic Idealism: Canada's Hemispheric Foreign Policy), develops an interesting thesis with regard to the pragmatic character of Canadian foreign policy. This pragmatic idealism, he says, is "a balanced synthesis of the apparently contradictory paradigms of pragmatism and idealism." This combination has been highly fruitful for Canada since it has joined the pragmatism of economic interests with the idealism of society's interests. International trade and human security will be the starting points of the Canadian government's activity in the Western Hemisphere, consolidating Canada as a medium power and contributing to the achievement of its economic and political aims.

With this idea of a medium power, Julián Castro Rea, in his "El siglo XXI, ¿el siglo de Canadá?" (The Twenty-First Century: The Canadian Century?), describes the limitations of a country of this kind in an international context marked by economic and military interests. Considering "soft power" (that based on the export of a particular cultural image) the most important resource of Canadian foreign policy, it has given the country a substantial international projection that, nevertheless, has not been able to substitute for "hard power," which is why the nation will still be subject to existing norms in the international system. Beyond Canada's foreign policy innovations, to a certain extent a reflection of a democratic political system consolidated in the twentieth century, this will probably

not be the Canadian century in terms of its real influence in the molding of the international system.

Janine Brodie, in her "Los gobiernos de América del Norte en el siglo XXI desde una perspective canadiense" (North American Governments in the Twenty-First Century from the Canadian Perspective), deals with a central topic in the restructuring of North America: the transformation of the state. From Brodie's point of view, North America ruthlessly adopted the neoliberal model, causing a progressive weakening of the state and its ability to distribute economic and social goods. The real challenge is to analyze the implications of this transformation both in state structures and in its ability to respond to the demands posed by North American economic integration.

The third section looks at the design of Mexican foreign policy and its impact in different regions, emphasizing the economic aspect and the kinds of links it creates with the world. Antonio Ortiz Mena, in his "La dimensión económica de la política exterior mexicana: retos y disyuntivas" (The Economic Dimension of Mexican Foreign Policy: Challenges and Choices), offers an evaluation of economic relations with Latin America, North America and Europe, observing Mexico's difficulty in diversifying its links internationally, at the same time that its trade is heavily concentrated with the United States. The author points out that what has transformed the search for greater economic links has been Mexico's foreign policy agenda on issues such as democracy, the environment, labor questions and migration. For that reason, regarding these new challenges, our country needs to establish the consensuses needed around the principles that guide Mexican foreign policy in the twenty-first century.

Sidney Weintraub contributes an essay about Mexico's difficulties in facing the challenges of economic globalization and integration, among them, the weakness of the domestic market and the lack of skilled workers and technology. Despite these lacks, the country has become forcefully integrated into the U.S. market through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which, according to Weintraub generates greater vulnerability. For that reason it will be necessary to look more deeply into issues such as the convergence of macro-economic indicators and the standardization of some measures distinctive of all processes of integration, like the efficiency of customs mechanisms and transportation, administrative simplification and the reform of the judicial branch.

These recommendations are applicable not only for improving relations with the United States, but also with other regions. In his "La política exterior de México hacia Europa" (Mexican Foreign Policy toward Europe), Alejandro Chanona looks at the evolution of relations with the European Union (E.U.), pointing to the efforts toward the negotiation of the Global Agreement, which was based on a profound review of the kinds of intergovernmental coordination capable of reversing the negative terms of trade relations with the E.U. in the general framework of the re-connection of foreign policy with economic policy.

In "La política exterior de Mexico frente a APEC" (Mexico's Foreign Policy vis-à-vis APEC), Cecilia Ramírez deals with the importance of this regional forum for broadening out the country's kinds of negotiation. Considered a space for economic cooperation, APEC represents an opportunity to link up with the world's most dynamic region and to turn the forum itself into a real source of diversification.

Juris Lejnieks offers a different focus on Mexico's participation in the world in his "México y el multilateralismo: una perspectiva canadiense" (Mexico and Multilateralism: A Canadian Perspective). Lejnieks considers our country a medium-sized power, which he understands as one which supports existing international institutions and norms but is sufficiently flexible and influential to change them by cooperating with other countries whose international actions are similar. Thus, Mexico has not lost its autonomy by establishing a complex relationship with the United States in the framework of NAFTA. To the contrary, it has been able to join its economic pragmatism with the development of a multilateral policy that allows it some room for manoeuver vis-à-vis certain issues on the international agenda, at the same time that it gives it a particular identity on the world scene.

For students of foreign policy and regionalism, *Las políticas exteriores de Estados Unidos, Canadá y México en el umbral del siglo XXI* is a useful tool for approaching current debates about the international behavior of these three countries. Despite the differing depth of the articles, the book helps the reader understand the calculations, priorities, bases and design of these three nations' foreign policies when faced with a complex network of interactions that form the new maze of links in North America and with the world.

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