



Wilkie:

historia, economía y
elitelore

Segunda edición revisada y actualizada, 2017



El Colegio de Chihuahua

Samuel Schmidt
Coordinador



PROFMEX

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Agradecimientos

Este libro es el producto de muchas décadas de trabajo de mucha gente; solamente la buena disposición y generosidad de muchos académicos hizo posible que se concretara este homenaje a un académico entregado a entender a su país de adopción, que es más que un objeto de estudio.

Agradezco a todos los que vinieron a Juárez y a todos los que enviaron sus colaboraciones, para confirmar este muy merecido homenaje que le hicimos a James W. Wilkie, acá Jim.

Agradezco al personal de El Colegio de Chihuahua su buena disposición para atender, organizar el evento y atender a los invitados al encuentro. Desde asegurar buena tarifa en hoteles, hasta asegurar la transmisión simultánea por Youtube y Facebook. Y por supuesto, al equipo de publicaciones que dedicó muchas energías para que este libro apareciera solamente unos meses después del encuentro. A todos ellas mi agradecimiento por su profesionalismo y creatividad.

Samuel Schmidt

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Prefacio

Samuel Schmidt

Cuando Wilkie cumplió cincuenta años yo era funcionario en la UNAM y le entregamos una medalla conmemorativa. Era un reconocimiento temprano a su gran contribución para entender México. Fue importante que los académicos mostráramos nuestro reconocimiento para que las burocracias se movieran en la misma dirección.

Cuándo era vicepresidente de la Fundación de la Universidad de Guadalajara en Los Ángeles hicimos gestiones ante el Consulado General de México para que se le entregara el Águila Azteca, pero desafortunadamente y por desgracia, no logramos esa influencia en la cancillería mexicana, en cambio, gracias a la intervención del Cónsul General se le entregó el Otlí, algo es algo dijo un clavo cuando le salió un pelo en la cabeza. Aunque nos dejó insatisfechos por lo menos había un reconocimiento formal del gobierno mexicano. Ni qué decir que Wilkie tiene muchos más méritos que muchos de los que han recibido la máxima insignia mexicana, pero así es la política.

Hace unos meses le propuse a Wilkie que hiciéramos una reunión en Ciudad Juárez para celebrar su onomástico 80 y cincuenta años de docencia. Alguien preocupado por las molestias en el puente que los transfronterizos vivimos cotidianamente, sugirió que la reunión se hiciera en El Paso, pero un homenaje a Wilkie solamente podía ser posible en México, ese país que descubrió siendo joven y que se insertó en su imaginario personal para entenderlo y amarlo. Creo que no tiene una camisa que no sea guayabera.

Entender a México es una tarea complicada. El mexicano habla de forma circular, evade decir las cosas directamente y los gobiernos hacen lo mismo; han sido tan fuertes que han logrado en gran medida establecer una historia que es difícil de contradecir, entre otras cosas, logran manipular las noticias y cuando se cuele algo que les desagrada, desaparecen de la hemeroteca las noticias que les son inconvenientes. Pero como la realidad hace de las suyas, siempre hay reportes que permanecen, pero entonces ponen en duda la credibilidad del que reporta. Muchos historiadores que han dependido de la lectura de periódicos tendrán que revisar sus interpretaciones y relatos a partir de la premisa de que la prensa ha sido comprada como política de Estado desde Porfirio Díaz. Wilkie emprendió el esfuerzo de interpretar la realidad mexicana superando las trampas del gobierno. Él se concentró en el gasto público, que no es cosa menor y sacó a la luz aquello que se disfrazaba para servir al régimen. Un funcionario del BID me dijo en una reunión en San Diego: “Sabemos que el gobierno mexicano miente, pero lo hacen muy bien”. No en balde Octavio Paz identifica a la mentira como un rasgo importante del mexicano.

Mientras hacía el posdoctorado, le contaba chistes con frecuencia y poco a poco empezó a descubrir que había un país que enviaba mensajes cifrados para algunos. Su sugerencia de que reuniera los chistes llevó a la inclusión de un apéndice de chistes en mi primer libro y posteriormente a que escribiera un libro sobre el chiste político, y de esa forma a descubrir un nivel de comunicación, que aunque es notorio, no se ve a simple vista.

Me sirvió su lectura sobre la forma como los líderes políticos ven al mundo y a sí mismos, visión que formuló con el término *elitelore* y que ahora se trata de flexibilizar para explicar formas de ver a la vida y al mundo, algunos hablan de *familylore* y *popularlore*, lo que merece una buena reflexión, porque algunos tratan de difuminar a la ideología como si fuera *lore*. Eso sucede cuando surge una forma de explicar a la realidad y se va popularizando, pero ayuda a refinar los mecanismos de estudio social y la comprensión de lo social, que es muy elusivo.

Al homenaje de Wilkie invitamos a estudiantes, amigos y colegas; tardó muy poco para que llegarán las respuestas a la invitación, y hasta la hija de un colega envió un comunicado.

En este volumen publicamos aquellos ensayos que llegaron a la reunión o algunos que no pudieron asistir pero enviaron sus comentarios posteriormente. Como era de esperarse, los intereses de ese elenco son muy variados, mostrando el tipo de criterio que los llevó a la red de Wilkie y los aspectos de la producción académica de Wilkie.

Dos personas pasaron del gobierno a la academia. Carlos B. Gil dejó el servicio exterior estadounidense para estudiar con Wilkie, su ensayo se titula *James W. Wilkie: The right man at the right time*, y Juan Moreno que dejó a la Secretaría de Hacienda para doctorarse con él, su ensayo se titula *Mi relación con el profesor James W. Wilkie*.

Entre los estudiantes están Arturo Grunstein Dickter cuyo ensayo se titula *Elitelore, Revolutionary Statism and Cooptation: Retrospective Thoughts on a UCLA term paper*. Álvaro Ochoa escribió *James W. Wilkie, un mexicanista generoso*. José Luis Bátiz López, cuyo texto se titula *Elitelore Dr. James W. Wilkie*. Peter L. Reich escribió para este libro *James Wilkie's historical structuralism: religion, politics, and society in modern Mexico*. Maria Herrera Sobek que escribió *Professor James Wilkie: mentor, role model, scholar extraordinaire*. Y mi ensayo respecto a mi relación con Wilkie.

Profmex fue una iniciativa de Wilkie, que amplió su red mundialmente, entre las muchas reuniones organizadas se llegó a incluir ponentes de varios continentes. En estas reuniones se exploró la visión que se tenía sobre México en muchos países. Esto era un análisis que fue tomado en cuenta por la asociación de universidad (ANUIES) que co-publicó con PROFMEX algunos de los libros. Hay académicos que establecieron una relación con él a partir de ésta, como George Baker, cuyo texto se intitula *Historians as academic entrepreneurs*, y Adriana Patricia López Velazco, que envió el texto *La visión de futuro del Dr. James W. Wilkie en algunos temas coyunturales*. Alfonso Galindo preparó un resumen de la larga lista de actividades de PROFMEX. Olga Lazin participó con el escrito *PROFMEX openings to the EU and Russia*:

James Wilkie's role in my escape from Transylvania to the world from the Romanian gulag to modern cultures and globalization.

Hay académicos que descubren a Wilkie. Como Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos que envió la reseña *La Posrevolución Mexicana y Cambio Social en México: Una reseña*. Jesús Arroyo escribió *Los "efectos multiplicadores" del trabajo académico de James W. Wilkie en la formación de investigadores y en la publicación de sus resultados en México*. Y Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda cuyo capítulo se titula *Jim Wilkie, Elitlore e Historia Oral en el Contexto Histórico de los Extranjeros que se han Significado en México y en el Mundo*.

Entre los colegas que asistieron está Oscar Martínez que envió el ensayo *Some Thoughts on the Role of Geography in Shaping the Uneven Development of Mexico*; Roedric Ai Camp envió una carta, Susan Schroeder envió *Nahuatl-Language Study and Working with Jim Wilkie. A Reminiscence*.

Li Rodríguez Hernández, hija de Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda envió un pensamiento: *El Lore Colectivo*.

Finalmente, Richard W. Wilkie, su hermano, envió un ensayo sobre la intensa vida que llevaron juntos y como se alimentaron entre sí, este se intitula *Brother Jim—Mentor & Explorer of Ideas and the World. Growing Up Together in Idaho, college in Mexico, and South American Travels in the 1960s and 70s*.

Este no es un libro con rigor académico, es una colección sobre la forma en que la relación con Jim impactó vidas personales.

Aquí están algunos de los hijos académicos de Wilkie y esperamos que en el futuro aparezcan los nietos. Mientras tanto, este homenaje muestra lo amplio que puede ser el resultado de relaciones de largo alcance y largo aliento.

Felicidades Jim por estos 80 años. Como se dice en el mundo judío, ojalá que llegues a 120.

Introduction

By James (Jim) Wilkie

As this Homenaje Event was about to open on May 16, 2016, the organizer Samuel “Sami” Schmidt privately asked me nine questions (which he had informally heard in different ways from nearly all participants):

(1) Who are you, Jim? (2) ...and how as a young man coming from the mountains of Idaho, did you manage to greatly impress so many people in the World?... (3) what led you to become the rare specialist on **Political-Economic-Social History** who would be the first to conduct an **independent audit (1900 -1976)¹ of the Mexican Central Government projected and actual expenditure?...**

(4) the first to establish the field of **Statistical History** analyzing long-data series in your many books and articles and also in the interpretive section of the UCLA *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* ?,... (5) develop your model **Oral History** approach to record your conversations with leaders of Mexico’s “Revolutionary Family” and its opponents?... (6) the first to establish (1967 - 1973) the new scholarly field—*Elitelore* to counterbalance the established field of *Folklore*?... (7) the first to develop an organized international focus on “**Mexico and the World**”?... (8) the first to develop the “**U.S.-Mexico Model**” to facilitate the flow of **Not-For-Private-Profit Funds (Non-Profit Funds) between the two countries,**” which you have expanded for **all countries** seeking to tap America’s largest non-governmental pool of funds in the world?... (9) the first to develop a new **Schema of Mexican History** that presents a logically consistent framework (based on your definition of *Statist Centralism, Anti-State Decentralism*, and a middle ground between them—*Active Statism*.

Until now I have not responded to Sami’s nine questions above that that he raised May 16th until now in this Introduction. In

¹ James W. Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910* (1st Edition Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, and 2nd Edition, 1970) carried the audit data from 1900 to 1963.

http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/2latespring2015/The_Mexican_R_evolution_Federal_Expenditure_and_Social_Change_Since_1910.pdf

In the first edition in Spanish, the audit data is continued to 1976: *La Revolución Mexicana (1910-1976) Gasto Público y Cambio Social* (México. DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978), Epilogo I, p. 350; y Epilogo II, “Un Análisis Comparativo de México, Bolivia y Costa Rica”:

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/1winter03/03index1.htm>

the meantime, with three new long papers now included, and the revised papers from Juárez, it seems necessary to add to Sami's List: "Suppose all nine questions are all on target, what do we know from all homenajes presented in this book?..To Sami's List it is important to ask **(10) How could it have been possible to establish since the 1960s all of the nine above "once-in-a-lifetime" new approaches to interdisciplinary studies?**

In my view, key papers presented in this volume help me to rethink who I am and what I have accomplished.²

(A) We all know from the Homenaje by Richard ("Dick") Wilkie how, as two brothers, Dick and I have capitalized on our joint geographical and on intellectual explorations from childhood to the present. Dick not only recounts our experiences together in the high mountains of Idaho, but also our years together at Mexico City College (1956-1958 and 1960-1961), over 8,100 feet elevation in contrast to the city at 7,500 feet.

Dick also recounts our travels to Central America (December 1957-April 1958), when we lived in San José de Costa Rica for more than three months. There we studied by correspondence with U.S. universities to meet the course work needed for credits that MCC had approved for us before leaving for Fall Quarter in on our own schedule in Costa Rica. San José City had little traffic and we lived the small scale life, quite a change from Mexico City. We paraded around the Central Plaza, young men counter-clockwise and young women clock-wise, each looking for partner to later meet for coffee or an hour to dance. We loved to dance "Mi Cafetal," which later became famous around the world where we found it different places and time, always reminding of San José de Costa Rica.

Dick tells of our travels with Edna (Edie) around South America (1966-1967 and 1975-1977). In our travels in 1975, I told Dick and Edie how important she had been in developing my 1973 book on *Elitelore*. When she read the first draft in 1972, she told me: You have gotten the structure wrong. Throw out this version and start over by rethinking what you are trying to say. I was not crushed, because I know that her judgment is infallible always and she is always seeking to help protect me from imprecise wording. So as I reconstructed the book, and presented it for her evaluation. She suggested some changes, and by the third version, she found it to

² My following use of letters of the alphabet does not necessarily correspond to the numbering of the 10 questions above.

meet her high standards. She was my Virtual Co-Author.

I have included below Appendix 1 to this Introduction in order to tell how, in 1967 at the New York City Conference on Folklore and Social Science,³ I faced the Folklorist critics, who wanted to prevent the rise of the new field *Elitelore*. I knew that against the gathered “Academic Mob,” I had Edie on my side. Unbeknown to us, we would soon have the help of the major “Social Science Folklorist” at the Conference, against what appeared to insurmountable odds. But enough here, the surprising story is told in Appendix 1.

(B) We know from my Professor Lyle C. Brown about some important aspects of my life at Mexico City College,⁴ and beyond. Lyle helped me launch my academic career by approving my idea of analyzing the role of Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico before, during, and after his Presidency. Lyle himself had been focused on Cárdenas’ role as President of Mexico.⁵

Lyle writes about my travels and conversations (which were not recorded, as Lyle explains why Cárdenas did want a tape recording of his voice but acceded for me to take written notes of our discussions and debates. Lázaro was very interested in lauding Emilio Portes Gils’ role in founding the PNR as well his presidency in general that accomplished so much as Lyle points out.

Also, Lázaro was helpful in to me willing to discuss my periodization of his political role from the 1920s to the 1940s and beyond to when was the Chief Developer/Chief Advisor for Mexico’s River Basin Development of the Balsas/Tepalcatepec rivers Readers will find Lyle’s account to be fundamental in understand the many roles in which over time Lázaro was involved, and why he was able to work with President Miguel Alemán, with home he they long shared dams to be built for electrification and irrigation in order to make “la tierra caliente” able to support settlement and agricultural growth.

³ At the Social Science Research Council Conference on Folklore and Social Science, *New York City*, November 10, 1967, I was invited to formally present my concept of “Oral History of ‘Biographical *Elitelore*’ in Latin America.” The idea of the Council was to then open the floor for discussion and debate, which did not happen as planned.

⁴ From my time forward with Lyle in his course on American History in 1958 at MCC, he helped me refine my academic writings academically by revising and improving them, for which I am for ever grateful.

⁵ Lyle’s 1964 Classic PHD thesis at Austin’s University of Texas is at: http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume21/4latespring2016/LYLE_PHD_Thesis.pdf

Later Lyle traveled in December 1964 with Edie and I to participate in our interview General Juan Andreu Almazán in Acapulco; and Lyle worked with Edna and I to publish the first seven of our Mexican Oral Histories in 1969.)

(C) *We know from Jesús Arroyo about my roles* as helping him originally gain a major grant from the Hewlett Foundation, and our joining forces to Co-Edit the Book Series on Cycles and Trends in Mexico's Development (which carried special ongoing funds from the Hewlett Foundation for editing and publishing works peer reviewed and then authorized by the PROFMEX Editorial Board),⁶ and my naming him Co-Editor with me of the peer-reviewed *PROFMEX Journal, Mexico and the World*,⁷ as well as had a much greater "academic multiplier effect" than I was fully aware was taking place. Jesús' Hewlett Foundation grants and his new Co-Editorships allowed him to expand his Instituto de Estudios Económicos y Regionales (INESER), and helped him gain the justified fame to (1) request to decentralize the National System of Investigators (SNI) to not only focus on providing financial bonuses for highly ranked Mexico City scholars,⁸ but also to include more faculty at the University of Guadalajara (UdeG) as eligible to receive SNI distinction. (2) to organize the establishment of a new and the very new modern new Campus El Centro Universitario de Ciencias Económico Administrativas (CUCEA), for which he became the Founding Rector, and served several terms When I saw the gold plaque awarded to Jesús by President Vicente Fox for his achievement as becoming the Founding Rector of CUCEA, I knew that the plaque elegantly recognized his successful conclusion to having succeeded in the complex UdeG where many faculties and different scholarly groups compete for limited funding. Jesús had prevailed because of the original support with outside funds provided by the Hewlett Foundation Funds, which Clint Smith and I had been convinced that Jesús needed. Certainly I always gave all my moral support to Jesús, who became a diplomat-academic and Rector of his own well-planned new UdeG decentralized University Campuses.

Many thanks, Jesús, for the manner in which you summed statistically the results of our Book Series since 1990,⁹ we can be

⁶ See <http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/>

⁷ See <http://www.profmex.org/webjournal.html>

⁸ Thus, enabling them, for example, to have the financial-base salary independent from promotions they might not receive from unfriendly rectors at the own University.

⁹ For the first volumes of the PROFMEX Books Series, Sergio de La Peña and I had two

proud that we have published a total of 55 books. For my part, let state that the PROFMEX Journal has published almost 75 issues since inception in 1994.

(D) *We know from Adriana Patricia (Paty) López Velazco about the extent and importance of my role in PROFMEX-ANUIES International Projects, Conferences, and Publications.* Their are eight volumes in the PROFMEX-ANUIES Series, which she mentions:

PROFMEX-Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Enseñanza Superior) Series, 1981-2000, Co-Sponsored by UCLA <http://profmex.org/Series%20on%20PROFMEX-ANUIES%20International%20Conferences.html>

Series Editor: James W. Wilkie.

1. *Estudios Fronterizos*, eds. Antonio Gago Huget y Michael C. Meyer (México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1981).
2. *Ecology and Development of the Border Region*, ed. Stanley R. Ross (México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1983).
3. *Rules of the Game and Games Without Rules in Border Life*, eds. Mario Miranda Pacheco and James W. Wilkie (México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1985).
4. *One Border, Two Nations: Policy Implications and Problem Resolutions*, eds. Oscar J. Martínez, Albert E. Utton, Mario Miranda Pacheco (México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1988).
5. *Reciprocal Images: Education in Mexican-U.S. Relations*, eds. Paul Ganster y Mario Miranda Pacheco (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, PROFMEX, ANUIES, 1991).
6. *Changes in U.S.-Mexican Economic Relations: Beyond the Border*, eds. Paul Ganster, Arturo García Espinoza, Arturo Grunstein. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, ANUIES, PROFMEX, 1994).
7. *México y las Américas*, eds. Carlos Pallán Figueroa, James W.

Virtual Co-Editors: **Sylvia Ortega and Edmundo Jacobo**, successive rectors at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, who began the series and arranged to publish it. We are thankful that the four of us always met to get the Series launched, and that Sergio and I had Sylvia and Edmundo with the imagination and the “know-how” to do it.

Wilkie, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro (México, D.F.: ANUIES, PROFMEX, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1996).

8. *México y el Mundo*, eds. James W. Wilkie, Alejandro Mungaray y Jesús Arroyo Alejandro (México, D.F.: PROFMEX, ANUIES, Universidad de Guadalajara, Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo del Estado de Michoacán, 2000).

Paty mentions our PROFMEX 1996 Beijing Conference to introduce Mexico's scholars to Chinese Scholars. The resulting 1999 book *México Frente a la Modernización de China*, Edited by Oscar González Cuevas, can be freely consulted or downloaded at <http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/vinculos/res16.html>

Further she relates the extent and import of my opening of PROFMEX to Japan and China, about which I can say further that led many graduate students and professors enroll at UCLA to work under my direction with grants from Ford Foundation/China.

Many thanks, Paty, for summing up so much, and thanks to your Co- Coordinator David Rodríguez Álvarez for managing to stage efficiently the process of publishing each book since 1995 in la Serie de Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México.

(E) We know from Olga Magdalena Lazín about my having opened PROFMEX to Eastern Europe and Russia in the early 1990s, and especially after she joined with me to help new Hungarian, Romanian, and Russian NGOs learn about how to gain tax-free funding from U.S. Foundations by following my “U.S.-Mexico-Model for facilitating the free flow of Not-for Private to Funds to Mexico.

As Olga reminded all the national leaders with whom we met, “foundations” may go may involve very different kinds of (for example) private universities, private hospitals, and private legal aid societies that may legally pay salaries, rent, supplies, and related costs such as travel if the charges are related to expenditures in each foundation's Constitution and Bylaws, which have been approved by the U.S. IRS and its Mexican equivalent.

The “U.S. Mexico Model”¹⁰ developed the clear Framework needed by Mexican NGOs/Foundations to become equivalent” to U.S. Not-for-Private Profit U.S. Foundations. My Project was originally supported by the El Paso Community Foundation (on

¹⁰ The Model clarifies, among other issues, the very complex legal concepts set forth in Section 501(c) (3) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code, which authorizes U.S. Foundations to donate their funds to “equivalent” foreign Non Profit Foundations.

behalf of the U.S. Council on Foundations).

Subsequently, the Mexican National Lottery under Manuel Alonso Muñoz supported my Project to expand what it called my Mexican-U.S. Model, thus positioning Mexico in its new light as leading the way to the rise of U.S. Foundations to fund the social, economic, and political development of the “new” non-Communist countries. Not until the fall of the Iron Curtain were countries that had been held captive to the despotism of the USSR become (like Russia itself) free to seek new development solutions—all of which need the high level of foundation funds enjoyed by Mexico.

Yet the major problem that still exists is that many leaders of each of the “new” Eastern European countries tends to see their country’s own foundations as taking funds and power out of the hands of the Central Government. They do not realize that if, under my Model, they reform their historical tax code, they will be able to bring in large funds from U.S. foundations that will jump-start many new activities as well as raise expenditure for fully taxable salaries, goods, and services. Thus the Central Government has more money and power under its control even as the country’s own foundations have more funds to develop innovative programs for which the Central Government and State Bureaucracy neither can advance promptly nor implement efficiently.

A related problem for leaders Government as well as foundations in each Eastern European country is they do not usually understand that “*Non-Profit*” does not mean “*no profit* at each year’s end.

Thus, as we began to meet with leaders in the early 1990s, Olga and I realized that we needed to shift from the concept “Non-Profit Foundations” to “Not-for-Private Profit Organizations” (NPPOs),¹¹ which are supposed to generate a profit to be invested in world markets (largely stock markets) to accumulate a corpus of funds that earn enough interest yearly to pay operating expenses.

Government tax leaders, who change often, have to be made newly aware by their National Association of Foundations to learn

¹¹ It is important to know that **the USA has no “U.S. Law for Foundations**, but rather concepts which we here best describe as pertaining to NPPOs that allow any Foundation chartered by the U.S. Treasury to make a profit as well as invest it for two purposes: (a) to grow the corpus of funds needed to maintain foundations to continue without end, unless the original donors set a final year to close; and (b) to use the interest to operate from year to year. However, under the IRS Tax Code, if any donations go to private uses (that is are used outside the Constitution and bylaws of the foundation), those “donations” must be renamed as “unrelated income to the foundation’s chartered purpose.” Such unrelated income is not only taxed, but if extensive can call into question the foundation’s standing as a Tax Free Entity for Income and Expenditures.

the differences between “NPOs” and “NPPOs,”¹² or they will not know that how the U.S.-Mexico Model can open their country to expand its national money supply.

Even once Tax Officials know what has to be done to change the historically wrong tax code, they must explain why to their Congress and then marshal public support for change.

Fortunately our efforts in Eastern Europe have begun to have impact, but much remains to be done to change left over Communist ideas about taxation, and even older pre-1948 national ideas, which understood little of the modern world.

On a personal front, we have learned how Olga’s role in trying to help her country is rooted in her 1986 attempt to escape from Romania’s Securitate,¹³ which has continued since 1948 (from high visibility to 1989) to work behind the scenes (since 1990) to ruthlessly dispatch “enemies of the state,” while continuing to manage the corrupt Government at all levels of power by intrusively SPYING on all people who live in or enter Romania.

How this national tragedy will end, no one knows because citizens are afraid to be “overheard” by the “Big Brother”—the omnipresent Securitate.

(F) Oscar J. Martínez latest work has helped us understand his perspective on the geography of Mexico. He has decided that the country’s geography of extremes (such as too much or too little rainfall in various areas and difficulty of traveling east and west over difficult mountain ranges, as well as the lack of rivers to penetrate shipping into the country) is the main problem holding major parts of Mexico in the inequality of poverty that prevents the country from developing into a modern nation.

See his paper in this Homenaje and his 2015 book:

¹² **Most NPOs are unable to receive donations that are tax deductible to the donor, but all donations received by NPPOs are deductible from the donor’s taxes.** The idea that tax deductions are even possible is a concept held to be suspicious by the historically backward Eastern European and Russian Tax Codes not yet reformed correctly. The old tax codes purposefully do not want to encourage private donors from giving to NPPOs, because the sought to channel such funds to their National Treasury Department—thus enhancing a major perk the old leaders to quietly profit personally from old systems rife with corruption. They did not understand that when foreign NPPOs donated funds to East Bloc NPPOs, those funds expanded the money supply, rather than diminished it because non payment taxes on incoming NPPO funds was (and is) minimal in relation to the inflow of grants to countries were (and are) cash poor.

¹³ The Romanian Securitate operated openly until the 1989 military execution of the country’s mad dictator, after which the Securitate continues, ostensibly from behind the scenes, but quite as dangerous as ever.

*Mexico's Uneven Development:
The Geographical and
Historical Context of Inequality.*¹⁴

Back in El Paso in the 1990s, after we finished up a solid day of our work at the Hotel El Paso,¹⁵ Oscar and I invited others on our Team to rapidly cross the border to enjoy the great Latino music in the safe Juárez City of bygone days.

(G) Peter Reich reminds us of my first article:

*'The Meaning of the
Cristero Religious War
Against the Mexican Revolution,*¹⁶

with which he surprised me. This had always been seen by others and me as the launch of my interest in statistical history, being used in this case to analyze the situation which the Church (1926-1929) found itself involved against the Government in Mexico City.

But Peter takes a new look for which I congratulate him. After fitting me into the French *Annales* School and later structuralists, Peter writes:¹⁷

“Jim Wilkie incorporated and expanded structural methodology in his three investigations of Church-state relations beginning in the late *Porfiriato* and continuing into the twentieth. Peter’s view of my oral interview with Catholic lay activist **Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra** (conducted in 1964 and published in 1969),¹⁸

¹⁴ New York: Taylor and Francis.

¹⁵ The Hotel El Paso had arranged to put at my disposal space for working and holding meetings for the Ford Foundation Grant to PROFMEX-ANUIES. Under the terms of the grant, we sought to propose new ways to “Manage the Greater Urban Area of Ciudad Juárez-El Paso as One City Arbitrarily Divided by an International Border, 1992-1994.” The Hotel was an ironic tribute to Pancho Villa, who might well have wanted to himself open the border permanently in his raid March 9, 1916, on Columbus, New Mexico.

¹⁶ *Journal of Church and State* 8:2 (Spring 1966), pp. 214-233.

¹⁷ Because Peter wrote this text prior to the May 16-17 Conference, this advance draft that he sent to me, may differ from his final paper.

¹⁸ See the Palomar interview at <http://www.elitelore.org/VolII.html> Peter notes that the urban and rural workers, supported by credit unions, formed the basis for the militant Cristero resistance groups of the 1920s such as the *Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa*. Peter writes that the Liga’s organizational cohesion explained the continuity in the ideological traditionalism of the laity, and thus why not all Catholics supported the Church hierarchy’s 1929 compromise with the government—the so-called *arreglos*—that ended the military conflict with the *Cristeros*.

“In turn, the moderation of the episcopate and state itself followed a traditional pattern of lax anticlerical enforcement also dating from the late nineteenth century. Of course, we

has given me an articulate view of myself that I did not consciously know. But now I do, and his analysis does make sense. Also I am grateful for hearing from Peter about the impact that I had on his PHD thesis—now I know only 21 years later. In reality, we were both so busy in that earlier era that we had little time to engage in the deep thinking about our high quality intellectual relationship that Sami has provided for this Homenaje.

(H) *Juan Moreno, who at met at the Mexican Treasury Ministry*, became one of my best sources for long-term Statistical data. Also, my intellectual interchanges with him meant that I invited him to move to UCLA to earn his PHD, which he soon accepted to do with the help of funding from his Ministry and other government sources. I have always been proud of Juan's brilliant research published in two volumes as *FOBAPROA: The Cost of the*

cannot forget that Palomar, in looking backward, may have been inventing his own 'elitore,' in Wilkie's later terminology, justifying himself by maintaining that his positions had long antecedents.

"Building on his interview with Palomar y Vizcarra, Wilkie developed a conceptual explanation of the *arreglos* in his 1966 article, 'The Meaning of the Cristero Religious War against the Mexican Government.' By elucidating the structures of conciliation and extremism within both Church and state, he showed that neither institution was monolithic, so that the moderates on both sides made peace while the radicals continued zealous resistance and anticlerical struggle well into the 1930s. Thus the respective structures of bureaucracy and polarization proved more important than the formal categories of 'religion' and 'secularism.'"

"Wilkie took a broader, more synthetic approach in his 1970 "**Statistical Indicators of the Impact of National Revolution on the Catholic Church in Mexico, 1910-1967.**" Delineating the structures of religious affiliation, Church-sponsored marriage, divorce, and inhabitants per priest through time-series statistics culled from census data, he found a significant downturn in these measures of Church influence in the decades following the Revolution.

"But cognizant of the multiple factors behind any trends over the *longue durée*, he considered that this weakening of affiliative intensity may just as easily have been caused by population growth and public health improvement as by government anticlerical policies. All three of Wilkie's Church-state studies illustrate how the structures of religious relationships underlie the surface of political events, which they might or might not influence..."

"Jim Wilkie's work on religion and politics creatively applies structural analysis to the terrain of modern Mexican history. His originality consists in showing how structures of ideological affinity always underlie and at times influence historical events. He did not mean that events are subordinate to timeless structures, but rather that a comprehensive 'total history' gives the best approximation of what actually happened.

"Historians can't privilege certain types or items of evidence, but have to examine all of it critically or run the risk of advancing partisan rather than scholarly goals. Guided by this principle, Wilkie's nuanced structuralism remains a model not only of rigorous analysis but also of the conscientious pursuit of professional ethical standards."

Rescue Mexican Banks,¹⁹ in 1995, with overhang of problems lasting years.

Juan's current access to the 'Secret Files' in the Mexican Military Archives are presenting the possibility to reassess the role of Lázaro Cárdenas in controversial events of the 1920s in rural Mexico.

(I) Arturo Grunstein, one of my first grad students from Mexico, chose to write his first graduate paper on Elitelore. Arturo astounded me with his understanding (intuitively?) of Elitelore from the moment he discovered it. But for his 1994 PHD thesis he turned to analyze the railways in Mexico under Treasury Minister José Y. Limamntour (1893-1911), who reported regularly to President Porfirio Díaz about foreign and domestic bond holders.

With the occasion of this Homenaje organized by Sami, however Arturo decided that he would finish his unwritten thoughts about Elitelore and expand that original paper from the perspectives that he has acquired since leaving UCLA. The Result is a tremendous Tour de Force, written with wit and irony. I can see in my mind's eye Arturo having written this paper with excitement in his eyes, a la Carlos Fuentes or Gabriel García Márquez!

(J) Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda, who had conducted research for Oscar Lewis in Mexico and Cuba, has honored me in his article in this book by having developed a list of distinguished persons who have been able to help Mexico understand itself better and be understood more clearly around the world. His list of impactful foreign visitors to Mexico includes: Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, la marquesa Calderón de la Barca, Alexander Von Humboldt, Malcom Lowry, Antonin Artaud, Oscar Lewis y Ruth Lewis y James W. Wilkie.

(K) Alfonso J. Galindo, author with me of the PROFMEX CV (June 2016), had the stamina of intellectual knowledge to work for months to revise and update the records of what PROFMEX has accomplished on many fronts. Alfonso recalled many events that I had long since forgotten in the constant advance into new projects and meetings around the world, and publications.

Alfonso is the well merited PROFMEX Executive Vice President and CEO as well as President of PROFMEX-Mexico, AC.

¹⁹ See:

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume14/3summer09/1fobaproa.html>

With his 2007 UCLA PHD in hand, Alfonso became for several year's UCLA Representative in Mexico.

The 2016 PROFMEX Curriculum is freely available at: http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org/pub/PROFMEX_CV_June_2016.pdf

Thanks is due to Alfonso from all of us for having brought together the 2016 PROFMEX CV.

(L) Carlos B. Gil and I always remember how he arrived from his U.S. diplomatic post in Santiago de Chile to study under me at Ohio State University in 1968 just as I was leaving to join the UCLA faculty. Carlos arrived a year later at UCLA with his wife and children again making the move. His wife wondered how they could survive without the nanny, cook, and driver that they had in the U.S. Foreign Service.

Just at that time, I invited Carlos and his wife to my home in Pacific Palisades to join the incoming students arriving to begin their M.A. Program in Latin American Studies. I lost sight of Carlos and wife because they walked along the outside of my window-doors to look inside, as she said, to see how professors live. Then I heard a stir and saw his wife leave rapidly. Carlos told me that when she looked inside my office, with the usual professorial clutter of books and papers, she told him: "If this is the way professors keep their offices, I don't want any part it," and she immediately left him forever. Fortunately, Carlos' mother lived over the mountain in San Fernando Valley and he was able to take up his PHD studies forthwith.

Carlos' research took him to his family's hometown of Mascota, Jalisco, where he did a micro study that revealed how that region, like so many others in Mexico, was by-passed by the violent phase of the Mexican Revolution in the 1910s. This superb PHD thesis became a 1983 book entitled *Life in Provincial Mexico: National and Regional History Seen from Mascota, Jalisco, 1867-1972*, published by UCLA Latin American Center Publications, assured him a professorship at the University of Washington (Seattle), and off he went happily to establish a new life for his family.

Carlos excellent 2012 book is entitled *We Became Mexican American: How Our Immigrant Family Survived to Pursue the American Dream*. In this book, Carlos traces the family as if moved by stages north on the map to reach California and make a place for itself, waiting for his birth in the USA.

(M) *George Baker wonderful my long -time colleague*, with our wide interests, found ourselves at a 1993 meeting in Hermosillo with the Sonora State Government, which wanted advice on how to improve agricultural development, but that was too general to have any meaning for us.

Just before we left, out of desperation one official told us that the State had problems with a local olive-tree economy in Caborca, to the northwest of where we were in the State Capital. Then another development official asked us if we knew anything about growing olive trees to generate a healthy Mexican market and an export market for bottling and sending olives to the United States.

Both of us immediately said yes. George had studied how Israel had successfully met the challenge of growing trees under desert conditions, and I had been recently been reading about problems and solutions to growing olive trees in California.

Suddenly we were invited to visit Caborca in a subsequent trip to contact the olive-tree growers and advise olived tree owners about how to save their orchards.

When we met the olive-tree owners after we drove to Caborca from Arizona, we could immediately see the problem. They were flooding water under the trees so that they had started to grow outward rather than up toward the sky.

Eventually we explained to the growers they would have to tear out the existing “failed trees” and start over with new ones using Israeli drip agriculture, which would send the new trees upward as well as drastically cut the overuse of water, which itself was depleting the water table in the region and threatening to break the water table’s natural barrier to the influx of salty sea water into the fields below the olive trees, thus destroying them, and threatening the water table for a huge region.

About the growth of olives for the local and U.S. market, we asked if they had visited the local supermarket in town to see from where their olives on the shelves came from. Nobody had checked so we took a group of growers to see for themselves. And we found that the only olives and olive oil being sold in town was imported by the Arizona Olive Company.

At that point, some of the grown said “those are our olives that we sold to middlemen who trucked them away, the drivers not even knowing where the olives were destined to go.” After further discussion, it became clear to all the Caborcan growers that the olives that they had sold at bargain prices (owing to the fact that the old Caborcan olive processing plant had broken down and had closed) meant that they had felt lucky to get what little they did.

No Caborcan growers realized that their olives were sent across the border to the Arizona Olive Company, which processed the olives and sent bottles of olives and olive oil back to sell in Caborca.

We explained to the growers that there was a further problem for Caborca: The Arizona Olive Company was well funded with new and modern processing plants and they could send their buyers out in new trucks to blanket the purchase of all olives grown in northern Sonora—without the Caborcan processing plant, all growers in the State had no real market except what little the Arizona Olive Company wanted to pay.

On top of these spiraling problems of which the Caborcan olive growers were now aware, the majority of growers realized that they had no future because it would be too costly to cut down the failed trees, and take too long to plant and allow the new trees to mature to be able to yield olives—indeed years would be lost, and most growers would have to declare insolvency.

George and I realized that we were in the precarious position of having explained that apparently there was no solution for their small community. How long would it take to build a new processing plant some asked? And how would the construction of a new plant be financed? What to do?

George and I left promising to meet with the State Economic Development Office in Hermosillo, where we had signed the contract for our consulting services.

In Hermosillo we were told that there were no funds to help Caborca growers, but for us to submit the report,²⁰ noting that there might be a delay in being paid owing to the fact that the original Development Office had spent all of the fund, and its Officer who we had taken the same job in better paying Mexican States.

Well, we laughed to each other, but we had met many olive-tree growers who had been eager to become part of our “Investigative Team.” And we had tracked down the Arizona Olive Companies legal (but unethical) roles.

The interlocking complexities and alternatives that we left for them in Caborca were not what the growers wanted to hear.

The final question from the olive-tree growers was: “Is there no simple solution to our problems?”. What, Dear Readers, would you say to those olive-tree growers?

²⁰ For our report to the State Development Officials, see: <http://www.profomex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume3/4fall98/olivodecaborca.html>

(N) *María Herrera-Sobek has written the Dedication to this book. It is the:*

CORRIDO DEDICADO A JAMES WILKIE
Written by María Herrera-Sobek (May 17, 2016)
Can be sung with the music of “Rosita Álvarez”

And it was my great pleasure to watch all of us join in singing this corrido, which is included María’s article in this book. For the text of the song, see the Dedication above at page x.

(O) Let me mention here my little-known book in progress growing out of my Oral History Interviews with Norman E. Borlaug and Roberto González Barrera about Mexico’s **Two Green Agricultural Revolutions for the World:**

At Mexico City’s Polyforum on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of GRUMA (Grupo Maseca), May 13, 1999: President of Mexico Ernesto Zedillo welcomed Norman E. Borlaug and his Mexican Team back to Mexico; and I gave the keynote address: to tell the history of why, after all his success in Mexico winning the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize, Borlaug had to leave Mexico in the first place, and to tell the audience about the history of how Roberto González Barrera successfully developed Healthy, Safe Cornmeal for Mexico and Many Other Countries.

Each of these two leaders was responsible for having launched the World’s 1st and 2nd Green Agricultural Revolution from Mexico to The World.

This is fascinating history that most Mexicans and Americans have little if any knowledge. I look forward to bringing this book to conclusion soon. Peter Reich would say, no doubt, that this book (like one more aspect of the underlying economic history that is contributing to help understand the Mexico’s socio-economic *structure* in the long-term.

In 1999, Vicente Fox joined me in awarding the PROFMEX PRIZE to Roberto Gonzalez Barrera for having added vitamins and mineral to his to his cornmeal production line, with Barrera paying half the cost, and the other half being paid with help of Mexican Governors.

Led by Gov. Fox, this cost sharing helping Barrera to distribute fairly and freely Vitaminized Tortilla cornmeal in Mexico’s States that joined with Govenner Fox to be members in the movement to improve the quality of food for people so poor that many only eat only tortillas, and up to seventeen per day.

*(P-1) We are reminded via Skype from Spain by Miguel Rivera-Ríos (UNAM) about my first book *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, 1970)*

http://www.profmex.org/webjournal_listedbyvoldat.html

*[Scroll down to: Vol. 20 No.2 (Late Spring 2015): Translated as *La Revolución Mexicana (1910-1976) Gasto Público y Cambio Social* (México, DF, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978, 1987)*

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/1winter03/03index1.htm>

(P-2) As we know about Sami Schmidt, he is the academic leader who has made possible this event by inviting all of us to be here in Juárez.

Further, he has brilliantly organized this volume according to the wide spectrum of research that matches my own publications ranging from Historical Statistics to Historical Elitelore.

Even in the first telephone call from Sami in (1977-1978) saying that he was in Los Angeles and would like to meet me, as we talked by phone I “heard” and “saw in my mind’s eyes” a twinkle of brilliant humor in Sami’s “eyes.” And when we met for dinner, I said to myself: “Yes, there is the twinkle,” which soon turned to easy laughter as we got to know each other. I knew from those moments onward that I wanted to invite Sami to become Post-Doctoral Fellow with me at UCLA.

About the importance of the eyes, Lázaro Cárdenas had said to me in 1962, “When I look into a persons eyes, I can tell within a minute whether or not I can trust that person for life.” (Wow,” I said to myself: “I am glad that I have passed the Lázaro Test.”) Indeed, when I met with Sami that first time, I was glad to see that he passed the “Lázaro Test.”

It was wonderful to have Sami at UCLA where he immediately interacted so well with my seminar students that he became my Co - Professor. What more luck could I ask for?

Much more, it turned out, because Sami soon won appointment to the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP), where he effectively took over the Center for Inter-American and Border Studies. All this was favorable to me because I was spending much time in El Paso to develop my plan for Ford Foundation grant (1992-1994) to PROFMEX – ANUIES for making *Policy Recommendations for Managing the El Paso – Ciudad Juárez*

Metropolitan Area.²¹ (Indeed this was the name for the 1994 final publication by Sami and David E. Lorey.)

In 1991 when I had first gone to *El Paso Community Foundation* (ECF) to discuss funding of what would become our “Cross-Border-Cities Project”, **President Janice W. Windle** introduced me to the *Ford Foundation in New York and Mexico City*, the former already funding ECF as a “Model Community Foundation” for the USA, and contributed ECF funds to make the project possible. Janet always found a way to solve any problem. I suggested at the time she should consider a slogan: “ECF—a Community Foundation for this Globalizing World.”

Funding was forthcoming when I fleshed out the Plan that offering a new approach for world academic research that would unite the three universities competing on each side of the border. Preposterously, each claimed to solely “own” academic rights to their cross-border area. As the Ford Foundation funded our Project, it wished me luck in developing my new model, which had failed around the world.

With Sami’s help, we began to meet with the rectors in Mexico, who initially rejected our Model’s postulate that research teams, set up to represent cooperating scholars, be paid directly their research stipend and operating funds, which would not be filtered through any university. The Mexican rectors claimed that their professors were already being paid for their research, and in case each rector claimed a requirement to receive a fee for overhead costs.

Sami was especially effective with the troublesome rectors: Either follow our Model or your institution will receive no credit for its “academic contribution” to this first ever major International and Interdisciplinary Project funded by the Ford Foundation.

Eleven teams focus on eleven topics,²² here again Sami

²¹ By Schmidt and Lorey (El Paso: El Paso Community Foundation and UTEP Center for Inter-American and Border Studies, 1994):

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/3summer03/RecENGEIPaso1.pdf>
and in Spanish:

http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/3summer03/recomendacion_decursos.htm

²² Sami noted in the final publication (p. 2) the following Teams (each of which had funds for research assistants).

MANAGING URBAN SERVICES IN EL PASO-CIUDAD JUAREZ. *Principal Investigators: Samuel Schmidt (UTEP) and James W. Wilkie (UCLA).*

“THE RIGHT TO KNOW”: HAZARDOUS WASTE AWARENESS. *Principal Investigators: René Franco Barreno and Manuel Burgos (UACJ).*

EVALUATION OF THE SOURCES OF POLLUTION IN CIUDAD JUAREZ. *Principal Investigator: Juan Efigenio Sánchez (UACJ).*

played the key role. (As Project CEO based at UCLA, I could not play Sami's influential daily role in Juárez and El Paso, but rather concern myself with financial issues involving, for example, spot funding not anticipated in the original grant.

About the very successful Final International Conference for this project I wrote:²³ "PROFMEX convoked a meeting in El Paso, January 13, 1994, to make practical research recommendations intended to ease tension at the border and promote management internationally. Selected Project findings were presented to U.S.-Mexican policy making teams led by Ambassador to Mexico James R. Jones and Mexico's Undersecretary of Finance Francisco Gil Díaz." Project recommendations for breaking bottlenecks in U.S.-Mexican interaction were warmly accepted by the group.

For example, to reduce the need for Mexicans to pass through U.S. Immigration and Customs controls merely to use the U.S. Postal Services, Gil Díaz offered and U.S. Postal authorities agreed to establish a pilot U. S. Post Office in Mexico. Mexican foreign relations authorities led by Eduardo Ibarrola (Director General of the Mexican Consular Corps) and immigration authorities led by Javier Zenteno and Raul Solórzano (Advisors of Mexico's National Migration Institute) agreed to streamline visas as well as create a new academic visa. Sometime later, I said to George Baker: "Sami did such a great job in organizing the whole of our work in El Paso-Juárez, that I asked George: Where was Sami when we needed him in caborca." (See Part "M," above.)

I will always remember Sami's role in working with Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) to award me a series of UNAM Medals:

THE PERCEPTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS IN JUAREZ / EL PASO. *Principal Investigators: Pablo Vila and Ángela Escajeda (COLEF).*
MATHEMATICAL MODEL OF THE HUECO BOLSON IN THE JUAREZ AREA. *Principal Investigators: Alfredo Cervantes and Mauricio G. Mercado (UACJ).*
BACTERIOLOGICAL STUDY OF DRINKING-WATER QUALITY IN CIUDAD JUAREZ. *Principal Investigators: Alfredo Granados Olivas and Hernán Cavazos Hermosillo (UACJ).*
GEOHYDROLOGICAL STUDY OF THE TERRAZAS ZONE IN THE JUAREZ VALLEY. *Principal Investigators: María del Rosario Díaz Arellano, Alfredo Granados Olivas and Hernán Cavazos Hermosillo (UACJ).*
HOUSING, SELF-BUILDING, AND SELF-DETERMINATION. *Principal Investigators: Eduardo Barrera and Leticia Castillo Quiñonez (COLEF).*
FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN CIUDAD JUAREZ. *Principal Investigator: Cheryl Howard (UTEPA).*
LABOR IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN CIUDAD JUAREZ AND EL PASO. *Principal Investigator- Kathleen Staudt (UTEPA).*

²³ Ibid, p. 3.

- 1982 Medal “Academia de San Carlos,” Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), “For Having Developed the Concept of Elitelore.”
- 1984 UNAM Medal of Honor, “For Major Studies in Oral history and Public Expenditure.”
- 1985 Medal Commemorating UNAM Autonomy Since 1929, “For Twenty Years of Innovative Research.”

The 1985 article that appeared early that day in the *Gaceta de UNAM*, was splendid except it got the daily headline wrong when it announced that my 1985 Medal would mark my 50th year of teaching and research—it should have said 50th birthday coming up in 1986.

When, as Sami walked to and for on the UNAM campus, many professors stopped to salute me and usually said: “You look quite young to have been teaching for 50 years.” As Sami tried to correct the impact of erroneous campus newspaper headline, he always quietly elbowed me to pass his amusement on to me. We laughed out loud later. I said: “Sami, you should include this joke in a forthcoming book or article on academic jokes! Or did you tell the *Gaceta* to in this case to play a “practical joke” on me?”

But it wasn't tears of laughter which came to my eyes, but gratitude to Sami for the statements in his article for this Homenaje about the impacts I have had on his academic life. Forgive me for not having realized earlier, but we usually took for granted our close personal and academic relationship. Usually a “wink of the eye” confirmed where we stood, no?

Sami, as I tacitly suggested above in my remembrances of the El Paso-Juárez Project as of 1993, it is only fitting that I thank you expressly now here in the Juárez of 2016, for having been my “Virtual Co-CEO” for the successful completion of what the Ford Foundation called our path-breaking Model for Academia as well as for the Policy Recommendations for this El Paso-Juárez “world” of two cross- border cities.

Sami, also let me thank you for the impact you have had on my life and academic career!

(Q) What is more, let me thank my close advisers and key colleagues who have enabled me to advance on the nine “**once-in-a-lifetime**” **new approaches to interdisciplinary studies listed at the outset of this Introduction, where I quote Sami’s nine questions.**

My colleague **David E. Lorey**, who as my Deputy at the PROFMEX-UCLA Program on Mexico, did much to develop our book publications. Further, he joined me in expanding our

International Conferences, even as he relieved my workload by teaching my course on “Mexico’s ‘Permanent’ Revolution Since 1910.”

David was so perceptive at staffing of our Offices that he “found” **Raúl Lomelí**, whom he hired as his Special Assistant and then kept out of my knowledge, rightly fearing that I would make him my Special Assistant. Ironically, Raúl had found us because when he arrived as a new UCLA “math-whiz” student directly from his California Central Valley farming area, he looked immediately for the tallest building on campus to take his first elevator ride to a high view. But in his view from the top Raúl discovered not only the gorgeous view of Bel Air Golf Estates (including the mansion of former President Reagan) and Westwood, but found on the top floor the Academic Office of the PROFMEX-UCLA Program on Mexico, where he realized that his calling was to transfer to Mexican Studies.

I finally “discovered” Raúl at my 1994 PROFMEX-ANUIES Conference in Puerto Vallarta when I saw an oddity: a young man (obviously representing UCLA) dressed in a suit and tie on the beach, oblivious to the tropical heat. In quizzing him, I realized that, indeed, I had found *my* Special Assistant, who had been “hidden” from me.

Raúl Lomelí soon became my Chief of Planning, and later my Ambassador, Trouble-Shooter, and Co-Conference Organizer at Guanajuato (1999), and Morelia (2001), for example.

Raúl (my Virtual Co-Director) helped me to establish the UCLA Migrant Student Leadership Institute (MSLI, 2007-2012), funded for six years by UCLA, the Association of Migrant Parents in California, and especially the California Department of Education, with generous in-kind corporate support from SaberEsPoder (SEP), headed by Raúl and Amir Hemmat (former PROFMEX Vice President, now SEP President and CEO).

This Institute invited 100 outstanding college-bound students from most Migrant Regions in California to spend July each year (all expenses paid for travel and living in the UCLA dormitories), thus enabling them to take classes from UCLA Professors and interact also with major guest speakers who discussed their own research.

See film 3 in: <http://www.profmex.org/films.html>

Noteworthy is Raúl’s work (1990-2010) with me and **Francisco Gil-Díaz** (Mexican Under-Secretary of Treasury and Bank of Mexico) to conduct research on tax payments. The

payments being considered are made by American citizens to the Government of Mexico and Mexican Citizens anywhere to the U.S. Government. Raúl and I continue research such ongoing U.S.-Mexico tax policies.

In the meantime, Raúl is known for often introducing me as follows: “Jim Wilkie is a Mexican trapped in gringo’s body....”

Representing another aspect, **Max Espinosa**, a great friend of Raúl and myself, comes to mind. I came to know Max as a star student when I supervised his B.A. graduation from UCLA at the same time as serving on the UC Board of Trustees as the Student Regent representing all 10 campuses. When the UCLA bureaucracy questioned him on how he had been able to do so much more than “normal” in the same academic year, I wrote a long letter to say why and how, indeed, Max is a true genius. Further, he has always worked long days with extraordinary verve and efficiency to achieve his goals.

Max went on become the Chief of Policy for the California State Assembly, and currently he is serving at the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, based in Washington, D.C., where he is East Coast Senior Program Officer. In his past and present capacities. Max is known for brilliantly foreseeing and developing major new research projects.

To plan for new PROFMEX projects, **Ronald G. Hellman** (Graduate School of the City University of New York) continues to be a thoughtful strategist helping me to assess possibilities for new ways to face our academic future. Ron introduced me to **Manuel Alonso Muñoz**, CEO of Mexico’s National Lottery, who was vital in the opening of PROFMEX to Europe.

At UCLA I befitted from guidance by **Robert N. Burr**, our senior Latin Americanist who eventually became Chair of the History Department. His understanding, trust, and generosity, which he gave to all faculty marked a “Golden Age” for his professors—Thanks, Bob, your memory lives on with all of your colleagues.

Further, **Johannes Wilbert** (UCLA Professor of Anthropology), Director of the Latin American Center for 20 splendid years, invited me to become Associate Director of the Center and Editor of the *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (SALA, 1976-2002). My Editorship of SALA and it Supplement Series continues to have volumes in print: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/lai/publications/sala-.WJCP1xh-LwQ>

In the meantime, Johannes arranged a three-year travel grant for me to visit all the main Statistical Agencies for each of the traditional twenty countries of Latin (including Haiti, but excluding

English speaking countries). Thus from 1975-1977, I was able to spend each summer traveling (with my family) to stay considerable amounts of time, especially in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela. Thanks, Johannes.

My years in the UCLA Latin American Center continued with Director **Carlos Alberto Torres** (CAT), Professor of Education, for whom I served as his Associate Director. Once Carlos Alberto returned to devote full time to the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences (GSEIS), I followed his path. My research project on U.S.-Mexico Tax Policies is now located at his Paulo Freire Center in GSEIS. I know that I can always count on Carlos Alberto for friendship and UCLA academic advice. Thanks, Carlos.

In Mexico, **Gabriel Camarena-García** (PROFMEX Coordinador of Telecomunicaciones) helped me in the 1990s to make a challenging transition to conduct research on Mexico-U.S. Taxation Issues. Gabriel introduced me such to key personages as **Germán Vega** (Ernst & Young, Mexico) our PROFMEX Secretary General in Mexico City and to **Bernadino González** (who was formerly with the U.S. Social Security Office [SSA] in Mexico, later at SSA-Washington, D.C., now PROFMEX Coordinator of U.S.-Mexico Social Security Studies), all of whom I give many thanks.

Let me recognize Jose T. Molina and Lorey Molina, who have opened their home in Beverly Hill to host many UCLA intellectually stimulating dinners as well as PROFMEX events and debates about U.S.-Mexico issues. With their friendship, generosity, and Jose's "photographic memory," they always kept our discussions on track. Jose's relevant quotes (summoned from his wide reading and stupendous experience) is a joy to behold. Thanks, Pepe and Laurie for your significant contributions to academia.

On an operational front, UCLA's **José Luis Bátiz-López** has become crucial to our tax research since 2008; and he is designer and builder of our publications online. His contributions continue to be enormous.

I could not have accomplished so much without the backing and help of all you.

ABRAZOS TO ALL!!!

Yet, what us the big question remaining from Sammy's List 9 questions on page 17: Question **(10)** is indeed, who am I?" I ask *myself* after having spent two wonderful days (May 16-17, 2016) in Juárez at the Homenaje that Sami organized in my honor. In hearing from former students (now my colleagues) as well as from my

professional colleagues with whom, together, we have developed projects and conferences, written articles and books, as well as received grants and reported our findings.

Now that I look back in this focused way, “How did I inmore to do?”

In reality, I was fortunate to get through many “closing doors” as the United States moved toward the massification of schooling and of academia. I did not have to be a great student in Boise, Idaho, Schools. I had been accustomed to start each year to arrive well after school had started (and well before school closed in the Spring) because I spent summers with my parents and Brother Dick (1945-1952) helping to run our mile-high mountain resort at North Shore Lodge on Warm Lake, at the edge of the Idaho Primitive Area. All my teachers realized I used each summer to read more books and news articles than any student did in two years.

My teachers were quite happy to leave me to learn on my own. My own motto as I grew up in Idaho was: “Read widely and look for opportunities which cannot be foreseen, then when the moment arises, step into the gap that holds most observers blinded or too timid to act.”

My second motto was “Ask questions” and remember there are always many “next questions” to be asked, as well as “why?”

I knew that my real education would come in college, and there I was never faced with taking a “required course.”

Indeed, when I read the MCC Catalog, I realized that I was able to design my own flexible major to obtain my B.A. in Social Sciences.

With my experience in Mexico and Central America, Berkeley was pleased to waive most courses, and send me back to Mexico to conduct my PHD research.

When I received the Bolton Prize in my second year as Assistant Professor at Ohio State University (OSU) and had offers to move to two State University of New York campuses (Stony Brook and Buffalo) as Associate Professor at each, I met with my OSU Dean of Social Sciences to request that I be promoted to OSU Associate Professor. He said “Jim, why do you want to be promoted to tenure so quickly?” My response: “...to know if I am going to stay here at OSU or not.” At that point he said “Well that is a great answer. Congratulations, I am signing your promotion papers when my staff has them ready by early afternoon.”

Ironically, in the following year, my plans that had been

developed with Alfred B. Garrett,²⁴ OSU's Vice-President for Research, who had brought me to Ohio, met a roadblock. My plans for my future did not jibe with those of the incrustated old professor who became the "new" Chair of History. This new Chair had been jealous of the facts that in my first year at OSU and my first professional faculty appointment, I had too high a salary and more staff and travel funds than he thought to be "proper." Furthermore this new Chair had been jealous of my office space that was thrice that of the entire Main History Office, not to mention being furious that I had been awarded a year-long "sabbatical" for my second year at OSU. Hence my new Chair told me, privately, "your easy days at OSU are in the past, and now you will have to suffer like the rest of us; and I will not meet your UCLA offer of a higher salary to move your operations to Los Angeles."

Thus, immediately, I met with Alfred, the kindred spirit who had arranged (1) my original appointment to OSU, (2) my year-long research leave for my second year, and (3) my funding by the OSU Board of Trustees to whom I had my plans to conduct Oral History and Elite Research in Mexico and South America) about the predicament that we faced with the jealous new Chair of History, Alfred was stunned. After we discussed all options, he concurred with me that I should accept the offer from UCLA. As Alfred summarized matters: "A powerful, narrow-minded Chair of any Department is a blight on the University's ability to foster imaginative research and will drive the best minds out to find open more situations."

Thus, I transferred my operations to UCLA in mid-1968, in what Alfred called my serendipitous move to continue delving into to processes of how leaders think and try explain themselves.

APPENDIX I

The first elitelorest faces folklorists who believe that he is traying to "steal their thunder"

Eddie and I told Dick about the 1967 Folklore and Social Science Conference at the Wenner-Gran Foundation in New York City.

²⁴ Alfred (1906-1996) was author of *Flash of Genius* (1963), which looked outside the sphere of the Hypothesis Method to help us fathom 27 breakthroughs that advanced modern science through a prepared mind that is alert to *fortunate happenstance*. See <https://library.osu.edu/find/collections/the-ohio-state-university-archives/digitalcontent/ohio-state-university-oral-history-program-2/> then go to oral history program 2/#G.

There I first offered my idea of Elitelore to a huge Meeting Hall filled only by men and Edie as the one woman (and obviously a pregnant woman, as if flaunting some unknown code) who had dared to enter a “men- only-academic affair.” My paper had been distributed to each academic, and the whole group was hostile to me even before I got up to deliver it in person, except one, or perhaps, two people.

First, I knew that I had in my corner Edie,²⁵ who had grown up in Guatemala and probably knew more than anyone in the Hall about living Folklore, and who by the period from 1963 to 1965, had joined with me as we tape recorded for posterity more than twenty Mexican important leaders, seven of whom we were about to publish in our 1969 co-authored book *México Visto en Siglo XX: Entrevistas de Historia Oral* (México, D.F.: Distributed by Cuadernos Americanos for the Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Económicas). This book contained interviews with political leaders from left to right in Mexico, but we were cautioned by the publishers not to include any analysis of each person because of a potentially harsh reaction by the right-wing PRI President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. Díaz a “No-Nothing-Authoritarian,” despised intellectuals and was infamous for sending out his “goon-squads” to punish those who he felt were unsettling to the “National Interest as only he defined it”.²⁶

²⁵ Edie had earned her B.A. in Romance Languages at UC Berkeley and was working in the Special Collections Unit at the Bancroft Library under the Campanile bell tower. When I met her there in the stacks doing my PHD research on Mexico in 1962. She told me how Hubert Howe Bancroft had traveled though California and other nearby states to interview how the people had experienced their individual lives in the settlement of Western American, 1840-1905—he wrote down their statements (including quotes from their letters and diaries) as they talked. These testimonies soon became a huge series of books by region and the intellectual core of the 40,000 materials that Bancroft sold to Berkeley in 1905. In 1962-1963, before leaving for Mexico, Edie reintroduced me to Professor George P. Hammond (my M.A. Chair and Director of the Bancroft Library), and I told him my plan to conduct tape-recorded Oral History interviews (as I had done with the old-time mountaineers In Idaho), but this time with Mexicans with diverse political leaders to develop new sources for my PHD dissertation. Hammond immediately offered his own research office (next to his Director’s Office), and told the staff to give first priority to launching my work with Edna, including arrangement to fund our needs by shifting Edna from her work in Bancroft Special Collections to work with me. Further, he provided money from his own UC Research Fund to buy magnetic recording tape and high quality equipment for our trip to Mexico, as well as for Bancroft to buy copies of our recorded tapes to save for posterity, but being sure that we retain all intellectual property rights. George sent us off in July 1963 with his formal endorsement: “Mr. and Mrs. Wilkie, you an opening a new trail that Bancroft himself would have rejoiced.”

²⁶ Fortunately, In 1969 we were not physically threatened, but *only* fiercely criticized by Horacio Quiñones (in his weekly newsletter for Mexico’s Political Elite), who found our book to be “asqueroso, baboso, tortuoso, torpe, repulsivo, taimado, nauseabundo, estúpido, despreciable, sandio, estulto infame, ignorante y mentiroso.” Indeed he claimed that we brought the book out of the CIA Psychological Laboratories seeking to destabilize

Second, I felt that the famous Social Scientist and Folklorist, **Philip D. Curtin**, from his seat in the middle of the Head Table on stage looking over the whole Hall, had seemed positively pleased as I read my paper.

When I finished reading, a general eruption of anger arose against me for a reason that I did not know until a sympathetic Folklorist sitting next to Edie and me in the last row, bent over to whisper in my ear: “The Folklorists here are furious. **They believe that with your concept of Elitelore, you are deliberately trying to discredit the newly accepted PHD field of Folklore Studies, especially at Indiana University.**

With that knowledge I asked the Chair for the right to defend myself against the lore of apparent “mob psychology” building against me. With permission then, I stood up to say: “I am here to laud all of you for having won the long struggle to finally establish Folklore Studies as a valid, respected field of Academic Studies and its own faculty, which has mostly seen Folklorists appointed to Anthropology, English, or History Departments.

“However, I think that Folklore is more complex than you may realize. Let me give an example that just has left to my tongue:

“All men are Men, but some are Women. All people (including Elites) share Folklore, but major leaders have their own Lore and I call it Elitelore”. And I added that Elites often create Folklore To win the folk to follow them. What we can be certain of is the Folklore and Elitelore are the «two sides of the same coin»”.

The Conference Hall grew too quiet, seeming stunned because I had brought in the above metaphor the fact that ‘All Men’ also include ‘Women’ to illustrate also how Folklore and Elitelore are needed to explain each other. (Off to the side, I heard someone mutter, “egad, women again—does Wilkie have no feeling for our feelings?”). “Then at that moment Edie stood up to say that **“Jim Wilkie is right: Some Men may be famous Folklorists but they have to begin to recognize That Elite women and men have both Elitelore and Folklore, but the folk have only Folklore”**

When at that point some Men began to shout, Professor Curtin broke that momentary noisy interlude by saying: “Mr. and Mrs. Wilkie are right, let me turn this event into one that reflects the positive view that I present in my Critical Analysis of James’ pathbreaking paper, which I here read in part to you now: “A few years ago I published a book called *The Image of Africa* [1964]

dealing with attitudes toward Africa among the British elite of the early nineteenth century. After reading Professor Wilkie's paper, I realized that this was *elitelore*. It seems to me that this kind of work with widely-held attitudes, sentiments, badly-understood theory, and the like is an area into which historians of ideas (whatever their label) should move. With the kind of oral-data collection which Professor Wilkie is undertaking, we could begin to look seriously at a whole range of problems that have hardly been attacked so far.

"[One of the areas] involves the range of variation within the structure of elite beliefs. The question can be put another way: how far do individual formulations on any subject differ from those that are dominant or normal to their social class and time."

"A second problem deriving from the first is the role of intellectual leadership in changing the norm for an elite group. One example in Western intellectual history is the way in which the precise formulations of intellectual leaders like Marx or Freud were disseminated throughout the educated classes of the Western world - and how in the process they were misunderstood and misapplied, how, in fact, very few people who talked about them had actually read through the works of Freud or had actually read the whole of *Das Kapital*. A third problem in this general area would be to ask in what ways the general structure of beliefs impinges on the world of events and I take this to be one of Professor Wilkie's concerns."

"Finally -though by no means the end of problems in this area - is the question of how events or 'the lessons of experience' alter the structure of belief."

Dick was pleased to here how Edie and I had survived with a surprise win, the Folklorists having suddenly turned from an angry attitude to a civil attitude with general acceptance of my idea of *Elitelore*.

Of course, Edie was my Co-Author in publishing all of our Oral Histories since 1969, and the current book that she is now editing to be published in 2017-2018 is our Oral History with Bolivia's Víctor Paz Estenssoro (as interviewed from 1965 to 1985).²⁷

²⁷ Paz is Bolivia's greatest intellectual and political leader, not only during his active life from 1941 to 1989, but for all Bolivian history, he has no peer in his impact on the course of Bolivian history. (The mindless reinvention of Paz's "self-acknowledged failures" by the mentally unstable "President" Evo Morales—2006-2020—has jeopardized any real socio-economic progress in Bolivia's future.)

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Curriculum Vitae (with free hyperlinks) December 2016

James W. Wilkie

80 years of Age, 50 years of Teaching and Research

- 1968 Bolton Prize for *The Mexican Revolution Since 1910: Federal Expenditure and Social Change* (1967)
- 1982 **UNAM Medal**: for his establishment of the Field of Elitelore
- 1982 Elected President of PROFMEX (ongoing)
- 1984 **UNAM Medal**: for his role in having interviewed and taped the Oral History of Mexican Historical Leaders *and* having established the independent statistical audit of Mexican Public Expenditure 1910-1976
- 1985 **UNAM Medal**: for his 20 Years of Innovative Research
- 2012 Ohtli Prize for “Breaking New Paths,” Awarded by Mexico’s Secretary of Foreign Relations and its Instituto de Mexicanos en el Exterior.
- 2015-- **UCLA Research Professor**.
 ‘**Professor UCLA** (1968-2015), Emeritus (2015),

INDEX:

- A. Teaching and Research
- B. Historical Statistics
- C. Elitelore World:
- D. Elitelore Series: i) Books, ii) Articles
- E. Oral History Series i) Books, ii) Articles
- F. Folklore and Popularlore Articles
- G. PROFMEX Publications
- H. Cycles & Trends in Mexico’s Development-Books
 Series: 1) General Series, 2) Migration Series, 3)
 Special Academic Studies Book Series
- I. PROFMEX Journal *Mexico and the World*
- J. PROFMEX-ANUIES Meetings & J1. Books
- K. UCLA Migrant Leaders Leadership Institute
- L. Public Service Guides for Spanish-Speaking Migrants
- M. PROFMEX Films
- N. *Crónica sin fin*: Online News on Globalization
 PROFMEX Journal México and the World
 PROFMEX-ANUIES Meetings & Books
 Public Service Guide Publications

A. TEACHING:

Wilkie's UCLA teaching now focuses on Graduate Independent Tutorials with selected advanced students conducting research on Latin America and the World, especially Mexico, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Venezuela.

Thus, he is now able to flexibly develop new projects as he coordinates his research travels, writings, and editorships.

Further, Wilkie maintains his relations with his UCLA Doctoral (33) and Post-Doctoral Fellows as well as UCLA Visiting Scholars and Other Graduate Fellows from around the world (46).

His Professorships have covered the last 50 years (including his 3 years at Ohio State University, 1965-1968).

A1. RESEARCH ONGOING: Wilkie long-term projects:

(1) **Examining** U.S.-Mexico Social Security and Double Taxation Issues (funded jointly by the California State Legislature and the UC Office of the President)

(2) **Editing** and publishing Oral History Interviews by JWW and Edna Wilkie with:

Víctor Paz Estenssoro (Leader of Bolivia's Revolution, 1952-1989) **José Figueres** (Leader of Costa Rica's Revolution, 1948-1978)

Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (Labor Minister; President of the PRI, PARM, PRD, and Mexico's Ambassador to UN and Europe, 1972-2004).

These cases reveal Eliteloric /Folkloric roles of each Leader.

(3) Research and Writing books manuscripts:

Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Historia Oral 1933-1988

Mexico's Two Green Agricultural Revolutions for the World: The Roles of Norman E. Borlaug & Roberto González Barrera

Thirteen Major Mexican Revolutions Since Pre- Colonial Times: Recurring Cycles of Statism, Anti-Statism, and Active Statism

The hyperlinked works in this CV are available online at no cost.

B. HISTORICAL STATISTICS VOLUMES, by JWW, such as:

Bolivian Revolution and U.S. Aid Since 1952

Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1969

<http://jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org>

“La Primera Reforma Agraria en México, 1853-1905, A través de la Estadística Nacional, ” por JWW en *La Estadística Económica en México: Los Orígenes* (1994), por Sergio de la Peña y JWW (Con un Tributo a Sergio de la Peña por Jesús Arroyo Alejandro).

<http://www.ciclosytendencias.com/vinculos/res5.php>

Measuring Land Reform: Bolivia, Venezuela, and Latin America

Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1974

http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org/pub/Measuring_land_reform.pdf

“Un método proporcional para estimar la brecha del PIB entre Estados Unidos y América Latina a partir de 1940,” por JWW and Michael Ray

<http://profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume11/2spring06/unmetodo.html>

La Revolución Mexicana (1910-1976): Gasto Federal y Cambio Social (Con Epílogo, pp. 440-550, sobre: “Recentralización: El dilema presupuestario en el desarrollo económico de México, Bolivia y Costa Rica). México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978 & 1987.

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/1winter03/03index1.htm>

The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967 and 1970).

http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/2latespring2015/The_Mexican_Revolution_Federal_Expenditure_and_Social_Change_Since_1910.pdf

Epilogue: http://www.wilkie-stats.org/Statistically_Measuring_Change/VOL_IV/10.pdf

For Three Sample Debates about JWW’s book on *Federal Expenditure and Social Change*, click on http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org/pub/The_Mexican_Rev

[olution.html](#) to read a., b., and c., the debate titles of which are

a. Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith. "Notes on Quantitative History: Federal Expenditure and Social Change in Mexico Since 1910" (1970) *versus* J. Wilkie. "On Methodology and the Use of Historical Statistics" (1970).

b. Felix G. Boni and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Applying Quantitative Techniques to Quantitative History: Poverty and Federal Expenditures in Mexico" (1973) *versus* J. Wilkie. "On Quantitative History: The Poverty Index for Mexico" (1975).

c. Kenneth M. Coleman and John Wanat, "On Measuring Mexican Presidential Ideology Through Budgets: A Reappraisal of the Wilkie Approach" (1975) *versus* J. Wilkie "Coleman and Wanat Fail to Prove that Wilkie's Budgetary Analysis Does Not Reveal the Personalism of Presidential Ideology in Mexico," JWW also citing analysis of the Coleman-Wanat critique by Enrique A. Baloyra and James A. Hanson.

"Mexico as Linchpin for Free Trade in the Americas,"

James W. Wilkie and Olga M. Lazín

Statistical Abstract of Latin America, Vol 31 (1995) pp. 1175-1203.

http://www.wilkie-stats.org/Statistically_Measuring_Change/VOL_IV/1.pdf

"Six Ideological Phases of Mexico's 'Permanent Revolution' since 1910," in JWW, Ed., *Society and Economy in Mexico* (1990), pp. 1-70

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/4fall03/SixPhases.pdf>

"Statistical Indicators of the Impact of National Revolution on the Catholic Church in Mexico, 1910-1967" http://www.wilkie-stats.org/Statistically_Measuring_Change/VOL_IV/7.pdf

Statistically Measuring Change in Latin America and the World, edited by JWW (4 volumes with articles by Wilkie and his Students as well as by UCLA Visiting Professors who worked with him), 2012.

<http://www.wilkie-stats.org/>

For more and other writings by JWW, see:

<http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org>

The hyperlinked works in this CV are available online at no cost.

C. ELITELORE WORLD, founded by JWW

<http://www.elitelore.org/>

Description: <http://www.elitelore.org/description.html>

D. Elitelore Books: <http://www.elitelore.org/books.htm> including:

Elitelore (1973)

http://www.elitelore.org/Capitulos/Elitelore_book1.pdf

Español: <http://www.elitelore.org/Capitulos/eliteloresp.pdf>

Elitelore Varieties (2012): *17 Views in World Context*

<http://www.elitelore.org/book3.html>

Also in [http://www.elitelore.org/Oral History Book Series.htm](http://www.elitelore.org/Oral_History_Book_Series.htm)

E. Frente a la Revolución Mexicana: Entrevistas de Historia Oral
Por JWW y Edna Monzón Wilkie:

I. Intelectuales (1995) Luis Chávez Orozco, Daniel Cosío Villegas,
José Muñoz Cota, Jesús Silva Herzog

<http://www.elitelore.org/Voll.html>

II. Ideólogos (2001) Ramón Beteta Quintana, Manuel Gomez
Morin, Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, Germán List Arzubide,

Juan de Dios Bojórquez <http://www.elitelore.org/VolIII.html>

III. Líderes Políticos (2002) Salvador Abascal, Marte R. Gómez,
Luis L. León, Jacinto B. Treviño

<http://www.elitelore.org/VolIII.html>

IV. Candidatos y Presidente (2004) Vicente Lombardo Toledano,
Juan Andreu Almazán, Ezequiel Padilla, Emilio Portes Gil

<http://www.elitelore.org/VolI.html>

F. ORAL HISTORY and FF. POPULARLORE ARTICLES

Including, for example:

*Dimensions of Elitelore: An Oral History
Questionnaire* (1975). By JWW and Edna Monzón Wilkie

http://www.elitelore.org/Elitelore_articles.html

Requiem por los hijos de Sánchez (2004)

Por Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda

http://www.elitelore.org/Elitelore_articles.html

Wilkie's "*Postulates of the Oral History Center for Latin Am.*" (1976).

http://www.elitelore.org/popularlore_articles.html

"*The Process Method vs the Hypothesis Method*" (1974)
By Richard W. Wilkie

[A4. "The Process Method \[Academic Elitelore\] vs the Hypothesis Method \[Academic Folklore\]"](#)

G. PROFMEX PUBLICATIONS

JWW reports that the PROFMEX Book Series *Cycles and Trends in the Development of Mexico* is the longest in U.S.-Mexican academic history, and it has led to the various PROFMEX Publications being distributed now on the internet through several channels.

JWW (PROFMEX-UCLA) and **Sergio de la Peña** (UNAM) co-founded this series in 1990 with the support of **Sylvia Ortega Salazar** and **Edmundo Jacobo** at UAM (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco).

The Co-Editors since 1998 are JWW and Jesús Arroyo Alejandre who heads PROFMEX PUBLICATIONS at the University of Guadalajara).

The longest in U.S.-Mexican academic history:

H. The *Cycles and Trends in the Development of Mexico* Series has reached 55 volumes since inception in 1990, with more in process. The Series is noted for its famous academic research being highlighted by artistically designed book covers.

The Series and its Sub-Series are published by PROFMEX, University of Guadalajara, & UCLA Program on Mexico, with funding for the majority of the volumes sponsored by **Clint E. Smith**, Program Director, Hewlett Foundation.

For online access to these books (mostly all available online to download at no cost): please go to <http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/>

1. General Series

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/publicaciones.html>

Examples:

La globalización se amplía. Claroscuros de los nexos globales, Por JWW y Olga Magdalena Lañín (2011) Vol 36

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/vinculos/resa36x.php>

México frente a la modernización de China [1996], Editado por Oscar M. González Cuevas; Prefacio y Conclusión por JWW (1999) Vol 16

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/vinculos/res16.htm>

Integrating cities and regiones: North America faces globalization, Eds. JWW y Clint E. Smith (1998) Vol 12

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/vinculos/rres12.php>

Ajustes y desajustes regionales. El caso de Jalisco a fines del sexenio salinista. Eds. Jesús Arroyo Alejandro y David E. Lorey (1995) Vol 11

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/vinculos/rres11.html>

Industria y Trabajo en México. Por JWW y Jesús Reyes-Heroles-González-Garza (1990) Vol 1

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/publicaciones.html>

2. Migration Sub-Series

<http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/publicaciones2.html>

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I. PROFMEX Journal Mexico and the World has reached almost 120 issues. Many issues are in process of publications.

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“Candidatos independientes en México: Construcción mítica o reclamo societario” (2016), Por **Samuel Schmidt:** [Vol. 21 No.3 \(Spring 2016\)](#)

“Strategic Struggle for World Oil: Standard Oil of New Jersey and Hidden Elitelore in Mexico’s 1938 Expropriation” (2011), By **Joseph Charles Theisen:** [Vol 16 No.4 \(Summer 2011\)](#)

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“Human Capital and the Wealth of Nations: [Wilkie’s HEC Index] New Methodology for Measurement of Social and Economic Change in Latin America and Other World Regions” (2010)

By **Michael S. Ray: See A. in** [Vol. 15 No. 6 \(Fall 2010\)](#)

“Iniciativa UABC para la creación de la Frontera de Baja California-Global (FBC-GLOBAL 2030) como Primera Zona Económica Especial de México (2010).

Por **James W. Wilkie y Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos:** [Vol. 13 No. 5 \(Late Fall 2008\)](#)

“Visualizing Where Have Mexican Migrants To USA Located, 1965-1979,” (2007)

By **J. Eric Lomelí:** [Vol. 12 No. 4 \(Fall 2007\)](#)

“Un Método Proporcional para Estimar la Brecha del PIB entre Estados Unidos y América Latina a partir de 1940” (2006)

Por **James W. Wilkie y Michael Ray:** [Vol. 11 No. 2 \(Spring](#)

[2006.](#)

J. PROFMEX-ANUIES International Conferences & J1 Books

Conferences Co-Sponsored by **UCLA** and **University of Guadalajara**, **Chaired by JWW after 1983, with ANUIES** (Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Enseñanza Superior):

- I. La Paz, Baja California, February 28-29, 1980
- II. Austin, February 16-18, 1982
- III. Tijuana, October 23-25, 1983;
- IV. Santa Fe, April 16-18, 1986;
- V. Mexico City, April 21-23, 1988;
- VI. Mazatlán, October, 2-7, 1990;
- VII. Mérida, November 11-13, 1992;
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J1. PROFMEX-ANUIES BOOK SERIES, 1981-1999

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This Series is **Dedicated to** the two ANUIES leaders who helped in to make these meetings and publications possible and to who JWW sends many thanks:

Juan Casillas García de León

(Founding Rector of Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana—Azcapotzalco) and

Alejandro Mungaray

(Rector of Universidad Autónoma de Baja California),

Series Editor: **JWW** and Co-Editor **Jesús Arroyo Alejandro** (1996-1999).

<http://profmex.org/Series%20on%20PROFMEX-ANUIES%20International%20Conferences.html>

1. *Estudios Fronterizos*, eds. **Antonio Gago Huget y Michael C. Meyer** (México, D.F.: ANUIES [y PROFMEX], 1981)
http://profmex.org/profmex-anuijes/estudios_fronterizos.pdf
2. *Ecology and Development of the Border Region*,

ed. **Stanley R. Ross**

(México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1983)

http://www.profmex.org/profmex-anuienes/imagenes_reciprocas.pdf

3. Reglas de Juego y Juego Sin Reglas en la Vida Fronteriza / Rules Of The Game and Games Without Rules In Border Life eds. **Mario Miranda Pacheco and**

(México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1985):

http://www.profmex.org/profmex-anuienes/reglas_del_juego_y_juego_sin_reglas_en_la_vida_fronteriza.pdf

4. *One Border, Two Nations: Policy Implications and Problem Resolutions,*

eds. **Oscar J. Martínez, Albert E. Utton, Mario Miranda Pacheco** (México, D.F.: ANUIES y PROFMEX, 1988).

http://www.profmex.org/profmexanuienes/una_frontera_dos_naciones.pdf

5. *Reciprocal Images: Education in Mexican-U.S. Relations,*

eds. **Paul Ganster y Mario Miranda Pacheco** (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, PROFMEX, ANUIES, 1991).

http://www.profmex.org/profmex-anuienes/imagenes_reciprocas.pdf

6. *Changes in U.S.-Mexican Economic Relations: Beyond the Border,* eds. **Paul Ganster, Arturo García Espinoza, Arturo Grunstein** (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, PROFMEX, ANUIES, 1994).

http://www.profmex.org/profmex-anuienes/cambios_en_las_relaciones_economicas_MEX-USA.pdf

7. *México y las Américas,*

eds. **Carlos Pallán Figueroa, JWW, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro** (México, D.F.: ANUIES, PROFMEX, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1996).

http://www.profmex.org/profmex-anuienes/mexico_y_las_americanas.pdf

8. *México y el Mundo,*

eds. **JWW, Alejandro Mungaray, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro** (México, D.F.: PROFMEX, ANUIES, Universidad de Guadalajara, Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo del Estado de Michoacán, 1999).

http://www.profmex.org/profmex-anuies/mexico_y_el_mundo.pdf

K. UCLA Migrant Scholars Leadership Institute (MSLI).

JWW and his Virtual Co-Director Raúl Lomelí established the MSLI with the support of the Association of Migrant Parents in California to offer the UCLA Model Summer Program at The Migrant Students Leadership Institute (2002-2007).

This Institute was funded by the California Department of Education for 100 college-bound students from most regions in California to spend one month all expenses paid for travel and living in the UCLA dormitories each July, thus enabling them to take classes from UCLA Professors and interact also with major guest speakers who discussed their own research.

See video #3 at: <http://www.profmex.org/films.html>

L. Public Service Guides for Spanish-Speaking Migrants

9.7 Million Booklets distributed freely.

Co-Planned beginning in 2002 by Raúl Lomelí and JWW (UCLA and PROFMEX).

Directed and written by Raúl Lomelí

SABEResPODER

<https://www.bcorporation.net/community/saberespoder>

The Guides are made available especially in community locations to assist Spanish-speaking migrants to better understand basic financial services, medical care, health insurance, international remittances, as well as, e.g. help students gain access to college with financial aid.

Further the guides have served to help government officials, corporations, and opinion leaders to understand the importance of educating migrants to become better informed, confident, and active participants in U.S. society.

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- (1) **The Mexican Consular System**, and
- (2) **IME— Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior.**

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Sample of Guide Booklet Titles:

15. *Presupuesto Hecho Fácil*, Primera Edición, (2014).
14. *Su declaración de impuestos*, Primera Edición, (2014).
13. *La Salud Preventiva: Mente sana en cuerpo sano* (2013).
12. *La Matrícula Consular y Los servicios bancarios* (2002 y 2012).
11. *La higiene bucal* (2012).
10. *Los seguros de auto* (2011).
9. *Las tarjetas prepagadas* (2010).
8. *La importancia del crédito* (2009).
7. *Las remesas internacionales* (2009).
6. *Salud preventiva*. First Edition (2007).
5. *Las telecomunicaciones* (2006).
4. *El sistema de salud y los seguros médicos*
3. *El sistema de salud y las medicinas sin receta* (2005).
2. *Ayuda financiera para su educación superior* (2003).
1. *Los Servicios Bancarios* (2002).

M. PROFMEX FILMS.

Produced by **JWW**, Written and Directed by **Garrick J. Wilkie**

1. *Tale of Father Miguel*, by Garrick Wilkie, 1994
2. *Chan K'in Viejo: Last of the Mayans*, by Garrick Wilkie, 2000

This film was the Nominee for the 2000

International Documentary Association Award.

Version in English: See Video #1 at:

<http://www.profmex.org/films.html>

Versión en Español: Ver Video #2 at:

<http://www.profmex.org/films.html>

3. The UCLA Migrant Student Leadership Institute

See Video #3: at

<http://www.profmex.org/films.html>

N. Crónica sin fin

PROFMEX ONLINE GLOBALIZATION NEWS: *Crónica sin Fin*

Introducción:

<http://www.cronicasinfin.com/index.html>

Editado por **JWW, Olga M. Lazín y Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda.**

Esta *Crónica* procede directamente del libro:

La globalización se amplía: Claroscuros de los nexos globales, (2011),

Por JWW y Olga Magdalena Lazín

(Guadalajara, Los Ángeles, México: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX/World.

<http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume17/2spring2012/Laglobalizacionseamplia.pdf>

La Globalización se amplía es uno de los primeros libros impresos que permanecen abiertos después de la última página porque mantienen permanente comunicación con sus lectores mediante el internet sin costo. (Ver: <http://www.cronicasinfin.com/indice.html>).

Con este enlace, se puede consultar la lista (por fecha) de cientos de reportajes comentarios analíticos, debates, documentos, fotos y gráficas.

Crónica sin fin también se enlaza con el libro:

La globalización se descentraliza: Libre mercado, fundaciones, sociedad cívica y gobierno civil en las regiones del mundo (2007).

Por Olga Magdalena Lazín. Prólogo (pp. 39-179) por JWW

(Guadalajara, Los Ángeles, México: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX/World).

<http://profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/vinculos/resa35x.php>

For WILKIE'S COMPLETE LIST BOOKS & ARTICLES is in the "HOT LINKS" at <http://jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org>

The hyperlinked works in this CV are available online at no cost.

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Corrido de James Wilkie

Written by María Herrera-Sobek (May 17, 2016)

Can be sung with the music of "Rosita Álvarez"

En el año 2016
presente lo tengo yo
en El Paso se reunieron
profesores de alto rango.
Profesores de alto rango.

Querían dar homenaje
al muy apreciado James Wilkie
todos éramos alumnos
de este eminente personaje.
De este eminente personaje.

En el Programa participaron:
Paul Ganster, Alfonso Galindo
Adriana López Velasco, Olga Lazin
Jesús Arroyo, Arturo Grunstein
Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda y Oscar Martínez.

Sin olvidar a Peter Reich,
Raul Lomelí-Azoubel, Manuel García y Griego,
Carlos Gil, William Beezley
y el famoso Michoacano:
Alvaro Ochoa Serrano.

Otros en la lista son:
José Z. Garcia, Juan Moreno
George Barker y Enrique Ochoa, Sylvia Ortega.
Sin olvidar a María Herrera-Sobek
que por SKYPE participó.

Las gracias bien merecidas
al excelente organizador
Samuel Schmidt le agradecemos
su valiosa contribución.
Su valiosa contribución.

***¡AQUÍ VA EL CORRIDO DE JAMES WILKIE!
¡SEÑORES PONGAN ATENCION!***

El año del '65
James Wilkie se doctoró
en la Universidad de Berkeley
Wilkie de allí se graduó.
Wilkie de allí se graduó.

In the year of 1965
James Wilkie received his doctoral degree
at UC Berkeley
Wilkie graduated from there.
Wilkie graduated from there.

Después se fue para Ohio
a enseñar se dedicó
pero muy pronto su estrella
en otra universidad brilló.
En otra universidad brilló.

He later went to Ohio
and dedicated himself to teaching
but soon his bright star
in another university shone.
In another university shone.

En el año del '68
Wilkie a la UCLA llegó
allí comenzó su ascenso
por los premios que'l ganó.
Por los premios que'l ganó.

In the year of 1968
Wilkie arrived at UCLA
here he distinguished himself
for all the prizes he won.
For all the prizes he won.

Sus estudios fueron muchos
y en México se concentró
sin olvidar a Latinoamérica
muchos libros publicó.
Muchos libros publicó.

His scholarly writings were numerous
focusing his research on Mexico
but he did not forget Latin America
he published many books.
He published many books.

El primer libro famoso
que Wilkie nos ofreció
fue sobre la Revolución Mexicana
y su nombre se destacó.
Y su nombre se destacó.

The first outstanding book
that Wilkie published
centered on the Mexican Revolution
and his name became well-known.
And his name became well-known.

Fue para el '66
cuando este libro salió
toda la gente decía:
“Ese libro compro yo.”
“Ese libro compro yo.”

It was in 1966
when the above book was published
and all the people would say:
“I’ll buy that book.
I’ll buy that book.”

El libro recibió un premio
presente lo tengo yo
honrando el nombre de Bolton
con gusto lo recibí.
Con gusto lo recibí.

The book received a prize
I remember it well
Honoring Professor Bolton
and Wilkie received it happily
And Wilkie received it happily.

Otro libro muy famoso
fue de su teoría de “elitlore”
teniendo en cuenta que todos
tenemos nuestro folklore.
Tenemos nuestro folklore.

Another highly regarded book
focused on his “elitlore” theory
underscoring how everyone
has their own folklore.
Has their own folklore.

Wilkie siguió escribiendo
sobre la Revolución
el libro tiene entrevistas
de líderes políticos mexicanos.
De líderes políticos mexicanos.

Wilkie continued writing
on the topic of the Mexican Revolution
the book consists of oral interviews
of Mexican political leaders.
Of Mexican political leaders.

No hay que olvidar que Wilkie
se enfocó en historias orales
de líderes de Centroamérica
también sudamericanos.
También sudamericanos.

We must not forget that Wilkie
Focused his work on the oral histories
of leaders from Central America
as well as South Americans.
As well as South Americans.

Wilkie ha escrito muchos libros
y todos hay que leer
si la historia latinoamericana
la queremos comprender.
La queremos comprender.

Wilkie has authored numerous books
and we should read them all
if we are to fully understand
Latin American history
Latin American history.

Al Doctor James Wilkie
muchos honores le han dado
por ser el gran experto
muchas medallas ha ganado.
Muchas medallas ha ganado.

Dr. James Wilkie
has garnered numerous awards
due to his great expertise
he is the recipient of many medals.
He is the recipient of many medals.

Wilkie se ha codeado
con presidents de estado
en cenas y banquetes
su nombre ha resaltado.
Su nombre ha resaltado.

Wilkie is very well known
among heads of state
in state dinners and banquets
his name is highly respected.
His name is highly respected.

El gran Profesor Wilkie
muchos estudiantes ha doctorado
por México, China y Europa
sus discípulos lo han celebrado.
Sus discípulos lo han celebrado

The great Professor Wilkie
has been advisor to numerous doctoral students
in Mexico, China and Europe
his students have honored him.
His students have honored him.

Ya con esta me despido
con una copa en la mano
brindando “¡Viva Wilkie!”
¡Nuestro amor y respeto ha ganado!
¡Nuestro amor y respeto ha ganado!

With this I say farewell
with a wine glass in my hand
toasting “¡Viva Wilkie!”
Our love and respect he has won!
Our love and respect he has won!

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MAESTROS



Jim Wilkie and I Have Shared Our Joint Knowledge About the Mexican Permanent Revolution Since the late 1950s

By Lyle C. Brown

Dear Jim,

Part I

You have thanked me on many occasions for four main reasons:

(1) having stimulated you to begin research on the times of Lázaro Cárdenas as Governor of Michoacán (1928-1932) and President of Mexico (1934-1940);

(2) having advised you on how to develop your writing skills in English beginning in your 1958 MCC (Mexico City College) course with me on U.S. History in the Twentieth Century, and continuing to develop your writing style as you wrote at Berkeley your 1959 M.A. thesis on *Ideological Conflict in the Time of Lázaro Cárdenas*;¹

(3) having invited you to my home to discuss your research on Lázaro Cárdenas compared to my approach that we had talked about at MCC and had reviewed in correspondence;²

1 Berkeley Classic University of California, 1959. http://profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/spring2015/Ideological_Conflict_in_the_Time_of_Lazaro_Cardenas.pdf (For your related works, see PS 1, on the last page, below.)

2. In 1964, I completed *General Lázaro Cárdenas and Mexican Presidential Politics, 1933-1940* (Austin: University of Texas, Classic PHD Thesis, 1964) published at http://www.profmx.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume21/4latespring2016/LYLE_PHD_Thesis.pdf. (For my related articles, see PS 2 on last page, below.)

You were pleased that when you brought up your plan to conduct Oral History Research and Publication by challenging Mexican political, economic and social Elites to explain themselves and be open to debate as you tape record their life histories since the 1910s and 1920s, I reacted positively by offering to participate, especially, if possible, with a Mexican General of the Revolution;

(4) having helped save you from a mistaken investigation by the FBI in 1958. The FBI had “invited” you to the U.S. Embassy to raise questions about your supposedly “having visited the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City,” but you told FBI personnel they were wrong for two reasons: first, you had never made any visit(s) to the Soviet Embassy; second, the FBI (as you understood its authority), had jurisdiction only *in* the USA, not outside.

Fortunately, you came immediately to me to ask my opinion of the matter, since you knew that I was an inactive U.S. Naval Reserve officer with training in intelligence. I told you that the FBI’s mistaken investigation probably occurred because in my U.S. International Relations course (in which you were not enrolled). I had been sending students to visit and observe various embassies in Mexico City. You must have been in my office when students came in to obtain their assignment and an informant heard me sending another student to the Soviet Embassy. The FBI informant believed that it was you who had received the assignment. You were grateful when I said that I would talk with officials at the U.S. Embassy, which I did.

I was pleased to hear from you that Dr. John Elmendorf, Vice President of Mexico City College, went on your behalf to the U.S.

Embassy to back your complaint about the FBI having misidentified you as a “spy,” and that he wrote a strong letter to the University of California at Berkeley recommending your admission as MCC’s most outstanding B.A. graduate, destined to succeed in Berkeley’s doctoral program in history.

I appreciate your thanks for the above and more, but our academic and personal friendship since 1958 has always been a two-way street.

Part II

The more I came to know you and your innovative efforts to place the Lázaro Cárdenas era of direct power into perspective by analyzing it statistically through national budgets and expenditures, the more I realized that you were defining for me (and eventually for all scholars) the many ways in which Cárdenas made history.

For example, you were the first to show, through your development of historical statistics, a new way to bridge the gap between quantitative and intellectual history so that you could periodize the role of Mexico's "Revolutionary Family" plan to govern the country.

Further you were the only scholar who ever met with Emilio Portes Gil and with Lázaro Cárdenas to raise Presidential issues and to discuss your views on periodization of Mexico's stages of change. The first stage was initiated in 1929 by Interim-President Emilio Portes Gil (1929-1930), who established the Official Party System, which you have been defining expansively as lasting up to the present under different names (PNR 1929-1938, PRM 1938-1946, PRI 1946-2000, PAN 2000-2012, PRI 2012-2018).³

To discuss your concept about a continuing Official Party System since 1929, which you have observed and expanded over time since arriving at Mexico City College in August 1955, let me summarize only three cases to suggest the complexity with which you are dealing by looking at the achievements of three Presidents of Mexico:⁴

1. Portes Gil and the founding of the "Revolutionary Family" under the PNR in 1929, based on strong regional leaders.

3 Partido Nacional Revolucionario, (PNR 1929), Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, (PRM 1938), Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI 1946-2000), Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN 2000-2012), and PRI 2012-2018.

4 Drawing from research for your books such as: *Ideological Conflict in the Time of Lázaro Cárdenas* [1928-1932], (University of California, Berkeley, Classic M.A. Thesis, 1959), http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/1spring2015/Ideological_Conflict_in_the_Time_of_Lazaro_Cardenas.pdf *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change since 1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1st Edition, 1967, Revised Edition, 1970), http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/2latespring2015/The_Mexican_Revolution_Federal_Expenditure_and_Social_Change_Since_1910.pdf and your article "Six Ideological Phases of Mexico's 'Permanent Revolution' Since 1910" in *Society and Economy in Mexico* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1990), pp. 1-69 <http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/4fall03/SixPhases.pdf> as well as upon your *Schemas* for teaching a course on "Mexico's Permanent Revolution since 1910" that you began in the 1990s.

2. Lázaro Cárdenas' (a) Shift of the PNR to the PRM in 1938 to move from strongmen to four sectors of the Revolutionary family (Labor, Small Farmers and Peasants, Military, and the Popular Sector including small businessmen, lawyers, store owners, teachers, etc.); and (b) shift from Land Reform to the unacknowledged founding of the Mexican.

Industrial Revolution (based also on nationalization of railways in 1937 and foreign petroleum operations in 1938), which was carried on by his decades-long-second-in-command and then President of Mexico, Manuel Avila Camacho (1940-1946).

3. Carlos Salinas de Gortari and the shift of the Revolutionary Family to follow the Economic Model of a Balanced Role in the Public Sector that he developed (1988-1994), which let's neither the Public nor Private Sector become too important, and which all Presidents since then have maintained in its most important aspects, including the two PAN Presidents (2000-2012).

CASE 1. In your view concerning the "official foundation" of the Revolutionary Family, Portes Gil's idea was to develop the PNR to head the new Mexican "Revolutionary Political Family" and govern "pluralistically," thus obviating the need of any armed politicians from trying to capture the Presidency. Thus all Wings of the New Party were immediately included, and theoretically all would have alternating chances to gain the Presidency of Mexico, as well as to serve in under Presidents reflecting different Wings of the Revolutionary Family.⁵

The assassination of President-Elect Álvaro Obregón on July 17, 1928, as you remind us, had caused a major crisis that brought Portes Gil to the fore. Many saw the killing of Obregón (who at a luncheon to honor him was shot by a religious zealot) as being a Calles plot giving reason for President Plutarco Elías Calles to remain in office instead of leaving power when his term was scheduled to end November 30, 1928.

As you are now fully showing, to absolve himself, Calles named Portes Gil on August 18, 1928, to become Minister of Gobernación (the

5 Portes Gil was Minister of Gobernación under President Pascual Ortiz Rubio; Minister of Foreign Relations under President Lázaro Cárdenas; and Presidente of the Comité Técnico Consultivo de la Comisión Nacional Bancaria y Seguros under Presidents Luis Echeverría Álvarez, José López Portillo, and Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, who was in office when Portes died in 1988.

Government's chief political officer) to calm the country and develop the rationale to maintain his Inside Group's continuity in power by developing a new political party named Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR).⁶

Calles told his Inside Group that he was leaving for France to study how the French political and economic system had evolved,⁷ and that from August through December of 1929 he was naming Portes Gil as Political CEO and Interim President, hence leaving Mexican politics in capable hands. Portes Gil, a civilian lawyer famous for having worked to break up the big estates and to distribute land to the *peones*, had invited his great friends Marte R. Gómez and Diego Rivera to help explain the rural situation in his State of Tamaulipas, which was typical of so many rural areas throughout Mexico.⁸

Indeed, Congress voted Portes Gil to become President of Mexico on December 1, 1928, after Calles termed out the last day of November. Many scholars have accepted wrongly the conventional "wisdom" that Portes was a mere "puppet" of Calles.

However, for Calles and his Insiders Political Group, Portes Gil was the only one who had not only the ability to calm the country that had been led by plotting Generals, but as a civilian also he was the only one who had the experience of having established as Governor of Tamaulipas his own Model Party named the Partido Socialista Fronterizo (PSF), which was to be implanted in his PNR.

Portes Gil had founded the PSF to win the vote to become Governor of Tamaulipas (1925-1929), which he left to become (August 1, 1928) Minister of Gobernación and oversee the transition for outgoing President Plutarco Elías Calles (1924-1928).

Portes had already persuaded his fellow members of the Calles Group to adopt the idea of the Revolutionary Family, thus allowing alternating factions to assume the Presidency periodically from the Left (Statist) Wing of the Family, Center (Active-Statist) Wing, and Right

6 Or as some of Calles's critics claimed, "PNR means 'Plutarco Necesita Robar.'"

7 As you note, the real reason Calles left Mexico was to suggest that he was not involved in the death of Obregón as well as to show that he had left political power to Portes Gil as Interim President of Mexico.

8 Rivera went especially to paint the bleak situation of the Indigenous and poor peasants huddled without lands in northeastern Mexico, so typical of all of the north and of the center of Mexico. Marte R. Gómez would become Governor of Tamaulipas early in the Cárdenas presidency, and then Special Advisor to Cárdenas in the Presidential transition to become Minister of Agriculture under President Avila Camacho, as discussed below.

(Anti-Statist) Wing. In the meantime, as established by Portes Gil, each Wing has been represented in all Presidencies, regardless of whether Left, Center, or Right holds power, thus eliminating the need for armed Counter-Elite politicians to try to seize control through armed rebellion.

Hence, in your view, Portes Gil was the unique leader to provide the intellectual and legal framework for founding (March 4, 1929) the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR), which became the basis for the Official Party developed by the Revolutionary Family. Further, as Interim-President, Portes Gil signed the “Arreglos de 1929,” among many other major actions, which he had negotiated as Political CEO at Gobernación jointly with the Church’s Hierarchical League against the wishes of the armed lay Catholic “Cristero Army” fighting the government in West Central Mexico. This agreement formally closed the Cristero War (1926-1929) against the Mexican Government.

CASE 2. In your sophisticated analysis of Lázaro Cárdenas you examine his rise to Governor of Michoacán (1928-1932), to Presidential Candidate (1932-1934), and to President of Mexico (1934-1940). As President, Cárdenas established the basis of Mexico’s Industrial Revolution (1939-1958), working with his protégé President Manuel Avila Camacho, under whom he served as Secretary of Defense.

That you view the Presidential transition of power from Cárdenas to Avila Camacho as importantly involving Marte R. Gómez seems key to your analysis. Cárdenas and Gómez met with U.S. Vice President-Elect Henry A. Wallace and asked for his help, when he represented President-Elect Franklin D. Roosevelt at the inauguration of Avila Camacho.

To Wallace (a world famous agriculturalist in his own right), they admitted confidentially the failure of the Great Land Redistribution resulting in small communal peasant plots since 1934, with collapse of food supplies for Mexico’s cities. Could Wallace advise Marte R. Gómez (who had been advising Cárdenas in 1940, knowing that he would become Minister of Agriculture for Avila Camacho) if he would return early in 1941 to help develop new approaches to feeding Mexico?

Wallace agreed, and during his return visit to Mexico, Gómez introduced him to the country’s agricultural production problems. This

information is included in your account of how Norman E. Borlaug gave up his U.S. professorship to move to Mexico and launch the World's First Green Revolution.⁹

Further, you see Cárdenas's view of Land Reform in the larger setting of water, soils, and generation of electricity. Cárdenas was named the Chief Developer/Chief Advisor in Charge of the Tepalcatec/Balsas River Basin Development Projects under Presidents Avila Camacho, Miguel Alemán (1946-1952), Adolfo Ruiz Cortines (1952-1958), Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964), Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-1968), and Luis Echeverría (1968 until Cárdenas' death in 1970).

CASE 3. Carlos Salinas de Gortari and his Model to Balance the Role of the Public Sector. Salinas realized he had to reduce and regulate the huge accumulated financial losses and international debt caused by the Decentralized/Parastate Sector under what you call the wild excesses of borrowing to cover losses under Luis Echeverría (1970-1976) and José López Portillo (1976-1982), both of whom caused the collapse of Mexico's economy, 1982-1983.

As you state, when President Miguel de la Madrid took office December 1, 1982, amid the accumulated financial excesses of "Presidents" Echeverría and López Portillo (1970-1982), he named Salinas (with a doctorate from Harvard University, 1978) as Secretary of Budget and Planning. Salinas's assignment was to stop the terrible hemorrhage of funds needed to pay Mexico's debt hang-over accumulated since 1970 by the Decentralized/Parastate Agencies. Without authority by the Central Government, a huge balance was owed abroad; but world and Mexican oil prices collapsed and left López Portillo crying when he left office in 1982. Salinas held the post "economic guru" as he tamed inflation and stabilized the peso, until de la Madrid named him in 1987 to be his successor for the presidential period 1988-1994.

Salinas was uniquely qualified to become President since he had served as President *de facto* beginning about 1983, because de la Madrid—as you put it simply—could not make decisions. De la

⁹ As you reveal in your manuscript in progress entitled "Las Dos Revoluciones Verdes en la Agroindustria de México para el Mundo: Norman E. Borlaug y Roberto González Barrera y el Auge de Súper Comida Básica desde la Década de 1940."

Madrid never fully realized what had happened after he took office let alone what to do even when a major earthquake of 1985 hit Mexico City.

De la Madrid could barely grasp the fact that Echeverría and López Portillo had rejected joint foreign-Mexican private ventures since the 1940s in order to nationalize more than 1,200 industries (They had said: Mexico should seize the high profits generated by foreign-owned companies as well as by companies jointly owned by Mexican and Foreign Investors.) Unfortunately, the Echeverría-López Portillo bureaucracies did not have experts with knowledge to manage the newly nationalized industries, let alone to raise new money, so the “Nationalist Economic System” led many bureaucratic managers to siphon into their own pockets huge amounts of State Funds outside the control of the Federal Government.

Once Salinas won the Presidency in his own right, he could move to establish his Balanced Active-Statism Model under the Official Party by privatizing the new State Companies that had been driven into the ground by the disastrous policies of the Echeverría-López duo.

The successes of President Salinas (1984-1989) restored the faith of Mexicans in the Revolutionary Family, now in power as the Balanced PRI, which offered hope for private domestic and foreign investors. Salinas’s reforms required better management of the Public Sectors, with much less corruption than that of the Statists who had been in power from 1970 to 1982.

Thus the Salinas Balanced Model was followed by Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000), who accepted the Presidential election results of 2000 and turned over power to the “PAN Cousins of the Revolutionary Family.” The PAN was led by the innovative Vicente Fox Quesada (2000-2006) and the stolid Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (2000-2012), both of whom had to live with the fact that the PRI did not “vanish” with its loss of the nation’s Presidency.

Indeed, from 2000 to 2015 the PRI held well more than half of Mexico's 32 Governorships.¹⁰ Also, the PRI retained control of many of people in its three Political Sectors working within the PAN's own governmental labor force.¹¹ I agree with you that the PRI-dominated bureaucracy made life difficult for Mexico's PAN Presidents.

Thus, in your view the PAN basically did not change the PRI emphasis on the Salinas economic Model, which also balanced economic and social expenditure, leaving intact the Salinas System in place since 1998. The PAN quickly learned the lesson that that it needed to shift pots of money to the State Governors, thus decentralizing power to keep both PAN and PRI leaders and followers happy.

As I understand, you are showing that the PRI Model developed by Carlos Salinas de Gortari –President 1988-1994– has prevailed since 1988, whether under the PRI or under the opposition PAN. Clearly this is a provocative new interpretation, as is your having named the Stages of the Official Party Since 1929.

Ironically, the PAN had to live with the PRI because until 2016 the PRI has maintained a majority of Governors in power, even after losing uninterrupted power it had held in four states since 1929: Durango, Quintana Roo, Tamaulipas, and Veracruz. But five States have continued in uninterrupted PRI power since 1929: Campeche, Coahuila, Colima, Estado de México, and Hidalgo.

Further, the PRI continued to manage much of the labor force through its affiliated members in the *sindicato*-based Labor Force that could bring government bureaucracies to a halt, either one at a time or all once.

President Enrique Peña Nieto returned the PRI to the Presidency (2012-2018). One of his initial moves caused the PRI to work with and sign a PRI-PAN-PRD¹² accord to allow private Mexican and Foreign capital to operate in parts of the Oil Industry, while keeping national ownership of the oil sector largely intact. Thus, Peña

10 Mexico's Federal District had long been a virtual State until its 2016 change of name to Mexico City. It will officially become the 32nd State in 2017 and has not been governed by the PRI since 1997.

11 The Military Sector was taken out of the PRI's Sectors in 1946, but it still holds important sway, especially if under the PAN, because many military officers have had long ties with the PRI.

12 PRD stands for the Partido de la Revolución Democrática, founded in 1988 by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, both of whom have left it in disgust because of petty internal political battles.

Nieto seeks to recapture the Social Revolution while continuing the Industrial Revolution but with growing Anti-State overtones.¹³

Although Cárdenas declined to tape record your interviews with him, he freely discussed and debated your views beginning August 25-26, 1962, during your travels with him by automobile from his home in Pátzcuaro to Apatzingán and back.

You started the first interview by asking him to compare his role to that of Presidents Calles (1924-1928) and Alemán (1946-1952). He responded that was a question he could not answer because each faced and solved problems in the particular circumstances of their own time as each made contributions in their own way to the continuing Mexican Revolution.

Therefore you began the interviews by discussing with Cárdenas his role in, for example, his link with the Private Sector orchestrated in 1934 by his advisor Marte R. Gómez (Mexico's Treasury Minister, 1933-1934, during Cárdenas' transition to the Presidency of Mexico). Thus in 1934, Gómez established Mexico's National Development Bank (NAFIN) to carry out a variety of functions, especially development of a stock exchange and a market for public bonds. In 1940 NAFIN was reorganized and given responsibility for industrial promotion as the key to formal emergence in 1941 of "Mexico's Industrial Revolution."

Through your explanation of this "capitalistic" aspect of transition from the Cárdenas "Social Revolution" (1934-1940) to the official opening of Industrial Revolution (1940-1946) by President Manuel Avila Camacho, we know better that Avila Camacho had been Cárdenas's right-hand man since the 1920s as well as Minister of National Defense 1937-1940, with Marte R. Gómez as Avila Camacho's Secretary of Agriculture and Development.

Jim, as you have shown, President Alemán (1946-1952) was not the supposed ideological opposite to President Cárdenas that he has been purported to be. Rather both Presidents fully realized by 1940 that Cárdenas' massive land distribution into tiny collectively owned plots had created critical problems for feeding Mexico. Thus,

13 The accords were many. One broke destructive monopoly control by Carlos Slim, who had blocked the modern development of Mexico's telephone system.

when Alemán became President, he named Cárdenas to direct both the Balsas and Tepalcatepec River Development Programs covering 43,000 sq. miles over five States of Mexico so that he could there turn the complex Infrastructural Plan into full- scale actions. Indeed Cárdenas laid the basis for the rise of what would become after his death in 1970 the Huge Port of Lázaro Cárdenas in Michoacán with its ship, rail, and steel mill operations.

Moreover, in your discussions you shifted your framework to focus on the broad consequence of each of each Presidential period and how Cárdenas saw “success” of each President in light of the pressures of their time in office.

Part III

By 1963, even as your path-breaking analysis focused on Mexico’s national budgets and expenditures, you were developing your new methodology to challenge Mexico’s Elites who had made history since the 1910s and 1920s, as we had discussed earlier. Your new method was successful because you invite Elite leaders to explain themselves as you challenge and debate with them in tape-record interviews for your plan of new Oral History Research and Publications.

Suddenly in 1964, I received a letter inviting me to Acapulco. I had expressed to you earlier, that if you were to interview and debate with any generals of the Mexican Revolution, I would be pleased to participate. Thus I spent late December with you and Edna in Acapulco, participating in the continuation of your interviews with former General Juan Andreu Almazán, who established the first modern hotel in Acapulco (the Papagayo) as he launched Mexico’s Tourist Industry.

By the time you became a tenured professor at Ohio State University in your second year, we were working on a joint article that would be published in 1971 as “United States-Mexican Relations: Problems Old and New,” our part in the volume *Twentieth-Century American Foreign Policy*.¹⁴ I continued that work in “The Politics of

14 A major book edited by Robert H. Bremner, John Braeman, David Brody (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp. 378-419).

United States-Mexican Relations: Problems of the 1970s in Historical Perspective,” a paper presented at the IV International Congress of Mexican History.¹⁵

By 1968 you had moved to UCLA, where I visited you after the Great Pacific Brush Fire of 1978 was narrowly averted from your home in the mountains overlooking the Pacific Ocean. With you for nearly a month while I used your personal library for my research and shared my bedroom with a pet boa constrictor that inhabited your waterbed but ranged freely, I learned in depth how you had developed your Theory of Elitelore, originally presented in 1967 to the New York Conference on Social Science and Folklore, sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundations. For persons who are interested, other aspects of our relationship though the years are described in my article, “Methods and Approaches to Oral History: Interviewing Latin American Elites.”¹⁶

At age 90, I am still learning from a precocious former student. Perhaps I should have given you an A rather than a B+ for an American history course at Mexico City College. On the other hand, that experience seems to have inspired you to do bigger and better things! At any rate, the testimonies of your former students are proof of your success.

(For Postscripts, see the last page, below).

PS 1: Wilkie’s Books growing out of his University of California, Berkeley, Classic M.A. Thesis, 1959 (cited in Footnote 1, above):

I. *The Mexican Revolution, Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910* (1st Edition: University of California Press, 1967 and 2nd Edition Revised, 1970): http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/2latespring2015/The_Mexican_Revolution_Federal_Expenditure_and_Social_Change_Since_1910.pdf

15 “In *Contemporary Mexico*, ed. James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer, and Edna Monzón de Wilkie (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976): 471-493.

16 *Oral History Review*, I: 1 (1973): 77-86.

For Translation, see the 1st and 2nd Editions in Spanish in “II” below:

II. *La Revolución Mexicana (1910-1976): Gasto Público y Cambio Social* [Con Epílogo, pp. 440-550, sobre: “Recentralización: El dilema presupuestario en el desarrollo económico de México, Bolivia y Costa Rica], (Cd. de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978). <http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/1winter03/03index1.htm>

III. *Revolution in Mexico: Years of Upheaval, 1910-1940* (New York: Knopf, 1969, and Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), Editors, James W. Wilkie and Albert L. Michaels <http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org/>

PS 2: My five articles based on my PHD thesis (as discussed in Footnote 2, above):

A. “Mexican Church-State Relations, 1933-1949.” *A Journal of Church and State* 8 (Spring 1964), pp. 202-222.

B. “Los comunistas y el régimen de Cárdenas,” *Revista de la Universidad de México*, 25 (Mayo 1971), pp. 25-34.

C. “Cárdenas: Creating a Campesino Power Base for Presidential Policy,” in *Essays on the Mexican Revolution: Revisionist Views of the Leaders*, ed. George Wolfskill and Douglas W. Richmond (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 101-136.

D. “Lázaro Cárdenas and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, 1934-1936,” in *Los intelectuales y el poder en México: Memorias de la VI Conferencia de Historiadores Mexicanos y Estadounidenses*, eds. Roderic A. Camp, Charles A. Hale, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México and Los Ángeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1991), pp. 311-321.

E. “The Calles-Cárdenas Connection” in *Twentieth Century Mexico*, ed. W. Dirk Raat and William H. Beezely (Lincoln: University of Nebraska. Press, 1986), pp. 146-158.

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James W. Wilkie: The right man at the right time

By Carlos B. Gil

My first contacts with Jim Wilkie

The year was 1967, and I was working in Chile as an Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer for the United States Information Agency, when I first communicated with Jim (I referred to him as “Professor Wilkie” for many years). And even though I was already 30 years old, at the time, and held a Master’s Degree in Latin American Studies from Georgetown University, I felt I needed more schooling. I was born near Los Angeles, California, of immigrant Mexican parents who received no formal education (see our family biography in *We Became Mexican American: How Our Immigrant Family Survived to Pursue the American Dream*¹), and so, having been raised in a bookless household, for all practical purposes, I felt my training remained inadequate. Even though I was doing quite well as a junior officer in the United States Foreign Service, I sensed I needed more of something under my belt. I wanted to rise higher but sensed I lacked the training to do so. And, so I started inquiring, mostly with my colleagues (there was no Internet at the time), and one of them, somehow, knew about a professor at Ohio State University named James Wilkie who was doing some “innovative” work on Mexico. This impelled me to write to Jim about the possibilities of my getting into

1 (Bloomington IN: XLibris: 2012), Revised edition, (Seattle: The GilDeane Group: 2014).

graduate school, which also meant I would leave the Foreign Service and return home.

Another reason that impelled me to write to him was the rising sense of discord that was sweeping the United States in 1967. That year alone, race riots broke out in Tampa, Milwaukee, and Newark, among other places, and young Americans were raising their voices in rejection of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. And, César Chávez, who was trying to unionize farmworkers, had already become a household name among *mexicano* families in California, like my own, and Chicano (the term was just aborning) students were demonstrating in his support in ways I had not seen. This kind of turmoil among the *mexicanos* I grew up with (ethnic identity was very weak for us at the time) was bracing, to say the least. The country I was officially representing in Chile, my own, seemed to be teetering. Living in the opposite side of the world, with all this going on, made me feel uncomfortable. I needed to witness what was going on.

These two elements motivated me to write Jim a letter inquiring about my becoming a graduate student at Ohio State. Much to my satisfaction he replied, encouraging me to apply for a graduate fellowship at Ohio State University, where I could study under his direction for a Ph.D. in Latin American history. I hadn't considered doing that, exactly, but I accepted the invitation.

Upon resigning from my Foreign Service job I returned to the United States in the company of my young family. We arrived in Columbus, Ohio, in the fall of 1969, where I had already been admitted for graduate study, and also awarded a teaching fellowship. I believe Jim had a hand in my receiving this award. Quickly I discovered, however, that he had been swept away by UCLA, and so I found myself without a guide and in a very weak Latin American Studies program. Consequently, a year later, in the fall of 1970, my family and I moved to Los Angeles where, thanks to a Ford Foundation Fellowship, I began my doctoral study in the UCLA History Department, and soon thereafter I agreed to have Jim serve as my graduate director.

Now that I have more than thirty years experience as a professor, I can look back on my graduate student experience with

Jim and more fully appreciate his unique approach not only to us, his graduate students, but also to his own university career.

As the world knows, in order to be successful at a leading American university, a faculty member must teach, publish, and perform community service. The main obligation, however, is to publish. “Publish or perish” is the common refrain. This remains the most reliable way to survive and prosper when working in a top tier institution of learning in the United States. I discovered this to be a tough challenge at the University of Washington, where I obtained a teaching appointment. I also learned that different professors approached this ordeal in different ways.

Two aspects about Jim's career

Before discussing how Jim influenced what I did academically, I wish to examine two aspects regarding the “publish or perish” side of Jim's career.

First, my hindsight encourages me to reaffirm, what I discovered at UCLA: that Jim prized doing research and writing. I remember when my friend Phil Boucher and I reported to one of his graduate classes, held in his narrow office in Bunch Hall, where he was eating a sandwich for lunch. Taking a bite and looking at us sideways, he remarked, in his half-jesting-half-critical way, that he wished he could take a pill to nourish himself quickly instead of wasting time to eat lunch. Just pop it in and keep going, he said. I had never known anyone to utter something of the sort, so his quip struck me as a peculiar remark, adding to a heap that would grow later. Now that I look back on this reminiscence, it speaks volumes.

In addition to valuing research, I slowly learned, as well, that Jim relished multi-pronged, innovative work. Even though I didn't stay around UCLA to keep abreast of his constructing PROFMEX, his signature research apparatus, his own remarks recently confirm my observation. Sometime, in 2013, he told an online interviewer about his early field work in the up-to-then largely overlooked archives at the Banco de Mexico and the government archives in Bolivia, and how he took pleasure working around the clock. We know this effort in the

1960s led to his pioneering analyses of Mexican national budgets and how they could shed light on the governmental evolution of Latin American countries. He told the interviewer how he worked happily on one project in the morning and another in the afternoon, scouring aging documents that few, if anybody, would think about twice. His penchant for spending long hours poring over arcane numbers, looking for meaningful results, sheds light on his long list of publications.

The second aspect of Jim's career that I wish to mention is that he undoubtedly applied an aggressive approach to funding his work. He could have limited himself to writing grant proposals, as most of us academicians do, but he went beyond. This is what most impresses me. And, UCLA ultimately served him well in his approach to Latin American research. Ohio State would have been the wrong place, and he discovered this early enough, much to his credit and foresight. Considering the vast linkages that the city of Los Angeles and the State of California enjoy with Mexico and its people, UCLA became an ideal place for him.

A combination of these elements fueled Jim's approach to scholarly production and, what's more important, he learned how to benefit from it. PROFMEX, his research consortium, stands as an accolade to his funding approach. I'll let others more familiar with it, on a professional basis, discuss PROFMEX. Nevertheless, from my perch in the Pacific Northwest, I came to appreciate his method, which boosted his ability to fund his research, his travel, pay for student and non-student assistants, and bring greater cohesion and influence to his Mexico work. As we all know, PROFMEX also enabled him to create a network of scholars and policy makers devoted to understanding Mexico's development and the enhancement of United States-Mexican relations. These achievements, in my mind, represent his crowning achievements.

At UCLA with Jim Wilkie

Naturally, Jim's proclivity for quantitative analysis in the study of Latin America spilled into his courses at UCLA, when I was there. His first major work, *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social*

Change Since 1910,² was published during his last months at Ohio State University, so if you were interested in Latin America at UCLA, in 1970, you got a dose of it from him, especially in his graduate seminars, as I did. My classmates and I were thus introduced to this numbers-oriented approach to what national budgets might mean in terms of social change in Mexico. History, as a scholarly discipline, was beginning to embrace statistical analysis in these years and Jim was racing to bring this approach to Mexican history. These were challenging concepts, especially for initiates like me.

One of the earliest opportunities for Jim to nudge me in a distinct direction came when I had to cast about for a doctoral thesis. Deciding what to write about at this point, in graduate school, can be a defining moment. I liken it to coming up to bat the piñata blindfolded; in many cases, someone has to position you closer, to be able to hit the swinging target filled with bonbons.

In my first time to bat, I hit off the mark, meaning that I identified a topic that Jim didn't rate well. During my time in the U.S. Foreign Service, I had worked in Honduras long enough to appreciate the stabilizing role of a Porfirio-Diaz-like-General, named Tiburcio Carías Andino, who ruled the nation dictatorially during the Great Depression. Discovering little written about him, in a national historiography that was slim itself, I proposed the topic to Jim. He quickly deflected it for reasons that I later appreciated more fully. In any case, I hit the piñata firmly, in due time, meaning that I discovered the right topic for my dissertation, and this is where Jim's influence played an even more critical role.

Writing my dissertation.

I chose to write a local history of my mother's native district, in western Jalisco, for my dissertation. I'm referring to the *municipio* of Mascota (a municipio is akin to a county in the United States). Our family lore about her past was considerable and it played an important role in our upbringing. After allowing for other thesis topics, I finally selected this one. I need to add, as a corollary, that my exposure to

2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

James Lockhart, also at UCLA, and his craving for local archives contributed to this decision.³ He prized such things as last wills and testaments, court records, and so on, all the grist of social and cultural history. And, that is exactly what I found in the provincial archives of Mascota, Jalisco, the *cabecera* (i.e., county seat) of the extensive municipio by the same name.

In the various offices housed under the roof of the *presidencia municipal* I found 100-year old records in the form of fraying handwritten registers, roach-infested court papers inscribed with the ink of the *huizache* bush,⁴ old tax documents and aging notary records, mortgage accounts and land registers. In the nearby church I also found carefully inscripted catalogs. Some of the civilian records had been stored outdoors in the *corral*, under open, thatched roof porches, exposed to weather and insects, while others were properly shelved indoors.⁵

When I found myself in this backcountry town, facing the multifarious records of the kind just described, Jim's example came to my aid. It helped brace me, and convince me, that I could draw meaningful historical concepts from them. So, I started counting: I totted up births and deaths, marriages and divorces, land sales, and tax payments, and so on. Day after day, without the aid of a computer, of course, relying only on paper and pencil, this quantitative work began taking on its own shapes and patterns. Later on, at the University of Washington, I fed these crude numbers into a then trending, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, also known as SPSSH, which operated only on large computers that spat out reams of oversized paper with perforated, detachable edges, printed with odd-looking numbers, all of which I poured into my thesis. As expected, Jim did his part, as dissertation director, to help me bring form and balance to each chapter, often painfully for me, as the novice book writer that I was. He performed his role, smiling in his crackly sort of way, with due patience.

3 See, for example, his *Spanish Peru: 1532 to 1560. A Social History*, 2nd edition (University of Wisconsin, 1994) and *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (University of Texas Press, 1972).

4 *Acacia farnesiana* (L.) Wild. (1806). Publicado en: *Species Plantarum. Editio quarta* 4(2): 1083-1084. 1806.

5 See, my "Los Archivos de Mascota, Jalisco," *Historia Mexicana* (XXVIII): 1:82-89), El Colegio de México.

With Jim's help my dissertation ultimately became one of my first academic publications: *Life in Provincial Mexico: National and Regional History Seen From Mascota, Jalisco, 1867-1972*⁶. It played a vital role in promoting me to Associate Professor at the University of Washington, and thus securing my job. Later, the University of Guadalajara published the Spanish language version of *Life in Provincial Mexico* which became known as *Mascota 1967-1972*.⁷ This is the background explaining how some of the chapters in my *Life in Provincial Mexico* were formed and how Jim Wilkie influenced my work. Now, let us look at some details.

Applying quantitative methods.

In one of my more essential sections in *Life in Provincial Mexico*, chapter "2, Distribution of Land," I was able to quantify the age-old question of who owns the land, and what it might mean to the interested observer. In setting my bearings for the chapter, I quoted a venerable geographer of the early 20th century, also an Emeritus Professor of UCLA, George M. McBride, who had written earlier that "When you answer the question, 'Who really owns the soil?' you lay bare the very foundations [on] which...society is based and reveal the fundamental character of many of its institutions."⁸ Scholars of Mexico were familiar with a) national level patterns of concentrated land tenure inherited from the colonial period; b) the fact that land was held by an elite few in the form of giant haciendas and; c) that this concentration appeared most exaggerated during the dictatorship of General Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910).

Few, if any studies, however, could verify this on a local or regional basis at the time. To what extent was this true in Aguascalientes, or Oaxaca, or Chihuahua, or Michoacán? My study responded to this question for the western portion of Jalisco which fell under the jurisdiction of the municipio of Mascota (it extended

6 (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1983). UCLA Latin American Studies, Volume 53, UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

7 (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaria General, Unidad Editorial, 1988). Colección Historia Serie: Documentos e Investigación, No. 35.

8 *Life in Provincial Mexico*, p. 17.

all the way from Atenguillo, in the east, and west to Puerto Vallarta,⁹ on the coast, including Tomatlán. After analyzing such documents as the “Manifestaciones Prediales de 1900” (inscribed in the office of the state collector), and the “Registro Público de la Propiedad” (archived in the local state court), I was able to confirm that about 5 percent of the population in the municipio owned land, somewhat consistent with the national pattern. Local records also allowed me to reveal local land patterns (not everything was big tracts; there was a lot of *pequeña propiedad*), and the fact that the sales of rural properties could be viewed as an economic indicator of good and bad times. I devised new-fangled graphs to show these relationships.

The opportunity and challenge of converting numbers into historical concepts rose again with the records held in the Oficina del Registro Civil, the office of vital statistics, where birth, deaths, marriages, and divorces for the municipio are registered in tall hand-inscribed volumes. In this office I sat, in the early 1970s, even on Sunday mornings (it stayed open to accommodate *rancheros* who traveled into town on horseback or mule back from their backcountry *ranchos* to hear Mass), studying the book registers and scratching my tick marks on paper. I poured my work in this office into Chapter “4, Life and Death,” revealing a pattern of mortality that I concluded was “particularly striking.” The raw data slowly unveiled the fact that death came to children most often in the late 1800s and early 1900s; I wrote that “about half of those who died in Mascota during the “halcyon days” of the Porfirio Diaz era were children of five years or younger.” I also noted that “the likelihood of losing a child under the age of five was staggering.”¹⁰ In a nifty graph I also showed that death was more likely to visit your home during the early and hottest part of the rainy season, April to August.¹¹ With few exceptions, only a few investigators had examined patterns of life and death on a local scale; Woodrow Wilson Borah, one of Jim’s mentors, and his fellow members of the “Berkeley School,” analyzed Aztec tribute records and early Spanish archives

9 Puerto Vallarta was known as Puerto Las Peñas in those days.

10 *Life in Provincial Mexico*, pp. 83, 86.

11 “Frequency of Death per Month for Selected Years”, p. 91.

revealing colossal death rates among the Indians in the first century after the conquest.¹²

In all honesty, I doubt I would have done this work on Mascotan highlands of Jalisco if I hadn't studied under Jim Wilkie, who was regarded as a "numbers guy," a professor who prized quantitative history.

Applying Oral History Techniques.

One of the reasons why I remained a steady apprentice of Jim Wilkie was his highlighting of oral history. As a modernist historian of Latin America, he evidently decided early in his career to benefit from the memory of selected individuals, still living, who could give perspective to given recent historical questions. It also appears that Jim coined the term "elitelore" in order to capture the important role that the re-stimulated and recorded memory of such persons can play in helping us understand the past. As the "Elitelore World" website explains it, "The concept of Elitelore refers to the accumulated knowledge, mythology, and tradition of leaders, from national figures to neighborhood caciques."¹³

Jim had already launched an oral history center at Ohio State, when I first communicated with him by mail from South America, and so he carried the practice to UCLA encouraging him to offer courses about it, as well. When I arrived at UCLA, in 1970, I enrolled in his oral history courses and found the notion and the technique very attractive. I eagerly began to apply my new found learning. Two examples of my early enthusiasm for oral history are worth mentioning.

One was a seminar paper I wrote based on my interview of Lesley Byrd Simpson, Emeritus Professor of Mexican History and Literature at the University of California at Berkeley. Professor Simpson, now deceased, is still regarded as "a master of Hispanic literature and Mexican history, his meticulous workmanship enhanced

12 I wrote in *Life in Provincial Mexico*: "Apart from the seminal works of Florescano, Cook and Borah, and Brading and Wu, few attempts have been made to unearth vital statistics at a parish or municipal level..." p.100. Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México, 1780-1810. Ensayo sobre el movimiento de los precios y sus consecuencias económicas y sociales.* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1969); Borah, Woodrow Wilson and Sherburne F. Cook, *Essays in Population History, Mexico and the Caribbean*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California, 1971-1974); D.A. Brading and Cecilia Wu, "Population Growth and Crisis: León, 1720-1860," in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 5:1 (May 1973):1-36.

13 Elitelore World, <http://www.elitelore.org/description.html>, accessed April 28, 2016.

by his charming literary style... [and] an amused and amusing tolerance of human frailty.”¹⁴ I learned enormously from his matchless study of the Spanish *encomienda* and I used his ever popular Mexican text, *Many Mexicos*, in my courses at the University of Washington for many years. When I interviewed him in his Berkeley office he exuded a professorial finesse accentuated by his long wispy white locks and a worn herringbone jacket. I also admired his non-scholarly contribution as a pilot for the U.S. Airforce in World War I and II. This initial foray into the practice of oral history remains a memorable moment for me.

The second example of my early enthusiasm for this kind of scholarly practice is my unknowing but far-sighted decision to interview my then-still-living Mexican immigrant ancestors (my mother, and several uncles, my father having passed on). I was keenly interested in their experience as emigrants from Mexico and immigrants to the United States. I discuss this work more fully in a section below.

Regarding my *Life in Provincial Mexico*, which arose from my thesis, I also applied oral history methods.¹⁵ These interviews aided my appreciation of the human dimension reflected in the local records already cited, providing me a fuller sense of the social and cultural dimensions that survive so well in Mexico’s provinces. In this endeavor, I interviewed owners of large ranchos, like don Salvador Chávez Magaña, and those of smaller ones, like Salvador Ortega Duenas. I also recorded the life stories of former hacienda workers like Rosendo Peña and Pedro Preciado, my uncles, both of them. This material helped me interpret life in provincial Mexico.

I also applied oral history techniques with the book that followed: *Hope and Frustration: Interviews with Leaders of Mexico’s Political Opposition*.¹⁶ This book came into existence by happenstance. In my capacity as an Associate Professor of History, at the University of Washington, I arrived in Mexico City, with my wife, Barbara R. Deane,

14 Calisphere, University of California website, <http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb4d5nb20m;NAAN=13030&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=div00146&toc.depth=1&toc.id=&brand=calisphere>, accessed April 28, 2016.

15 My first published book was a collection of articles to be used as a reader for courses on modern Mexico and modern Latin American history, *The Age of Porfirio Diaz: Selected Readings* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977).

16 (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources SR Books, 1984).

to begin researching a book about the 1968 massacre at Tlaltelolco. In seeking to obtain full professorship status, my aim was to locate witnesses who might still have been living in the Tlaltelolco apartments where the infamous shooting took place and start by building a core of interview material that would provide me with an initial framework of information for my follow up.

However, having checked into our hotel in the Colonia Roma, on the afternoon of September 18th, 1985, we were awakened the next morning by a violent 8.0 earthquake that devastated our neighborhood and other parts of the city. Many lives were lost under the rubble; we were lucky to survive. Needless to say, my wife and I were shattered by the experience, requiring us to evacuate to Guadalajara in order to recuperate and re-orient ourselves. In so doing, my book project was completely overturned, along with so many other things in the city, because the temblor hit the Tlaltelolco apartments as fiercely as it shattered the Colonia Roma. An entire building complex in Tlaltelolco was torn from its foundations, with people inside, and dumped sideways. Consequently, I abandoned my Tlaltelolco project and, after returning to Mexico City from Guadalajara, I was captivated by the rise of the so-called *sociedad civil* which ascended from the city ruins.

My attempt to track the rise of this movement, which became an unparalleled civilian condemnation of the government's inept response to the emergency, led me to seek out opposition voices that might have given me a political perspective on what was going on, following the disaster. Soon enough, this effort led me to identify important opposition leaders whose views and sentiments ultimately filled the pages of *Hope and Frustration*.

For this book, I began interviewing a selection of political leaders who were opposed in those days to the PRI, Mexico's official party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional):

- On the Right, my interviews included two top-level members of the PAN (Partido de Acción Nacional), *Pablo Emilio Madero Belden*, congressman, former presidential candidate, and nephew of the Francisco I. Madero, martyr of the Mexican Revolution; and *Jesús González Schmall*, a leading congressman;

- In the Center (stretching the meaning of the word), two leading members of the PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática), *Cuahtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano*, former Governor of the State of Michoacán, presidential candidate, and the son of the former President Lázaro Cárdenas; and *Porfirio Muñoz Ledo*, former Secretary of Labor, former Secretary of Education, former Secretary of Agriculture, former Ambassador to the United Nations, and senator; and
- And, on the Left, *Heberto Castillo Martínez*, congressman, presidential candidate, and founder of the PMT (Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores); and *Jorge Alcocer*, congressman and member of the Communist Party.

In essence, *Hope and Frustration* permitted me entry into the terrain of political opposition politics in Mexico. It provided me with a deeper understanding of the dominance that the PRI enjoyed over all political matters up through the late 1980's. I especially learned how the official party could coerce politicians of any stripe, be they *priístas*, *panistas*, *perredistas*, or any others, to do its bidding. Most importantly, my interviewees, all of them in the opposition, opened my eyes to the complexity behind their own lives, their political values, and their political parties and, most of all, the labyrinthine ways that they managed to survive to keep on fighting.

It's worth noting that in the process of working with the interviews, and squeezing out a perspective which I decanted into Chapters 1-3 of *Hope and Frustration*, there were many a times that I reviewed and analyzed Jim & Edna Wilkie's *Mexico Visto en el Siglo XX*. Could their method and content come to my aid? I decided, in the end, to work my interview material my way; there was no other way. In the end, *Hope and Frustration* provided me with a full professorship at the University of Washington.

“We Became Mexican American”

The most satisfying example of my use of oral history methods, so far, is my latest book, already mentioned: *We Became Mexican American: How Our Immigrant Family Survived to Pursue the American Dream*.

The reader will recall that even as I was still doing graduate work at UCLA I eagerly began to interview my immigrant ancestors (my mother and several uncles, my father having been deceased by that time). I completed most of the interviews by 1979 and set them aside. I asked them the following questions:

- Why did they immigrate to the United States?
- How did they migrate to the United States border?
- Why did they settle in what became my hometown, San Fernando, California) and what was that town like?
- How did they fare and survive, especially through the Great Depression?
- What was life like, for us all, growing up in southern California (I also asked my siblings this question)?

I earlier described the decision to begin interviewing my folks as an unwitting thing to do on my part, but it was also far-sighted. And, needless to say, its importance grew as I worked the material, from the early transcriptions in Spanish, to the later translated renditions from Spanish to English. As noted earlier, I put this job aside during the entire course of my professorship at the University of Washington in order to do my Mexico work, and only after I retired did I pick up where I had left off. The final version of this labor, begun about thirty five years earlier, became an award-winning family biography supplemented with historical insights.¹⁷

We Became Mexican American narrates my family’s story of emigration from Mexico into the southern California, in the years

¹⁷ *We Became Mexican American* was awarded “BEST BIOGRAPHY” in two book competitions in the United States in 2013. And, in 2015, it won an “HONORABLE MENTION in Biography/Autobiography” at the 2015 Book Festival in Amsterdam (The Netherlands). The 2013 honors came from The 15th Annual International Latino Book Award ceremony held at the Cervantes Institute in New York City, May 30, 2013: 1) Best Biography in English and 2) Best Latino Focused Work. On March 8th *We Became Mexican American* also won Best Biography at the 2012-2013 cycle of the Los Angeles Book Festival for independent authors and publishers. As a result, *We Became Mexican American* “sits” at “The Table of Honor,” digitally speaking, at: http://tableofhonor.com/?product_cat=biographyautobiography).

before the Great Depression. Based on the interviews mentioned earlier, it recounts my ancestors leaving the hacienda, where they lived as *peones acasillados*, near Mascota, Jalisco, and their trekking, over the course of five years with stop-overs, all the way to San Fernando, my California hometown. I examine why San Fernando was selected as a place of settlement, how my *viejos* survived the Great Depression and the Repatriation Program, and how we, Mexican Gil children, became Mexican American. I took keen delight in describing our San Fernando *barrio*, in the 1950s, and how we children (four brothers and four sisters) grew up and went our way. I also explore the cultural shock of arriving in the U.S. for the first time and the difficulties our parents underwent in raising children in a new culture.

This extended explanation of how Jim Wilkie influenced the work I did, as a full time university professor, simply ratifies the fact that he was the right man at the right time for me. [June 7, 2016].

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Mi relación con el profesor James W. Wilkie

Juan Moreno Pérez

(Lunes, 30 de mayo de 2016)

Conocí al Profesor James W. Wilkie a principios de 1990. En ese tiempo yo tenía 37 años de edad. Aunque aún no había concluido mi carrera de Economía en la UNAM, ya acumulaba 12 años de experiencia trabajando en lo que entonces se conocía como el “cerebro económico” del gobierno: la Dirección General de Política Económica y Social de la Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto (DGPES-SPP).

En esos 12 años había pasado de tener una humilde plaza de trabajador de limpieza (aunque en realidad nunca realicé esas labores), hasta alcanzar el puesto de Director de Análisis Macroeconómico, el segundo nivel de esa oficina, sólo después del entonces Director General, Carlos Hurtado López.

En ese tiempo trabajaba con el equipo económico que iba en ascenso en el gobierno, encabezado por Carlos Salinas de Gortari, quien había alcanzado la Presidencia. Antes había trabajado, por ejemplo, con José Córdoba Montoya, entonces Jefe de Asesores del Presidente; y con Pascual García Alba, quien era Subsecretario de Egresos y, a su vez, una de las personas de más confianza de Ernesto Zedillo, entonces Secretario de la SPP.

Un día me llamó por teléfono mi amigo Héctor Mata Lozano, de mis tiempos de la izquierda radical, y me dijo que un gringo andaba buscando estadísticas históricas de México. Como en ese tiempo

yo me había hecho una fama de ser quien tenía la mayor cantidad de estadísticas económicas en el gobierno (fama un poco exagerada, aunque cierta en parte), Héctor le había hablado de mí, y me pedía que lo recibiera.

Acepté, y al día siguiente apareció James W. Wilkie en mi oficina de Palacio Nacional. Su simpatía y franqueza me cautivaron desde el primer momento. Su cálida mirada y, sobre todo, su sincera sonrisa, me hicieron confiar plenamente en él, situación que se mantiene hasta la fecha, 26 años después. Desde entonces, como todos sus amigos, me dirijo a él llamándole “Jim”.

Ese mismo año de 1990, Jim me invitó a una reunión en Puerto Escondido, Oaxaca, a la que asistí en compañía de mi esposa Martha. Al año siguiente, 1991, asistimos a otra reunión en Manzanillo, Colima. En esas reuniones pude conocer a gentes como Clark Reynolds, a quien admiraba y había estudiado durante la carrera de Economía. También conocí a George Baker, a John Coatsworth, y a tantos otros.

En ese tiempo yo quería estudiar el Doctorado en Economía, pero algunas de las personas con quienes trabajaba, que habían obtenido ese grado académico cuando eran más jóvenes, me trataron de disuadir. Según ellos, mi tiempo había pasado y, a mis 37 de edad, supuestamente ya era muy viejo para hacerlo.

Pero Jim, con su eterno optimismo, me convenció de que debía intentarlo. Para ello, me propuso estudiar primero la Maestría en Estudios Latinoamericanos, en la Universidad de California en Los Ángeles (UCLA), y de ahí, pasar al programa de doctorado que me interesara. Ante esa perspectiva, me apuré a concluir mis estudios de Licenciatura en Economía en la UNAM, y a fines del mes de marzo de 1992 empezaba mi primer curso con Jim, en UCLA.

Antes de continuar, quisiera recordar algo de mi trayectoria, ya que considero que soy un estudiante de Jim, bastante diferente a la mayoría de los que ha tenido.

Mi primera característica, que imagino me hace un tanto diferente, es el provenir de una familia sin recursos económicos. Desde los 15 años tuve la necesidad de trabajar para poder sobrevivir. Fui obrero, albañil, carpintero, y cargador, hasta que pude conseguir

mi cartilla militar, a los 17 años, lo que me permitió ganar por primera vez el salario mínimo.

No me siento amargado, ni triste, pero es necesario señalar esa circunstancia, ya que se convirtió en una desventaja, que pesó a la larga. No es lo mismo ser un estudiante apoyado por una familia, sin tener que trabajar, con libros, y sobre todo, con tiempo; que necesitar trabajar casi todo el día, y sólo poder estudiar en las noches, si la lucha cotidiana por sobrevivir lo permite. Así estudié la secundaria, la preparatoria, y la carrera de Economía.

Mi familia tuvo grandes dificultades y se hundió económicamente, lo cual no es momento de contar ahora. Mi formación familiar inicial hizo que mis expectativas de vida fueran pertenecer a la clase media, lo cual contrastó, durante mi adolescencia, con una realidad miserable. Sin embargo, esa situación también me templó el espíritu, obligándome a trabajar el doble o el triple.

Esa lucha contra la adversidad, hizo también que me radicalizara. En ese tiempo había muchos jóvenes rebeldes en México. El movimiento estudiantil de 1968, y lo sucedido en Tlatelolco, afectó a buena parte de mi generación. Además, la matanza de estudiantes registrada el 10 de junio de 1971, hizo que muchos jóvenes casi enloquecieran, lanzándose a la aventura de tratar de hacer una revolución socialista en México.

Resulta imposible sintetizar lo sucedido en esos años. Sólo puedo decir que, tal vez, fueron los años más felices de mi vida, ya que creía en una idea que imaginaba podía salvar, no sólo a México, sino a toda la humanidad. Esa idea se me presentaba tan grandiosa, que valía la pena hasta ofrendarle la vida, como lo hicieron muchos amigos, que ahora tendrían mi edad y que recuerdo con tristeza y nostalgia.

Yo mismo llegué a sufrir la represión, cayendo en los sótanos de la entonces Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS) de Miguel Nazar, a fines de 1976, donde tuve la suerte de sobrevivir. En 2002, junto con otros amigos que habían sufrido una experiencia similar, solicitamos a la Fiscalía que investigaba la guerra sucia del pasado, que tomara posesión del edificio de la extinta DFS, entonces abandonado. En esa

oportunidad pude visitar, por segunda vez, ese edificio, en especial sus horribles sótanos, donde había estado esperando la muerte en 1976.

A principios de 1978, decidí alejarme de esa militancia enloquecida, que ya había alcanzado ocho años. Con sólo 25 años de edad, decidí reiniciar mi vida, sacar adelante a mi familia (ya tenía dos hijos), estudiar una carrera, y tratar de entender lo que sucedía.

En esa época, la izquierda empezaba a ser legalizada, lo que yo consideraba una traición. Luego circuló una especie, atribuida a Jesús Reyes Heróles, el entonces Secretario de Gobernación, quien impulsó la legalización del Partido Comunista y la amnistía a los presos provenientes de la guerrilla. Según esa versión, señaló que si la izquierda seguía fuera de la legalidad, continuaría la guerrilla y el terrorismo; en cambio, si se legalizaba, se le podría asignar una partida presupuestal, lo que haría que se dedicaran a pelear por esos recursos. Eso fue lo que sucedió, como me tocó presenciar muchos años después, con una izquierda con graves problemas de corrupción.

La otra alternativa que se me presentaba en ese tiempo, era incorporarme a lo que entonces quedaba de la guerrilla. Aunque tenía amigos que estaban ahí, era evidente que se habían embarcado en una tendencia francamente suicida.

La fortuna me llevó a la DGPES, donde conseguí una humilde plaza de intendente. Con mis 25 años de edad, tuve la audacia de hablar con Ciro Velasco, el entonces Subdirector General (después mi maestro en la UNAM), a quien pedí que me diera la oportunidad de trabajar y aprender con los economistas. Ese funcionario me preguntó qué sabía de Economía, y le contesté que había estudiado El Capital de Marx, agregando que pensaba iniciar la carrera de Economía.

Ese funcionario me dio una gran oportunidad, y me envió con Arturo Blancas, Jefe del Departamento de Análisis Financiero, quien me inició en el conocimiento de esa área, una de las más complejas de las disciplinas económicas. Un año después empecé mi carrera formal en la UNAM, cuando ya tenía casi un año de experiencia práctica, trabajando con economistas.

En 1979 se registró un cambio importante en el gobierno, el cual tuvo un efecto enorme en mi lugar de trabajo. Como Secretario de

la SPP llegó Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, y como Director General de la DGPEs, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. En ese momento, la gran mayoría de los economistas que trabajaban en esa oficina provenían de la UNAM, y más del 90 por ciento de ellos fueron despedidos de inmediato. Yo, con mi plaza de intendente, formé parte del 10 por ciento que sobrevivió.

Entre las primeras medidas adoptadas por los nuevos jefes, estuvo la obligación de tomar un curso intensivo de monetarismo, la ideología dominante en el grupo que llegaba, el cual se impartió en las mismas oficinas. Por supuesto que tomé ese curso, ya que lo que más me interesaba era conservar mi empleo.

Durante esos años de intenso estudio, viví entre dos ideologías contrapuestas, igualmente dogmáticas. Por un lado, los monetaristas más extremos, con quienes trabajaba; y por el otro lado, los marxistas dogmáticos, que eran dueños de la Facultad de Economía de la UNAM, donde estudiaba.

Así, durante el día aprendía que la mejor teoría era la neoclásica, en particular su vertiente monetarista, y que el mercado era el mejor mecanismo económico. En la noche, escuchaba que todo eso era basura, que lo mejor eran las ideas socialistas de Marx, y que se debía fortalecer al Estado. Creo que en algunos momentos casi me volvieron loco, pero tenía que aguantar a los dos grupos. Al primero, porque trabajaba con ellos, y de ahí sacaba el sustento de mi familia; y al segundo grupo, porque esperaba que terminaran dándome un Título donde se dijera que yo era Economista.

Los economistas neoclásicos que invadieron la oficina donde trabajaba necesitaban estadísticas sobre diversas variables económicas, lo más largas y comparables posibles, para probar sus teorías. Ahí encontré un espacio que no sólo me permitió sobrevivir, sino empezar a ascender en mi trabajo.

Busqué estadísticas económicas donde las hubiera. Las estudié y aprendí a hacerlas comparables. En México, ese trabajo no es nada trivial, hasta la fecha, y en ese tiempo era más difícil debido a que muchos datos no coincidían con otros y resultaba muy complicado compararlos.

Además de lo que pude avanzar aprendiendo los trucos de las estadísticas, tuve la fortuna de tener como jefes a economistas muy capaces, que me apoyaron y enseñaron mucho, como Flavio Avilés González y Jorge Cambiaso Ropert. Ellos me consiguieron una plaza de analista en 1980, y me propusieron para Jefe de Departamento en 1982, y Subdirector en 1984.

Luego, empecé a aprender a construir modelos económicos. En 1985 y 1986, Jonathan Heath Constable, quien también había trabajado en la DGPES, me invitó a visitar la Universidad de Pennsylvania, en Filadelfia. Con el equipo de Wharton, aprendí mucho del modelaje económico, y ayudé a revisar el modelo econométrico que tenían para México.

En 1986 construí un modelo de programación financiera, gracias a lo que había aprendido con otro buen maestro llamado Armando Baqueiro, del Banco de México. Con ese modelo, contando con la confianza de Pascual García Alba y de José Córdoba Montoya, hice las proyecciones que se utilizaron en la programación económica del gobierno (los Criterios Generales de Política Económica), durante cuatro años. Finalmente, a propuesta de otro jefe excelente, Héctor Orozco Vázquez, fui nombrado Director de Análisis Macroeconómico en 1987.

Hasta ahí había llegado en mi trabajo en el gobierno. No podía avanzar más, cómo me lo señalaron varias gentes, debido a que no tenía doctorado. Además, como algunos me agregaban, ya había pasado mi tiempo para intentar estudiarlo. Pero apareció Jim Wilkie, y a principios de 1992 ya me encontraba en UCLA.

Recuerdo que en el primer curso que tomé con Jim, nos hizo leer “La Muerte de Artemio Cruz”, de Carlos Fuentes. Al principio creí que era algo diseñado para sus alumnos gringos, quienes apenas estaban conociendo la historia de México. Sin embargo, como lo entendí claramente después, la idea de Jim era que todos sus alumnos, mexicanos o no, empezáramos a entender eso que se llamaba “revolución mexicana”, tema tan oscuro y complejo, tan manoseado y tan falsificado. Un personaje como Artemio Cruz representaba muy bien ese proceso: un campesino de origen humilde, que llegó a ser general revolucionario, y terminó como el típico político corrupto priísta.

Cuando Jim me invito a ir a UCLA, me puse a estudiar inglés. Cuando llegué al aeropuerto de Los Ángeles no entendí nada, lo que me asustó. Recuerdo que en uno de mis primeros cursos, con un Profesor Mitchell, sobre comercio internacional, donde mi comprensión durante la primera clase fue de sólo 20 por ciento. Entré en pánico y me empecé a juntar con tres compañeros norteamericanos, estudiando como loco. Esos compañeros, que recuerdo con mucho cariño fueron: Chris Weber (estudiante también de Jim), Mark Weinstein y Bob Ford. Al final, saqué mejor calificación que mis tres amigos. Cuando salieron los resultados, ellos no lo podían creer, y yo tampoco.

A las pocas semanas de llegar a Los Ángeles, en abril de 1992, se registraron los disturbios (los famosos riots). Uno de esos días, estando estudiando con esos amigos, en Santa Mónica, les pedí que me llevaran a mi casa, ya que estaba preocupado porque se acercaban las 8 de la noche, y empezaría el toque de queda (curfew). Al preguntarles si no estaban preocupados, uno de ellos me dijo “preocúpate tú, nosotros somos blancos”. No me lo dijo de mala forma, pero era cierto, si llegaba el toque de queda, a ellos no les pasaría nada, pero yo la podía pasar muy mal. Entonces empecé a entender muchas cosas.

En ese tiempo, también tomé cursos con Arnold Harberger, el padre ideológico de los Chicago Boys, quien se había trasladado de la Universidad de Chicago a UCLA; y con uno de sus alumnos más aventajados, Sebastián Edwards. El método tiránico de imponer la ideología monetarista, como la única verdad posible, me espantó. El contraste con los cursos de Wilkie era absoluto, en especial con su seminario, donde la libertad era lo más importante y se podía discutir cualquier tema y enfoque imaginable.

El seminario de Jim, al cual asistí durante varios años, y regresé algunas veces, después de graduado, cuando visitaba la UCLA, era excelente. Ahí se presentaba casi cualquier tema, y se discutía de todo. Jim nos dejaba en libertad de discutir y discutir, sólo interviniendo cuando estábamos diciendo demasiadas estupideces. Esa libertad total de pensamiento creaba un ambiente propicio a que alguien como yo (sin vocación de esclavo) pudiera desarrollarse.

El señalado contraste entre el seminario de Jim y los supuestos dueños de la única verdad económica posible, me hizo seguir el consejo de Jim, y estudiar el doctorado en el Departamento de Historia, bajo su dirección. Esa fue una gran decisión, ya que me impidió caer en la situación de algunos amigos, que finalmente se rebelaron ante la tiranía de esos ideólogos, y nunca recibieron la gracia final de una firma, condenándolos a dejar inconclusos sus estudios.

Con Jim terminé un primer libro, con series estadísticas comparables de población, producto interno bruto (PIB), inflación y tipo de cambio. Esas series históricas se iniciaban en 1900, cubriendo prácticamente todo el siglo XX, incluyendo los años de la revolución, para los que supuestamente no había datos, entre 1910 y 1920.

Ese libro fue propuesto por Jim para ser publicado por el Latin American Center, de UCLA, siendo aceptado en 1993. Pero, contra lo que cualquiera pudiera imaginarse, decidí detener la publicación del libro, porque descubrí que algunas de las series estadísticas oficiales, que había utilizado como base, estaban falsificadas, en especial las del PIB.

Yo había utilizado el método usual, de empalmar las series existentes, buscando hacerlas comparables al mayor detalle posible. Pero, uno de los revisores de mi libro me sugirió intentar un desglose mayor para las series más viejas, y pasarlas a dólares internacionales, siguiendo la metodología que estaba utilizando Angus Maddison, en Holanda.

Al emprender esa tarea, tuve que recurrir a las fuentes primarias, a los censos de población, agropecuarios, industriales, de servicios y otros. Mi primer gran descubrimiento fue que las series del PIB, sobre todo para antes de 1950, estaban claramente falsificadas, siendo uno de los elementos de legitimación del estado “revolucionario”.

Encontré evidencia de que la magnitud del PIB en 1930 había sido bastante menor de lo que se creía. Al mismo tiempo, todo indicaba que el nivel registrado en 1910 había sido mayor a lo estimado. Así, la contracción económica provocada por la famosa “revolución” había sido mucho mayor a lo que señalaban las cifras fabricadas. Eso contrastaba también con la experiencia universal, donde todas las guerras civiles habían tenido efectos devastadores sobre las economías de los países donde se habían registrado.

Presenté esos resultados en el seminario de Jim, y me propuse construir una estimación alternativa del PIB, que reflejara lo que en realidad había pasado. Siendo excesivamente optimista, pensé que podía conseguirlo en el tiempo que me quedaba de beca, y convertirlo en mi tesis doctoral.

Los cinco años y medio que pasé en UCLA fueron maravillosos. Los últimos dos años, prácticamente viví en su principal biblioteca, la University Research Library (ahora YRL). Además, viajé a Berkeley, visitando la Bancroft Library. También regresé muchas veces a México, buscando la información que necesitaba, y mi tarea se tornó inacabable, casi imposible. Pero, tenazmente me aferré al objetivo que me había trazado.

En ese período empezó a suceder lo que me continuó pasando durante los siguientes veinte años: mientras más información encontraba, más clara se me iba haciendo la fotografía respecto a lo que había sucedido con la economía mexicana, y los rasgos que se iban aclarando, en general, iban confirmando las principales sospechas que esboqué en 1993.

Como parte de esa investigación, un día presenté en el seminario de Wilkie un trabajo donde probaba que, como parte de la falsificación histórica de las estadísticas mexicanas, se encontraba una serie histórica de precios y salarios elaborada por un egresado de UCLA.

Según esa serie, los salarios reales en México habían disminuido después de 1939, manteniéndose estancados durante muchos años, hasta regresar a ese nivel en 1970. Lo extraño era que en ese período se había registrado un fuerte crecimiento económico. Mi reconstrucción de esas series permitió demostrar que los salarios reales sólo habían bajado unos pocos años, siguiendo un incremento sostenido, hasta alcanzar en 1970 un nivel de más del doble del registrado en 1939.

Mi investigación demostró que México no era un caso excepcional, y que se repetía el patrón descubierto por Simon Kuznetz, para muchos países con un crecimiento económico sostenido: primero se observaba una caída en los salarios reales, seguida de un incremento continuo de los mismos, el cual permitía hacer endógeno el crecimiento.

Ese trabajo, que era un parte muy pequeña de mi faraónica investigación, terminaría convertida en mi tesis doctoral, la cual fue aprobada, generosamente por Jim, y por los otros dos miembros del comité que me examinó, James Lockhart y John Skirius, a pesar de sus defectos de forma.

Así pude obtener mi doctorado a fines de 1997, y regresar a México. El apoyo de Jim no sólo me cambió la vida, sino la de mis tres hijos, quienes pudieron estudiar la High School en Los Ángeles, experiencia que también tuvo un enorme impacto en sus vidas.

El apoyo de Jim no fue sólo académico, como profesor, sino también como amigo, ayudando a resolver situaciones de todo tipo, sobre todo para alguien como yo, sin recursos económicos, y con tres hijos adolescentes, en un ambiente muy complicado, como el que se vivió en Los Ángeles durante esos años.

Dentro del equipo cercano a Jim, que siempre me auxilió en todo tipo de asuntos y situaciones, quiero recordar, con mucho cariño y agradecimiento, a cuatro personas: Raúl Lomelí, Chris Weber, Robert Gibson y Alfonso Galindo.

Una anécdota ejemplifica lo que quiero decir. Jorge, mi hijo menor, logró sacar las máximas calificaciones en Venice High School, tomando después todos los cursos disponibles de Física y Matemáticas en Santa Mónica College y en West L. A. College. Luego aplicó a Cal Tech, alcanzando el nivel requerido, lo que permitió que lo pusieran en lista de espera. Por su condición de Mexicano, me informaron que sería difícil que pudiera recibir toda la ayuda financiera necesaria. Entonces, consulté en el CONACYT de México, y me contestaron que no apoyaban estudios de Licenciatura.

Desesperado, mi hijo decidió asistir a varios cursos en UCLA, como oyente, debido a que yo no tenía dinero para pagárselos. Fue entonces cuando mi hijo me informó que necesitaba 200 dólares (era el verano de 1997), para los cursos donde asistiría como oyente. Yo no tenía ese dinero y se lo pedí prestado a Jim, quien generosamente me lo prestó.

Mi hijo siguió estudiando en México, hasta concluir la Maestría en Física, en el CINVESTAV, la institución científica más prestigiada de

mi país. Luego, hizo el Doctorado en la Universidad de Pennsylvania, y siguió una investigación científica sobre las galaxias, que aún no alcanzo a entender. Estuvo en Europa y en Canadá, consiguiendo una posición de Profesor en California. En Italia organizó una conferencia científica internacional, y en Canadá obtuvo una fellowship muy prestigiosa. Finalmente, la National Science Foundation le otorgó un fuerte apoyo para su investigación científica.

Pero no olvido que esos 200 dólares prestados generosamente por Jim, fueron un factor que ayudó a que mi hijo pudiera alcanzar sus sueños.

Un centro de investigación en México, donde intenté continuar mi búsqueda histórica, me cerró las puertas. Es posible que hayan creído que mi proyecto era inalcanzable, pero también creo que la mediocridad, la corrupción, e incluso el racismo, influyeron negativamente. Por ello, me convertí en un investigador independiente, dependiente de mis propios medios y tiempos. Esa situación no me resultó novedosa, ya que, trabajar contra la adversidad, ha sido mi vida desde que tenía quince años.

Trabajé como asesor en el Congreso, especializado en finanzas públicas. Participé en muchos debates, destacando el análisis del rescate bancario a través del FOBAPROA. En 2009 publiqué dos libros sobre ese asunto, los cuales incluyó Jim en la página de PROFMEX. Del mismo modo, están en proceso de publicación, también en el sitio electrónico de PROFMEX, 162 trabajos sobre las finanzas públicas de México, que elaboré durante los últimos 12 años.

Aprovechando la estancia de mi hijo en la Universidad de Pennsylvania, consulté muchas veces sus bibliotecas, así como algunas ubicadas en New York. Del mismo modo, durante cinco veranos hice investigación, utilizando mis propios medios, en la Universidad de Princeton. Ahí encontré información estadística económica de México que no pude localizar en ninguna biblioteca o archivo de mi país.

Además, durante años he trabajado en diversas bibliotecas de México, destacando las de la Secretaría de Hacienda, del Banco de México, del Colegio de México y de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística. Del mismo modo, he consultado muchos archivos de

México, destacando los de la Secretaría de Hacienda y el de la Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, en los cuales me han señalado que, desde el tiempo que recuerdan, yo he sido la persona que más los he consultado.

En todos esos años he contado siempre con el consejo y con el apoyo entusiasta de Jim. Ahora, cuando él se acerca a los 80 años de edad, y yo a los 64, sólo espero poder terminar, en un tiempo razonable, al menos una parte de mi investigación.

Para concluir este texto, preparado para el Homenaje al Profesor James W. Wilkie, de parte de sus alumnos, por sus 50 años de docencia, sólo quiero reiterarle mi agradecimiento por sus muchas enseñanzas, por su ayuda de todo tipo y, sobre todo, por su amistad, que ya se ha prolongado durante más de un cuarto de siglo.

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**Elitelore, Revolutionary Statism and Cooptation:
Retrospective Thoughts on a UCLA term paper.**

By Arturo Grunstein Dickter

Introduction

When our host and friend Sammy Schmidt invited me to participate in this conference in honor of Jim, I decided to look for, recover, and rethink in light of current historiography, a term paper for an “independent studies” course focusing on elitelore during my second quarter at UCLA in 1984. Two or three weeks into the quarter, I was still looking for a paper topic. One day, as I was walking through the aisles of the University Research Library, I practically stumbled into the two volume autobiography of Victor Manuel Villaseñor, *Memorias de un hombre de izquierda*, a fascinating but little known figure in 20th century Mexican history.

As Wilkie defines it; “The concept of Elitelore refers generally to the accumulated knowledge, mythology, and tradition of leaders, from national figures to neighborhood caciques. Elitelore concerns leaders’ self-perceptions of the past, the present, and the future. These perceptions are integrated into a life-history framework that is crucial to understanding how leaders participate in society. As elites construct a method of viewing the world, they begin to accept as truth many of their own assumptions and ideas; but seldom, even in writing autobiography, do they make explicit this life-history lore. Elitelore is witnessed in simple speech traits and physical mannerisms, captured

and tested in biographically oriented oral history, and reflected in the complex images of literature and film.”

Other than the fact that it was the autobiography of a Mexican elite politician, I had no idea really how I was going to apply elitelore to the analysis of Villaseñor. But, as I advanced my reading of Villaseñor it finally struck me: After resisting tenaciously for a few years in his opposition to what he considered the right wing drift of the postcardenas administrations of Avila Camacho and Miguel Alemán, he had joined the ranks of many leftists of his generation in surrendering to the priista authoritarian regime’s style of “pan o palo”: Se trataba, a mi juicio, de otro más “vendido”, cooptado, que claudicó o, como se dice coloquialmente, “chaqueteó”.

So my main point back then, in my days of “casi radical” graduate student at UCLA, was to prove that despite his futile efforts at self-justification or self-deception, despite protestations to the contrary, Villaseñor had ultimately given up. In the end, as usual, he had been seduced and, sadly, vanquished by the priista regime-state. It seemed to me at the time that more than an ideology, Villaseñor’s revolutionary statist nationalism was an eliteloric resource for self-deception and self-justification, a set of beliefs and symbols available for coopted leftists like himself, that had given up on the goal of the “real revolution”, that is a genuine, full blown, socialist revolution.

Somewhat naively I thought I had discovered a new subfield of elitelore under the term of “cooptation lore”. In my view, it was a perfect one for examining underlying processes of elite self-justification and self-deception. Cooptation was and continues to be a long standing issue in modern Mexican political history: Both during the porfiriato -“*Ese gallo quiere su maíz*” - and the postrevolutionary period Alvaro Obregón’s - “*Nadie resiste un cañonazo de 50,000 pesos*” - appeasement included buying out and coopting potentially destabilizing military and political rivals as well as opposing intellectual figures.

As I reread my paper, I thought about a different issue that had not been in my concerns neither back in 1984 nor when I began thinking about rewriting it a couple of months ago. That is the problem of what we may call scholarly (student and professor) Lore. In other

words, what I have in mind are the conscious but informal beliefs of the historian or researcher.

So let me start with some brief reflections on this important issue, what we may call “the elitelore of elitelore.” Somewhere in the idea of elitelore lies the notion or premise that the scholar is, or must become, a neutral observer (interviewer, reader or listener), free from his own lore, if he is to succeed, at least to some degree, in uncovering the other elites’ lore. This, of course, requires quite a difficult exercise in introspection or auto-analysis.

In his 1973 manifesto, Wilkie points out the advantages of the oral interview open conversation format for identifying not only the biases of the interviewee but also of the interviewer. But what about those working with written sources, particularly memoirs? Somewhat intuitively, I believe now that, perhaps, the first step should be to make an effort to uncover and expose one’s own elitelore before taking on the analysis of others’ self-justifying and self-deceiving distortions of past and present realities.

In my term paper I selected the crucial parts of the *Memoirs* that best revealed the eliteloric aspects of Villaseñor, in particular the way in which he justified his incorporation to, i.e. cooptation by, the Priísta regime in the late 1940s and early 1950s. I was particularly fascinated by his process of radicalization and followed attentively the detailed account of every step in his politico - ideological transition: from a scion of an elite porfirista and later maderista family that had the privilege of studying law in prestigious U.S. universities; to a committed sympathizer of the Mexican Revolution under the influence of Salvador Alvarado and Luis Cabrera; his participation in the U.S. Mexico Claims Commission from 1929-1932, headed by his new ideological tutor Narciso Bassols: to become, naturally, a staunch supporter of Lázaro Cárdenas and his agrarian, labor and anti-imperialist policies; and, finally, his enthusiastic conversion to Marxist Leninist communism after a visit to the Soviet Union in 1935. During the 1940s, Villaseñor, intensely disenchanted with the changing political and ideological moderation of the Mexican government under Manuel Ávila Camacho, joined Vicente Lombardo Toledano in the

formation of the Partido Popular. In October of 1949, he followed in his mentor Bassols' footsteps resigning from the vice-presidency of the emerging leftwing party in reaction to the "submissiveness of its chairman [Vicente Lombardo Toledano] to the reactionary policies of the Miguel Alemán government."¹ After abandoning the Partido Popular, Villaseñor devoted most of his time to the Soviet-Mexican Institute of Cultural Interchange, but the lombardista directors isolated and pressured him to leave. In brief, by the early 1950s Villaseñor had been purged and ostracized from the Mexican official "left" and consequently from the national political arena. As he explains, he clearly sensed an overwhelming "lack of political space" and that "all roads were definitely blocked"²

Aside from political ostracism, Villaseñor encountered growing financial troubles resulting from a decade of political activities which yielded no income while facing the burdens of providing for his wife and four young children. Thus, he began looking for a sufficiently well-paid job that would allow him to ease these economic pressures, without giving up on his political and ideological convictions. In spite of the relatively favorable economic environment in Mexico for private investment during the 1950s, Villaseñor "did not need to meditate for long in order to eliminate from his plans the possibility of joining the business sector, a step that would have implied an outright betrayal of [his] most fundamental beliefs."³

After many days of arduous thinking, he finally reached what seemed to be "a way out of his dilemma and the right solution to his personal and ideological troubles"; he would become the manager of one of Mexico's strategic state-owned corporations.⁴ Following a cordial personal interview with president Miguel Alemán, he was appointed head of the National Railroad Car Company (Compañía Nacional Constructora de Ferrocarril-CNCF), one of the three large factories under construction at the site of an emerging industrial town, Ciudad Sahagún in the state of Hidalgo. At first president Adolfo Ruiz Cortinez

1 Villaseñor, "Memorias", vol. II. p.182.

2 Villaseñor, "Memorias", vol. II, p.189.

3 Villaseñor, "Memorias", vol. II. pp.189-190.

4 Villaseñor, "Memorias", vol. II. p. 190.

distrusted Villaseñor, but finally supported him in recognition of his managerial and administrative accomplishments. His successor Adolfo López Mateos promoted him to the general directorship of the entire Ciudad Sahagún industrial complex in 1958. Villaseñor remained in this position for another fourteen years, until his designation by president Luis Echeverría as director of the National Railways of Mexico in 1972.

How does Villaseñor justify his transition from radical communist intransigence in the 1940s to integration and collaboration with the priísta regime between 1950 and 1972? To what extent are these justifications actually based on self-deception?

In his memoirs, Villaseñor, fully aware of these important questions, asks his reader to make a conscious effort to judge his decisions on the basis of his performance and achievements a director of Ciudad Sahagún, whether or not he betrayed his “most fundamental ideological beliefs.”⁵ He believed that as director of Ciudad Sahagún his role was to demonstrate that state-owned corporations can be efficiently and honestly operated- thereby bolstering the cause for nationalization and state control of the economy, which in turn would contain the expansion of transnational and domestic private capital. In my paper I presented general and somewhat scattered evidence to prove that “Villaseñor’s perception of the establishment of state-owned companies as proceeding mostly from the Mexican regime’s surviving, however weakened revolutionary nationalism, and as a victory of the Mexican state over domestic and foreign private capital, is at best subject to important qualifications. Th is distortion of the Mexican political and economic reality, must be understood as part of a coopted leader’s self-justifying efforts.”

With hindsight of over three decades I can detect now my own lore (and ideology) as a Wilkie PhD student at UCLA in the 1980s. No doubt, both my lore and ideology have somewhat changed over the years. Consequently, my self-perception as well as interpretation of this same individual (Victor Manuel Villaseñor) and his actions in Mexican history are not the same. Surely, this is due to changes in my

5 Villaseñor, “Memorias”, vol. II. p.195.

own ideology and lore, but world and Mexican history as well time and age also play an important part.

A closer reading of Villaseñor's document reveals that, as a graduate student under intense academic pressure, I skipped or payed insufficient attention to some important elements in his narrative that even in 1984 would have led me to reconsider and reevaluate some the protagonist's crucial decisions and actions in his own historical context.

In the context of the immediate aftermath of the 1982 López Portillo bank expropriation and its defense by importante sectors the left, I'm not quite sure if by focusing on the darker side of Villaseñor, the coopted Mexican leftist, my point was to express a growing disappointment with what I saw as the character of leftist leaders and militants in general or to show the Mexican state, priista regime as an insatiable beast or unstoppable juggernaut that sooner or later devoured and digested all opposition found in its way. Perhaps, in different degrees, both.

Looking back, it's clear to me that, instead of taking on Villaseñor's invitation or challenge and following it through by actually concentrating on the evidence of his performance as state manager, I resorted to the literature which discussed from a broader perspective the role of state companies in Mexican capitalist development, in order to demonstrate that his eliteloric (ideological?) statist nationalist vision was a fallacy, in Marxist ideological terms "false consciousness", in effect, nothing but a self-justifying sham. Granted I did examine some of the literature on Ciudad Sahagún available at the time, and to my great disappointment not much was found in other sources that I could use for evaluating Villaseñor's actual record as director. There was literature on labor, urbanization, mainly of an anthropological sort. In other words, what was lacking was a good business history of CNCF, DINA and Toyoda. Only recently have a few relevant studies appeared, based on Constructora's archive and other primary resources now available for researchers at the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN). However, I'm not trying to engage in another futile round of eliteloric self deception and self-justification. A belated confession is in order: the memoirs themselves had plenty useful information for purposes of the term paper, that I basically ignored.

A careful reading of the *Memorias* reveals that to a large extent Villaseñor wrote a fascinating exposé of private and government corruption, administrative inefficiency and bureaucratism in postrevolutionary Mexico. Among other aspects he points at the intense, at times even ruthless, rivalry among members of the ruling group over money, including kickbacks, and power. In his case, he had to confront the hostile attitude of the National Railways' director Roberto Amoros and Secretary of Commerce and Industry Raul Salinas Lozano. He also suffered from the lack of adequate governmental planning, reaching almost chaotic conditions. In his own words:

La carencia de planeación y coordinación no solo impera en el seno de las diferentes secretarías de Estado, en cuanto a las relaciones que guardan entre sí, y en las funciones que los gobiernos de las entidades federativas desempeñan, sino que se extiende, a las empresas descentralizadas y de participación estatal. En Sahagún me fue dable conocer todo el tremendo significado de la anarquía en lo tocante a las relaciones de esas tres importantes empresas de participación estatal con todas entidades de la administración pública, (p. 276).

As if this wasn't enough, as state manager, Villaseñor had to struggle against the widespread corruption involving private and governmental interests and the costs of a paternalistic labor culture in the adaptation from campesinos to industrial workers.

Why didn't I pay sufficient attention to all these partly arid technical but also enthralling social, economic and political aspects that Villaseñor attempts to unveil? To some extent, no doubt, there was the pressure to finish my paper in a few weeks and meet quarterly academic deadlines. But also, my incipient scholarly lore, calling it elitelore actually seems somewhat pretentious, as is usually the case, was full of blind spots, tensions and contradictions.

My purpose was to show that Villaseñor was another self deceived coopted leftist. Certainly I was personally disappointment with the coopted traditional postrevolutionary – particularly lombardista- Mexican left. As a member of that generation Villaseñor

represented the faithful follower of Narciso Bassols (the “good and honest leftist”) and a critic of Vicente Lombardo (the opportunistic “sell out”), that ultimately gave in and was coopted. There was also my growing disenchantment with the failing process of import substitution industrialization and statist postrevolutionary mixed economy. In that sense my purpose was to unveil and undermine the myths surrounding the progressive character and positive role of state-owned corporations in Mexico’s development.

More than three decades after, I still believe that eliteloric beliefs, largely mythical, regarding state ownership are found in both the right and the left spectrum. Rigorous research shows that the performance of state owned corporations has greatly varied within a single country and in different nations. However, we still lack sufficient historical information and analysis for Mexico in the academic institutionalist tradition and standards found in the works of Wilkie, Glade or Vernon.

Rereading *Memoria’s de un hombre de izquierda* more carefully and other recent works on Ciudad Sahagún, I find that, aside from his rather orthodox ideological Marxist Leninist positions which I have never shared, Villaseñor was not entirely off the mark in the perception of his role and the difficulties he encountered in Ciudad Sahagún. I am convinced that he was an exceptionally able, honest, committed as well as an overall resourceful, courageous and effective state manager.

Relatively new research by Adrián Escamilla Trejo, Guillermo Guajardo and others strengthen this assessment.⁶ Their studies offer significant evidence showing that on balance Villaseñor’s administration was pretty successful. At least during its initial period of operations, despite the skepticism and even animosity from powerful high government officials combined with the deliberate undermining actions of FFNNM’s directors, during the 1950’s and 1960s CNFC met

⁶ Ver Adrián Escamilla Trejo, “Privatización y reestructuración de la industria de equipos ferroviarios en México (1993-2012): el caso de Concarriil-Bombardier” *Economía Informa*, 395, noviembre-diciembre 2015. Guajardo, Guillermo (2010), “La industria de equipos ferroviarios en México: de los talleres a la producción trasnacional”, *H-industria*, año 4, núm. 6, primer semestre, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Escamilla, Adrián (2015), *El Complejo Industria Sahagún (1952-1995): conformación, expansión y crisis de una experiencia de industria paraestatal en México*; Posgrado de Economía, UNAM; México. Escamilla, Adrián [inérito], “Bombardier y Concarriil: historias comparadas. Un análisis histórico económico de los procesos y factores que permitieron el éxito de una y la crisis de la otra”.

its original plans and objectives. Surely problems remained. As a matter of fact, between 1955 and 1970 the plant operated significantly below capacity and began to accumulate a burdensome debt (although not due to Villaseñor's mismanagement but mainly because FFNNM did not pay for cars). However, the tendency was overall positive, especially when measured in terms of net income and increasing production and productivity.

For instance, Escamilla Trejo contends that: “Después de experimentar un proceso complicado de asimilación tecnológica, integración productiva nacional y adiestramiento de cuadros técnicos y mano de obra, hacia 1970 Concarri se había convertido en una empresa rentable (generadora de utilidades netas año con año), cuya composición nacional de la producción alcanzaba, en promedio, aproximadamente 78% de su valor anual. El grado de diversificación productiva alcanzado era sobresaliente; se contaba con capacidad instalada para fabricar desde simples tolvas y plataformas hasta complejos cabuses, coches express y carros tanque. Su eficacia productiva quedó demostrada con el triunfo obtenido en varias licitaciones internacionales, Concarri exportaba con frecuencia diversos equipos a Estados Unidos y en algunas ocasiones vendió productos a ciertos países de Latinoamérica. El desarrollo de múltiples competencias tecnológicas le permitió a esta empresa iniciar el aprendizaje para la fabricación de los trenes del Sistema Colectivo (STC) Metro de la Ciudad de México en 1974, bajo la asesoría de la firma francesa Alstom (fabricante original de los primeros metros que circularon en México: lo que en su momento constituyó un hito en la historia de la industrialización del país”.

A less sanguine but overall positive evaluation is found in Guajardo's works: “la gestión de Villaseñor se había caracterizado por un balance equilibrado, una baja utilización de la capacidad instalada y cambios tecnológicos parciales más que innovaciones. La Constructora presentó rigidez en las líneas de producción, hasta que a mediados de la década de 1970 la diversificación impulsó el cambio tecnológico en su producción y establecer equipos de ingenieros para trabajar en la investigación y desarrollo de tecnologías”.

For diverse reasons DINA and SIDENA had an even more troublesome start; When Lopez Mateos appointed Villaseñor in 1959 as director of the whole complex, both were actually bankrupt and in a state of disarray. Nevertheless, after undertaking important structural, financial, productive and organizational changes in less than a decade Villaseñor was able to turn them around into fairly productive and profitable concerns. As in the case of CONCARRIL he had to face the opposition and even active hostility of very powerful government officials, such as Secretary of Commerce and Industry Raul Salinas Lozano.

Still, Escamilla Trejo concludes that the three companies met the objective for which they were created: to satisfy the growing demand for the goods they produced, with pretty good quality and low production costs. However, with high levels of indebtedness due the subsidy provided to other state agencies and private companies, In addition, the three companies continued to rely on varying degrees of technological assistance from transnational firms.

Escamilla Trejo's analysis confirms the argument that in some specific cases state ownership probably had an overall positive role in Mexico's industrial development. Given the limited size of the market, private investors both national and foreign were initially reluctant if not unwilling to risk large amounts of capital in the production of strategic intermediate and capital goods with uncertain returns. Perhaps, opposite to Villaseñor's elitelore projections, state ownership was a precursor of full-fledged private capitalist development.

"Nadie sabe para quien trabaja." For instance, both Escamilla and Guajardo sustain that CONACARRIL laid the grounds for Bombardier Mexico.

Looking back, I think I probably should have written my dissertation on the elitelore and ideology of Villaseñor and other coopted figures including managers of parastatals in 20th century Mexican history (including Villseñor's archenemy Luis Gomez Z). Well, if I acquired just a bit of Jim's intellectual and physical vitality, maybe it's not too late. For the time being, my intention

is to continue working on this paper and to present it in another Wilkie conference and book that I have in mind: 50 years of elitelore next year (2017).

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James W. Wilkie, un mexicanista generoso

Álvaro Ochoa-Serrano¹

Con el permiso de ustedes –char sesi jimbó en la lengua purépecha–, paso a reforzar el vínculo académico con el homenajeado y a manifestar mi aprecio personal a James W. Wilkie. Pues Jim, –así, para los amigos–, fue el nombre que familiarmente aludió en cierta ocasión y muchos años atrás el profesor Lyle C. Brown en tierras michoacanas. Corría 1977. Voy a sacar juventud del pasado. Entonces me iniciaba, muy de lleno, en el quehacer de la historia desde el Centro de Estudios de la Revolución Mexicana “Lázaro Cárdenas” en Jiquilpan.

Época de los setentas, cuando las universidades norteamericanas intensificaron los estudios latinoamericanos, comenzados sistemáticamente un decenio anterior. México era y sería un notorio centro de atención académica. En esos años Richard E. Greenleaf y Michael C. Meyer ofrecieron *Research in Mexican History. Topics, methodology, sources, and a practical guide to field research*, publicado por la Universidad de Nebraska en 1973. Libro muy alentador para introducirnos a la investigación histórica que, debido a mi propio interés, previa experiencia migrante y preparatoriana en el Este de Los Ángeles (1965-1966), pude leer.

Aparte de los editores, en esa obra convivieron, investigadores y estudiosos que señalaron sendas, aportaron luces y saberes: Daniel Cosío Villegas, France V. Scholes, Stanley J. Stein, Robert A. Potash, Ronald M.

1 El Colegio de Michoacán-CET

Spores, James W. Wilkie, Eugenia Meyer, Alicia Olivera de Bonfil, James D. Riley, Berta Ulloa, Roberto Moreno, Charles A. Hale, Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, John C. Super, William L. Sherman, Kenneth J. Grieb, Elena Barberena, Donald Robertson, William B. Taylor, Charles F. Nunn, Bernard E. Bobb, Jaime E. Rodríguez, Alan Hutchinson, Robert Knowlton, Paul Vanderwood Anthony T. Bryan, William H. Beezley, Lyle C. Brown y Albert L. Michaels, Robert J. Shafer, Romeo Flores Caballero, William D. Raat.

Además, en el entorno nacional sucedieron tiempos de traducción bibliográfica del inglés al español, acercamientos y diálogos ilustrados mediante congresos de historiadores mexicanos y norteamericanos. Precisamente con el tema de “El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México. Labor and laborers through Mexican history”, el número cinco de la lista se llevó a cabo en Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, del 12 al 15 de octubre de 1977. Ahí tratamos muy cercanamente a Lyle C. Brown, profesor de la Universidad de Baylor; quien luego en Texas (al saber mi antecedente familiar sur-californiano y la aspiración de tocar las puertas de UCLA) me sugiriera entrar en contacto con su antiguo alumno del Mexico City College, Jim.

Si bien mi inclinación no era ni es hacia la historia económica, supe de Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo México,² la serie bibliográfica dirigida por Jim y Sergio de la Peña, porque cayó en mis manos alguna vez el volumen: *Industria y Trabajo en México*, compilado por quien más tarde sería mi maestro y guía (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco, 1990). En cambio, ya había aprendido mucho de *Elitelore*. (University of California, Los Angeles, 1973) por coincidir en la historia oral y la biografía. Sobra decir que aproveché México Visto en el Siglo XX: Entrevistas de Historia Oral (México: Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Económicas, 1969).³

Por eso, la oralidad me lleva a contar que entre 1989 y 1992 agarraba por mi cuenta la biblioteca de música de la Universidad de California en Los Ángeles para documentar mis trabajos del proyecto

2 Ver y descargar los libros sin costo : <http://www.profmex.org/ciclosytendencias/>

3 Después estas entrevistas han salido con 10 entrevistas más y con análisis por James W. Wilkie y Edna Monzón Wilkie en *Frente a la Revolución Mexicana: 17 Protagonistas de la Etapa Constructiva*, by James W. Wilkie and Edna Monzón Wilkie (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 4 tomos, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2004). Coordinating Editor: Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda. Ver y descargar sin costo: http://www.elitelore.org/Oral_History_Book_Series.html

“Personajes y Tradiciones Populares en el Occidente de México” que realizaba en el Centro de Estudios de las Tradiciones de El Colegio de Michoacán. Y que en una de tantas visitas del aludido profesor Brown al Colmich me insistió él que en la primera oportunidad pasara al departamento de historia de UCLA a saludar a Jim. Traigo a cuento que dejé un saludo escrito.

Apoyado por El Colegio de Michoacán; y, tras precursora entrevista informal y amigable con Jim, en 1992 ingresé al programa doctoral de historia en UCLA durante el otoño de 1994. He de resaltar aquí que hallé no solamente al autor que había leído antes sino a una persona generosa en el amplio sentido de la palabra, (una característica común en los mexicanistas de los años 70’s); y, sobre todo, con un sentido del humor que nos (en plural) permitió aligerar mucho en su seminario la pesada carga académica.

Desde lo alto del décimo primer piso del edificio Bunche, al amparo de un extenso mapamundi, en el transcurso de las sesiones vespertinas del seminario de investigación observé otra faceta de la historia patria. Si bien Luis González me había enseñado a mirar el mundo desde un universo pequeño; ahora en un contexto micro-macro, fríamente y sin temores, sustentaba los dichos en números (con el auxilio estadístico del compañero Juan Moreno Pérez). Recurso para desmentir el millón de muertos manejados en el discurso oficial y la realidad viva de los migrantes a Estados Unidos, un fenómeno social intenso en el centro occidente mexicano.

Como sea, fruto de recurrir a fuentes archivísticas en ambos lados de la frontera y de acomodar lecturas que me facilitaron reconstruir la vida rural a través de la casa, vestido, sustento y la diversión; bajo su dirección compuse el texto y presenté la disertación “Michoacanos in Los Angeles: U.S.-Mexican Transnational Culture, 1920-1970.” Debo revelar que la diversión resultó ser la mejor parte y ha devenido a la postre en estudios de folklore sobre el mariache o mariachi, patrimonio cultural intangible. Para la comprensión material de la historia social michoacana eché mano de *The Mexican Revolution: Federal expenditure and social change since 1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967 y 1970.

Mencionado lo anterior, e incluido en la larga ronda de las distintas generaciones que por muchos años enseñó nuestro profesor Wilkie, concluyo reiterando que –como expresaría el tenor continental Pedro Vargas–, quedo con él muy agradecido, muy agradecido y muy agradecido.

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Elitelore y James W. Wilkie

José Luis Bátiz López

A través de estas palabras externo mi agradecimiento al Dr. James Wilkie por transmitir directa e indirectamente su experiencia incansable y a la que sabemos que influye positivamente en nuestras vidas. Su carácter humano ha sido siempre atento, nos recibe con una sonrisa y abrazo que da confianza e incentiva para sacar lo mejor de cada uno, al que recibimos con respeto.

Conocí en el 2004 al Dr. Wilkie como mi Profesor dentro del programa de *Maestría en Estudios del Desarrollo Global* en la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, campus Tijuana; nos habló de la globalización con una visión internacional, que pone de manifiesto por su tránsito en muchos países y experiencias vividas que constatan y reflejan su conocimiento tanto histórico como actual desde diferentes contextos y disciplinas.

El Dr. Wilkie es un punto de referencia, conocido por investigadores como «pilar de la universidad», en un amplio sentido académico, su forma de enseñanza e influencia hace reflexionar y cuestionar la realidad, desde temas básicos hasta aquellos de mayor complejidad, siempre encontrando justificaciones a los hechos que parecieran ser injustificables.

Con el Dr. Wilkie he tenido la fortuna de conocer a «personas modelo», ampliar amistades, tener contacto directo de carácter intelectual con Olga Lazín, Galindo, Miguel Ángel, entre otros, así como también de manera indirecta con diversos personalidades

de diferentes instituciones, por las actividades y publicaciones del Consorcio Mundial de Investigación para México (PROFMEX) rompiendo barreras y alcanzando nuevos horizontes.

Del 2004 al 2006, me interesó la actividad realizada por el Dr. Wilkie como Presidente de PROFMEX, aunque mi trabajo se centraba en la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California (UABC) en Mexicali, como profesor e investigador, no dudé en expresarle mi interés por participar de forma voluntaria. Le propuse mejorar el contenido del sitio de PROFMEX, ofreciendo una mayor facilidad de acceso y reorganización, así como también editando contenidos para socializar el conocimiento.

Para mí siempre ha sido importante conocer, ser participe y realizar actividades de crecimiento personal y profesional, buscando estar en todo, con interés de que cuando se quiere se puede, y estoy seguro que el Dr. Wilkie así lo ha hecho durante muchos años.

En varias ocasiones desde el 2006 al 2008 lo visité en la Universidad de Los Ángeles (UCLA), por lo regular de una a dos semanas de trabajo que parecía no concluir, ya que cada vez llegaba con una bolsa llena de nuevos libros, que él escribió y/o que colaboró en su momento. Las pausas de trabajo eran para comer, salir al parque «Holmby Park», descansar y reflexionar; para conocer un poquito de lo mucho de su conocimiento, experiencias y vivencias. Su hospitalidad que siempre nos ha ofrecido Wilkie es placentera, entendemos que no nos la merecemos pero la agradecemos infinitamente.

Una anécdota por compartir fue que el Dr. Wilkie me envió un correo electrónico con actividad por realizar a las 2 o 3 de la mañana, a los pocos minutos le regrese la comunicación con la actividad realizada, él se dio cuenta de que estaba despierto, me preguntó a qué hora dormía, le respondí que nosotros no dormíamos, que éramos robots. El estilo y rigor de ambos por vivir y trabajar, conocer para aprender y enseñar, no se limita a las horas ni al día, sino al tiempo que le dedicamos a las acciones que nos hacen crecer, robándole tiempo a la noche.

En el 2008, en una de muchas visitas, después de compartir la mesa con él y Olga Lazín, (abogada de las causas), me dieron a conocer su intención de contratarme dentro de PROFMEX registrándome como

Investigador Asociado de UCLA, desde luego, ha representado uno de los mejores y mayores logros, que no me esperaba tan pronto, después de 2 años de trabajo, mi gratitud hacia ellos la mantengo con mucho aprecio y respeto, para mí son dos Elitelore. El Dr. Wilkie me comentó que me contrataba porque yo hacía las cosas sin que me las pidieran, con su expertez ha guiado las actividades que he venido haciendo hasta la fecha. Creo que todos tenemos algo del Dr. Wilkie, pre o post, que hacen mantener una relación de cordialidad y de trabajo significativo al cual me siento privilegiado de vivirlo.

En el libro de «La globalización se expande» de Olga Lazín y James Wilkie, mencionan la importancia de la salud, en específico vitaminarse. He sido testigo que las palabras se convierten en hechos, quienes hemos tenido la fortuna de visitarlos en su casa, y meternos hasta la cocina, sabemos que por todo lugar encontraremos libros y vitaminas. Unas para el alma y otras para estar siempre despiertos para ser productivos. Esto nos parece curioso, pero más adelante sabremos que seguiremos sus pasos y nosotros buscaremos un rincón nuevo para una vitamina en nuestras casas.

Una mirada a nuestras vidas nos hace ver que no somos tan diferentes, la sencillez del Dr. Wilkie y el saber vivir bien, se vuelve un placer al que todos deseamos aspirar, reconozco que su labor incansable, es motivo de admiración. Tanto el Dr. Wilkie como yo, hemos tenido un afecto especial con Estados Unidos, México y Rumania, por vivir, transitar y compartir amistades.

Trabajar con el Dr. Wilkie significa estar despierto, llevarse el trabajo o la computadora a los viajes, ya que no importa la hora, el día y el lugar, sé que recibiré un nuevo correo electrónico, con una nueva actividad por realizar, como acaba de suceder...

Es interesante preguntarse, seguro que algunos de nosotros lo hemos hecho, ¿Cuáles han sido los pasos que él ha seguido?, ¿cuáles han sido sus motivaciones?, ¿cuántos más lo estamos siguiendo? y ¿quiénes nos seguirán?

Un cordial abrazo a mi estimado Elitelore Dr. James W. Wilkie.

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James Wilkie's Historical Structuralism: Religion, Politics, and Society in modern Mexico

By Peter L. Reich¹

James Wilkie's extensive work on Latin American history over the last half century has multiple facets. One aspect rarely explored is how his research exemplifies the structural approach to history, which began with the French *Annales* School and was practiced by his Ph.D. advisor Woodrow Borah. In this essay, I survey how other historians have applied the concept of structuralism, examine Wilkie's use of the approach in his studies of Church and state in postrevolutionary Mexico, and explain his influence on my own studies of the interface of law and ideology. While many scholars, especially structuralists themselves, have seen an historical perspective as inconsistent with structuralism, Wilkie carried on the *Annales* tradition of employing both these methods in a creative and complementary way.

The first structuralists were early-twentieth-century linguistics scholars such as Ferdinand de Saussure and Maxwell Bloomfield, who defined language as a "structure" or system in which no single element —like a sound— is significant in itself but where the pattern of elements creates meaning (Champagne 1990: 3-5). Claude Lévi-Strauss famously applied structuralism to anthropology in the 1930s and 1940s,

¹ Professor of Law, Whittier Law School. J.D. in Law, UC Berkeley, Ph.D. in Modern Latin American History, UCLA. The author thanks Professor James Wilkie for his many years of inspiration and guidance, and the organizers of the *Homenaje a James W. Wilkie*, El Colegio de Chihuahua, Ciudad Juárez, May 16-17, 2016, especially Professor Samuel Schmidt, for convening it in his honor.

analyzing indigenous societies' kinship relations as an arrangement that prescribed marriages among certain types of relatives and prohibited them among others (Lévi-Strauss 1969: xxiii). Lévi-Strauss's focus on first-person, real-time observation, without recourse to documentation from the past, and his view that change in these societies came about mainly through European contact promoted the idea that an historical approach was inconsistent with a structural one.

Yet *Annales* scholars including Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel were meanwhile interweaving history and structuralism by detailing relationships over extended periods—the *longue durée*, in the latter's words (Braudel 1980: 25-54). Bloch's 1940 study of Western European feudal society was a "total history" in *annaliste* terms, comprehensively looking at economic, political, and social relationships among individuals and groups defined by their places in a complex legal hierarchy of reciprocal duties, and observing how older traditions like Roman law were gradually assimilated to varying degrees in different regions (Bloch 1961). Braudel uncovered the slow evolution of trading connections and processes in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean littoral as even more powerful than specific political events (Braudel 1974). And Wilkie's dissertation chair at U.C. Berkeley, Woodrow Borah, tracked similar long-term trends in social and commercial relationships by examining demography, trade, and government regulation in colonial Latin America (Borah 1954).

Jim Wilkie incorporated and expanded structural methodology in his three investigations of Church-state relations in twentieth-century Mexico. In the first, his oral interview with Catholic lay activist Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra (conducted in 1964), Wilkie revealed that beginning in the late *Porfiriato*, affiliations of urban and rural workers, supported by credit unions, formed the basis for the militant *Cristero* resistance groups of the 1920s like the *Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa* (Wilkie and Monzón de Wilkie 1969). This organizational cohesion explained the continuity in the laity's ideological traditionalism and thus why not all Catholics supported the Church hierarchy's 1929 compromise with the government—the so-called *arreglos*—that ended the military conflict with the *Cristeros*.

In turn, the moderation of the episcopate and state itself followed a traditional pattern of lax anticlerical enforcement also dating from the late nineteenth century. Of course, we cannot forget that Palomar, in looking backward, may have been inventing his own “eliteloire,” in Wilkie’s later terminology, justifying himself by maintaining that his positions had long antecedents.

Building on his interview with Palomar y Vizcarra, Wilkie developed a conceptual explanation of the *arreglos* in his article, “The Meaning of the Cristero Religious War against the Mexican Government” (Wilkie 1966). By elucidating the structures of conciliation and extremism within both Church and state, he showed that neither institution was monolithic, so that the moderates on both sides made peace while the radicals continued zealous resistance and anticlerical struggle well into the 1930s. Thus the larger structures of bureaucracy and polarization proved more important than the specific categories of “religion” and “secularism.”

Wilkie took a broader, more synthetic approach in his “Statistical Indicators of the Impact of National Revolution on the Catholic Church in Mexico, 1910-1967” (Wilkie 1970). Delineating the structures of religious affiliation —Church-sponsored marriage, divorce rate, and inhabitants per priest— through time-series statistics culled from census data, he found these measures marked a significant downturn in Church influence in the decades following the Revolution. But cognizant of the multiple factors behind any trends over the *longue durée*, he considered that this weakening of affiliative intensity may just as easily have been caused by population growth and public health improvement as by government anticlerical policies. All three of Wilkie’s Church-state studies illustrate how the structures of religious relationships underlie the surface of political events, which they might or might not influence.

In my own doctoral dissertation under Jim Wilkie’s guidance, published as *Mexico’s Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics since 1929*, I took the next step in the structural analysis of the postrevolutionary religious situation (Reich 1995). I discovered that despite the anticlerical Constitution of 1917 and state laws restricting

Church activities, in the 1930s ecclesiastical and government officials cooperated at national, state, and local levels. These functionaries established structures of collaboration: they tacitly evaded the laws to allow ritual observance; the Church filed and the government abstained from appealing judicial *amparo* (nonenforcement) orders; they suppressed Catholic and secular extremists; and they supported each other's positions on issues such as agrarian reform and anti-religious artwork. Accommodation reached the point where bishops exchanged personal favors for governors' flouting the laws, priests officiated regularly albeit illegally, and vandalizers of Church buildings were jailed. This cooperative relationship survives through the present because it serves the needs of both institutional hierarchies to contain challenges to their authority over their respective constituencies.

After reading a first draft of my dissertation, Jim reminded me that I should not interpret even ample archival evidence of collaboration to minimize the existence of conflict—that the structure of hidden compromise was only meaningful if it could be shown as operating in the face of actual hostility—an insight I gratefully incorporated. Later scholars have explored this point, as did Adrian Bantjes in his monograph, *If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution* (Bantjes 1998). Bantjes detailed the defanaticization campaign in 1930s Sonora, where the anticlerical governor Rodolfo Elías Calles and his supporters organized “proletarian bonfires” to burn *santos* and sacerdotal vestments, while the faithful congregated at illicit masses in the sierra. Just as Wilkie had shown, neither Church nor state were homogeneous, and there were varied responses to the religious problematic of the era. Historians, then, can and should reveal structures of accommodation at work alongside simultaneous structures of opposition.

In fact, sometimes continuity and dramatic upheaval can coexist within the same structure, such as a legal system. In “Regime Change and Legal Change: The Legacy of Mexico's Second Empire,” I demonstrate how after the French Intervention of 1863-1867, judicial decisions in the Restored Republic sustained the holdings of the Emperor Maximilian's courts in ordinary matters of debts,

contracts, and validation of public records. (Reich 2015). However, prior rulings were rejected when they failed to enforce the Reform Laws nationalizing ecclesiastical property, protect the interests of *Juarista* proprietors or pensioners, or sufficiently condemn the foreign invasion. Thus the structure of dispute adjudication through the mechanisms of claim filings, trials, and judgments remained static, but could produce different results when political implications forced courts to recognize that the regime had indeed changed. Wilkie had taught us that institutions are not monolithic but contain separate structures; this study suggests that structures themselves can house contradictory currents allowing a flexible relationship to shifting contexts.

Jim Wilkie's work on religion and politics creatively applies structural analysis to the terrain of modern Mexican history. His originality consists in showing how structures of ideological affinity always lie beneath and at times surface to influence historical events. He did not mean that events are subordinate to timeless structures, but rather that a comprehensive "total history" gives the best approximation of what actually happened. Historians cannot privilege certain types or items of evidence, but have to examine all of it critically or run the risk of advancing partisan rather than scholarly goals. Guided by this principle, Wilkie's nuanced structuralism remains a model not only of rigorous analysis but also of the conscientious pursuit of professional ethical standards.

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Professor James Wilkie: Mentor, Role Model, Scholar Extraordinaire

By María Herrera-Sobek¹

I met Professor James Wilkie my first year as a graduate student at UCLA in 1968 in a graduate studies class focusing on Latin American oral history. I was admitted to the M.A. Program in Latin American Studies and was very excited at entering such a prestigious university and having the opportunity to learn and work with some of the most distinguished professors in the country and, indeed, the world. I was advised to select an M.A. Advisory Committee and I decided to ask Professor Wilkie to be one of my three advisors. At that time, Wilkie had the reputation of being a very rigorous, demanding, and strict professor; that is exactly what I wanted since my goal was to learn as much as possible. I too wanted to be a respected professor some day after obtaining my M.A., continuing on for a doctoral degree and graduating from UCLA. When I went to see Professor Wilkie and knocked on his office door, I was very nervous and literally shaking. That morning in 1968, I still remember my trepidation about approaching the eminent university historian and scholar. At that time, I could not possibly have foreseen that our encounter would initiate a friendship that was to last for many decades of scholarly interactions and collaborations.

After overcoming my initial nervousness and with the help of Wilkie's charming and friendly personality and demeanor, I felt

1 University of California, Santa Barbara.

more comfortable. I began discussing my research interests and possible focus on my M.A. thesis. I informed Professor Wilkie that I was interested in exploring and researching the representation of braceros in literary writings with their actual experiences as recounted by the braceros themselves via oral interviews. For the project I needed to undertake oral interviews with braceros themselves. Since my grandfather, José Pablo Tarango (1902 -1970) was a bracero in the 1940s and 1950s in Rio Hondo, Texas near the US-Mexico border by Matamoros and Reynosa, Tamaulipas, I felt comfortable and knowledgeable about the topic. I was a child in the 1940s -1950s decades and grew up in Rio Hondo, Texas. I therefore experienced first-hand the Bracero Program (1942-1964) since I was surrounded by braceros that worked in the local Texas agricultural fields and interacted with the braceros that came to visit our family on weekends. Other relatives, as well as close friends of my grandparents, also had been braceros at the time and I knew their stories and bracero experiences. Upon hearing my proposed project Dr. Wilkie became very enthusiastic and supportive of my project for my M.A. thesis. He immediately suggested I interview braceros who were living in the small village of Huecorio in the Mexican state of Michoacán near the picturesque town of Patzcuaro. He thought this town would be ideal because there was a book written by Michael Belshaw titled: *A Village Economy: Land and People of Huecorio* (1967). Wilkie also informed me of possible grants I could apply in order to undertake field work in Huecorio. I applied and received a UCLA International Comparative Studies grant from the Ford Foundation and commenced my fieldwork in the summer of 1969. My M.A. thesis was later completed in 1971 under the title, "The Bracero Experience: In Life and in Fiction," (UCLA Latin American Center). My initial M.A. thesis focused on literary works with bracero themes written by Mexican authors and the oral history I acquired during my fieldwork in Huecorio. Professor Wilkie was very impressed with my M.A. thesis and suggested I turn it into a book. I later expanded my masters' thesis to include corridos or Mexican ballads with Mexican immigrant content. It was published in 1979 by the UCLA Latin American Center under the title: *The Bracero*

Experience: Elitelore versus Folklore. Professor Wilkie was kind enough to write an Introduction for the volume.

Michael Belshaw's book provided me with important data on the village of Huecorio. Once in Huecorio I found it to be ideal for my project since there were several men who had traveled and lived in the United States as braceros and later returned to their hometown. In addition, braceros had a wide gamut of experiences having been in the USA in different states in the Southwest as well as the Northwest and Midwest. They also ranged in age at the time of their sojourn as braceros.

Jim Wilkie's main influence on my scholarly work, theoretically speaking, has been in my incorporation of his elitelore theory which he conceptualized and developed. Since much of my research centers on folklore I found it productive to incorporate his theory with my folklore studies by contrasting how elitelore differed from folklore. I have used elitelore within some of my immigrant themed writings. In my first book, *The Bracero Experience: Elitelore versus Folklore* (1979), I examined "elite" literary works, i.e. novels and short stories encompassing bracero experience themes and compared how the bracero was represented with the manner in which braceros appeared in corridos. I compared these two representations of the bracero experience with the oral narratives the braceros themselves had articulated to me regarding their experience in the United States during the decades 1940s-1960s, in the oral interviews I undertook in Huecorio in 1969.

The results demonstrated a discrepancy between the elitelore narratives published in literary works and the oral history bracero interviews as well as the folksongs identified. Elitelore narratives tended to be more negative of the bracero experience given its focus on the oppression and exploitation of the bracero workforce in the United States. The folk narratives, both via folksongs and oral history interviews recounted by the bracero workers themselves, tended to be more realistic in that the narratives articulated the rationale for emigrating to a foreign country. The folk narratives and folksongs depicted both positive and negative experiences.

Wilkie and I continued to work on other projects related to elitelore and folklore. He was a member of my doctoral dissertation titled, “The Function of Folklore in Gabriel García Márquez” (UCLA 1975). I worked with Wilkie and Edna Monzón de Wilkie in an article we co-authored and published in the *Journal of Latin American Lore* (1979). The essay titled: “The Theory of Elitelore and Folklore: *One Hundred Years of Solitude* as a Test Case.” was derived from my dissertation but was expanded to include the theory of elitelore in a new analysis of the folklore highlighted in García Márquez’s Nobel Prize winning novel.

As a visiting professor at two of our USA “elite” universities, such as Stanford and Harvard, I discussed my work on elitelore and folklore. Some students found it difficult to conceptualize and imagine themselves as members of an “elite group” even though they were at these highly prestigious institutions. I found myself having to delicately explain in detail how there are different categories of “elites” such as labor union leaders, people belonging to the working class but holding leadership positions, and so forth. I believe the problem resided in a narrow conceptualization of “elites” as belonging only to the upper classes.

Wilkie has always been very supportive of my work during my graduate student years as well as during my academic career at UC Irvine and later at UC Santa Barbara. I am delighted that this homage to Professor Wilkie has been organized this year. This has provided me with an opportunity to thank him for being such a great influence on my work throughout the subsequent decades. I feel greatly honored to be included in this volume and want Jim to know how much I admire and respect him. He has been my role model and guiding light during my professional career.

In Professor Wilkie’s honor I have written a corrido which I am pleased to include here in page 56.

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De elitelore y humor político. Mi relación intelectual con James W. Wilkie

Samuel Schmidt

Hace un par de años un amigo me llamó para preguntarme porque no había hecho nada sobre el plagio de mi libro sobre humor político. El plagiario recibió mención honorífica en la UNAM otorgada por Álvaro Matute que seguramente no tuvo tiempo de leer el único libro que había sobre el tema, y pienso que esa mención me corresponde a mí, pero pensándolo bien, tengo que compartirla con Jim Wilkie, él fue el primero que sugirió que reuniera los chistes que le contaba en Los Ángeles.

Conocí a Wilkie en un curso sobre México en la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén, tuve que leer y escribir una crítica sobre su emblemático libro *The Mexican Revolution. Federal expenditure and social change*. Esta era una lectura imaginativa sobre el gasto público y especialmente como la acción presupuestaria del gobierno le imprime sesgos ideológico-políticos al gasto público. Creo no equivocarme en que este no ha sido superado.

Pasó el tiempo y fui a Los Ángeles a la boda de mi hermano Isaac, un día su cuñado me platicó que tuvo un profesor James Wilkie y regresó el recuerdo del libro, así que se me ocurrió que quería conocer al autor del libro, todavía en ese entonces pensaba yo que los autores eran gente rara, y lo son. Así que tomé un directorio telefónico, lo encontré y le llamé. Después de una corta introducción donde me presenté como profesor en la UNAM le dije que me interesaba conocerlo, quedamos

de comer en un restaurante vietnamita en el centro de Los Ángeles y me dijo:

- Seven o'clock. You know what it means seven o'clock?

Claro que sabía lo que era, mi reloj tenía el 7 y la manecilla siempre llegaba puntual, él tal vez supuso que como mexicano no me preocupara mucho lo preciso. Jim sabía que la hora en México es solamente un referente y no requiere precisión, así que después de tanto tiempo de visitar México y estudiar a México sigue empeñado en ser contra cultural y pretende que los mexicanos lleguen a tiempo; el tema del tiempo lo desarrollé en el libro *Humor en Serio* tratando de explicar al mexicano, la versión en inglés salió finalmente el año pasado en University of Arizona Press, con un título igual de malo que el mexicano, *Seriously funny*, porque los editores creen que el estudio del humor no es serio, ya que creen que el chiste no es cosa seria, y cada vez que muestran eso, Freud se da una vuelta en la tumba. Tal vez será bueno saber porque en su momento, en los 90's, la misma editorial no se atrevió a publicar la versión en inglés del mismo, porque yo sucumbiendo ante la autocensura mexicana, decidí que el libro no lo publicaría nadie en México. Si criticando a Echeverría censuraron el libro y me amenazaron, con el chiste político, que agrade a todos los presidentes me hubieran sacado del planeta, paradójicamente, cuándo el libro se publicó, nadie se metía conmigo, porque en el carácter xenófobo del mexicano, pensaban que Schmidt era gringo. Por cierto la misma actitud campeo en la UNAM cuándo pedí que le retirarán el grado de doctor al plagiarlo de mi libro.

Llegué al restaurante con mi esposa Rosie antes de las 7 y ya estaba Wilkie con su esposa Edna sentados, menos mal que esperó, porque la última vez que cenamos juntos en Los Ángeles, cuando llegamos acompañados de nuestra hija Noa que lo quería saludar, Jim ya estaba cenando. A mitad de la cena se me ocurrió decirle que me quería ir a UCLA a hacer otro doctorado, en parte porque mi exprofesor de Jerusalén Yoram Shapira, había llegado a México un poco tiempo después de doctorarme y me había dicho que me fuera a hacer otro doctorado porque el de la UNAM no era muy reconocido. Yo me anime tal vez porque la opción de tenerme que poner a trabajar no era

muy atractiva, y para ese entonces ya era profesor de tiempo completo en la UNAM, con el tiempo me convertí en pobresor. Wilkie reaccionó favorablemente pero sugirió que mejor fuera un posdoctorado, que con un doctorado era suficiente y así empezó una larga relación que cambió mi vida.

En primer lugar siendo de izquierda (no me meto aquí a definir exactamente mi postura ideológica) me fui a meter a la boca del lobo, al centro imperialista a estudiar, el proyecto pos doctoral era aplicar mi tesis doctoral sobre teoría del Estado, para lo que escogí el gobierno de Luis Echeverría, lo que probaría ser una decisión definitiva y definitiva.

Desde antes de empezar hubo anécdotas interesantes, en el comité que me entrevistó para darme la beca Fulbright se encontraba el consejero político de la Embajada de Estados Unidos en México. Y el intercambio fue más o menos así:

- You are Marxist.
- No.
- You quote Marx, Lenin, Engels.
- I also quote Lipset.
- So you are an Anarquist!!!
- No, because they are also dogmatic.

Todavía no entiendo porque me dieron la beca, pero eso me facilitó un año maravilloso en UCLA, sumergirme de lleno en una gran biblioteca y tener largas conversaciones con Wilkie. Recuerdo que en un cumpleaños me regalo una botella de whiskey y una botella de vitaminas.

Un buen día Jim me sugirió que debería reunir los chistes que le contaba, así que decidí incluir un apéndice de chistes de Echeverría en el libro El deterioro del presidencialismo mexicano. Los años de Luis Echeverría (luego publicado por University of Arizona Press como *The Deterioration of the Mexican Presidency*, gracias a la intervención de Jim y Bill Beezley, título con el que Jim no estaba muy de acuerdo, pero yo opte por una traducción literal de la versión en español, un título tal vez mejor hubiera sido *Deconstruyendo la imagen de que el presidente mexicano es todopoderoso y omnipotente*. En la versión en

inglés narre con detalle la persecución que sufrió Juan Miguel de Mora, diciéndole a Juan para que entienda Pedro, porque Bill y Jim pensaron y me convencieron que no era conveniente relatar mi propia experiencia de represión y que me llevó a UCLA de regreso en 1988 como profesor visitante, para impartir un curso de Jim. Mi agradecimiento Jim por ese acto solidario. El libro fue un rotundo fracaso de librería gracias a la censura y fue la entrada para cerrar mi carrera en la UNAM, porque al ex presidente –y toda su familia- le molestó, así que José Narro, que empezaba su larga carrera para rector de la UNAM trató de congraciarse con el ex presidente para que lo ayudará en sus aspiraciones políticas y destrozó mi carrera política en la UNAM, cosa que vista de lejos, tal vez deba agradecerle. Tampoco este es el espacio para detallar la traición de Narro.

Lo importante del posdoctorado es que me llevó a pensar en la academia de otra manera. En contra de la teoría rígida sustentada en un paradigma más parecido a un dogma de fe que a un marco guía para formular preguntas, empecé a pensar de forma ecléctica y a salir de los principios “teóricos” que funcionan como camisas de fuerza, para tratar de entender las complejas relaciones entre la sociedad y el Estado. De paso debo decir que entendí que lo que en las ciencias sociales se asume como teoría, en ocasiones no rebasa la condición de hipótesis, pero ese debate pertenece a otro lugar.

Prácticamente casi toda mi obra es posterior a mi encuentro con Wilkie, la excepción son dos artículos publicados en el Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos de la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la UNAM: uno sobre la teoría de la dependencia y otro sobre la política de industrialización de Miguel Alemán, de ahí en adelante Alemán me ha atraído, al grado de haber escrito un capítulo sobre su red en uno de los libros que escribí con Jorge Gil (QEPD) sobre la red de poder en México.

En torno a su proyecto de la historia oral de los líderes latinoamericanos logré concertar una cita con Miguel Alemán para invitarlo a Los Ángeles y ser entrevistado por Wilkie. Fuimos juntos a la Ciudad de México Jim, Edna y yo, y lo que más me sorprendió fue que a mitad de la charla y sin que viniera al caso, o sin que nosotros

lo preguntáramos, además se quejó de lo que decían que se había robado, y dijo que el presupuesto de Veracruz era de solamente de 400 millones de pesos, ¿cómo podía haberse robado el dinero? El no mencionó, ni nosotros, que la acusación era sobre sus negocios (Ciudad Satélite por ejemplo) y como presidente cuando estableció una presencia importante en Acapulco. Se notaba que le preocupaba la imagen de corrupción y ninguno de nosotros hizo alguna corrección. Tampoco aceptó la invitación para ir a Los Ángeles para sostener una entrevista formal.

Mi siguiente participación en el proyecto de historia oral de líderes latinoamericanos, fue en las entrevistas que Wilkie le hizo a Porfirio Muñoz Ledo en Los Ángeles, y ahí le pregunte sobre su explicación en torno al intercambio que como Presidente del PRI hizo de la gubernatura por Nayarit contra una senaduría para el Partido Popular Socialista, logrando la primera senaduría de un partido de “oposición”. No en balde alguien decía que PPS quiere decir Pocos Pero Serviles. Muñoz Ledo ha sido presidente de tres partidos políticos (PRI, PRD, PT) y trabajo para un cuarto (PAN); debe haber una distancia ideológica abrumadora entre el origen maoísta del PT y el PAN, así el demostró que en México la ideología es un referente sin valor. Es innegable que es un político inusual, es un hombre con gran conocimiento pero tal vez no se justifique que vaya por la vida como el mayor demócrata mexicano; la pregunta le incomodó y dejó sin contestarla, pero igual le incómoda la crítica. Mi carácter incisivo le debe ser muy molesto, porque en una ocasión me reclamó una crítica en tonos poco democráticos y luego me acuso con un rector que no me hubiera presentado a recibir algo más de sus injurias. Me echo en cara que me prologó un libro y acepté que gracias a su prólogo se consolidó mi carrera académica, porque antes de su prólogo había publicado 14 libros. Quiere decir que Wilkie es culpable de los desencuentros con este personaje.

Su influencia para considerar cuestiones estadísticas para explicar la historia me llevó a publicar dos artículos en el *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, una de sus grandes contribuciones. *Revisando la deuda pública de México*, 1983. Vol. 23. *Las distintas caras*

de la deuda del sector público mexicano, 1982. Vol. 22. Mi conclusión principal era que no importa el nivel de endeudamiento siempre y cuando el gobierno pueda servir a la deuda. Poco tiempo después de esta conclusión, el gobierno mexicano no pudo servir más la deuda y cayó en una de sus constantes tropiezos. Siguiendo la metáfora del catarro de Estados Unidos y la gripe mexicana, de algún director del Banco de México, esta fue una más de las pulmonías nacionales. Actualmente, temas de deuda, México está en una situación similar a la que describí en los 80's, y ya estamos estornudando con fuerza, a comprar pañuelos para la pulmonía de 2017.

Siendo profesor y funcionario de la UNAM firmamos un convenio con UCLA y desarrollamos varios encuentros que dieron lugar a sus correspondientes publicaciones. Ahí fue el único libro que editamos juntos, agregado el buen amigo Manuel Esparza (QEPD) que falleció trágicamente en un accidente de aviación unos años después. *Estudios cuantitativos sobre la historia de México*, 1988. México, D. F.: UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Y posiblemente eso dilucide un intercambio críptico que tuve con Jorge Carpizo.

En un arranque de inconciencia se me ocurrió que podía ser director de la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la UNAM, llegue al número fatídico de cinco que entrevista el rector, y una parte de la plática fue más o menos así: Carpizo empezó a buscar en uno de los cajones de su escritorio y me dijo:

- Yo también tengo estadísticas. Aquí tengo la de los candidatos.
- ¿Y cómo voy?
- No muy bien.
- ¿Y que hay qué hacer para mejorar?
- No me ponga en una posición incómoda.

Yo no puse a Carpizo en ninguna posición, el trajo el tema a colación para decirme de forma elegante que no sería director de la Facultad. Pero me dejó la duda sobre las estadísticas, porque mi trabajo nunca fue de estadística a excepción del libro con Wilkie y Esparza y los dos artículos sobre deuda. Ni hablar Jim, Carpizo te uso para dar mensajes políticos.

Llegué a El Paso por una negociación de Jim con Diana Natalicio, su intervención sirvió para zanjar un conflicto interno en UTEP con

un miembro del departamento de Ciencia Política y me ofrecieron la dirección del Centro de Estudios Interamericanos y Fronterizos. Esto creó las condiciones para que ya no regresara al altiplano mexicano y me convirtiera en fronterizo, o tal vez sea mejor decir transfronterizo porque he tenido un pie en cada lado de la frontera durante mucho tiempo.

Recién llegado en 1992 me tocó coordinar junto con David Lorey, un gran proyecto gestionado por PROFMEX y ANUIES ante la Fundación Ford para estudiar el financiamiento de vivienda y la política de servicios urbanos en El Paso-Ciudad Juárez. En el proyecto participaban varias universidades fronterizas y gracias a la intervención de Wilkie realizamos reuniones de gran nivel, especialmente para presentar nuestras conclusiones y recomendaciones, las que se publicaron en un folleto escrito por Lorey y yo. *Recommendations for Managing the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez Metropolitan Area*. PROFMEX Special Papers Series. El Paso Community Foundation and Center for Inter American and Border Studies. El Paso, Tx 1994. pp. 10. Tengo muy viva en la memoria una reunión dónde estaban presentes el Embajador de Estados Unidos en México, el Subsecretario de Hacienda y el congresista de El Paso, dónde lanzamos una idea muy audaz. Mover los controles fronterizos quince millas al sur y al norte, las quince millas prácticamente cubrían todo San Diego. La primera respuesta fue de Ron Coleman, el congresista que se apresuró a decir:

- No, because my constituents don't like it.

Extraña la respuesta porque sus constituents no habían escuchado la propuesta y justo en El Paso, podría ser muy popular debido a que en esa ciudad más del 85% de la población es hispana y muchas familias están divididas por el río y hoy por el muro (ni hablar la migra se le adelantó a Trump).

La segunda negativa fue de Sylvestre Reyes, en ese entonces jefe de la migra en el sector, quién se opuso porque debíamos decirle quién se encargaría de asegurar que no entraran los chinos, aunque era evidente que era él. La lógica de la propuesta era crear un área económica poderosa. Estados Unidos recibiría una abundante y calificada mano de obra, que llevaría de regreso una buena parte de los productos que compraría ahí.

Diez y seis años después en 2010 publiqué un capítulo en el libro de Nufrio, Anna Vincenza. *Ciudad Juárez e le storie di una città e di una frontiera*. Milan, No Mad // Yuzu Lab; reflexionando sobre las recomendaciones, de las que prácticamente ninguna se cumplió. En *l'effettività della ricerca scientifica. uno studio sulla frontiera* muestro que los paradigmas utilizados eran erróneos y la falta de profundidad en la investigación generó muchas ocurrencias pero poca recomendaciones con sólido sustento científico.

Los próximos encuentros con Wilkie han sido en el PROFMEX journal, dónde he publicado algunos de los temas que me preocupan. He incursionado en los impactos simbólico-políticos de las expresiones del crimen que han generado un fenómeno que denomino Crimen Autorizado.

En 2012 publique El estado suplantado. Mexico and the world. PROFMEX journal. Vol. XVII, No. 5. (early fall 2012) http://profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume17/5earlyfall2012/Estado_suplantado_Schmidt.pdf

En 2013 en coautoría con Carlos Spector publique. 'Authorized Crime' in Mexico A Paradigm to Explain Violence. *Mexico and the world*. Vol. 18, No 6 (Fall 2013) http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume18/6fall2013/Authorized_Crime_in_Mexico.pdf

Me han preguntado si el humor se ocupa de los narcos, tema es que es interesante y clave para explicar la cultura política. El chiste político se ocupa de aquello en el sistema político que le preocupa a la sociedad, que en el caso mexicano es el inmenso poder del presidente de la república, en menor medida los chistes se ocupan de gobernadores y presidentes municipales. Los narcos no son, en la percepción de la sociedad un tema político, aunque como dije arriba, con el crimen autorizado sí lo son. He encontrado muchas expresiones en el terreno de las caricaturas, pero esa expresión humorística es de la élite y no del pueblo y por lo tanto pertenece al elitelore.

En las ediciones del libro (*En la Mira* es la segunda y es un mejor título) considero que el chiste político es una forma de conocer el elitelore, cuestión que exprese en el artículo "Elitelore, political humor and the Mexican presidents", *Journal of Latin American Lore*, Vol. 16, No. 1 Verano 1990. Creo que en esta veta que descubrió Wilkie

todavía queda mucho por hacer. Si aquí estamos algunos de los hijos académicos de Jim, posiblemente alguno, pueda llevar a alguno de los nietos a que explore esta magnífica perspectiva para entender a las elites y su relación con la sociedad y el poder.

Los dos artículos nuevos que publique en PROFMEX (ambos este año) uno ha sido sobre los candidatos independientes y el otro sobre el poder destructivo de los neoliberales, este último lleva en sí esos tintes de historia económica que aprendí cuándo leí *La Revolución mexicana* de Wilkie.

Largo ha sido mi periplo académico y muy cercano a las preocupaciones académicas (que llevan mucho de políticas) con Jim Wilkie.

Celebro que estén aquí tantos que han cruzado sus vidas con él y ojala Jim como se dice entre judíos, que llegues hasta 120. Aunque como vas en 40 de edad física, te queda largo camino por recorrer.

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PROFMEX



Worldwide Consortium for Research on Mexico Organization and Activities

June 2016

By Alfonso J. Galindo

PROFMEX, The Worldwide Consortium for Research on Mexico, is an international organization dedicated to independent analysis of Mexico, its public and educational policies, its model of economic and business development, and its position in the global arena. It organizes courses, international events and conferences for the purpose of analyzing and disseminating ideas that contribute to a better development of the country, its institutions, businesses and individuals. To these ends, PROFMEX publishes book series, the web journal Mexico and the World, and sponsors film on Mexico.

The Consortium was founded in 1982 and registered as non-profit organization in the State of California. In 1998 it also became a civil association in Mexico City. PROFMEX was officially hosted by UCLA until 2002, when it was decentralized to offices hosted by multiple universities and center. Today the PROFMEX base is located in Los Angeles, with major offices in Mexico City, Guadalajara, San Antonio, and Puebla.

PROFMEX is authorized to receive financial donations and contributions under Section 501(c)(3) of United States Internal Revenue Code. It is funded by its members, individuals, and organizations to develop and promote the planning and implementation of policies and programs in Mexico, which promote socio-economic development. It

also acts as a catalyst to promote Mexico's image in the World and the understanding of its model of development abroad.

Currently, PROFMEX has 700 individual members in all continents, representing 130 universities, other non-for-profit organizations, and think-tanks. Its individual members are mainly professionals in the public, private, academic and non-profit sectors interested in analyzing and promoting the development and competitiveness of Mexico and exchange information through the wide network created for this purpose.

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Programs developed under this initiative receive technical cooperation and support of international academic institutions through specific agreements of collaboration negotiated by the Consortium.

Some results are:

A. UCLA:

- More than 20 campus events on Mexico and its economic and social development, including visits by important leaders such as Vicente Fox, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Luis Donaldo Colosio, Francisco Labastida, governors, women leaders, labor leaders and others.

- Graduate Program in Global Studies with UABC, Université de Paris, FLACSO and University of South Australia.
 - Certificate Course on Globalization with Universidad Iberoamericana.
 - UCLA Summer Sessions on Global Studies in Guanajuato, Mexico.
 - UCLA Seminar on the current state of social and economic studies in Mexico.
 - Visits for higher authorities of UCLA to several states of Mexico.
- B. Northeastern University:
- Summer Program on Large Infrastructure Projects.
- C. Stanford University:
- Agreement for CONACYT to send 6 funded graduate students per year to Stanford's Food Research Institute.
- D. University of California, Berkeley:
- Agreement between CONACYT and a UC Campus to lower the cost of tuition and fees for Mexican funded students.
- E. Claremont Graduate University:
- Visit of CGU officials to Mexico to recruit students and invite Mexican dignitaries to the Board of Visitors. As a result, CGU recruited Mr. Aldo Flores, currently Secretary General of the International Energy Forum (IEF) to its faculty, and obtained the support of Mr. Carlos Slim for its activities in Mexico.
 - Plan and organize the 15th Claremont-Bologna Monetary Conference in Guanajuato, with Vicente Fox and Nobel Prize Winner Robert Mundell.
- F. Texas Tech University:
- Opening of "Doing Business in Mexico" Course with Universidad Anáhuac.
 - Development of a market study and general location plan to open TTU's campus in Querétaro.

- G. University of South Australia:
- Countrywide research and recruitment visit to Mexico in Baja California, Sinaloa, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Mexico City, Tabasco and Quintana Roo.
- H. University of Texas in San Antonio:
- General plan to open the Center for Latin American Studies.
- I. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México:
- Cooperation Agreement with UCLA to aid in the opening of UNAM campus in California, including 3 visits to UCLA by UNAM officials, 2 joint conferences and technology transfer for the creation of UNAM's IXTLI virtual observatory.
- J. Universidad de las Américas, A.C:
- Certificate on Mexico's Political Scenarios with UCLA, with the presence and participation of Felipe Calderon, Manuel Camacho, Alejandro Gertz, and members of Congress.
- K. Universidad de Guadalajara:
- Development of the BA Degree in Public Policy.
 - Project to open the Inter institutional Master of Public Policy with Universidad de Colima and Universidad de Sinaloa.
 - Project to open Executive MBA Program with Virginia Commonwealth University.
- L. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo:
- Renewal of its regulatory framework, especially in the creation of a new General Statute and on various regulations.
 - Multi-site conferences at distance with UCLA.
 - 1st National Conference on the State of Space Sciences in Mexico with AIFOCEM and NASA astronaut José Hernández.
- M. Universidad Autónoma de Baja California:
- Graduate program and certificate (taught in English) on "Global Development" at the UABC with technical support from UCLA, the University of Paris, FLACSO and the University of South Australia.
- N. Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa:
- Organization and recruitment for an "International Advisory Board".

- Development of Graduates program in “Public Policy in Globalization” and “Administrative Sciences”.
- O. Instituto Nacional de Astrofísica, Óptica y Electrónica (INAOE):
- Business plan for the Large Millimeter Telescope for CONACYT.
- P. Universidad del Caribe:
- Guidelines for the internationalization of the University.
- Q. Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo:
- Development of the Mexico-United States Research Center with the participation of Nobel Prize Winner Robert Mundell.
- R. Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología de México (CONACYT):
- Analysis on the status of graduate education in Mexico, with the Institute of Public Administration of the State of Quintana Roo, specially focused on the supply and quality of graduate programs offered by institutions of higher education that have campuses in this State. Study funded by FOMIX.
 - Construction of a “Model Curriculum for higher education institutions of the State of Puebla based on competencies” with El Colegio de Puebla. Project funded by FOMIX.
- S. Several member institutions:
- Model of quality certification of university programs offered by universities in Mexico and Latin America, especially to foster future exchange of credits with US institutions. This will contribute to the integration of the academic market in North America.

2. PUBLIC SERVICE INFORMATION FOR LATIN AMERICAN MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

This project investigates the characteristics and conditions of access to services by Hispanic migrants living in the United States.

It develops publications and contents for video programs to explain the basic operation of services offered by American institutions, including opening of bank accounts, developing credit history, sending remittances to Latin America, gaining access to health and communication services; and other issues relevant

to the community. In the United States, in collaboration with SABEResPODER, PROFMEX has published and distributed more than nine million copies of pamphlets, distributed without cost. It also operates a closed circuit TV System in all Mexican and Salvadoran Consulates broadcasting these contents continuously.

Booklets are currently distributed through 50 consulates of Mexico. This project is in partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (specifically with the Institute of Mexicans Abroad) and under the auspices of corporations like Bank of America, Wells Fargo, AT & T, Kaiser Permanente, HealthNet, Tylenol, etc.

See complete list of booklets published under Publications section on page 32.

3. PROFMEX COURSES FOR MEXICAN LEADERS, FACULTY AND PROSPECTIVE STUDENTS.

With the collaboration of its institutional and individual members, PROFMEX has developed and offers short courses in various fields of social and administrative sciences. Examples of these courses include:

- a. Short courses for business, political and labor leaders of Mexico to learn about US Culture, its language and the American point of view on specific topics of their interest.
- b. Courses for Mexican Faculty on specific fields requested by their universities.
- c. Specialized courses to introduce Mexican students and migrants to the US university system.

4. ANALYSIS OF BEST GOVERNMENT PRACTICES OF MEXICAN STATES

PROFMEX organizes periodical Conferences where local governments of the States of Mexico share best practices and discuss policy affairs. It facilitates working groups to analyze successful policies in various fields of governmental action and management.

5. DOUBLE TAXATION, SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSIONS.

PROFMEX works with:

- Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público de México;
- US Social Security Administration (SSA); and
- University of California, Los Angeles,

to:

- a) Coordinate pension systems between Mexico and the United States to recover funds contributed to the social security of the United States by Mexican migrant workers who have worked legally or undocumented immigrants in the United States.
- b) Design an investment plan for pension funds in the United States recovered by migrants to be invested in their home communities, to generate local economic development.
- c) Prevent double taxation of wages and salaries of employees and executives who serve or do business on both sides of the border, or work for transnational companies in both countries.

6. MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND INVOLUNTARY RETURN MIGRATION TO MEXICO AND HOW THESE PATTERNS IMPACT ON THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO.

This academic research project analyzes regional development based on remittances and the creation of local associations on Mexico to foster development in regions of high migration.

7. REGIONS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND FEDERALISM IN MEXICO.

In Mexico the period of import substitution and economic isolation led to the development of large urban areas at the expense of rural communities. Openness and globalization have led to a slow process of decentralization of the economic activity to communities and regions trying to attain development through local initiatives. This project examines general local initiatives in micro-regions.

8. GLOBALIZATION: THE CASE OF MEXICO

This project studies:

- a) Mexico as a leader in establishing international trade agreements with other countries;
- b) The participation of Mexico in NAFTA, APEC and the European Union; and
- c) The importance of civic organizations in the future development of Mexico.

PREVIOUS PROJECTS

1) Mutual recognition of non-profit sectors by the Governments of Mexico and the United States. (1991-1993).

This project was commissioned and sponsored by the American Council on Foundations.

The result of PROFMEX project was the signing of an international Tax Convention on the subject in 1992 and the adoption of rules permitting and encouraging the tax exempt flow of funds between the United States and Mexico.

2) Conferences on Public Policy Recommendations for Integration and Management of the Metropolitan Region of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation. (1991-1994).

Published with the same title by Samuel Schmidt and David Lorey (El Paso: El Paso Community Foundation and University of Texas at El Paso, 1994).

3) The problem of shortage of affordable housing for urban workers of the City of Tijuana. The policy options and possibilities for change. (1991-1993).

Sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

4) Establishment of the peer-reviewed Web Journal Mexico and the World and the PROFMEX Information System (PROFMEXIS). (1992-1997).

Sponsored by Ford Foundation.

5) Changing agricultural policy in Sonora: From grains to olives (1993) Sponsored by the Government of the State of Sonora.

6) Developing strategies to the attention of Mexican migrant communities in the United States. (1994).

Sponsored by the office of Ernesto Zedillo's campaign for President of the Republic. The project resulted in the development of new policies for Mexican migrants abroad promoted by President Zedillo during his Presidential Administration.

7) Cities and Regions: North America faces Globalization. (1995, Published in 1998).

Sponsored by the Ford Foundation to study different transnational urban areas and regions of Mexico, the United States and Canada, analyzing the changes that have occurred in them as a result of globalization and its problems of economic, social and cultural integration project the near and distant future.

The results were published in the corresponding book cited in the publications section.

8) Project PROFMEX-University of Guadalajara on comparative public policy between Mexico and the US (1997-1999).

Sponsored by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

9) PROFMEX-University of Guadalajara on regional perspectives of North American integration project. (Since 1998).

Sponsored by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

10) National Microcredit Program and Poverty Survey (1998- 2000).

Sponsored by SEDESOL. Developed in collaboration with the CILACE. The project included several stages:

a) Study the flow of Mexican Federal Government Subsidies to low income families;

b) Evaluate the efficiency of social spending focused on eradicating poverty;

c) Study successful microcredit programs and initiatives of the World;

d) Develop a plan to use microcredit as an alternative to populist spending as a way to eradicate poverty;

e) Adapt idea to different economic, financial, social and cultural characteristics in Mexico;

f) Develop a system to create small businesses from the results of the National Microcredit Program;

The results of this study served to develop PROFMEX successful microcredit projects in Puebla (sponsored by the Government of Puebla)

and Hidalgo (sponsored by the University of Hidalgo Foundation).

11) First draft of the Development Plan for the Rural Sector 2000-2006. (2000).

Prepared for the Vicente Fox Campaign for the Presidency of Mexico. The project was to study the most important needs of Mexican rural society to make preliminary contents of rural public policy, discuss with civil society at large campaign events and specific forums and, based on the results, formulate a development plan that could be basis of government action in the presidential 2000-2006.

The results served as the basis for establishing the work of the Transition Team of President Elect Vicente Fox in agriculture and agricultural matters.

12) e-Mexico (2001).

PROFMEX participated with the Secretariat of Communications and Transportation and Mexican senior executives of recognized telecommunications companies in the development of e-Mexico.

13) Alternatives for Mexican regional development in the context of NAFTA and globalization. (2000-2001).

Sponsored by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

14) The environmental impact of urban policy. The case of Guadalajara. (2000-2001).

Sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

15) Civic participation in economic development and the provision of local public services. (2001-2002).

Sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

16) Development of highly qualified local governments. Training and training of human resources for municipal governments in western Mexico. (2001-2002).

17) Federalism and fiscal reform in Mexico (2001-2003).

PROFMEX worked with CONAGO and the Government of the State of Puebla in the proposal to organize a "National Tax Convention". The project included advising the "Working Group on the federalization of expenditure" and the "National System of Fiscal Coordination" with the purpose of reforming the legal framework and improve the operation tax distribution to States and Municipalities.

18) Master Development Plan for San Miguel de Allende (2003).

This project analyzed the most important needs of the population of the City of San Miguel de Allende, through a survey. The results were used to develop a Master Plan to incorporate civic demands in the planning strategy and suggest the City Government's actions towards development for the next 20 years.

19) Remittances: The cost of sending money from the United States to Mexico and its impact on the local economy (2003).

As part of the efforts of the Alliance for Prosperity, PROFMEX worked with BANSEFI in the study of patterns of financial behavior of Mexican migrants in the United States as well as in the flow pattern of remittances to their home communities.

20) Participation in the multi institutional team that evaluated Puebla's competitiveness and developed a policy strategy to enhance its participation in the global economy. (2004).

PROFMEX worked with the Government of Puebla and other consulting teams in developing the first specialized competitiveness study focused on a specific State in Mexico. The document "Puebla: Competitiveness 2004" was presented by Governor Melquiades Morales and provided a platform for the creation of specialized public policies in competitiveness in the State of Puebla.

21) Mexico's Two Green Revolutions in Agriculture and Their Impact on Worlds Poor.

This project examined the two stages of the Agricultural "Green Revolutions in Wheat and Corn for the World."

International Conferences and Prize Recipients

A. PROFMEX International Conferences on Specific Topics.

1. Mazatlán, Sinaloa

March 16-18, 1988

"Industry and Labor in Mexico I"

Co-sponsored by UCLA.

2. Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco.

October 6-8, 1988

"Industry and Labor in Mexico II"

Co-sponsored by UCLA.

3. Mérida, Yucatán.
January 26-30, 1989
“Industry and Labor in Mexico III”
Co-sponsored by UCLA.
4. Acapulco, Guerrero
July 1-4, 1989
“Cycles and Trends in the Development of Mexico I”
Co-sponsored by UCLA.
5. San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas
February 4-6, 1990
“Conference on Chiapas”
Co-sponsored by UCLA.
6. Puerto Escondido, Oaxaca
June 21-24, 1990,
“Conference on Oaxaca”
Co-sponsored by UCLA.
7. Oaxaca, Oaxaca and Mexico City
January 25 to February 1, 1991
“Philanthropy and International Foundations”
Co-sponsored by UCLA and the American Council on Foundations.
8. Cuetzalan and Cholula, Puebla
June 12-16, 1991
“Conference on Puebla”
Co-sponsored by UCLA and the University of the Americas.
9. Cabo San Lucas, Baja California Sur
March 6-9, 1992,
“Conference on Baja California Sur”
Co-sponsored by UCLA and UAM-Azcapotzalco.
10. Guadalajara, Jalisco
August 6-8, 1992
“Conference on Jalisco”
Co-sponsored by UCLA and the University of Guadalajara.

11. Zacatecas, Zacatecas

February 3-5, 1993

“Cycles and Trends in the Development of Mexico II”

Co-sponsored by UCLA and the UAM-Azcapotzalco.

12. Mexico City

August 3-7, 1993,

“Land Tenure Affairs of Mexico”

Co-sponsored by UCLA and the UAM-Azcapotzalco.

13. Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua and El Paso, Texas

September 17-18, 1993,

Management of a Trans Boundary Metropolitan Government I

Co-sponsored by UCLA, ANUIES and El Paso Community Foundation.

14. El Paso, Texas

January 3, 1994

“Management of a Trans Boundary Metropolitan Government II”

Co-sponsored by the Secretariat of Finance of Mexico, the United States Embassy in Mexico, the University of Texas at El Paso and the El Paso Community Foundation.

15. Mexico City

July 28-29, 1994

“Development of Mexico as seen from the World”

Co-sponsored by UCLA and CONACYT.

16. San Diego, California

September 9, 1994

“The problem of housing in Tijuana”

Co-sponsored by ANUIES and San Diego State University (SDSU).

17. Kyoto, Japan

August 25-31, 1995

“Conference on Mexico and Japan”

Co-sponsored by Doshisha University and UCLA.

18. San Diego, California

August 8, 1996

“Realities and opportunities of the border”

Co-sponsored by UCLA and SDSU.

19. Beijing, China

October 3-4, 1996,

a) “China, Japan and Mexico”

b) “Mexico and Asia”

Co-Sponsored by: UCLA, Mexico’s CONACYT, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the People’s University of China and Doshisha University in Japan.

20. Guanajuato, Guanajuato

April 15-17, 1999

“Innovative Ideas for Development in Mexico”

Co-sponsored by the Government of Guanajuato, Guanajuato State University, the University of Texas at Dallas, CILACE and the Institute of Public Administration of Guanajuato.

21. Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco

December 16-23, 1999

“Cycles and Trends in the Development of Mexico III”

Co-sponsored by the University of Guadalajara and UCLA.

22. Tepic, Nayarit

May 29, 2000,

“Globalization and Social Security”

Co-sponsored by the State University of Nayarit.

23. Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco

June 1-3, 2000;

“Globalization”

Co-sponsored by the University of Guadalajara and UCLA.

24. Morelia, Michoacan

September 18-23, 2000

“Mexico and Public Policy”

Co-sponsored by the Government of the State of Michoacán and UCLA.

25. Los Angeles, California

July 13, 2001

“Mexico Migration Policy”

Co-sponsored by the National Migration Institute of Mexico, the UCLA and the Consulate General of Mexico in Los Angeles.

26. Toluca, State of Mexico

November 7-9, 2001

“Urban Poverty and the Future of Cities”

Co-sponsored by the Government of the State of Mexico, the University of the State of Mexico and UCLA.

27. Los Angeles, California

November 12-13, 2002

“Human Rights of Mexican Immigrants in the USA”

Co-sponsored by the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico, UCLA and the Consulate General of Mexico in Los Angeles.

28. Los Angeles, California

April 27, 2006

“U.S.-Mexican Private Investment and Migration: The Case of Los Angeles- Sinaloa”

Co-sponsored by UCLA and University of Sinaloa.

29. Cancún, Villahermosa, Mexico City, Guanajuato, Morelia, Guadalajara and Culiacán.

June 12-17, 2006

“Globalization and its Impact on Higher Education”

Co-sponsored by UCLA, University of South Australia, Technological University of Cancun, Institute of Public Administration of Tabasco, University of the Americas, University of Guanajuato, University of Michoacán, University of Guadalajara and University of Sinaloa.

30. Morelia, Michoacán

November 10, 2006

“Monetary and Exchange Rate Policy in Mexico: Remittances and Dollarization”

With the participation of Robert Mundell, Nobel Prize in Economics 1999. Co-sponsored by University of Michoacán and UCLA.

31. Cancún, Quintana Roo

December 13-14, 2006

“1st International Conference on Best Practices in Government from the States of Mexico”

Co-sponsored by the Government of the State of Quintana Roo, the Institute of Public Administration of Quintana Roo, and UCLA.

32. Morelia, Michoacán

October 31, 2007

“Economic Policy: Theoretical Developments”

Co-sponsored with the University of Michoacán.

33. Mazatlán, Sinaloa

March 21-24, 2007

1st International Conference “Global Migration: Moving Population, family and migrant communities”

Co-sponsored with the University of Guadalajara and the Consulate of the United States of America in Guadalajara

34. Mexicali, Baja California

May 24-25, 2007

1st International Conference “Rethinking Public Affairs: Challenges and Strategies for Good Government”

Co-sponsored with University of Baja California.

35. Zacatecas, Zacatecas

November 15-16, 2007

2nd International Conference on “Best Practices in Government from the States of Mexico”

Co-sponsored by the Government of the State of Zacatecas and UCLA.

36. Mazatlán, Sinaloa

April 14-16, 2008

2nd International Conference “Global Migration: Regional Experiences and Lessons for Mexico”

Co-sponsored with the University of Sinaloa, UCLA, University of Arizona, EL COLEF, et al.

37. Ensenada, Baja California

June 17, 2008

“Baja California in 2030: A Prospective Approach”

Co-sponsored with University of Baja California.

38. Mexicali, Baja California

November 19-21, 2008

2nd International Conference “Rethinking Public Affairs: State Reform and Border Development”

Co-sponsored with University of Baja California, San Diego State University, UCLA and the Institute of Public Administration of Quintana Roo.

39. Culiacán, Sinaloa

December 5-6, 2008

“XXIV International Congress of History”

Co-sponsored with University of Sinaloa.

40. Culiacán, Sinaloa

March 27, 2009

“The integration process in North America: Challenges of the new regional agenda”

Co-sponsored with the University of Sinaloa and the Canadian Embassy.

41. Culiacán, Sinaloa

December 2-4, 2009

“XXV International Congress of History”

Co-sponsored by University of Sinaloa.

42. Cancún, Quintana Roo

September 30-October 1, 2010

“Evaluation of Post-Graduate Studies in the State of Quintana Roo”

Co-sponsored by CONACYT, COQCYT and IAPQROO.

43. Playa del Carmén, Quintana Roo

November 15-16, 2011

“Globalization and Higher Education”

On the occasion of the opening of the Playa del Carmen Campus.

44. Los Angeles, California

October 7, 2014

“Minimum Wages And Social Security In Mexico And USA: The Cases of Mexico City and Los Angeles”

Co-Sponsored by the Mexico City’s Secretariat of Economic Development and Saber es Poder.

45. Los Angeles, California

February 2, 2016

“Evolution of the Mexico Federal electoral system: the 2014 reform and the consolidation of the political rights of Mexicans”

Co-sponsored by UCLA and Mexico’s National Electoral Institute.

B. International Conferences PROFMEX-ANUIES

These international conferences were organized jointly by PROFMEX and ANUIES in order to discuss ideas and share knowledge between US and Mexican faculty. They usually lasted 3 to 4 days, and were conducted in plenary sessions on current topics and workshops to elaborate on specific issues. Eight meetings were held between 1980 and 1997.

1. La Paz, Baja California Sur

Estudios Fronterizos

February 28-29, 1980

2. Austin, Texas

Ecología en la Frontera

February 16-18, 1982

3. Tijuana, Baja California

Reglas del Juego México-EUA

October 23-25, 1983

4. Santa Fe, New Mexico

Una Frontera, Dos Naciones

April 16-18, 1986

5. Mexico City

Imágenes Recíprocas

April 21-23, 1988

6. Mazatlan, Sinaloa

Changes in U.S.-Mexican Relations

October 2-7, 1990

7. Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco

Mexico y las Américas

November 13-17, 1994

8. Morelia and Patzcuaro, Michoacan

México y el Mundo

December 9-14, 1997

C. International Prize for Development of Innovative Public Policies.

This award, established in 1999, is given by PROFMEX to individuals who have significantly promoted the development of public policies that contribute to national or regional social development.

1999: Roberto González Barrera (GRUMA), awarded jointly with State of Guanajuato.

2000: Sergio Villarreal Guajardo (SICARTSA).

2004: José T. Molina (Continental Telecommunications).

2006: Juan Carlos Romero Hicks (Governor of Guanajuato).

2011: Alfonso Serrano Pérez-Grovas (LMT, INAOE).

2012: Luis Maldonado Venegas (Secretary of Public Education of Puebla).

Publications

I. PROFMEX Series Cycles and Trends in the Development of Mexico.

Series Editors:

James W. Wilkie (1990—),

Jesús Arroyo Alejandre (1998—)

Sergio de la Peña † (1990-1998).

Series 1: Cycles and Trends

Series 2: Migration and Urban-Regional Development

Series 3: Special Academic Publications

Series 1: Cycles and Trends

1. *Industria y trabajo en México*, James W. Wilkie y Jesús Reyes Heróles González Garza (editores). (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, 1990).
2. *The Rise of the Professions in Twentieth-Century Mexico: University Graduates and Occupational Change Since 1929*, David E. Lorey. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1992; revised and expanded 1994).
3. *La frontera que desaparece: Las relaciones México-Estados Unidos hasta los noventa*, Clint E. Smith. (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco y UCLA Program on México, 1993).
4. *Impactos regionales de la apertura comercial: Perspectivas del Tratado de Libre Comercio en Jalisco*, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro y David E. Lorey (editores). (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara y UCLA Program on Mexico, 1993).
5. *La estadística económica en México. Los orígenes*, Sergio de la Peña y James W. Wilkie. (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Azcapotzalco, 1994).
6. *Estado y agricultura en México: Antecedentes e implicaciones de las reformas salinistas*, Enrique C. Ochoa y David E. Lorey (editores). (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, 1994)
7. *Transiciones financieras y TLC*, Antonio Gutiérrez Pérez y Celso Garrido Noguera (editores). (México, D.F.: Ariel Económica, UNAM, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana- Azcapotzalco, 1994).
8. *Ahorro y sistema financiero en México*, Celso Garrido y Tomás Peñaloza Webb (editores). (México, D.F.: Editorial Grijalbo y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Azcapotzalco, 1996).
9. *México ante los Estados Unidos: Historia de una convergencia*, Clint E. Smith. (México, D.F.: Editorial Grijalbo y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Azcapotzalco, 1995).

10. Crisis y cambio de la educación superior en México, David E. Lorey y Sylvia Ortega Salazar (editores). (México, D.F.: Limusa-Noriega Editores y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco, 1997).
11. Ajustes y desajustes regionales: El caso de Jalisco a fines del sexenio salinista, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro y David E. Lorey (editores). (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara y UCLA Program on Mexico, 1995).
12. Integrating Cities and Regions: North America Faces Globalization, James W. Wilkie and Clint E. Smith (editores). (Guadalajara y Los Angeles: UCLA Program on Mexico, Universidad de Guadalajara, CILACE— Centro Internacional “Lucas Alamán” para el Crecimiento Económico, 1998).
13. Realidades de la utopía: Demografía, trabajo y municipio en el occidente de México, David E. Lorey y Basilio Verduzco Chávez (editores). (México, D.F.: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 1997).
14. La internacionalización de la economía jalisciense, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro y Adrián de León Arias (editores). (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 1997).
15. Descentralización e iniciativas locales de desarrollo, María Luisa García Batiz, Sergio González Rodríguez, Antonio Sánchez Bernal y Basilio Verduzco Chávez. (Guadalajara y Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 1998).
16. México frente a la modernización de China, Oscar M. González Cuevas (editor). (México, D.F.: Limusa-Noriega y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Azcapotzalco, 1998).
17. Los tres ciclos legales de la reforma agraria en México desde 1853: La periodización de Wilkie y nuevo análisis, Rosario Varo Berra. (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 2001).

18. Mercados regionales de trabajo y empresa, Rubén A. Chavarrín Rodríguez, Víctor M. Castillo Girón y Gerardo Rios Almodóvar. (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 1999).
19. Globalidad y región: Algunas dimensiones de la reestructuración en Jalisco, Graciela López Méndez y Ana Rosa Moreno Pérez (editores). (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 2000).
20. México en la economía global: Tecnología, espacio e instituciones, Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos. (México, D.F. UNAM, UCLA Program on Mexico, Editorial Jus, 2000).
21. El Renacimiento de las regiones. Descentralización y desarrollo regional en Alemania (Brandenburgo) y México (Jalisco), Jesús Arroyo, Karl-Dieter Keim y James Scott, (editores). (Guadalajara y México, D.F.: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editores, 2001).
22. México y los Estados Unidos: 180 años de relaciones ineludibles, Clint E. Smith. (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, PROFMEX, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 2001).
23. La regionalización: Nuevos horizontes para la gestión pública, Guillermo Woo. (Guadalajara y México, D. F.: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Centro Lindavista, 2001).
24. El Norte de todos. Migración y trabajo en tiempos de globalización, Jesús Arroyo Alejandre, Alejandra Canales y Patricia Vargas (Editores). (Guadalajara y México, D.F.: Universidad de Guadalajara, PROFMEX, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 2002).
25. Competitividad. Implicaciones para empresas y regiones, Jesús Arroyo Alejandre y Salvador Berumen Sandoval (Editores). (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Juan Pablos Editor, 2003).

26. Globalización y cambio tecnológico: México en el nuevo ciclo industrial mundial, Alejandro Dabat, Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos y James W. Wilkie (Editores). (Guadalajara y México, D.F.: Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, PROFMEX, UCLA Program on Mexico, Juan Pablos Editor, 2003).
27. Diez mil millas de música norteña: Memorias de Julián Garza, Guillermo Hernández. (Culiacán y Los Angeles: Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa y Universidad de California, Los Angeles, 2003).
28. Los dólares de la migración, Jean Papail, Jesús Arroyo Alejandro. (Guadalajara, París y Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, Institut de Recherche Pour le Développement, PROFMEX, Casa Juan Pablos, 2004).
29. El futuro del agua en México, Boris Graizbord y Jesús Arroyo Alejandro (Coordinadores). (Guadalajara, México, D.F. y Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, El Colegio de México, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Casa Juan Pablos, 2004).
30. Capitalismo informático, cambio tecnológico y desarrollo nacional, Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos. (Guadalajara, México, D.F., Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Casa Juan Pablos, 2005).
31. Globalización en Guadalajara. Economía formal y trabajo informal, Salvador Carrillo Regalado. (Guadalajara, Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Casa Juan Pablos, 2005).
32. Intermediarios y comercializadores. Canales de distribución de frutas y hortalizas mexicanas en Estados Unidos, Margarita Calleja Pinedo. (Guadalajara, Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX – WORLD, Casa Juan Pablos, 2007).
33. Productividad de la industria eléctrica en México. División centro occidente, José César Lenin Navarro Chávez y Oscar Hugo Pedraza Rendón. (Morelia, Los Angeles, Guadalajara: Universidad Michoacana

de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Universidad de Guadalajara, 2007).

34. Migración, remesas y distribución del ingreso en México y Michoacán, José César Lenin Navarro Chavez and Oscar Hugo Pedraza Rendón. (Morelia, Los Angeles, Guadalajara: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Universidad de Guadalajara, 2007).

35. La globalización se descentraliza. Libre mercado, fundaciones, sociedad cívica y gobierno civil en las regiones del mundo, Olga Magdalena Lazín. (Guadalajara, Los Angeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX, Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural, 2007).

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Historians as academic entrepreneurs

George Baker

AS I UNDERSTOOD THE INVITATION to contribute to this *homenaje*, each of us would have three objectives:

- 1) Offer perspective on Professor James Wilkie's aims and accomplishments in relation to Mexico;
- 2) Offer perspective on how Professor Wilkie influenced the author's career;
- 3) Contribute something of substantive academic value.

I'd like to add a fourth objective:

- 4) Contribute something whimsical.

1. Professor Wilkie's aims and accomplishments

AS FOR AIMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS, it is understood to mean in the capacity of an established academic historian who seeks to advance his career in the service of the profession.

The first observation to make about Professor Wilkie in relation to Mexico is that he sought to serve the profession in ways that others before him had not.

Other historians served the profession by volunteering their time on committees of academic organizations, writing peer reviews, book reviews and recommendations for awards and employment. John Tate Lanning, for example, who was my dissertation advisor, served the

profession by editing the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for several years in the 1940s.

A second observation is that Professor Wilkie stretched—and indeed broke—conventional notions of the academic comportment of historians. He operated as an ambassador without portfolio for all of the social and policy sciences. In binational and multi-national conferences related to Mexico, he mobilized academics not only from the field of history but also from the fields of economics, political science, law and geography, among others.

What started out as a small coterie of southwestern university program directors in the mid-1980s would, a few years later, with the insertion of Mexico into NAFTA, become an international academic association of scholars and university officials. With the financial support principally of U.S. foundations, notably the Hewlett and Ford Foundations, Professor Wilkie after 1990 pursued a vision of Mexico in a global framework; he sought to be—and succeeded in becoming—a globalizing force in Mexican academia.

It would be a fair question to ask if in these pursuits he was still acting in the capacity of historian. One would need access to departmental personnel records at his institution to be able to form an idea of how other historians viewed his accomplishments under the category “service to the profession.”

Students in his classroom doubtless benefitted from the hundreds of photographs that he (and his geographer brother Richard) took (using high-end cameras and equipment) while traveling in an academic capacity to remote corners of Mexico.¹

I do not know of corporate recognition of his service to the profession that might have been given by academic bodies like the American Historical Association. He deserves recognition by the Mexican government for his work in promoting U.S.-Mexican understanding.²

1 Conservative peers in the history department may have wondered if showing travel slides in the classroom was the right way to teach history. In graduate school in Fullerton, I had been warned by a professor, Lee R. Kirschner, that my academic calling was more in political science than in history, citing the conservative mindset of historians.

2 <http://www.law.uh.edu/faculty/main.asp?PID=46>. The Order of the Aztec Eagle is the highest distinction awarded by the Mexican government to a foreign national. The link is to Stephen Zamora, a law professor at the University of Houston, who received this award.

For some fifteen years he was a high-profile, academic entrepreneur whose enthusiasm drew in persons from diverse academic professions and career situations. Before his collectivist drive to involve diverse academic programs related to Mexico to rally to the flag of PROFMEX,³ U.S. and Mexican scholars were largely indifferent to, and ignorant of, each other's research and publications; they mainly lived in institutional silos. By obtaining funding from diverse government and non-profit organizations, he was able to provide travel money to scholars to attend and participate in academic conferences in the U.S. and Mexico. Paradoxically, one of the roles of PROFMEX meetings was to introduce Mexican scholars to each other.

The conferences co-organized by PROFMEX and the Council of Public Universities (ANUIES) created new channels of communication between academic institutions and scholars. Mexican scholars lived in a world where self-censorship was widely practiced in relation to research and arguments that could offend the PRI-Government.⁴

The enterprise had its incubation in the 1980s in an association of Mexico Studies programs in several campuses of the University of California. At its high point in the early 1990s, PROFMEX had international membership from around the world.

Dr. Wilkie also challenged the privileged position of establishment Mexicanists in the United States.⁵

Professor Wilkie's legacy in Mexico has less to do with the collections of essays which he co-edited with Mexican counterparts or with the oral histories that he published in collaboration with his wife, Edna Monzón, and more to do with the way that scholars in the social sciences who are involved in Mexico look at institutional collaboration. Where, before, international collaboration among

3 PROFMEX was said to be the acronym of "Professors for Mexico."

4 During the Salinas Administration (1988 - 1994) there was total self-censorship in academia and the media regarding the legality and significance of the imprisonment of the oil union leadership in January 1989. The military operation in Cd. Madero that resulted in the imprisonment of persons at La Quina's home at the time of the raid—including his newly hired gardener—was less about the putative abuses of the Oil Union and more about sending a signal to Mexican voters to dry their eyes in relation to the questioned results of the presidential elections of the previous July.

5 George Grayson at William and Mary, for example. Following Wilkie's example, American scholars of Mexico were motivated to seek collaborative projects with Mexican counterparts.

academic institutions was rare, today, thanks in some measure to the academic entrepreneurialism of Professor Wilkie, it is common.⁶

During the process, as Professor José García observes, “historians and economists discovered political science.” They discovered that to get anything done, invisible political narratives needed to be recognized and coped with. One of the narratives in the mid-1980s was suspicion in Mexican academic circles of the motives and agendas of American scholars who would sweep into Mexico with an air of First-World entitlement. At a conference planning session held at the resort of Cocoyoc in Morelia in 1987, representatives of the U.S. embassy in Mexico and the Mexican Foreign Ministry were present as observers of the discussions. In subsequent meetings, trust had been established and government officials no longer attended planning meetings.⁷

Were there a Mexican government award for “furthering U.S.-Mexico academic collaboration,” Professor Wilkie’s name would figure among the contestants.

2. *Professor Wilkie’s influence on my career*

IF ECONOMICS IS THE STUDY OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES, an economist would be needed to assess the consequences of Professor James Wilkie’s contagious enthusiasm for stretching the boundaries of topics that could safely land on the desks of persons like me with advanced degrees in history.

Career highlights, Pre-Wilkie (1970-87)

By the time I met Professor Wilkie in 1987, I had burned through any promise of an academic career in the field of history—or any other field of study. My graduate studies had been about the U.S.-Mexican war of 1847-1848. For four years I held a tenure-track position in the history

⁶ It would require a specific study to determine the extent to which foundations and governments have continued to fund international conferences and publications about general questions of public life and policy in Mexico.

⁷ The decision to choose as its institutional interlocutor the association of public universities in Mexico (ANUIES) may have been a mistake, as the principal public figures of the next generation (including several presidents) were being educated in private universities in Mexico, principally ITAM. On the other hand, as Dr. Wilkie’s passion was on the side of building public institutions in Mexico, ANUIES was the logical choice.

department of Cal-State Fullerton.⁸ My performance as a classroom instructor was inspiring to some, but a disappointment to many, including peers in the history department. In one course on Mexican history, I assigned five Mexican novels in translation, including *The Underdog (Los de abajo)*, *Juan El Chamula* and *Death of Artemio Cruz*. I had the novel idea that it was important to learn “the Mexican sense of appropriateness,” which, I said, could best be learned by reading Mexican fiction. I said that it was more important to be exposed to the inner lives of people who were raised in Mexico than it was to know the year in which the oil industry was expropriated. The facts of who, what, when and where—the four pillars of journalism—could come later.⁹

I alarmed students by informing them that they would also be graded on “intellectual risk-taking,” a notion that was vague even for me. I said that “just showing up with historical facts was not enough; you had to take a risk to interpret the facts in new ways.” I asked students to keep diaries of their intellectual life, and I introduced a new system of note-taking.

None of this sat very well with my peers, and at the end of my first year there were votes on the personnel committee not to retain me for a second year.¹⁰ By the fourth year, the personnel committee voted not to renew my contract.¹¹ The sting of this career setback was lessened, however, by my being awarded a Fulbright grant to lecture in the American Studies department of the National University (UNAM). I resigned from the university and in January 1973 moved to Mexico City.

While in Mexico for two years, I had an office during one period in the Benjamin Franklin Library and on another occasion in the embassy. I was the first Fulbright appointment at the UNAM

8 And where, during 1964-66 I had attended night school when it was Orange State College.

9 It's easy to see how this literary approach to teaching history could be criticized. Wasn't history about facts?

10 My first academic year (1968-69) ended tragically for me. On May 1st, my wife and I were to close on the purchase of a house in Fullerton (with the help of a loan backed by the Veterans Administration). On April 30, returning from Coronado to attend my brother's wedding, we were struck from behind by a speeding car, and in the crash that followed, my wife, Pam, who was eight months pregnant, and our six-year-old daughter, Kimberly, died. I moved into the house alone, in survivor's guilt and untreated depression.

11 An interdepartmental faculty review committee recommended an extension of my contract; but the university president over-ruled it.

when anti-American sentiment was high under leftist president Luis Echeverría. In 1974, I proposed to the staff of the embassy an idea for a project of comparative history between the U.S. and Mexico. This idea became the embassy's bicentennial project. My Fulbright grant was extended a second year. In time, a three-volume compendium of primary documents from the U.S. and Mexican wars of independence was published by a government publisher SEP-SETENTAS. The general editors were Josefina Vázquez and Richard B. Morris, a prominent American historian of the American revolution.¹²

At the end of two years in Mexico, quite by accident I obtained a lectureship with the Far East Division of the University of Maryland, where, in Japan, Korea and Thailand, I would teach history, political science and cultural anthropology and linguistics on U.S. military bases.¹³

My wife, Christine Culbeaux, and I would return to the United States when—owing to connections with a New Age spiritual movement in which I had been involved in California and Mexico—I was offered an administrative position at the Graduate Theological Union (GTU) in Berkeley. The GTU had received a soft-money grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to study the impact of “new religions” on American life. My qualifications for this position were thin, but I did have the experience of having lived in and visited countries in the Far East and South Asia from where many of the teachers of the new religions originated.

Two years later, with conferences, research papers and an edited book of essays to my credit, I was on the street. Not knowing anyone in business, I threw money at a career consultant who tried to guide me to a permanent job. He failed.

A turning point came when I met in Washington, DC, with the director of the U.S.-Mexico Chamber of Commerce, J. Van Heuven, who encouraged me to organize a Mexico seminar in San Francisco.¹⁴ I

12 *Las revoluciones de independencia en México y en los Estados Unidos*. My name and role in initiating the project were not mentioned.

13 As a philosophy major at Duke, I was exposed to linguistic theory in a class on “Philosophy of Language.” I was spell-bound by the classes of Professor Weston LaBarre on physical and cultural anthropology. I have sometimes thought of myself as a “business anthropologist.”

14 I would learn only later that the Chamber was funded by the foreign trade office (Instituto Mexicano para el Comercio Exterior, or IMCE).

now had a reason to call on business people in the area, but wearing the hat of a conference promoter, not the one of a job seeker.

In the course of those calls I met John D. Schick, an independent management consultant who, formerly, was employed by Arthur D. Little, a major consulting firm. I had no idea that such a career even existed. John knew several important people in business, among them José (Pepe) Carral, who, then, was Bank of America's representative in Mexico.

By the late 1970s, I began an involvement with the Mexican oil industry that would continue for the next thirty years (and counting).¹⁵ In 1979-81, when Mexico was a hot topic for business conferences, I offered myself as a speaker. Following one event, I received a call from ARCO, who said that we had met at the conference and that he wondered if I could help his company in a consulting capacity. That assignment convinced me that my skills in research, Spanish and writing were valuable to the oil industry. Looking back, I've said that "the oil industry found me; I did not seek a career in the oil industry."

Another consulting assignment was with Grupo Alfa's electronic division that had the acronym PAM (Phillips, Admiral and Magnavox). PAM had 90% of the black-and-white television market at the time. Its specific concern related to the possibility that the López Portillo administration would enter GATT, thus threatening its market position in televisions. Alfa wanted to know if it should seek a partnership with National Semiconductor.

It turned out that Mr. Schick also knew people in Silicon Valley, and before long he assembled a team of advisors for Alfa, one of whom was an elderly engineer who was involved in the invention of color television. We made a presentation to Alfa in which we urged two course:

¹⁵ The involvement began in collaboration with the late Hugh Harleston, Jr., who, when I met him in Mexico City in 1973, had recently retired as country manager of Mexico for Dresser Industries. With a degree in chemical engineering from Rice University, and a master's degree in Spanish literature from the UNAM, Hugh was a renaissance figure, a polymath, who, also, played classical piano, painted and wrote poetry. He was the author of several books and technical papers on the archeological design of Teotihuacán, having made upwards of 100 research trips to the site and surrounding area. He convinced me that we could support ourselves as consultants to the oil industry. Wishful thinking, as things turned out.

- 1) Alfa must find ways to generate revenue in U.S. dollars, as the risk of devaluation was too great. One option would be to get into the maquiladora (export-assembly) business, leveraging its skills in electronics assembly and manufacturing in order to gain knowledge of new products.
- 2) Alfa must find a way to get into the Silicon Valley, where the options included the purchase of a company outright (cash and credit for Alfa were not problems at the time), entering into a partnership, or funding a research lab to develop new electronic products. A technical presentation was made to Alfa representatives by an early developer of color television that suggested several ideas for product development that would be possible by the use of semiconductors.
- 3) Alfa's executives rejected this advice, explaining that the maquiladora industry "was for foreigners," and that "any major investment outside Mexico would be seen as capital flight and would be viewed unfavorably by the government." Besides, the government had chosen not to enter GATT, so the pressure was off.¹⁶

Even though these consulting assignments were profitable, for some reason John decided to terminate the relationship, and he subsequently filed a lawsuit against me, claiming that he was owed commissions associated with our consulting assignments. For about six months afterwards I had my own office on Montgomery Street in San Francisco, hoping that I could make it on my own as a "management consultant."

When I was offered a job in Los Angeles with Lundberg Survey, Inc., I took it, having passed an interview with the irrepressible Dan Lundberg, whose company specialized in publishing prices of petroleum products, chiefly gasoline, in the United States and in international markets.¹⁷ Dan

¹⁶ With the historic series of devaluation of the Mexican peso, Alfa would pay dearly for not taking our advice. Since 1965, several million Mexicans have worked in the maquiladora industry; but we know of not a single case where one started a technology-based business.

¹⁷ Dan credited himself as the originator of the idea of a self-service gasoline station.

had spent several years in Mexico in the 1940s, and had strong views and funny stories to tell about his time there. Germán Chacín¹⁸ was Dan's son-in-law, married to his daughter, Trilby. Dan made him the editor of *Energy Détente*, a bilingual publication on energy topics, and I was his research assistant. I lived in the company's condominium four nights a week, and flew home on the weekends.

Family tensions led to my replacing Germán as editor. I produced a report on Pemex finances from 1976-81, adjusted for inflation. Later, for a few issues, I was the editor of *Lundberg Letter*. Something displeased Dan, however, and my employment was terminated.

My first published article on the Mexican oil industry was in *Oil & Gas Journal* (OGJ), a trade magazine.¹⁹ The article concerned the rise of heavy oil production from offshore fields that was displacing the lighter oil produced onshore.²⁰

That article was followed by a book, *Mexico's Petroleum Sector* (1984), issued by Pennwell, the Tulsa-based publisher of OGJ. The exercise was about comparing production and financial statistics for the period 1976-80. Had the book been published in 1980 at the peak of the Oil Boom, its success would have been much better; but, with the price of oil going south, and Mexico not budging on its oil policies, there was little interest in my book. A few other articles of mine were published in the industry press, in *World Oil*, among others; but it would not be until 2012 for a peer-reviewed article of mine to be published.²¹

During mid-1980s I wrote several articles that were published in Mexico City, one in a special energy supplement issued in 1981 by the American Chamber of Commerce (under the long-time leadership of John Bruton). Several articles were published in *The News*, one with the title "Mexican Politics in Emeryville," which quoted the father of a graduating student at UC Berkeley as saying harsh comments about then-president Carlos Salinas. The article got

18 Germán was related to a political family in Venezuela, and he and I would converse in Spanish.

19 OGJ was then issued weekly in a print edition. Title, "Eclipse of Mexican Light," June 12, 1981.

20 The article was purely a matter of looking at the published numbers and using percent variation (delta) key sequence on the then-new HP 12-C hand-held calculator.

21 George Baker, Pemex's Mature Fields Awards: The First Bidding Round under the New Pemex Law, *V Mexico Law Review* (1) 183-196 (2012).

the attention of Luis Donaldo Colosio, then the PRI president, who sent a note to the Patricia Nelson, the business editor.²² It would be twenty years later before I would have a column in a Mexico City newspaper, first in REFORMA (2007-09) and later in MILENIO (2015-).²³

Living in Berkeley, I worked for a year or so with a start-up company with an office on California Street, on the edge of Chinatown. The company had commercial rights to a patent to make a non-invasive oxygen sensor.²⁴

PROFMEX, 1987-1996

I dimly recall receiving a letter in the mail inquiring about my interest in applying for a position as executive secretary of an academic consortium dealing with Mexico. I discarded the letter without replying under the assumption that my name had been submitted only to fulfill a requirement to propose several names for an appointment that had already been decided. Sometime later, weeks or months (I don't recall), I received a second letter with the same invitation.

This time the letter caught my attention. "Here is probably my last chance to get back into academics," I said to myself and to my housemate Jane Hawes.²⁵

I was offered a tenure-track position in the history department of New Mexico State University (NMSU) in Las Cruces; but before I had arrived, there had been a rebellion in the department, whose members (I was later told) had complained that they had the exclusive right to admit other faculty members, and that my name had not been submitted for approval. In consequence, the offer of a tenure-track position was withdrawn.²⁶

22 I know of no copy of this article. The newspaper closed during the Fox administration, and the existence of an archive is unlikely.

23 Milenio.com/firmas/George_baker. The column is entitled "La Energía de Baker."

24 Devices with this function are now universally found in hospitals.

25 Jane Hawes (1946-2011) was my second-cousin on my father's side, whom I had only recently met. It was she who informed me that we were distantly related to two of the Towne sisters who were hanged in the Salem Witch Trials. (My middle name is Towne, but I had had no idea of a connection to events in Salem in 1692.) We later married shortly after my NMSU appointment was confirmed.

26 The personnel department may also have been influenced by information regarding my unsatisfactory performance as a history instructor at Cal-State Fullerton.

I accepted anyway, and through this portal came to know and collaborate with Professors Wilkie,²⁷ Ray Sadler, Sidney Weintraub, Mike Meyer, Oscar Martínez, Paul Ganster, José García, Samuel Schmidt and Jerry R. Ladman, among many others in Mexico.²⁸

My tenure at NMSU was doubly jinxed, however, by the rumored *traición* of Clint Smith, the grant officer at the Hewlett Foundation. Clint had given every indication that it would support a grant to NMSU to support an executive secretariat of an academic consortium of US universities with research interests in Mexico; but, at the last minute (subsequent to a dinner at which he, famously, had ordered an expensive bottle of wine), decided to withdraw the offer. The effect of that decision was that the expense of my position would have to come from the university's hard dollars, not from the soft dollars of a foundation.

While at NMSU, I turned my research attention to the situation of the maquiladora industry, and two of my research articles were published in *Comercio Exterior*.²⁹ Before long, I had the impression that the Department of Economics of the University of Texas, El Paso (UTEP) was serving as a shill for the maquiladora industry. Some months after my arrival at NMSU, I was given a copy of an anonymous memorandum concerning how "George Baker might be educated" to have the correct views regarding the maquiladora industry.³⁰

In the spring of 1988, American social scientists who were involved in Mexico were transfixed by the presidential elections in which, it seemed, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, as the candidate of the *Frente Democrático Nacional* (later the *Partido Revolucionario Democrático*) could defeat the PRI candidate, Carlos Salinas.³¹ At an academic conference that spring, I presented a paper "How to Relax about Not Understanding Mexican Politics," the arguments of which, later, I

27 Whose name I had known from when he was a professor at Ohio State University.

28 Of those, today, I'm in contact with José García and Samuel Schmidt (and, occasionally, Alfonso Galindo).

29 George Baker, "*Costos sociales de la industria maquiladora*" (October 1989); "*Sector externo y recuperación económica de México*," *Comercio Exterior* (May 1995). The second article argued that if you take away intrafirm trading (Ford Mexico selling to Ford US), Canada and Mexico rank much lower as U.S. trading partners.

30 In December 2015, I donated my papers (estimated at 200 linear feet) to the library of the University of Houston, so this document may still be preserved.

31 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Front_\(Mexico\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Front_(Mexico))

unsuccessfully tried to expand into a book. The central idea was that Mexico is a “chameleon society” that adopts its coloration to protect itself against predators (the United States in this case). For this reason, the colors of the vocabulary of Mexican politics were the red, white and blue of the American flag; but all those terms like *elección*, *democracia*, *congreso*, *partido* and *presidente* are false cognates used deliberately to convey a very false sense of familiarity with the American political system. As political scientists, I concluded, we do not have an adequate vocabulary to describe Mexican politics.

While at NMSU, I was the principal investigator of a research project sponsored by the CIA to report on the Oil Union in Mexico. In my report that was submitted in late 1988, I concluded that relations between the Oil Union and the incoming president, Carlos Salinas, would be harmonious. I was completely wrong, as I learned on January 11, 1989, that the government had seized the members of the leadership group of the Oil Union allegedly on the grounds of illegal arms possession.³²

During this time, Professor Wilke obtained funding for a series of meetings and conferences in Mexico, including remote places such as Barranca del Cobre and San Cristobal de las Casas. In addition, an occasional publication, *Mexico Policy News*, was issued with Paul Ganster as editor. I contributed articles in a number of issues.³³

None of this academic boatmanship, however, led to an inquiry from any of the Profmex-affiliated universities and research centers as to my potential interest in a full-time academic or administrative position.

When, sometime in the spring of 1989, a conference paper that I had prepared, “Maquiladora as Southern Plantation,” was cited in the *El Paso Post*, I receive a message the same day from Professor Sadler that he wanted to see me. I wondered if it was necessary to see him that same day, but intuited correctly that he meant “as soon as possible.” In the conversation with him later that day, he informed me that my

32 There is a whole story to tell about my involvement in the case against Joaquín Hernández Galicia (aka, La Quina) that would include my visits to see him in prison and my efforts—eventually successful—to get him released.

33 One of the articles was about the case of La Quina, the text of which, suspiciously, came out garbled, with entire paragraphs rearranged, making little sense of the general arguments.

position had been terminated. The coincidence of the reference to my conference paper³⁴ and informing me of my termination on the same day made me wonder as to who was making calls to whom in relation to my not following the official narrative about the maquiladoras.³⁵

After my termination at NMSU, Professor Wilkie arranged for me to be a Visiting Scholar at the Latin American Center of UCLA, but this arrangement lasted only for a year during which time I was involved in PROFMEX activities but I do not recall visiting the campus in that capacity.

In hands of Alfonso Galindo, like me, a Wilkie protégé, PROFMEX-MEXICO, A.C. has grown in prestige, publications and institutional networking, but I have no direct knowledge of this phase of the organization's development inside and outside Mexico.³⁶

In addition to many memorable people, meetings and adventures during the several years of my affiliation with PROFMEX and Professor Wilkie's circle, I gained a new appreciation of the role that someone with the academic preparation of an historian could have in society: Professor Wilkie opened my eyes to the possibility that an historian could be not only the chronicler of events, but also an advocate of public policy in areas where the historian is a content expert. His interest was public policy in relation to certain functions and activities of the state. I broke new ground in focusing on public policy that related to commerce, specifically, commerce in the politically loaded area of energy.³⁷

34 The paper made an analogy to the ante-bellum plantation's three classes: manorial whites, plantation supervisors and slaves. The general argument was that the border region's elites derived status from their role as plantation supervisors, that is, as facilitators of commerce between the owners of maquiladora plants (principally in the Midwest) and the maquiladora piece-rate and salaried workers. The paper did not argue that the conditions of workers were analogous to those of slaves.

35 A cognate situation arose years later with the Baker Institute of Rice University where, for the first six months of 2014, I was a non-resident Scholar and Expert affiliated with the newly created Mexico Center. Three papers of mine were posted on the Baker website (most famously, "Philosophy of the Biddable Variable") and I had made other contributions to the Mexico program. In July, however, the Mexico Center director, Tony Payán, from El Paso, informed me that I had not complied with everything in my contract, which, for that reason, would not be renewed. I suspected political instructions either from Mexico City or from certain corporate donors in Houston. On one occasion, I asked Dr. Tony Payán if he had heard of PROFMEX, he replied that he had no recollection.

36 I have since received a 36-page document (in .PDF), dated May, 2016, with the title "PROFMEX: Worldwide Consortium for Research on Mexico." Dr. Wilkie is listed as President PROFMEX-WORLD, Alfonso J. Galindo as President of PROFMEX-MEXICO, A.C. The document lists the many projects, conferences and books that have appeared under the PROFMEX flag. As of 2015, there would be upwards of sixty publications associated with PROFMEX in one way or another. Of these, less than a third had been published by 1997.

37 I recall Professor Lanning saying tell his students, "You get your first Ph.D. under someone else's

LOOKING BACK

The heading of “looking back” can cover over many sins of omission and otherwise.

PROFMEX in the PRI imagination

PROFMEX came into the scene in Mexico in the final two decades of the PRI regime that had governed the country for more than a half-century. The idea of an international academic body with an interest in public affairs and higher education related to Mexico was appealing to the imagination of the Euro-Mexican elite that made up the political class. PROFMEX fit into a narrative of Mexico’s growing importance on the world stage.

It was well understood that PRI controlled Mexico by hierarchical rules of self-censorship, coupled by diverse measures of reprisal for persons who did not follow *la línea*.³⁸ For decades, it had been an unwritten rule that it was acceptable to openly criticize cabinet ministers and their policies so long as the figure of the President of Mexico was not thereby tarnished.³⁹ Mexican scholars were experts at the analysis of “negative collateral effects” but the origin of those effects was never called by its true name: dumb policy.

Another face of self-censorship was the system by which reporters were paid by the ministries they covered as incentives for them to write only positive stories.⁴⁰ In any international comparison, Mexico ranks high for violence against journalists, including murder.⁴¹

direction; subsequent Ph.D.’s you earn under your own direction.” In his case, he was confident that he could have passed the Latin medical exams in Spain in the 16th century. In my case, I’m far from having earned a Ph.D. in petroleum engineering or energy law; but I have written on technical aspects of the Macondo oil spill of 2010; I have two articles published in a law journal; and I can explain in detail the concepts and economic logic of a farmout agreement.

38 With exquisite irony, at the beginning of the Fox administration in 2000-01, it was said in Mexico that “the new party line is that there is no party line” (*la nueva línea es que no hay línea*).

39 The Mexican president is sometimes referred to as “el gran Tlatoani,” or “the great Chief,” the untouchable high priest and military ruler of Aztec city states. Direct criticism of Mexico’s president was akin to blasphemy.

40 The so-called *embute* was cash stuffed in an envelope and given under the table with strings attached.

41 In 1985, Manuel Buendía, the most celebrated journalist of his day, was coolly shot dead in midday on a busy sidewalk outside his office. The killer escaped unharmed. With 36 journalists murdered since 1992 according to the International Committee to Protect Journalists, Mexico ranks as the eleventh deadliest country for a member of that profession.

In Mexico, then and now, there is a strong correlation between the color line, income and power. White male entitlement (as it is mocked in America) in Mexico is the unquestioned premise of social intercourse. Where, in Cuba, the government would launch public campaigns against racism;⁴² in official Mexico, racism does not exist.

In Mexico, then and now, the government includes a victim narrative in public education and discourse. There is a government museum dedicated to “foreign interventions” in Mexico City. For decades, Pemex was the iconic figure of Mexican economic independence and self-reliance. The collapse of the oil market in 1981-86 changed that image. Miguel de la Madrid was elected president in 1982 with the slogan of the moral reform of Pemex.

During the NAFTA negotiations of the early 1990s, the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari chose to keep oil “off the table” owing to the grip of the anti-globalist narrative about how international oil companies (IOCs) would unfairly exploit Mexico’s hydrocarbon resources. By 2014, the distrust of Pemex was so great that the government would require public auctions to select a future partner of Pemex in any given lease; further, Pemex executives would continue to be chosen by the President of Mexico, making Pemex something of a cartoon figure of an oil company that operated only in its own back yard.⁴³

These several aspects of Mexican political, institutional social life deserve mention as topics that, implicitly, were off-the-table for PROFMEX public discussions. The selection of topics and speakers for PROFMEX conferences was made with an appreciation of PRI political and social sensitivities. The involvement of public universities that were, then and now, federally financed, guaranteed that academic discourse would stay within politically correct boundaries.

I recall having doubts about the funding and motives of a PROFMEX conference held in the spring of 1994; the discussions seemed

42 Devyn Spence Benson, *Antiracism in Cuba* (University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

43 The Pemex Act of 2014 legally restructured the company as a state agency whose debts were backed (as they always had been, but informally) by sovereign guarantee. Pemex, like CFE, the state power utility, is “too big to fail.” The problem is that the deployment of capital is distorted by Pemex and CFE being the only bankable customers for non-recourse financing.

to be a way to offer legitimacy to another PRI victory by explaining how democratic rule could coexist with a one-party hegemony.⁴⁴

In this light, during the time of my involvement with PROFMEX, its accomplishments were more about process than about substance; that is, they were about how to get scholars, university administrators and foundation grant managers on both sides of the border to proactively think and act about social and institutional issues in ways that could be funded and organized. The vocation of PROFMEX was not that of questioning central narratives, social structures or economic policies.⁴⁵

It would be wrong to characterize PROFMEX enthusiasts as policy activists; they were academics who were searching for new niches of relevance in academia and public discourse.

My service to the profession

As with Professor Wilkie, I also regarded my activities in PROFMEX as academic service to the profession, only now it was not clear that the profession being served was that of historians.

Following my involvement in PROFMEX, I was forced to make demands on myself that, otherwise, I never would have made, namely, finding a niche market for myself in the oil industry.

In 1996 I moved to Houston from Berkeley—at a great cost to my family ties and lifestyle. For twenty years I have published a research letter on the Mexican oil and power industries and their political and institutional ecosystems. At one time in the early 2000s, when there were high expectations that the Fox administration might launch an energy reform, I had subscribers to my newsletter from nine countries. My firm's website has between 40 and 80 visitors daily from around the world.⁴⁶

44 <https://cs.uwaterloo.ca/~alopez-o/politics/privictory.html>. "A PRI Victory? Alfonso Galindo and I stayed up half the night at the home of his parents in Mexico City composing this article about the logic of the 1994 elections.

45 The "PROFMEX CV" of May 2016, cited above (note 36), suggests room for other interpretations. Dr. Wilkie's continuing to serve as president of PROFMEX-WORLDWIDE brings to mind the memory of labor leader Fidel Velázquez who, in his nineties, remarked that "death had passed me by."

46 www.energia.com. The web portal features interviews with stakeholders and observers of the energy sector in Mexico. For reasons that I don't understand, the website has not (yet) been the source of sales of reports or new professional engagements. On the contrary, the wolf of cash-flow is often at the door.

My information and insights come not from archival sources and books and articles written by scholars, but from attending industry conferences and building a network of contacts in the oil industry. Where I had been trained, under Professor Lanning and others, to be meticulous about citing sources; in my world today, very few of my industry or government sources may be cited by name or organization.

In this sense, I have all but disassociated myself with any affiliation with academic institutions; that is, with one exception: since 1995, when I was no longer part of the Profmex circle, I started a newsletter with the title *Mexico Energy Intelligence*,⁴⁷ which has several universities as subscribers, including University of California, San Diego, the Law Center of the University of Houston and the law school of the State University of Nuevo León (UANL). Since then, we have published more than 1,000 reports and, taken together, constitute a unique historical archive of the evolution of the Mexican energy sector for more than twenty years.

Only briefly have I reestablished a relationship with an academic institution. In 1988, the University of Texas held a symposium commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the expropriation of the oil industry in Mexico. I had learned of this conference in advance but was not invited to present a paper. In 1990, however, I received a request from the University of Texas Press to serve as an outside reviewer of the proceedings that were to form a book. The identity of the reviewer was supposed to have been kept confidential, as I would learn later from a letter from Jonathan Brown, one of the editors. He invited me to prepare the concluding chapter of the book.⁴⁸

During the spring term of 2014 I was a “scholar and expert” at Rice University’s Baker Institute of Public Policy. During those six months I wrote three policy briefs that are posted on the institute’s website. When I asked about the renewal of my contract, I was told by the Mexico Center’s director that my contract had been terminated for

47 SSN 2380-6400.

48 George Baker, “Conclusion: A Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Oil Sector in Mexican Society,” in Jonathan C. Brown and Alan Knight, eds. *The Mexican Petroleum Industry in the Twentieth Century* (University of Texas Press, 1992), pp. 280-306. My institutional affiliation was registered as PROFMEX, Berkeley, California.

cause, namely, that I had not produced three research papers as called for by the contract.⁴⁹

For reasons that I cannot fully explain to myself, my research and reports fail to capture the attention of academic centers with a Mexico interest, such as the Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., or the Institute of the Americas in La Jolla. After one year as a subscriber, the Mexico Center at Rice University chose not to renew its paid subscription, offering the dubious explanation that the program had changed its focus.⁵⁰

The U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) has been a subscriber to Mexico Energy Intelligence® but not in recent years. In 2016, in email correspondence with Adam Sieminski, the director of the Energy Information Agency, I was informed that the agency “had decided not to subscribe to your publication.” I replied, that I had seen the director’s name on a panel on Mexico’s energy reform at the Council on Foreign Relations, adding, acidly, that *“I doubt that there is any information in the possession of your agency that could allow you to make a meaningful contribution to the discussion.”* I appended to the email one of our public policy reports (meaning, free distribution) that would steer him toward real issues that deserved his attention. There was no reply.

The British and Korean embassies in Mexico have been subscribers to my newsletter, but after an initial year neither continued. In 2015, with the price of oil going south, we lost subscribers. With few exceptions (BP, for example), major international oil companies had concluded by 2009 that it was not worth the expense to have an ex-pat as country manager. Since then, the staff of Mexico City liaison offices are staffed by Mexican professionals whose budgets are too restricted to afford subscribing to our reporting service.⁵¹

49 The research papers were to have concerned the new energy legislation, which, however, did not appear until August 11, 2014. I had the sense that the decision not to renew my contract was a political one and that the issue of the research papers was a pretext; but as to the origin of the political pressure, I’m uncertain as to whether it came from Mexico or from institute donors in Houston.

50 The managers of academic programs dealing with Mexico seek institutional glory from the prestige of invited speakers and resident- and (most often) non-resident fellows.

51 Industry interest in our reporting service has been diverted by the appearance in 2014 of a new lobbying group known by its acronym AMEXHI. Mexican industry loves such umbrella groups, as a member need not risk exposing itself to possible government disapproval. The benefits of such organizations are illusory: The Mexican political system hides the true locus of decision-making. Any official will be glad to pose as the policymaker for the topic at hand.

I have been involved as a management consultant (benefitting from my early discipleship with my since-estranged business mentor), and take some credit for the successful outcomes of natural gas pipeline projects in Mexico, including those by Southern California Gas Company in Baja California⁵² and Kinder Morgan in Nuevo León.⁵³

I have also made it a point to *picar* (to bite) Pemex and other government agencies for their political timidity, and their value-destructive determination to “reinvent black thread”—equivalent to reinventing the wheel— regarding how to align the interests of the State and those of international oil companies.⁵⁴

Professor Wilke was ever on the look-out for funding for projects in which criticism could be rightly raised about government policy but limited to areas of public services. He pursued a generic question: How can public services be improved by funded research and discussion among scholars from different fields and countries? In my case, I criticize the government for its failures to provide a clean and attractive interface between public policy and private investment in the energy sector. The Peña administration in its energy reform did too much too fast, but also too little, too fast.

To summarize, I feel a great debt to Dr. Wilkie for including me in his management team that would overturn conventional expectations regarding how bilateral, academic discourse between the U.S. and Mexico could be organized and focused. That my participation did not turn into a long-term faculty appointment is a disappointment to me in that I missed out on having some of the joys of academia, like mentoring graduate students. On the other hand, I have the satisfaction

52 I don't recall the circumstances that led to my being employed as a consultant to “The Gas Company,” but for several years I supported the efforts of David W. Crain, the manager of strategic development, to explore possible market opportunities in Baja California. Together, we traveled to Mexico City to look at gas franchises that the government had planned to auction in 1991 or 1992. The explosion in Guadalajara in April of 1992 took those auctions off the table, and it would not be until 1996 that the first auction—of Mexicali—would take place.

53 The MidCon pipeline project (later KN, later still KinderMorgan) might have been cancelled except for my encouraging Pemex's new director general, Raúl Muñoz Leos, to meet with the developers. Later, an event at the Baker Institute, I introduced him to David Jenkins, MidCon's president. The pipeline was eventually built, but not as a competitor to Pemex's lines (as originally intended) but under contract with Pemex.

54 My Twitter account serves as a *vara* (lance), with upwards of 500 spectators @Energia_com.

of contributing to international commerce, management education and the strengthening of energy regulatory institutions in Mexico.⁵⁵

I identify with the category of persons who are on “the edge of the inside.”⁵⁶ Quoting from Richard Rohr’s “The Eight Core Principles,” columnist David Brooks observes that when you live on the edge of any group, “you are free from its central seductions, but also free to hear its core message in very new and creative ways.”

2. *Substantive academic contribution*

THE TOPICS OF TRANSLATION AND BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY came up on just one occasion in PROFMEX deliberations. That exception concerned the word “policymaker.” Professor Wilkie challenged us to come with a viable Spanish translation. I thought of *publicitario*, but the connotation would be associated more with advertising than with policy. Another choice could be *gestor de políticas públicas*, but the words sound wrong in your mouth and would never be widely accepted.⁵⁷

In my industry and policy newsletter, I have occasionally dedicated reports to matters of bilingual proficiency. There are three reports with the title “Overcoming the American Accent in Spanish” and others with the title “Overcoming the Mexican Accent in English.” These reports draw on my long-standing interest in linguistics and comparative phonology in particular.

In my case, my ability to speak and understand Spanish was force-fed when I was a lecturer at the UNAM in 1973-74.⁵⁸ Students were from all over Mexico, with regional accents and vocabulary that, at first, was hard for me to understand. My own vocabulary grew when I realized that Mexican humor depended in many cases on the second and third meaning of an everyday word (*huevo*, is the classic example).⁵⁹

55 In the spring of 2012, we issued several reports with titles like “What the Energy Regulatory Commission [CRE] should tell the next government?” We argued that the legal charters of both CRE and the National Hydrocarbon Commission [CNH] needed to be thrown out and that both agencies needed to be restructured. The energy legislation of 2014 embraced our counsel, converting agencies that were legally inconsequential into constitutionally recognized regulators.

56 David Brooks, *New York Times*, June 24, 2016. “At the Edge of Inside” <http://nyti.ms/28RMYhS>

57 In 2016, Professor Schmidt, in response to my Tweet on @Energia_com, suggested *Formulador de alternativas de decisión*.

58 Like other scholars in Mexico during the Echeverría years, I was viewed as a likely CIA agent.

59 It is a point of pride to be able to tell Mexican political jokes in Spanish.

My ability to speak the Spanish language—as distinct from speaking Spanish words filled with exported English phonemes—began only years after I no longer resided in Mexico City. I had always been slightly puzzled by the way that my family name would be slightly mispronounced by native speakers of Spanish. They would say /ba.ker/ with ‘a’ pronounced as in *Adrián* and the ‘r’ as in *hablar*.

What led me to an important break-through in my speaking ability in Spanish concerned an idiosyncrasy that I observed in the way I speak English. I don’t say /ba + ker/. I say something like ba^k + ker/; that is, I pronounce part of /k/ at the end of the first syllable, where native speakers of all Latin-based languages (also Japanese) will pronounce /k/ only at the beginning of the second syllable.

This discovery led me to the concept of the *intervocalic consonant*, which is simply the consonant between two vowels (VCV). The intervocalic consonant has a huge role in the way French is pronounced; it also has an important role in Spanish. The idea is that the intervocalic consonant should be the *onset* (or beginning) of the next syllable—even when the next syllable is in a different word. Thus, the two words *los amigos* should be pronounced /lo.sa.mi.gos/, not /los.sam.mig.gos/, which is the usual American pronunciation in which the intervocalic consonant is effectively doubled.

Thus, Pemex is pronounced /pe.mex/, not /pem.mex/ as oil people in Houston commonly say.

From my friend Richard B. Hodges, an autodidact linguist in Oakland, Calif., who, as a physicist-engineer, worked for years on developing voice recognition software, I first learned in an email the term “phonotactics.” The idea is that languages have rules about what sounds can follow each other in the same syllable. English and Spanish have different rules, most notably in relation to the phoneme (or sound). Where, in English, /s/ may be followed by upwards of a dozen consonants (as in the family name Schmidt, for example), in Spanish, /s/ must be the coda (or terminal consonant) of a syllable. This means that the first syllable of *usted* is ‘us’ and the second syllable is ‘ted’, as in /us.ted/. To judge from my own experience, it is almost—but not quite—impossible to hear and reproduce in speech the realization of

this phonotactical characteristic of Spanish. I have not met another non-native speaker of Spanish who, like I, struggles to implement rules governing phonotactics and the intervocalic consonant, as in /res.pon.sa.ble/ and /cons.ti.tu.ci.on/.

I have given several workshops in Mexico on Advanced English Pronunciation in Mexico. The basic pedagogical principle requires that a second language be learned first with the mind, then with the ears and finally with the tongue. You can't hear a second language precisely unless you know what to listen for, as in the example of /us.ted/; the separation of the /s/ and the /t/ cannot be heard by the native English speaker without prior instruction and, even then, it will take time before the separation is physically registered. In my case, I remember the first time I registered /s/ separated from /p/ when I distinctly heard a native speaker say /dis.po.ni.ble/. "So it's true!" I said to myself, having validated what I had only known in phonological theory.

Such is the autobiographical background of a report that we published in January 2016, and which I adapt for this section as a contribution to our understanding of the Mexican energy reform of 2013-15 and as encouragement to readers on both sides of the linguistic aisle to consider bilingual proficiency as a life-long vocation.

Bilingual proficiency should be considered as a necessary element for the integration of global markets and public policy in areas such as trade, national content and industrial and environmental safety.

Mexican Spanish is famous for what Mexicans themselves refer to as its baroque constructions in lexical choice and syntax. In a report issued in April 2015 (#205), we focused on just nine words in Spanish and explained the tricks of their pronunciation. In this report, we focused on ten terms that were part of a single sentence that was widely publicized following the promulgation of the energy reform legislation on August 11, 2014 (see insert).

We examine the meaning of these terms, also subtle aspects of their pronunciation. Several terms cannot be adequately understood even by consulting a dictionary; what is required is an understanding of Mexico's political and legal system.

In this one sentence there are more than a half-dozen instances of a false cognate, that is, a word that on account of a common etymological origin looks like a word in a second language and that falsely suggests a common meaning. Among native Spanish speakers, it is a common error to equate the Spanish *actual* (with the meaning of “presently”) with the English “actual” (with the meaning of “factual”); in the same vein, *relevante* is often misunderstood to mean “relevant” in English, when its actual meaning is conveyed by “important” or “significant.”

En el proceso legislativo ordinario se involucraron 21 leyes agrupadas en nueve iniciativas, de éstas se expidieron 9 y se reformaron otras 12 a saber:

In the sentence under review, *proceso legislativo* means “legislative session,”⁶⁰ while *ordinario* means “regular”; hence, “in the regular legislative session.” This one sentence amply illustrates pitfalls in reading comprehension and pronunciation. In this exercise, we come to see how easy it is to misunderstand law and politics in Mexico.

Introduction

How the Energy Reform was not a reform (in the English sense)

Throughout the year 2014 a great noise was heard in the national and international press about Mexico’s “Reforma Energética.” We put the term in quotation marks to call attention to a source of misunderstanding by international audiences: In Spanish, *reformar* means to amend, revise or edit, as of a document. A *reforma constitucional* is a constitutional amendment. There is no sense at all of a disavowal of a previous law, principle or practice the negative effects of which are being corrected or mitigated by a new policy or course.

In English, in contrast, there is sense of a correction: a “reformed alcoholic” is someone who has stopped drinking alcohol, having (finally) awakened to its pernicious effects on health, family and career.

Only by appreciating the Spanish meaning of the word is it understandable how, in the speeches and presentations of Mexican

⁶⁰ Professor Schmidt observes that *proceso legislativo* should be understood broadly, to include consideration of multiple documents and the convening of diverse (public consultations, for example). This broader sense is also conveyed by our translation as “regular session of congress.”

public officials in the energy sector, there was no disavowal of failed energy policies, market designs and institutions. It was as if the policies had been correct, only the outcomes were disappointing. Understood in this way, the energy reform is all about changing outcomes:

- 1) Lowering electricity rates by creating a wholesale market.
- 2) Attracting foreign investment across the energy value chain to increase installed capacity.
- 3) Getting Pemex into frontier plays in association with credible oil companies.
- 4) Promoting the development of a Mexican oil industry with increasing local content.

What did not change was the basic principle of centralized government planning. The National Energy Narrative would have new clauses, but its tone and rent-seeking, fiscal philosophy would remain unchanged. On the oil side, decisions in matters relating to the selection of blocks, fiscal terms and contract models would leave no paper trail. Said differently, Mexico would continue to do business as usual, but with edits to the status quo.

DISCUSSION:THE SENTENCE THAT WE HAVE CHOSEN FOR ANALYSIS of issues of reading comprehension and pronunciation was at the top of the Mexican government's itemization of the laws promulgated on August 11, 2014. Together, these laws made up what was advertised as an energy reform. The prefatory sentence was read around the world by business people and their lawyers.

In the regular session of congress, under consideration were bills for 21 items of legislation that were grouped into 9 areas of public policy; these were promulgated as 9 new laws and 12 amendments to existing legislation, as follows:

Translation of a single sentence

The text speaks of nine *iniciativas*, the dictionary meaning of which is “initiative,” but which in the Mexican political system refers to “legislative bill.” A bill ordinarily reaches the legislative branch from the executive branch, but a bill may also begin in Congress. A second meaning of the term refers to an area of public policy. In the present case, there were 9 areas of public policy that were addressed in 21 legislative bills (Table 1). With this understanding, the sentence may be translated (see insert above).

Table 1

Energy reform legislation sorted by area of public policy**1 OIL POLICY**

1. **Ley de Hidrocarburos**
2. *Ley de Inversión Extranjera*
3. *Ley Minera*
4. *Ley de Asociaciones Público Privadas*

Note: New laws in **boldface**,
amended laws in *italics*

2 ELECTRIC POWER MARKET

5. **Ley de Industria Eléctrica**

3 GEOTHERMAL RESOURCES

6. **Ley de Energía Geotérmica**
7. *Ley de Aguas Nacionales*

4 INDUSTRIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL SAFETY

8. **Ley de la Agencia Nacional de Seguridad Industrial y de Protección al Medio Ambiente del Sector Hidrocarburos**

5 STATE ENTERPRISES

9. **Ley de Petróleos Mexicanos**
10. **Ley de la Comisión Federal de Electricidad**
11. *Ley Federal de las Entidades Paraestatales*
12. *Ley de Adquisiciones, Arrendamientos y Servicios del Sector Público*
13. *Ley de Obras Públicas y Servicios Relacionados con las Mismas*

6 ENERGY REGULATORS

14. **Ley de los Órganos Reguladores Coordinados en Materia Energética**
15. *Ley Orgánica de la Administración Pública Federal*

7 FISCAL POLICY

16. **Ley de Ingresos sobre Hidrocarburos**
17. *Ley Federal de Derechos*
18. *Ley de Coordinación Fiscal*

8 PETROLEUM FUND

19. **Ley del Fondo Mexicano del Petróleo para la Estabilización y Desarrollo**

9 FEDERAL BUDGET

20. *Ley Federal de Presupuesto y Responsabilidad Hacendaria*
21. *Ley General de Deuda Pública*

Source: <http://www.presidencia.gob.mx/reformaenergetica/#leyes secundarias>

Pedagogy of 2nd language acquisition

An intellectual understanding of the phonological systems of one's native and target languages is needed for the ear to begin to register subtle differences in sound. The untrained, native Spanish ear does not register the difference between the vowel of "see" and the initial vowel of "city." Once this difference is shown, diagrammatically, in the vocal GPS system of the vowel trapezoid,⁶¹ the ear picks it up.

Once the ear starts to hear that difference, in time, the tongue will be able to reproduce it. The learning sequence is mind, ear, speech.

Phonetic analysis of the lexemes

In the Spanish sentence under consideration, six of these words contain sounds (or phonemes) that do not exist in English, namely, /g/ of *legislativo*, /v/ of *legislativo* and *nueve*, /rr/ of *reformaron* and /r/ of *ordinario*, *involucrarón*, *expidieron*, *reformaron* and *saber*. We note that 'r' at the beginning of a word refers to one thing (the trilled /rr/), while at the middle of a word the same letter refers to another sound, equally difficult for the non-native speaker, namely /r/.⁶² At the end of a word, the 'r' may be realized as either a /rr/ or /r/.

The engineering of a Spanish syllable

A syllable may be described as having three parts, each with a technical term that is used by linguists: the beginning (or onset), the middle (or nucleus) and the end (or coda).

An onset in Spanish is a vowel (V) or a consonant (C), followed by a vowel, in this way creating the pattern VCV. Spanish has three consonant onsets not found in English: /ñ/, as in *añorar* (to yearn), /ll/, as in Peru's *llama* and /rr/, as in *reguladores*. The blended onsets are mainly with /l/ or /r/ as the second consonant, as in *proceso*, *agrupadas* and *otras*.

The number of sounds in which a Spanish syllable may end is small. Two of these syllable-final sounds do not have their own letters, and, unlike English, only occur in a mid-word position:

61 Wikipedia provides extensive discussions of the phonological systems of English and Spanish.

62 There are three exceptions: 'r' followed by 'l', 'n', or 's' is sounded as /rr/, as in *alrededor*, *Enrique* and *Israel*.

- 1) /-ng/ sound of the English “singing,” which occurs before /g/ or /k/. Thus, *cinco* is pronounced in Spanish /sing.ko/ (but not “sink.ko,” as is commonly heard in the American accent).
- 2) /z/ of *mismo*, which is pronounced like the English /z/: /mizmo/.

Whereas in the word-terminal position in English there are an uncounted number of blended consonant codas (some with three or more phonemes, such as those found in “cents,” namely /n/, /t/ and /s/), in Spanish the options for a consonant coda are limited to simple (unblended) consonants.⁶³ In this respect, learning Spanish is less demanding on the aural and oral memory than it is for the native Spanish speaker who seeks proficiency in English.⁶⁴ The word-terminal, consonant codas are these:

- 1) /s/, as in *mismas*, which in Spanish America, is also represented by ‘z’, as in *pez* (fish)
- 2) /θ/, the Greek theta of “thought” is heard in Spain, as in *pez* and *gracias*.
- 3) /n/, as in *expidieron* and *nación*
- 4) /l/, as in *fiscal* and the family surname *Gil*.
- 5) /d/, as in *Electricidad* and *David*
- 6) /r/, as in *saber* (to know)
- 7) /x/, as in *reloj* (a watch).

A second difference in syllable formation concerns the phonotactical rules that govern the juxtaposition of sounds. In English, the sound /s/ may be followed by a dozen or more consonants in the same syllable; but in Spanish it may be followed by none (0). Thus, the first syllable of *éstas* (encountered in the sentence under review) is /es/, not /est/. This splitting off of the /s/ from the succeeding consonant is exceedingly difficult for the native English speaker to perform, supposing, that is, that he or she even knows this phonotactical rule (which seldom occurs).

The coda of a mid-word or word-terminal Spanish syllable is most often a vowel, as in *proceso*. There is a challenge for the native

63 There is one blended coda in the mid-word position: /ks/, as in *sexto* (pronounced /seks.to/).

64 The English speaker is burdened by the interference of a false sense of cultural familiarity compounded by habits of associating Latin letters with specific neurological responses. For speakers of languages with fewer vowels than those in English (Japanese and Polish, for example), the Spanish vowel system is much more accessible than is that of English.

speaker of English who will want to make a consonant between two vowels⁶⁵ go forward and backwards, realized as /pros.ses.so/. The rule in all Latin-based languages is very strict: the consonant only goes forward: /pro.ce.so/. The ear of the native Spanish speaker can clearly hear the difference when the native English speaker says /pros.ces.so/.

Table 2			
Comprehension and pronunciation issues in a Spanish sentence			
En el proceso legislativo ordinario se involucraron 21 leyes agrupadas en nueve iniciativas, de éstas se expidieron 9 y se reformaron otras 12 a saber:			
Challenge	Text reads	Issue	Solution
Reading comprehension	<i>Proceso legislativo</i>	<i>false cognate</i>	<i>legislative session (not: legislative process)</i>
	<i>ordinario</i>	<i>false cognate</i>	<i>regular (not ordinary)</i>
	<i>involucraron</i>	<i>secondary meaning</i>	<i>included (not involved)</i>
	<i>leyes</i>	<i>judicial system</i>	<i>laws (but with the caveat that law in a civil law jurisdiction is understood differently from law in a common law jurisdiction)</i>
	<i>iniciativa</i>	<i>false cognate</i>	<i>1) legislative bill 2) policy area</i>
	<i>expidieron</i>	<i>false cognate</i>	<i>promulgated (not: expideted)</i>
	<i>reformaron</i>	<i>false cognate</i>	<i>amended (not: reformed)</i>
Syllabification	<i>ordinario</i>	<i>false coda</i>	<i>or.di (not: ord.di)</i>
	<i>éstas</i>	<i>phonotactical rule of Spanish</i>	<i>es.tas (not: est.tas)</i>
	<i>iniciativa</i>	<i>intervocalic consonant</i>	<i>i.ni.cia.ti.va (not: in.nis.cia.tiv.va)</i>

Source: MEI 1/27/16

Summary of issues of reading comprehension and pronunciation

As we have seen in just one sentence in Spanish, there are hidden difficulties in reading comprehension and pronunciation for the non-native speaker of Spanish (Table 2).

As we shall suggest below, there are also difficulties for the native Spanish speaker from Mexico. There was something puzzling about the numbers given: there were 9 initiatives and 9 new laws, suggesting a one-to-one correspondence (but which in fact was a numerical coincidence). There were also 12 laws that were amended, for

65 Termed the intervocalic consonant (VCV) by linguists.

a total of 21 laws comprehended by 9 initiatives. These numbers make little sense without the explanation found on the website *presidencia.gob.mx*, where it shows how a legislative initiative in 8 of 9 instances included more than one law.

Observations

For many years—going back to the late 1980s—we have argued that Mexico’s political system is hidden from the view of not only international observers but also of the general public in Mexico. Journalist Ron Buchanan, with decades of reporting in Mexico, observes that newspaper readership is small. “People don’t read newspapers in large part because they can’t understand the rarified language in which a story is written.” Other reasons: skepticism about information of a self-promotional vein in government stories. There is also an economic constraint: The price of REFORMA buys a meal on the street.

Mexico’s political system is also veiled from view by international observers from business, government and the media. An elaborate vocabulary of false cognates is deployed that engenders in the English-speaking visitor a false sense of security about public administration and the judicial system.

Politicians routinely employ baroque language. One may read in a newspaper article that a member of Congress has accused a political opponent of *tergiversation*, which means to turn one’s back on something, such as a social cause. The word has a true English cognate, “*tergiversation*,” which means the same thing but which would be recognizable, perhaps, by one person in 25,000,000 English speakers.

Conclusions

AS WE HAVE SEEN, *reforma* is a false cognate with the English “reform.” The English Reformation of the 16th century may not have improved the lives of the people, but it was clearly a disavowal of papal authority in matters of doctrine, church finances and the appointment of bishops.

The cold, uninspiring tone of the sentence that enumerates the list of new and amended laws conveys neither any sense of accomplishment nor of disavowal of prior policies or conduct. In 16th century English terms, it is as if papal authority is still supreme, only that there will be implanted new accounting rules for church finances. This somber lexical picture should not, however, diminish the importance of the two major “edits” that the government has accomplished by its 21 laws:

- 1) The reclaiming of legal and moral authority by the government to have a *direct* role in the public administration and oversight of Mexico’s hydrocarbon estate.
- 2) Restructuring the electric sector to operate on the basis of a wholesale market.

The general conclusion is that bilingual proficiency in Mexico’s energy space requires grounding in Mexican politics, law and oratory.

4. Contribute something whimsical:

Mexico Wanderlust
(PROFMEX as mascot)

Lying in bed last night on my back, *Sr. Gato*
chose to sleep in the Sea of Cortés,
with my right arm serving as the
peninsula of Baja California.

Later, he moved to the Central Highlands,
with his head at the latitude of Monterrey,
his tail wrapped between
the pyramids of Sun and Moon,
the tip at rest in Tenochtitlán.

When I turn my right side, he draped himself over
the Sierra Madre of my torso, his tail
in Topolobampo, his head in
Chihuahua, Chihuahua.

He eventually wandered south to my ankles, to
the coastline of Tehuantepec.

He would have enjoyed spending time on
the eastern seaboard—checking out
the *malecón* of Vera Cruz and
and the house of Cortés in La Antigua—
had I turned over on my left side,
as I usually do.

Caribbean winds will have to wait, however,
for the many stitches to be removed from
my left shoulder where, two days ago,
a 1-inch carcinoma had thrived, and
where, today, a 3-inch scar softly burns.
Until then, he'll have to be satisfied with the
topology of western Mexico.

GB June 15-27, 2016.

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La visión de futuro del Dr. W. Wilkie en algunos temas coyunturales

Adriana Patricia López Velazco¹

Honor a quien honor merece. Celebro la iniciativa que Samuel Schmidt tuvo al convocar a una reunión en donde se rindiera un merecido homenaje y reconocimiento a James W. Wilkie por parte de sus amigos, alumnos y colegas por sus 50 años de vida académica. Jim como cariñosamente lo llamamos, ha sido hasta hoy en día promotor incansable de diversas iniciativas académicas.

Con un sorprendente número de publicaciones, años de contribuir como profesor de muchas generaciones en México, en Estados Unidos y en otras partes de Latinoamérica, investigador experto en las áreas de historia, estadística de Latinoamérica, desarrollo económico de México y el mundo, ha contribuido a elevar el nivel de discusión y comprensión objetivamente de la realidad social y económica de nuestros países.

En lo personal inicié mi colaboración con Jim dentro de Profmex (Consortio para la Investigación sobre México) en 1994 cuando se realizaba la VIII Conferencia Internacional Profmex-ANUIES en Puerto Vallarta, México, en donde los temas principales fueron el libre comercio, la integración de mercados regionales o hemisféricos y las repercusiones de la liberalización económica en aspectos sociales, temas fundamentales en ese momento para México, pues se iniciaba

¹ Coordinadora de Publicaciones de la Serie Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México junto con David Rodríguez Álvarez.

una etapa histórica con el Tratado de Libre Comercio con Estados Unidos y Canadá.

Debo mencionar que Jim fue el de la iniciativa y promotor de realizar este tipo de encuentros académicos con investigadores nacionales e internacional siempre en temas coyunturales sobre México y el mundo. La VII Conferencia México y las Américas se dio en el contexto de las firmas de acuerdos de libre comercio con Chile en 1991, con Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela y Bolivia durante 1994 y el Trilateral con Estados Unidos y Canadá.

En dicha reunión participaron especialistas de los sectores público y privado académicos del más alto nivel, todos analistas plurales de los problemas derivados de las relaciones económicas internacionales de México.

Los resultados de las presentaciones y discusiones de esta VIII Conferencia se publicaron en una memoria titulada *México y las Américas* editada por Carlos Pallán Figueroa, James W. Wilkie y Jesús Arroyo Alejandro. Este libro contenía lo que se discutió en 8 mesas con temas como *El tratado de libre comercio y el futuro; El reto de la integración económica hemisférica; Las telecomunicaciones y la integración de la comunidad académica en las Américas; La liberalización económica, el desarrollo rural y las migraciones; El TLC y la educación en América Latina; el papel de la mujer en las Américas; Las regiones fronterizas y la economía global; y, Las ciudades de México y Nueva York en el contexto urbano de América del Norte.*

En aquel entonces, los temas ahí tratados eran tan sólo un prelude de los retos que se enfrentarían en el futuro, en el que se construiría un bloque comercial integrado, ahora después de más de 20 años vemos las grandes disparidades económicas que existen en los tres países, sabemos que México no ha sido el gran beneficiario que en aquel entonces se esperaba en el que disminuyeran las profundas desigualdades de bienestar familiar y de desarrollo regional.

Dos años después, en octubre de 1996, Jim Wilkie a través de PROFMEX convocó a sus miembros y a otros investigadores de México, Estados Unidos y Japón a realizar una Conferencia en Beijing, con investigadores del Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos de la

Academia China de Ciencias, la Universidad Popular de China y la Universidad de Kioto en Japón, con la intención de conocer sus investigaciones y promover el conocimiento mutuo para tener una cooperación fructífera en el escenario de la globalización y de la modernización de los países, principalmente avizorando la apertura de China al mundo.

Los temas principales tratados en esa reunión fueron obviamente la reforma de China en el cambio de siglo y su crecimiento económico; el desarrollo del comercio y la inversión japonesa en China; las crisis económicas y las perspectivas de México; las reformas del sistema empresarial propiedad del estado Chino, que fue el cimiento para el despegue de la nueva economía de ese país; las grandes empresas y la apertura económica en México y la integración de las economías regionales.

Algunos académicos representando a los participantes de esta reunión fueron recibidos por autoridades del gobierno Chino para conocer la visión del país que ellos pretendían alcanzar en los años subsecuentes.

Los resultados de esta Conferencia fueron publicados en el libro México frente a la Modernización de China compilado por Oscar González Cuevas y en un artículo titulado Jalisco en la perspectiva de la reforma económica de China, publicado en el libro La internacionalización de la economía Jalisciense de Jesús Arroyo Alejandro.

La IX Reunión ANUIES-PROFMEX se realizó en Morelia Michoacán en Diciembre de 1997, bajo los auspicios principalmente del entonces gobernador de Michoacán Víctor Manuel Tinoco Rubí. Aquí en esta reunión se aborda de nuevo un tema coyuntural de la globalización, de ahí el nombre de la reunión México y el Mundo.

En dicha reunión se abordaron los temas comunicación, comercio, migración, turismo, ecología y flujos financieros. El diálogo y los debates giraron en relación con amplios temas como los bloques de comercio emergentes, así como el análisis específico del caso de Michoacán, incluyendo la migración laboral y las oportunidades de inversión en ese estado.

La reunión estuvo compuesta de siete mesas con temas como La importancia de la tradición analítica PROFMEX-ANUIES sobre México; la globalización y los procesos de integración en el mundo; el crecimiento las economías en transición; la política económica y el desarrollo regional en México; la educación superior en México; la migración y los flujos de fondos en México; y la política, los partidos y el periodismo político en Michoacán.

Algunas de las conclusiones que emanaron de esta reunión fueron señalar que el gran reto de los procesos estabilizadores sostenidos en la apertura, era cómo integrar el mercado doméstico con el mercado mundial; se coincidió además en señalar la existencia de conocimientos desiguales en México y en cómo la educación podría convertirse en una solución a un amplio espectro de problemas sociales, económicos y políticos a través de promover el sentido crítico y participativo, buscando generar la igualdad de oportunidades; así como la necesidad de que México requería una mejor comprensión de sus cambios e impactos en el proceso de la globalización.

Los resultados de las presentaciones y debates de esta reunión se publicaron en una memoria titulada México y el Mundo, en 1999, coordinada por James W. Wilkie, Alejandro Mungaray Lagarda y Jesús Arroyo Alejandre.

Debo mencionar que el principal promotor de estas Conferencias ha sido siempre el Dr. James W. Wilkie quien con su capacidad de liderazgo mundial y visión de los temas coyunturales y de futuro para el estudio y comprensión de México. Así como su gran poder de convocatoria ha logrado conjuntar mentes sobresalientes bajo su dirección que logran entender y explicar las tendencias e impactos de los sucesos principalmente económicos y sociales en México y el Mundo.

Jim es un incansable provocador de interesantes discusiones académicas por lo que su currículum está plagado de diferentes iniciativas con diferentes personajes y en diferentes contextos de la vida académica, política, social y cultural. Existe toda una vida de trabajo en la que ha investigado, publicado, formado nuevos investigadores y contribuido a elevar el nivel académico de Universidades en diferentes

partes de México, por mencionar algunas: Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad de Sinaloa, Universidad de Baja California.

Mi papel al lado del Dr. Wilkie durante las reuniones mencionadas anteriormente ha sido de apoyo administrativo solamente, y a partir de 1995 como coordinadora de la publicación de la Serie de Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México junto con David Rodríguez Álvarez de la Universidad de Guadalajara. Como amiga gracias a la calidez de un gran ser humano. Jim, tú has sido mi maestro. Gracias por tu pasión por México.

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PROFMEX OPENINGS TO THE EU AND RUSSIA:

My Escape from Transylvania to the World

From the Romanian Gulag to Modern Cultures and Globalization

By Olga Magdalena Lazin

*Introduction*¹

(PROFMEX and UCLA)

Born in Transylvania, Northern Romania, in a town called “Satu Marie,”

I grew up like Alice in Wonderland:

On the one hand I was friends with the children of intellectuals, and also lovely Gypsy children who I taught the Romanian language as early as the first and second grade.

On the other hand, my family had a tough life because my parents were always working until late hours at night. My younger brother Alex and I read while waiting for mother, Magdalena, to arrive turn off our lights even as she continued into the wee hours her accounting work at home. She was compounding the lengths and width of the wooden logs that were heading to Russia year by year.

During the day, Magdalena let us play all day long to our heart’s content. So unique, and we felt so free exploring nature in Sighet.

In 1973, at age 10 as a fifth grader in Transylvania’s isolated town of Sighet², I had to make a fateful decision about my choice of foreign-language study: Russian or English. The pressure was on us to

¹ Readers should be aware of a key acronym used when this paper reaches the 1990s: **NPPO** stands for **Not-for-Private Profit Organization** (usually a Foundation) which differs from the more familiar (Non-Profit Organization (**NPO**). Outside the United States, the latter term tends to be wrongly understood to mean no profit can be accumulated and the NPO must show a zero balance at year end. The former term (NPPO) is developed here to stress that profits may be accumulated and invested to fund future activities, as long as expenditures do not benefit private parties (except for salaries, travel, and other justified expenses as provided in, say, a Foundation’s by-laws.)

² Officially named **Sighetu Marmatei** (on Romania’s northwest border facing Ukraine’s southwestern border with Romania and Hungary.

take up Russian, thus proving that we were all students loyal to the dictator Socialist” Nicolae Ceausescu’s “Socialist Government” (read Romanian Communism allied with Moscow), but consciously I detested that system.

Although I wanted to learn English, I did not then how fateful that choice would be until 1991, when at almost 27 years of age, I met Jim Wilkie who had been advised by his brother Richard to include my town of Sighet in his journey to assess the how Eastern Europe was faring after the fall of the “Berlin Wall,” short for the long wall that kept the people of Communist countries locked and unable to escape. But more later about how Jim found me as he sought an English-speaking intellectual and social guide to Eastern Europe.

In the meantime, growing up in Sighet with a population of only 30,000 people, we were proud to recognize Elie "Elie" Wiesel (born 1928) as our most prominent citizen long before he won the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize. He helped us get past the terrible history of Sighet Communist Prison where “enemies of the state” were confined until “death due to natural cause.”

In my early years I had a hard time understanding how the green and flowered valley of Sighet (elevation 1,000 feet, on the Tisa River at the foot of our forested Carpathian Mountains) could be so beautiful, yet we lived under the terribly cruel eye of the Securitate to protect from the people the wretched Dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu. Ceausescu,³ who ruled from 1965 to his execution in 1989, was the harshest leader of all the countries behind Russia’s Wall against Western Europe.

Oddly enough, in the Transylvania of the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, supposedly I was living the “Golden Age of Romanian Socialism,” but even to myself as a young student; I could see that the

³ In modernized spelling.

promised “full progress” was clearly a lie. Most adults agreed but feared to speak so bluntly.

Even though the “English-Speaking USA” had been supposedly always threatening to invade Romania, I continued to study English language and literature. That I chose to study English even though the act alone brought suspicion on me because all society was taught to believe since 1945 that we were fighting off the Great Satan USA.⁴ America was officially seen as a threat to Romania and its allies under Russia’s COMECON,⁵ all of which I became only fully aware as I grew older and had to buy the English Course textbooks on the risky, expensive Black Market.

In the meantime, without rarely granted permission, we were forbidden to meet and visit with foreigners, especially those who spoke English and who wanted to hear from us about Sighet and its nearby wooden hamlets of the Maramures Province, where I have my first memories. The region is ethnically diverse, with a stimulating climate ranging from very hot summers and very cold winters. Geographically, we lived in the valleys and Mountains of Gutinul through which the rivers of Iza and Tisa flow. Geographically, the beautiful forested Tisa River is the natural border with Southern Ukraine.

⁴ As in the case of Oceania always being threatened by eternal war alternating between Eurasia or Eastasia, portrayed in George Orwell’s *1984* (1948). Cf. my article “Orwell’s *1984* and the Case Studies of Stalin and Ceausescu,” in *Elitelore Varieties* (Edited by James Wilkie et al.): http://elitelore.org/Capitulos/cap16_elitelore.pdf

⁵ COMECON (**Council for Mutual Economic Assistance**) dates from the January 1949 communiqué agreed upon in Moscow by the USSR (including its 15 Constituent Republics of **Russia**, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan) and its five “Independent” Satellite Republics (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania). The communiqué involved the refusal of all these countries to “subordinate themselves to the dictates of the Marshall Plan.” Thus, they organized an “economic cooperation” among these “new peoples’ democracies.” (USSR born 1922, died 1991). Cf.: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Comecon

As folklore has it in the West, vampires are native to Transylvania. We had vampires, werewolves, and wolverines, but all the mythological characters were actually members of the Communist Party, which everyone had to join--except for me because with my knowledge, I was considered a security risk!

Fortunately, when in 1982 I entered the University Babes Boljay, in Cluj-Napoca, to earn my M.A. in 1990, for my sociology classes, I decided to conduct my field research project into the rural life of the North of Romania, recording the folklore (especially myths) invented and passed down by rural folks (including small merchants, farmers, fisherman, loggers) had had used that lore to help them survive for centuries.

Further, much of my research conducted among the outlying farmers, delved deeply into Transylvania Folklore, which prepared me well to understand Communist Party Lore.

Thus, for the second time, my fateful choice of a field research project had further prepared me, unknowingly, for my future with Jim Wilkie.

Once I had been admitted to the Babes Boljay University, which was called "the heart and brain of Transylvania," I also further expanded and deepened deep studies in American language and literature. Also I studied Romanian language and literature in the Department of Philology. The Bolyai University Is considered the best University in Transylvania.

Upon beginning my mentoring for other students, I was happy to find a sense of freedom. Reading and writing comprehension were my forté during my four years at Cluj. I had always dreamt of being a professor and a writer and seemed to be off to a great start.

But I soon realized that our professors opened the day by reading the mounds of new Decrees just signed by Ceausescu. Thus, I began

laughing, and other students join me in mocking the wooden language of Central Planning's attempt to befuddle us with words from a wooden language, totally bent toward twisting our brains into confused submission. Professors and Securitate officers were acting as sweaty bureaucrats trying to teach us how to sharpen our mental images. Not one professor asked us, "What do each of you really think of all this Ceausescu propaganda of decrees harming the educational process?"

Professors had their favorite students and made sure they pointed this out in class, stifling any competition as they show openly their favoritism or nepotism.

When I reached the age of 22 in 1985, I started to be argumentative, criticizing professors, especially the history professor who only knew only the History of the Romanian Communist Party.

Further, as a woman in academia, I began to resent being forced to do the military service. The Russians, having been directing Romanian politicians since 1945, pressured the Romanians to dig useless trenches as well as learn to disassemble and assemble the AK47!

The atmosphere was dreadful in classes. Restrictions were plentiful and absurd. Speech was not free; one couldn't discuss issues freely in class, or make any real analysis or debate. One had to regurgitate what the professors were telling us. Modern economics led by and read whatever was there in the old books stacked in the communist library. Until I escaped Romania in 1992, I learned that the so-called economics classes we took taught nothing about money, credit, and such terms as GDP. The Marxist economics involved only fuzzy nonsensical slogans such as "We Romanians have to fight-off the 'running dogs of capitalism,'" without the word "capitalism" ever being defined except in unrealistic theory laced with epithets.

Even as an English major, I could not speak with to foreigners in English --answering one question was a crime, according to the tendentious Security Decrees. Abortion was a crime punishable for up to 20 years in prison. Doctors performing it ended up in jail, and so did the pregnant women. Punishments were ridiculous—the Anti-Abortion Law lasted for 40 years, until 1990.

Furthermore if my uncle from Canada visited us, we were all under surveillance, the entire family. Even today, in 2016 one has to report to the police to declare if any visitor of family comes from the USA (or Canada, for some bizarre security reason). Well after 25 years, not much has changed in poor Romania.

The influence of recent Romanian history

In the meantime, the History of Transylvania weighed heavily on population of Romania, with constant change in the emerging political map always have left “citizens” always lost about who was really in charge.

Thus, Transylvania was originally part of the Dacia Kingdom between 82 BC until the Roman conquest in 106 AD. The capital of Dacia was destroyed by the Romans, so that a new capital would serve the Roman Province of Dacia, which lasted until 350 AD, by which time the Romans felt so hated that it behooved them withdraw back to Rome.

During the late 9th century, western Transylvania was conquered by the Hungarian Army to later become part of the Kingdom of Hungary and in 1570 to devolve into the Principality of Transylvania. During most of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Principality became an Ottoman Empire vassal state, confusingly also governed by the Habsburg Empire. After 1711 Transylvania was consolidated solely into the

Habsburg Empire and Transylvanian princes were replaced with Habsburg imperial governors. After 1867, Transylvania ceased to have separate status and was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁶ After World War I, Transylvania reverted in 1918 to be part of Romania. In 1940 Northern Transylvania again became governed by Hungary and then Germany, but Romanian queen Maria successfully reclaimed it after the end of World War II.

The year 1940 was important for Romania because it was seized for its oil by Nazi Germany (1940-1944), “liberated” by the “Soviet Union” (1944-1947), and finally “re-liberated” to become the Popular republic of Romania (under USSR remote control), as the Cold War was beginning to freeze the Iron Curtain into place.

At the end of World War II while the USSR and its Red Army were the occupying powers in all Romania, in 1947 Romania forcibly and ironically became a “People’s Republic” (1947–1989), after the rise of the Iron Curtain.

The first “president,” Gheorghiu-Dej (1947) ruled as puppet of Moscow, but when he died, his Secretary General of the Communist Party of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, was elected as the second “president” (1965-1989), shifting his savage dictatorship into a harsher Romanian “Gulag” than known in the USSR.

For two decades I neither understood the dimensions of tragic history of Transylvania, did I understand that I would have to escape the Gulag of Romania by the “skin of my teeth.”

For peoples of the world Transylvania seems to be a far away place, where most people know the werewolves and vampires have been “seen” to in the imagination of Transylvanians, whose beliefs was soaked in mystical folklore. Even today it is hardly possible to have a rational

⁶ This Empire existed between 1867 and 1918.

conversation with most the Transylvanian folk on any subject without recourse to try to understand where their distorted imagination has befuddled them.

The population has consisted of Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and some Ukrainians. These languages are still being spoken in Romania's Maramures province, but because I always liked and loved the Romanian language, I decided to become a Professor of Romanian Language and Literature.

My backdrop to the fall of CEAUSESCU

I later told Jim how I had been admitted in 1982 to the Babes-Bolyai University, in Cluj-Napoca at the heart of Transylvania, I focused especially on Linguistics. Unfortunately, there I found that the professors, who were under the control of sweaty Securitate officers, had to read dozens of new Decrees issued every day as they sought to control every one of our daily actions—all in the name of protecting the Ceausescu government—which was selling the country's food supplies to Russia in order to pay down Roman's official debt at our experts. Those Securitate officers ate well and ominously watched us virtually starve. They said, be calm like your parents in the face of starvation.

Thus, I furiously called out in my classes that our very existence was being compromised by Ceausescu's abandonment of the population, which was ordered to, as Lenin famously said, "work, work, and work."

To protect myself as best I could, I turned to humor, seeking to ridicule Ceausescu's "national paradise." But when I encouraged my classmates to laugh at the propaganda embedded in the wooden language of the national bureaucracy, I soon fell under the heavy scrutiny of university authorities, who were furious that I trying to expose the fact

that all classes had been organized to befuddle the student body into confused submission. Indeed, each professor had favorite students to help drown out legitimate questions and stifle any competing analysis—the university lived under nepotism, favoritism, the threat of rape (virtual and real) by the Securitate officers, and open bribery--choose your garden variety.

My 1986 flight from Romania backfires

By 1986, at age 23, I had decided to flee Romania—an illegal act because Ceausescu did not want anyone (especially women of child-bearing age) to escape his plan to building his “ideal socialist industries” on farms and ranches as well as in the cities. In June I made my way to the border of Yugoslavia and paid a smuggler to evade the Romanian security forces that were preventing the “nations workers” from escaping. The smuggler, who took me across the border, turned out to be working for Romanian Border Police. Thus, soon after crossing into Yugoslavia, he turned his wagon around and I was again in Romania again when I realized what had happened too late. I had been “sold” to Ceausescu’s minions for a wagonload of salt.

That failed escape from Romania led me to a 10-month prison sentence in Timisoara Prison, wherein the block cells were maintained so cold (supposedly to eliminate bacteria and viruses) that it made all of us inmates sick with the cold and the flu.

Cell bed blankets were less warm than one Kleenex tissue. Moreover there were no pillow, and the concrete slab where inmates slept was a back-breaker. The lights were on 24 hours a day, blinding all of us, and there was constant observation. Every hour one was awakened to be counted for, and sneaking up on people, under the guise of watching out

for suicides. But everyone could be clearly seen by the guards, and there was no need to sleep-deprive inmates. There was also someone in the higher echelon ripping off the food budget to siphon money to themselves while serving inmates only baby carrots and spicy beans.

Almost every family in Romanian civil society had at least one member who had been imprisoned for trying to open the political system by denouncing the Ceausescu dictatorship. These inmates were openly called “Political Prisoners,” and I was one of them.

Political Prisoners were not permitted to work outside the prison walls in the fields because our crime had been the political decision to repudiate Ceausescu’s “fantastic system.”

Out of prison in 1987 and open to change in the air

Once free in 1987, I could return to my University to finally complete my M.A. in 1990.

Further in 1987, at the age of 24, I met the Family patriarch Nicolae Pipas,⁷ who directed for the Communist government the walled Regional Art Museum in a quiet part of Sighet. Being one of the few highly educated persons who spoke English in the region, I began to serve as interpreter/guide to visiting foreign Ambassadors permitted to travel in Romania. They wanted to see the Museum with its magnificent collection of paintings, sculptures, and rare historical pottery and coins. Thus, I soon found myself translating for visiting English-Speaking Ambassadors from many countries who wished to know Transylvania, especially my village Sighet and its Merry Cemetery famous worldwide

⁷ Upon Ceausescu’s death, the Patriarch Pipas mysteriously became the Museum’s “owner” and then transferred title to his son Valerian Pipas, the regions most famous violinist.

for its tombstones in the form of wood sculpture of the butcher, the baker, candlestick maker, and all professions.

Although my first languages were Romanian and Hungarian, I could also translate into French and Italian. Indeed at that time I was teaching Latin in the Rural School System of my Maramures Province.

By 1989, Ceausescu realized that his end was near, and he sought to gain support by pardoning his political prisoners (such as myself) who had tried to escape the horrendous conditions in the country. Hence, university students and some labor unions joined forces and quite quickly after the fall of the Berlin Wall forced Ceausescu and his draconian wife Elena to flee. They were caught and executed on Christmas Day, 1989, by the military that at the last moment joined the Revolution.

As my friends and I (along with most of the population) cheered the fall of the failed, rotten Romanian “dictatorship of the proletariat,” my dear mother acted differently. She was so confused by the propaganda of the only “leader” she knew much about that she wept for Ceausescu, not fully realizing that he was the one who had wrongly had be arrested and put me in prison.

With Ceausescu gone, in 1990 I was able to secure a passport to ready myself to leave Romania by gaining visas for Germany and France. The question remained, how to get there by land without a visa to Austria—my region had no air connection to the outside world.

My fateful 1991 meeting in Sighet with Jim Wilkie

Almost age 27 in 1991, I was in the right place at the right time when UCLA Professor Jim Wilkie arrived in Sighet September 17th with Professor James Platler (his friend and driver). They came as part of their

trip to assess the impact of the 1989 Fall of Iron Curtain--which had imprisoned all Romanians and made it a crime to try to escape from Romania. The two Americans had already visited “East” Germany, Czech,⁸ and Slovakia (soon to break their union, each becoming independent), and Poland, where English speakers could provide guidance.

In Romania the UCLA Team found itself at a loss as few of the people who they encountered could speak English and none of them could analyze or articulate how the System of Government and society functioned before and after 1989.

When we met, Jim immediately contracted⁹ with me to advise them as well as guide them through Eastern Europe. They were pleased to hear the my outline of Transylvanian and Romanian history (see above), with which I explained how constant national boundary change meant that Transylvanians and Romanians were never able to develop either honest *civil government* or *active civic society*. Little did I know that the concepts of “Civic” and “Civil” Society were of utmost importance to Jim? As I would find out later, Jim and I had been conducting compatible research for years and would lead me to (A) my PHD Dissertation and (B send C) two books written with Jim.¹⁰ All these

⁸ “Czechia” is rarely used in English because native English speakers too often do not know intuitively know how to pronounce it. The name Czechia has arisen as the short name for the Czech Republic, which emerged with the breakup of “Czechoslovakia” in 1992.

⁹ Jim soon arranged for the contract to be paid from his grant funds from U.S. foundations deposited for his projects at UCLA.

¹⁰ See (A) my 2001 *Decentralized Globalization: Free Markets, U.S. Foundations, and the Rise of Civil and Civic Society from Rockefeller’s Rise in Latin America to Soros’ Eastern Europe* (Los Angeles: UCLA Classic Doctoral Thesis, forthcoming at http://www.profmex.org/webjournal_listedbyvoldat.html

(B) Olga Magdalena Lazín, *La Globalización Se Descentraliza: Libre Mercado, Fundaciones, Sociedad Cívica y Gobierno Civil en las Regiones del Mundo*, Prólogo, pp. 15-166, por James W. Wilkie (Guadalajara y Los Ángeles: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX/World, Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural, 2007). <http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume12/1winter07/prologoporjameswilkieOLbook.html>

works distinguish between the concepts of *Civil Society* (which represents national and local governmental activity and Civic Society (which involves active private citizens (who organize non- governmental initiatives to develop model projects beyond the ability of official bureaucrats to even comprehend, including the influence needed to monitor and expose the failures and successes of governmental activity).

But before we left September 18th to visit Romania and Hungary, I had to find a substitute for my new class teaching American English and History in Sighet—I left a friend, Johnny Popescu, to become my permanent substitute. Only then could our newly expanded Team set off under my guidance.

Thus, we set out on September 18, 1991, to visit one of the most socially and economically interesting and beautiful parts of Romania by going up through the green forested Carpathian Mountains via the beautiful Prislop Pass, stopping to visit small farming families in their folkloric clothing of which they were justifiably proud to wear on a daily basis. Farther east in Romania, on the scenic roads, we visited the monasteries of Moldova, the town of Cimpulung Moldovenesc, Suceava, and then the Monasteries in Sucevita and Agapia. The gorgeous forested mountain road eventually led to Lacul Rosu and the lake country. Then we took the long scenic mountain road to Cluj Napoca to visit my University.

As I briefed Jim about Romania, he was briefing me about factors in comparing national economies. For example, he told me about how he had reunited in Prague on September 15th with Richard Beset, his former UCLA student and friend, to hear about his role in London as

(C) James W. Wilkie y Olga Magdalena Lazín, *La globalización Se Amplia: Claroscuros de los Nexos Globales* (Guadalajara, Los Ángeles, México: Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, PROFMEX/World, Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural, 2011: <http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume17/2spring2012/Laglobalizacionseamplia.pdf>

Manger of Deutsche Bank's New Accounts in Russia and Eastern Europe. Richard had become famous for inviting Banking Officials and national Treasury Ministries to deposit their financial reserves on deposit in his bank in London. But because those who did not understand anything about "interest payment on deposited funds, they did not ask for nor did they gain any interest payments. Also, because most Western Banks were not sure that these new "capitalists" could be "fully trusted" for correct management of their deposits, his Deutsche Bank collected large fees to keep the Eastern Europe reserves safe. This was all very eye opening for me.

Jim and I had realized early on that we had a close affinity as we analyzed the situation of Romania, and he said, "Call me Jim." (In contrast I called Professor James Platler "JP.") As we traveled to observe the situation of the people in different parts of the country, Jim and I formed a deep bond of observing and analyzing; thus both of realized this brief interlude had to continue for the long term in order to achieve our goals.

Next stops, Budapest, Salzburg, Munich, Bordeaux (for me), and Los Angeles (for Jim)

As a Romanian, I had the right to enter Hungary, and we did so bypassing the miles of vehicles waiting to cross the border for the long drive to Budapest. There JP finally relaxed after the long drives and often poor hotels and hotels—he said that he finally found unbroken civilization again.

Once we arrived in Budapest, JP, who had told Jim privately that from the outset of our trip that he thought that I was a "Spy" (planted on us by the Romanian Securitate to monitor our many "foreign" inquiries

during our travel through Romania's north country), announced that his concern about me had vanished as we realized the extent of my knowledge and research abilities. In his mind, I had to be a Spy because I had obtained access to special private dining rooms and quarter in some fine hotels, as well as invitations for wonderful lunches at some Monasteries, where miraculously I made immediate friends with each Mother Superior. But by the time we reached Budapest, he realized that at my University I had learned the Elite skills needed to survive safely and comfortably in Eastern Europe.

My problem was to enter Austria, where I had no visa. But Jim passed his UCLA business card through to the Consul General of Austria in Budapest, and quickly we found ourselves whisked from the back of the long line to the front and right into a meeting with the Consul General himself. He was pleased to hear about the research of our UCLA Team, but said that I did have a visa. Jim then told them that I only needed a three-day transit visa to reach Germany, the visa for which he could see in my passport.

With entry to Austria solved, we were on the road to the Hotel Kobentzl and Graz, which overlook Salzburg, all the way analyzing the comparative economic and social situations of Austria, Hungary, and Romania.

We spent most of our time down the mountain from Kobentzl in the valley, before returning to our sweeping Hotel view of Salzburg City. Meanwhile I was deepening my questions about capital is leveraged to undertake big private projects. As we took photos over from on high looking down on the many bridges of Salzburg and Jim was explaining how the developed world operated by using finances, credit, and interest to help economies grow.

Finally we left Salzburg to enter Germany and Munich, where our quick look into Oktoberfest found us among nasty drunken louts each of whom seemingly had hand four hands: one to chug-a-lug beer; one to smoke foul smelling cigarettes; one to quaff horrible-bleeding-raw sausages; and one to punch someone in the face. From what we saw, Oktoberfest was a place for nasty males seeking to “get smashed on beer” and then smash another male to break his nose. Thus, we fled for our lives as the brutes began to threaten anyone who looked at them.

Then on September 30th, I took the plane to from Munich to Paris to take a bus to Bordeaux to meet the family, which had invited me to France.

Jim (and JP) also left the same day for Jim to arrive in time to go from the airplane to open and begin teaching his Fall Quarter class at UCLA. But he promised to call daily and return to join me again in ten weeks.

In the meantime, I made a trip to Paris to request political asylum in France, but a grey-faced judge rejected my request, saying that the petitioner must file with the help of a lawyer.

To complicate matters in Bordeaux, the French Security Agent there was investigating me, a lone woman, as a possible SPY sent by Romania to “monitor activities at the Port of Bordeaux. When he told that, if I pleased him in unmentionable ways, he would not deport me to Romania but arrange my legal status in France, I immediately told Jim on his next telephone call.

To resolve our problem, Jim called his Paris friend Gérard Chaliand, a former visiting professor at UCLA, whose real job involved traveling the world for French Security to report on his professorial travels that took him to all continents. Gérard immediately called French Security to report on the illegal approach to me by their Agent in

Bordeaux. That same day the Agent came to apologize profusely to me in the best manner that he could muster in his pitiful condition. He begged me not to have him fired for his proposition to me. I could see him looking at me in truly puzzled way that implicitly said: “Who are you? How did I make such a grave mistake in deciding that you, a lone Romanian woman could not have any power to reach my bosses in Paris?” I took pity on him and told him that if he minded manners and watched from affair to be sure that I was always safe, he would not be fired.

Jim returns to Europe December, 1991: His plan for advising eastern european civic society about how to gain grants from U.S. foundations, which hold the world's largest pool of NGO development funds.

Even though it was December 11, 1991, when Jim returned, France was in the midst what some in America call an “Indian Fall,” warm with colorful fall leaves still on the trees. It was a beautifully bright “fall day” when we left Bordeaux the next day to spend some days visiting the Loire River with its many castles and incredible views.

Even during our photography of the Loire region, Jim began to outline his New Plan (now our plan) to wit: *PROFMEX Plan to Help Eastern European “Foundations” become legally eligible to gain grants from U.S. Tax Exempt Foundations following Jim’s “U.S.-Mexico Model for Philanthropy.”*

Indeed, Jim told me that recently when he had been in Mexico City, he received an invitation to meet with Manuel Alonso Muñoz, Executive Director of Mexico’s National Lottery,¹¹ who when he heard about Jim’s U.S.-Mexico Model, invited him to meet at the Lottery’s historically famous ornate building. After an extended briefing by Jim, Manuel told him that he had already called his own good friend Ronald

¹¹ Mexico’s National Lottery is a Government-run Public Charity and funder of new research.

G. Hellman, Professor of Sociology in the Graduate School at the City University of New York, to ask him for an evaluation of Jim and his Mexico-U.S. Model for Philanthropy. Ironically, it was only then when he realized that Ron was (and is today) Jim's PROFMEX Vice-President for Strategic Planning. With that news and Jim's stellar briefing, Lic. Alonso asked if the Lottery could make a series of generous grants to PROFMEX in order to help fund the expansion of Jim's Model to Eastern Europe,¹² putting Mexico into an innovative new light.

Manuel Alonso was appreciative of the fact that Jim, while serving as Consultant to the U.S. Council on Foundations, had become involved since 1990 with his Model for helping Mexican Foundations (including, for example, charities, human rights organizations, hospitals, universities, biospheres, etc.) to re-write their constitution and by-laws to be compatible with the U.S. tax requirement that they mirror U.S. Not-for-Private Profit Organizations (NPPOs).

The question of "mirroring" involved Jim's explanation that: As NPPOs, U.S. Foundations are legally responsible for controlling expenditure of funds granted to organizations that do not mirror the U.S. foundations do not want to be involved in the day-to-day activities of its grantees. Indeed, "they want to transfer "expenditure responsibility" (including misuse or illegal use of grant funds) to the recipient foundation to which they grant funds but can only do so if the grant recipient organization is deemed to have an "equivalent" legal structure to that of the U.S. donor foundation.

Here is the background, according to Jim:¹³ "In order to facilitate the U.S. philanthropic activity needed during the 1970s and 1980s to help

¹² The Lottery grants to PROFMEX totaled \$100,000 dollars.

¹³ Jim Wilkie's statement here is quoted from my formal Interview with him, September 17, 1992, in Transylvania, based upon his experience as Consultant to the U.S. Council on Foundations. See:
Olga Magdalena Lazín, *Decentralized Globalization: Free Markets,*

speed world development, the U.S. Secretary of Treasury and the IRS formulated provisions that resulted in changing and/or interpreting the Internal Revenue Code (IRC) to freely permit U.S. foundations to grant funds abroad, if they meet the following special proviso:

U.S. NPPOs can themselves make a legal “determination” that the foreign organization receiving the U.S. grant be “determined” to be “equivalent” to an NPPO described in Section 501(c)(3)¹⁴ of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code.”

Further, Jim pointed out that, “while this proviso has worked well for big U.S. grant-making foundations that place costly offices and staff around the world (such as Rockefeller and Ford Foundations), it has worked less well for foundations that have had to send their lawyers to meet with their legal counterparts in prospective ‘equivalent organizations, the legal cost of making such a determination often reaching \$25,000 [or, by 2016, much, much more] for each new organization to receive funds from the U.S. NPPO. If that determination is favorable, the U.S. NPPO can transfer funds to the equivalent organization, just as it can to any other approved U.S. NPPO, and along with the transfer of funds to the recipient organization goes the transfer of responsibility over how the funds are spent.”

U.S. Foundations and the Rise of Civil and Civic Society From Rockefeller’s Latin America To Soros’ Eastern Europe (Los Angeles: UCLA, Classic PHD thesis, 2001), pp. 122-125. This book scheduled in 2016 for publication by PROFMEX at http://www.profmex.org/webjournal_listedbyvoldat.html

¹⁴ “Equivalent,” as Jim noted, means that the foreign NPPO meets (A) the test of funding at least one of the following goals” for types of projects supported *Health-Education-Welfare-Human Rights-Science and Religion-Economy-Environment-Ecology-Publication-Literature-Charity*; and (B) meets the test that no part of the foreign NPPOs expenditures benefit private persons-- except for payment of reasonable expenses to cover goods and services needed by the NPPO to legitimately conduct the operations chartered in its Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws.

Transfer of ‘Expenditure Responsibility’ from the U.S. Donor NPPO to the Foreign Recipient NPPO.

The ability of U.S. NPPOs to avoid costly expenditure responsibility, as Jim told, is one of the factors that have helped make American grant-making foundations so important in the world. Thus, U.S. NPPOs have been enabled to avoid becoming ensnared in accounting processes and audits, which are better done by the foreign organization that receives and administers the U.S. NPPO grant of funds.

In this manner, said Jim, the U.S. NPPO is free to focus its energy on evaluating the substance of its grant programs. The ability of grant-making foundations to transfer Expenditure Responsibility to other NPPOs is the main reason that they generally prefer (and require) that their funds be granted only to approved organizations rather than to individuals or to non-approved organizations.

The above views, Jim said, do not mean that U.S. NPPOs are unable to grant funds to an organization that is not equivalent to a U.S. NPPO (or make grants to individual scholars, artists, or writers either at home or abroad), but to do so adds a complication to the grant-making process. Rather than passing on the Expenditure Responsibility (as the U.S. NPPO does when it makes grants to another NPPO or U.S. equivalent), the Expenditure Responsibility remains with the donor NPPO when it makes a grant to an organization that is not an NPPO (or its U.S. equivalent) or to an individual.

In the unlikely case where the donor NPPO retains Expenditure Responsibility, then, Jim told me in my interview with him on September 17, 1991, the donor foundation has to concern itself with costly financial oversight involved, which may be problematic whether of in or outside the USA.

On to Paris and the world to meet with NPPO leaders about new foundations

Jim and I arrived in Paris on December 15, 1991, to meet with Jim's contacts at the American Embassy, who heard about our research and suggested that Jim meet also with their counterparts at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. They agreed to help begin to our new Plan to expand to Eastern Europe and Russia Jim's successful Model for Tax-Free Flow of Nonprofit Funds, the example being what he negotiated (with the U.S. Council on Foundations and the U.S. and Mexican Treasury Departments), as analyzed above.

It is important for me to say here that George Soros and his decentralized donations to his 41 semi-autonomous "national foundations"¹⁵ (exemplified in Romania, Hungary, and Russia) have been built following the IRS proviso and regulations discussed above. Also, Soros' "National Foundations" require that national Government charter the independent role as NGOs.

In contrast, the flowering of thousands of independent "Foundations" in Eastern Europe since 1989 has grown from groups looking for funds from the many U.S. Foundations that do not have the Soros/New York link with its Foundations in many nations, all of which operate in Soros' closed loop. Few of these new Foundations have the Soros knowledge and financial resources to set up the By-Laws and Legal Status needed for the thousands Foundations desiring to tap into funding by U.S. Foundations.¹⁶ However, since 2013, Soros' has organized an

¹⁵ Administered by NGO Civic Activists in each country but reporting to Soros Foundation/New York City to justify each yearly budget.

¹⁶ The Soros Open Society Foundations in 44 countries benefit from the fact that Soros himself has lived up to his commitment since 1986 (to 2016 and ongoing) to donate half of

office to work with shared Global Funds (for food, migration, etc.) outside the non-Soros frameworks to help poor areas and countries to stave off crises.

Before we left Paris on December 19, 1991, we met with Gérard Chaliand to personally thank him for having made the Bordeaux Security agent reexamine his whole approach to his life.

Further, with Gérard, we worked out a plan to arrange for me to become a U.S. resident and obtain U.S. citizenship nine years after my arrival in Los Angeles, October 1992. He recommended that my case be handled in Los Angeles by one of America's most knowledgeable and effective Migration Attorneys—Cynthia Juárez Lange, today Managing Partner, Northern California, for the Fragomen Del Rey, Bernsen & Loewy LLP Legal Office located in San Francisco. Cynthia is a personable genius.

In our travels in December 1991 and from March to June 1992 we met NPPO leaders in the European Union to better understand how foundations work under unique laws in each country rather than in any rational manner for the whole EU, we went to Marseilles, Nice, Villfranche-sur-Mer, Cap-Ferrat, Monaco, La Rochelle, Andorra, Sevilla, Madrid, Trujillo, El Escorial, Avila, and Segovia.

On September 3, 1992, we arrived at the U.S. Consulate in Paris, where the U.S. Consulate in Mexico had arranged with Jim for my U.S. eligibility for residence to be issued. Also, the Mexican Consulate General in Paris issued me my residence papers to enter and leave Mexico freely, as arranged by Jim with the Mexican Consular Office in Mexico City.

his profits (\$13 billion) for their activities, his personal wealth in 2016 estimated to be \$25 billion. See <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/expenditures> Also, for the details of Soros \$930.7 million dollar *Open Society Foundations 2016 Budget*, which can be found by searching online for this title.

By September 7, 1992, we were Romania for meetings with Civic Activists in Sighet (where I finally returned after “escaped” with Jim in December 1991).

From March to June 1993, we met with NPPO leaders in Budapest, Sighet, and Varna (Bulgaria), Bucharest, and St. Petersburg. In Moscow (June 21-14, 1993), Jim appointed Professor Boris Koval (Director of the Latin American Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences), to be PROFMEX Representative in Russia. Koval had invited us to Moscow and introduced us to his own Security Chief to be our translator and guide. Thus Security Chief was a fascinating person who had been former head of the KGB Office in Iran, 1979-1989.

Jim, who always wore his Mexican guayabera shirt with or without a suit, was seen to be “authentically Mexican” in our meetings and discussions about NPPOs and the Soros Open Society Foundations in Russia success in Russia (1987-2002) and problems of the Soros Foundations in Russia since 2003, when, under Government pressure, he was phasing out of operation active programs.

When on November 30, 2015,¹⁷ Russia’s Prosecutor General’s Office classified the Soros Open Society Foundation as an “undesirable” organization, it closed the possibility of Russian individuals and institutions from having anything to do with any Soros initiative or programs... [Because it constituted] a threat to the foundations of Russia’s Constitutional order and national security....

Prosecutors [then] launched a probe into Soros Foundation activities....¹⁸ [and in July 2015], after Russian senators approved the so-called “patriotic stop-list” of 12 groups that required immediate attention over their supposed anti-Russian activities, [the following U.S.

¹⁷ See <https://www.rt.com/politics/323919-soros-foundation-recognized-as-undesirable/>

¹⁸ Ibid.

organizations] realized that they would soon be banned in Russia: [the U.S.] National Endowment for Democracy; the International Republican Institute; the National Democratic Institute; the MacArthur Foundation, and Freedom House.

The American hedgefunds mogul George Soros issued from London the following Press Release on November 30th 2015:¹⁹

Contrary to the Russian prosecutor's allegations, the Open Society Foundations have, for more than a quarter-century, helped to strengthen the rule of law in Russia and protect the rights of all. In the past, Russian officials and citizens have welcomed our efforts, and we regret the changes that have led the government to reject our support to Russian civil society and ignore the aspirations of the Russian people.

Since 1987, Open Society has provided support to countless individuals and civil society organizations, including in the fields of science, education, and public health. Open Society has helped finance a network of internet centers in 33 universities around the country, helped Russian scholars to travel and study abroad, developed curricula for early childhood education, and created a network of contemporary art centers that are still in operation.

This record speaks for itself. We are honored to have worked alongside pioneering citizens, educators, and civil society organizations that embody Russian creativity, commitment, and hope.

"We are confident that this move is a temporary aberration; the aspirations of the Russian people for a better future cannot be suppressed and will ultimately succeed," said George Soros, founder and chairman of the Open Society Foundations. Despite all efforts made by Soros and his organizations, he has been banned from Russia.

¹⁹ See: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/russia-cracks-down-open-society>

Once with the reset of the Cold War, in 2012, when Putin was reelected as Russia's President, Putin's first movement was to ban all Soros organizations which were impeding his expansion onto Crimea.

Back in Mexico City for the 1994 PROFMEX Event featuring Eastern Europeans interested in the U.S.-Mexico Model for NPPOs, we convened, July 28-29, for our meeting on "Development of Mexico as seen from the World," Co-sponsored by UCLA and Mexico's Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología.

This Conference was held at Mexico City's María Isabel Sheraton, with 70 participants from Mexico and the United States, and which I co-organized with Jim.

The following invitees from Eastern Europe came from Hungary Zoltan Karpati, Professor of Sociology, Romania Mihai Coman, University Dean, Roman Romulus, Consul General in Mexico, Alexandru Lazín, PROFMEX-- England and Romania, Lia Stan, Investor from Bristol, England.

Highlights of the event came frequently as we turned our gaze from Salón A with his all-window view from the top floor to discuss the anti-government protest marches up and down Reforma Avenue past the Angel Monument below.

Further, our group enjoyed the invitation of Mexico's Attorney General, Jorge Madrazo Cuéllar to visit him at his headquarters where we personally discussed and raised questions about the street blockages in front of our María Isabella Hotel.

In December 1997, we continued to invite world scholars especially interested in economic matters, as well as in the U.S.-Mexico NPPO Model to participate with us at the:

IX PROFMEX-ANUIES Conference

Hosted by Governor Víctor Manuel Tinoco Rubí in Morelia,
Michoacán.

México y el Mundo

Mexico and the World

December 8-13, 1997

With hundreds of participants and Attendees from all
continents. Special Guests were invited from:

Russia: Boris Koval, who recalled with excitement the visit of Jim and I
to Moscow in June 1993.

China: Sengen Zhang, Hongzhu Huang

Korea: Kap-Young Jeong

Japan: Soichi Shinohara, Osamu Nishimura, Yasuoki Takagi

Indonesia: Lepi T. Tarmidi

Argentina: Eugenio O. Valenciano

Bolivia: Antonio J. Cisneros

Jim and I have been involved with many academic activities, but
those are beyond the scope of my analysis here of Jim's role in extending
PROFMEX around the globe, especially to Europe and Russia.

My courses taken under Jim, and Prof Carlos Alberto Torres,
Prof. Richard Weiss, and Ivan T Be rend, at UCLA led me to the M.A. in
Latin American Studies (1996) and PHD in History (2001)

With publication of one of my books, as sole author, *La
globalización se descentraliza: Libre mercado, fundaciones, sociedad
cívica y gobierno civil en las regiones del mundo (2007)* Por Olga
Magdalena Lazín. Prólogo de James W. Wilkie; and the second book, co-
authored with James W Wilkie, book full of illustrations and images that
reflect my travels with Jim *La globalización se amplía (2011)*, By James
W. Wilkie and Olga Magdalena Lazín. Preface de Rafael Rodríguez

Castañeda, with you Jim, I know that much researching and writing awaits us in our projects around the world....

Thanks, Jim

This work has shown how U.S. Tax Exempt Organization (TEO) law has evolved to become the most important in the world owing to its flexibility. Where the laws of most countries require prior legal authorization to launch in a new direction, the United States TEO law recognizes no such limit. Thus, U.S. TEO law, unlike most other countries, is never trying to make legal what is already underway and working in the world. The USA and now Mexico, which together have signed the first collaborative agreement, which is the blueprint for NPPOs.

This field experience has been crucial for my Dissertation. Here is an ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Decentralized Globalization. Free Markets, U.S. Foundations, and The Rise of Civil and Civic Society From Rockefeller's Latin America To Soros' Eastern Europe

By Olga Magdalena Lazín, Doctor in History, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001.

This work has shown how U.S. Tax Exempt Organization (TEO) Law has evolved to become the most important in the world owing to its flexibility, where the laws of most countries require prior legal authorization to launch in a new direction, United States TEO law recognizes no such limit. Thus, U.S. TEO law, unlike most other countries, is never trying to make legal what is already underway in the world. The USA and now Mexico, which together have signed the first

Fair Trade agreement in 1994. A new Era is opening, where the environment's safety comes first, by the people, for the people of the earth.

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From Hernando's Hide-a-way to the Ex-Hacienda de Chiconcuac: Appreciating the Pedagogy of Professor James W. Wilkie

Enrique C. Ochoa*

I came to UCLA in 1984 as an undergraduate transfer student with a desire to study Latin American history. During the 1980s, Latino/a Los Angeles was greatly expanding as a result of migration connected to the wars in Central America and the Mexican economic crisis. Raised in greater Los Angeles by two critically engaged and passionate public school teachers, my parents instilled in me an interest in understanding the role that U.S. empire and capitalism played in shaping my world. As I was struggling to fit myself into a broader political and continental history, I took several classes with Dr. James W. Wilkie whose classes were exciting and unorthodox. He expressed a genuine interest in me and my research and encouraged me to remain at UCLA for my graduate work.

Work with Professor Wilkie, Jim as I reluctantly began to call him, occurred not only in the aula and conference room but also outside the classroom. This included working on the *Statistical Abstract of Latin*

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America, having classes with guests from México at local restaurants, Salsa dancing, swimming in the Pacific Ocean, inner tubing at Las Estacas, and traveling in Chiapas, the Distrito Federal, and visiting the various ex-haciendas in Morelos. Among the numerous things that Jim instilled in his students was that form was just as important as content—that is, how we did history, research, and teaching was closely connected to what we studied. I came to realize the important role a professor can have in providing opportunities for students who do not always have access to them. These lessons have influenced my approach to being a community engaged university professor at an urban public university at a time in which the neoliberal and xenophobic assault on working class and Latinx students has been particularly nasty. His classes and mentorship fostered my critical skills and showed me alternative ways to survive and thrive in the university.

Irreverent, Interdisciplinary, and Transcendent Education

In my first classes with Jim, I was excited by his lectures and his discussions of his travels throughout Latin American. I was riveted by the recounting of his meetings with Lázaro Cárdenas, his interviews with Bolivian National Revolutionary leader Victor Paz Estenssoro, the Venezuelan Christian Democrat Rafael Caldera, Mexican labor leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano, and the oral histories with the old miners in Idaho that he and his brother conducted when they were kids. I enjoyed being inundated with countless pages of tables, charts, and articles many of which (in the pre-computer days) were scribbled by the Wilkie hand. He was quick to break the heaviness of the subject with occasional diatribes and much laughter. Throughout his classes he modeled a very creative and inventive approach to teaching and learning.

The unique learning experiences in Jim Wilkie's classes often included a democratic approach to assignments. We were allowed to choose our own readings and assignments from an array of options that he detailed in the syllabus. First as an undergraduate and later as a graduate student, I came to appreciate the opportunity to explore ideas and develop my own interpretations using the materials provided. While he seemed firm in his views, he relished dissent and discussion. Both were encouraged in class and on assignments. This was very different from the other classes that I took that often had a rigid approach to examinations and essays and were more concerned with teaching us the instructor's ideas and not helping us to develop our own.

The democratic structure of his classes was initially uncomfortable for me, but in the long-run it provided a more engaging class setting. For example, he once invited former Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1963-68 and 1980-85) to his undergraduate Latin American history class where he conducted an oral history interview with him. At various points, students posed questions and made comments and we were thus also part of the oral history process. Such a pedagogical approach brings students into the research process and models the work of scholars instead of merely lecturing about it.

I was very fortunate to be a graduate student at the time in which Mexico's PRI fractured, eventually giving rise to the PRD. Jim began to document the formation of the party and invited key members to campus. Throughout many of our seminars we heard presentations from and engaged in dialogue with founders of the party, including former governor and presidential candidate Ing. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, former Secretary of Labor and Senator Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, and scholar and future Secretary of Foreign Relations Jorge G. Castañeda. At this time, he began his oral history with Porfirio Muñoz Ledo. Jim's close

connections with Mexican intellectuals led to visits and extended stays by such luminaries as Samuel Schmidt, Sergio Zermeño, Sergio de la Peña, Ricardo Pozas Horcasitas, Aurora Loya Brambila, Carlos Martínez Assad, and Salvador Martínez della Roca. In addition, Jim was instrumental, in his work through the UCLA Program on Mexico (with Jeff Bortz and then David Lorey) and PROFMEX- ANUIES collaborations, in creating exciting conferences in Mexico on important policy issues. These gatherings brought together a range of scholars, opinion leaders, journalists, politicians, and public officials from Mexico, the U.S., and other countries to address pressing issues related to Mexico's political economy.

Jim's teaching transcended the confining walls of the classroom, the archive, the library, and the conference room. His use of films and slides in classes transported us to América Latina as did his invitations of undergraduate classes to his house for evenings of slide show lectures, discussions, comida, and *convivio*. This was a rare experience for an undergraduate at a large impersonal university. In his graduate seminars, we frequently met off campuses when guest speakers visited. One year we met at what used to be the famous Hernando's Hideaway restaurant in the Beverly Wilshire Hotel as it was being closed down. He explained the significance of this historic bar and restaurant owned by Hernando Courtright and how it was used to promote Californio culture. Hernando's Hideaway was a symbol of what called Carey McWilliams called the Spanish fantasy past of Los Angeles. Although it was named after Courtright and established in 1961, it was often associated with the show tune by the same name from the 1954 movie *The Pajama Game*.¹ During the days of lifeless talking head lecture halls, creating unique

¹ Marylouise Oates, "Last Hurrah for Hernando's Hideaway," *Los Angeles Times* (April 25, 1988).

community building learning experiences was a profoundly humanistic and, dare I say, revolutionary act.

Even as I was doing dissertation research in Mexico during 1989 and 1990, I was able to travel with Jim and attend meetings and conferences with him. This included a memorable meeting with Ambassador John Negroponte which provided me with a brief first hand look into fortress that is the U.S. Embassy and inside the den of the notorious career diplomat who oversaw the militarization of Honduras and the destabilization of Nicaragua, and would later become a key operative in the invasion and occupation of Iraq.

Particularly memorable was a driving trip through Morelos that my partner, Julie Kaup, and I took with David Lorey and Jim. Leaving from our house in Cuernavaca we traveled to Tepotzlán and then south to several ex-haciendas and *balenarios* in the region. Throughout the trip, we heard stories of the region from his college days at Mexico City College in the 1950s. On that trip we stopped at the ex-hacienda in Chiconcuac. Although it was closed and boarded up, we went onto the desolate property and were met by the caretaker. Undeterred and with the caretaker's old rifle pointed at us, he explained to us the history of the hacienda and then critiqued the well-known ethnography by Eric Fromm and Michael Maccoby that was set at the ex-Hacienda of Chicocuac. Jim explained his efforts to expose the location of the study to challenge the notion that this was a "typical peasant village" since it was right off the main highway.²

Jim fostered an important community and collaboration among students. He urged us to work together and help each other. He encouraged a form of community building and chain mentoring before

² Eric Fromm and Michael Maccoby, *Social Character in a Mexican Village: A Socio-psychoanalytic Study* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970).

mentoring became a fad in higher education. David Lorey and Aida Mostkoff were crucial academic guides to me in the graduate program and Arturo Grunstein introduced me to the Archivo General de la Nación. I made lasting academic and personal friendships with them as well as with several others including Edgar Iván Gutierrez, Carlos Contreras, Eric Schantz, and Martín Valadez. In our discussions and seminars, Jim discussed previous students and their works in ways that made us feel that we were also connected to them. I especially remembered being inspired by hearing about the work of three of Jim's former students. The stories about María Herrera Sobek's important M.A. thesis, which later was published as *The Bracero Experience: Elitelore versus Folklore* (1979), drove home to me the value of transnational research done by Latinas/os and Chicanas/os building on their personal and familial experiences.

I had similar feelings hearing about and then reading Oscar Martínez's *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez Since 1848* (1978) and Carlos Gil's *Life in Provincial Mexico: National and Regional History as Seen from Mascota, Jalisco, 1867-1972* (1983). These scholars went on to write several foundational books on Mexico, the Borderlands, and in Chicano/a/Latino/a Studies and have mentored numerous students. While I have yet to meet these three scholars, they were an early part of my academic community and gave me a concrete example of transnational approaches before transnationalism became fashionable.

Opening Doors to the Ivory Tower

In his irreverent egalitarian way Jim provided significant opportunities to many students. He took the apprenticeship model of higher education to new levels. Unlike many of his colleagues, he was quick to point out elitism and embraced those of us who would not at first

glance be deemed “PhD. material.” In the process, he provided me and others with financial and moral support and opportunities for growth in our teaching, research, and presentations.

Jim’s encouragement of research and student projects helped me to develop confidence in my research and in my ideas. During my last year as an undergraduate student, he urged me to join his two-quarter research seminar on historical statistics. In that first seminar, I developed a paper on the history of voter participation in Latin America that built on the historical time-series of the Finnish political scientist Tatu Vanhanen. Once the class was over, Jim encouraged me to expand the paper. I spent the summer revising it, and he published it in the *Statistical Abstract of Latin American (SALA)*. That article and the times-series that I constructed were, until recently, my most widely cited publication.³

Throughout my graduate career, I benefited from the opportunities I had working on the *Statistical Abstract of Latin American*. The time that I worked as Jim’s co-editor, with David Lorey on two volumes and then by myself on one, gave me invaluable editorial experience. I came to understand how creative scholarship and analyzing statistical data can both add to and distort our understandings of Latin America. Jim treated me as an equal during our editorial sessions. He was always open to my adding new data sources to SALA, and he encouraged me to publish two more articles, one on statistical sources in Nicaragua and another measuring Mexico’s food supply written with Aída Mostkoff.⁴ The formality of mentor/mentee was often broken during our

³ Enrique C. Ochoa, “The Rapid Expansion of Voter Participation in Latin America: Presidential Elections, 1845-1986,” in *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, vol. 25 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1987).

⁴ Enrique C. Ochoa, “A Guide to Quantitative Research on Nicaragua Since Independence,” in *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, vol. 27. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1989); and Aida Mostkoff and Enrique C. Ochoa. “Complexities of Measuring the Food Situation in Mexico: Supply versus Self-Sufficiency of Basic Grains,

breaks which sometimes included trying to keep up with him swimming in the ocean off of Malibu.

Jim Wilkie provided me and other students with opportunities to give lectures and T.A. in his classes. I remember leading more than a few classes in his Mexican Revolution and Latin American History courses. Several years after leaving UCLA, I met a new CSULA graduate student who told me about how being an undergraduate assistant in his Latin American Elite Lore class influenced her decision to graduate school. This student, Dr. Lani Cupchoy, then received her MA with us at CSULA and recently finished her Ph.D. at UC Irvine. Such opportunities instilled confidence in many of us who would not otherwise have thought about going to graduate school, let alone becoming professors.

The numerous conferences and working groups that Jim organized always included an interdisciplinary group of academics, opinion leaders, and public officials from the U.S. and México. Through the *Ciclos y Tendencias* series of conferences and publications, I learned first-hand the value of presenting research and engaging with a broad group. I enjoyed hearing the critical feedback and questions that came from a number of distinct viewpoints. While many of my counterparts at other universities were presenting to U.S.-based historians, Wilkie's students were forced to think through our research with Mexicanas/os who were immersed in the lives and processes that U.S. scholars often write about without much thought. It was a humbling, challenging, and highly informative experience that helped me to think more deeply about my research, positionality, and the ethics of research. In 1994, Jim invited me to organize, with David Lorey, a conference in Mexico City on agricultural and food policy. We brought a number of Mexican academics

1925-1986," James W. Wilkie ed. *Society and Economy in Mexico* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1990).

working in Mexico City, Zacatecas, Guadalajara together with a few U.S.-based scholars and published the papers as *Estado y Agricultura: Antecedentes e implicaciones de las reformas salinistas* (UAM, 1994). These conferences taught me crucial lessons about the value of conference spaces that transcend disciplinary boundaries and how the work of a historian can influence public policy.

Adapting the Wilkie Pedagogy for an Urban Public University in Neoliberal Times

Jim Wilkie's innovative, irreverent, and public scholarship provided me with a model on how to navigate an alien institutional structure in creative ways. This enabled me to link my own ideas of teaching, research, and activism that were influenced by my parents to my work in the institution. Subsequently, I have built on these approaches, through critical dialogues with my sister Gilda Ochoa, a feminist sociologist and Chicana/o/Latina/o Studies scholar, who has helped me to draw on the lessons of feminist and other critical approaches to teaching and researching.⁵ This has shaped my view of the academic trinity of teaching, research, and service in a critical and holistic way that transcends the institution.

My career has been shaped by the growing corporatization of the public university that has been characterized by the infusion of competition and market-based discourse, budget cuts, rising tuition, and

⁵ See, for example, the works of Ira Shor, *When Students Have Power: Negotiating Authority in a Critical Pedagogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994) and *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Gilda L. Ochoa and Enrique C. Ochoa. "Education for Social Transformation: The Intersection of Chicana/o and Latin American Studies with Community Struggles," *Latin American Perspectives* 31:1 (January 2004).

the exclusion of working class students of color. At the same time, there has been a constant and virulent anti-immigrant assault that has deeply affected the community of East Los Angeles and the greater L.A. area in which I live and work. It is in this context that I seek to employ a radical approach to teaching and research that draws on the assets and *otros saberes* that students bring to the classroom. This often entails working with students to remember what schools and society in the U.S. (and in México and Centroamérica) teaches us to forget.

I aim to make my classes and research relevant to issues in local communities. The main emphasis of my teaching in recent years has been on developing an interdisciplinary, transnational, and intersectional focus for my classes. This has led me to seek ways to transcend a traditional disciplinary and regional focus, and center students' creativity and different ways of knowing by offering alternative assignments that foster community engagement, group work, and student-designed projects. I have paired my classes with a variety of local social justice organizations, including the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), the Central American Resource Center's Daily Labor Program (CARECEN), Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), and community-based food sovereignty projects. In each of these efforts, I encourage students to link their previous knowledge to course materials and to the projects that they create with their classmates. This approach is premised on the belief that the classroom can be transformed by the experiences, knowledge, and creativity that students bring with them; the classroom is both an epistemological site and a potential site of transformation.

A central goal of my work is to engage a broad public in the dialogue of history and education and its uses in society. I have written several articles for general audiences, academic magazines and blogs,

local newspapers, and political blogs. I have also been influenced by Jim's approach to interviews and oral histories and have conducted several with scholars and activists.⁶ I have worked to link my research to key issues affecting society. My book, *Feeding Mexico: The Political Uses of Food Since 1910* (2000), examined the politics of state intervention in the economy and its connection to the rise and demise of the social welfare state over the twentieth century. In recent articles, I address the ways that dominant ideologies and the formation of academic disciplines marginalize indigenous and campesino food cultures in favor of a westernized industrial diet while at the same time appropriating and repackaging traditional Mexican foods.

My recent work in critical Mexican food studies builds on the policy and economic history I learned with Jim Wilkie and applies it to recent decolonial studies. In "From Tortillas to Low- Carb Wraps: Capitalism and Mexican Food in Los Angeles Since the 1920s," I show how the adaptive nature of capitalism leads to a refining of colonial praxis, such that the tools of industrialization, nutrition science, and marketing become new methods for colonizing maize and delinking it from Mexican culture and history.⁷ My book manuscript in progress, "Manufacturing Mexican Food and Malnutrition: The Neoliberal Assault on Mexico's Food Systems," examines how neoliberal policies have led to a booming private food industry in Mexico while at the same time

⁶ Enrique C. Ochoa, "'We Can't Assume Our Alliances; We Have to Work for Them:' Angelica Salas Discusses Immigrant Organizing in the Context of September 11th," *Radical History Review* 93 (Spring 2005); Enrique C. Ochoa and Fernando Mejia, "Nourishing Communities and Consciousness at the Grassroots: An Interview with Carlos Ortez of Un Solo Sol Kitchen in Boyle Heights," *Diálogo: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Spring 2015); "Pensador y Luchador: Una Entrevista con Sergio de la Peña," with Edgar Iván Gutiérrez, unpublished ms. (November 1993).

⁷ Enrique C. Ochoa, "From Tortillas to Low-Carb Wraps: Capitalism and Mexican Food in Los Angeles Since the 1920s," *Diálogo: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Spring, 2015); Enrique C. Ochoa, "Political Histories of Food" in Jeffrey M. Pilcher eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

exacerbating malnutrition and creating a major obesity crisis. My research on food in the Mexicano/a community of Boyle Heights explores the ways grassroots groups are reclaiming indigenous Mexican foods and health using decolonial discourses that seeks to both improve nutrition and regenerate communities.

Jim's lessons of following one's passions and challenging intellectual boundaries has stayed with me throughout my career. They have encouraged me draw the connections between Latin America and Latinos/as in the U.S. I have developed this approach in my co-edited book *Latino Los Angeles: Transformations, Communities, and Activism* and in articles on the U.S. Mexico borderlands and on immigration to Los Angeles. My recent co-edited journal issue, "Reframing Immigration in the Américas" for the interdisciplinary journal *Diálogo*, underscores the significance of a hemispheric and intersectional approach to immigration.⁸ Much of my approach to critical immigration studies has been influenced by my attention to the roles that U.S. imperial policies and capitalist development play in the migration process and by my close work with immigration rights organizations, most recently as a board member of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles.

Since those early day in Jim's creative classes, I have developed and written about my approaches to critical pedagogy. This entails documenting and reflecting on the work that I have done in collaboration with immigrant rights groups, labor organizations, and schools to foster a discussion about history and its relevance to current issues and

⁸ Enrique C. Ochoa and Gilda L. Ochoa (editors). *Latino Los Angeles: Transformations, Communities, and Activism* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005); G.L. Ochoa, E. C. Ochoa, and S. Portillo eds. "Reframing Immigration in the Américas," *Diálogo: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Fall 2015); and Enrique C. Ochoa and Gilda L. Ochoa. "Hacia una perspectiva interseccional y continental de las luchas por los derechos de migrantes en Los Angeles" in Manuela Camus eds. *La fuerza de presencia: En torno de la migración, la pobreza y el género* en (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2013).

struggles. I am a frequent workshop presenter on critical multiculturalism, globalization, and social justice in K-12 classrooms, at universities, for teacher in-services, and for community organizations. I have also worked with community organizations and schools on research, outreach, and curriculum projects. This has led to several publications including peer-reviewed articles, two special journal issues, and articles for more popular publications.⁹ Most recently, I have been deeply involved in with two large Southern California school districts in the creation and implementation of an Ethnic and Gender Studies curriculum. For me, a critical component of the implementation of Ethnic Studies programs in the schools has been developing a broad inclusive process that reflects a critical Ethnic Studies ethos and pedagogy.

My work with Jim Wilkie at UCLA provided me with an important example of a creative and publically engaged scholar who sought to broaden and deepen academic discussions. It opened new doors to me and afforded me the intellectual space to take risks and imagine a creative and democratic approach to teaching that connected with and deepened the radical traditions with which I was raised. I have been able to build on this foundation by drawing on radical and feminist pedagogies and learning from students and community activists. Doing so has taught me the importance of my work with working class Latina/o students and students of color in helping them to remember what U.S. society has taught them to forget. I am constantly enriched and nourished by these interactions in ways that remind me of what I first learned in Jim's classes: that knowledge is produced everywhere and that my role is to foster spaces of critical engagement to help facilitate this process.

⁹ Ochoa and Ochoa, "Education for Social Transformation;" Enrique C. Ochoa and Yvonne M. Lassalle eds. "History and Critical Pedagogies: Transforming Consciousness, Classrooms, and Communities," special issue of *Radical History Review*, vol. 102 (Fall 2008); Enrique C. Ochoa and Julio C. Pino (editors), "Critical Approaches to Teaching Latin America," special issue of *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 31:1 (January 2004).

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**My choice of Professor Wilkie as dissertation advisor validated
my plan to analyze the bracero program:
A continuation of work and analyzing new complexities**

Manuel García y Griego
University of New Mexico

Preface

Even as an aspiring graduate student I was aware that choosing where to study for one's doctorate was, in effect, choosing a dissertation advisor. I was fortunate to have more than one option of where to do my doctoral studies, but I chose to go to UCLA because my goal was to work with Professor Wilkie. In the meantime, I had been finishing a master's thesis in demography as a student at El Colegio de México,¹ where I first met Jim in 1976, who was visiting there to find out about new studies underway, and he was an enthusiastic and helpful listener as I discussed my work.

I knew I wanted to write a dissertation on Mexican migration to the United States, but was unsure whether it would be a work of historical demography, of political history, or something related. At that point it seemed likely to me that my dissertation would be based on the analysis of quantitative data or focus on the formulation of migration policies and their impact. My focus also was contemporary Latin America, with an emphasis on Mexico. Professor Wilkie was the appropriate person to work with based on my interests and the

¹ Later published as *El volumen de la migración de mexicanos no documentados a los Estados Unidos (nuevas hipótesis)* (Mexico City: Centro Nacional de Información y Estadísticas del Trabajo, 1980).

likely direction my graduate work would take. His own early work had focused on measuring the social consequences of Mexican government policy under the regimes that followed the Revolution. I knew of his reputation as early as 1972 when I spent a quarter on field study at UCLA.

As is the case with many of us who start a dissertation, I plunged in at least two different directions, which I abandoned to everyone's benefit, before settling on writing about the U.S.-Mexican politics and diplomatic relations during the bracero program.

When I began my doctoral studies in the UCLA Department of History in 1977, I found that Jim's teaching would influence me, just as it had when I had read (and continue to read) his publications. Both encouraged me to think broadly, to look closely for the connections between public policies and social consequences, to stress broad trends and read between the lines in assessing the information I uncovered during my research.

Jim also encouraged me (as he did all his graduate students) to strike out in a direction that suited my personal interests and temperament, even if the topic was not an area that touched directly on his own work. Indeed, as he himself put it, in graduate students he was looking for leaders, not followers. That flexibility on his part is something I treasured then and, after an academic career that is now in its fourth decade, I now appreciate even more.

My first academic appointment in 1982 was as *profesor e investigador* at Mexico City's El Colegio de México—not in the Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano, where I had been a student, but at the Centro de Estudios Internacionales, CEI.

Moreover I also was appointed coordinator² of the CEI U.S.-Mexico Program, which put me in close touch with historians and political scientists who worked on international politics and focused on U.S.-Mexican bilateral relations. That appointment also influenced my work, and I was able to see the intellectual importance of writing about how domestic and bilateral politics influence migration and migration policy responses. Ultimately, it drew me to the theoretical and historical literature on bilateral cooperation, the focus of my dissertation, which I completed in 1988,³ and to which I return in this paper.

In 1991 I was hired by the University of California, Irvine in the Department of Politics and Society. In 1999 I moved to the University of Texas at Arlington in the Department of Political Science and as a director—no longer a coordinator—of the Center for Mexican American Studies. While there I was co-principal investigator with three colleagues from Southern Methodist University conducting field research on the comparative integration of immigrants in the the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Ten years ago I returned to the state of my birth and to the field of my doctoral work—history (contemporary Mexico and U.S. West). I hold a joint appointment in the Department of History and in the Department of

² As Jim later suggested to me, in his view Mexican academic institutions have been reluctant for perhaps historical reasons to name “directors” as in the United States, but has preferred to limit the title to “coordinators,” presumably placing that administrator in the position of being first among equals. It also may serve to discourage the creation of academic empire builders who soon create sub-groups that receive unequal treatment. Jim noted that appointing “coordinators” has inhibited strong leadership, limits the kind of calculated risk taking essential to advancing the intellectual enterprise, and, not unrelated to the topic of this paper, promotes suboptimal outcomes and half-hearted cooperation.

³ Larry Manuel García y Griego, *The bracero policy experiment: U.S.-Mexican responses to Mexican labor migration, 1942-1955* (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, UCLA 1988).

Chicana and Chicano Studies. My work on my dissertation with Jim has brought me full circle.

The dissertation focused on the development of rules of joint administration of the bracero program which I characterized as a “bilateral regime.” Jim’s comments and suggestions were numerous, including changing the title to the “bracero policy experiment.”

Recently I have turned to a more ambitious project to re-examine U.S.-Mexican relations during the bracero period, in part to assess how the bracero program influenced the bilateral relationship. My contribution to this volume is the first result of this project.

When I wrote the dissertation in the mid-1980s, I was struck by the manifold patterns of conflict within and between competing government ministries on each side of the border. I did not have an explanation for such matters then but have developed new interpretations since.

In contrast to the dissertation, here I seek to more fully describe selected instances of conflict and cooperation and to explain them as instances of what I call “half-hearted bilateral cooperation.” In part this characterization follows from comparing the type of interaction one sees between Mexican and U.S. senior leaders at the presidential and cabinet level on the one hand and between mid-level officials with operational responsibilities on the other. I stress that although the bilateral agreement formally was between the two national governments, members of the U.S. Congress, employers, and workers intervened in ways that complicated their best intentions to define mutual goals and to cooperate wholeheartedly. My major point is that between World War II and the beginning of the Korean conflict, the

bracero agreements failed to meet most of the tests one might apply to a cooperative bilateral undertaking.

Given that, the central puzzle is why the two governments did not abandon negotiations and go their own way. The answer is manifold, and it goes beyond the notion of insufficient intentions to work together constructively. There also were the unintended consequences of politically expedient decision making and their “satisficing,” that is, following a decision-making strategy that aims for a satisfactory or adequate result rather than the optimal solution.⁴ Those patterns of cooperation turn out to be more complex than simply giving up on getting the most one can get. My work with Jim Wilkie (who always asked me to consider complexities in history) helped prepare me to identify these as important questions and to develop approaches for answering them.

Introduction

World War II and the years immediately following constitute a watershed in U.S.-Mexican relations.⁵ The three decades before U.S. entry into the war had witnessed U.S. military intervention and bilateral disagreements over property losses by Americans in Mexico between the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and the nationalization

⁴ This is because aiming for the optimal solution may require needless expenditure of time, energy and resources. The term can wrongly imply that not much effort is put into finding a solution. Not so. The managers of the bracero program engaged in amazingly strenuous efforts to get things right by their lights. “Optimal” is not equivalent to the ideal goal of any one party; it is the maximum possible that could be achieved between them. “Satisficing” achieves something short of that. The term was coined in 1956 by Herbert A. Simon. Simon, *Administrative behavior: a study of decision-making processes in administrative organizations* 4th ed. (New York: Free Press, 1997).

⁵ Although I have thanked Jim, above, for decades of advice and help, I want to thank here the University of New Mexico for support which made the research for this paper possible.

of oil corporations (1938). The war years marked the beginning of a sharp reversal.

Although Mexico had been perceived to be an adversary during World War I (1917-1918), it became a strategic ally for the United States in the second world conflict. To the astonishment of the Mexican public—significant elements of which were sympathetic to the Axis Powers—the Mexican government openly sided with the United States.⁶

Between April 1941 and May 1942 Mexico authorized U.S. use of air bases, arranged to export raw materials to U.S. military industries, ordered the closure of German, Italian, and Japanese consulates, severed relations with the Axis, froze those countries' funds in Mexico, and declared war on the Axis Powers. The two governments established a mutual defense committee that oversaw U.S. military listening posts along Mexico's Pacific coastline and managed the use of Mexican airspace by U.S. military aircraft.

The two governments also began to put their house in order with respect to pending bilateral issues. They settled U.S. claims arising from the oil nationalization over the opposition of U.S. oil companies and the claims for other U.S. property losses on terms that allowed for Mexico to make compensation over a number of years. They approved treaties regarding the division of waters from rivers that cross their mutual boundary and formalized a new consular convention.⁷ Over the course of the year and a half after the attack on

⁶ Blanca Torres, *Historia de la revolución mexicana*; vol. 19 *México en la segunda guerra mundial* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1979), pp. 65-73; Howard F. Cline, *The United States and Mexico* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), pp. 261-282.

⁷ *La salinidad del río Colorado: una diferencia internacional* (Mexico City: Archivo Histórico Diplomático, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1975) 13-15, 90-114.

Pearl Harbor, they also reached an agreement, later referred to as the “bracero program,” which sent Mexican workers for fixed periods of time to U.S. farms and railroads. To a degree that no one could have reasonably expected a decade earlier, at war’s end the Mexican public had a positive image of both the United States government and its leaders.

The wartime migration agreement contributed to this improvement in public perception of bilateral relations. Migration was an issue that presented overlapping concerns for both governments and that seemed to be best addressed through policy coordination and cooperation. Each government expected to manage Mexican labor migration according to its own priorities obviously, and each sought to obtain the assistance of the other government to that end. But with the possible exception of the war years (1942-1945 and 1950-1953), migration did not actually address a primary need for either government. It was only during those years that migration commanded sustained interest by senior leaders (presidents, department secretaries) in either country. Thus the mid-level officials responsible for operational bureaus within each government were relatively free to express serious reservations to their superiors about the problems they encountered in the implementation of the bracero agreement, though senior leaders expected their subordinates to muddle through.

Between 1942-1952 migration matters were marked by intense governmental interaction, sharp conflict, and what I call “half-hearted cooperation.” These interactions laid bare striking differences in how U.S. and Mexican bureaucrats responded to the issues that policy implementation presented. They included decisions about who should

bear the various costs associated with labor migration and where administrative flexibility should end and adhering to the strict letter of the agreement should begin. Differences also emerged between the bureaus within each national government.

The two national governments also had different levels of sensitivity to incidents of racial discrimination, the steady growth of unauthorized migration, and unfavorable publicity about both. In part those differences arose from the experiences the two governments had had with the international migration of Mexican workers in the years before World War II.

The start of labor migration from Mexico to the United States is associated with the construction of railroads in Mexico and the U.S. in the 1880s and with the arrival in Mexico of labor recruiters from the United States. Commercial farmers in California and Texas and their labor agents added impetus to the flow between 1900 and 1930. The restriction of immigration from Asia, and later from eastern and southern Europe in the 1920s spurred additional immigration from Mexico. By 1930 between 700,000 and one million Mexicans resided in the United States, depending upon what assumptions one makes regarding census misclassification and undercounting.

The period between U.S. entry into World War I and the Great Depression was a crucible for the emergence of U.S. and Mexican policy responses to the later movement and presence of Mexicans in the United States. In response to emigration during those years Mexico adopted changes in its Constitution and federal statutes that required labor recruiters to specify the terms of employment to Mexican emigrant workers and to pay for transportation. When the U.S. entered World War I in 1917, it suspended its immigration

requirements to encourage the temporary admission of Mexican agricultural workers. Mass migration followed, not just of temporary farm workers, but of families who populated small towns and urban centers in Texas and California. A decade later, when the U.S. Congress passed a bill to limit Mexican immigration with arguments that Mexican immigrants were undesirable, the Mexican government objected and Herbert Hoover vetoed it.

Immigration came to a halt and reversed direction at the onset of the Great Depression. In response to demands by Americans that their government save jobs for citizens, the U.S. stepped up the expulsion of unauthorized Mexican workers, and municipal governments repatriated destitute families to Mexico. A young Mexican consular officer assigned to Los Angeles, Rafael de la Colina, observed this first hand. (In the 1940s, during the first years of the *bracero* program, he would assume the role of a senior official and *chargé d'affaires* in the Mexican Embassy in Washington.) As Francisco Balderrama, Raymond Rodríguez, Fernando Alanís Enciso and others have noted, Mexican immigrants were caught between a hostile American society that pressured them to leave and a Mexican environment of poverty and of minimal support from the Cárdenas administration.⁸

By the late 1930s the Mexican government, especially the foreign ministry (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, SRE) had developed a critical perspective regarding the self-interested manner

⁸ Francisco Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, *Decade of betrayal: Mexican repatriation in the 1930s* rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 119-158; Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso, *Que se queden allá: el gobierno de México y la repatriación de mexicanos en Estados Unidos, 1934-1940* (Tijuana, BCN and San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte and El Colegio de San Luis, 2007).

in which U.S. employers and government officials had treated Mexicans. Ernesto Galarza, an official of the Pan American Union could have been speaking for the Mexican foreign service when in 1943 he wrote, “Many of us remember how after [World War I] and for many years after the workers who had been lured up north by promises of high pay and good living conditions were dumped back without thought of their welfare.”⁹ The opportunity to apply that perspective in policy making came in 1942.

U.S. industries had begun to recover as the federal government stimulated production to meet war-time challenges. Thus began a mass migration of domestic agricultural workers to higher paid jobs in industry and, after December 1941, a movement into the armed services.¹⁰ Sugar-beet and cotton farmers were the first to experience a diminished labor pool and rising wages, and they pressured state and federal government agencies and Congress to act.

Five instances of half-hearted cooperation

An executive fait accompli and a legislative backlash

In August 1942 the United States and Mexico concluded the agricultural migratory worker agreement that since has come to be known as the *bracero* program. Changes in bilateral relations that made this agreement possible became evident when, after a contentious presidential election, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration almost immediately recognized the official party

⁹ [Galarza] to Martin 15 May 1943, Pan American Union correspondence, 1941-1943. Ernesto Galarza Papers M0224 Stanford University Special Collections.

¹⁰ *New York Herald Tribune* 24 May 1941, p.7; *Washington Post* 26 June 1941, p. 10.

candidate, Manuel Ávila Camacho, as President-elect. Vice President Henry Wallace led a delegation of U.S. officials to the December 1940 inauguration, and met with Miguel Alemán, Secretary of Gobernación (and future president). That meeting, and the work of the U.S. Embassy laid the basis for much of the wartime military cooperation discussed above.¹¹

Migration did not get serious consideration in those discussions. Eighteen months later, under pressure from farm interests, members of Congress concerned with the interstate migration of destitute citizens and representatives of U.S. agencies began to explore the possibility of recruiting workers from Mexico. Through their embassies, the U.S. State Department (DOS) and SRE began to discuss a possible agreement, fully aware that migration had been a serious bone of contention in previous years. The Mexican response was to demand time for Gobernación and the Labor Ministry (Secretaría de Trabajo y Previsión Social) to study the issue. As Ambassador Messersmith informed his superiors in Washington, the careful examination of this proposal by Mexican officials was “not through any lack of desire to cooperate.”¹²

The labor agreement adopted by the two governments in August 1942 was more responsive to Mexican concerns than would be the case of any subsequent bracero agreement. As required by Mexican legislation, the employer was to pay for transportation and expenses from the contracting center in Mexico to the worksite and

¹¹ Henry Wallace to Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) 26 Dec 1940. Official File, 146 Mexico 1938-1940, FDR Presidential Library, Hyde Park, NY.

¹² As quoted in Johnny Mac McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations, 1942-1947* Ph.D. dissertation in history, University of Texas at Austin 1970, p. 27.

return. Mexico insisted that contracting centers be located in the interior of the country away from the northern border. It prohibited the sending of Mexican workers to regions where discrimination against Mexicans was known to exist. In this manner, the entire state of Texas was barred from receiving contract laborers during the war; after 1947 that ban continued in many counties in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, depending on the results of local investigations.

Mexicans were to receive the same wages as U.S. laborers for comparable work but no less than \$.30 per hour, and they were not to be used to displace domestic workers or to depress wages. Employers were to provide the same housing, subsistence allowance, and health and accident insurance benefits as provided to U.S. workers in the area. (Apparently Mexican negotiators were unaware that such labor protections did not exist for domestic workers in the states where braceros were sent, and perhaps not in any state of the Union.) No deductions were permitted from wages other than to a savings fund which would be made available to the worker on his return to Mexico. Mexican consular officials were to use their offices to assist and protect workers. The Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture was the legal employer; growers subcontracted with the FSA and reimbursed it for some costs. Finally, it was understood that although the U.S. admitted immigrants under existing law, in deference to Mexican legislation on the matter, the bilateral agreement would serve as the exclusive means for the migration of

temporary non immigrant Mexican agricultural workers.¹³ Nearly 170,000 Mexican workers were contracted between 1942 and 1945.¹⁴

In April 1943 the U.S. and Mexico expanded this arrangement and agreed to supervise the migration of non agricultural (mostly railroad maintenance-of-way) workers.¹⁵ Although the management of this second program differed in some respects, employment also was governed by a bilateral agreement and individual work contract, and both governments had operational and monitoring responsibilities. Unlike the agricultural program, railroad recruiting stopped at war's end. By September 1945, 135,000 Mexican workers had been employed.¹⁶

From the U.S. perspective the migratory labor agreements addressed three different concerns. One was to respond to employers who urgently needed labor just as demand for production and railroad transport was rising sharply. Another was to preempt a national labor shortage expected as a result of the growing war economy, and to avoid production bottlenecks in food, fiber, and transportation. (Also at this time the U.S. arranged for the recruitment of agricultural workers from the British West Indies, most of whom were employed in the east coast.¹⁷)

¹³ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, pp. 30-32.

¹⁴ Manuel García y Griego, "The importation of Mexican contract laborers to the United States, 1942-1964: antecedents, operation, and legacy" *The border that joins: Mexican migrants and U.S. responsibility*, Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, eds. (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1983), p. 58.

¹⁵ Barbara A. Driscoll, *The tracks north: the railroad program of World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

¹⁶ Transcription, "Summary record of results of importation of Mexican railroad workers," attached to Of. 7794 de la Colina to SRE 27 Sep 1945 f. 107. Archivo de la Embajada de México en Estados Unidos de América (AEMEUA) 1451-22, Archivo Histórico Diplomático, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE), Mexico City.

¹⁷ Wilbert E. Moore, "America's migration treaties during World War II," *Annals of the American Academy of American Political and Social Science* v.262 (March 1949): 34.

A third concern can be inferred from the domestic politics of having pursued an executive agreement without consulting farm employer organizations. The farm labor program would eventually need a congressional appropriation, which would require House oversight. The FDR administration chose to involve friendly members of Congress and the Farm Security Administration (FSA) of the Department of Agriculture, a New Deal agency engaged in seeking to improve the working conditions of farm laborers, sharecroppers, and small-scale farmers. The Secretary of Agriculture led the U.S. delegation that reached the executive agreement in 1942. In this manner the Administration presented the agreement to Congress as a *fait accompli*. The operation without a congressional appropriation in the first year was made possible by financing from the president's emergency fund.

The Secretary of Agriculture and the Farm Security Administration may also have seen the agreement as a vehicle to raise worker income in agriculture. Incomes were low in that sector in part because Congress had refused to include agricultural labor in federal minimum wage legislation. Charged both with transporting Mexican workers and providing various types of assistance to domestic marginal farmers, the FSA could attempt to set similar standards for domestic agricultural labor.¹⁸ For U.S. officials in the executive branch, then, the agreements with Mexico had multiple purposes.

The Mexican government also saw the bilateral labor agreements as potentially achieving important objectives. Workers' employment would be regulated by enforceable contract as required

¹⁸ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, pp. 74-75.

by Mexican legislation for emigrant workers. The U.S. government would be a party to the contract, facilitating its enforcement. Mexico would have a say on how many, where from, and where to these workers would go and how they could be treated. The employer practice of recruiting and discharging workers according to whim would be curbed.

The bilateral agreements thus constituted an instance of extraordinary migration cooperation. Senior officials of the U.S. government were seriously concerned that “labor shortages” would lead to production bottlenecks, sharply rising wages, inflation, and serious repercussions at a critical time. Agriculture was especially vulnerable because domestic workers fled this low-wage sector for highly-paid union jobs in defense industries. For their part, despite contrary interpretations based on much later Mexican official attitudes, senior Mexican officials did not look forward to sending workers to the United States. But they had two decades of experience with north-bound labor migration. By early 1942 news reports of high-paying jobs in the U.S. were drawing Mexicans to U.S. consulates for visas and many more were going north with the hope of crossing illegally as “wetbacks,” the term used in U.S. and Mexican newspapers, U.S. official documents, and apparently in polite conversation. The migration agreement, therefore, offered the possibility of substituting a flow of contract laborers supervised by governments for an uncontrolled migration of Mexicans crossing the border on their own.

There were three other parties essential to the operation of these agreements, however, whose interests diverged significantly from those presented by Mexican and U.S. diplomats in 1942: U.S.

employers, members of the U.S. Congress, and Mexican workers. Unlike the agricultural program, the railroad recruitment agreement did not outlast the war and the concerns of those employers are not discussed here.

Agricultural employers, especially those who had hired unauthorized workers in Texas and California, did not see a reason to assume the burden of paying for worker transportation from the interior of Mexico, to fix a signature on an enforceable labor contract, or to put up with Mexican government demands that local discrimination be stopped. Racial discrimination could expose the farmer to the risk that she or he would lack access to or lose Mexican laborers for reasons outside of his control. The local coffee shop might refuse to take down its sign indicating it did not serve “Negroes” or “Mexicans.” The schools, government buildings, or recreational facilities could be segregated. Local residents might (and did) treat the Mexican consul as they would any other Mexican or an African American, unaware that the consul’s report of an unsatisfactory racial atmosphere would almost certainly lead to a decision to refuse to send Mexican workers to that county. Racial hostility of this type was more common in Texas but it also was prevalent in some California communities and elsewhere.

Congressional representatives could be counted on to act on the behalf of employers and to create legal loopholes that would allow them to legally hire workers from Mexico without these restrictions. They also could be counted on to reduce the annual appropriation of the Border Patrol and to pressure officials in the executive branch who dealt with the Mexican government.

By the same token, not all Mexican workers shared the view held by their government that a bracero contract provided substantial worker benefits and that being employed without it was tantamount to legalized slavery. Accustomed to a lightly-manned U.S. Border Patrol and inconsistent enforcement, growing numbers of workers crossed the border without a contract, especially into south Texas (the region often referred to as the Lower Río Grande Valley).

Employers, members of Congress and workers each voted in their own way against the agreement—at the ballot box, in legislative halls, and with their feet.

The first serious challenge to the joint administration of the agricultural labor program arose in the spring of 1943 when the House adopted H. J. Res. 96. This appropriations bill included a long list of agricultural provisions, two of which directly challenged the existence of the bracero program. One specified that congressional funds would not be used to regulate agricultural wages and hours. This attacked the bracero program which did have a (low) minimum wage and it challenged the possibility of an implied extension of wage and worker protections to domestic agricultural workers.

The other created a legal alternative to the bilateral recruitment program: any native-born resident of the Western Hemisphere seeking to gain admission to perform agricultural labor would be exempt from provisions of immigration law that otherwise would bar them. Technically, the U.S. already had such authority and had used it in 1917 during World War I. The purpose of inserting this provision, then, was to communicate congressional intent. H. J. Res. 96 quickly passed the House and crossed over to the Senate. The chairman of the Senate subcommittee reviewing the appropriation bill publicly noted

that the House intent “clearly” would have Congress “annul” the agreement “entered into with the government of Mexico.”¹⁹

The first measure in H.J. Res. 96 was amended to permit appropriations for the bracero program despite its wage provisions and to otherwise prohibit the federal regulation of agricultural wages for domestic labor. The second was adopted and approved by the Senate. Under its terms farm employers would not be obligated to pay transportation or meals for workers. Neither did it involve close government scrutiny except at the port of entry nor did it contemplate a role for foreign governments to negotiate on behalf of workers. House Joint Resolution 96 was enacted as Public Law (P.L.) 45 on April 29, 1943.

There were other changes in the law that affected the bracero program less directly. After severely criticizing the FSA for attempting “to bring about an amelioration of social conditions” for domestic farm workers, the House of Representatives voted to eliminate its entire appropriation and abolished it.²⁰ The Senate agreed, and the orphaned bracero program was moved to a newly created War Food Administration, whose principal purpose was maximizing agricultural production. P.L. 45 also repealed the contract labor exclusion of the 1880s, which contained the only federal statute that penalized labor smugglers. In this manner, Congress removed one instrument the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) could use to constrain unauthorized immigration. Smugglers would not face federal prosecution until Congress re-instated anti-smuggling

¹⁹ U.S. Senate, *Agricultural farm labor program; hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations on H. J. Res. 96* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943), p. 70.

²⁰ *Baltimore Sun* 18 Mar 1943, p1.

provisions in 1952 in lieu of the employer penalties desired by Mexico.²¹

As required by P.L. 45, INS issued regulations to govern the operation of the unilateral recruitment program. INS ruled in May 1943 that Mexicans could be admitted for agricultural labor merely on the basis of the presentation of a birth certificate or other limited documentation. The results were immediate. Labor recruiters for commercial agriculture and the railroads crossed into Mexico and began bringing workers into the United States. Hundreds of workers also presented themselves at the border and were admitted under P.L. 45, that is, without *bracero* contracts, and in the absence of Mexican government supervision. Preliminary reports indicated that average agricultural wages in the Lower Río Grande Valley plummeted from \$3.50 to \$1.00 per day.²² The Mexican government protested the action, indicating that it would refuse authorization for its nationals to leave for agricultural work and take action toward closing the border.

The State Department wrote the INS that the new procedure threatened the viability of the bilateral program and could lead to undesirable consequences in relations with Mexico. This provided INS with the bureaucratic cover it needed to issue new instructions now indicating that Mexican nationals could only be admitted as agricultural workers under P.L. 45 with the written consent of the Mexican federal government.²³ In this manner the executive branch maintained the monopoly of Mexican agricultural labor under the

²¹ Copy, Of. 3971 Castillo Nájera to SRE 19 June 1943 f. 57. AEMEUA 1451-22, SRE.

²² [Galarza] to Martin 15 May 1943 and [Galarza] to Matthew Woll 30 June 1943, Pan American Union correspondence, 1941-1943, Galarza Papers Stanford University Special Collections.

²³ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, pp. 140, 142.

bilateral agreement and neutralized the effort by Congress to secure Mexican labor outside it. In so doing, it averted a crisis with Mexico and maintained the framework of cooperation established in the previous year. Nevertheless, the program would no longer be administered by the FSA, the preferred agency of the Mexican government, and Congress would take other opportunities to challenge the arrangement.

Not all Mexican officials were satisfied. Mexico's Ambassador in Washington recommended the temporary suspension of the program to assure that Mexico's priorities be met.²⁴ Higher Mexican officials, however, held a different view. Despite the uncertainties raised by the move of the bracero program to the War Food Administration, the program was not interrupted.

During the first year of the labor agreement, then, one can find both instances of cooperation and conflict. Agencies within each national government had their own motives and concerns. Sharp differences were articulated between the legislative and executive branches in the United States. Minor differences were visible at this point between operational and senior level officials in either country. For the United States a positive bilateral relationship with Mexico had acquired significant value in itself. That attribution was high enough that FDR's *fait accompli* would weather adverse grower lobbying, congressional displeasure, and bureaucratic indecision.

²⁴ Copy, telegram 81 Castillo Nájera to SRE 24 June 1943 f. 66. AEMEU 1451-22, SRE.

Unilateral contracting at El Paso, October 1948

The transition to postwar contracting was a challenge for both governments. The wartime bracero agreement had instituted a government-to-government program whose transportation and other logistical costs were borne by the U.S. taxpayer. Some growers and the Mexican government desired to continue the program, but the U.S. government made it clear that it could not continue as a government funded operation in peacetime. The challenge lay in that relatively few growers were willing to meet Mexico's requirement to pay for worker roundtrip transportation and expenses between their farms and the Mexican contracting center, which might be Monterrey, Guadalajara, Aguascalientes or Guaymas. (Mexicali was the only border contracting station authorized by Mexico in 1948; that was of little help to Texas growers who were in urgent need.) The location of the contracting centers became a major issue. In effect, growers wanted migrant workers to assume these costs—something workers willingly paid for when they migrated to the U.S. without a contract.

The Mexican government had its reasons for refusing to establish contracting centers in Mexican border towns, with the one exception noted. The first reason was opposition of Mexican commercial farmers in the north, who discovered that the bilateral program siphoned away their labor force. This was especially true in Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Coahuila.

A second reason was the opposition of border city government officials, whose small population centers and limited infrastructure left them unprepared to cope with the arrival of several thousand young men from distant places in the Republic. Some bracero

candidates would arrive far in advance, seeking to find a place in the queue that would increase the likelihood of getting a labor contract. (Others sought to increase their chances by paying a bribe to Gobernación officials who ran the centers.)

The third reason was that the the number of men who showed up typically exceeded the number of contracts available, leaving hundreds of denied candidates considering their options. If the contracting center was located at a border community, these frustrated candidates would find it a simple matter to cross illegally into the United States. For all these reasons in 1948 the Mexican government repeatedly rebuffed requests to establish one in Ciudad Juárez.

The year 1948 also was an especially challenging time for cotton farmers in south Texas and New Mexico. They had greatly expanded areas of cultivation under the mistaken assumption that the end of the war would bring an end to the labor shortage. In September some Mexican radio stations gave wide publicity to false rumors that a contracting center would be opened in Ciudad Juárez. In response, more than a thousand workers arrived there by early October. Fearing they would have to plow under thousands of acres of cotton, New Mexican farmers petitioned the state governor for help in getting Mexican labor. The governor sent a representative to his Mexican counterpart in Chihuahua to plead the case for a Juárez contracting station. At the Chihuahua governor's request, the Secretaría de Gobernación acceded to a temporary opening of a Juárez center for 2,000 workers.

Apparently no one on the Mexican side anticipated that once the news became public, more workers would show up, swelling the number of waiting candidates to about 7,000. They probably did

expect that the officials sent to administer the contracting center would be adequately prepared. Not so. An announcement informed the public that contracting would begin on Monday, October 11. For three days, however, nothing happened: no support staff showed up, no office equipment necessary to process forms could be seen, and the director and other officials could not be found. Several thousand restless men provoked incidents. Police, then army regulars were called to restore order. When the Mexican consul at El Paso showed up he could not find anyone in charge. Farm Placement Service officials of the United States Employment Service (USES) could not locate the director either.²⁵ (I use the terms “Farm Placement Service” and “USES” here indistinguishably to refer to the U.S. bureau responsible for bracero operations.)

When the U.S. officials finally met with the Mexican administrators they apparently were told that unless Mexican workers received a substantially higher wage than that previously approved, no workers would be issued contracts. The lead Farm Placement Service administrator objected strenuously. “These Mexican officials, he later told the Associated Press, ‘were pointing a pistol at the American farmers’ head. It was an outright breach of the labor agreement’.”²⁶

Acting quietly, U.S. labor agents “moved around among the braceros, passing the word that anyone who wanted to work could go to a shallow place in the river and wade across. Trucks would be

²⁵ Copy, “Informe concentrado de los sucesos registrados en esta frontera, relacionado con nuestros braceros,” Raúl Michel to SRE attached to Of 5519 Michel to Mexican Embassy 21 Oct 1948 ff. 246-253. AEMEUA 1453-1,SRE.

²⁶ *Rocky Mountain News* 18 Oct 1948, p.26.

waiting, nobody would get in trouble, the U.S. authorities would understand.”²⁷

INS district director Grover Wilmoth issued an unprecedented order to have Border Patrol officers detain migrants as they crossed but not have them expelled. Instead, he had the Farm Placement Service process the workers who then turned them over to farmers and labor agents waiting nearby on buses and livestock trailers to transport them to the fields. This continued until October 18th. Most workers were distributed to cotton growers from southern New Mexico and Texas west of the Pecos River. A few hundred were sent to Arizona. Others were distributed to agents of Colorado sugar beet companies, who then transported them to Colorado, Wyoming, and points north. The total number of workers, according to documentation later furnished the Mexican government, was somewhat over 7,000 workers.²⁸

Officials in Mexico City digested news reports, El Paso consul Raúl Michel’s despatches, and the recommendations of the SRE official responsible for bracero affairs who happened to be traveling along the border at the time. Earlier in the week Relaciones Secretary Torres Bodet had declined to respond to reporters’ requests for comment other than to inform that this matter would be addressed directly by President Alemán. On October 18 chargé d’affaires Rafael de la Colina delivered a stiff note to the State Department, charging the U.S. with a flagrant violation of the agreement, declaring it null and void. The Embassy also indicated that effective immediately,

²⁷ *Time* 1 Nov 1948, p. 38.

²⁸ “Informe concentrado de los sucesos registrados en esta frontera,” Michel to Mexican Embassy 21 Oct 1948, ff. 246-253. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE.

expiring bracero contracts would not be extended. Immediately, then, Gobernación began shutting down existing contracting centers in Mexicali, Guaymas, and Monterrey. One bus with 130 braceros in Monterrey was stopped as it left the contracting center and the workers told the agreement had been suspended and that they should go home. The Mexican Army deployed units along the Ciudad Juárez region to dissuade workers from crossing without a contract. The press was informed that there would be a delay in the naming of a new ambassador to the United States.²⁹

Contracting ended on Monday October 18 when INS director Wilmoth issued an order to halt the recruitment of illegally entered Mexican workers. As he explained, “all applications for Mexican labor approved by the United States Employment Service have been filled,” and thereafter, “aliens who [entered] the U.S. illegally [would] be turned back to Mexico.”³⁰

Inquiries sent by Mexican consulates to regional USES and INS offices asking where workers had been sent, who had contracted them, and what had been the terms of employment were met with evasive responses. The regional Farm Placement representative in Denver replied curtly that the Mexican government should be assured that the sugar beet workers would “receive the same treatment and service from the United States Employment Service as any other group of migrant workers.” The INS officer in charge in Denver

²⁹ *Excelsior* 18 Oct 1948, p. 1; *Excelsior* 19 Oct 1948, p. 1; copy, circular 7200 Francisco Villagrán to consulados de jurisdicción 21 Oct 1948 ff. 261-263. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE; *San Antonio Express* 21 Oct 1948 attached to Of. 4772 Miguel Calderón to SRE 21 Oct 1948 f.122. AEMEUA, SRE; Michel to SRE 15 Oct 1948 f. 201-204. AEMEUA 1453-1 SRE; *El Continental* (Cd. Juárez) 20 Oct 1948, f. 151 attached to Of. 23 Michel to SRE 25 Oct 1948. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE.

³⁰ *El Paso Herald Post* 18 Oct 1948, p. 1.

responded to the local consul that since the workers had been contracted in El Paso and not in Mexico, his office lacked jurisdiction and that the consul should seek information elsewhere. The El Paso USES director responded to the consul's inquiry indicating that his "superior officers in the United States Employment Service have been kept fully informed of activities in connection with our attempts to get contracting under the International Agreement effected in Ciudad and Juárez [sic], and I am, therefore, forwarding your letter to my superiors for appropriate action and reply."³¹ Though INS director Wilmoth assumed responsibility for issuing the order that made it possible to contract workers unilaterally, he also informed the press that his decision had been cleared with the INS office in Washington, D.C. He denied, however, speculative reports that President Truman had directed him to take this action. His action did attract the attention of the White House, which informed DOS, INS and USES that it wanted to be kept informed in the future about bracero matters.³²

Mexico received an apology from the Department of State, which promised an investigation and corrective action. SRE declared itself satisfied with this response. In the aftermath SRE allowed some exceptions to permit extending bracero contracts as they expired, despite the earlier announcement to the contrary. Conversations to

³¹ Transcription, Clinite to Denver Consul Suárez 19 Oct 1948, attached to copy, Santiago Suárez to El Paso Consul General 20 Oct 1948 f. 131. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE; John F. Hamaker, Denver INS office to Suárez 15 Oct 1948 f. 222. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE; copy, Will Rogers to Michel 18 Oct 1948 f. 229. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE.

³² *El Paso Herald Post* 20 Oct 1948; *El Paso Times* 21 Oct 1948, both news articles attached to copy, Of. 23 Michel to SRE 25 Oct 1948, ff. 167, 172. AEMEUA 1453-1, SRE. In 1950 a DOS

officer noted that the White House had expressed an interest in monitoring important developments in bracero affairs "following the 'El Paso incident' of 1948." Rubottom to Barber 18 July 1950. RG 59 Central Decimal File (CDF) 811.06(M)/7-1850, National Archives, College Park, MD.

reach a new agreement began early in 1949 but did not come to a quick resolution. A new agreement was finally concluded on August 1, 1949.

During this period of no agreement the Mexican and U.S. governments did not abandon negotiations despite the difficulties in bridging the differences among grower interests, U.S. congressional pressure, and SRE's insistence on salvaging as much as possible the provisions of the 1942 bilateral accord. For the U.S., abandoning negotiations would have meant either accepting Mexico's veto of contract labor and tolerating indefinitely a growing unauthorized migrant flow, or contracting workers unilaterally over Mexico's objections (and perhaps still have substantial numbers of workers enter illegally). Although the Farm Placement Service might have preferred a unilateral contracting arrangement such as had been contemplated under P.L. 45, the State Department did not support this option, fully aware of the potential costs in other areas of the relationship with Mexico. During the nine months while they negotiated without an agreement, the INS let up on enforcement to allow growers to have the harvest workers they needed.

For its part, Mexico did not abandon negotiations, probably for two reasons. On the one hand it had reason to believe that the State Department and the White House could overrule or run interference with USES and INS. On the other, exercising significant influence over the conditions of migration would only be possible through a bilateral agreement. This second reason calls to mind the maxim, *más vale un mal arreglo que un buen pleito*: better to settle for a bad arrangement than to have a great fight. Better to have half-hearted cooperation, perhaps, than none at all.

In the immediate postwar years both governments were eager to maintain a friendly atmosphere of cooperation. They had negotiated or were negotiating a trade agreement, stabilizing the peso, establishing airline routes, and achieving a settlement of Mexico's lend-lease accounts. The same month that workers were being drawn to Ciudad Juárez the director general of Mexico's oil monopoly was trying to arrange a loan for laying down pipelines and constructing refineries. The previous year Mexico and the United States had joined efforts to eliminate hoof-and-mouth disease which, if spread across the border, would have devastated the cattle industry.³³ Geographical propinquity, combined with what observers later would call economic interdependence obligated each government to calculate carefully where and how to disagree. In 1948-1949 those calculations seemed to favor hard bargaining in migration matters—not backing away from negotiations altogether.

An agreement that worked (for a short while)

The August 1, 1949 agreement was signed nine months after the termination of the 1948 accord and its implementation demonstrated serious attempts at flexibility punctuated by occasional differences. The chief protagonist supporting cooperation on the U.S. side, not surprisingly, was the Department of State. The chief U.S. source of conflict in the fall of 1949 was the Farm Placement Service, responding to farm employers and defending its interpretation of the

³³ U.S. Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States (FRUS)1947* vol. VIII *The American Republics* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1972) pp. 779-786, 811-813; *FRUS 1948* vol. IX *The Western Hemisphere* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1972) pp. 603-644.

agreement. Archival sources are not as explicit about bureaucratic differences of opinion in Mexico. SRE and Gobernación played the major roles both in Mexico City decision making, and in operations at the contracting centers within Mexico and in the field in the United States. Conflict with regional and local Farm Placement Service officials arose at the contracting centers and in the field. SRE and Gobernación officials in Mexico City sometimes overruled their subordinates. More frequently they approved requests made by the Farm Placement Service through DOS and the U.S. Embassy to allow exceptions to the Agreement or accepted practice that made for a smoother operation of the program but that also benefited farm employers.

One way in which cooperation was evident was the manner in which the two governments handled delays in employer certifications and requests by south Texas employers for shorter labor contracts. The agreement specified that the Mexican government could withhold bracero workers from counties in which evidence of discrimination was found after a joint investigation by the Mexican consulate and the Farm Placement Service. In August and September 1949 SRE authorized the contracting of workers for employers in Missouri and Arkansas, despite delays by the U.S. in providing the necessary certifications. In response to one incident, the U.S. Embassy admonished Farm Placement officials via telegram noting a “genuine desire on part Foreign Office to cooperate in avoiding delays,” and suggested that “difficulties can best be settled by avoiding

publicity.”³⁴ In November the Embassy again noted that SRE “has without exception acted with greatest promptness on all requests for clearance of laborers and notifies contracting centers of approval or disapproval by telegram.”³⁵ South Texas employers had a history of employing large numbers of illegal entrants and USES asked for shorter, six-week labor contracts as an incentive for them to hire braceros instead of unauthorized workers. SRE conditionally approved this exception to the four-month contract rule and in October 1949 expanded the geographical area where these shorter contracts would be permitted.³⁶

There are more instances of Mexican than U.S. flexibility in October 1949. One example of U.S. flexibility can be seen in its response a Mexican government action when it expanded the literal meaning of the 1949 agreement to require that employers post bonds for discrimination or non compliance with contracts that had been entered into before August 1949. The Farm Placement Service protested to DOS that this action violated the agreement. DOS concurred but held off on presenting it to SRE. A week later USES thought better of the proposed protest and deferred action. Perhaps Farm Placement officials accepted the DOS position that there was little to gain by insisting on correcting small deviations from the

³⁴ Telegram 1011 from U.S. Embassy in Mexico City (AmEmbassy) 26 Aug 1949; airgram A-827 from AmEmbassy, 1 Sept 1949. Both documents in RG 183 Farm Labor Committee Reports, State Department Communiqués, National Archives, College Park, MD.

³⁵ Telegram 1257 from AmEmbassy 17 Oct 1949; telegram 1304 from AmEmbassy 31 Oct 1949. RG 183 Communiqués, NA.

³⁶ Telegram 1288 from AmEmbassy 27 Oct 1949; copy, Wilson to L’Heureux 28 Oct 1949. RG 183 Communiqués, NA.

agreement when SRE had been willing to permit substantially larger deviations in response to U.S. requests.³⁷

When conflict arose in the fall of 1949, it generally took the form of the Farm Placement Service pressing on behalf of one of its own officials or an employer, DOS raising the matter informally and receiving a detailed Mexican response, and then in turn pushing back on USES through the Embassy in Mexico City and the Mexican Desk in Washington. An acute example arose in the context of Mexico's response to a farm employer representative who, according to SRE, had mistreated workers and who also, in the words of U.S. Ambassador Thurston, had treated Mexican officials in "an insulting manner." In late August SRE informed the Embassy that it would furnish workers to organizations associated with this individual only on the condition that he be removed from having direct jurisdiction over Mexican workers. The Mexican government even would permit the employment of braceros on his property provided the contracts were signed by someone else, but would not deal with him directly.

U.S. Embassy officials brought up with the SRE the Farm Service complaint that the Agreement did not allow either government to issue instructions for their officials refuse to have interactions with someone. The Embassy was rebuffed, and a list of egregious acts presented. The Farm Placement Service legal counsel nevertheless insisted on preparing a written complaint specifying how these actions violated the terms of the agreement. The Mexican Desk of the State Department argued against delivering the formal complaint. "Mexico has been highly cooperative in many ways," DOS

³⁷ Airgram A-769 from AmEmbassy 21 Oct 1949; Telegram 949 to AmEmbassy 28 Oct 1949, RG 183 Communiqués, NA.

wrote the Farm Placement Service. USES was reminded that Mexican authorities had “agreed to several exceptions to the letter of the agreement, which were entirely to the advantage of American growers. It is therefore the opinion of the Department of State that our government should go no farther in [this protest] since to do so might easily result in much less satisfactory conditions affecting the agricultural workers program generally.”³⁸

This period of relative cooperation was not without instances of both governments taking action contrary to the spirit of the recently adopted August 1949 agreement. At the same time that U.S. and Mexican officials held conversations that concluded with the Mexican acceptance of the shorter six-week contracts, the efforts of the Border Patrol to detain and expel migrants “slackened considerably.” Once satisfactorily concluded, the U.S. Consul in Reynosa noted that the local Border Patrol chief expected “to receive instructions any moment to step up the program of picking up [unauthorized migrants] and their families for deportation.”³⁹ U.S. officials seemed more than willing to let up on border enforcement as a means to allow Lower Río Grande Valley employers access to “wetbacks” and perhaps to pressure Mexican officials at the bargaining table, though there is no evidence that Mexico registered this pressure.

In like manner, Mexico did not always accede to USES authority in the determination of wages. When USES made a preliminary determination that a farm wage was at a certain level and then subsequently corrected it downward, Mexican officials refused

³⁸ Airgram A-805 from AmEmbassy 26 Aug 1949; Paul J. Reveley to A. W. Motley 6 Dec 1949, RG 183, Communiqués, NA.

³⁹ Copy, Edward S. Benet to Ambassador Walter Thurston, 20 Oct 1949. RG 183, Communiqués, NA.

to adjust the contracts at the lower level if they had been already certified at the higher one. Similarly, when a high wage was approved for one stage of farm work and a lower one for a subsequent stage, Mexican officials refused to sign off on the the contract adjustment. This led to an exchange of diplomatic notes on the subject but did not escalate beyond that.⁴⁰ Both governments tried to put a positive face on the new agreement. As USES noted in response to another controversy, “We will continue to take steps whenever the occasion arises to point out the splendid cooperation we have received from the government of Mexico.”⁴¹

Neither government saw the operation of the program as ideal; in practice it was significantly short of what each would have wanted. The question is whether this form of cooperation yielded results that were optimal; that is, did it produce the best arrangement that could have possibly been obtained. Some observers believed it to be so. When DOS pushed USES to be more flexible in the face of minor Mexican infractions it underscored that the U.S. had obtained significantly more than minor adjustments not contemplated by the agreement. In other respects, for both the Farm Placement Service and the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, they wanted to do better and the many small actions they took in the actual operation of the agreement suggests they saw the possibility of a better arrangement, though whether that arrangement would be better for both governments is a matter of interpretation. I suggest that they eventually settled for what was “good enough” because perhaps they

⁴⁰ Telegram 1355 from AmEmbassy 19 Nov 1949; Airgram A-959 from AmEmbassy 7 Oct 1949. RG 183, Communiqués, NA.

⁴¹ As quoted in airgram A-681 to AmEmbassy 16 Sep 1949. RG 183, Communiqués, NA.

lacked the resources to pursue all the other alternatives possible that might have yielded that better arrangement. This, I would argue, is one element of what I call half-hearted cooperation.

Expedient responses and unauthorized migration

In the first year of the bracero program (fiscal year 1943) INS apprehended slightly more than 8,000 unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the United States. Two years later that number rose to nearly 64,000 and it rose again to 500,000 in the second year of the 1949 bracero agreement (FY 1951).⁴² Thus, in the first period apprehensions multiplied eightfold; in the second, another eightfold.

That explosive growth overstates somewhat the actual growth of unauthorized migration from Mexico. Apprehensions are events, not individuals, and many persons were expelled for illegal entry more than once in any given year. Even though the actual growth in unauthorized migration does not correspond exactly to apprehension numbers, however, it was obvious to contemporaneous observers that the number of Mexicans entering illegally grew rapidly.

It is well established that the bracero program of the 1940s stimulated unauthorized migration despite the stated goals of both governments to curb it. Migrants, whether contracted or not, brought back stories (sometimes leading to exaggerated expectations) of high wages. Besides the stories, the money these returning migrants brought with them was compelling evidence to rural folk still recovering from the Revolution, the *Cristero* Rebellion and the

⁴² García y Griego, "The importation of Mexican contract laborers to the U.S., 1942-1964," p. 58.

Depression. Not surprisingly, the contracting centers often received more candidates than the number of available jobs, leaving those denied to weigh whether to return home empty handed or to go north without a contract. The politically expedient policies and practices of both governments did not present much of an obstacle to that migration and some of them indirectly encouraged it.

The decision made by U.S. and Mexican authorities in 1946 to allow unauthorized migrants to apply for a bracero contract without leaving the United States had this unintended effect. The logic behind this proposal was straightforward. Rather than add to the labor pool with newly contracted braceros, putting migrants already in the U.S. under contract first would decrease the unauthorized component of the labor force. As the labor market became regularized, demand for new workers would lead to hiring at the contracting centers in the interior of Mexico. Employers saw this as a way to transportation costs and provide them with known and reliable workers. U.S. officials initially saw this as a reasonable expediency.

Mexican officials had their own motivation for this practice. Gobernación was finding that municipal governments placed roadblocks in the way of setting up contracting centers in their towns. Giving unauthorized workers contracts was expedient from their point of view also. And, of course, workers saw this as desirable. It would save them the trouble of returning to Mexico, standing in line, getting a contract if they were lucky, and traveling back to the United States.

Instead of *substituting* for unauthorized migration, however, this practice *stimulated* it.

In 1947-1949, 142,000 unauthorized workers were given contracts in the United States, while merely half that number were

contracted in Mexico.⁴³ Thus, in those years the bracero program served as a vehicle to legalize workers already in the United States rather than to contract them in Mexico. The likelihood of getting a bracero contract may have been substantially higher for Mexicans who had entered illegally than for those who had followed the proper channels and showed up at a contracting station in Mexico. The 1951 President's Commission on Migratory Labor report observed that this form of legalization created an incentive for unauthorized Mexican migration, both on the worker's and the employer's part.⁴⁴ (In 1950 Truman had created the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, partly in response to dissatisfaction with the bracero program by organized labor.)

The contrary position, that the bracero program substituted for unauthorized migration, was nevertheless presented by its advocates. This view assumed explicitly that since migrants would respond to labor demand one way or the other, establishing a legal avenue would channel migrants into the bracero program, who otherwise would enter without a contract. It also assumed, though implicitly, that employers (and workers) would prefer the legal to the illegal avenue (which in the late 1940s turned out not to be the case). (The 1950s would present a different picture. Bracero contracting doubled from roughly 200,000 to 400,000 per year in that decade, and apprehensions plummeted from one million to less than 50,000.⁴⁵)

⁴³ Robert D. Tomasek, *The political and economic implications of Mexican labor in the United States under the non quota system, contract labor program, and wetback movement*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1957, p. 206.

⁴⁴ [U.S.] President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Migratory labor in American agriculture*, March 1951, p. 58.

⁴⁵ Manuel García y Griego, "Policymaking at the apex: international migration, state autonomy, and societal constraints," *U.S. Mexican relations: labor market interdependence*,

The point, then, is that the bracero program could and did substitute for unauthorized migration. It did not do so, however, in the period analyzed in this paper (1942-1952).

The management—or more appropriately the mismanagement—of unauthorized migration policy constitutes an outstanding example of a half-hearted cooperation that produces undesirable outcomes for both parties (reminiscent of a negative-sum game). Both governments agreed on a goal and its rationale: unregulated border crossings could lead to the displacement of domestic workers and wage depression, therefore joint action to prevent such migration was required. Accordingly, they agreed to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border, each on its own side: a relatively small Border Patrol force on the north and the occasional appearance of Mexican Army units on the south. Farmers were required to post a bond to insure their cooperation in returning workers to Mexico. The bracero agreement allowed officials to deny contracts to farmers who had employed unauthorized workers. Far from discouraging employers from repeating such hires, however, it increased the demand for such workers. As previously discussed, Mexico resisted U.S. calls to establish contracting centers at the border, in part to discourage unauthorized emigration. The two governments thus adopted weak and sometimes self-defeating policies whose explicit purpose was to promote contract labor and discourage illegal border crossings, but whose results often pointed in the opposite direction.

This is noteworthy, because Mexico and the United States had other important reasons to make serious efforts to contain

Jorge A. Bustamante, Clark W. Reynolds, and Raúl A. Hinojosa Ojeda, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 103.

unauthorized migration. The movement posed a public relations and political nightmare for both. Mass illegal migration was characterized as an “invasion” in the United States. Critics focused on the waste of taxpayer money, noting that one set of bureaucrats apprehended Mexicans migrants and sent them home at government expense while another set of bureaucrats recruited them at government expense to bring them back. In Mexico, uncontrolled emigration was viewed as an indictment of the Alemán regime’s insufficient support of agrarian reform for small farmers and sharecroppers. In both countries the growing number of apprehensions suggested that the two governments lacked the basic competence to manage what outside observers viewed as a simple effort to transport and distribute agricultural workers. Unauthorized migration led U.S. and Mexican observers to question whether the agreement provided the benefits advertised. Sensitive questions about national priorities rose and public support for the program fell.

Though both governments had significant motivation to act to curb unauthorized migration, this did not translate to consistent practices or sustained cooperation. On the U.S. side, Congress was a major source of the problem. In 1946 Congress drastically cut the appropriation for INS.⁴⁶ Vacancies were left unfilled for extended periods. Two years later the San Antonio INS district reported that it had finally reached its full complement of 175 Border Patrol officers after filling 35 long-standing vacancies.⁴⁷ A similar situation prevailed along the Mexican border in California. In 1950 the Border Patrol had 225 men to patrol 185 miles between the Arizona

⁴⁶ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, p. 298.

⁴⁷ *San Antonio Express* 8 Dec 1948, p. 1.

mountains and the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁸ In 1952 members of Congress from border states took the lead in further reducing Border Patrol appropriations. As Ernesto Galarza sarcastically observed, “With the purse half shut the gate could remain half open.”⁴⁹

Throughout these years members of Congress put pressure on the executive branch to weaken border enforcement and undermine bilateral migrant cooperation. In the summer of 1944, Senator Carl Hayden complained about stepped up enforcement in Arizona, noting that farmers “urgently needed the workers,” and asked “the INS to refrain from deporting the wetbacks.”⁵⁰ During a similar effort in south Texas, growers protested to Senator Tom Connally, who in turn asked the State Department to “urge the INS to reduce its activities and make only ‘token’ deportations so that the farmers could continue to use the wetbacks.”⁵¹

Earlier, in 1943 Congress had abolished the FSA and sought to create a unilateral recruitment program to allow farmers to employ workers without the bilateral agreement’s obligations. Seven years later New Mexico Senator Clinton P. Anderson introduced a bill for a similar purpose, which USES and DOS dutifully opposed as contrary to the bilateral agreement.⁵² In the previous year Texas growers had asked Texas Congressman Lloyd Bentsen to explore filing a lawsuit in order to secure a federal court judgment to strike down the bilateral agreement. The legal argument suggested was that it was the responsibility of Congress, not the executive, to make such

⁴⁸ *New York Times* 27 Mar 1950, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of labor: the Mexican bracero story* (Charlotte, NC: McNally and Loftin, 1964) p. 61.

⁵⁰ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, p. 309.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁵² Barber to McFall, 19 Apr 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/4-1950, NA.

agreements.⁵³ These interventions by members of Congress were responses to concerns expressed by commercial farmers who individually or in cooperative associations employed large numbers of unauthorized migrants.

The willingness of members of Congress to challenge the bracero agreement and even to advocate the non-enforcement of immigration laws in part was the consequence of the prominent position held by many of those farm employers in the 1940s and 1950s. A statement published in the *Congressional Record* in 1952 noted that former Texas Governor Shrivvers, county judges, retired attorneys and prominent business owners owned farms where significant numbers of “wetback” workers had been employed.⁵⁴ That owners of commercial farms are people with influence should surprise no one. Their demands on U.S. senators and representatives helps explain the appropriations battle over funds to the Border Patrol and the half-hearted efforts by the United States government to restrain unauthorized migration.

Not surprisingly, Border Patrol enforcement was not only weak and inconsistent, it was occasionally deliberately so. The pattern had been established earlier, and was especially noteworthy during the nine-month period when there was no agreement (November 1948-July 1949). In correspondence to the Mexican Desk of the State Department, a senior official of the INS reported that “to avoid crop losses from time to time, pending arrangements to recruit farm laborers under the agreement with Mexico or during negotiations for

⁵³ Thomas C. Mann, Memorandum of a telephone conversation, 8 Mar 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06 (M)/3-850, NA.

⁵⁴ Tomasek, *The political and economic implications of Mexican labor*, p. 215.

such agreements, growers have been permitted to retain needed laborers pending their formal recruitment under the agreement.”⁵⁵ A close reading of this sentence suggests the discomfort of this senior INS officer who reluctantly conceded having issued instructions to not enforce the law (“from time to time,” “growers have been permitted to retain . . . laborers”) and presented a string of rationalizations (“to avoid crop losses,” “pending arrangements to recruit,” “during negotiations for such agreements,” “needed laborers”).

There is striking but scattered evidence to suggest that INS non enforcement along the Lower Río Grande Valley was not limited to periods when the bilateral agreement had been suspended or when negotiations were underway. One contemporaneous observer of migration who maintained close relationships on both sides of the border was Edward Benet, U.S. consul in Reynosa. In August 1949 he noted in writing that it was well known that the U.S. immigration authorities “did little or nothing to prevent ‘wet-backs’ from entering the Valley during the cotton-picking season and made only token efforts to round up the ‘wet-backs’ until the harvesting was over.”⁵⁶ The south Texas newspaper, *Valley Evening Monitor* in an August 1950 editorial acknowledged that immigration enforcement was not based on a 24-hour patrol, but a “seasonal patrol that relaxes its vigilance at times when wetbacks are welcomed to the U.S. to help

⁵⁵ Cited in Robert C. Hayes, “Mexican migrant labor in the United States; historical notes on the bracero problem.” Division of Historical and Policy Research, Department of State, Dec 1950.

RG 59 CDF 811.06(M), NA.

⁵⁶ Despatch 17 from Reynosa, Tamps., by Benet 15 Aug 1949. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/3-850. Copy attached to despatch 17 from Reynosa 9 Aug 1950, RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/8-950, NA.

harvest crops.”⁵⁷ The same editorial also noted that the INS denied such relaxation took place.

For its part, the Mexican government assumed commitments under the agreement to reduce the north-bound migration of its nationals lacking necessary documentation. The actions taken to uphold those commitments were feeble at best. There is no evidence, for example, that it investigated or actively sought to discourage travelers traveling to border towns with the apparent purpose of crossing illegally. What it did do was encourage the publication of newspaper stories and radio news reports that told of the hazards of crossing the border and of the exploitation by unscrupulous employers that awaited them. Mexico also accepted the commitment to transport migrants expelled by the INS from the northern border to points in the interior, with the obvious intent of discouraging repeated attempts at illegal entry. But its record on this score is spotty.

Taking action to prevent nationals from leaving, apart from moral and constitutional considerations, was not a practical. One may wonder why Mexico committed to it. My explanation is that it is part of a logical outcome of a negotiation in which both governments accepted a common goal despite having vastly different resources and capabilities to address it. The Mexican government probably considered that it could not very well not agree, on paper at least, to doing something about unauthorized emigration. Here is another instance of half-hearted cooperation which results from not acknowledging those different resources and capabilities. It was

⁵⁷ “Can it be enforced?” (editorial) *Valley Evening Monitor* (McAllen, TX) 8 Aug 1950, attached to despatch 17 from Reynosa, Tamps. by Edward Benet 9 Aug 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/8-950.

politically expedient for Mexico to commit to something it could not do in practice, and expedient for the U.S. to demand it.

Mexican officials did exhort U.S. officials to enforce U.S. immigration law more stringently. By the late 1940s they explicitly advocated for employer sanctions (penalties to discourage employers from hiring unauthorized workers). This also was a proposal also recommended in 1951 by the President's Commission on Migratory Labor. The U.S. response to these exhortations was to shift the blame to Mexico, pointing out, as an INS deputy commissioner did in June 1944, that Mexico had not met its own commitments in this area.⁵⁸ That same month the Mexican government agreed to penalize and prosecute labor smugglers and to “reinforce the border with the help of its military forces.”⁵⁹

In the fall of 1944, rudely awakened to the existence of unauthorized migration as a serious problem, the INS initiated efforts to round up “wetbacks” and unceremoniously dropped them off at the Mexican border. Many of these migrants detained in southern California were taken to Tijuana or Mexicali—even though most of them originally had come from Mexico's central states. This created a problem for the Mexican government. Mexicali and Tijuana were small towns in 1944 without viable transportation to central Mexico. (Prior to the coastal highway Mexican travelers to Baja California typically went to El Paso and then west within the United States.) In late fall 1944 Mexico's border officials abruptly shut the border and denied entry to these expelled migrants, forcing the INS ultimately to cease its apprehensions program. In January 1945 Mexico also agreed

⁵⁸ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, p. 303.

⁵⁹ Tomasek, *The political and economic implications of Mexican labor*, p. 205.

to transport expelled workers from the border to points in the interior, but failed to carry out its commitment. In response INS reduced its enforcement efforts, recognizing, according to Johnny McCain, that workers dropped off at border cities would simply make a new effort to re-enter illegally.⁶⁰

In the summer of 1950, as the program was nearing a crisis, reports surfaced that small units of the Mexican army had been deployed along the Tamaulipas-south Texas border in order to dissuade illegal crossers. The commander of one such unit met with U.S. consul Benet and lamented that he only had 200 men at his disposal and no motorized vehicles. Nevertheless, a McAllen Texas *Valley Evening Monitor* headline blared “Mexican Army may halt wetbacks,” and the report observed that Mexico’s motivation lay in keeping some labor for its own cotton growers in Tamaulipas and Coahuila.⁶¹ A SRE press release informed the Mexican public that enforcement was taking place “on both sides of the border,” implying with this language that Mexican army patrols were still in operation.⁶²

The presence of small army units without vehicles and the wide publicity that accompanied it strongly suggest a public relations exercise rather than an enforcement action. Evidently, the Mexican government was not interested in dissuading migrants by physically intimidating them at the border or apprehending workers for violating Mexican emigration law. The only logical audience for such publicity would have been informed readers of Mexican newspapers who would have criticized their government for inaction and, perhaps to a

⁶⁰ McCain, *Contract labor as a factor in United States-Mexican relations*, pp. 314-316.

⁶¹ *Valley Evening Monitor*, 19 June 1950 p. 1, attached to despatch 46 from Reynosa, by Benet, 21 June 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M) 6-2150, NA.

⁶² Telegram 99 from AmEmbassy 27 Jul 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/7-2750, NA.

lesser extent, U.S. public opinion. It is quite unlikely that migrants would have been dissuaded by these news reports. They would give greater credence to information obtained from their village networks about the hazards and possibilities of migrating without a contract. For their part, as diplomatic correspondence makes clear, U.S. officials were not fooled into believing that these actions constituted serious dissuasion.⁶³

The failure to take consistent and effective action on both sides of the border is an outstanding example of half-hearted cooperation.⁶⁴ Especially obvious in this instance are the mixed motives of each government. Both Mexico and the United States had objective interests in suppressing unauthorized migration and both publicly opposed it. But both governments also benefited from such migration in the short run and at certain points in time, and both acted on the basis of expediencies that over the long run accelerated this flow.

It is doubtful that either government in the early years fully anticipated those consequences, though it is the nature of expedient acts that these often produce counterproductive results in the long term. Going easy on south Texas enforcement during harvest time or in the absence of a bilateral agreement helped U.S. political leaders keep the peace with growers and not incidentally weakened Mexico's bargaining position to prevent the legal emigration of braceros under terms desired by farm interests. Proposing the contracting of workers

⁶³ I have not found in the Mexican and U.S. diplomatic correspondence of this period an acknowledgment that using force to stop migrants would have presented Mexico with significant constitutional and political problems, though the sporadic nature of Mexican army patrols and their limited resources is implicit evidence that the Mexican government did not want to test those possibilities.

⁶⁴ There is reason to believe, in light of data on apprehensions and migration obtained much later, that border patrols by themselves would have been an ineffective check on these border crossings, and the point here is not to suggest otherwise.

in the United States instead of expelling them saved transportation costs and allowed Mexico to defer the opening of contracting centers because of local opposition. Deploying a few army units and giving them press attention generated positive public relations without the attendant costs that would have arisen from arresting substantial numbers of Mexicans for the “crime” of seeking a better livelihood across the border.

International relations theorists will see in this case both free rider and prisoner’s dilemma problems. The failure to uphold commitments *did* provide short-term benefits to each party and both parties *did* lose in the long run from having acted on the basis of short-term self-interest. But these particular self-interested actions were not usually taken at the expense of the other party. Although field officers of the two countries often did not share each other’s outlook or assumptions about what would contribute to growing unauthorized migration, it was not the absence of cooperation that led to negative results. To the contrary: there was plenty of communication and some policy coordination that produced policies that were ineffective and counterproductive.

Half-hearted cooperation is not just about the intentions of the governments but about their capacity (or incapacity) to carry out their commitments because of a policy framework which is to some extent self-defeating. It is correct to note that in part the negative results in the form of large-scale unauthorized migration resulted from the renegeing of commitments made to the other government (and to domestic constituencies) to carry out border enforcement. Renegeing on commitments is about intentions. But the negative results also were the unintended negative consequence, not of failing to cooperate, but

of creating a framework to cooperate in a specific way; the outcome of a bracero program design that stimulated rather than substituted for unauthorized migration. This was an instance where third parties (employers and workers) neutralized governmental efforts to enforce a legal monopoly over Mexican labor migration. Unauthorized migration affords us an example of half-hearted cooperation at its best.

Institutionalizing the bracero program in 1951-1952

The migrant labor agreement was in crisis in the summer of 1950 and internal discussions in Washington indicate that the U.S. considered whether the agreement should be terminated. Disputes among U.S. agencies on what was viable policy as well as concerns about Mexico's position and possible responses presented Washington-based U.S. officials with a serious difficulty. In the spring of 1950 the Mexican government was informed that the U.S. would need 30,000 braceros to be contracted in Monterrey and additional numbers in Chihuahua and Hermosillo—the center locations Mexico had specified for that year. Subsequently, however, Gobernación backed away from *any* contracting in those centers on the grounds of domestic opposition from its own growers and from labor unions. As an alternative, Mexican officials again proposed to contract Mexican workers already in the United States. At this point, however, perhaps because of the negative publicity associated with the “wetback invasion,” both INS and the Attorney General's office opposed it on the grounds that it placed a premium on those who had violated the law. They argued that it also would complicate INS'

efforts to maintain its stepped up program of apprehensions and expulsions—expelling some migrants and allowing others to remain with a contract.⁶⁵

Creative bureaucrats in Washington came up with a compromise plan which was proposed to Mexican representatives in a lengthy San Antonio meeting. USES would interview migrants apprehended by the INS, certify some as farm laborers, and after expelling them INS would allow them to re-enter the United States as contracted laborers. This would meet Mexico's request that no contracting take place in Mexico and the Attorney General's requirement that there be no legalization. Mexico, however, insisted that the larger ports of entry not be used in order to avoid publicity in Mexico that they had made this concession.

More significantly to the U.S. delegation, the Mexican officials wanted only selected groups of migrants be apprehended and allowed to re-enter. U.S. officials refused to accept this proposal, having concluded that U.S. growers probably had "bribed again key Mexican officials to take a position which, in effect, will nullify the agreement and permit them to keep their wetback 'key workers'."⁶⁶ The meeting reached an impasse. A meeting of Washington officials at the White House resulted in instructions to continue looking for a workable compromise.⁶⁷ As on previous occasions, a solution was found, but more importantly, U.S. entry into the Korean conflict altered everyone's calculations about what would happen next.

⁶⁵ Rubottom to Mann 17 July 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/7-1750, NA.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Rubottom to Barber 18 July 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/7-1850, NA.

Most observers assumed that the tight labor market conditions of World War II would repeat. This included SRE and senior Mexican officials, who now demanded a government-to-government program similar to that of the early 1940s. This would yield, from their point of view, something closer to an optimal result. USES also estimated a sharp rise in labor demand and projected that foreign workers would be needed in 19 states. Farm employers and their congressional allies similarly projected that without Mexican braceros they might face insufficient labor and high wage costs or have to rely on unskilled and unreliable workers without farm labor experience. The State Department anticipated that the U.S. would enter a new phase of negotiations and called for a review of the bracero agreement to determine what lessons might be learned for the upcoming negotiations.⁶⁸ Only a few liberal senators and the President's Commission on Migratory Labor held fast to the view that foreign contract workers would not be needed.⁶⁹

A labor conference was held in Mexico City in January-February of that year to discuss what steps should be taken. Mexican officials wanted two basic changes: re-instituting a government-to-government program, and a strong mechanism to dissuade employers from hiring unauthorized workers, such as employer penalties.⁷⁰ This, they concluded, would reduce unauthorized migration and allow them to negotiate for braceros on favorable terms. Both changes would

⁶⁸ *New York Times* 9 March 1951, p. 15. That DOS review, previously cited, was prepared for the Division of Historical and Policy Research. Hayes, "Mexican migrant labor in the United States," Dec 1950.

⁶⁹ *New York Times* 3 Aug 1950, pp. 25, 36; [U.S.] President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Migratory labor in American agriculture*, pp. 30-32; Jack Ohmans, Memorandum for the files 16 Feb 1950. RG 59 CDF 811.06(M)/2-1650.

⁷⁰ Richard B. Craig, *The bracero program: interest groups and foreign policy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971) pp. 70-71.

require U.S. legislation, which accounted for the participation at the labor conference of the chairmen of the Senate and House agriculture committees. Other conditions—bonds to be posted by employers, the prohibition of racial discrimination in areas where contract workers would go, the payment of transportation, meals, and medical attention were reminiscent of previous labor agreements. The conference agreed on making efforts to effect these policy changes.

Upon returning to Washington, D.C., the Senate committee chairman delivered on one of the conference's goals. He introduced legislation to establish a government-to-government program. The statute eventually adopted came to be known as P.L. 78. In order to address the concerns of farm employer constituents, P.L. 78 provided that the U.S. taxpayer would pay for the roundtrip transportation between the recruiting center in Mexico and the U.S. border; the employer would cover the roundtrip transportation from the border reception station to the place of employment. This met the employer goal of reducing costs. The House chairman, closely aligned with farm employer opponents of the earlier war-time program, passed a similar bill in committee, but once the Senate version incorporated employer penalties, he arranged for the Rules Committee to bottle up his own bill. He then released a statement to the effect that the U.S. could simply contract workers unilaterally without a government-to-government program funded by taxpayers and without the penalties dreaded by farmers.

The bills were stalled without final congressional action, and on June 15 SRE gave notice that the agreement would not be extended

beyond July 15.⁷¹ Days later, both houses passed their respective initiatives, dropped employer penalties in conference, and sent the bill to Truman, calling Mexico's bluff. The President waited until July 13 to sign the bill, and attached a message urging the enactment of penalties missing from P.L. 78. In a private letter to President Alemán Truman also urged that the new agreement to be negotiated soon after the 15th be limited to six months in order to pressure Congress to adopt the missing legislation.⁷²

What ultimately was enacted in early 1952 was short of what the Mexican government had sought. The new law contained provisions to penalize not employers, but smugglers and those who would "harbor" unauthorized immigrants. Moreover, at the insistence of the Texas congressional delegation the anti-harboring clause was amended to state that "employment (including the usual and normal practices incident to employment) shall not be deemed to constitute harboring."⁷³ Thus, instead of enacting employer penalties Congress explicitly *exempted* the employment of unauthorized workers. In this manner, Texas senators and representatives made sure that there would be no ambiguity. They did not want a creative judge to interpret the statute as permitting employer penalties. After some internal discussion the Mexican government agreed to continue the program notwithstanding these limitations.

This final instance of migration cooperation presents the usual mixed picture. On the one hand, the Mexican government did not have

⁷¹ Copy, translation of diplomatic note 612650 to AmEmbassy 15 June 1951, attached to despatch 1 from AmEmbassy 2 July 1951. RG 84 Mexico 1950-1954 NA.

⁷² Craig, *The bracero program*, 71-76.

⁷³ P.L. 283, "An Act to assist in preventing aliens from entering or remaining in the United States illegally," enacted 20 Mar 1952.

reason to question the resolve of the U.S. executive to push for a government-to-government program or penalties that might curb unauthorized migration. On the other, congressional alignment with farm employer interests limited what kind of cooperation the U.S. could deliver. It was up to the Mexican government to accept or reject the results. Having obtained a concerted effort by the White House on behalf of its demands, however, the Mexican administration could hardly terminate the bracero program in 1952. Doing so would have involved senior Mexican officials trying to explain that although Mexico had obtained government-to-government contracting and some penalties to curb unauthorized migration, it was going to terminate the program anyway because it did not get everything it wanted. Here is an irony: half-hearted cooperation, in this sense, both relieves governments from fully embracing their commitments and obligates them to accept arrangements far from what they consider optimal.

Conclusion

I began this analysis describing how U.S. Mexican relations underwent a major transition during World War II and the years immediately after. As one of two superpowers at war's end, the U.S. focus became global and Mexico's concerns focused inward. The U.S. turned to global and postwar security issues and Mexico to economic growth. Their postwar priorities thus became strikingly different. Migration relations, however, remained an area of intense bilateral interaction from war years to peacetime to a new war in Korea.

The difference in power capabilities between Mexico and the United States was large before World War II, and it became enormous after the war when the United States emerged as a superpower. When I wrote my dissertation on the bracero program in 1988 I expected to show that the change in national priorities in the postwar period and this larger difference in power capabilities materially affected bracero relations.

Mexican officials, I expected, would not forget their deep distrust of the United States based on their shared history. The greater capabilities of the United States could make it too easy for it to renege on its commitments, as Mexico had experienced in the past. By the same token, U.S. officials would find that Mexico's limited capabilities would tempt them to press hard: give us what we want or we'll take it anyway. Growers and their allies in Congress clung to this view. They constantly rubbed their eyes in disbelief and could not explain to themselves why the U.S. put up with Mexico's requirements and did not just recruit workers unilaterally. From this perspective, then, those circumstances arising in the postwar period might not have prevented formal agreements and could have allowed for limited bilateral cooperation, but it also could have been insubstantial, just for show.

When I wrote that dissertation I discovered that some episodes in bilateral relations were consistent with an interpretation that emphasized overall relative power capabilities. Nevertheless, much of the content and results of bilateral negotiations and intergovernmental interaction suggested I look elsewhere. I ended the dissertation emphasizing the prevalence of informal rules and patterns of interaction, which I called a "bilateral regime," an idea inspired by

international regime theory. In this paper I have sought to extend that argument to analyze the specific forms of bilateral cooperation that emerged and what accounts for those forms. I use the term “half-hearted cooperation” to characterize them, not just because the intentions were often half-hearted but also because even when they were not, they produced negative results, as judged by the goals of the political actors engaged in the management of the bracero program.

Here I have shown that the pressure brought on the two governments by growers and their congressional allies greatly limited the opportunities for the U.S. and Mexico to cooperate in peacetime. The movement of workers who entered the U.S. without a contract had a similar impact. The start of the labor recruitment program during World War II and the effort by the Truman Administration during the Korean conflict to meet Mexico halfway by institutionalizing that program are explicable in the context of tight labor markets at a historical moment when national imperatives could more easily overcome domestic political obstacles. Even during wartime, however, nothing was guaranteed. The survival of the program in 1943 was in doubt when Congress chose to enact P.L. 45. Truman was unable to get Congress to pass employer penalties, which could have led to Mexican refusal to send braceros.

In the interwar period the program failed to meet the tests of a program that achieves its objectives and solves a basic problem rather than create new ones. Most braceros during peacetime were not actually recruited in Mexico but given contracts while in unauthorized status in the United States. That practice encouraged more unauthorized migration, apparently at the expense of bracero migration. The middle management of both governments found it

necessary to pursue their goals by taking unilateral action or stretching the clauses of the agreement to a point found seriously objectionable by the other government—repeatedly. Neither government was prepared to overcome the resistance of critically important domestic parties: employers, members of Congress, workers.

The migration agreements survived despite these stark shortcomings. I have not explored the full bilateral agenda during this period, but it seems likely that senior leaders such as presidents Truman and Alemán “satisfied” outcomes in bilateral migration perhaps because they had bigger fish to fry. This led to tensions between senior and operational managers, between the Farm Placement Service and DOS, and between Relaciones and Gobernación. Those managers saw huge obstacles in the path of achieving anything close to an optimal outcome judged from the perspective of national goals regarding migration. And although they came close, they were not free to give up and walk away, even after the unilateral contracting episode of October 1948.

Political expediency, the significant actions of third-party actors such as employers, workers, and members of Congress who pursued their own interests had a negative impact on the program. But the bilateral agreement was not abandoned and instead the program reinforced in 1951-1952. In this final stage the two governments renewed their commitment to what turned out to be half-hearted cooperation.

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ACADÉMICOS QUE DESCUBREN A WILKIE



En Honor de James W. Wilkie La Posrevolución Mexicana y Cambio Social en México: Una reseña.

Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos¹

Introducción

James Wilkie es uno de los grandes mexicanólogos de la segunda mitad del siglo XX y su influencia se reconoce hasta la fecha. Su libro *La Revolución mexicana, 1910-1976. Gasto federal y cambio social (Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1977, [1])* es considerado una de las contribuciones más importantes al estudio de los procesos de transformación que experimentó la sociedad y la economía mexicana a raíz de la revolución de 1917. Al igual que otros científicos sociales anglosajones se sintió atraído por la relación entre el llamado milagro mexicano y el cambio revolucionario, con la pregunta de si la promesa de mejorar las condiciones de vida del pueblo mexicano se había cumplido iniciada la década de 1970.

Desde mi punto de vista, esa pregunta, como eje del libro, es lo que lo hace más valioso para una reflexión a largo plazo. Para otros lectores el libro de James Wilkie significó cosas diferentes. Un grupo que reaccionó vivamente a la publicación de *La revolución mexicana* fueron otros mexicanólogos que quedaron perplejos ante la audacia de Wilkie en la búsqueda y manejo de datos presupuestales. Otro grupo es el constituido por los funcionarios de la Secretaría de

1 UNAM.

Hacienda de México, que constataron, al leer el original en Inglés del libro, que quedaban en evidencia ante la opinión pública por su manejo despreocupado de los datos presupuestarios.

En lo que sigue haré una breve revisión en dos apartados de lo que considero las aportaciones medulares de este fundamental libro; en seguida tocaré algunos aspectos de la respuesta de sus colegas estadounidenses, para luego evaluar las conclusiones del autor, o sea su respuesta a la pregunta señalada anteriormente. Este texto es una adaptación con cambios menores de una publicación previa aparecida en 2003 en PROFMEX y en una revista de la UNAM.

Gasto federal y cambio social: Los antecedentes y el contexto político de la política presupuestaria.

El historiador James Wilkie parte de una premisa muy clara. La revolución mexicana fue realizada para liberar a las masas campesinas de la opresión impuesta por el sistema porfirista. En esa perspectiva, el grupo social que tomó el control del proceso revolucionario, los caudillos del norte, tenían en mayor o menor medida un apego político y moral a tales objetivos de la revolución que fueron, consecuentemente, superar la opresión de las masas y lograr su emancipación social a través de la distribución de la tierra, la educación, la urbanización, etc. (infra, p. 76).

El papel de las masas en el proceso revolucionario es un tema controversial y lamentablemente James Wilkie es esquemático en ese punto, ya que optó por centrarse en lo que yo llamaría la situación posrevolucionaria, es decir, la conformación gradual de un nuevo estado con una misión histórica muy distinta al del porfiriato. Sin embargo, es obvio que Wilkie estaba sumamente interesado en la relación entre los caudillos de la revolución y las masas campesinas. Los caudillos pudieron vencer al ejército porfirista gracias a su alianza temporal con Villa y Zapata. Aunque posteriormente rompieran la alianza, los caudillos más lúcidos como Obregón comprendieron que una ruptura definitiva con las masas o más bien con el compromiso político a favor del bienestar de las mismas hubiera significado la reinstauración del viejo régimen. Por esa razón, como lo subraya Wilkie al discutir el Congreso Constituyente de 1917, en los siguientes años se verificó lo

que Gramsci llamo una “revolución pasiva”. Los líderes de la revolución trataron de conservar el apoyo de las masas pese a haber asesinado a sus exponentes, Villa y Zapata, lo que hicieron aceptando (a veces a regañadientes) el texto constitucional.

En el capítulo III, Wilkie aborda la cuestión de las fuentes de la legitimidad del régimen revolucionario. Al integrar dentro de la discusión la personalidad de los caudillos de la revolución, nos permite ver qué relativas eran las diferencias entre estos y la clase porfirista, puesto que ambos estaban comprometidos con la edificación de una sociedad capitalista. Desafortunadamente, los caudillos carecían de un proyecto detallado de cómo reorientar la reconstrucción nacional y por ello quedaron atrapados en varias contradicciones. [2] Además, hasta principios de los 1930 persistió la modalidad de desarrollo basada en las exportaciones primarias, por lo que era muy difícil erradicar a los terratenientes porfiristas, sin afectar los ingresos de exportación.

Sobresale en este tratamiento la discusión de la forma como se fraguó la Constitución política de 1917 y el papel que desempeñaría en la edificación de la nueva sociedad. La Constitución del 17, como demuestra Wilkie, fue el producto de un nuevo ascenso del movimiento de masas derivado de la destrucción del aparato estatal del porfiriato (ver sobre todo pp. 83-88). Contraviniendo los deseos de Carranza, los delegados a la constituyente dirigidos por un jacobino, Francisco J. Mújica, plasmaron un proyecto constitucional que fue el producto de la confluencia varios procesos: a) la naturaleza del conflicto revolucionario y las carencias del pueblo mexicano que tuvieron un papel en el mismo; b) la utopía social de la época, marcada por el ascenso de las ideas socialistas y c) el declive histórico del liberalismo (p. 84).

¿Por qué los caudillos de la revolución, aun con la oposición tácita de Carranza, aceptaron a la larga el texto constitucional? Como atinadamente señala Wilkie “[...] sin leyes reguladoras, la Constitución solamente poseía una fuerza moral que serviría como guía para la acción, porque no se contaba con medios para hacerla efectiva, o castigar a los que la violaran. Y no cabe duda que hubo muchos grupos que se negaron a reconocer la Constitución de 1917, porque no se

les había permitido votar por los delegados a la Constituyente, y la ciudadanía en general no había aprobado ese documento.” (p. 89).

Lo anterior quiere decir que pese a su fragilidad política inmediata, la Constitución del 17, poseía el respaldo popular brindado por el movimiento revolucionario para convertirse en el cimiento de una revolución pasiva. A pesar de que para algunos de los líderes, la Constitución planteaba en lo inmediato mayores problemas que los que resolvía, a la larga percibieron que era su fuente de legitimidad fundamental. Como sugiere Wilkie, sin el compromiso que establecía para el futuro, los gobiernos posrevolucionarios se habrían encontrado en un vacío, proclives a la autodestrucción al no poseer un referente objetivo para proclamar su lealtad a las ideas revolucionarias, o sea, a su compromiso con el bienestar de las masas y al desarrollo socioeconómico de México.

La crisis de 1929 junto con la posterior de depresión mundial, fue el parte aguas que posibilitó la ruptura definitiva con el sistema porfirista. Wilkie explica lo anterior al abordar la constitución del *estado activo*, es decir, una nueva institución estatal orientada a cumplir los objetivos contenidos en la Constitución de 1917. Obviamente el personaje que detonó el cambio institucional y político fue Lázaro Cárdenas y su revolución social. Tan poderoso fue el detonante social y tan altas las expectativas que Cárdenas activó al sentar las bases de una nueva modalidad de desarrollo, que sus sucesores en la presidencia continuaron el impulso, aunque introduciendo innovaciones claves en la gestión gubernamental, como deja claro el autor.

El presupuesto federal como instrumento de la revolución

A partir de los 1930 se abrió, como se advierte, un nuevo capítulo de reconstrucción nacional en el cual la política presupuestaria constituyó el instrumento por excelencia para modernizar la economía y la sociedad mexicanas. Como veremos más adelante, los objetivos del estado activo fueron tanto sociales (salud, vivienda, educación) como económicos (promoción del desarrollo capitalista). [3]

El estudio de la relación entre gasto público y cambio social desde una perspectiva a la vez teoría y cuantitativa plantea problemas

metodológicos formidables, cuyo tratamiento explícito le hubiera exigido a Wilkie un libro del doble de la extensión del actual. Por esa razón apeló al sentido común y a la necesidad de aceptar ciertos puntos de referencia comunes, avalados por la experiencia histórica de la posguerra. Probablemente este sobrentendido pueda sintetizarse en los siguientes puntos:

- todos los países del mundo hicieron, durante la posguerra, un esfuerzo similar al de México para utilizar el gasto público a fin de resolver problemas económicos o sociales o apoyar la modernización nacional;
- aunque existió consenso de que hubo resultados tangibles de la orientación keynesiana del gasto público, las estimaciones de los mismos fueron polémicos y repletas de dificultades metodológicas. En la medida que el gasto, tanto el público como el privado, tiene efectos aceleradores y multiplicadores, los mismos son indivisibles de la respuesta de todos los agentes económicos.

Wilkie respondió a los problemas implícitos en la estimación del cambio social haciendo varias acotaciones. Primero que “...no es el gobierno el único responsable del cambio social. El sector privado desempeña un papel clave en la integración nacional. No obstante, es el gobierno el que crea el clima en que operan las empresas privadas. Es el gobierno el que establece la política a seguir, consciente o inconscientemente, y determinando en grado importante el papel que podrá desempeñar el sector privado.” (p. 27 y en el mismo tenor p. 291). Segundo, “El análisis se basa en esta suposición: es el estilo de cada periodo ideológico [o sexenal] el que contribuye a los adelantos sociales, por ejemplo y no el gasto social per se el que causa la disminución de la pobreza” (p. 25).

Dicho en otras palabras, cada uno de los sucesivos regímenes presidenciales adoptó un estilo propio de cómo ejercer el gasto público que formó parte de una estrategia general de gobierno (repartieron más o menos tierra, diversificaron la composición del gasto, dieron mayor o menor acceso al capital extranjero, etc.). Al respecto el autor habla de

periodos ideológicos para captar la especificidad de cada régimen y su capacidad para acelerar la transformación de México (pp. 71-73).

El estado activo significó la compresión continua de los gastos administrativos que quedaron después de 1950 por debajo del 40 % del presupuesto ejercido, cuando a principios de los veinte, representaban poco más de 70 %. Cada presidente, después de Cárdenas, imprimió su sello a la política presupuestaria comprimiendo los gastos administrativos, fuera a favor de los gastos económicos o de los sociales, en un afán por acelerar la modernización de México. Hasta fines de los cincuenta los gastos sociales disminuyeron su participación, en beneficio de los gastos en infraestructura y fomento industrial; con Ruíz Cortínez y López Mateos esta tendencia se revirtió, y con este último los gastos sociales llegaron a un máximo de 22% en 1962-63. A pesar de que la participación de los gastos sociales fue oscilante, la velocidad con se abatió la pobreza se aceleró a partir de los 1950, pero, como correctamente señala Wilkie, la modernización económica, estimada por el crecimiento del PIB per cápita, también se aceleró (ver cuadro X-7, p. 296). [4]

En suma, en las condiciones históricas del México posrevolucionario, como lo demostró Wilkie en la Primera Parte, existió una relación fundamental entre el ejercicio presupuestario y el cambio social, por el simple hecho de que el estado asumió un papel activo en la conducción de una sociedad material y socialmente atrasada; sin embargo, no se trataba de una relación mecánica en el sentido de que el simple aumento del presupuesto genere directamente algún grado de transformación social. Para establecer la relación adecuada entre ambas variables Wilkie interesa esclarecer la noción de cambio social-pobreza empleada por el autor y no dejar de lado su desagregación del gasto federal.

Wilkie estableció una relación indivisible entre cambio social y pobreza que, a juzgar por la opinión de Boni y Seligson, resultó incomprensible para algunos de sus críticos. Nuestro autor adopta la perspectiva de los clásicos de la teoría del desarrollo de Hirschman a Lewis, en cuanto a que el progreso histórico dentro del capitalismo se define a partir del cambio en el status de la población, o de las masas,

como frecuentemente dice Wilkie (cap. IX). Para un país en el cual en 1910, el 70% de la población, era pobre y rural, o sea precapitalista, la medida de progreso tendría que reflejarse en el cambio en su modo de vida y sus pautas de comportamiento social. [5] Por lo tanto el índice de pobreza de Wilkie es un indicador del grado de integración de la población rural o campesina al sistema capitalista, o también un indicador del grado de modernización alcanzado por la sociedad mexicana. [6] A continuación retomaremos este punto, ya que el índice de pobreza de Wilkie, no mide lo que hoy llamaríamos pobreza urbana, ya que los obreros de las ciudades, ya han dado un paso fundamental hacia la integración (no son analfabetas, no andan descalzos, etc.), pero la mayoría de ellos reciben un salario de subsistencia, que los califica como pobres.

James Wilkie apoyó al que fue uno de sus discípulos, Stephen Haber [7], para aplicar el “índice de pobreza” al estudio del desarrollo municipal de México. Nos conviene citar ese trabajo a fin de clarificar la aportación de Wilkie a la comprensión del cambio social en México, ya que el trabajo de su discípulo fue en realidad una extensión de la propia investigación de Wilkie, en la que el mismo efectuó una aportación central a nivel metodológico y empírico [8]. Haber señala en su artículo publicado en 1982: “... mi tesis es que el desarrollo económico de México ha estado normalmente asociado a su desarrollo social y que la modernización del sector rural ha sido uno de las causas principales del excepcional crecimiento económico de México. Como lo ha denotado Kunkel (1965:439), el desarrollo económico no puede ocurrir sin una previa o concomitante incorporación de las comunidades campesinas autónomas a las redes económicas y sociales nacionales. Al romper el aislamiento del México rural, el proceso de modernización ha ampliado el mercado nacional y mantenido niveles efectivos de demanda agregada. Sí como lo observó Clark Reynolds (1970:42) en su estudio fundacional de la economía mexicana, la expansión del mercado interno ha sido uno de los motores del crecimiento en el desarrollo del México del siglo XX, entonces la incorporación del sector rural al mercado nacional debe tener un efecto fundamental en el curso del desarrollo mexicano” (p.634).

En lo que se refiere al tratamiento del gasto federal, James Wilkie hizo una serie de propuestas innovadoras para su tiempo. En primer lugar, al comprobar que, dada la enorme discrecionalidad de la oficina presidencial en México se gastaba más de lo que se había anunciado previamente, era necesario separar el concepto de gasto ejercido del gasto originalmente aprobado o planeado por el gobierno central. [9] Generalmente una parte del excedente del gasto ejercido sobre el planeado se capturaba bajo el concepto contable de “erogaciones adicionales”, que causaba una gran confusión en su tiempo. [10] En tercer lugar, propuso dividir los gastos presupuestarios en tres categorías, que expresan su función en la reproducción socioeconómica y política (capítulos 5, 6 y 7): a) administrativos; b) sociales y c) económicos. Los primeros representan las erogaciones necesarias para mantener el funcionamiento del aparato estatal y cubrir el servicio de la deuda pública; como tales no tienen ningún papel en el cambio social o en el bienestar de la población, antes al contrario, entre mayores sean los gastos administrativos del estado, menor será la oportunidad de que el gasto público contribuya al desarrollo socioeconómico. Las posibilidades de integración de la población campesina dependerían de los gastos sociales y económicos, en tanto los primeros se destinan principalmente a atender requerimientos de salud, vivienda y educación de la masa de la población. Los gastos económicos están orientados a mejorar las condiciones para lograr un desarrollo económico más acelerado, principalmente creando la infraestructura para la irrigación y las comunicaciones y transportes.

En cuarto lugar, efectuó una segunda desagregación del gasto público, tanto el planeado como el ejercido, en 27 subcategorías (defensa, deuda, pensiones, irrigación, educación, etc.), que era un auxiliar indispensable para la agrupación más fundamental del gasto de acuerdo a su impacto. La propuesta del autor influyó en las instituciones que analizan la actividad presupuestaria, ya que por ejemplo la Brookings Institución, adoptó la propuesta de Wilkie para el caso de los Estados Unidos, para desagregar los datos de acuerdo al tipo de secretaría y de acuerdo a su función, pero también aplicando este criterio a las erogaciones adicionales. En quinto lugar, algo inusitado en su tiempo, organizó la información en series de largo plazo y las deflactó para

obtener valores reales y mostrar el poder de cada presidente en términos del manejo de recursos presupuestarios.

La crítica de los críticos

Una de las revisiones críticas más conocidas del libro de James Wilkie fue escrito por Skidmore y Smith, este último un mexicanólogo de renombre [11]. La revisión efectuada por ambos autores fue sumamente adversa, prácticamente constituyó una descalificación del libro de Wilkie. Aunque Skidmore and Smith saludaron el esfuerzo de Wilkie de compilar cuidadosamente datos presupuestarios, lo acusaron de utilizar incorrectamente esa información y llegar a conclusiones no avaladas por la misma.

La crítica de estos autores es muy singular ya que en lugar de analizar la obra en su unidad teórica y empírica, adoptan un enfoque que privilegia la dimensión cuantitativa del trabajo de Wilkie, desestimando las aportaciones teóricas e históricas del mismo. Por lo anterior no es sorprendente que Skidmore y Smith hayan catalogado el trabajo de Wilkie como perteneciente a la escuela de la historia cuantitativa; así fijan como canon de la obra su capacidad para cuantificar el cambio social a partir del cual encuentran un conjunto de “inconsistencias” en la misma. Entre los puntos criticados por ellos, me voy a concentrar en los tres que mejor se ajusten a la discusión equilibrada y no tecnicista del libro en cuestión.

Esos tres puntos son: la descomposición del gasto federal en tres conceptos: administrativo, social y económico y no el uso de la relación gasto/PBI para estimar el impacto en la economía nacional: la supuesta cuantificación del cambio social de manera estrecha y ambigua, ya que en lugar de abordar el análisis del acceso de determinado grupo social a un monto de bienes y servicios, el autor se concentra en la declinación de la pobreza, definida de manera *sui generis*.

La “ambigüedad” de la relación causal entre la acción presupuestaria del gobierno y el índice pobreza, que Wilkie define como indirecta, pero siempre a partir del gasto gubernamental como variable independiente.

En relación al primer punto, es incorrecto poner en duda, como lo hace Skidmore y Smith, la existencia de un estado activo por el hecho de que la participación del gasto federal en el producto fue relativamente modesta (entre 10% - 13% en los cincuenta). La evidencia de que existe un estado activo es, como argumenta Wilkie, ante todo cualitativa más que cuantitativa. Radica en el hecho de que el estado capitalista se concretó históricamente antes que la propia clase capitalista y su función consistió en promover el surgimiento y desarrollo de la segunda, en un compromiso histórico que arrancaba de la propia Constitución del 1917. En la medida anterior, el nuevo estado se veía obligado a establecer el “clima” o el escenario para que actuara el sector privado, que dado su desarrollo embrionario carecía de iniciativa económica por lo menos hasta los sesenta.

El estado posrevolucionario se vio, en consecuencia, ante un doble compromiso: auspiciar el desarrollo del sector privado y por otro auspiciar el desarrollo de la clase trabajadora, de allí que el gasto público tenga que analizarse desde la perspectiva de su composición más que de su nivel. Existe otra razón fundamental para analizar el gasto federal por su composición como lo hizo Wilkie y es la naturaleza de la reproducción del aparato productivo. En la reproducción del aparato productivo los gastos en infraestructura (comunicaciones o transportes) o irrigación tienen un impacto diferente a los gastos en vivienda o salud de la población, independientemente de su periodo de gestación. Los gastos económicos, tienen la función de elevar la productividad de manera directa, en tanto que los gastos sociales elevaran el bienestar de la población, aunque indirectamente podrían contribuir a elevar la productividad.

En cuanto a la segunda crítica, desde el comienzo de la obra, Wilkie deja bien establecido que su intención es analizar el cambio social no la distribución del ingreso. Considerando el atraso en que vivía el grueso de la población de México a comienzos del siglo XX, la cuestión central es determinar cómo el campesinado (o las masas) se fueron integrado al sector moderno de la economía, lo que tendría que reflejarse en los indicadores que Wilkie engloba

bajo el rubro de Índice Pobreza, aunque paradójicamente, como ya dijimos, la población puede integrarse al sector moderno y seguir siendo pobre, aunque en un sentido diferente, como lo subraya Wilkie al citar a Oscar Lewis. Se podría reprochar a Wilkie el haber definido esa integración de una perspectiva exclusivamente sociológica y no económica, ya que dejó de lado la situación laboral de los campesinos (no ve la relación salarial o laboral a la cual se integran). Por lo anterior, está por encima de toda duda que el Índice de Pobreza es un indicador del grado de modernización social logrado por el grueso de la población mexicana, de modo que refleja el cambio social en el sentido más amplio del término.

Finalmente, la preeminencia del gobierno en la definición del rumbo económico de la nación constituye una cuestión histórica que se explica por lo establecido en el primer punto, es decir, el subdesarrollo del sector privado. A su vez, la acción del gasto público tenía que ser indirecta, ya que México funcionaba como una economía mixta y los efectos multiplicadores y aceleradores del gasto pública arrastraban necesariamente al sector privado, que invertía de acuerdo a las oportunidades creadas por la política pública. Esa relación no fue estructural ya que a partir de los setenta, en parte fuera del análisis de Wilkie, el sector privado comenzó a independizarse y a adoptar su propio patrón de inversión y financiamiento, chocando inevitablemente con algunas de las políticas del gobierno.

En suma, Skidmore y Smith pierden de vista el contexto teórico e histórico de la obra de Wilkie y extravían la crítica. Son incapaces de ver la unidad entre los tres distintos niveles del libro de Wilkie, pero sobre todo la forma en que el análisis cuantitativo quedó determinado por los fundamentos teóricos e históricos y no a la inversa. Si hubieran visto esta relación hubieran colocado en su justa dimensión la clasificación del gasto federal, el papel del Índice de Pobreza y la relación entre el mismo y el cambio social. El excesivo formalismo en el cual ubicaron la obra de Wilkie la desnaturaliza, pero sobre todo los descalificó para debatir los problemas fundamentales de la historia del México contemporáneo.

La promesa incumplida

La conclusión de que los sucesivos presidentes desde Obregón lograron reducir la participación de los gastos administrativos demuestra la magnitud de la tarea revolucionaria que emprendieron. Al institucionalizar el poder a través del perfeccionamiento de la estructura de partido de estado lograron relegar a los militares y así liberar fondos presupuestarios que emplearon para otros fines más productivos, de modo que la medida de la institucionalización del poder se refleja en la ausencia de cualquier forma de rebelión o inconformidad de parte de los militares después de Ávila Camacho. Por otra parte, es muy interesante la discusión del conflicto entre el aumento de los gastos económicos *vís a vís* los gastos sociales que tuvo lugar a partir de Ávila Camacho, en el sentido de que los presidentes se enfrentaron al dilema de tratar de integrar a la población de manera directa o indirecta (o fomentar las condiciones para que los nuevos empresarios, para utilizar la expresión de Sanford Mosk, acumularan capital).

La conclusión general del estudio de Wilkie es muy clara: cuando se consolidó un gobierno revolucionario, o sea con capacidad de llevar a cabo el proyecto contenido en la Constitución de 1917, a partir de Cárdenas, la velocidad de cambio social fue impresionante, ya que el Índice de Pobreza se redujo a la mitad entre 1940 y 1970, con un cambio decenal más rápido en la última década. (pp. 202-203, ver sobre todo cuadro X.5). Curiosamente el autor se muestra solo moderadamente entusiasmado, ya que señala: “sólo desde 1940 alcanzó el cambio social para las masas una rapidez relativa y aun así es dudoso que la proporción de ese cambio pueda considerarse revolucionaria”. Me referiré a esta falta de entusiasmo al final, después de evaluar la conclusión general del libro sobre la parte medular del cambio social logrado por el régimen priísta: la incorporación de la población campesina como proletariado o semi proletariado industrial.

Wilkie insiste en algo muy importante. Para él el proceso de integración no quedó completo en ese periodo, pero el régimen priísta quedó legitimado ante las masas, al grado que la oposición de izquierda o derecha no logró en ese tiempo trascender la esfera de

los grupúsculos y no pudo constituir una alternativa política viable. Consecuentemente con lo anterior le autor desestima la idea de que la revolución hubiera fracasado (p. 299).

Como dijimos al principio, la conclusión de que los regímenes posrevolucionarios cumplieron una misión histórica modernizando al país y haciendo retroceder la pobreza, incomodó a algunos intelectuales, que consideraban a tales regímenes como dictatoriales y represivos. El argumento más común que sostenían varios intelectuales críticos es que después de Cárdenas el régimen se alejó de los objetivos de la revolución y se mantuvo en el poder, pese a su creciente impopularidad, gracias al fraude electoral. Efectivamente el fraude electoral fue generalizado incluso en el traspaso gubernamental de Cárdenas a Ávila Camacho, pero sirvió para mantener más bien el monopolio absoluto del poder que para preservar el control del mismo. En todo caso el control absoluto del poder tuvo consecuencias incalculablemente graves, ya que propició la corrupción cuya propagación puede servir para establecer un criterio alternativa para juzgar si se alcanzaron las metas de la revolución.

Para evaluar si la promesa se cumplió habría que tener presente que el cambio social que se emprendió en México empezaba con la relocalización de la población campesina, a medida que detonaba la urbanización y la industrialización, lo que significa un aumento del nivel de vida de las masas. Ese es el logro que Wilkie resalta, aunque sin entusiasmo porque el segundo cambio, o sea, el aumento del nivel de vida de la población urbana que debió verificarse desde 1960, se dio a paso muy lento y comenzó a revertirse en 1970. Como se advierte todo depende de definir cuál era la misión de los gobiernos posrevolucionarios. Si la misión era transformar el modo de vida de la mayoría de los mexicanos, se cumplió el objetivo.

La experiencia histórica sugiere que el monopolio del poder creado por la élite priísta era un formidable obstáculo para lograr el segundo objetivo. En todo caso como se sabe, la élite priísta estuvo a punto de dividirse ante la disyuntiva de liberalizar el régimen político o mantener el control casi total. Al imponerse la línea dura perduró algo que ya no era políticamente necesario. No debemos olvidar que el

régimen que emanó de la revolución no solo controló al gobierno, sino multitud de espacios sociales, al grado de convertir al estado también en un estado social. El presidencialismo subordinó a los poderes legislativo y judicial en tanto que el régimen, entendido como la suma del estado y el partido, segmentaron a la sociedad y la encuadraron en instrumentos de control muy duraderos, que tuvieron un correlato ideológico y cultural. Podemos ver ahora con claridad que cuando esta forma de control social se convirtió en disfuncional, dio paso a una terrible corrupción.

Conclusión

En su extenso estudio Wilkie devela y analiza la naturaleza de este régimen en su periodo formativo y de apogeo. Su análisis de la personalidad política de los caudillos de la revolución y de los primeros gobernantes, su discusión sobre la Asamblea Constituyente y sobre el texto constitucional, sumado a su exhaustivo tratamiento de la política presupuestaria y su efecto modernizador, arrojan luz sobre estas interrogantes que acabamos de formular.

El análisis de Wilkie revela que el grupo social que triunfó en la lucha revolucionaria tenía dos cualidades excepcionales y un grave defecto. Demostró ser enormemente flexible como para adaptarse a cambios históricos dentro de un periodo de tiempo muy largo, para enfrentar, por ejemplo, la consolidación del imperialismo estadounidense, la gran depresión, los retos de la segunda posguerra, etc., fue cambiando gradualmente, pero se mantuvo fiel a ciertos valores originarios que fueron fundamentales en su lucha contra adversarios de derecha e izquierda. Resulta sorprendente también, y el libro de Wilkie es inequívoco al respecto, su capacidad modernizadora. Ese grupo social, la familia revolucionaria, estaba a la vanguardia de la sociedad y era capaz de asimilar a los elementos más lúcidos y dinámicos de la misma, traduciendo ese impulso en progreso social, limitado pero real. Este grupo fue incapaz, sin embargo, de comprender la importancia de la democracia como no un fin en sí mismo, sino como un instrumento de desarrollo social, tan importante como otros que sí estuvo dispuesto a utilizar.

No es difícil encontrar los motivos por los que el régimen emanado de la revolución despreció la democracia. En una sociedad atrasada, donde la mayoría de la población es analfabeta o semi-analfabeta, la democracia no parece un estorbo sino que es impracticable, de modo que la democratización se convirtió en proyecto subordinado a los logros de la industrialización. El error, si cabe llamarlo así, es que otorgando la máxima prioridad a la modernización económica relegaron o anularon la construcción de las precondiciones para la democracia que son entre otras la justicia, la transparencia, la rendición de cuentas e inclusive la educación. Al relegar o anular estas precondiciones se encontraron auspiciando una impresionante corrupción ligada a su papel como juez y árbitro y sus relaciones incestuosas con la burguesía que nació en su regazo. Los intereses creados por este sistema se convirtieron en una fuerza refractaria al cambio político que llevó a un agotamiento prematuro de la modalidad de desarrollo adoptada después de la gran depresión. Al final, después de haber puesto en marcha la modernización de los años ochenta, la corrupción creada desde el poder tomó formas novedosas, pero aún más letales para el tejido social, revirtiéndose contra su principal promotor, para llevarnos finalmente al cambio de régimen.

Notas

[1]. Publicado originalmente en inglés, bajo el título de *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1967, primera edición; Los Ángeles, 1970, segunda edición. La edición en español: *La revolución mexicana (1910-1917). Gasto Federal y cambio social*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1977, añade dos epílogos. Las citas que aquí se efectúan del libro provienen de la edición en español. Informalmente varios economistas de izquierda expresaron también una franca hostilidad al libro de James Wilkie, por razones distintas a los historiadores norteamericanos. Algunos intelectuales mexicanos de izquierda, expresaron en privado que el solo hecho de relacionar el gasto federal con el cambio social era un anatema y una apología a favor del PRI, por lo que prefirieron mantenerse al margen del debate público.

[2]. Es muy importante no perder de vista que Madero fue un revolucionario renuente como correctamente señala Wilkie, cuya principal preocupación fue lograr elecciones libres y que por lo mismo fue incapaz de detener el programa porfirista de transferencia legal de tierras públicas a latifundios, que siguió su curso aceleradamente, bajo su mandato (pp. 75-77). Igualmente, Carranza, ex senador porfirista, no se atrevió a iniciar el reparto agrario, con lo cual dejó temporalmente en suspenso el programa revolucionario. Lo más determinante en este impasse fue la continuidad del desarrollo agroexportador que favorecía a los terratenientes ya incrustados en el mismo, por lo que los primeros revolucionarios no sabían cómo replantear el papel económico del estado y, como subraya Wilkie, se oponían al reparto agrario porque consideraban que vulneraba su proyecto de pequeña propiedad agraria.

[3]. Ver capítulo 4.

[4]. De acuerdo al cuadro X-7, con la creación del estado activo, el índice de pobreza bajó más rápidamente que el aumento del PIB per cápita, lo que sugiere fue más dinámica la incorporación

de los campesinos, que el desarrollo económico per se; pero no habría que olvidar que otra fuente de transformación fue la expansión demográfica, cuya tasa estaba en su cúspide.

[5]. Es lo otros autores y yo llamamos desarrollo extensivo del capitalismo mexicano que se sustenta en la incorporación al mercado interno de la población rural que vivía en una economía de auto subsistencia. Ver M. A. Rivera, *Crisis y reorganización del capitalismo mexicano*, ed. ERA, México, 1986.

[6]. Obsérvese efectivamente que los indicadores utilizados por Wilkie miden el grado de integración de la población rural pobre a la economía nacional. A medida que se abate el valor porcentual promedio de los siguientes indicadores, se consolida la integración nacional:

- a) Analfabetismo;
- b) población que solo habla lengua indígena;
- c) personas que viven en comunidades de menos de 2 500 habitantes;
- d) población descalza;
- e) población que usa regularmente sandalias en lugar de zapatos;
- f) población que regularmente come tortillas en lugar de pan blanco;
- g) población sin drenaje.

[7]. “Modernization and Change in Mexican Communities, 1930-1970”, en J. Wilkie y E. Haber (Eds.), *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, vol. 22, UCLA, 1982.

[8]. Wilkie proporcionó a Haber datos y metodología para que este último hiciera un ajuste al Índice de Pobreza y pudiera aplicarse a nivel municipal. Wilkie también alentó a Haber a adoptar el concepto de “modernización” que en ese tiempo no estaba de moda. Haber reconoce esa deuda al explicar que su Índice de Modernización Social, que mide el proceso de integración de las comunidades rurales a la economía nacional (p. 636), no es sino una derivación del de su mentor, ya que seis de sus indicadores son los que definió originalmente Wilkie,

en tanto que el tercero es la derivación de una de las variables originales obtenidas por Wilkie (Ibid).

[9]. Con el libro de Wilkie se adoptó y generalizó la práctica de distinguir entre el gasto planeado o autorizado y el ejercido. Irónicamente tal aportación le significó al autor postergar por varios años la traducción al español de su libro. El gobierno solo dio el visto bueno a la edición en el prestigioso Fondo de Cultura Económica, cuando la presentación del presupuesto se ajustó al método de James Wilkie, es decir, a la indispensable discriminación entre gasto ejercido y autorizado.

[10]. Wilkie consideró estos gastos como parte del sobre-ejercicio presupuestario (o sea como gasto ejercido) y los sometió a las mismas subdivisiones del gasto total, que comentaremos a continuación.

[11]. La crítica que pretendió fijar la posición de los historiadores “ortodoxos”, fue la de E. Skidmore y P. Smith (“Notes on Quantitative History: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910”, *Latin America Research Review* 5:1, 1970) y fue francamente hostil a la obra de Wilkie. Otros críticos como F. Boni y M. Seligson, inscribiéndose dentro de la perspectiva de los primeros, solo tocaron aspectos secundarios del libro. D. Barkin, Coleman y Wanat también efectuaron comentarios pero más bien con un tono neutral. Wilkie respondió a Skidmore y Smith en “On Methodology and the Use of Historical Statistics”, *Latin American Research Review* 5:1, 1970: la respuesta a Boni y Seligson fue “The Poverty Index for Mexico”, *Latin American Research Review* 10:1, 1975.

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Jim Wilkie, Elitlore e Historia Oral en el Contexto Histórico de los Extranjeros que se han Significado en México y en el Mundo

A James W. Wilkie, cuya obra de historia oral contribuyó sustancialmente a romper, durante el apogeo del autoritarismo, los compartimentos estancos que inhibían —y en algunos casos, prohibían— el diálogo político entre los representantes de las distintas corrientes ideológicas que construyeron las instituciones postrevolucionarias de la República.

*Es preciso destacar este mérito a la luz de su distinción como
UCLA RESEARCH PROFESSOR.*

Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda

Lo exótico atrae. Despierta la curiosidad, el afán de conocer y experimentar. El exotismo de lo que no se parece a lo familiar impulsa, en gran medida, el deseo de viajar más allá de los límites habituales.

Mirar lo diferente, lo nuevo y desconocido depara asombro; además, la mirada fresca interpreta, establece comparaciones y analiza a partir de criterios y categorías impredecibles. Las percepciones varían según el origen, formación y experiencia previa de cada explorador.

México posee la variedad geográfica y cultural suficiente para resultar exótico. Es así como nuestro país ha atraído a personajes memorables, quienes nos han iluminado con testimonios científicos, históricos y artísticos. La mirada distinta nos dice cosas que no sabíamos de nosotros mismos. Gracias a esos testimonios

los mexicanos hemos salido altamente enriquecidos. (Digo “los mexicanos” porque hablo del nexa con quienes nos revelan, pero lo mismo ocurre en todos los pueblos de la Tierra).

No haré una relación de los visitantes observadores y descubridores que nos han aportado su testimonio, pero quiero ilustrar esta reflexión con ejemplos ineludibles, comenzando por Bernal Díaz del Castillo y por Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, cuyo espíritu científico al registrar la historia y la cosmología de los aztecas acaso fue mayor que su declarada vocación evangelizadora.

Más recientemente obtuvimos visiones sobre determinados aspectos del país, como las de Frances Erskine Inglis, la marquesa Calderón de la Barca, y de Alexander Von Humboldt, quienes observaron, respectivamente, vida social y costumbres; la orografía y la flora mexicanas.

Desde su tormentosa sensibilidad, magnificada por el mezcal, Malcom Lowry nos dejó deslumbrantes atisbos poéticos sobre la gente y la geografía bajo el Popocatepetl, y Antonin Artaud, otro desolado, a pesar del peyote hizo algo equivalente sobre la región tarahumara. A André Bretón México le aportó espléndidas concreciones del surrealismo... Etcétera.

En 1943 Oscar Lewis y Ruth Maslow Lewis se establecieron en Tepoztlán para estudiar la cultura de sus pobladores, mayoritariamente indígenas. Hicieron entrevistas para conocer su psicología, su sentido de la vida y sus creencias, así como minuciosos registros estadísticos de sus rutinas cotidianas y posesiones materiales. Para ampliar esos estudios y darles seguimiento, en sucesivas visitas anuales buscaron a las mismas personas. Cuando no las encontraban, la razón era siempre la misma: “se fueron a la Capital”. Entonces las rastrearon.

Así Oscar y Ruth descubrieron, a pocas cuadras del Zócalo, la vida urbana de las vecindades, donde registraron historias de vida que fueron social y políticamente reveladoras. Aludo, desde luego, a *La cultura de la pobreza* (1959) y a *Los Hijos de Sánchez* (1961).

En 1963, dos decenios después del arribo de los Lewis, James W. Wilkie llegó a México con el respaldo de la *Bancroft Library*, biblioteca de la Universidad de California en Berkeley, destacada por su acervo

de Historia Oral, y el entusiasmo por escribir su tesis doctoral sobre la ideología de Lázaro Cárdenas durante dos períodos, el cuatrienio 1928-32 en que gobernó el Estado de Michoacán y el sexenio 1934-1940 en que fue presidente de la República.

Para entonces Jim hablaba en español con fluidez. Había vivido en la ciudad de México entre 1955 y 1958, mientras cursó el bachillerato en el Mexico City College. Fue durante ese período cuando conoció a fondo la historia del país, y en particular, los turbulentos años de la Revolución. Fue tal su interés que eligió como tema de su tesis de maestría el conflicto ideológico que registró Michoacán durante la gubernatura de Cárdenas.

Durante la planeación de su tesis doctoral, Wilkie viajó a México en 1962 para encontrarse con Frank Tannenbaum, el famoso sociólogo e historiador de Columbia University en New York y amigo personal de Lázaro Cárdenas, a quien con anterioridad le había pedido que lo presentara con Cárdenas y lo convenciera de darle una entrevista. “Jim, tu proyecto de tesis me parece muy bien, pero sólo Dios puede ayudarte para que entrevistes a mi General” —fue la respuesta de Tannenbaum. En esta segunda ocasión, a Jim le interesaba decirle que había sido capaz de hablar con Cárdenas sin la ayuda de Dios: en efecto, el encuentro lo propició Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, quien hizo el arreglo para que Jim acompañara a su padre durante el trayecto de un recorrido por varios pueblos de Michoacán y conversara con él.¹

Tannenbaum siempre se refería a Cárdenas como “Mi General”. Acaso era su forma de reconocer que se trataba de un ex presidente que no detentaba ningún poder formal; que desde 1959 había causado baja en el ejército, y que no obstante, era la máxima figura de la República en el ámbito político. Su autoridad moral ejercía una gran influencia.

El propósito del joven historiador de 26 años era grabar en cinta magnética la historia oral, autobiográfica de Cárdenas, para ponerla en el contexto de la etapa constructiva de la Revolución (1917-64), pero Cárdenas contestó con franqueza: “No puedo decir nada que quede grabado porque mis declaraciones tienen un impacto demasiado

1 Lyle C. Brown detalla este episodio en el capítulo respectivo de este libro.

grave; todos leen en mis palabras otra cosa, lo que quieran, y una malinterpretación sería perjudicial para el país.

“Sin embargo, podemos conversar y usted puede escribir mis respuestas a su cuestionario mientras viajamos. Me agrada el enfoque que ha dado a la historia de las medidas revolucionarias que tomé en Michoacán y en el país (1928-40) con testimonios de quienes las han realizado y de quienes se han opuesto a ellas”.

A partir de estas premisas, Jim formuló preguntas de carácter intelectual: —¿Cómo compara los gobiernos de Obregón y de Alemán? —No es posible comparar las circunstancias que hubo entre 1920-‘24 y 1946-’52 —contestó el General—. Hay que ir en orden. Cada presidente enfrentó situaciones específicas y tomó decisiones trascendentes. Entonces Jim y Cárdenas empezaron a hablar en orden cronológico de todos los presidentes, discutiendo ciertos aspectos de sus respectivos gobiernos.

Además de lecciones sabias como la anterior, Cárdenas lo orientó con recomendaciones concretas. Por ejemplo, estuvo de acuerdo con la idea que Jim le planteó de entrevistar a varios personajes para descubrir la gran variedad ideológica que influyó los gobiernos del PNR, el PRM y el PRI, y además, le propuso los nombres de Emilio Portes Gil y Marte R. Gómez.

De esta manera Wilkie y Monzón entrevistaron a una veintena de personajes de la élite política e intelectual, 17 de los cuales quedaron retratados en una serie de cuatro volúmenes. Esas entrevistas son ahora una fuente singular e inconfundible entre el abrumador volumen de testimonios que documentan ese acontecimiento poliédrico que genéricamente conocemos como *La Revolución Mexicana*.²

2 Favor de ver: James W. Wilkie y Edna Monzón Wilkie: *Frente a la Revolución Mexicana: 17 Protagonistas de la Etapa Constructiva, Entrevistas de Historia Oral*.

Vol I INTELLECTUALES: Luis Chavez Orozco, Daniel Cosío Villegas, José Muñoz Cota, Jesús Silva Herzog. (1995).
Vol II IDEÓLOGOS: Ramón Beteta Quintana, Manuel Gómez Morín, Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, Germán List Arzubide, Juan de Dios Bojórquez. (2001).

Vol III LÍDERES POLÍTICOS: Salvador Abascal, Marte R. Gómez, Luis L. León, Jacinto B. Treviño. (2002)

Vol IV CANDIDATOS Y PRESIDENTE: Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Juan Andreu Almazán, Ezequiel Padilla, Emilio Portes Gil. (2004).

Ed. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. México. Editor general: Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda. Es posible descargar los cuatro volúmenes de manera gratuita en http://elitelore.org/Oral_History_Book_Series.html

He mencionado al final a dos parejas de investigadores con quienes la suerte me llevó a colaborar; parejas ambas de historiadores, aunque la primera esté clasificada en el campo de la antropología.

La formación académica y la experiencia de entrevistar y analizar las constantes en la vida de gente pobre que estudió en tres continentes indujeron a Oscar Lewis a encontrar rasgos comunes que denominó *La cultura de la pobreza*.

La formación académica y la experiencia de hacer entrevistas entre miembros de la clase política en cinco países de América Latina indujeron a James W. Wilkie a reflexionar sobre las constantes en la actitud de sus entrevistados al hablar sobre sí mismos. De allí surgió en 1967 el concepto de *Elitelore*, y en 1973, el libro,³ donde analiza los elementos que la integran, como veremos más adelante.

De Ruth y Oscar Lewis recibí lecciones magistrales de Antropología Social, así como el adiestramiento esencial para hacer investigación antropológica; registrar y ordenar los datos resultantes del trabajo de campo, analizarlos y tramar la forma de presentarlos a partir del núcleo dramático de los protagonistas más significativos del grupo social sujeto a estudio.

Años después, en la Biblioteca del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, en Washington, D.C. descubrí las siete entrevistas de Jim y Edna que contiene *México Visto en el Siglo xx* (1969). Ese libro me reveló una forma diferente de presentar la entrevista, fundada en el propósito de historiar. El tratamiento que dieron a las transcripciones constituía una variante metodológica de la edición, y antes que eso, de la manera de concebir y plantear el diálogo con un entrevistado.

No es lo mismo sentirse integrante de una clase social que tener conciencia de clase; luego no es lo mismo entrevistar a quienes han vivido en la marginación social que a alguien cuya trayectoria ha influido directamente en la sociedad. En este último caso, durante la entrevista es preciso estar consciente de la etapa histórica y de los episodios en que el entrevistado ha intervenido. Esta conciencia constituye un factor esencial del diálogo en que se registra una historia

3 Favor de ver James W. Wilkie, *Elitelore* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, (1973). Es posible descargarlo de manera gratuita en http://www.elitelore.org/Capitulos/Elitelore_book1.pdf

oral. Soporta el escenario de los hechos que la propia historia oral va a iluminar con el matiz personal —parcial, si se quiere— del protagonista. Esta versión siempre aportará un valor adicional.

En cierto sentido, la entrevista de Historia Oral, como la conducen Jim y Edna, tiñe de humanidad los episodios históricos mediante la percepción individual del protagonista, con todo y la carga de subjetividad que esa versión puede contener.

Del análisis de estos elementos y de otros más, a los que no me referiré, fue surgiendo la teoría que puntualiza y explica estas particularidades de la disciplina para investigar la Historia.

Dos decenios después tuve la suerte de encontrarme personalmente con Jim y ampliar ese conocimiento. Fue entonces cuando conocí el neologismo en la voz de su autor: *Elitelore*, término que sintetiza una teoría.

El *Elitelore* no existiría si Wilkie no hubiera reiterado las prácticas de obtener la historia oral de dirigentes políticos e intelectuales destacados y de observar atentamente su actitud mientras contaban su vida y contestaban sus preguntas, sorprendentemente bien informadas. Tampoco hubiera surgido sin contrastar diferentes —y a veces, contradictorias— opiniones de los entrevistados sobre un mismo asunto, expresadas en momentos distintos. Las opiniones cambiaban según las circunstancias o bien, con la perspectiva de los años. El concepto de *Elitelore*, por tanto, es resultante del análisis y compulsión de muchas historias de vida contadas oralmente.

Conceptualmente el *Elitelore* adquirió autonomía, pero no independencia. Como la flama respecto de las velas, el *Elitelore* se instala por encima de los testimonios de historia oral y los ilumina mediante el análisis de cada aspecto que es posible observar, es decir, la autopercepción o el autoengaño de los personajes para justificar su liderazgo; la incompletud de sus sistemas de información y el conocimiento parcial, selectivo o sesgado del ámbito en que dominan; sus recursos de protección del ego y el prestigio, que repercuten en dos consecuencias esenciales: por una parte, influyen sobre sus decisiones de gobierno, decisiones que obedecen a una lógica que los gobernados no comprenden porque se contrapone a la realidad que la

mayoría percibe; por otra, son decisiones que producen efectos reales, frecuentemente irreversibles, impopulares o catastróficos.

Otros aspectos que el Elitelore analiza son el sometimiento del poder institucional a los intereses de la élite que lo detenta, sea como poder político o intelectual, así como los pasos para construir el mito que los dirigentes quieren que les sobreviva. Antes de la presente época, su aspiración se conformaba con proyectar este mito a escala nacional; ahora, influidos por la globalización y por el efecto que consiguen los medios que difunden instantáneamente mensajes e imágenes, aspiran a que la proyección de su mito sea planetaria.

James W. Wilkie presentó el concepto de Elitelore en la *Social Science Research Council Conference on Folk and Social Science* celebrada en Nueva York, en noviembre de 1967, pero su neologismo no lo detuvo en la autocomplacencia. Tampoco pensó que fuera una noción definitiva e inalterable. Por el contrario: con plena conciencia del carácter siempre dinámico y cambiante de la historia, de la cultura y de las teorías para interpretarlas, ha mantenido una conciencia alerta, autocrítica y receptiva, cuya visión cubre 360 grados.

Durante casi medio siglo Wilkie se ha mantenido activo para explorar y filosofar sobre esta idea seminal. De esa manera ha registrado una amplia variedad de subcategorías o campos de la cultura donde es identificable un *lore*, es decir, un saber que influye y tiende a la hegemonía sobre su ámbito: celebrilore, cinemallore, curanderollore, faxlore —fugaz, como la vigencia de la tecnología que lo originó—, festejollore, imagollore, infanciallore, literatullore, operallore, politicallore, popularlore, pornollore, temperatullore... Apenas he colectado alfabéticamente los *lores* que el propio James W. Wilkie menciona en la revisión que hizo hace cuatro años de lo que ha ocurrido desde que presentó el concepto, pero la lista es susceptible de crecer, como declara Wilkie en esa misma revisión:⁴

Al estudiar los *lores* desde nuestro respectivo punto de vista, Alan Dundes y yo estamos de acuerdo en Oscar Lewis [con la noción de la Cultura de la Pobreza]. Mantenernos abiertos a nuevas dimensiones, como lo estuvo

4 James W. Wilkie, David E. Lorey, Olga M. Lazín "Introduction," *Elitelore Varieties: 17 Views in World Context* (Los Angeles: Elitelore Books, 2012): <http://elitelore.org/book3.html>

en cualquier caso, a lo que las disciplinas académicas tienen en común, aunque desde diferentes enfoques, para entender los mismos asuntos desde diferentes perspectivas.

A propósito, es oportuno agregar que esa apertura a nuevas dimensiones está libre de prejuicios, y también de miedo: Jim Wilkie responde con lucidez y pasión al entablar discusiones con quienes disienten. Mas aun, toda vez que surgen opiniones divergentes, las analiza hasta entender su lógica interna.

¿Cuál es el futuro del estudio del Elitelore?, se pregunta James W. Wilkie. Y enseguida sugiere que para abrir camino a nuevas investigaciones convendría ampliar los registros, de tal manera que sea posible obtener una idea más completa y fidedigna de lo que los dirigentes piensan. Wilkie lo dice en los siguientes términos: “grabar las concepciones de los líderes para que años después los biógrafos no tengan que recurrir a conjeturas”.

En esta celebración invito a James W. Wilkie a especular sobre situaciones emergentes que tal vez lo lleven a replantear la metodología del futuro Elitelore —una más entre varias metodologías que, por cierto, ha previsto como 17 innovaciones, o diferentes formas de desarrollar nuevos aspectos del Elitelore, según lo expone en la Introducción a *Elitelore Varieties* (2012).⁵

La realidad actual nos ha complicado el cuadro. Por eso creo que para abrir camino a nuevas investigaciones elitelóricas resulta necesario enfocar no sólo las declaraciones de los líderes, sino también las de quienes conciben las supuestas declaraciones del líder y las revelan mediante el teleprompter, aunque se le atribuyan a quien las lee, como si las formulara en términos que nunca antes había articulado en palabras.

Las mayores interrogantes sobre los escritores-fantasma en que Jim ha tratado de ahondar durante largo tiempo son las siguientes: cómo hacen realmente el trabajo sucio para sus patrones y por qué lo hacen.

A propósito, Jim me recomendó últimamente la lectura de un artículo por Jane Mayer aparecido la *The New Yorker* sobre un *Ghost*

5 Ibid.

Writer de estos,⁶ que responde ambas interrogantes de una manera que ilustra esta cuestión con nitidez: “El escritor fantasma de Donald Trump cuenta todo: en el libro *The Art of the Deal* [*El arte de hacer tratos*] presentó a Trump como alguien encantador, con una infalible habilidad para los negocios. Tony Schwartz contribuyó a crear ese mito y ahora se arrepiente”.

Según narra Jane Mayer, Tony Schwartz, el escritor-fantasma, entre sus revelaciones afirma que cuando trató de entrevistarlo, Trump carecía de paciencia y capacidad para concentrarse en un asunto; tampoco tenía recuerdos reales de sus negocios como empresario, de su juventud ni de su vida familiar, para escribir su supuesta autobiografía. Schwartz cuenta por qué él tuvo que escribirla y por qué rechazó la posterior invitación que Trump le formuló personalmente para que escribiera el libro sobre su campaña de este año por la Presidencia de EE.UU.

En la entrevista telefónica que Mayer hizo a Trump antes de escribir el artículo que publicó en *The New Yorker*, inicialmente Trump dijo de Schwartz: “Tony era muy bueno. Fue el co-autor”. Pero eludió referirse a la participación que Schwartz tuvo durante el proceso de escritura. “Él no escribió el libro —me dijo Trump—. Yo lo escribí. Yo lo escribí. Es mi libro. Alcanzó el primer lugar en la lista de *bestsellers* y fue uno de los libros de negocios más vendidos de todos los tiempos. Hay quien dice que ha sido el libro de negocios de mayor venta hasta ahora”. (No lo es). Howard Kaminsky, el ex director de Random House [quien publicó la primera edición de *The Art of the Deal* en 1987], se rió. —¡Trump no nos escribió ni siquiera una postal! —dijo.

Este orden de desafíos a la metodología del Elitelore, desde luego, eran impensables hace 49 años. Son efecto de las innovaciones tecnológicas que han afectado el comportamiento y la forma de relacionarse de las sociedades contemporáneas, pero confío en la capacidad de respuesta de las disciplinas sociales, y en particular, en el ingenio y la experiencia de quien hoy merece nuestro homenaje.

Julio de 2016.

6 Se puede leer el artículo de Jane Mayer en *The New Yorker*, 25 de julio de 2016: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/07/25/donald-trumps-ghostwriter-tells-all>

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Los “efectos multiplicadores” del trabajo académico de James W. Wilkie en la formación de investigadores y en la publicación de sus resultados en México

Jesús Arroyo Alejandre

Conocí a Jim a principios de la década de los noventa —por supuesto, entonces no le llamaba por su primer nombre— y a Clint E. Smith, entonces Program Officer de la Fundación William and Flora Hewlett, en una visita que hicieron a Guadalajara en búsqueda de grupos de académicos de universidades fuera del Distrito Federal, con el propósito de evaluar la posibilidad de apoyarlos en lo académico y lo financiero para impulsar la investigación socioeconómica en el marco de las relaciones México-Estados Unidos, y en particular sobre sus impactos en la economía del país y sus regiones. En la Ciudad de México, un amigo mutuo les informó de la existencia de un nuevo grupo académico de la Universidad de Guadalajara que estaba estudiando las relaciones México-Estados Unidos con un enfoque regional. En efecto, casi inmediatamente después de que regresé de mi doctorado en Cornell tuve la oportunidad de fundar el Instituto de Estudios Económicos y Regionales (Ineser) con el apoyo de las autoridades de la Universidad de Guadalajara (udeg). Estaba formado por cuatro centros de estudios, que en realidad eran líneas de investigación: de Estudios México-Estados Unidos, de Economía, de Población y Desarrollo, y de Estudios Regionales. Lo iniciamos cinco académicos jóvenes.

Recuerdo que tuve una cena-reunión con Jim y Clint. Por aquel entonces iniciábamos la revista *Carta Económica Regional*, que publicaba y aún difunde resultados de investigación; se enfocaba principalmente en política pública y en la coyuntura socioeconómica regional. Creo que les gustó mi exposición sobre el Ineser y la revista, y de seguro nos consideraron un grupo de académicos que trabajaba con rigor y seriedad. En aquella reunión comenzó una relación, primeramente, de amistad con Jim, pero en lo sustantivo de gran trascendencia por el acceso que tuvimos al PROFMEX y la UCLA. Con esta relación se inició la consolidación académica e institucional del Ineser en la Universidad de Guadalajara. Posteriormente, con el liderazgo de Jim en PROFMEX, se consolidaron otros grupos mediante redes, que se formaron en parte por la posibilidad de publicar en la Serie Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México. Grupos como los de Zacatecas, Nayarit, Michoacán y Baja California, en el ámbito regional. Claramente, el trabajo y liderazgo de Jim influyó en otros grupos y en la formación de redes académicas con sede en el Distrito Federal y otras regiones. En nuestro caso, quisiera mostrar cómo el trabajo de Jim, su apoyo e influencia, tuvo efectos definitivos en el desarrollo institucional de la investigación y la academia en general en la udeg, sobre todo en los estudios socioeconómicos, actividad que también impactaron en la docencia. Por eso quiero resaltar y describir los “efectos multiplicadores académicos” del trabajo y liderazgo de Jim con el ejemplo del Ineser, que sólo fue una pequeña parte de lo que ha realizado en su larga trayectoria.

En aquella primera reunión yo estaba un poco nervioso, tal vez porque sabía lo importantes que eran Jim y Clint. Sabía del relevante trabajo de Jim en la historia oral de México, conocía su estudio sin precedentes sobre las finanzas públicas del país, y la relación con Clint como oficial de programa de la Fundación era para mí de vital importancia.

Después de la reunión, Jim nos planteó un proyecto conjunto de investigación regional orientada a política, que involucraba la emigración a Estados Unidos y los posibles impactos territoriales del Tratado de Libre Comercio que estaba a discusión entre México y Estados Unidos. Esto es,

PROFMEX-udeg; o, más bien, el equipo de Jim en la UCLA y el equipo del Ineser en la udeg. El proyecto se integró con ayuda de David Lorey, quien fue nombrado posteriormente Program Officer de la Fundación; se aprobó un financiamiento por tres años, el cual se renovó varias veces, de manera que recibimos durante más de diez años un apoyo financiero que resultó fundamental para el Ineser porque le permitió, como ya mencioné, su desarrollo como institución.

Tal vez lo más importante del proyecto fue el esquema de formación de recursos humanos para la investigación, con la incorporación de investigadores noveles y de estudiantes de los últimos semestres de economía y otras carreras como asistentes de investigación; se les elegía por ser los mejores y su interés por la investigación académica. También otorgó apoyo para los gastos operativos de nuestros estudios y de lo que Jim llamaba *networking*, lo cual nos permitió incorporarnos a las actividades de PROFMEX, asistir a reuniones y congresos e integrar redes con otros grupos de académicos, principalmente de fuera del Distrito Federal. Así pues, de manera indirecta se contribuyó a descentralizar la incipiente investigación socioeconómica que se realizaba en los estados del país.

Durante los aproximadamente diez años de trabajo en colaboración con Jim y PROFMEX, y con el apoyo financiero de la Fundación William and Flora Hewlett, el Ineser se convirtió en un espacio académico reconocido a escala nacional. El número de profesores investigadores se triplicó, la mayoría con el grado de doctor y muchos como miembros del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI); se llegó a aproximadamente quince jóvenes asistentes de investigación, con lo que el Ineser se pudo considerar entonces como el espacio más relevante en la investigación socioeconómica regional y en la migración México-Estados Unidos en el occidente de México. El Ineser fue el primero en ofrecer una maestría en economía acreditada por el Conacyt fuera de la Ciudad de México; la mayoría de sus egresados hicieron sus doctorados en el extranjero y muchos se reincorporaron a la udeg y otras universidades del país. Este programa hubiera sido muy difícil de instrumentar sin el apoyo de Jim, PROFMEX y la Fundación William and Flora Hewlett. Desde entonces, continúa formando economistas

que, después de sus estudios doctorales, realizan investigación y se incorporan a la dirección académica.

Así, el Ineser ha sido un espacio de formación de académicos prominentes. Muestra de ello es que de él han surgido tres rectores de centros universitarios de la udeg y uno de la Universidad de Baja California Sur, así como destacados funcionarios públicos y directivos de la propia udeg y otras instituciones educativas del país. Otro indicador de calidad en la investigación es el número de miembros del SNI en los niveles II y III formados por el Ineser. Todos los profesores investigadores actuales formados en él pertenecen a este sistema. Por la madurez y calidad académica de los miembros del Ineser, durante la instrumentación de la reforma académica de la udeg tuvimos la oportunidad de fundar y consolidar el Centro Universitario de Ciencia Económico Administrativas (CUCEA), que por la calidad de sus programas docentes, de investigación y de vinculación, así como por su infraestructura y número de estudiantes, es considerado el centro “ventana” de la institución. Actualmente el Ineser es un departamento del CUCEA y muchos de los académicos que ha formado adoptan un esquema similar de formación de recursos humanos para la investigación y docencia en distintas universidades, donde casi todos desempeñan puestos directivos. No es exagerado mencionar que el fundamento de este proceso multiplicador de efectos positivos en la investigación socioeconómica y la docencia tuvo su origen en gran medida en la relación y el apoyo recibido de Jim y de PROFMEX.

Sin duda Jim ha sido un gran visionario y promotor académico, pues su idea de crear una serie de libros que publicaran resultados de investigación sobre México ha sido exitosa en muchos sentidos. Él y Sergio de la Peña la iniciaron en 1990; desafortunadamente, éste nos abandonó en 1998. Por eso Jim me pidió continuar su trabajo, y desde entonces coordino con él la serie que desde su inicio Jim llamó Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México.

En uno de los últimos libros de la Serie se menciona a Jim y el que escribe, así como a Sergio de la Peña, como sus directores, y como coordinadores de las publicaciones a Adriana Patricia López Velasco

y J. David Rodríguez Álvarez. Como presentación de la lista de títulos publicados, menciona lo siguiente:

La Serie Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México es un esfuerzo de PROFMEX (World Wide Consortium for Research on Mexico) en colaboración con la Universidad de California en Los Ángeles y el Centro Universitario de Ciencias Económico Administrativas de la Universidad de Guadalajara, para el estudio de los procesos de cambio en México y su lugar en el mundo. Publicada bajo la coordinación de la Universidad de Guadalajara, la serie consta de 45 títulos hasta 2016.

Esta serie está dedicada a Clint E. Smith, quien la apoyó desde la Fundación William and Flora Hewlett.

Considerando la necesidad de colegas académicos de publicar sus resultados de investigación en la línea de migración y desarrollo regional y urbano, sobre todo de instituciones de investigación y educación superior fuera de la Ciudad de México, decidimos crear una subserie llamada precisamente Migración y Desarrollo Urbano-Regional. Como introducción a ella mencionamos que:

El proceso multidimensional del desarrollo está profundamente ligado a la migración entre países, regiones o localidades. Producto de la desigualdad, la migración se genera en los espacios que enfrentan dificultades, incluso la imposibilidad de desarrollarse, y se dirige hacia aquellos que concentran la riqueza.

Esta subserie está a cargo de los mismos directores y coordinadores de la anterior y hasta la fecha ha publicado siete títulos.

La creación de la Serie Ciclos y Tendencias en la Historia de México por Jim fue visionaria porque es y sigue siendo un espacio plural, objetivo y riguroso de publicación de resultados de investigadores ya que los trabajos se someten a la revisión por pares, por lo que su calidad los hace confiables para otros autores e instancias evaluadoras de la producción científica como el SNI. Esta serie es comparable en calidad y en las líneas de estudio que publica —probablemente también en antigüedad y número de títulos— a la Serie Historia Mínima de

El Colegio de México, algunas colecciones del Fondo de Cultura Económica y otras de la editorial Siglo XXI.

Tanto la serie como la subserie mencionadas han publicado trabajos de un gran número de académicos ya sea como coautores con capítulos de libro o como autores únicos. Resalta el hecho de que muchos de los libros publican resultados de investigación presentados previamente en coloquios nacionales e internacionales, algunos de ellos organizados por PROFMEX y con otras instituciones; otros son resultados de proyectos financiados por el Conacyt o fundaciones internacionales. El esquema organizacional de la serie y la subserie ha funcionado eficientemente, con recursos mínimos y la dirección fundamental de Jim, mediante un esquema concebido de manera muy pragmática, en la que PROFMEX administra las coediciones. Ha sido también importante, en este sentido, la participación de Juan Pablos Editor, que imprime y distribuye lo publicado en la Ciudad de México y el resto del país. Patricia López y David Rodríguez se encargan de la edición y el cuidado de las publicaciones, y Alma Francisca Martínez de los aspectos administrativos y operativos del proceso. Otra ventaja de este esquema es que nos permite subir en línea el total del libro, de manera que cualquier investigador o estudiante pueda consultarlo e imprimirlo gratuitamente si lo desea.

Libros publicados

Serie	Total títulos	Año del primer título	Año del último título	Descargados	En línea
Ciclos y Tendencias en el Desarrollo de México	45	1990	2015	1,017	27
Migración y Desarrollo Urbano-Regional	7	2009	2015	9,863	7
Publicaciones académicas especiales	3	1989	2014	142	3

En la serie y la subserie han publicado también reconocidos personajes de la vida académica de Estados Unidos y de México; por mencionar algunos: Jesús Reyes Heróles, Clark Reynolds, Celso

Garrido, Sylvia Ortega, Alejandro Mungaray, Paul Ganster, Boris Graizbord, Carlos Garrocho, Luis Aboites, Carlos Muñoz Izquierdo, Frederick Camp, Clemente Ruiz Durán, Enrique Hernández Laos, Nora Lustig, Juan Castaingts, Edmundo Jacobo, Jeffrey Bortz, Shigeyuki Abe, David E. Lorey, Clint E. Smith y Sergio de la Peña, entre muchos otros igualmente importantes, pero que sería largo de mencionar aquí.

Como se puede ver, el trabajo académico y de promoción de la investigación sobre México de Jim ha tenido efectos multiplicadores a través de actividades de PROFMEX que han impulsado la creación de importantes redes de estudiosos. Éstas, a su vez, han impactado en la formación de recursos humanos; en el caso de la udeg, el que escribe ha sido testigo de cómo la influencia positiva de un académico mexicanista, con visión globalizada y de futuro como Jim, denotó un proceso continuo de formación de recursos humanos y de actividades de investigación socioeconómica sobre México que ha permitido avanzar en el conocimiento y lo ha sido puesto al servicio de la sociedad para su mejoramiento.

SERIE CICLOS Y TENDENCIAS EN EL DESARROLLO DE MÉXICO

Núm.	Título del libro	Autores/Compiladores/ Editores	Coedición	Año
1	Industria y trabajo	James W. Wilkie y Jesús Reyes Heróles	Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1990
2	The rise of the professions in twentieth-century Mexico: University graduates and occupational change since 1929	David E. Lorey	UCLA Latin American Center Publications	1992
3	La frontera que desaparece: las relaciones México-Estados Unidos hasta los noventa	Clint E. Smith	Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco y UCLA Program on Mexico	1993
4	Impactos regionales de la apertura comercial: perspectivas del Tratado de Libre Comercio en Jalisco	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre y David E. Lorey (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara y UCLA Program on Mexico	1993
5	La estadística económica en México. Los orígenes	Sergio de la Peña y James W. Wilkie	Siglo XXI y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1994

6	Estado y agricultura en México: antecedentes e implicaciones de las reformas salinistas	Enrique C. Ochoa y David E. Lorey (compiladores)	Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1994
7	Transiciones financieras y TLC	Antonio Gutiérrez Pérez y Celso Garrido Noguera (coordinadores)	Ariel Económica, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1994
8	Ahorro y sistema financiero en México	Celso Garrido y Tomás Peñaloza Webb	Editorial Grijalbo y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1996
9	México ante los Estados Unidos: historia de una convergencia	Clint E. Smith	Editorial Grijalbo y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1995
10	Crisis y cambio de la educación superior en México	David E. Lorey y Sylvia Ortega Salazar (coordinadores)	Limusa-Noriega Editores y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1997

11	Ajustes y desajustes regionales: el caso de Jalisco a fines del sexenio salinista	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre y David E. Lorey (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara y UCLA Program on Mexico	1995
12	Integrating cities and regions: North America faces of globalization	James W. Wilkie y Clint E. Smith (editors)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, CILACE-Centro Internacional "Lucas Alamán" para el Crecimiento Económico	1998
13	Realidades de la utopía: demografía, trabajo y municipio en el occidente de México	David E. Lorey y Basilio Verduzco Chávez (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Juan Pablos Editor	1997
14	La internacionalización de la economía jalisciense	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre y Adrián de León Arias (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Juan Pablos Editor	1997
15	Descentralización e iniciativas locales de desarrollo	María Luisa García Bátiz, Sergio M. González Rodríguez, Antonio Sánchez Bernal y Basilio Verduzco Chávez	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Juan Pablos Editor	1997

16	México frente a la modernización de China	Óscar M. González Cuevas (compilador)	Limusa-Noriega y Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco	1998
17	La reforma agraria en México desde 1853: sus tres ciclos legales	Rosario Varo Berra	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex y Juan Pablos Editor	1998
18	Mercados regionales de trabajo y empresa	Rubén A. Chavarín Rodríguez, Víctor M. Castillo Girón y Gerardo Ríos Almodóvar	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Juan Pablos Editor	1999
19	Globalidad y región: algunas dimensiones de la reestructuración en Jalisco	Graciela López Méndez y Ana Rosa Moreno Pérez (coordinadoras)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Juan Pablos Editor	2000
20	México en la economía global: tecnología, espacio e instituciones	Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, UCLA Program on Mexico y Editorial Jus	2000

21	El renacimiento de las regiones: descentralización y desarrollo regional en Alemania (Brandenburgo) y México (Jalisco)	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre, Karl-Dieter Keim y James Scott (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Juan Pablos Editor	2001
22	México y Estados Unidos: 180 años de relaciones ineludibles	Clint E. Smith	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex y Juan Pablos Editor	2001
23	La regionalización: nuevos horizontes para la gestión pública	Guillermo Woo	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico y Centro Lindavista	2002
24	El Norte de todos: migración y trabajo en tiempos de globalización	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre, Alejandro I. Canales Cerón y Patricia Noemi Vargas Becerra (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex y Juan Pablos Editor	2002
25	Competitividad: implicaciones para empresas y regiones	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre y Salvador Berumen Sandoval (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex y Juan Pablos Editor	2003

26	Globalización y cambio tecnológico: México en el nuevo ciclo industrial mundial	Alejandro Dabat, Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos y James W. Wilkie (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex y Juan Pablos Editor	2004
27	Los dólares de la migración	Jean Papail y Jesús Arroyo Alejandre	Universidad de Guadalajara, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, Profmex y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2004
28	Diez mil millas de música norteña: memorias de Julián Garza	Guillermo E. Hernández	Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa y UCLA Program on Mexico	2003
29	El futuro del agua en México	Boris Graizbord y Jesús Arroyo Alejandre (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2004

30	Intermediarios y comercializadores. Canales de distribución de frutas y hortalizas mexicanas en Estados Unidos	Margarita Calleja Pinedo	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2007
31	Capitalismo informático, cambio tecnológico y desarrollo nacional	Miguel Ángel Rivera Ríos	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2005
32	Globalización en Guadalajara. Economía formal y trabajo informal	Salvador Carrillo Regalado	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2005
33	Productividad de la industria eléctrica en México. División Centro Occidente	José César Lenin Navarro Chávez y Óscar Hugo Pedraza Rendón	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Profmex/World	2007

34	Migración, remesas y distribución del ingreso en México y Michoacán	Óscar Hugo Pedraza Rendón, José Odón García García, Enrique Armas Arévalo y Francisco Ayvar Campos	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2013
35	La globalización se descentraliza. Libre mercado, fundaciones, Sociedad Cívica y gobierno civil en las regiones del mundo	Olga Magdalena Lazín	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2007
36	La globalización se amplía. Claroscuros de los nexos globales	James W. Wilkie	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2011
37	El oro rojo de Sinaloa. El desarrollo de la agricultura del tomate para la exportación	Eduardo Frías Sarmiento	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2008

38	Migración a Estados Unidos y autoempleo. Doce ciudades pequeñas de la región centro-occidente de México	Jean Papail y Jesús Arroyo Alejandre	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World, Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2009
39	Cognados y falsos cognados. Su uso en la enseñanza del inglés	Socorro Montaña Rodríguez	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California y Casa Juan Pablos Centro Cultural	2009
40	Regiones en desarrollo insostenible	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre e Isabel Corvera Valenzuela (compiladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2010
41	El posgrado en México. El caso de Quintana Roo	Efraín Villanueva Arcos y Alfonso J. Galindo Rodríguez (editores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World, Instituto de Administración Pública del Estado de Quintana Roo, A.C., Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa	2011

42	Desarrollo insostenible. Gobernanza, agua y turismo	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre e Isabel Corvera Valenzuela (co-piladores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2011
43	Referentes teóricos del turismo alternativo	Mónica Velarde Valdez, Ana Virginia del Carmen Maldonado Alcudia, Salvador Gómez Nieves (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad de Occidente, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2015
44	El TLCAN en el sector agrícola de Michoacán y la región Costa Sur de Jalisco	J. Abelino Torres Montes de Oca, José César Lenin Navarro Chávez y José Odón García García (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2015
45	Internacionalización de los servicios de salud. Turismo médico en México y Jalisco	Julietta Guzmán Flores	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2015

SERIE MIGRACIÓN Y DESARROLLO URBANO-REGIONAL

Núm.	Título del libro	Autores/Compiladores/ Editores	Coedición	Año
1	Principios de estudio regional. Espacios concluidos en red y regiones sin límite	Margarita Camarena Luhrs y Teodoro Aguilar Ortega (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2009
2	Shrinking cities South/North	Ivonne Audirac y Jesús Arroyo Alejandre (editors)	Florida State University, Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2010
3	Impactos del TLCAN en el sector agropecuario de Jalisco	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre (coordinador)	Universidad de Guadalajara, Consejo Estatal de Ciencia y Tecnología de Jalisco, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2012

4	Migración, remesas y distribución del ingreso en México y Michoacán	José César Lenin Navarro Chávez, Francisco Javier Ayvar Campos y Óscar Hugo Pedraza Rendón	Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2013
5	Relaciones México-Japón en el contexto del Acuerdo de Asociación Económica	Taku Okabe y Salvador Carrillo Regalado (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, Universidad de Seijo, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2014
6	Migración y desarrollo regional. Movilidad poblacional interna y a Estados Unidos en la dinámica urbana de México	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre y David Rodríguez Álvarez	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2014
7	Enfoques novedosos del estudio de la migración de México a Estados Unidos	Jesús Arroyo Alejandre e Isabel Corvera Valenzuela (coordinadores)	Universidad de Guadalajara, UCLA Program on Mexico, Profmex/World y Juan Pablos Editor	2015

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“Some Thoughts on the Role of Geography in Shaping the Uneven Development of Mexico”

By Oscar J. Martínez

Presented at the Homenaje to James W. Wilkie, El Colegio de Chihuahua, Ciudad Juárez. May 16-17, 2016.

Geographical forces have long been recognized as playing central roles in the fate of nations, yet exaggerated claims by early twentieth century scholars regarding what they believed to be the deterministic character of climate and physical geography on human societies subsequently undermined consideration of the environment as a central factor in economic development. So-called “environmental determinists” were censured for using geography to explain alleged differences in intellectual abilities among the races, and they were further accused of assigning greater significance to geography than to human capabilities. For decades such criticisms discouraged geography-centered studies of economic development. In recent years, however, a growing number of scholars have rightly argued that one does not need to embrace determinism or minimize human choice to recognize that geography plays an extraordinary role in the creation of uneven economic playing fields among nations.

Numerous Mexican leaders and intellectuals have understood the reality of Mexico’s geographic limitations. In the early twentieth century, for example, the well-known journalist and intellectual

Justo Sierra pointed out many of the obstacles that nature posed for Mexico.¹ More recently, economist Gerardo Esquivel has documented environmental disparities within Mexico's territory and their consequences for wealth distribution. Making it clear that he is not promoting "geographic determinism," Esquivel nonetheless concludes that key "geographic variables explain about two-thirds of the inter-state variation in per-capita income in Mexico."² Historians too have known that geography has played an important role in constraining Mexico's development. Despite the recognition among scholars that Mexico has been negatively impacted by natural impediments, however, the usual practice among has been to merely acknowledge that geographic difficulties exist, rather than to examine the natural obstacles in detail. That is unfortunate because environmental forces have actually had an enormous effect on Mexico.

In the aftermath of the massive land loss following the U.S. expansionist war of 1846-1848, Mexico was left with a much smaller territory, a space that, owing to ubiquitous environmental disadvantages, greatly reduced the number of favorable areas available to the Mexican people. Unlike the United States, whose plentiful favorable spaces support population and economic agglomeration in many places, Mexico is limited to one large, excellent space—the Central Highlands—and a few additional smaller and scattered good spaces throughout the country. Most of the population in the United States lives in coastal areas and along internal waterways, reflecting the auspicious coincidence that many of that country's favorable spaces are located adjacent to bodies of water that can be used for transportation. But, in Mexico, a country that has few internal navigable waterways and whose hot, humid, and generally unhealthy coasts are not ideal living spaces and lack good hinterlands, most of the population is concentrated in the interior. Mexico's coastline is also deficient in good harbors, having only a few suitable places that can physically host deep-water ports from which trans-oceanic trade can be conducted. As a consequence,

1 Richard Weiner, "Antecedents to Daniel Cosío Villegas' Post-Revolutionary Ideology: Justo Sierra's Critique of Mexico's Legendary Wealth and Trinidad Sánchez Santos' Assault on Porfirian Progress." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* (Winter 2014), 30:1, 71-103.

2 Gerardo Esquivel, "Geografía y desarrollo económico en México." Inter-American Development Bank, Research Network Working Paper #R-389 (2000), 28, 44.

only a small portion of Mexico's population historically has settled on the coast, and seaports have developed slowly and modestly. To be sure, advances in the health sector, expansion of national transportation infrastructure, and air conditioning have improved general conditions in Mexico's coastal areas and have stimulated economic activity, including foreign tourism. Indeed, in the last half century a number of seaside cities emerged as important poles of attraction. Nevertheless, coastal Mexico continues to lag significantly behind inland Mexico.

Most of Mexico's territory lies in the problematic tropical and arid semi-tropical zone, which means generally unfavorable climatic conditions, especially in the country's ubiquitous deserts and jungles. Weather extremes, mosquito-borne diseases, insufficient rainfall, and poor soil are among the biggest problems. The continental United States, on the other hand, is located mostly in the temperate zone, which translates into largely favorable weather conditions, protection from diseases, and good soils.

Geography has also constrained Mexico in its efforts to develop efficient communication and transportation infrastructure. The funnel-like shape of the country, combined with the physical arrangement of its imposing mountain ranges, gave rise to a predominant north-south axis that long ago locked in the main traffic corridors into narrow spaces situated between rugged landscapes. North-south movement of products and people is natural, but east-west movement has always been highly problematic as a result of mountain blockages. The difficult land surface has meant high transportation costs. The continental United States, by contrast, possessing a rectangular shape and excellent topography, has been able to build a world-class communication and transportation system that has effectively integrated the different regions of the country.

In fact, exceptional geographic attributes account for much of the success achieved by the United States. The power of geography was hardly conceivable to the early English immigrants who established a foothold along the eastern seaboard of North America. In the seventeenth century the settlers in the thirteen colonies saw Spain as the big winner in global exploration and colonization because of the

Spanish discoveries of vast gold and silver deposits in Mexico and other parts of Latin America. England was disappointed at the relative absence of such natural wealth in those areas of North America settled by its people. Getting rich quickly from mining was not possible in the thirteen colonies. Over the long run, however, opportunities for capital formation and wealth accumulation would increase significantly for European Americans as the colonies evolved into an independent country whose territory and natural endowment grew immensely as a result of an aggressive policy of national expansionism. The continental United States would come to occupy an exceptional space with a superb location between two oceans, one blessed with a temperate climate, abundant fertile lands, plentiful forests, large deposits of minerals, excellent coasts, outstanding harbors, and many inland navigable waterways. These magnificent conditions would allow Americans to make full utilization of economic innovations produced during successive industrial revolutions. It is largely for these reasons that the United States became the land of opportunity for the destitute masses of the world.

For Mexico, contiguity with the United States has been a double edge sword. Certainly adjacency to the lucrative U.S. market has boosted Mexico's exports and has provided access to jobs for millions of impoverished migrants. It is important to point out, however, that historically most of Mexico's domestically-produced exports (those that exclude foreign participation in the production process) to the United States have consisted of raw materials and light manufactures, hardly the kind of products that promote genuine development on the home front. Cross-border migration, moreover, has not been beneficial just to Mexico; over the generations Mexican workers have made enormous contributions to the U.S. economy. It can be argued that Mexican migration has more or less benefitted both countries equally. Finally, as the only developing country sharing a border with the world's lone superpower, Mexico has been undermined in its efforts to build strong domestic industries in the face of unrelenting competition and pressures from the largest economy on the planet. Even during the periods of high tariffs and import quotas and licenses, U.S. consumer

products such as household appliances, electronics, clothes, shoes, and foodstuffs easily flooded Mexican markets via contraband channels, making it difficult for domestic industries to flourish.

Let us now turn our attention to the role of natural resources in shaping Mexico's economy. Up until the 1980's Mexico's economy was highly dependent on minerals, agriculture, and other raw materials. The view predominated that Mexico should be a much more prosperous country because of its supposedly abundant natural resources, especially its silver and oil deposits. In the minds of foreigners and Mexicans alike, mismanagement and government corruption explained Mexico's substandard economic performance. Indeed, Mexico's resource endowment has been substantial, but the notion that natural resources can propel any economy toward great heights is seriously flawed. Advanced development cannot occur if an economy relies mostly on primary products. Apart from the usual disconnectedness between the raw material sector and the rest of the economy typical of developing countries, the internationally driven "resource curse" is a constant menace. The "curse" refers to distortions inflicted on resource-dependent economies by international swings in demand and price for raw materials. On one end, high demand and high prices for raw materials lead to overconcentration on the resource sector. At the other end, drops in demand and price, which often happens unexpectedly, create sudden revenue shortages that bring about serious disruptions. Mexico has felt the force of the "curse" on various occasions, and the consequences have been severe. As is the case in resource-dependent countries generally, Mexico has had difficulty utilizing its mineral base to develop a sizable and competitive domestic manufacturing sector. The troublesome geography has been a major problem, as it has undermined the building of transportation infrastructure capable of overcoming the intrinsic linkage problems between the raw materials sector and industry.

Agricultural production in Mexico has been negatively affected by problematic climatic conditions, including uneven rainfall patterns and shortages of good land. The fact that so much of the country is taken up by mountains, deserts, and jungles means that only 10 to 13 percent

of the land is suitable for cultivation. The problem with agriculture is compounded because the well-watered, technology-friendly good land is not amply concentrated in propitious locations in as it is in various areas of the United States. To be sure there are some large favorable agricultural spaces in Mexico, but much of the cultivable land is scattered in small amounts in many isolated plains and valleys. By necessity farming is also done on hillsides, where the soil is poor and irrigation and the use of machinery are difficult. In addition, a large percentage of Mexico's best agricultural land is used to grow export crops rather than to satisfy local needs. Mexico's weighty agricultural problems are reflected in the need to import large amounts of food from the United States.

With all its limitations, Mexico's endowment of natural resources has made important contributions to the nation's economic growth. But the long era of pronounced resource dependency made clear that raw materials would not suffice to bring about high-level development. Advocates of the neoliberal model like to point out that commodity dependence is a thing of the past in Mexico. However, in view of the fact that the government continues to rely on oil for a substantial portion of its revenues, and given the reality that Mexico continues to have a U.S. dependent-economy that is predominantly driven by low-cost human labor, the validity of that claim is questionable.

In conclusion, I believe that any explanation of Mexico's uneven development must begin with an assessment of how a significantly unfavorable natural environment has hindered the country. That is what I have tried to do in my recently-published book, *Mexico's Uneven Development: The Geographical and Historical Context of Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 2016), from which this paper has been extracted. Apart from gauging the role of geography and natural resources in the development of the country, this book also considers the impact of three other foundational factors: external relations, population dynamics, and the structure of production and governance. This multi-pronged approach to explaining underdevelopment in Mexico hopefully shields me from being labeled a "geographic determinist."

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Jim Wilkie: My Long-Time Academic Friend

Roderic Ai Camp¹

Dear colleagues:

When I was graduate school in the late 1960's, my wife and I used to browse at the Savile Book Shop on P St. in Georgetown, which boasted the largest collection of works on Mexico that I have ever encountered before or since. On our limited budget, I would buy a book a month on Mexico, thus starting my own personal collection. Several books from that era influenced me greatly, Bill Glade and Charles Anderson's *Political Economy of Mexico*, Raymond Vernon's *The Dilemma of Mexico's Development*, and Jim Wilkie's *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910*. I still have his second edition within eyesight of my desk, and imagine, I paid \$2.95 for the paperback edition of this pioneering analysis. It remains one of the most heavily marked books in my collection. I took the opportunity of writing Jim, who was then at Ohio State, praising him for his work. He kindly wrote back to me, and since that time, we have remained friends for more than forty years.

Following the footsteps of Howard Cline, but in a far more sophisticated and original manner, he introduced my generation to the use of statistical analysis of economic data to provide convincing answers to how Mexico was addressing poverty and social policies after the Revolution. I have had the opportunity to collaborate with Jim at meetings, through publications from UCLA, and as a guest lecturer in

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his classes and in Mexico. Mid-way through his career, he made another significant contribution to the field of Mexican history, highlighting the importance of “Elitelore.” Not only was this work an important prod to Latin American historians to use such an oral history methodology, but the work which he co authored, *Mexico Visto En El Siglo XX: Entrevistas de Historia Oral*, is one of the most revealing and under-utilized sources of influential Mexican voices which provides telling insights and unique perspectives on all aspects of Mexico’s historical development in the first half of the twentieth century. Thus, Jim has left us with a published source which will never be out of date. I remain indebted to Jim for his intellectual influences and the permanent enthusiasm he has maintained for all things Mexican during his career.

Thank you Jim. Rod.

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Nahuatl-Language Study and Working with Jim Wilkie A Reminiscence

Susan Schroeder¹

My first graduate class at UCLA was with Jim Wilkie. It was summer in the late 1970s, and he offered a class on the Mexican Revolution, about which I knew nothing. I was about to begin a long love affair with the history of Mexico and of course Latin America, and I can thank Jim for it. Indeed, those were always the classes that I liked best to teach.

As someone who was surely twice the age of everyone else in the class and as someone with six young children at home, studying about Mexico was a grand luxury, and for some reason, Jim took me in his stride. Ever since we built a pueblo in our classroom in the second grade, I had wanted to study Indians, and I was determined to become a colonial historian. That did not matter to Jim. There was and is an openness about Jim that put me at ease. He was curious about me, though, and when he learned that I had been a registered nurse and was teaching continuing education classes about the Laetrile clinics in Tijuana, he was interested. The result was my first published article. I took as many classes as possible, and eventually studied Historical Statistics with him. By coincidence, G.K. Hall was going to publish a series on the historical statistics in Latin America, and each of us in the class selected a country for our two-semester project. I chose Cuba, and it later became the subject of my first published book, all thanks to Jim. I traveled to Cuba on two occasions. The first time was shortly

¹ France Vinton Scholes Professor of Colonial Latin American History Emerita. Tulane University.

after Jimmy Carter relaxed travel to there a bit. The second time was in 1985, when I was treated extremely well, and even was kissed [on the cheek] by the late Ramón Castro, who hosted a visit to one of his model colonias in the countryside. I also became a member of the editorial board of Jim's historical statistics of Latin America publication series at UCLA.

All the while I was studying Nahuatl, a little Yucatec Maya, and Latin American colonial history, and Jim, as inclusive as ever, invited me to become a part of the UC MEXUS and then the PROFMEX teams. Both afforded opportunities for me to meet more people and to always be current about Mexico. There were meetings and conferences to help with and to participate in, and they were always hosted by interesting people in places where you continued to learn something new about Mexico. And through the course of those years, Jim, as incredibly busy as he was, was inevitably there to speak with or meet. I have genuinely fond memories of our times together.

Surely because of the publications that came to be while studying with Jim, I was offered a tenure-track position at Loyola University Chicago. I was a colonialist by that time, although I was also teaching the history of Mexico and the history of Latin America during those thirteen years in Chicago. In large part because of that first job and the publications that followed, in 1999 I was offered an endowed chair at Tulane University, where I taught until I retired in 2009.

I am just one example of Jim's generosity, support, and friendship. I also learned that Mexico is, or might be, a book with many facts, but it is at once always a country with many places and many peoples. I happened to be terribly interested in its early peoples, their languages, their lives, their writings. Ostensibly, the early peoples of Mexico are no more and no less part of its rich, complex, greater whole, a concept that Jim has shared and taught us to know so well. Thanks, Jim.

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El *Lore* Colectivo

Li Rodríguez Hernández

Durante los últimos años he presenciado la colaboración entre James Wilkie y mi padre, una colaboración que ha sido fructífera y muy enriquecedora para los que estamos alrededor.

Ahora que se conmemoran el cumpleaños y el jubileo de James Wilkie como profesor universitario, me propongo felicitarlo con estas líneas.

Supe acerca de James W. Wilkie en 1994, cuando Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda, mi padre, nos contó que consiguió ponerse en contacto con él, quien junto con Edna Monzón Wilkie era autor del libro *México visto en el siglo xx*, título que publicó don Jesús Silva-Herzog en 1969 y que mi padre propuso reeditar como parte de las conmemoraciones del xx aniversario de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

No se me olvida la expresión de ¡Eureka! en su cara cuando supo que además de las siete entrevistas de ese libro, había otras diez inéditas, conjunto que daba para publicar no uno, sino varios volúmenes. Desde luego ese vigésimo aniversario merecía que la UAM patrocinara la edición de la serie.

Al final, fueron cuatro volúmenes de historia oral que reúnen la visión de 17 dirigentes políticos e intelectuales mexicanos que se significaron en la etapa constructiva de la Revolución Mexicana.

Después supe que Jim Wilkie dialogó telefónicamente con Oscar Lewis en 1969; que la técnica de Oscar al grabar entrevistas con gente pobre de la Ciudad de México lo influyó, y por contraste, se propuso investigar al estrato del otro extremo de la pirámide socioeconómica. Esa técnica de entrevistar registra la forma de pensar y actuar de la gente y revela su cultura, o como dice Wilkie, su *Lore*.

Leer la introducción que Jim Wilkie escribió para el libro *Elitelore* de David E. Lorey me recordó episodios que viví de primera mano cuando mis padres trabajaron en la edición de entrevistas de historia oral que Oscar Lewis realizó en Cuba, y que aparecieron en *Cuatro hombres* bajo su firma, y las de sus editoras, Ruth Maslow Lewis y Susan Rigdon, a quienes conocí en mi casa durante mi niñez.

En su introducción al libro de Lorey, Wilkie hace una elaboración muy detallada, con lógica ortodoxa, del concepto de *Lore*, y describe sus efectos, es decir, cómo las formas de pensar entre los diferentes grupos en una sociedad (religión, estatus económico, estatus político, profesión, etc.) se alimentan unas a otras. Cada grupo interpreta su identidad y la de los otros grupos.

El concepto de *Lore*, accesible para todos, la ciencia social es capaz de delimitarlo y medirlo. Un ejemplo de cómo una elite (sinónimo de grupo pequeño dominante) desarrolla estrategias de comunicación que llegan al corazón de la cultura popular son las campañas de mercadotecnia o la invención de superhéroes urbanos que se incorporan a las fantasías de la infancia y la adolescencia. Es así como mis hijas y sus compañeros de escuela se identifican con ellos y los integran al *Lore* —*popularlore*, en este caso—. Mediante la comprensión del *Lore* tomamos conciencia de cómo promueven los artefactos que casi todos estamos dispuestos a pagar para complacer a nuestros hijos.

Gracias, Jim, por ayudarnos a entendernos a nosotros mismos a través de nuestro *Lore*.

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**Brother Jim—Mentor & Explorer of Ideas
and the World**

*Growing Up Together in Idaho, College in Mexico,
and South American Travels in the 1940s and 2000s.*

By Richard W. Wilkie

In 1983 at a party in New York City I spent half the night talking with David Maxey about my brother Jim. At the time David was the Editor of *Psychology Today*, and in his career he had previously been Editor of *Saturday Review of Books*, *Life* and *Look* magazines as well as the European Edition of *Geo Today*. Maxey heard my name Wilkie and asked if I happened to know James Wilkie. I said that he was my brother, and that launched us into a fascinating night of stories about Jim until about 4am the next morning. David said that in his capacity as Editor of the above major publications, he had met nearly all famous contemporary authors, Academy Award -winning actors, poets and painters, Kings, Queens, Presidents, Senators, and Generals—nearly every creative person who had passed through New York, but none compared to Jim Wilkie. Maxey said that Jim as “one of the two most creative people who he had known in his life.”

The second most creative person Maxey named was John Freeman, a singer-song writer and humorist who had been in his fraternity at the University of Idaho in the late 1950s. I explained to Maxey that John Freeman had been my closest friend in Boise High School (Idaho), and the two of us followed Jim to Mexico City College--me for 1956-1958 and John for a year in 1957-58. Maxey wanted to hear about friendships as well as Jim’s role as leader and mentor, especially after we both followed Jim into academia in the 1960s. John finished his Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Colorado, but lost his life in an accident his first year of teaching at Long Beach State College in 1970 before he could publish his own books.

Maxey had graduated with my brother from Boise High School in 1954 and had known Jim since Junior High, when Jim launched his own

radio program. How many 12-year olds do you know that ever walked into a major radio station (the top one in Idaho at the time) and asked to have his own daily program? — and then was given one that continued for six years all through Junior High and High School!

Maxey and I remembered that Jim's creativity even led him to create his own "army" of several hundred loyal high-school students. During his sophomore year that army saluted him when he arrived in each class and followed his orders to work hard on their studies. When I was a senior none of my friends would have been saluting a sophomore, but somehow brother Jim had gained that ability. Fortunately, his aim was for good and not mischief. By his senior year, as President of the high school History Club, Jim ran the "Mid-Night Bakery" that "freed" each day's unsold bakery products for sale at night to students at Boise Junior College (now Boise State University). The profits went to the History Club for purchases of food for the poor.

I had hoped to meet with David Maxey again at some point to record our conversation for posterity, but he unfortunately died two years later from a cancerous brain tumor. With him went a thousand stories.

Our Early Years in Idaho

Jim had started early taking charge of the people and places around him. He was also lucky in that our parents—Waldo and Lucile—decided to buy a fishing lodge at the mile-high Warm Lake on the edge of the Idaho Wilderness Area (the largest in the contiguous United States) when Jim was 9 and I was 7 years old. At North Shore Lodge our parents gave us major responsibilities between 1945 and 1952, where we saw ourselves as "wilderness explorers", if not "mountain men," as we grew to ages 16 and 14. We started driving the Lodge's old International Harvester pickup truck at age 11, as we had to drive the truck to the dump several times a week. We became managers at the Lodge as we grew into our teens—we each had a two-hour shift in the morning running the store (and selling beer), renting boats and pumping gas. Also we were responsible for keeping the firewood boxes filled for the fireplaces and emptying the garbage for the 10 cabins each day by early afternoon. Further, we were in charge of the grounds, picking up candy wrappers and other items thrown

on the ground by clueless people using our resort.

In the afternoons at the Lodge and until about 11 pm we were “free to be kids,” as our parents put it. But that too paid off for the family, since we provided swimming, hiking, fishing, sports, and horseback opportunities for the children who came with their parents to stay at our lodge. We were most proud of taking many of our cabin renters older children and other friends on wilderness hikes up the highest peaks in the region. Negotiating the truck from the Lake up the narrow-dirt-track road over Landmark Summit (elevation 8,600 feet) on our way to the remote hikes, the major problem was to evade over-loaded logging trucks as they negotiated the blind curves at speeds that were too high.

Brother Jim always led the way, along with Lambert “Skip” Dolphin, Jr., an older cousin, who Jim strongly influenced as well. (Skip later became a scientist for the Stanford Research Institute, and at one point supervised the building in Australia of the worlds’ largest telescope for exploring the universe.) As teens, however, we lived in one of the two most isolated counties in the continental United States, according to a study I later saw “based on centrality and connectivity to other populated places in the nation,” two adjacent counties in Idaho--Valley and Custer--counties tied for most remote and isolated from other counties. Our country--Valley--had 4,035 people in 1940 (4,270 in 1950) living in 3,733 square miles in an area three times the size of the state of Rhode Island or two-thirds of the size of Connecticut. It was named after Long Valley where 90 percent of the people lived, but in reality 95 percent of the land to the east of Long Valley was made up of deeply incised—mostly granite based—mountain ranges with only a few dirt track roads. I used to tell people that Jim and I grew up 5 people northwest of the place where Ezra Pound was born and Ernest Hemingway died in Hailey, south of the Sawtooth Mountains near Sun Valley. While it was more or less true, a straight line between the two places was through wilderness where no one lived and was just over 100 miles away.



Photo 1: Jim Wilkie (on right) with brother Dick and father Waldo Wilkie (holding fish) – taken in August 1945 at Warm Lake, Idaho.

In spite of that remoteness, as we grew older we started to look into the broader world. Jim was always reading newspapers and books--and at times even the dictionary as the many unknown words led to another to expand his vocabulary. I remember Jim waiting anxiously for the mail delivery truck from the lowlands with his copy of the *Idaho Statesman* with its news of the United States and from around the world. He disliked the *Statesman's* John-Birch-Society-type-of-rabid conservatism found in the opinion pieces (which demanded, e.g., that America resign from the one-world-oriented United Nations), but enjoyed reading dispatches from the Korean War and Asia, life from Mexico to the horn of South America as well as the roles of the United Kingdom and Europe as they faced with the USA the Cold War. When some persons saw him reading about the life of Hitler, they spread the “word” that Jim was a Fascist. When he read books on Stalin, the gossip changed to “Jim is a Communist.”

Our mountain treks and explorations too helped us to look more and more into the world as we learned to see and “way find” in the world. We learned to read the landscape and to grasp instinctively what we were seeing through our wilderness upbringing. We learned that our survival often depended on remembering details in the landscape and how each varied at different times of day, thus constructing accurate mental maps to

find our way to and from such places as a wilderness peak or distant river gorges.



Photo 2: Wilkie family at Warm Lake, 1946: Dick, Lucile, Waldo, Jim and our dog Sancho.

Our North Shore Lodge at Warm Lake (snowed-in for the five-month winters) named after the many hot springs in the valley that released some warm spots into the Lake--in reality it is a cold mountain lake. At an elevation of 5,298 feet—18 feet higher than one mile—our valley was surrounded by densely forested mountains up to around 9,000 to 10,000 feet, elevations, with soul inspiring names such as Thunderbolt and Blue Point Lookouts, Cougar Rock, Monumental Peak, Square Top and the Needles, Gold Fork Rock, Chilcoot Peak and Indian Ridge Lookout. Our region included the Chinook salmon spawning that took place every summer on the South Fork of the Salmon River that passed through the valley north to south about two miles from our Lodge, as well as the old road to the Thunder Mountain gold-mining country (described in Zane Gray's 1935 book—film the same year—entitled *Thunder Mountain*) that passed west to east about a half mile north of our North Shore Lodge. Mail and supplies came twice a week from Cascade on the “Stibnite Stage”—now a paneled truck on its way to the mines.

The mountain and creek names and stories surrounding the Thunder Mountain legacy led us to scale distant peaks, which we saw ourselves as destined to climb, then and some year later in Mexico, Central America,

South America, Europe and elsewhere as we came to explore the world whenever and wherever we were able to do so.

During our formative years in the mountains we decided to capture the ‘oral history’ of our winter caretaker, Bob Barr--then in his 80s. The idea was to use Jim’s wire recorder and later tape recorder (acquired even before he had a radio program) to capture Bob’s voice telling us his stories that excited us about the history of our isolated mountain region. We appreciated hearing first hand his account of how he had driven cattle northwest from Texas on the Chisholm Trail in the 1880s (five times) to eventually arrive in Idaho by the mid-1890s, even before the Thunder Mountain Gold Rush (1899-1910). Rather than chase gold he built fire lookouts in the area, and concentrated on fishing. Bob told us how in 1909 the new Gold Rush village of Roosevelt was suddenly transformed after a landslide created a dam below the village and suddenly became a lake. Nearly half a century later fishermen on rafts could still look down at the underwater village buildings after the Gold fever came to an end.

In those formative years we discovered the natural world and the overwhelming importance of place in our lives. We developed our own form of spiritual-bonding connections with the entire Salmon River region and its history, and more specifically with certain places within that milieu, especially after we shared two lengthy wilderness treks together after our parents sold the North Shore Lodge—a six week, 362-mile trip in the Central Idaho Wilderness Area in 1955, and a 10 day, 106-mile trip in 1956.

Earlier in the fall of 1954, Jim had gone to the University of Southern California (USC) in Los Angeles to major in Cinema during freshman year in college. Within days of arriving on campus Jim’s ingenuity led to getting him appointed student manager for the USC University Marching Band. The football team won the Pacific Coast Conference championship that fall with Jim and the band doing their part at home games. With the added needs for an expanded halftime show for a national audience for the Rose Bowl on January 1, 1955, Jim asked me to come help where I was given a band uniform and Jim placed me in the key role of holding the base of the big maypole at mid-field on the 50-yard line during the halftime ceremony. The game with Ohio State University (one if Jim’s future destinations) was close throughout but USC lost. Our parents were warned ahead and somehow recognized me on national TV. Jim and I rode to and from the Rose Bowl on top of the USC football team’s

duffle bags on the back of a open-staked truck. Together we were the only protectors for all their game uniforms as well as some of the band equipment. What a contrasted with the rituals of the present Rose Bowl.

As a junior in high school in Boise (the State Capitol which had “all of about 28,000 people” at that time), I thought I had gone to heaven, and even more so when the Ohio State fullback who scored the winning touchdown gave me his chinstrap during the on-field celebration at mid-field after the game.... and the next day when that chin strap was visible in the full-page photo in *Sports Illustrated* of the runner Jerry Harkrader crossing into the end-zone with the winning score. I wore that chinstrap later while playing football in Idaho and later in Mexico City before up to 100,000 fans for games in the Olympic Stadium while studying at Mexico City College, but playing for the Mexican Military Academy.

But why tell this somewhat trivial story? Because it showed that somehow brother Jim as a first year freshman at a major University could find such an important job, and then bring his 16-year old brother from Idaho to join him to see and experience the Rose Bowl like no else ever has. Our family and my friends back home were flabbergasted, but I was not. Only Jim could have pulled it off!

Wherever I went during my first quarter of a century, Jim was there to lead the way as mentor and friend, and he continue to do so until this day although we have long lived at opposite ends of the country.

Mexico City College: 1954-1963

Jim decided after one year at the University of Southern California, to escape McCarthyism (which originated during America’s “Second Red Scare” of 1947–1957), especially investigating big names in Hollywood. Thus he left USC and his ideas about directing and photographing Hollywood films to experience the world beyond the U.S. border. He had considered transferring to Sophia University (with international degrees in English) in Tokyo, Japan, but the only inexpensive way to get there was via freighters, which visited many ports en-route and had no definite schedule.

Thus, Jim chose to go to Mexico City College (MCC),¹ arriving there (by bus via Salt Lake City, Denver, San Antonio and Laredo) for his sophomore year in September 1955 and staying on to graduate *Magna-Cum Laude* in spring 1958. During his undergraduate stay, the MCC student population was about 1,000—except for Winter Quarter when it rose to over 1,500, as Ohio State, Michigan State, and the University of Washington sent students to gain international experience.

I joined Jim there after high school, starting in fall quarter of 1956. Our experiences there of climbing peaks, exploring every state in Mexico, traveling throughout Central America were rich in visual and cultural diversity and helped us understand more clearly the world around us. I have written about our Mexico experiences together in “Dangerous Journeys: Mexico City College Students and the Mexican Landscape, 1954-1962”:²

The life of American students at Mexico City College (MCC) from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s was one of constant excitement in a multi-dimensional world of cultural diversity, an ambience of sights, sounds, *color*, and most of all opportunities for adventure. The orderly, linear expectations of life at home—school, girlfriend, marriage, children, car, home, job for life, grandchildren—were dramatically altered in a number of ways once one entered Mexico. One of those ways was that in Mexico people were most often respected and honored for what made them different and unique—in contrast with life in the States during the 1950s when people were most often respected and judged by how much they conformed to a common ideal and how well they fit in as a member of the group.

—Richard W. Wilkie, *Dangerous Journeys*, 92.

¹ MCC had been founded by American business interest in 1940 Mexico City to obviate the need for their college-age students (including Mexican students who also had graduated at the American High School in Mexico City) to go to the United States, especially on the eve of World War II, when some might have joined the expanding U.S. military forces or otherwise gotten into trouble in a the USA—a “foreign” country many had never known.

² Published (2006) in *Adventures Into Mexico: American Tourism beyond the Border*, Nicolas Dagen Bloom (ed.), Washington, D.C.: Rowan and Littlefield; and online in the PROFMEX Journal *Mexico and the World*:
http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume11/4fall06/mccchap_final.htm

We also had important opportunities to travel throughout Mexico, climb the high peaks, and explore the central highlands from Jalisco to Oaxaca, states along the Gulf of Mexico and the Yucatan Peninsula, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Chiapas and Guatemala, the coastal zones and rivers on the Pacific coast, as well as northern Mexico as we drove back and forth to either Idaho or California during those years.

In 1958 we petitioned MCC to grant us a leave absence to travel for three months to study and analyze the landscape and politics of Central America by traveling to and from Costa Rica during winter quarter when the roads did not suffer from heavy rains. Further, MCC agreed to accept our idea of studying by mail from U.S. universities for transfer credit toward our studies at MCC. Thus, Jim graduated on time from MCC in the Spring Quarter, 1958. Because I was preparing eventually to transfer the University of Washington in Seattle, my courses for MCC were aimed at meeting my B.A. requirements in Seattle. Thus, neither of us missed a step in our college education. Although I graduated with a B.A. at the University of Washington, I have always felt my real degree was from Mexico City College, because that was where my heart and favorite memories were.

Many of our adventure trips were taken with friends in the MCC Explorers' Club, and brother Jim wrote many full two-page spreads (19 by 29 inches) regarding our trips in the college newspaper, *Mexico City Collegian*. He wrote the text and supplied the photos, while I did the maps. A selection of several titles paints a picture of our adventures: 'A Walk in the Clouds: MCC Goes to Popo' (Nov. 8, 1957); "MCCers Return from Central American Odyssey," April 17, 1958); "Intrepid Gringos Discover Poor Man's Acapulco: Zihuatanejo Adventure" (May 15, 1958); "Wanderers Find Adventure in Oaxaca: MCC Students Make Headquarters at College Center," (July 17, 1958); "Wanderers See Land of Mayas:

Explore Yucatan, British Honduras,” (Nov. 13, 1958); “Up a Lazy River in Southern Veracruz: Adventures on the Papaloapan and San Juan Rivers,” (July 16, 1959)—see Photo 12 at end; “The Road to Yucatán: Mexico’s Most Indian State Now Open to Motorists,” (March 9, 1961).



Photo 3: James Wilkie climbing 17,887 foot high Popocatepetl during the first of two times—the second highest active volcano in the world, and the fifth highest peak in North America. Orizaba volcano (18,700) is in the distance beyond the Puebla valley.

Life for Mexico City College students was unique at the time and it coincided with some many other elements of change in Latin America and the west that made Mexico, and Mexico City especially, the crossroads point for all of the Americas. Eric Zolov, in his chapter “Between Bohemianism and a Revolutionary Rebirth: Che Guevara in Mexico,” in a book edited by Paulo Drinot on the travels of Che Guevara in Latin America before joining with Fidel Castro to begin the Cuban Revolution, put it this way when looking at those years [Here, I highlight in bold some of the most relevant Zolov text]:

Mexico...provided [Che] Guevara with the freedom to roam—just as it did for a parallel set of foreign travelers who entered the country from the opposite border in the north. Political stability, a growing infrastructure

oriented toward tourism, and a favorable exchange rate (the peso was devalued in 1953) proved a boon for foreign visitors, and what began as a trickle in the years right after the Second World War became a steady flow of tourism by the 1950s. Students and would-be students also crossed the border. . . . One of the central destinations for these students was Mexico City College (MCC), which offered undergraduate degrees for American youth.

[MCC] attracted a range of students, some of whom (such as James Wilkie) went on to become noted Mexican scholars. Among MCC's most famous students (despite their infrequent classroom attendance) were the Beat writers Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac. In an era in which Protestant morality and expectations of upward social mobility, on the one hand, and a rigid, racial divide, on the other, defined life in the United States, Mexico seeming offered an "other world": exotic, slightly dangerous, and full of adventure. "Danger and the possibility of death were in the air at all times," writes Richard Wilkie, James Wilkie's brother, in a memoir of the period, adding somewhat ominously: "A number of my friends and acquaintances died or nearly died in Mexico at that time."

This was an era when Mexico City was rapidly becoming a thriving metropolis, and many of these American youth—imbibed with the Beats' sensibility of the avant-garde—embraced the vibrant art, music, and cultural scene the capital had to offer. "For many of the intellectually oriented veterans and students at MCC," *Wilkie reflects, "this was potentially the new Paris where ideas, art, literature, and revolution could be discussed in cafes, taverns, and at numerous and risqué parties where inexpensive liquor and 'Acapulco gold' could be found."*

The recently finished Pan-American highway was a central component of this bohemianism for it linked the possibility of crossing the border with that particularly American pursuit of freedom via automobile.

*Hence, it is no surprise that Richard Wilkie and his brother, James, traveled to—and throughout—Mexico by car, as do the characters in Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*.*

In short, Mexico City had quickly become not only a fabled destination for the new bohemians, but a place where a new sensibility was to be forged. . . . There is an uncanny coincidence in the fact that, although unaware of one another, *two blocks from where the Wilkies rented a room, "Che Guevara was living with his Peruvian-born wife Their apartment was at 40 Calle Napoles . . . near the corner of the block with Calle Hamburgo in the Zona Rosa."* As it turns out, Kerouac also lived in the same neighborhood.

Indeed, often overlooked in the discussion of the New Left is that it was from Mexico that the Cuban revolution was launched and, perhaps more significantly, it was in Mexico that the erst-while bohemian, Ernesto Guevara, discovered his revolutionary calling and became "El Che."

Eric Zolov, "Between Bohemianism and a Revolutionary Rebirth: Che Guevara in Mexico," pp. 263-264, in *Che's travels: the making of a revolutionary in 1950s Latin America*, Editor Paulo Drinot

(Durham [NC] : Duke University Press, 2010.

Also see Zolov, "Expanding our Conceptual Horizons: The Shift from the Old to the New Left in Latin America," *A Contracorriente*, 5.2, Winter 2008, pp. 47-73, especially pp. 62-63.

It is important to note that more than 25 of our co-students at Mexico City College later went to the United States, Mexico, and elsewhere, to earn doctoral degrees and to become academics with specialties on Mexico or Latin America, and in related disciplines. I noted in my MCC chapter that the four of us in the photo taken in March 1958, while returning to Mexico City after having driven uncharted dirt main roads through Central America to spend several months in Costa Rica, fit into that category of ex-MCC students who became professors of Mexico and world.



Photo 4: Four MCC students and future professors at roadside cantina in Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, March 1958. From left: James Wilkie (UCLA), Colin MacLachlan (Tulane), James Hamon (Universidad de las Americas), and Richard Wilkie (Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Throughout my life I have remained as close with my brother Jim as brothers can be. Without his mentoring, I never would have gone to Mexico directly out of high school, and I strongly doubt that I would have had an academic career, since young males in Idaho at that time did not

have those kinds of aspirations. Following in Jim’s footsteps with thoughts of graduate school, I took courses at MCC for nearly three years that I transferred to the University of Washington, Seattle, to finish my 1960 B.A. degree in Geography—concentrating on Cartography and migration studies—before entering their Master’s degree program that fall.

In the meantime, Jim had earlier graduated at MCC in 1958 with a B.A. in Social Sciences (his specially approved MCC “Personal B.A. Degree Program,” which he had successfully designed and completed), and been admitted to the University of California (UC), Berkeley, where in the Fall of 1958, he instantly became the interdisciplinary specialist on Mexican Political-Economic-Social History since 1900, owing to his knowledge of the country intellectually, experientially, and geographically.

By Spring 1959 Jim completed his course work and wrote his M.A. thesis on *Ideological Conflict in the Time of Lázaro Cárdenas*,³ in which he revealed how Cárdenas (Governor of Michoacán State, 1928-1932, with time out to serve in the National Government)⁴ removed his Secretary of Education, Luis Chávez Orozco,⁵ who tried to tie him to “Cardenista” Socialist Education. Further, on the one hand, Cárdenas carried out in Michoacán land reform and did so against the orders of the country’s political boss (former President Plutarco Elías Calles (1924-1928), who had forbidden State Governors (mainly Cárdenas) to “stop” the distribution of private lands to communal farms (*ejidos*). On the other hand, Cárdenas made peace with Luis María Martínez y Rodríguez, the

³ Later published at:

http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/1spring2015/Ideological_Conflict_in_the_Time_of_Lazaro_Cardenas.pdf

⁴ Leaving his brother Dámazo as Acting Governor (part of 1929 and early 1930), followed by his trusted associate Gábino Vásquez (late 1930 and early 1931).

⁵ See, James W. Wilkie y Edna Monzón Wilkie, “Historia Oral de Luis Chávez Orozco,” in Volume I (*Intelectuales*) de la Serie *Frente a la Revolución Mexicana: 17 Protagonistas de Etapa Constructiva* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1995. Available freely at: <http://elitelore.org/Voll.html>)

Archbishop of the capital in Morelia (primed to become the Archbishop of Mexico City, 1937-1956, who would back President Cárdenas' expropriation of the foreign owned Oil Companies, March 18, 1938).⁶ Clearly, then, Cárdenas knew that by counter-balancing powerful interests, he was the General best poised to become the President of Mexico (1934-1940).

With his M.A. behind him, Jim spent the following years launching his doctoral studies, which took him frequently to Mexico City. To this end, he was awarded an Inter-American Cultural Convention Grant (soon to become known as the Fulbright Grant) to conduct research in Mexico beginning in 1960 for his Berkeley doctoral research.

Jim continued in Mexico (1961-1965) as: U.S. Modern Foreign Language Fellow, UC Berkeley Honorary Traveling Fellow in International Relations, and Social Science Research Council Grantee, jointly funded by the American Council of Learned Societies.

Having gone on to do a Master's degree in Seattle at the University of Washington, I returned to MCC to live with Jim⁷ while researching my thesis: "Cartography as an Effective Tool in the Study of Social Change: The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915."

Jim lived on the Mexico City College campus where he was also serving as the Chief Assistant to Dr. Frank R. Brandenburg (MCC Vice President and Associate Dean of the MCC Graduate Division), who rarely came to campus). Brandenburg was writing his masterful 1964 book on *The Making of Modern Mexico* to reveal the complexity of how Mexico's ongoing Official Party governed as the country's "Revolutionary Family," which he elegantly delineated since 1929, and which for Jim continues to ring largely true to characterize Mexico's "Governing Party" (be it PRI or

⁶ Antedating my birthday by 28 days in Idaho Falls, Idaho—where Jim had been born March 10, 1936.

⁷ From December 1960 through March 1961.

PAN] since 1929.

Also Jim was serving *pro bono* as independent advisor to Dr. John V. Elmendorf (MCC Vice-President and Dean of Faculty, who was successfully seeking the ouster of the Founding MCC President Paul V. Murray⁸).

Jim and I in our analysis of Murray's role at MCC gave Murray credit for having founded MCC in 1940 and for having gained recognition in 1951 for MCC as the only American Liberal Arts College affiliated Internationally with the U.S. Southern Association of Accredited Universities and Colleges.⁹ But we noted two ironies: Paul Murray's achievements as MCC founder were troubled from the outset (1) by his biases (speaking in the third person, he said: "under the Murray presidency, MCC has never knowingly appointed to the faculty anyone who is an atheist, a communist, or a psychiatrist");¹⁰ and (2) by his mysterious relationship with Juan Hernández Avila, MCC's Business Manager-Treasurer, .^{11,12} to wit:

President Murray had long ignored many protests about corruption under Juan Hernández, who had siphoned MCC funds for his own secret accounts since 1951. In January 1961, Juan Hernández absconded with \$100,000 to \$250,000, from the MCC reserve account (not counting his theft of MCC tuition funds from 1951 through 1960).

Murray, then, was finally forced to resign as President of MCC, May

⁸ Who signed MCC diplomas in Latin as Paulus V. Murray: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b7/SheepskinDiploma.jpg>

⁹ Full accreditation came in 1959, but the 1951 affiliation was the key to MCC's successes.

¹⁰ As Murray told Jim in the Fall Quarter of 1960.

¹¹ Daniel Schugurensky, "Mexico City College (aka "Gringo College") begins operations; later becomes Universidad de las Americas-Puebla," published in 2006:

<http://schugurensky.faculty.asu.edu/moments/1940mexicocitycollege.html>

¹² See my 2006 article on "Dangerous Journeys" at

http://www.profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume11/4fall06/mccchap_final.htm

See also: Joseph M. Quinn, *The Mexico City College Story* (2006):

<http://www.mexicocitycollege.com/MCCrev/History2.html>

<http://www.mexicocitycollege.com/MCCrev/History3.html>

<http://www.mexicocitycollege.com/MCCrev/History4.html>

<http://www.mexicocitycollege.com/MCCrev/MCCrev/MCCrev/History5.html>

1, 1961, and to retire from MCC in 1962. Many students and faculty felt that Murray himself should have been investigated as Juan's co-conspirator, if not as Juan's "co-leader" in the crime. Juan was arrested without the stolen money (which was never recovered) as he tried to cross the U.S. border with Canada. But Juan was not prosecuted for "his" crime of embezzlement that left MCC with the huge deficit totaling \$550,000, which could only be paid by a reorganization of MCC's legal status—that is, the phasing out of MCC itself.

With Murray replaced by Dr. Ray Lindley (1962-1971, a rigid clergyman and former president of Texas Christian University), the "Murray/Juan Hernández MCC Embezzlement Scandal" had brought to an end MCC as a legal entity as well as ended Murray's idea of institutionalizing MCC as an American Liberal Arts College in Mexico open to students from Mexico and around the world.

In March 1963 the MCC Board of Trustees changed the name from Mexico City College to the University of the Américas, Puebla (UDLAP), which in 1970 shifted all its operation and its student population (perhaps up to 2,600) from Mexico City to Cholula,¹³ now a suburb of Puebla City. Because the shift was funded by Manuel Espinoza Iglesias (and his related Mary Street Foundation) as well as the U.S. Agency for International Development, both of which expected the shift to a mainly Mexican Technological University, Lindley moved to reorganize UDLAP to effectively eliminate the social sciences in order to establish an engineering institute. Earlier he showed inflexibly when he placed a ban on students wearing beards and/or sandals because he wanted to disconnect MCC from any and all Beatnik images and ideas. Thus, Lindley tried to change UDLAP

¹³ UDLAP is not to be confused with a group of dissident faculty and deans who broke away from the move to Puebla and established UDLA-AC (Universidad de las Américas - Asociación Civil) on Puebla Avenue in Mexico City. This branch focused on business courses for about 1,400 students.

into a suit-and-tie technologically-oriented university, shifting enrollment emphasis from an American faculty and students to their Mexican counterparts.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Jim who had traveled often between Mexico and the United States had returned for the last time to Berkeley in early 1965 to advance work on his two research projects that he had carried out in Mexico during the previous five years:

- (1) Jim finished his dissertation which was published in 1967 as *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910* (University of California Press)¹⁵ for which he won the Bolton Prize as the best book on Latin American History. Waldo W. Wilkie (our father) did all the calculations for the book and even discovered that when the Ohio State Computer Lab tested his calculations on Computer A and claimed to have found Waldo's data wrong, he requested that Computer B run the same data, at which time the University recognized Computer A be shut down to find a "random" error that was effecting all of its calculations.

- (2) Jim and his co-author Edna Monzón Wilkie (who he married in

¹⁴ The successes and failures of UDLAP came often together under rectors beginning with Lindley. Disaster struck with the naming of Francisco Macías Rendón (1976-1985), nicknamed "The Dictator" by most of the faculty, students, and staff. Macías believed himself that powerful that a justified general strike arose led by the new Sindicato de Trabajadores Académicos, which seized control of MCC for important months. Macías even failed to see that his misrule would lead in 2007 to MCC being put on Probation for a year by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges. See Richard Wilkie: http://profmex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume11/4fall06/mcccchap_final.htm and https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universidad_de_las_Américas_de_Puebla) Nevertheless, once rebuked, Macías became somewhat less intolerant to be able to remain as MCC President until 1985), especially because he had finally created in 1978 the Escuela de Ciencias Económico-Administrativas and changed the Escuela de Ciencias y Humanidades to Escuela de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades. In 1981 he changed the name of the Instituto Tecnológico to Escuela de Ingeniería. See https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universidad_de_las_Américas_de_Puebla)

¹⁵ Available freely at: http://www.profemex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume20/2latespring2015/The_Mexican_Revolution_Federal_Expenditure_and_Social_Change_Since_1910.pdf and translated as *La Revolución Mexicana (1910-1976): Gasto Público y Cambio Social* [Con Epílogo, pp 440-550, sobre: "Recentralización: El dilema presupuestario en el desarrollo económico de México, Bolivia y Costa Rica], (Cd. de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978). <http://www.profemex.org/mexicoandtheworld/volume8/1winter03/03index1.htm>

Berkeley in 1963) began in 1965 the long process to prepare their Oral History Series. First, they published in 1969 as *México Visto en el Siglo XX: Entrevistas de Historia Oral*,¹⁶ which, owing to the strong Official Party censorship of those years, could not include their analysis and historical context of the interviews. Jim and Edna did beat Mexico's censors in an important way—their questions and debates with leaders from left to right on the political spectrum provided new basic analysis of the “Revolutionary Family” and its opposition. The idea was put the text of the interviews into print so that scholars and politicians could see for themselves the basics of what they were doing and the value of the contrasting interviews.

In the meantime, Jim and Edna prepared to publish their interviews with another 10 leaders, the plan being to publish the texts and analysis for all 17 leaders along with analysis and context, a task that would take thirty-years. In 1995, Vol. I appeared as the first of the four volume Series *Frente a la Revolución Mexicana: 17 Protagonistas de la Etapa Constructiva*, by Jim and Edna (México City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana), 4 volumes. Editor General: Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda): available freely at http://www.elitelore.org/Oral_History_Book_Series.html

And then it would take a nine-year span before Vol IV would appear in 2004. They were aided by George E. Monzón (Edna's father who had been an coffee-grower in Guatemala before moving the family to Berkeley so that his daughters could attend his alma mater, UC Berkeley).

Here is how Jim's Oral History personages are distributed to cover the 17 interviewees in his book:

- Volume I: *Luis Chávez Orozco, Daniel Cosío Villegas, José Muñoz Cota*, 1995 *Jesús Silva Herzog*
- Volume II: *Ramón Beteta, Manuel Gómez Morín, Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra*, 2001 *Germán List Arzubide, Juan de Dios Bojórquez*
- Volume III: *Salvador Abascal, Marte R. Gómez, Luis L. León*, 2002 *Jacinto B. Treviño*

¹⁶ Mexico City: Distributed by *Cuadernos Americanos* for the Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Económicas, 1969. George E. Monzón (Edna's father) did the transcriptions of the reel-to-reel tapes.

- Volume IV: *Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Juan Andreu Almazán, 2004 Ezequiel Padilla, Emilio Portes Gil*

Jim and Edna have always credited with great thanks the editorial assistance by Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda (their General Editor for the four volume Series of Mexican Oral Histories).

Travels in South America during the 1960s and 1970s

My travel and adventures with brother Jim continued throughout Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s. It is a somewhat complicated story, but it began when Jim and Edna's short stay in Berkeley came to fruition with Jim being awarded his 1965 "Certificate of Completion" for having completed his doctorate, well before he received his Ph.D. diploma (1966). However, Jim was invited in 1965 to join the History faculty at Ohio State University (OSU), where he made a presentation in the Fall of 1965 to the OSU Board of Trustees to propose that they fund his Oral History Project Focusing on Latin American elite leaders in beyond Mexico to Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Venezuela. The Trustees agreed and backed Jim's request for a sabbatical year in 1966-1967.¹⁷

In the meantime in early 1965, I was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to Argentina to do research for my Ph.D. on the rural to urban migration process, which began in September 1965. Before leaving we met with our parents in Canon Beach, Oregon, in mid-August 1965. Jim was age 29 and I was 27, while our parents were 63 and 56 years old, and it was the last time we met as a family, because our mother died suddenly of a heart attack in January 1967, while we were both in South America.

My time in Argentina was one of intense personal growth, as finally I had an opportunity to see and experience the importance of fieldwork in the collection of original data. I applied a lesson we had learned earlier in life in the mountains of Idaho to my fieldwork in Argentina working to understand the decision-making processes that

¹⁷ OSU did not have a sabbatical year program, but rather had a special leave to be granted for Innovative New Projects; thus Jim was able to organize his Oral History Project during his first year at OSU and take his second year off to conduct research in Bolivia, and Venezuela. (Sabbatical leaves are usually not granted until after the professor has taught for several years.)

migrants go through as they move from place to place. That lesson was how important it was to look at things from new and wider angles—to rethink the so-called logic that has been accepted previously. Thus, it often leads to a much deeper understanding of complexities.

This was something that Jim and I had learned in the mountains, frequently giving us new answers to old questions that explorers often were forced to ask. In our six-week trek through the Idaho Wilderness Area in 1955—the largest and most isolated wilderness in the 48 states (larger than the state of Connecticut)—we were using long unused gold-rush and fire-fighting trails dating back decades. Frequently the trail faded away and at times disappeared altogether. On the ground where we had to decide the probable route it was always easier to follow what appeared at first to be the logical way. Stepping back to ponder the question we would always ask things like “if angling down is the easiest way to go, why did the trail disappear?” Often the answer would be that angling down into the canyon was not the way to go, but climbing up—against all logic—was the best way around, and four out of five times it was.

Collecting original data was exciting and it allowed me time to apply some of these underlying approaches Jim and I had learned together. The life of most students is one of using secondary sources and listening to other interpretations and theoretical approaches, but in the field one can see how well those theories actually work out. In the literature on migration, most efforts appeared to be trying to find one universal theory that explained everything, but what I discovered over the next year and half is that there are many different migration processes emanating from villagers that on the surface seem quite alike but were not. In reality, for example, some migrants are looking for economic opportunities or just want to follow family members or friends. Others are seeking a different life style in urban areas or looking for more social interaction. And these all vary by age, gender, social class level, and stage in the life cycle. As my dissertation advisor, Richard L. Morrill, wrote as part of my introduction:

“Most migration studies utilize secondary data of very limited scope and test simple preconceived models of behavior. In this study [On the Theory of Process in Human Geography: A Case Study of Migration in Rural Argentina], since he could learn a great deal about the entire population, Mr. Wilkie allowed the fullness of data to reveal for itself the patterns of family character and behavior that lead to observed kinds of migration.

For such peasant communities, perception of space and environment, and social and psychological characteristics and attitudes are discovered to be far more influential than the economic parameters commonly thought to be controlling. Most important, however, is the demonstration that not a few variables, but a constellation of interrelated variables representing many disciplines is required to account for the migration process. The results clearly illustrate the importance of field work, and the study of individuals and small groups, if the fundamental behavioral level of theory is to be reached.”

Richard L. Morrill (1968) forward to Richard W. Wilkie, *On the Theory of Process in Human Geography: A Case Study of Migration in Rural Argentina*,” Seattle, WA: University of Washington Ph.D. dissertation, p. i.

The search for a “Process Theory/Approach” is at the heart of both my research and teaching, as it has been for brother Jim as well. History is not static, but constantly evolving, and if we get caught in studying only one-dimensional deterministic models that capture one moment in time, it will lead us away from trying to understand greater complexities that cut across all academic disciplines. Understanding and helping to define those structural components is a very important step, but by going deeper and deeper into only one or two structural components does not lead to understanding the processes of change occurring within those structures, because those structural forces are interacting with other sets of structural forces, which in fact bring about a constantly evolving and changing world.

Put more simply: under certain circumstances one set of forces might be more important, while under other circumstances it might be another, but usually it is a combination of forces in a constant state of interaction that most often lead to changes within all systems—which are dynamic and constantly evolving. Change one set of forces and puff—all the systems are impacted and will in turn change.

The study of overriding systems and structures are extremely important—i.e., economic structures and organization, social structures and organization, political structures and organization, etc.—but they go

hand-in-hand with process studies. Also important are what can be call “the structure of change”—how those systems change from time one to time two and beyond. But that only tells us how they changed, but not exactly why they changed. They give insights into change, but do not give us an understanding of the “processes of change,” because those systems are altered and changed by how they interact with other systems—across systems so to speak—and that takes specialists in a number of disciplines working together on these issues.

In a way history has done that—or at least attempted to do it—as has geography, area studies and at times anthropology, but there has been a major movement the other way in a drive for specialization that goes deeper and deeper but narrower and narrower. I addressed this issue later in a 1974 publication.¹⁸

In the meantime Jim was in Bolivia in 1966, where he had great luck at the U.S. Agency for International Development (US-AID), within the U.S. Embassy, where he had been offered the use of an office. Upon returning from a long day’s research at Bolivia’s Ministry of the Treasury, he hung up his raincoat in the main office, asked if had any message or mail, heard “No,” and headed towards his desk. Suddenly he noticed a damaged package had been thrown at an odd angle atop a nearby file cabinet. Inquisitive as ever, Jim turned the package over and saw that it had been sent airmail and arrived addressed to him in care of US-AID from the University of California Press in Berkeley. Opening it, Jim found his dissertation manuscript marked up by the UC Press Main Copyeditor. Jim was surprised at the way it arrived via Bolivia’s shaky mail system since

¹⁸ Richard W. Wilkie, (1974). The Process Method Versus the Hypothesis Method: A Non-linear Example of Peasant Spatial Perception and Behavior,” in Yeates, Maurice (ed.), *Proceedings of the 1972 Meeting on the IGU Commission on Quantitative Geography*. Montreal and London: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1-31, and again on line at http://www.elitelore.org/articles/The_Process_Method_versus_The_Hypothesis_Method.pdf

the book had been fast-tracked for immediate publication. The Copyeditor asked Jim to approve or revise the sparse proposed revisions so that the book could be published by early 1967. Jim answered the copyeditor's questions, and his first book was on the way to receive the prestigious Bolton Prize.

The UC Press then invited me to prepare five maps for Jim's prize winning book; and a decade later after Jim became Editor of the *UCLA Statistical Abstract of Latin America (SALA)* ¹⁹, he asked me to prepare special map and graph series, articles²⁰ and a book on *Latin American Population and Urbanization*. ²¹ In this way we continued our close collaboration.

To catch up on my own story, during my Fulbright Fellowship years in Argentina between September 1965 and February 1967, Jim and Edie came to Argentina twice. In August 1966, when I was recovering from a near fatal case of hepatitis that I got in Salta, northern Argentina, Jim joined me in Buenos Aires for a week before traveling north to Iguazu Falls on the Argentina-Brazil border, before crossing into Paraguay. I

¹⁹ SALA and Its Analytical Series were published by the UCLA Latin American Center since 1951, with Jim's Editorship from 1976 to 2003. See: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/lai/publications/sala>

²⁰ (A) Richard Wilkie, (1976) "Urban Growth and the Transformation of the Settlement Landscape of Mexico, 1910-1970," *Contemporary Mexico*, (Ed. By James Wilkie, Michael Meyer and Edna Monzon de Wilkie), Berkeley: University of California Press, 99-134; (B) Richard Wilkie, (1977) "Latin American Populations in the 1970s: Population Cartograms and Political Subdivisions," *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Studies Publications, Vol. 18, 1-26; (C) Richard Wilkie, (1980) "The Rural Population of Argentina to 1970," Ch.35 in *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Studies Publications, Vol. 20, 561-580; (D) Richard Wilkie, and Frank Lindsay (1995) "Urbanization versus the Persistence of Small Places in Mexico, 1900-1910" in the *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, Vol. 31, 1230-1245; (E) Richard Wilkie, Sean Fitzgerald and H. Barrett, (1997) "Population Change in Northern Latin America" *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Studies Publications, Vol. 33, 1997, pages liii-lxxiv; (F) Richard Wilkie and Sean Fitzgerald (1999) "Population Change in South America" *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Studies Publications, Vol. 35, 3-37.

²¹ Richard Wilkie, (1984). *Latin American Population and Urbanization Analysis: Maps and Statistics, 1950-1982*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Latin American Center Publications. See: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/lai/publications/book/52>

described our entrance into Paraguay in my book for Jim's Statistical Abstract Series at UCLA, as follows:

"[We] virtually checked ourselves into Paraguay upon arrival at Puente Stroessner. After crossing the new bridge from Brazil, we came to the two-room wooden shed that served as the customs post, and found no one on duty. We looked about and finally found an old woman in a nearby house who said "the guards had all gone to lunch, but go ahead into Paraguay as nobody really cares." We thanked her but explained that we needed an entrance stamp in order to be able to leave the country with no problem, and asked where we could find the guards. Sure enough, they were having lunch in a run-down one-room wooden restaurant about 200 yards down the road.

They too gave us the same advice—"Go on into Paraguay as nobody cares whether you are stamped into the country or not." Again we gave our reasons for not wanting to enter according to that procedure. They found our concern about potential exit problems worth a good laugh. Since the guards wanted to take their full lunch break, they explained which two rubber stamps, of the three they had, we could use, and told us to stop by the restaurant on the way out to have the entrance visas signed. After virtually admitting ourselves into the country, we proceeded to Asunción and its [450th] anniversary celebration."

Arriving in Asuncion we found the capital city to be a relatively sleepy provincial-like place, with a moderate assortment of motorized vehicles, many of them of pre-World War II vintage....

"At the ragtag parade celebrating the 450th anniversary of its founding, [we were] able to walk right up to President Stroessner with a camera and take his picture at a distance of two feet from the reviewing stand. Three body guards of slight build glanced at [us], but they were more interested in the parade than in verifying [our] intentions. The entire event was extremely casual, with Stroessner and his family seated on a small wooden reviewing stand elevated not more than two feet above street level. The laissez-faire attitude that surrounded the Presidential party could be observed everywhere in the country."

Richard Wilkie – (1984). *Latin American Population and Urbanization Analysis*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA, p. 3.

As we left Paraguay several days later from a tiny run-down airport, where nobody looked at the entrance stamp, we felt that Paraguay could not help but have major changes coming soon. Eight years later in 1974 when I crossed that same border with my wife Jane, the tiny customs post had been replaced by a three-story building swarming with officials who made us open all our bags and searched the car thoroughly. It was hard

to believe an entirely modern town with nearly 20,000 people stood where only a few wooden shacks had existed eight years before. Asunción was even more difficult to recognize. No longer a backwater, it was dynamic booming trade center with new automobiles and traffic jams, and businesses and people everywhere.

From Asunción we flew to La Paz, Bolivia, where I spent nearly a month recovering. La Paz was where Jim was conducting oral history with Paz Estensoro and collecting data for his book: *The Bolivian Revolution and U.S. Aid since 1952* (1969).²² UCLA Latin American Center Publications, which Jim dedicated to me as his “long-time companion in study and travel throughout Mexico, Central America, and South America.” Before I returned to Argentina to continue my research, we traveled roundtrip by boat on Lake Titicaca and train to Cuzco and Machu Picchu.

About the time I was wrapping up my field research in Argentina in January 1967, we received word that our mother Lucile had died suddenly of a heart attack at home in Boise, Idaho. I was in the interior and did not receive word of her death until nearly a week after the funeral, and Jim too was unable to return there as well. Shortly after her death, Jim and Edie returned to Buenos Aires to meet with me and travel together to Guatemala to meet our father, but he would not be there until mid-March. Our journey there took us to Brazil for Carnival in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia da Salvador, as well as other Brazilian cities, Caracas, Lima to visit Paz Estensoro in exile, and Panama. We timed our trip to connect with our father, Waldo in Guatemala, as he arrived from Idaho.

Traveling with Jim & family in spring 1967 to carnival and through to Guatemala & Ohio

Our visit to Rio de Janeiro turned out to be an exciting event. Carnival '67 dominated nearly every moment, and the sounds of Samba bands practicing throughout the *favelas* rained down on us and had people dancing in the streets, especially the side streets, which were mostly blocked off to vehicle traffic so that walkers could join in the spirit. The vibrant samba beat echoed down the streets and it seemed as though the

²² See

http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org/pub/The_bolivian_revolution.pdf

hills and buildings too were throbbing to the beat.

In our first day while taking photos along *Avenida Rio Branco*, we ran into Ken Erickson, an old friend of Jim's from a Social Science Research Council Conference on Field Research in Latin America (and, later, Hunter College). Ken was finishing his PhD dissertation research at Columbia University in Brazil, and had been enjoying life in Rio for a year. He invited us to dinner at his apartment that evening with Herbert Kline and his family, and another dinner party a few days later that included some Fulbright students as well, including Radford Rigsby (later at Harvard investments), Spencer Wellhofer (later the University of Denver) and several others. Some of the time was spent comparing recent tropical illnesses, with Ken's and my hepatitis experiences topping the list.

Everything went right for us at Carnival '67 and Jim, Edie, and I managed to get into reviewing section dignitaries next to the judge's stand, and ultimately within the press section where we were able to walk out with dancers to take pictures as they passed during the high point of their four or five hours of marching, playing music and singing. There was a great final competition between Samba schools that night.

Salgueiro had been the favorite among commentators coming into the evening, while *Portela*—the 1966 winners hoped they would repeat as winners. *Mangueira*, however, won with their theme “The World of Monteiro Lobato” based on a well-known classic of several volumes about animals and folk traditions. Their 4,500 musicians and dancers and their powerful *bataria* band with 180 members led the school to victory for the first time since 1961.

The sights, sounds, colors and visual crescendo are still burned into my memory. One of those memories involved Italian actress Gina Lollobrigida, who was the Carnival Queen that year. She was considered in the media to be “the most beautiful woman in the world” during the era of the 1950s and 60s. Because we in the “World Press” were invited to take photos up close to Gina and her with her court, and because I was taller than the other Press photographers and I had a larger camera lens, Gina locked eyes with me on and off throughout the shooting session with an alluring and seductive sly smile that had my heart skipping beats. What a lovely culmination to the carnival event that was!

It seemed as though nearly everyone on the street through the five days of Carnival wore a costume. The most interesting costumes were at the Transvestite Ball, a Carnival highlight where I went with Jim and Edie

and several friends as observers. We had a somewhat brief stay, but had to leave because the ear-splitting music, wild semi-naked dancing, packed conditions, the urging of dancers for us to take off our shirts to join in, plus the overwhelming stuffy heat, made us seek relief outside. I forget who got us the tickets, but we were glad we had a chance too observe the Ball for less than 30 minutes.

Jim and I had gone to one other Transvestite Ball before, at Carnival in Veracruz in February 1961—I was with a Parisian girl friend in a sailor outfit who as the hit of the ball—but while that was an amazing eye opener, it could not match Río which was the Queen Bee of all Transvestite Balls.

Overall those were more innocent times in Brazil and South America in the 1967. In Rio de Janeiro, we went wherever we wanted without a sense of danger; caution at times, but no real sense of imminent threat or danger. We took a half-day trek up through one of the *favelas* where people let us take photos of life there. Seven years or so later, one of the photos I took there was used by the Russian airlines Aeroflot in an advertisement to tour Rio and see the housing of capitalist workers—or I assume that was their message. Ironically, at the same time the Gerald Ford reelection campaign in the U.S. was using one of my photos of a Yugoslavian-peasant women selling flowers in Zadar. I assume there message had something to do with communist governments, but I saw unique forms of beauty in both those photos, and I hope they did as well.

The weather in Rio was clear and only moderately hot; it was the best time of the year to be there. A very early drive to see sunrise from Corcovado Peak and the viewpoint under Christ the Redeemer statue was a memorable vista. Early light over Rio and Guanabara Bay was especially clear since all factories were closed and traffic was at a minimum—especially at first light. The layers of low mountain ranges to the north were like ripples or waves that faded into the distance. Only a few lonely airplanes were arriving and landing at the small airport of Santos Dumont just opposite *Flamengo* Beach, but everything else appeared to be in a post-party calm.



Photo 5: Jim, Garrick, Edie and Julia overlooking Guanabara Bay, Rio de Janeiro, Feb. 1967

We moved on to Salvador (Bahia) in the Northeast to capture the tail end of Carnival there and to see the old colonial streets on the hill above the old harbor that was filled with native sailboats and their colorful crews.

We happened to be there when it was reported in the newspaper that Bahía Governor Lomanto Júnior was unable to fill the office of State Minister of Health because it was feared the position was "jinxed." Apparently the previous four Ministers had died in office, "with stethoscope dangling from the neck ready for action." The physician who the Governor was attempting to appoint as Minister declined, stating: "I don't believe in sorcery, black magic, or witchcraft, but we should all ask whether we are dealing with the Ministry of Health or the Ministry of Death?"

This article had something in common with a story we had read earlier in the *Brazil Herald* newspaper when we first arrived in Rio on January 31: Brazil's "Planning Minister Roberto Campos has declined the honorary membership offered to him by the Association of Magicians in Minas Gerais, press reports say." It seemed that both official positions and honorary positions were being rejected by Campos, who sought to protect his role as a social scientist.

One other story by columnist Herbert Zschech in the *Brazil Herald* struck our fancy:

'The new Circulation Tax hits everything, especially whatever is

circulating. On the road between Rio Claro and Piracicaba in São Paulo State, a funeral cortege was circulating, carrying the coffin with the dead body of Dirce Campanha. Tax Inspector Armando Carlos dos Santos no sooner saw it than he wished to see also the fiscal note, which proves that the Circulation Tax had been paid. Since no such document could be produced by the mourners, he seized the coffin with the body inside, and signed the regular document which warns the ‘owners or those responsible for the apprehended item that they much claim it within 10 days, paying the taxes and fines, [otherwise] steps will be taken to sell it at auction.’

“Anyone interested in buying at auction a coffin with not very fresh human remains inside – here’s your opportunity.”

Jim and I felt fortunate to experience cities and life along the coast before things changed unrecognizably a few years later. In Recife and Olinda In 1967 we could still see the *jangadeiros* (raft fishermen) who Orson Welles filmed in 1942. Traveling on we stopped briefly at Fortaleza and then on to Belém at the mouth of the Amazon River for several days. Belém with its one-story buildings and glorious port area were filled with river cargo boats with tall, full colorful sails. Sharing these explorations with my brother and his family made the trip even more meaningful. Today jet planes do not allow stopovers, but in the 1960s and for sometime after, multiple stops were allowed as travelers hop-stepped their way throughout Latin America. That kind of open-ended travel is virtually impossible at present without major additional expenditures.

The Brazil part of the trip lasted three weeks until February 19th, when we flew to Caracas, Venezuela, which was our next stop for three days until the 22nd to visit government ministries, collecting data for Jim’s future publications.

The immediate book to be published was *Measuring Land Reform in Bolivia, Venezuela, and Latin America* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1974)²³ —in which I (with John Marti) contributed a “Special Map-and-Graph Series on Land Reform in the two countries.’ Caracas, even at that time, seemed more chaotic and traffic chocked than most other cities in South America at that time.

While Jim, Edie, and son Garrick left for Guatemala to meet Waldo Wilkie arriving from Boise, Idaho, I flew to Panama to help Julia Monrroy (nanny for Jim and Edie) to receive her Guatemalan visa. While in Panama

²³ Available freely at:
http://www.jameswilkiepublicationlinks.org/pub/Measuring_land_reform.pdf

City waiting for the visa, and after lunch in a restaurant and observing what appeared to me to be rather isolated and difficult time for American wives of U.S. Navy personnel stationed in the Canal Zone, I wrote the following:

Panama City March 1967

The frizzly haired navy wives
jabbering
hands flapping
with alcoholic stares frozen on their faces

In the restaurant the people laughed
as one shrieked “Que pasa!” at the waiter.

One with a Boris Karloff chin
no wonder she drinks

The other with a fat smiling body wrapped in a flowered print
perspiring

A sick grin on her face as she listens to the other mumble on and on in a drunken fog.

The sad lives of sailors’ wives

Perhaps I was too critical of what I saw, since I had been so delighted to be in Latin America myself and to soak in the scenes. I was lucky to be doing something I really wanted to do, so it was somewhat disconcerting to see fellow U.S. citizens clearly not happy with their time away from home. Perhaps people do the best they can under difficult circumstances and perhaps some compassion is due for both those who offend and those locals who have to endure difficult situations with them.

Traveling to Guatemala from Panama after Julia got her visa, we hopped our way up through Central America landing at every capital city, before finally arriving in Guatemala City after a very long—but visually exciting—day where our prop-motored airlines flew at low elevations with exceptionally fine views. We arrived there joining our now much larger group, staying for 17 days from February 23 to March 13, 1967.

Reconnecting with our father for the first time since our mother’s death in mid-January was crucial for us. It was extremely painful in my case to be so isolated in the Argentine interior and not learning of my mother’s death until days after the funeral had already taken place. The same was true for Jim with no phone connection between Idaho and La Paz,

Bolivia. Waldo Wilkie, our father, finally got a radio wire to the U.S. Embassy in La Paz, who called Jim to set a meeting with the chief consular official to show him the radio wire—a huge shock.

Having Waldo meet us in Guatemala also gave us a chance to catch our breaths after a month of travel since leaving Buenos Aires on January 29th. Edie's family in Guatemala City welcomed us and Aunt Lochita had more than enough rooms in her home for us all.

Jim and I had traveled to Guatemala for the first time in November 1956 during my first semester at Mexico City College—with a friend Murray Pilkington—and again twice in 1958 going and coming to Costa Rica during our three-month Central American odyssey between December 1957 and April 1958. What a difference set of circumstances led us to Guatemala nine years later—from poor students in the late 1950s to young professors in 1967—Jim at Ohio State, and me within a year joining the faculty of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Waldo went into the hospital a few days after our reunion with tachycardia that could lead to heart failure--that meant we would be staying in Guatemala City with him until the situation was resolved. While we were in Guatemala I had the opportunity to reconnect with Gene Martin, Geography Department Head at the University of Oregon, who had helped me get the Fulbright Fellowship to Argentina, and later called to arrange for me to teach a summer class at Eugene in July 1972. He was in the field for the spring semester with two of his Ph.D. students, so he took me out to see some of their projects, including a land reform village near Escuintla.

After Waldo was cleared to leave the hospital in Guatemala City, on March 13th, the entire family flew to Columbus, Ohio, via New Orleans and Atlanta. I stayed for four days, but then returned to Seattle for the next nine months to pass my Ph.D. exams, which had been delayed until after my Fulbright Grant to Argentina had ended. I completed my 1968 dissertation "*On the Theory of Process in Human Geography: A Case Study of Migration in Rural Argentina*".²⁴

An interesting side note: By a strange coincidence, Jim and I both had Dauril Alden—a University of Washington History Professor—as a member on our Ph.D. committees. Two years before, Alden had been on

²⁴Publication forthcoming in the PROFMEX WebJournal as a Classic PHD Thesis at http://www.profmex.org/webjournal_listedbyvoldat.html

Jim's committee at the University of California, Berkeley, while on sabbatical from the University of Washington, and by spring 1967 was back in Seattle to be on my committee as well.

Alden later said about my Geography Ph.D oral qualifying exams—that had been postponed until I returned from my Fulbright in Argentina—that he had witnessed an “extremely successful defense.” He saw me slowly win over my geography professors who, with the exception of my Doctoral Chair, Richard Morrill, had been skeptical of micro-level fieldwork approaches. Alden had said: “I don't understand what has happened here—I saw a graduate student turn the table on his geography professors and spend most of the time explaining his process-level theoretical approach.” Alden had asked my Chair Morrill whether this was acceptable, and he responded, “yes, it is completely acceptable.” Thus I passed the exam with flying colors.

Dauril Alden reflected another time in academia and was very different from the Wilkie brothers in appearance and behavior. At the time he was probably in his 40s, was quite traditional in what he thought professors should be like—from always wearing suits and ties, to smoking a pipe in seminars. The fact that he had a crew cut was a little strange, and he read all of his lecture notes in a dry monotone voice that put many students in his courses to sleep, but he had a deep intellect.

Alden had early on told me that he ‘nearly had gone mad’ in Rio de Janeiro doing research on Colonial Brazil, because the libraries were closed during Carnival in the years he had been there. He said numerous times that his ideal research situation was to spend 40 or 50 hours a week deep in the bowels of some archive in Rio de Janeiro.

When Dauril told that story, all I could think of was the movie “Black Orpheus” and the scenes of the man in a skeleton suit “Death” trying to kill the heroine of the film, Eurydice, by chasing her through the giant archive in Rio with mountains of paper work in the middle of the night while Carnival was in full swing outside. The next time I saw that amazing film, I kept looking for Dauril Alden behind one of those stacks of paper that overflowed everywhere in the building.

[Followup: A number of years later, Dauril let his hair grow out, grew a beard, divorced his wife and their cats, and married a graduate student, but we have not heard how that turned out. Knowing Dauril, we assume all has gone well.

Conclusion

In January 1968, I started a teaching and tenure track position at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, which eventually turned into nearly 45-years. Jim and I have worked together constantly and had many wonderful trips together throughout Mexico and Central America (especially Guatemala and Costa Rica in our Ford automobile in 1958), South America, Idaho, a driving trip to the East coast of the U.S. with our parents in 1953, and other places over the years. One of my favorite trips was in July and August 1977, when I flew to Santiago, Chile to travel with Jim and Edie to visit Viña del Mar and Valparaiso (Chile), then to Buenos Aires and ultimately to Sucre, Potosi and La Paz, Bolivia. Jim had published a volume *Measuring Land Reform in Latin America*—a supplement volume, 1974, to the *UCLA Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, for which he was Series Editor. For that volume, Jim invited me (with John Marti) to contribute a Special Map and Graph Series on Latin Reform in Bolivia and Venezuela, including 24 maps, cartograms, and graphics that helped show changes historically. In Santiago we discussed our idea of visit some of the places that I had covered in the maps and graphs. It was a totally rewarding trip, as were all the trips I have taken with my brother over the years.



6: Foto: Jim, Dick, Garrick, Edie and Michele Wilkie in Santiago, Chile, 1977

Clearly my brother James Wilkie has had a major impact on Mexican Studies and Latin American studies throughout the world, as well as with his many students over the years. It is with those thoughts that I want as well to acknowledge his ever-lasting influence on me as well as my career. I know I would not have had the kind of life I did without his constant love, mentoring, and intellectual support. As his brother I could not be more proud of his many achievements, and if our parents, Waldo and Lucile Wilkie were still with us, I know how overwhelmingly delighted they would be. After all, it was their love, dreams, and support that helped propel us both on our ways.

Richard W. Wilkie
Amherst, Massachusetts
July 2016

PS. I recently found a message in my files that I had written to myself at age 20 in 1959, that summarized my feeling about Jim then and now:

“Jim has always helped me in school and in every way. I think he would have done anything for me. His main interests seem to be helping people through teaching and research as well as through his social sense of humanity that is so admirable. Jim was always the one that got us mountain hikers out of bed at 2 in the morning or kept the ball rolling. A trip is only half as much fun without Jim.”

Richard Wilkie, Personal Journal Notes,
February 1, 1959

SPECIAL SECTION ON ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS



Photo 7: Jim and Dick Wilkie at ages 3 ½ and 1 ½ in Idaho Falls, Idaho, 1940

Two photos on our Idaho Wilderness hike in July & August 1955:



Photos 8: Jim at Morehead turn off with our mule Ruffneck



Photo 9: Dick with parents Waldo and Lucile, and girlfriend Billie Jean with our horse Cinnabar at mid-hike break for supplies

Three photos during our Mexico City College years:



Photo 10: Jim Wilkie on rim of Popocatépetl volcano, 17,800 feet elevation, 1957



Photo 11: Jim Wilkie in foreground and Mike Johnson in the water on the Río San Juan, a branch of the Papaloapan River, Veracruz, Mexico, 1958.

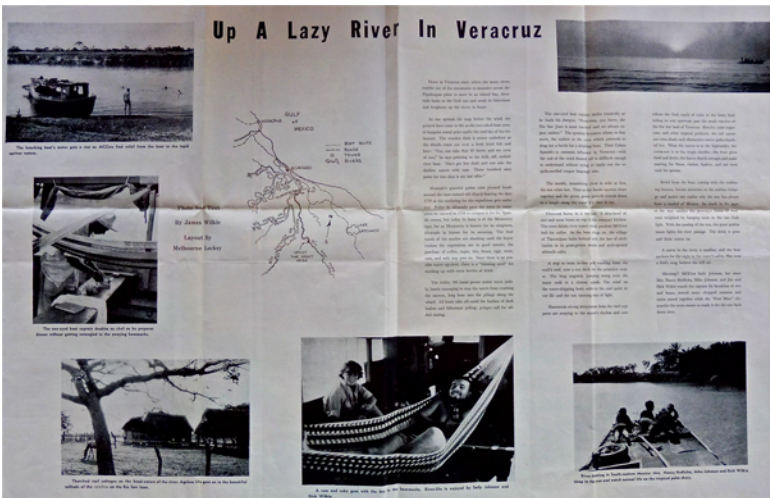


Photo 12: One of the many two-page travel articles that Jim wrote for the Mexico City College Collegian award-winning newspaper—this one published in 1959.



Photo 13: Jim at Isla de las Mujeres, Quintana Roo in Dec. 1960. The entire territory of Quintana Roo had a population of 6,500 people that year.



Photo 14: The Wilkies at Canon Beach, Oregon in August 1965, the last time we met as a family before Dick left for Argentina and Jim to Bolivia: Karen, Edie, Jim in front, our father Waldo standing in 1953MG and our mother Lucile on the right.



Photo 15: In Acapulco: Edie, Jim, Dick and Jane, August 1973.

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Paul Ganster, Editor of PROFMEX'S MEXICO POLICY NEWS and UC MEXUS NEWS, both founded by James W. Wilkie

[Paul Ganster spoke to us at El Colegio de Chihuahua en Ciudad Juárez via Skype and discussed his work with Jim Wilkie at UCLA going back to the early 1980s when he served as Coordinator of the UCLA Program on Mexico.

When in 1983 Jim was invited to become Director of the UCLA Latin American Center, he accepted on the condition that Paul be appointed as his Co-Director in order to keep him at UCLA, where his abilities had won him the highest regard. The University demurred because of regulations requiring vesting of authority in sole directors (a rule later abolished as outdated).

At the same time, Paul had received an offer to move to San Diego State University in 1984 as Professor of History, where he would organize and develop the Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias (IRSC). There he focused his research on the California-Baja California Border, but soon moved to develop leadership in comparative research on Borders throughout the world.

During Paul's appearance on Skype at the Homenaje, he discussed how Jim's establishment of the **PROFMEX POLICY NEWS** idea led to rich years of reportage on Mexican Studies and Mexican Affairs. This work was responsible only because Paul was ready and willing to be the Editor of *MEXICO POLICY NEWS (1986-1993)* and the *MEXICO POLICY NEWS LETTER (1993-1994)*.

Paul also served as the Editor of the *UC MEXUS NEWS (1982-1984)*, published under Jim at UCLA-- lead campus in the University of California Consortium on Mexico & the United States.

Paul stated that the issues of A) PROFMEX POLICY NEWS and B) UC MEXUS NEWS are a testament to Jim's desire to share knowledge, thus each Original Issues of both News Lettere are presented here: http://profmex.org/UC_MEXUS_NEWS.html]

A) Mexico Policy News (Read each Original Issue)
http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News.html

No. 1 Spring 1986

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_1_spring_1986.pdf

- Letter From PROFMEX President
By *James W. Wilkie*
- PROFMEX Secretariat Moves to New Mexico
- Focus on immigration
- CEFNOMEX Now El Colegio de la Frontera Norte
- California Assembly Committee Studies California-Mexico Relations
- Tijuana Meetings Examines GATT
- One Border, Two Nations
- Stanley R. Ross 1921-1985
- Borderlands Statistical Abstract Research
- Joint PROFMEX-CLAH Stanley R. Ross Award.
- Mexican Earthquake Discussed
- San Diego Seminar on Maquiladora Program
- PROFMEX Directors Participate in Washington and Las Cruces Border Briefings
- Improved Binational Health Research Called For
- U.S.-Mexico Project Expands
- Conference on Border Smelter Emissions
- U of Arizona Border Health Project
- UCLA-Mexico Symposium on Borderlands Agriculture, Economy, and Society
- UCLA Faculty Conference on Mexico
- Bortz Coordinates UCLA Mexico Program
- PROFMEX Monograph Series
- Recent Publications
- PROFMEX The Consortium of U.S. Research Programs for Mexico (Individuals and Institutions invited to Join PROFMEX)

No. 2 Spring 1987

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_2_spring_1987.pdf

- IV PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Held in Santa Fe
- George Baker Appointed PROFMEX Executive Secretary
- ANUIES Profile
- Mexico City Linkages Conference
- Progress and Problems in Managing the Border Environment
- Growth and Debt: Mexico and the United States in the Medium Term
- The Mexican Economy as 1987 Begins
- The Mexican Economy: Current Situation and Prospects
- V PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Scheduled for Early 1988

- References to Mexico in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
- Journal of Borderlands Studies
- Seminar on Approaches to Mexico-U.S. Migratory Flows
- Center for Immigration Studies
- Chihuahua and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico
- Binational Population Symposium
- ODC Links Policymakers in Mexico and the United States
- Labor Market Interdependence Conference
- UCLA Bilateral Workshop on Industry, Labor, and the Environment
- Recent Publications
- San Diego's Department of Binational Affairs

No. 3 Winter 1989

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_3_winter_1989.pdf

- Salinas Inaugurated as Mexico's President
- ANUIES-PROFMEX Briefing of Border Governors
- PROFMEX Welcomes New Institutional Members
- News Items Solicited for MEXICO POLICY NEWS
- PROFMEX-CLAH Ross Award: Appeal for Donations
- V PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium, 1988: U.S.-Mexican Reciprocal Images
- Mexico's Distorted Expenditures on the Public Debt and Two Part-Proposals for Relief
By *James W. Wilkie*
- California State Office of Trade and Investment Opens in Mexico City
- El Norte Databank on Mexico
- Mexican Politics in New Books
- Foundation Officials and Program Directors Meet at Wingspread
- U.S.-Mexican Linkages
- Individuals Invited to Join PROFMEX
- Partido Acción Nacional Leaders Visit U.S.
- FDN Leaders Visit U.S.
- VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Scheduled, 1990
- VIII International Congress on Mexican History: Call for Papers
- Neighbors in Crisis: UC MEXUS Conference 1989
- Call for Policy Research on Immigration and Employment
- Salinas Policy Conundrum: Understated Inflation, Overvalued Currency
- Call for PROFMEX Book Manuscripts

- New Titles in U.S.-Mexican Studies
- Grupo Mazatlán Examines Industry and Labor in Mexico
- Newsletters Stimulate Scholarship
- New World Carries PROFMEX President's Guest Editorial
- Keeping Up with the Mexican Press
- Books on Mexico's Economy
- Recent Publications

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- VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Set for Mazatlán, Oct. 3-6, 1990.
- PROFMEX Interview with Sinaloa Governor Labastida Ochoa
- PROFMEX Monographs Available at Discount for PROFMEX Members
- PROFMEX Board Election
- Individuals and Institutions Invited to Join PROFMEX
- PROFMEX Secretariat Moves to California
- PRI Regroups in Baja California After Loss of Governorship
- Mexican Institution Joins PROFMEX
- UCLA Program on Mexico Activities
- Inaugural Conference of UCLA Cycles and Trends Project
- PROFMEX Monograph Series Invites Manuscripts
- Negroponte Visits UCLA and SDSU
- Overseas Development Council Update on U.S.-Mexican Programs
- Bildner Center Receives Grant
- Border Art Internship
- The Emergence of Interest Groups in U.S.- Mexican Relations
- Wingspread Program on Research and Action Agendas
- UNM to Train SRE Lawyers
- UAM in the News: Silvia Ortega Appointed Rector
- PRI President Visits PROFMEX Institutions
- UT Pan American Center for International Studies
- Senator Luis Donaldo Colosio, President of PRI
- UNM- Guanajuato Law Summer Program
- Refocusing Interpretation on the Mexican Political Economy
By *James W. Wilkie*
- Cárdenas Visits PROFMEX Institutions in California
- CSIS Mexico Project
- Border Governors Briefed by ANUIES-PROFMEX-UAC

- PROFMEX President Visits Research Institutes in Jalisco and Tabasco
- Hewlett Supports U.S.-Mexico Research Programs
- Mexican Conference on Maquiladoras
- Recent Publications on Mexico from UCLA
- UNM Research Papers
- Occasional Papers from Brown and UCON
- Recent Publications

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- Wingspread Meeting on United States-Mexico Studies
- Details Finalized for IV PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium, Mazatlán, October 3-7, 1990
- PROFMEX Tourism Investment Conference, Mazatlán, Oct. 2-3, 1990
- CHANGES IN U.S.-MEXICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS: BEYOND THE BORDER
- UC President Gardner Visits Mexico
- Registration Form VI PROFMEX-ANUIES SYMPOSIUM
- PROFMEX Interview with Oaxaca Governor Ramírez López
- Report on U.S.-Mexican Bilateral Commission
- Interview with Baja California's Eugenio Elorduy
- PROFMEX Interview with PRI Secretary of Foreign Relations, Dr. Romeo Flores Caballero
- Free Trade and the Research Community
- Fulbright Border Lecturers
- Cycles and Trends in 20th- Century Mexico
- Letter from PROFMEX President James Wilkie

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- PROFMEX- ANUIES Focus on Border Urban Service Crisis
- PROFMEX. SDSU Tourism Investment Conference in Mazatlán
- PROFMEX Modifies Name
- PROFMEX Purpose, Governance, and Membership
- VI PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Held in Mazatlán
- PROFMEX Presidential Activities in China, USA, Mexico
- Two UCLA Film Projects Based in Oaxaca
- PROFMEX Reps Visit Members in Nuevo León and Chihuahua
- PROFMEX Institutions Offer Course on U.S. Politics

- UDLA-Puebla and UDLA/Mexico City College
- Summer Courses in Mexico for Bilingual Teachers
- San Diego Immigration Report
- James Platler, Director of PROFMEX Office of R & D
- PROFMEX Participation in Symposia: New York and Puebla
- Scholars for Free Trade With Mexico
- CETEI-Centro de Tecnología Electrónica e Informática
- What Happens Without a Free Trade Agreement?
- The Political Agenda in Opening Mexico's Economy: Salinas Versus the Caciques
By *James W. Wilkie*
- Obituary: Matthew Edel of CUNY
- Council on Foundations Study Tour of Mexico Led by UCLA
- PROFMEX Interview with Mexican Consul General Pescador
- UTEP Seeks New Center Director
- International Educators Conference Set for San Diego
- UNAM's First Annual Summer Program
- New Journal Announced: Río Bravo
- PROFMEX Interview with Regional Planner Miguel Sandoval
- FIFTH SUMMER PROGRAM at EL COLEGIO DE MEXICO
- Industria y Trabajo en México Book Presentation
- The California- Mexico Connection
- Meeting Examines Work of IJC and IBWC Boundary Commissions
- UCSD's Center for U.S.- Mexican Studies
- Declaration of San Ygnacio: Free Trade and the Environment
- PROFMEX Institutional Membership Reaches 48
- Edmundo Jacobo, PROFMEX General Secretary
- UNAM Economics- PROFMEX Visiting Seminar Series
- Changes in PROFMEX Board of Directors
- Debut of Business Mexico
- Revista Nuestra Economía
- Task Force on Mexico Teaching Guidelines
- Fulbright Border Lecturers
- Recent Publications
- PROFMEX Visiting Scholars' Center in Mexico City

No. 7 Winter 1992

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_7_winter_1992.pdf

- Workshop Examines FTA and Border Region
- Ford Planning Grant for PROFMEX_ANUIES Study of Ciudad Juárez-El Paso

- PROFMEX 1991 Board Meeting Held in Toronto
 - PROFMEX Purpose, Governance, and Membership
 - PROFMEX Offices
 - To Order PROFMEX Books
 - Joyce Foundation Funds Mexico Policy News
 - University of Toronto/CIS Joins PROFMEX
 - PROFMEX Advice on Double/Quadruple Air Miles
 - PROFMEX Presidential Activities in E. Europe and N. America
 - University of Guadalajara's U.S.-Mexico Project
 - FTA and Mexican Labor
 - Senior Historian Joins Faculty of Florida International U
 - 5th Annual Bildner Seminar Series
 - Experts on Mexico Convene at CUNY's Bildner Center
 - Center for Strategic Studies, ITESM
 - Import/Export Consultancy, Chihuahua
 - Cabo San Lucas: Development Versus Tourism
 - Building Exchanges, Building Understanding
 - Free Trade for Mexico: Imposition from the Top or Demand from Below?
- By *James W. Wilkie*
- Proposal for a Regional Development Bank and North American Adjustment Fund
 - Brobeck and California Historical Society Legal History Exhibit
 - Labyrinth of Diario Oficial made easy
 - Opportunity at Universidad de Occidente, Mazatlán
 - New Directions in Consulting and Research in Mexico: Interview with Jesús Reyes Heróles
 - Ford sponsors Udall Symposium on Future Border Environmental Research
 - Bureau of Management Research and Services: California State University, Dominguez Hills
 - Loss of Border Scholar: Guillermina Valdés-Villalva
 - President Carlos Salinas Visits California, PROFMEX Campuses
 - Samuel Schmidt, New Center Director At UTEP
 - Mexican Officials Offer 'Gift of Appreciation' to UNM
 - Muñoz Ledo's Reflections on Guanajuato Elections
 - Policy Implications of Mexico's Questioned Oil Reserves
 - Carnegie Border Fellows Program and PROFMEX
 - California State Hearings on FTA
 - Recent Publications
 - VII PROFMEX-ANUIES Symposium Announced for Mérida in November 1992

No. 8 Fall 1992

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_8_fall_1992.pdf

- Mérida PROFMEX-ANUIES VII Conference to be Held November 11-14: Funded by CONACYT and Ford Foundation/Mexico
- PROFMEX Develops New Focuses for Research on Mexico
- PROFMEX-ANUIES Project on Water and Public Services in El Paso/Ciudad Juárez
- PROFMEX Membership, Governance, and purpose
- PROFMEX Offices
- New PROFMEX Offices for Ottawa, Paris, and NAFTA-EC Relations
- PROFMEXIS (PROFMEX Information System) Established
- VII PROFMEX-ANUIES International Conference
- PROFMEX Board Changes
- U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Reporter
- Temporary Entry for Business Persons: From the Free Trade Agreement to the North American Free Trade Agreement
- North American Free Trade Agreement Immigration Issues Facing Business Persons in U.S.-Mexican Trade Relations
- Studying Streetvending in Mexico City
- Political Trial or Poetic Justice in the Case of La Quina?
- SoCalGas Makes Grant to PROFMEX
- Borderlands Entering New Stage
- Who is the 'North American'?
- Scholars Guide to Hotels in Mexico City
- Cabo San Lucas
- PROFMEX Interview with Chief of Mexican Consular Corps Eduardo Ibarrola
- Hewlett Grant to CUNY's Bildner Center
- Muñoz Ledo Leads Sessions at CUNY's Bildner Center
- Bildner Center Policy Seminar on NAFTA and Financial Liberalization
- Bildner Center Mexican Research Seminar Series
- Bildner Center Announces Fall 1992 Conference
- New Publications on Economic Policy and Financial Liberalization from Bildner Center
- Hewlett-SDSU Border Environment Meeting
- El Financiero International Offers Special Rate to PROFMEX
- SCERP-SDSU Community Forum on Border Environment

- Border Environmental Geographic Information System Workshop Held in San Diego
- UC MEXUS Announces Publication Schedule
- Border Inter-Institutional Consortium of Institutions of Higher Education (BICIHE) Meeting
- Leadership Training Institutes at UTEP for Mexico's Educational Leaders
- UTEP/USIA Border Project for Mexican Journalist
- PROFMEX Interviews SEP's Antonio Gago Huguet
- Project on Multilateral Philanthropy: Mexican-U.S. Model for Nonprofit Funds Parallels NAFTA Agreement for Private Sector
- Southwest Center for Environmental Research and Policy (SCERP) Addresses Border Environmental Issues
- Ordering Copies of the NAFTA Agreement
- PROFMEX Scholars Testify in Mexico on Border Issues
- Planning of Education and Cultural Exchange
- New Directory on U.S.-Mexico Trade Resources
- Recent Publications
- Center for Strategic and International Studies Policy Papers

No. 9 Fall 1993

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_9_fall_1993.pdf

- The Mexican Case Since 1989 as a Model for World Development and the Globalization of PROFMEX
By *James W. Wilkie*
- First Major Meeting of Ford-funded PROFMEX-ANUIES Project on Water and Public Services in the El Paso/ Ciudad Juárez Area
- Mérida Academic Meeting Opened by Alzati
- Pending U.S.- Mexican Tax Convention and Nonprofit Sectors
- PROFMEX Membership, Governance, and Purpose
- PROFMEX Offices
- PROFMEXIS-The PROFMEX Information System
- PROFMEX-ILAS Electronic Networking
- Lotería Nacional Makes Publication Grant to Mexico Policy News
- New PROFMEX Officers
- Bellagio Conference on International River Commissions
- Mohawk College of Canada Joins PROFMEX
- Mexico Trade News
- Russian Council on Foundations Forming to Follow Mexican Interface with U.S. Nonprofit Tax Law
- UDLA-MCC Alumni Registry
- Currency Transfer Alert

- Mexico's New Nonprofit Sector to be Advised by Council of Foundations and Society of Fund Raising Executives/Mexico
- PROFMEX Annual Meeting at Santa Fe Conference on "The U.S.-Mexico Border: A Region Under Stress"
- The U.S.-Mexico Border: A Region Under Stress
- The North America Forum at Stanford University
- The University of Chicago's Mexican Studies program
- UCLA Film Project on Chiapas and Oaxaca Indian Life
- University of Arizona Update
- Mexico Insight Magazine
- UNAM Establishes CISAN-Center for Research on North America
- International Studies at ITAM
- Twenty-First Century Forum at the Bildner Center
- Spring 1993 Publications from the Bildner Center
- Bildner Center Host Celebration for Book by Clint E. Smith
- Sixth Annual Research Seminar Series at CUNY's Bildner Center
- Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Conducts Survey of Land Use Training Programs for Mexican Officials
- PROFMEXIS On-Line Calendar
- Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí Joins PROFMEX
- Submission of Articles for Mexico Policy News
- Carlos Pallán Figueroa, New ANUIES Head
- A New Language to Address Transborder Problems: Letter to the Editor of Mexico Policy News
- Sergio Reyes Luján, Mexico's Environmental Leader
- Tax Consequences of the Unthinkable: U.S. Oil Companies as Pemex Upstream Partners?
- ABS Meeting, Albuquerque, April 20-23, 1994
- Self-Censorship and the Mexican Press
- "Defining North America"
- SCERP Technical Meeting on Border Environment
- Elections '94: Mexico Presidential Nomination Schedules
- SDSU/SCERP Transboundary Water Conference
- PROFMEX Team Observes Gubernatorial Elections in San Luis Potosí
- The Problematic Implications of Academic Lobbying on NAFTA: A View From PROFMEX/Toronto
- North American Higher Education Group Meets in Zacatecas
- Ordering, Rusia y América Latina (RYAL): Resumen de la prensa de Rusia
- Commercial Overfishing in Baja California
- The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and Its Aftermath
- Mexican Debt Swap Services

- Pro-NAFTA in Quotes
- Networking: Borderland's Ecosystem
- Three News Letters on Mexico Issues
- Mexican Federal Tax Policy May Sabotage Regional Air Travel in Baja California
- Publications Program of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego
- Recent Publications
- Why Japan Wins if Perot's Anti-NAFTA Policies Prevail

PROFMEX Letter Updates for Mexico Policy News

No. 1 November 1994

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_1_nov_1994.pdf

- REPORT FROM THE PROFMEX EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
PROFMEX Letter Established
- Two PROFMEX Meetings in November 1994
- International Symposium Held in July 1994
- PROFMEX Observations on Mexican Presidential Election of 1994
- Growth of PROFMEXIS
- VIII PROFMEX-ANUIES CONFERENCE "Mexico and the Americas", Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, November 13-16, 1994
- New PROFMEX Publications
- Two PROFMEX-ANUIES Policy Research Projects
- Statement on PROFMEX Mission, Membership, and Operations
- Office of Global Philanthropy
- Central Contact Office Expands

No. 2 December 1994

http://profmex.org/Mexico_Policy_News/Mexico_Policy_News_no_2_dec_1994.pdf

- PROFMEX Team at Tabasco Gubernatorial Elections
- PAN's Rodríguez Prats
- PRD's López Obrador
- PRI's Roberto Madrazo
- Election Day Observations
- Mexican National Lottery Sponsors Eastern European Connection to Mexico's Model for Globalizing Nonprofit Sectors

B) *UC MEXUS NEWS*

http://profmex.org/UC_MEXUS_NEWS.html

UC MEXUS Resources & Programs, July 1982

By James W. Wilkie

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS.pdf

- Consortium on Mexico and the United States
- Nine-Campus Resources
- Publications
- New Publications
- Organized Programs
- Office in Mexico
- Exchange Programs with Mexico
- Joint Research Programs with Mexico
- International Conferences with Mexico
- Exchanges Among the Nine UC Campuses
- Sample Special Projects
- Teaching Programs
- Public Education Activities

No. 1 Winter 1982 (Outline of each issue above)

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_1_winter_1982.pdf

- UC MEXUS Consortium Established
- Travel Funds Available for San Diego Seminars
- UCLA to Host Symposium on Mexicana/Chicana Women's History
- Universitywide Research Inventory
- News of Interest
- Universitywide News
- Mexican Programs at UCSB
- UCR Shares Resources with Mexican College
- UCSF School of Dentistry Collaborates with Mexican Universities
- UCI-Bowers Museum Project on Material Culture of Mexican-Americans
- UCI's Rodríguez Awarded Fulbright for Mexican Study
- Mexican Anthropologist Visits UC Irvine
- UCI-Mexico Collaborate on Renewable Energy Research
- UCI Exchange with Centro de Investigación y de Estudios Avanzados
- U.S.-Mexican Studies at UCSD
- UCLA Atlas Focuses on Border Region
- Mexican Fulbright Scholar at UCLA
- UCLA Alcohol Fuels Workshop in Mexico
- The Chicano Studies Research Center at UCLA

No. 2 Spring 1982

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_2_spring_1982.pdf

- Nava Tells Origins of UC MEXUS Program
- Why UC MEXUS
- UCSD Editorial Position Available
- FACULTY PROFILE: Salvucci Joins UCB History Department
- Californias Water Conference Announced
- INAH Center in Hermosillo
- Book Notes
- Universitywide News
- UCR Tepary Bean Program
- UCLA Statistical Abstract Analyzes Mexico
- UCLA Computerized Borderlands Bibliography
- Chicano Political Studies Symposium at UCLA
- Romeo Flores Caballero at UCLA
- UCLA Borderlands Colloquium
- UCD Mexican Students Plan Conference
- Davis Holds Seminar on Mexico
- Davis Faculty in Mexico
- UCD-Mexico Water- fowl Study
- Book Award to UCSB's Garcia
- UC MEXUS Research Inventory Available
- Mexican Studies Activities at Berkeley
- MEXICO AND THE WORLD: Confence in San Diego
- Tinker Award to Scripps
- New Publications Announced by UCSD
- UCSD Mexican Immigrant Study
- UCSD Research Fellows and Faculty Associates
- UCSD T.V. and Radio Series

No. 3 Fall 1982

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_3_fall_1982.pdf

- PROFMEX Discusses Joining Forces with UC MEXUS
- CEFNOMEX Inaugurated
- FACULTY PROFILE: Suárez.Villa Joins UCI Faculty
- UC Study Center in Mexico
- UC MEXUS Brochure Available
- Application Guide-lines for UC MEXUS Funds
- NSF Mexico Program
- Stanford Agricultural and Development Conference
- Tinker Program Announced

- UC MEXUS Awards Generate New Funds
- 1983 RMCLAS Meetings Announced
- Data Base Conference
- UCI Phytochemical Symposium
- UCSD Immigration Law Symposium
- Book Notes
- Universitywide News
- UCLA Days of the Dead Exhibition
- Graciela Borja at UCLA
- UCLA Fellows in Mexico
- UCLA-Instituto Tecnológico Program
- UCLA Chicano Library
- Music Symposium at UCLA
- UCR Scientists Visit Tropical Mexico
- UCR's Bartnicki-García Joins UC MEXUS Executive Committee
- UCSD Fellowships Available
- New UCSD Faculty
- UCSF Chagas Study
- Lomnitz Visits Berkeley
- UCSB Business Exchange Program
- Davis Faculty in Mexico
- UCD Mexican Visitors
- Binational News
- Mexico's National Archive
- Stanford Project on U.S.-Mexico Relations
- New Director for UTEP Center
- Appropriate Technology at UTEP
- Community College Instituto - Tecnológico Exchanges
- Overseas Development Council Mexico Activities
- ENMU-Chihuahua Program
- Directory of U.S. and Mexican Scholars

No. 4 Winter 1982-1983

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_4_winter_1982-1983.pdf

- UNAM Signs Accord with UC MEXUS
- PROFMEX Funds UC MEXUS Publications
- UC MEXUS Advisory Council Activities
- Historians to Meet in San Diego
- New Calendar for Merico Events
- Introducing the PROFMEX Coordinator
- Mexico Research Inventory Expands
- UCSD Meeting on Female Workers

- Book Notes
- Universitywide News
- Charles Reilly, New Research Director at UCSD
- UCSD's Cornelius Elected to LASA Post
- UCR Center Supports Mexico Research
- UCSG Meeting on Migrant Child
- Ambassador Gavin at UCLA
- UCLA's Nicholson Addresses Templo Mayor Seminar
- Mesoamerican Network at UCLA
- Spanish-language Media Meeting at UCLA
- UCLA Museum of Cultural History
- Bilingual Agriculturalists Conference
- UCD-UABC Animal Health Program
- International News
- Mexico Programs at UT Austin
- Mexicali's Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales
- UTEP Publications Series
- Statistics Symposium to be Held at UNAM
- Stanford Mexico Brochure
- TePaske and Wilkie at UNAM
- Stanford's Fagen Collaborates on Boder Film
- Arizona Trade and Investment Conference
- Arizona Jojoba Symposium

No. 5 Winter 1982-1983

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_5_spring_1983.pdf

- New Journal Announced: Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos
- Call for Articles: Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos
- UC MEXUS Holds Reception in Mexico City
- Planning for III Bilateral University Symposium
- Rocky Mountain Council 31st Annual Meeting
- Chihuahuan Desert Research Symposium
- LASA Meetings in Mexico City
- PROFMEX Congressional Outreach
- Economics Conference at Arizona
- Special Funds for Science and Social Science
- Book Notes
- Universitywide News
- UC Research Expedition to Study Baja Marine Birds
- UC Study and Field Experience Program
- UCSD Visiting Fellows
- UCSD's Gutiérrez Awarded MacArthur Fellowship

- UCSD Center Designated an Organized Research Unit
- UCSD Immigrant Worker Study
- Cassio Luiselli at UCSD
- UCI Border Colloquia
- UCI Mexican American History Project
- UCB Colonial Mexico Colloquia
- UCLA Border Activities
- Semo Visits UGLA
- UCLA Border Symposium
- UCD Rehabilitation Workshop
- International News
- Mexico Programs at the University of Arizona
- Call for Papers: Economics and Finance Meetings
- U.S. Embassy Border Affairs Office
- About PROFMEX
- Tulane Symposium on Colonial History
- Puebla's Instituto de Ciencias
- ERMEU Established

No. 6 Summer 1983

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_6_summer_1983.pdf

- III PROFMEX-ANUIES International Conference Scheduled for Tijuana in October
- UC MEXUS Announces Awards for Research and Collaborative Intercampus Projects
- UC MEXUS Executive Committee News
- Monterrey Border Urbanization Workshop
- Call for Articles: Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos
- Border Bioresources and Environment Conference at UCLA
- Pacific Coast Historical Meeting Features Mexico
- UCSD Marine Policy Conference
- Book Notes
- Universitywide News
- UCI Research on Border Industrialization
- Mexicana In The Bancroft Library
- UCSD Center Analyzes Mexico's Economic Crisis
- UCSD Workshop in Capital, Labor Mobility
- UCSB Panels Analyze Mexico
- UCLA Mexican Arts Symposium
- UCLA's Aztec Tertulia
- UCLA Symposium Highlights Border Issues
- Mexico Programs at UCLA

- UNAM's Uchmany Visits UCLA
- UCSF Dental Symposium
- International News
- Mario Ojeda at CEFNOMEX
- UTEP's Mexico Programs
- CERLAC'S Mexico Project
- New Mexico Consortium Meeting Hosted at NMSU
- Overseas Development Council Mexico Project
- UT Austin Accord With UNAM
- UT Austin's Stanley Ross Honored
- Society for Applied Anthropology Meeting
- University of Houston Mexican Legal Studies
- Huichol Art Preview Exhibit
- UA Summer Tinker Award
- UA-Guadalajara Journalism Accord
- Historia Mexicana Subscription Campaign
- BSUCLA JOINS WITH PROFMEX

No. 7 Fall 1983

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_7_fall_1983.pdf

- PROFMEX Continues Collaboration With UC MEXUS
- Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos: Call for Articles
- New PROFMEX- UA Monograph Series
- UC MEXUS Book Exhibit at LASA Meeting
- Religion and Politics Conference
- Border Technology and Culture Conference
- PCCLAS 1983 Conference
- RMCLAS Meetings Announced
- Book Notes
- Universitywide News
- CEFNOMEX-UCLA Latin American Center Agreement
- UCR Guayule Meeting
- Mexico Programs at USCD Reviewed and Previewed
- UCSD and the San Diego World Affairs Council
- UCSD Fellowship Competition
- UCSD Executive Workshop on Mexico's Economic Stabilization
- UCSD Borderlands Urbanization Research and Activities
- UC Students in Mexico with Education Abroad Program
- UC Extension Offers Chicano History
- International News
- A Mexico Focus at the Woodrow Wilson Center
- UA Border Health Fellowship Program

- UTEP-INAH Jointly Study COMO
- COLMEX'S Programa México- Estados Unidos
- Wilkie at UTEP, UH, and Havana
- Association for Borderland Scholars
- New Directions at CEFNOMEX
- Comparative Borders Project
- Monterrey Border Urbanization Meeting
- Mexico's IBAFIN
- UTA's Ross Honored

No. 8 Winter 1983-1984

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_8_winter_1983-1984.pdf

- Wilkie Leaves UC MEXUS
- III PROFMEX-ANUIES Conference in Tijuana
- Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos to Appear in Fall of 1984
- Universitywide News
- Luis Echeverría Speaks at UCSD
- Herberito Castillo Speaks at UCSD
- Cornelius Appointed to Chair
- UCSD Center Workshop Series on Mexican Political Institutions Neglected by Scholars
- UCSD Symposium on Water for the Californias
- UCSD Press Briefing with Garlos Salinas
- Ancient Mexican and Borderland Ceramics Exhibited at UCLA
- UCLA's Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center Activities
- James Lockhart and Studies in Older Nahuatl at UCLA
- UCLA's Thrower Delivers Nebenzahl Lecture
- UCLA Symposium on Border Environment Policy
- Borderlands Urbanization Atlas Meeting
- International News
- Border Studies at San Diego State University
- Chicano Spanish Meeting at UTEP
- New Borderlands Journal Launched
- U.S. Historians Hale and Ross Awarded Aztec Eagle
- Cibola Meeting Held in Tijuana
- USD Inaugurates Mexico-United States Law Institute
- UTA's Ross Awarded Chair
- CEFNOMEX Bibliographic Development
- Book Notes

No. 9 Spring 1984

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_9_Spring_1984.pdf

- UCR-Mexico Research Center Affiliates With UC MEXUS and PROFMEX
- New UC MEXUS Chairman
- North American Economics and Finance Association Meetings Announced
- Association of Borderlands Scholars Meetings
- UC MEXUS- PROFMEX Research Inventory Available
- UT Austin Conference on Mexico-United States Industrial Strategy and Policy
- UCSD Workshop on Mexican Military
- Call For Border- lands Business Manuscripts
- UCSD Workshop on U.S.-Mexican Regional Linkages
- Comparative Borders Conference at UTEP
- Mexican Poets to Visit ASU
- Universitywide News
- University of California Offers Mexico and Borderlands Research Expeditions
- BANAMEX's Solana Speaks at UCLA
- UCLA's Museum of Cultural History Olympic Games Exhibit
- Mesoamerican Network Meeting at UCLA
- UCSD Research Seminars on Mexican Politics and Development
- UCI-UNAM Desert Plant Research
- UCI Extension Courses on Mexico
- Aguirre Joins UC MEXUS Executive Committee
- UCSF Rural Health Conference
- David G. Sweet, UCSG UC MEXUS Executive Committee Member
- UCSC Economics Conference Held
- International News
- UTEP's Rio Grande Forum
- AHA Meetings Feature Colonial Mexico Discussion by Woodrow Borah
- CEFNOMEX Symposium on Border Studies
- Centro de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM-UABC
- California Binational Libraries Conference
- UT Austin United States and Mexico Conference
- De la Peña Visiting Professor at UT Austin
- Stanford Mexico-Related Conferences
- New Institute of Border Studies Holds Imperial and Mexicali Valleys Peso Devaluation Conference

- Book Notes

No. 10 Summer 1984

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_10_summer_1984.pdf

- UNAM and UCLA Sign Exchange Agreement
- PROFMEX Named to U.S.-Mexican Joint Cultural Commission
- Mexico-Related Programs at UCSB
- Arid Lands Conference at UA
- Fulbright Lecturing and Research Awards Available
- International Congress of Mexican History Announces Call for Papers
- United States- Mexico Binational Labor Conference
- CEFNOMEX Borderlands Archival Identification Project
- Universitywide News
- Mexican Cinematographer at UCI
- Jaime Mora Visits UCI
- UCI History Conference
- Chicano/Mexicano Conference at UCD
- UC MEXUS Research Awards to UCD Faculty
- UCLA- UABC Cooperative Agreement
- UCLA Borderlands Colloquium
- Baja California Librarians Visit UCLA
- UCLA's Chicano Studies Research Center
- UCLA Medical Faculty in Mexico Research Symposia
- UCSF-UC MEXUS Award for Dental Research
- UCSD Study on Needs of Hispanic Children in the Southwest
- UCSD Holds Workshop on Civil-Military Relations in Mexico
- UCSD Announces 1984-85 Visiting Research Fellows
- UCSD Briefing Session for Journalists
- International News
- PROFMEX-ANUIES Meeting in Puerto Vallarta to Plan Santa Fe Policy Conference
- Mexico's Instituto Mora
- UA Hosts RMCLAS and BALAS Meetings
- UA Arid Lands Short Course
- UA Tinker Field Research Grants
- UA Convenio with ITESM
- Academia Mexicana de Historia Honors Stanley R. Ross
- UT Austin Workshop on Mexican-U.S. Industrial Policy
- Chicago Latino Conference
- Conference on United States- Mexico Bridge Building
- Book Notes

No. 11 Fall 1984

http://profmex.org/UC_Mexus_news/UC_MEXUS_NEWS_11_fall_1984.pdf

- UC Mexus Establishes Headquarters Office at UCR
- Mexican Studies/ Estudios Mexicanos First Issue Announced
- PROFMEX Board Meets in Cozumel
- Universitywide News
- UCB-Universidad de Guadalajara Health Study
- UCSD's Fourth Annual Briefing Session for Professional Journalist
- UCSD Research Seminar Begins Fifth Year
- UCSD Hosts Summer Institute for School Teachers
- UCLA Receives USIA Grant to Link with Mexican Universities
- International News
- Commission of the Californias Meeting
- The Mexican Forum
- Workshop on Small-Scale Border Enterprises
- Research at Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana- Azcapotzalco
- Arid Lands Conference Announced, Call For Papers Issued
- Expanded Activities For ODC'S U.S.-Mexico Project
- Mexican News Synopsis
- Director Named for San Diego State's Border Institute
- SDSU-IPN Agreement
- Anderson and Dibble Awarded Order of Isabel la Católica
- Spring Semester On The Border
- Arizona State Agreement With Universidad Autónoma de Puebla
- Individuals and Institutions Are Invited To Join PROFMEX
- Border Research Inventory Available
- Book Notes

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Wilkie: historia, economía y elitelore.
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historia, economía y

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Samuel Schmidt
Coordinador



El Colegio de Chihuahua



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