

CONCLUSION	53
Appendices	57
A. Executive Decree Creating the Mexican Commission to Aid Refugees	57
B. Agreement Between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Government of Mexico	59
C. Selected Provisions of the General Law on Population	60
D. Selected Provisions of the Regulations of the General Law on Population .	62
Notes	64

CONCLUSION

Mexico takes great pride in its humanitarian tradition of receiving exiles and refugees. However, the massive presence of thousands of Central Americans in Mexico has overwhelmed Mexican domestic law, which does not provide legal security for them. The grave economic crisis which the country has suffered in recent years does not allow Mexico to accommodate this substantial group. However, an improvement in the economic situation still would not translate into legal security for the Central Americans.

In their day-to-day lives, most Central Americans in Mexico are not targets of physical abuse or victims of starvation, although many arrived in this condition. But the absence of physical abuse and starvation do not, by themselves, constitute security. Security, as the term would be understood by any ordinary person, also requires a defined legal status that reflects the situation of being a refugee and affords refugees concomitant economic, social, and political rights. Central Americans in Mexico do not have this legal status or these rights.

The status of refugee, as defined in international agreements, does not exist under Mexican law. In U.N. terms, a refugee is a person who has a well-founded fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion. In Mexico, the closest approximation to refugee status is political asylum. But in Mexico the grant of political asylum requires proof of actual persecution exclusively for political reasons or for the commission of political crimes.

The narrow legal basis for asylum must be pieced together from scattered provisions of Mexico's Constitution, domestic legislation, and inter-American regional agreements. Moreover, many of these provisions apply to the Latin American concept of diplomatic asylum, where the asylee initially seeks refuge in the Mexican embassy in his own country. Some provisions apply to the protection against extradition from Mexico for the commission of political crimes. In contrast to the relatively small number of people who can seek refuge in an embassy or protection from extradition, the Central Americans in Mexico comprise thousands of people who have fled their countries and entered Mexico for reasons more complex than individual political persecution.

The protections offered by these Mexican legal provisions are far narrower than those offered by the more comprehensive U.N. Convention on the Status of Refugees or by agreements in other regions of the world, such as the Convention of the Organization of African Unity. Mexico abides by neither of these Conventions, although it advocates the adoption of their principles.

Political asylum in Mexico is a temporary non-immigrant status. Foreigners, including asylees, are granted some of the individual rights granted in the Constitution: free expression of ideas, freedom of written expression, the right of petition or free association (except in political matters), and the

right not to be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. However, statutory law gives the Mexican government wide discretion to regulate the activities of foreigners, including their exercise of these rights. Moreover, the government's right to expel foreigners where it is deemed advisable, with no legal process, in effect nullifies the rights foreigners possess. Asylees have no greater immunity to expulsion than other foreigners.

The government's power of expulsion conflicts with the *non-refoulement* provisions of the U.N. Convention and the San Jose Pact, as well as with other provisions in these agreements establishing due process restrictions on the expulsion of refugees from their country of asylum.

The status of political asylum is too narrow to provide a solution for the Central Americans in Mexico. Many of them are fleeing because they fear persecution for a variety of reasons, including civil strife. Many cannot prove that persecution for political reasons alone has already occurred.

Moreover, as a matter of government policy, asylum is almost never granted. On the rare occasions when asylum status has been granted, the persons generally sought diplomatic asylum. Under these circumstances, an application for political asylum by the thousands of Central Americans who do not fit these narrow categories would be an exercise in futility.

Foreigners who need refugee protection must look to other immigration statuses under Mexican law that do not take into account their condition as refugees. The applicant usually needs to find an economic niche in Mexico as a requirement for obtaining a visa. The government does not follow procedures which distinguish foreigners who need protection as refugees from those who come to Mexico for other reasons, such as purely economic causes. Moreover, the government, by its practices, denies the existence of refugees in certain parts of Mexico. It regularly deports Central Americans, many of whom might qualify as refugees. Finally, the government carries out most aspects of these policies in near secrecy.

All of this creates an uncertain and insecure situation for all the Central Americans in Mexico, whether they are Guatemalans in camps in the south, refugees with UNHCR status, or others who do not possess even this limited status or recognition.

Only six years ago the Mexican government began mass deportations of Guatemalans, deportations which continued at varying levels for several years. The government now concedes that these Guatemalans merit protection in camps in Chiapas, Campeche, and Quintana Roo. But they are still considered economic migrants by many high ranking government officials. Furthermore, the government has carefully maintained the Guatemalans in the camps in a temporary non-immigrant status which does not lead to permanent residency or real integration into Mexican life. They are restricted as to where they may live, travel, and work.

Although many of these Guatemalans have now lived in Mexico for six years, there is no indication that the restrictions will lessen or that the uncertainty of their status will change. Mexico's ability even to maintain the Guatemalans in their current restricted situation is dependent on international

funding. Furthermore, they always face the possibility that, regardless of their status, the government will decide the time has come to return them to Guatemala. Should this happen, Article 33 of the Constitution would permit their repatriation without any legal process, subject only to political constraints.

For those Central Americans who do not live in the refugee camps and settlements, the lack of security is even more profound. The government position that refugees simply are not present in most parts of the country, despite evidence to the contrary, means that thousands of Central Americans are excluded from the possibility of legality in Mexico. For those who can run the gauntlet of Mexican immigration and police forces and reach Mexico City, the possibility of obtaining legal status there is slim.

Those who obtain legal residence will do so because they have managed to fit into one of the few existing categories for foreigners, not because their condition as refugees has been acknowledged by the government. For the majority of Central Americans who do not qualify for these visa categories, there is almost no possibility of economic integration into a country whose economy is in chaos and whose labor rules explicitly limit the employment of foreigners. Applicants for a visa may wait years for a decision or they may be denied legal status and await enforcement of an expulsion order.

The gaps in the law are exacerbated by the secrecy with which the government operates. Determining the nature, effect, and future of government actions within Mexico is difficult because much underlying information is unavailable. There is little statistical or descriptive information on the numbers and home countries of Central Americans admitted or deported; on the numbers and home countries of refugees admitted previously or on the particular immigration status granted to Central Americans or previous refugees. Procedures or criteria for the grant of asylum or other statuses are not explicit. Moreover, there are not consistent statements of official policy on such issues as the basis for Mexico not adhering to the U.N. Convention, its plans for enforcement of deportation orders, or its plans for future relocation of refugees now in Chiapas or repatriation of the Guatemalan refugees to Guatemala.

The unavailability of this kind of information in Mexico is not simply a matter of academic interest. Without such information, events of great consequence, such as regular deportations of Central Americans to Guatemala, can occur virtually unnoticed by the public. Comparisons between events and the government's description of events are made difficult. Analysis of events often must rely on anecdotal information or newspaper reports. The very difficulty in obtaining consistent information about Central Americans in Mexico is an important factor in measuring their lack of security.

The Mexican government's policies toward refugees cannot be viewed in isolation. Hundreds of thousands of Central Americans are on the move, either within their own countries or elsewhere in Central and North America. The policies adopted by other countries in the region affects not only their numbers but Mexico's policies toward them.

Should, for example, Mexico develop a well-defined policy toward refugees, it increases its chances of being *the* receptor country for refugees. This lessens the obligation of other countries, including the U.S., to share the burden of refugees in the region. In addition, Mexico has made it clear it will not accept refugees deported from the U.S. because of their passage through Mexico has made them ineligible for asylum in the U.S. It seems likely that Mexico's policies would become even more restrictive if it were expected to become the home for the many thousands of Central Americans who are now in the U.S.

The argument that Mexico is an automatic safe haven or resettlement country for refugees who passed through on their way to the U.S. ignores both current policy and the degree to which that policy would tighten if Mexico's burden were increased. The concept of Mexico as a safe haven will likely become acceptable to Mexico only to the degree that other countries in the region, including the U.S., share the same role.

APPENDIX A

EXECUTIVE DECREE CREATING THE MEXICAN COMMISSION TO AID REFUGEES

Agreement to create a permanent inter-secretarial Commission to study the needs of foreign refugees in national territory, which will be named the Mexican Commission to Aid Refugees.

JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO, Constitutional President of the United Mexican States, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon the federal executive by Article 1, Section 89 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States and with its basis in Articles 21, 27, 28, and 40 of the Organic Law of Federal Public Administration, and

CONSIDERING:

That our country has established in its independent life an inalterable concept of asylum for those who suffer persecution for political motives in their countries of origin, which translates into permanence in its territory of refugees who require attention to their immediate needs after having obtained asylum in the country;

That said situation raises the necessity of creating an inter-secretarial Commission in which will take part representatives of the departments of the federal executive that should participate in accordance with their respective competence, in order to procure a means of aid and protection to the refugees;

That, moreover, said Commission will be charged with proposing relationships and interchanges with international organizations that follow identical or similar goals; I see fit to dictate the following

AGREEMENT

FIRST. — A permanent inter-secretarial Commission is created to study the needs of foreign refugees in national territory, which will be called the Mexican Commission to Aid Refugees, which will consist of the head of the Ministry of the Interior, who will have the role of President, and one representative of the Ministries of Foreign Relations and of Work and Social Security.

The heads of the ministries named in the preceding paragraph will designate representatives who will substitute as advisors, as well as alternates who will cover their absences, with the same obligations and rights.

SECOND. — The Commission will have as its duty:

- I. To study the needs of foreign refugees in national territory;
- II. To propose relationships and interchanges with international organizations created to aid refugees;

III. To approve aid projects for refugees in the country;

IV. To seek permanent solutions for the problems of refugees;

V. To issue internal regulations;

VI. The other functions necessary for the accomplishment of its goals.

THIRD. — The Commission will meet, at the call of the President, as many times as is necessary, and will hold at least three meetings a year.

Representatives of other departments and entities of public administration that carry out activities connected with the purposes of the Commission can be invited to the meetings of the Commission.

FOURTH. — The Commission shall be assisted by a technical Secretariat, which will consist of an official designated by each Ministry which is a member of the Commission, and will be charged with drawing up studies and reports the Commission entrusts to it, along with duties assigned to it to carry out the objectives of the Commission.

FIFTH. — The agreements and recommendations of the Commission will be communicated by its President to the appropriate departments and entities, so that they may provide whatever is necessary for their execution.

TRANSITORY ARTICLES

FIRST. — This agreement will enter into force the day following its publication in the official diary of the Federation.

SECOND. — The Commission will issue its internal regulations within 90 days following the date of its first meeting.

Given at the residence of the Federal Executive Power, in Mexico City, Federal District, the 4th day of July, 1980. — José López Portillo. The Secretary of the Interior, Enrique Olivares Santana. The Secretary of Foreign Relations, Jorge Castañeda. The Secretary of Labor and Social Security, Pedro Ojeda Paullada.

APPENDIX B

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO

Taking into consideration the tradition of hospitality that the government of Mexico practices toward asylees and refugees, reiterated in its recent decision to create the Mexican Commission to Aid Refugees, a body of high governmental standing, whose principal objective is to find permanent solutions concerning protection and assistance to these foreigners;

Taking into consideration that the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees stipulates, among other factors, that this body should collaborate with governments in the search for solutions to the problems of refugees;

Taking into account that the efforts of Mexico must be backed by common support and international aid, taking into account the significant number of asylees and refugees that currently are located in Mexico, especially of new groups coming from Central America;

The Mexican Commission to Aid Refugees and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

AGREE to cooperate closely in the development and financing of aid programs for asylees and refugees, which programs will be included within the policy defined on this matter by Mexican authorities with regard to the number of refugees, their reception, location, occupation and permanence, as well as within the schemes of basic international norms recognized in this matter.

These programs will have as a goal giving better attention to those who, having been recognized as refugees or asylees by the Mexican government, require emergency assistance; the programs will also look for solutions of self-sufficiency for these people while they stay in Mexico because of the prevailing situation in their countries of origin or until they go to a third country.

Mexico, D.F., March 2, 1981.

**MEXICAN COMMISSION
TO AID REFUGEES**

**LIC. RODOLFO GONZALEZ
GUEVARA, Secretary of the Interior
and Representative to the Commission**

**UNITED NATIONS HIGH
COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES**

**MAXIME LEOPOLD ZOLLNER
Aid Director in the Headquarters**

APPENDIX C

SELECTED PROVISIONS OF THE GENERAL LAW ON POPULATION

Article 35. Foreigners who suffer political persecution will be provisionally admitted by immigration authorities with an obligation to stay in the port of entry while the Ministry of the Interior resolves each case.

* * *

Article 41. Foreigners may legally enter the country in accord with the following classifications:

- a) Non-immigrant.
- b) Immigrant.

Article 42. The non-immigrant is a foreigner who, with the permission of the Ministry of the Interior, enters the country temporarily, within one of the following categories

I. **TOURIST.** For the purpose of recreation or health, for artistic, cultural or sporting activities, provided that these activities are neither remunerative nor profitmaking, with a time limit of six months that cannot be extended.

II. **TRANS-MIGRANT.** A person in transit to another country who may remain in national territory up to thirty days.

III. **VISITORS.** To engage in the exercise of some activity, whether profit-making or not, as long as it is legal and honest, with authorization to remain in the country up to six months, which may be extended once for the same time period. If during this time the person lives on resources brought from outside the country, from profits which these resources produce, or from some investment deriving from outside the country, or if the activities are scientific, technical, artistic, sporting, or the like, two additional extensions may be given.

IV. **ADVISOR.** To attend meetings or sessions of the board of directors of businesses, or to be a consultant to them and to temporarily carry out functions in keeping with his authorities. This authorization will be up to six months, which cannot be extended; with permission for multiple entries and departures, and the stay in the country on each occasion will be up to thirty days, which cannot be extended.

V. **POLITICAL ASYLEE.** To protect his liberty or life from political persecution in his country of origin, authorized for the time that the Ministry of the Interior deems appropriate, taking into account the circumstances of each case. If the political asylee violates national laws, he will, without prejudice to any sanctions that may be applicable, lose his immigration status, and the Ministry may grant him the category that it judges appropriate to continue his legal stay in the country. Similarly, if the political asylee leaves the country, he will lose all rights to return in this immigration category, unless he left with the permission of the appropriate authorities.

VI. STUDENT. To begin, complete, or refresh studies in educational institutions or official or private institutions that are incorporated or operate with official authorization, with annual extensions and with authorization to remain in the country only during the time that studies last and as necessary to obtain final school documentation. The student may be out of the country up to a total of 120 days each year.

VII. DISTINGUISHED VISITOR. In special cases, of an exceptional sort, courtesy permits to enter and live in the country for up to six months may be granted to researchers, scientists or humanists of international prestige, journalists, or other prominent persons. The Ministry of the Interior may renew these permits whenever it is deemed appropriate.

VIII. LOCAL VISITORS. Immigration authorities may authorize foreigners to visit maritime ports or border cities provided that the stay does not exceed three days.

IX. PROVISIONAL VISITORS. The Ministry of the Interior may authorize as an exception for up to 30 days the provisional disembarkation of foreigners who arrive in seaports or airports with international service, whose documentation lacks some secondary requisite. In these cases, they must establish a deposit or a bond which guarantees their return to the country they came from, or their country of citizenship or origin, if they do not fulfill the requirement in the time granted.

APPENDIX D

SELECTED PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATIONS OF THE GENERAL LAW ON POPULATION

Article 101. Political Asylees. — For the admission of non-immigrants referred to in Articles 35 and 42, Section V of the law, the following rules will be applied:

I. Foreigners who arrive in national territory fleeing from political persecution will be provisionally admitted by the Office of Population, under a requirement to stay in the port of entry while the Ministry resolves the case. The appropriate Office of Population will inform the Central Office of the arrival by the quickest means.

II. The asylum applicant must state the reasons for the persecution, his personal history, necessary information for his identification, and the means of transport he used.

III. After the Population Office obtains the authorization of the Central Service to grant territorial political asylum, it will draw up a document setting forth in it the data indicated in the previous paragraph and will grant asylum in the name of the Ministry, will file a record card of the foreigner, will take necessary measures for his security, and will send him to the Central Service.

IV. No foreigner will be admitted as an asylee who comes from a country other than where the persecution occurred, except in which he has only been a transmigrant, which must be properly proved.

V. Mexican embassies will receive in their residences foreigners who seek asylum, provided that they come from the country where the embassy is located; the embassies will investigate the reasons for the persecution, and if, in their judgment, it involves a crime of a political nature, they will grant asylum in the name of Mexico, asylum that in its turn will be subsequently ratified by the Ministry.

VI. After diplomatic asylum is granted, the embassy will inform the Ministry of Foreign Relations by the fastest means possible and, at the same time, the Ministry of the Interior, and in addition will be charged with security and transport of the asylee to Mexico.

VII. All foreigners admitted into the country as asylees by virtue of the application of international treaties concerning political asylum, whether diplomatic or territorial, to which Mexico is a party, or outside of these, remain subject to the following conditions:

a) The Ministry will determine the place where the asylee may live and the activities he may carry out and may establish other formalities when, in its judgment, circumstances merit it.

b) Political asylees may bring to Mexico wives and minor children to live as their economic dependents. These will have the same immigration classification when the Ministry considers it advisable.

c) Foreigners who have been admitted as asylees can only leave the country with the prior permission of the Central Service, and if they leave without this permission, their immigration documentation will be permanently cancelled; they will also lose their immigration rights if they stay outside the country more than the time authorized. In both cases the Ministry may grant another immigration category that it deems appropriate.

d) The residence rights to which this article refers will be granted for the time that the Ministry deems appropriate. The residency permits will be granted for a year and if they have to exceed this, they can be extended for an additional year and so forth. For this to occur, the applicants must seek revalidation of the permit within thirty days prior to its expiration. This will be granted if the circumstances which caused the asylum continue and provided that the asylee has complied with the requirements and formalities established by the Ministry. The same applies to his relatives.

e) They must apply in writing to the Central Service for permission for a change of activity, showing evidence of meeting the requirements that the Ministry indicates.

f) Within thirty days of the disappearance of the circumstances that caused the political asylum, the asylee will leave the country with his relatives who have the same immigration category, leaving the immigration documents that protect them in the Population Office of the place where they depart.

g) Asylees must be registered in the National Registry of Foreigners within thirty days of their obtaining immigration documentation. In addition, they are obliged to report changes in residence and civil status within a maximum of thirty days after the change or formalization of the act.

h) They will observe all the obligations that the law and its regulations impose on foreigners, except where they are expressly excepted or where these are contrary to the nature of their condition as asylees.

NOTES

ARTHUR HELTON INTRODUCTION

1. The 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees removed the geographic and temporal limitations that had previously circumscribed the scope of refugee protection under the Convention.
2. See, e.g., G.S. Goodwin-Gill, *The Refugee in International Law*, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 121-123.
3. Pub. L. No. 96-212, 94 Stat. 102 (1980).
4. 45 F.R. 37,394 (1980). See also 48 F.R. 5885 (1983).
5. See *Interpreter Releases*, Vol. 57, 1980, p. 305, regarding the establishment of Cuban-Haitian Entrant status.
6. Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act of 1966, Pub. L. No. 89-732, 80 Stat. 1161 (1966).
7. Arthur Helton, "Political Asylum Under the 1980 Refugee Act: An Unfulfilled Promise," *Univ. of Mich. Journal of Law Reform*, Vol. 17, 1984, p. 243.
8. Arthur Helton, "The Proper Role of Discretion in Political Asylum Determinations," *San Diego Law Review*, Vol. 22, 1985, p. 999.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 1018 and 1019.
10. *Sedgh v. Sava*, 83 Misc. Civ. 436 (E.D.N.Y. 1983).
11. See, e.g., European Consultation on Refugees and Exiles, *Restrictive Asylum Policy in Europe* (Zeist, 1985).
12. Helton, "Proper Role of Discretion," p. 1012.
13. Extended voluntary departure is an extra-statutory remedy whereby the Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary of State, decides that no member of a particular nationality group will be forced to depart from the United States. This remedy has been granted to 16 groups over the past 25 years.

INTRODUCTION

1. Pablo Hiriart, *La Jornada*, March 27, 1986.
2. Administración, Procuración de Justicia y Fuerzas Armadas, Appendix to Tercer Informe de Gobierno 1985, delivered by Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, President of Mexico, September 1, 1985, p. 329.
3. Suzanne L. Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees in Mexico: The Search for a Policy* (Master's thesis, University of Texas, 1985), pp. 96, 97.
4. Sergio Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1985), pp. 47, 96; Juan Balboa and Blanche Petrich, "Inminente, un nuevo éxodo," *Perfil de la Jornada*, October 30, 1984.
5. An interview with the Director of the *Dirección General de Servicios Migratorios*, the division of the Interior Ministry that manages immigration matters, was denied; a written request to him for statistical and descriptive information and written criteria or procedures was not answered; other immigration officials refused to be interviewed or to provide statistical information.

6. Candelaria Rodríguez, "Se descentraliza el servicio de migración: Carillo Olea," *La Jornada*, May 26, 1985; Teresa Garza, "Denuncias por extorsión y tortura en el aeropuerto," *La Jornada*, December 10, 1985.
7. A notable exception in Mexico is the work of Sergio Aguayo, the author of numerous articles and *El Exodo Centroamericano*.

PART 1

CHAPTER 1

MEXICO AND THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

1. John G. Stoessinger, *The Refugee and the World Community*, (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1956), p. 63.
2. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
4. Mexico's historical generosity to refugees is expressed in annual presidential *informes* (state of the union addresses). *Ibid.*, p. 85, fn. 3. Most of these speak specifically in terms of diplomatic asylum, the form of asylum granted in a foreign embassy, or on a foreign ship, military aircraft, or military base, to people because of political persecution.
5. Michael Kenny, *et al.*, *immigrantes y refugiados españoles en México (Siglo XX)*, (Mexico City: ediciones de la casa chata, 1979), p. 33.
6. Antonio Brambila Meda, "Organización, Estructura y Propósitos de la Comisión de Ayuda a los Refugiados," *Los tratados sobre derechos humanos y la legislación mexicana*, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1981), pp. 39-41.
7. Secretaría de la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, "La situación de los refugiados políticos en América," *La Organización de los Estados Americanos y los Derechos Humanos, 1960-1967*, (Washington, D.C.: Secretary General of the Organization of American States, 1972), pp. 516-524.
8. Leonardo Franco, "El derecho internacional de los refugiados y su aplicación en América Latina," *Anuario Jurídico Interamericano, 1982*, (Washington, D.C.: Secretary General of the Organization of American States, 1983), pp. 208-210.
9. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 85.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-28; Sergio Aguayo, "La línea móvil del sur," *Nexos*, No. 79, July, 1984, p. 18.
11. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, pp. 21-28; Miguel Angel Velásquez, "Refugiados: 1981-1984," *Nexos*, No. 79, July, 1984, pp. 17-29.
12. Velásquez, "Refugiados: 1981-1984," pp. 17-29.
13. Aguayo, "La línea móvil del sur," p. 17.
14. U.N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, July 28, 1951, U.N.T.S. Vol. 189, p. 137, Treaty No. 2545 (hereafter, 1951 U.N. Convention) Art. 1A(2); Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, January 31, 1967, U.N.T.S. Vol. 606, p. 267, Treaty No. 8791, Art. I 1. Excluded from this legal protection is anyone who is believed, for well-founded reasons, to have committed a war crime or crime against peace or humanity, or committed acts contrary to the goals and principles of the United Nations. Article 1F a-c.

15. Convention on Asylum, February 20, 1928, OAS Official Records, OEA/Ser.X/7, Treaty Series 34, p. 27 (hereafter, 1928 Havana Convention), Art. 2; Convention on Territorial Asylum, March 28, 1954, OAS Official Records, OEA/Ser.X/7, Treaty Series 34, p. 89 (hereafter, 1954 Caracas Convention on Territorial Asylum); La Ley Reglamentaria del Artículo 5° Relativo al Ejercicio de las Profesiones en el Distrito Federal, December 30, 1944 (hereafter, Law Relating to the Exercise of Professions), Art. 21.
16. Mexican law uses the term only with the qualifier of "political;" as such, as a synonym for political asylee. See, for example, Law Relating to the Exercise of Professions, Art. 21.
17. Héctor Gros Espiell, "El derecho internacional americano sobre asilo territorial y extradición en sus relaciones con la Convención de 1951 y el Protocolo de 1967 sobre estatuto de los refugiados," *Asilo y protección internacional de refugiados en América Latina* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982), pp. 35-44 and 60-64; Jesús Rodríguez y Rodríguez, "Refugiados" in *Diccionario Jurídico Mexicano*, Vol. VII, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma México, 1984), pp. 384-386.
18. La Ley General de Población (hereafter, General Law on Population), Arts. 35 and 42V; El Reglamento de la Ley General de Población (hereafter, Regulations of the General Law on Population), Art. 101 I-VI.
 Consequently, political asylum is not granted to deserters or to foreigners accused, tried, or sentenced exclusively for common crimes. This can be inferred from the Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (hereafter, Mexican Constitution), Arts. 15 and 119; La Ley de Extradición Internacional, December 25, 1975 (hereafter, International Extradition Law), Arts. 1, 5, and 8; and Regulations of the General Law on Population, Art. 101, Secs. I, II and V. It is expressly established by the 1928 Havana Convention, Art. 1; the Convention on Political Asylum, December 16, 1933, OAS Official Records, OEA/Ser.X/7, Treaty Series 34, p. 47 (hereafter, 1933 Montevideo Convention); and the Convention on Diplomatic Asylum, March 28, 1954, OAS Official Records, OEA/Ser.X/7, Treaty Series 34, p. 82 (hereafter, 1954 Caracas Convention on Diplomatic Asylum).
19. This concept of refugee covers not only the person who, for any one of the reasons listed, flees or finds himself outside the country of his nationality, but also includes the person who lacks nationality, that is, the stateless person who for the same reason finds himself outside his country of normal residence.
20. Regulations of the General Law on Population, Art. 101, Sec. V and VII.
21. Espiell, "El derecho internacional americano," pp. 36, 37.
22. Jorge Salvador Lara, "El concepto de asilado territorial según los convenios internacionales de Naciones Unidas," *Asilo y protección internacional de refugiados en América Latina* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982), p. 89.
23. Regulations of the General Law on Population, Art. 101, Sec. V-VII.
24. Adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, Resolution 217A(III), December 10, 1948.
25. Adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, Resolution 2312, December 14, 1967.
26. 1951 U.N. Convention, Arts. 12-34.
27. *Ibid.*, Art. 32.
28. *Ibid.*, Art. 33.

29. Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, September 10, 1969, U.N.T.S. Vol. 1001, p. 45, Treaty No. 14, 691, (hereafter, 1969 OAU Convention) Art. I, Secs. 1 and 2.

CHAPTER 2

MEXICAN LAW CONCERNING POLITICAL ASYLUM

1. International Extradition Law, Arts. 1 and 5.
2. *Ibid.*, Art. 8.
3. The obligation to extradite criminals is set forth in Art. 119 of the Mexican Constitution, which provides that “[e]ach state government has the obligation to deliver without delay those criminals of another state government *or of a foreign country*, to the authorities who demand them.” (Emphasis added.)
4. These include equality between men and women (Art. 4); the right to pursue the work of one’s choice (Art. 5); freedom of expression of ideas (Art. 6); freedom of written expression (Art. 7); the right to petition the government (Art. 8); freedom of association (Art. 9); the right to bear arms (Art. 10); freedom of movement (Art. 11); freedom from judgment by private laws or special courts (Art. 13); the right to due process of law (Art. 14); the right not to be disturbed without legal cause and required procedures (Art. 16); freedom of religion (Art. 24); as well as provisions related to criminal procedure and penalties and other individual rights.
5. Francisco José de Andrea Sánchez, Commentary to Article 33 of the *Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), 1985), p. 92.
6. Mexican Constitution, Art. 30A, Secs. I-III.
7. *Ibid.*, Art. 30B, Secs. I and II.
8. Ley de Nacionalidad y Nacionalización, January 5, 1934 (hereafter, Nationality Law), Art. 1.
9. General Law on Population, Art. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, Art 2.
11. *Ibid.*, Art. 3, Sec. VII.
12. *Ibid.*, Art. 13.
13. *Ibid.*, Art. 42, Sec. V.
14. *Ibid.*, Art. 35.
15. Regulations of the General Law on Population, Art. 101, Secs. I and V.
16. *Ibid.*, Art. 101, Sec. IV.
17. *Ibid.*, Art. 101, Sec. V and VI.
18. *Ibid.*, Art. 101, Sec. VII a-h.
19. Law Relating to the Exercise of Professions, Transitory Art. 16.
20. *Ibid.*, Transitory Art. 21.
21. Jesús Rodríguez y Rodríguez, *Introducción al Derecho Mexicano*, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1981), p. 31.
22. La Ley Federal de Trabajo (hereafter, Federal Labor Law), Art. 7.
23. *Ibid.*, Art. 154.
24. *Ibid.*, Art. 372.

25. Antonio Carillo Flores, "El Asilo Político en México," *Jurídica*, No. 11 (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, July 1979), pp. 27-38; César Sepúlveda, "México ante el asilo. Utopía y Realidad," *Jurídica*, No. 11 (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, July 1979), pp. 9-26; Victor C. García Moreno, "Asilo," *Diccionario Jurídico Mexicano*, Vol. I, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982), pp. 212-213.
26. 1954 Caracas Convention on Territorial Asylum, Arts. 2, 7, and 8.
At the same time, Mexico formulated an express reservation to Articles 9 and 10 of this Convention because the restrictions on liberty of movement and residence that these provisions imply are contrary to the exercise of the individual guarantees that the Mexican Constitution, in Article 1, grants to each person in the country. United Nations, *Collection of International Instruments Concerning Refugees*, 2nd Ed., (Geneva: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1979) p. 267.
27. 1928 Havana Convention, Art. 2, pars. 2, 4 and 5.
28. *Ibid.*, Art. 1.
29. *Ibid.*, Art. 2.
30. *Ibid.*, Art. 3.
31. 1933 Montevideo Convention, Art. 2.
32. *Ibid.*, Art. 63, Art. 2.
33. *Ibid.*, Art. 3.
34. *Ibid.*, Art. 5.
35. *See, e.g.*, 1954 Caracas Convention on Diplomatic Asylum, the introductory sentence; Art. 20.
36. *Ibid.*, Art. 1.
37. *Ibid.*, Art. 2.
38. *Ibid.*, Art. 7
39. *Ibid.*, Arts. 11 and 12.
40. *Ibid.*, Art. 17, par. 2
41. *Ibid.*, Art. 19.
42. *See, e.g.*, 1954 Caracas Convention on Territorial Asylum, Arts. 6, 8, and 9.
43. *Ibid.*, Art. 1.
44. *Ibid.*, Art. 2.
45. *Ibid.*, Art. 3.
46. *Ibid.*, Art. 4.
47. *Ibid.*, Art. 7.
48. *Ibid.*, Art. 8.
49. American Convention on Human Rights, 1969, OAS Official Records, OEA/Ser. K/XVI/1.1, (hereafter, San Jose Pact of 1969), Art. 22, par. 7.
50. *Ibid.*, Art. 22, par. 6.
51. *Ibid.*, Art. 22, par. 8.
52. *Ibid.*, Art. 61.
53. *Ibid.*, Arts. 44 and 51.

54. Jorge Carpizo, "La Convención Americana de Derechos Humanos y la Constitución Mexicana," *Los tratados sobre derechos humanos y la legislación mexicana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1981), pp. 34, 35.
55. Antonio Martínez Báez, "Correlaciones entre la Constitución y los Pactos de las Naciones Unidas," *Los tratados sobre derechos humanos y la legislación mexicana*, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1981), p. 28.

CHAPTER 3

MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO THE REFUGEES

1. Báez, "Correlaciones," pp. 21-30; Annex to U.N. General Assembly Resolution 2200 (XXI).
2. *Ibid.*
3. See footnote 1; Jesús Rodríguez y Rodríguez, "Derecho interno y derecho internacional de los derechos humanos," in *Anuario Jurídico*, Vol. XI, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), pp. 205-216.
4. *Diario Oficial de la Federación* (equivalent to the *Federal Register* in the United States), April 1, 1982.
5. This led during 1984 to the withdrawal and subsequent substitution of Pierre Jambor as representative of the UNHCR in Mexico.
6. Revised Act of Contadora on Peace and Cooperation in Central America, June 6, 1986.
7. *Ibid.*, Part I, Ch. IV, Sec. 3.
8. Act of Cartagena Concerning Refugees, November 19-22, 1984.

PART 2

CHAPTER 4

CENTRAL AMERICANS IN MEXICO

1. Sergio Aguayo, "The Central American Exodus," *In Defense of the Alien*, Vol. VIII, ed. by Lydio F. Tomasi (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1986), pp. 161-164; Aguayo, "El Exodo Centroamericano," pp. 29, 43, 44.
2. Rogelio Hernández L., "En Chiapas, hay más de 100 mil ilegales centroamericanos, admite migración," *Excelsior*, March 26, 1986; Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 39; interview with Mario Loarca and Mario Jiménez, authors of a report on refugee aid organizations, Mexico City, December, 1985; interviews with workers in refugee aid organizations who do not wish to be identified, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
3. Juan Balboa and Blanche Petrich, "Mexico fijará cuotas de refugiados centroamericanos," *La Jornada*, October 30, 1984.

4. Rogelio Hernández L., "En Chiapas hay más de 100 mil."

The Catholic Church has estimated there are about 300,000 Central Americans in Mexico. S. Martínez G., "Se Pronuncia el Episcopado por que la Frontera con Guatemala Se Mantenga Abierta a Refugiados," *Excelsior*, May 11, 1984.

A newspaper article, citing immigration agents, mayors' offices, and the diocese of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, as sources, pointed to a 100,000-140,000 increase in the population of Chiapas in the previous five years, attributable in large part to Guatemalan refugees, day workers, and illegals, Rogelio Hernández L., "Presenta la zona altos riesgos para la seguridad e identidad nacional," *Excelsior*, March 23, 1986.
5. Aguayo, "Exodo Centroamericano," *Nexos*, April, 1985; Aguayo, "Un Problema Humanitario de Política Internacional," *Perfil de la Jornada*, December 26, 1984.
6. Aguayo, "Central American Exodus," pp. 163, 164. The *Comisión de Derechos Humanos de Guatemala* (Guatemalan Human Rights Commission) estimates there are 100,000 Guatemalans in Mexico. Raul Correa E., "Cien mil guatemaltecos han emigrado a México; continua el flujo: CDHG," *unomásuno*, August 29, 1984; the Salvadoran consul in Mexico, Emanuel Salome Zacaria, estimates that there are 200,000 Salvadorans in Mexico. William A. Orme, Jr., "Mexico Begins to Assimilate Guatemalan Refugees," *Washington Post*, February 22, 1985.
7. Sergio Aguayo, "Una Inauguración y la Tradición de Asilo," *La Jornada*, November 4, 1984; Orme, "Mexico Begins to Assimilate Guatemalan Refugees."
8. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 24; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 32.
9. Elizabeth G. Ferris, "The Politics of Asylum," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 3, August 1984, p. 374.
10. Laura O'Dogherty, *Algunos Documentos Relativos al Asilo y Refugio en México* (Mexico City: Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, 1985), p. 73.
11. 1951 U.N. Convention, Art. 33.
12. *Ibid.*, Arts. 4, 16, 22, 23, and 24.
13. *Ibid.*, Arts. 13, 18, 21, 22 2. and 26.
14. *Ibid.*, Art. 17.
15. *Ibid.*, Art. 34.
16. Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Annex, Ch. I, U.N. General Assembly Resolution 428(V), December 14, 1950, *Collection of International Instruments Concerning Refugees*, 2nd Ed. (Geneva: UNHCR, 1979), p. 5.
17. Fiederlein, "Central American Refugees: Search for Policy," pp. 27-35.
18. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, pp. 1-3.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
20. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, p. 52.
21. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 61.
22. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 61; Ch. II, p. 73.
23. 1969 OAU Convention, Art. I, Secs. 1 and 2; interview with Eduardo Arboleda, Protection Officer, UNHCR, Mexico City, March 1986.
24. Americas Watch Committee, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico 1980-1984* (New York: Americas Watch, 1984), p. 55.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.
26. Aguayo, "Central American Exodus," pp. 164, 165.
27. March 3, 1983, memo from Manuel Bartlett Díaz, Secretary of the Interior, to Bernardo Sepúlveda Amor, Secretary of Foreign Relations.
28. General Law on Population, Art. 42 I; interview with Juan Roque Flores, Director of the *Dirección General de Servicios Migratorios* for the state of Chiapas, Tapachula, Mexico, March 1986.
29. Aguayo, "Central American Exodus," p. 165.
30. General Law on Population, Arts. 32, 38, 41, 42, 45, 52, and 54; Regulations of the General Law on Population, Arts. 96-126.
31. General Law on Population, Arts. 41 and 52.
32. *Ibid.*, Art. 42; Regulations of the General Law on Population, Arts. 96-105.
33. General Law on Population, Arts. 44-53; Regulations of the General Law on Population, Arts. 107-126.
34. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 4; Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, Chief of the Department of *No-Inmigrantes B*, *Dirección General de Servicios Migratorios*, *Secretaría de Gobernación*, Mexico City, March, 1986.
35. Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARD REFUGEES BY REGION

1. Aguayo, "Central American Exodus," pp. 162-165.
2. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 1; Americas Watch Committee, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico 1980-84*, pp. 5, 10-15, 17-19, 27; Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, pp. 25-26, 29-38.

This is a very abbreviated version of recent Mexican history. For a more complete accounting, see Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*. For a far more complete recent history of Guatemala, see George Black with Milton Jamail and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, *Garrison Guatemala* (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1984) and Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*.

3. Americas Watch Committee, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico, 1980-84*, p. 18; Juan Balboa, "86 mil guatemaltecos se refugiaron en México hasta el derrocamiento del general Ríos Montt," *unomásuno*, August 15, 1983; Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*, p. 59.
4. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 91.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 94; Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*, pp. 134-136.
6. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 94.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
8. Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*, p. 136.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 137; Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 95.
10. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 96.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 97; Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*, pp. 137-140.
12. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, Mexico City, March 1986.
13. Carlos Fazio, "Oscura y contradictoria conducta de gobernación hacia los refugiados guatemaltecos," *Proceso*, March 14, 1983; "Guatemaltecos en la Frontera," *Excelsior*, May 10, 1984.
14. Aguayo, "La línea móvil del sur," p. 7; Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*, p. 136.
15. Salvador Martínez, "La frontera sur seguirá abierta," *Excelsior*, July 25, 1984; Carlos Fazio, "Oscura y contradictoria conducta de gobernación;" "Guatemaltecos en la Frontera," *Excelsior*, May 10, 1984.
16. Sergio Aguayo found no evidence in support of this view. Aguayo, "Central American Exodus," p. 169.
17. William A. Orme, Jr., "Attack on Guatemalans in Mexico Reported," *Washington Post*, May 3, 1984; Roberto Villareal Morales, "Ningún Riesgo para la Soberanía en la Línea con Guatemala: Carillo O.," *Excelsior*, September 13, 1985; Rodolfo Guzmán, "Ingreso Diario al País un Promedio de Mil Centroamericanos Ilegales," *El Financiero*, September 13, 1985.
18. Gonzalo Martínez Maestre and Roberto Vizcaíno, "Reubicarán en Campeche a los 46 mil refugiados," *unomásuno*, May 10, 1984; COMAR press release, May 10, 1984.
19. Leticia Arguelles, "La reubicación de los refugiados, riesgo para nuestra política exterior" [interview with Adolfo Aguilar Zinser], *Punto*, July 9, 1984; Comité Cristiano de Solidaridad de la Diócesis de San Cristóbal de las Casas, "que esta pasando con los refugiados guatemaltecos en Chiapas?" press release, July 7, 1984.
20. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 35.
21. Ferris, "Politics of Asylum," p. 366.
22. Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, "Mi desacuerdo con la política exterior," *unomásuno*, July 29, 1984.
23. "Condiciona Guatemala su acuerdo con Contadora," *unomásuno*, January 8, 1984.
24. Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, "Se inició el traslado de refugiados que estaban en Marqués de Comillas," *unomásuno*, July 2, 1984; Americas Watch, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico, 1980-1984*, pp. 69-76.
25. Americas Watch, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico, 1980-1984*, p. 73; Orme, "Mexico Begins to Assimilate Guatemalan Refugees;" César Pastor, unpublished "Reporte Anual de 1985," (UNHCR, Chiapas, n.d.) pp. 6, 7.
26. Zinser, "Se inició el traslado de refugiados;" Americas Watch, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico, 1980-1984*, pp. 69-76.
27. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 1; Orme, "Mexico Begins to Assimilate Guatemalan Refugees."
28. Americas Watch, *Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico, 1980-1984*, p. 76.
29. Sergio Aguayo, Hanne Cristensen, Laura O'Dogherty, Stephano Varese, unpublished draft report, *Social and Cultural Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees in Mexico* (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and El Colegio de Mexico, 1986) p. 11.
30. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 7; Pastor, "Reporte Anual de 1985," p. 5; "Prioritario trasladar refugiados a lugares alejados de la frontera," *La Jornada*, June 26, 1985.

31. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 1; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 8.
32. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, November, 1985.
33. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 8.
34. Interviews with COMAR officials and refugees in Chiapas, March, 1986; General Law on Population, Art. 42, Sec. VIII; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 9; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, 1983, p. 13.
35. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 9; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 14; interviews with refugees in Chiapas, March, 1986..
36. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 11; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 8; Pastor, "Reporte Anual de 1985," p. 13.
37. Interview with José Humberto Flores Lara, Director of *Servicios Migratorios* in Ciudad Cuauhtémoc, Chiapas, March, 1986.
38. Pastor, "Reporte Anual de 1985," pp. 2, 6, 7.
39. Interview with representative of Comité Cristiano de Solidaridad who did not wish to be identified, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, March, 1986.
40. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, October, 1985; interview with representative of Comité Cristiano de Solidaridad, March, 1986.
41. Pastor, "Reporte Anual de 1985," p. 2.
42. Conclusions of the "Seminar Concerning Productive Integration of the Guatemalan Refugees in Southeast Mexico" held by COMAR and UNHCR in Bacalar, Quintana Roo, April 19, 1985.
43. Fiederlein, *Central American Refugees: Search for Policy*, p. 74; Pastor, "Reporte Anual de 1985," p. 13; interview with representative of Comité Cristiano de Solidaridad, March, 1986.
44. Nationality Law, Art. I, Sec. I, and Art. 20; interview with José Humberto Flores Lara, March, 1986.
45. Interviews with refugees in Paso Hondo, Santa Rosa, and Las Cieneguitas camps, Chiapas, March, 1986.
46. Interview with José Humberto Flores Lara, March, 1986; interview with Dr. Ernesto Gonzales de la Torre, Director of Instruction, General Hospital of Comitán, Chiapas, March, 1986.
47. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, p. 57.
48. Interview with Mario Loarca and Mario Jiménez, November, 1985.
49. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, p. 44.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 48; Pastor, "Reporte Anual de 1985," p. 8.
51. Miguel Angel Velásquez, "Cadenas de ayuda semiclandestina a refugiados," *unomásuno*, October 22, 1983.
52. Rogelio Hernández López, "Hay en el Soconusco 75,000 Guatemaltecos Legales y Ilegales," *Excelsior*, March 7, 1984; Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, pp. 36, 37.
53. Interview with Juan Roque Flores, March, 1986.

54. César Pastor and Manuel Vidal, "Informe Misión a Tapachula," [UNHCR, Mexico, n.d.]; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 6; Pastor "Reporte Anual de 1985," pp. 1, 2.
55. Interview with César Pastor and Manuel Vidal, UNHCR Protection Field Officers, Comitán, Chiapas, March, 1986.
56. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, p. 59; interview with Mario Loarca and Mario Jiménez, December, 1985; interviews with representatives of refugee assistance groups who wish to remain anonymous, Chiapas and Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
57. Interviews with representatives of refugee assistance groups who do not wish to be identified, Chiapas, March, 1986.
58. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 6; Miguel Angel Velásquez, "La Consigna es 'limpiar la zona fronteriza sur de extranjeros,'" *unomásuno*, October 21, 1983; interview with Ana María Salgado, representative of *Servicio, Desarrollo y Paz* (SEDEPAC), Mexico City, December, 1985; interviews with representatives of refugee assistance groups who wish to remain anonymous and with Central Americans, Chiapas, Mexico City, and along the U.S.-Mexico border, September, 1985-March, 1986.
59. "Programa de mejoramiento de servicios en la frontera sur," *La Jornada*, September 12, 1985; "Constante Flujo de Ilegales de Centroamérica; Difícil su Captura," *Excelsior*, March 26, 1986; Salvador Martínez García, "Con 250 Pesos al Día Viven 229 Mil Braceros Centroamericanos que Trabajan en Chiapas," *Excelsior*, May 11, 1985.
60. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 38; interview with Ana María Salgado, December, 1985; interview with refugee aid worker who does not wish to be identified, Mexico City, February, 1986.
61. Alfredo Córdova, "Corrupción de Agentes Migratorios en Chiapas," *Excelsior*, May 12, 1985; "Programa de mejoramiento de servicios en la frontera sur," *La Jornada*, September 12, 1985; interview with Juan Roque Flores, March, 1986.
62. Aguayo, *et al.*, *Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees*, p. 27.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 56; interview with researcher in project sponsored by Wellesley College to examine problems faced by Guatemalan refugees in Mexico and upon return to Guatemala, Mexico City, March, 1986.
64. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 8; interview with José Humberto Flores Lara, March, 1986; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, pp. 9, 11.
65. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, November, 1985; interview with researcher in Wellesley College Project, March, 1986.
66. Aguayo, *et al.*, *Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees*, p. 27; interview with researcher in Wellesley College Project, March, 1986.
67. Conclusions of the 1985 COMAR-UNHCR "Seminar Concerning Productive Integration."
68. Aguayo, *et al.*, *Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees*, pp. 54-60; Laura O'Dogherty, "Trabajar la tierra es libertad, la tierra es la madre....," *Perfil de La Jornada*, November 28, 1985.
69. Aguayo, *et al.*, *Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees*, p. 62.

70. Conclusions of the 1985 COMAR-UNHCR "Seminar Concerning Productive Integration;" Aguayo, *et al.*, *Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees*, pp. 50, 51.
71. Aguayo, *et al.*, *Conditions and Prospects of Guatemalan Refugees*, pp. 43, 44; interview with researcher in Wellesley College Project, March, 1986.
72. O'Dogherty, "Trabajar la tierra es libertad;" Orme, "Mexico Begins to Assimilate Guatemalan Refugees."
73. Armando Vásquez, *La Relación del Derecho Internacional y el Derecho Mexicano en Materia de Refugiados*, (Liga Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, A.C., October, 1985), p. 29; Miguel Angel Velásquez, "Miles de refugiados, inexistentes para las autoridades en México," *Perfil de La Jornada*, December 26, 1984.
74. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 1.
75. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 2.
76. Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.
77. Interview with Ana María Salgado, December, 1985.
78. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, March, 1986.
79. Interview with Joyce Cavanaugh, First Secretary, Immigration, Embassy of Canada, and Giles Durocher, Counselor, Immigration, Embassy of Canada, Mexico City, October, 1985.
80. Interviews with refugees and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
81. General Law on Population, Art. 42; Interview with Carlos Gonzales, Mexican lawyer who represents refugees, Mexico City, October, 1985.
82. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 5.
83. Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.
84. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 13.
85. Cecilia Molina, *Práctica Consular Mexicana*, (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1978), p. 245.
86. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 12.
87. General Law on Population, Art. 42; interviews with Carlos Gonzales, October, 1985, and Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.
88. Interview with Carlos Gonzales, April, 1986.
89. Interviews with Central Americans and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
90. Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.
91. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Project Self-Evaluation Reports, Local Integration of Individual Refugees, 84/AP/MEX/LS/1, p. 13.
92. Molina, *Práctica Consular Mexicana*, p. 245.
93. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, October, 1985; interview with Armando Vásquez, lawyer who represents refugees, Mexico City, October, 1985.
According to Eduardo Arboleda, *Servicios Migratorios* advised UNHCR in mid-1986 that it would give FM-9 visas at all levels to all those with UNHCR scholarships.
94. Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.

95. Interview with Carlos Gonzales, October, 1985; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 30.
96. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 31.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
98. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 4. The figures in UNHCR reports include Central and South American refugees.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 12.
100. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, pp. 4, 5. Page 4 lists a total of 225; page 5 lists a total of 235. The numbers from which these totals are compiled add up to 235.
101. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 7; interview with Eduardo Arboleda, March, 1986.
102. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, Annex; interview with Eduardo Arboleda, March, 1986.
103. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 7.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, March, 1986.
106. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 7; interview with Eduardo Arboleda, May, 1986.
107. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 7.
108. Interview with Ana María Salgado, December, 1985.
109. Interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.
110. Interviews with Armando Vásquez and Carlos Gonzales, March, 1986.
111. Vásquez, *La Relación del Derecho Internacional y el Derecho Mexicano*, p. 29; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 20; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 8.
112. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 9; interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torres, March, 1986.
113. Interview with Leila Lima, Director of Social Service Programs, UNHCR, Mexico City, October, 1985.
114. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, pp. 42-47; interviews with refugee aid workers in Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
115. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Self Evaluation of Supplementary Assistance for Individual Refugees Project, Mexico, No. 84/AP/MEX/SA/1, p. 16.
116. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Self Evaluation of Counseling of Refugees in Mexico Project, Mexico, No. 84/AP/MEX/CL, pp. 6, 7.
117. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, Assistance, p. 52.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 62.
119. See generally, UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Self Evaluation Reports.
120. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, Assistance, p. 61.

121. Interview with Leila Lima, October, 1985.
122. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, Assistance, p. 52. The others were Chilean and Uruguayan.
123. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Self Evaluation of Counseling of Refugees in Mexico Project, p. 8.
124. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Supplementary Assistance for Individual Refugees, pp. 8, 10, 12, and 14.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 11.
126. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 30.
127. Interview with Leila Lima, October, 1985; interviews with Central American and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
128. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Self Evaluation of Local Integration of Individual Refugee Project, p. 18.
129. Interview with Leila Lima, October, 1985; interviews with Central Americans and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
130. Interview with Leila Lima, October, 1985; interviews with Central Americans and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
131. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Ch. III, Assistance, p. 62; interview with Mario Loarca and Mario Jiménez, November, 1985.
132. Interview with Mario Loarca, November, 1985.
133. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 49; Centro de Estudios y Promoción Social (CEPS), *The Refugees in Mexico*, [1984 or 1985], p. 11; interview with Mario Loarca, October, 1985; interview with Ana María Salgado, December, 1985; interviews with refugees and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
134. Interview with Ana María Salgado, December, 1985.
135. Interview with Eduardo Cortez, representative of Centro de Estudios y Promoción Social (CEPS), the secular organ of Comisión Episcopal de Pastoral Social, Mexico City, December, 1985; interviews with Central Americans and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
136. Arthur Golden, "Deportee Housing Planned," *San Diego Union*, August 11, 1985; interviews with Ana María Salgado and Mario Loarca, December, 1985.
137. Alejandro Laborie and Manuel S. Gomez, *Los Refugiados Centroamericanos en Mexico*, (Centro de Estudios y Promoción Social: Mexico City, n.d.), pp. 15-19; interview with Eduardo Cortez, December, 1985; interviews with Central Americans and refugee aid workers, Mexico City, September, 1985-March, 1986.
138. See preceding note.
139. UNHCR, *Reporting on UNHCR Activities in 1984-1985 & Programming 1985-1986*, Annex II, Supplementary Assistance for Individual Refugees Project, p. 15.
140. Armando Vásquez, *La Relacion del Derecho Internacional y el Derecho Mexicano*, p. 29; interview with Rosa Elena Vásquez Torrez, March, 1986.

141. "Inspectores de Migración Incrementarán la Vigilancia: Deportación a Ilegales," *Excelsior*, June 11, 1985; Alfredo Jiménez, "Se ha desnacionalizado la Frontera de México con EU: Julia Marichal," *Excelsior*, June 23, 1985.
142. Ismael Davila V., "Diez Salvadoreños y un Guatemalteco Fueron Golpeados y Robados por Agentes de Migración," *El Mexicano*, October 18, 1985; Norma Alicia Pimienta, "Permanecen hacinados los 165 ilegales detenidos," *El Imparcial*, November 7, 1985.
143. Interviews with Juan Roque Flores and José Humberto Flores Lara, March, 1986.
144. Fortino Cisneros, "Pagarian Cien Dls. por Cada uno al Enganchador," *Excelsior*, October 25, 1985; interviews with José Luis Perez Canchola, Director of Centro de Información y Estudios Migratorios, Tijuana, January, 1985, and Genaro Chaparro, Director of Centro de Información y Estudios Migratorios, Ciudad Juarez, January, 1986; interviews with attorneys Linton Joaquin, Los Angeles, Jeff Larson, Harlingen, Texas, and Patrick Hughes, Laredo, Texas; January, 1986.
145. Interview with Father Ramon Dagoberto Quinones, priest working in Nogales, Mexico, Tucson, Arizona, January, 1985.
146. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, pp. 55-57.
147. "Acusan de Servicios Migratorios de Violar los Derechos Humanos," *Diario de Juarez*, November 12, 1985; "Diecinueve Salvadoreños, Incluyendo Cuatro Niños, Detenidos por Servicios Migratorios," *Diario de Juarez*, August 3, 1985.
148. Interviews with Juan José Juarez Estrada, Director of *Servicios Migratorios*, Matamoros, Mexico; Filiberto Terrazas, Director of *Servicios Migratorios*, Cd. Juarez; and Amador Rodríguez Lozano, Legal Advisor, *Secretaría de Gobernación*, Mexico City, January, 1986.
149. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 57.
150. Joaquin Paredes, "De sur a Norte: Odisea por un Billeto Verde," *Excelsior*, September 6, 1985.
151. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 7; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 15.
152. Interviews with border refugee aid workers, January 1986.
153. Arthur Golden, "Deportee Housing Planned;" interviews with Lisa Brodyaga, Texas attorney, Harlingen, Texas; Father Ramon Dagoberto Quinones and border refugee aid workers, January, 1986.
154. Affidavit of James A. Rayburn, Special Agent, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, April 19, 1985, filed in *United States of America vs. Sister Darlene Nicgorski*, No. CR85-008-PHX-EHC (D Ariz.).
155. Victor Alarcon Requejo, "Tráfico de Ilegales en San Quintin," *La Voz de la Frontera*, October, 12, 1984; Felicitas Pliego, "Desplazan Centroamericanos a Mexicanos del Empleo Fronterizo," *Excelsior*, August 22, 1985; "Fuerto Corriante Migratoria de Centroamericanos," *El Mexicano*, December 5, 1985; "Detuvieron a indocumentados salvadoreños en Tampico," *unomásuno*, September 23, 1984.

CHAPTER 6

DETENTIONS AND DEPORTATIONS

1. General Law on Population, Art. 105.
2. "Deportación de Chiapas a 52 Ilegales Centroamericanos," *Excelsior*, January 28, 1986.
3. "Acusan a Servicios Migratorios de Violar los Derechos Humanos," *Diario de Juárez*, September 12, 1985.
4. "30 Centroamericanos fueron detenidos en Mexicali: UPI," *unomásuno*, June 30, 1985; Ricardo Alemán, "Ha consignado a Nuevo León a 134 refugiados extranjeros," *La Jornada*, November 4, 1985; interviews with Marco Antonio Rodríguez, Director of Centro de Asuntos Migratorios, San Diego and El Centro, California; Lilia Velásquez, attorney, San Diego, California; and Genaro Chaparro; January, 1986.
5. Interview with Carlos Gonzales, April, 1986.
6. See preceding note.
7. Marta Anaya, Armando Sepúlveda, Rogelio Hernández López and Jaime Contreras, "Cada 90 Segundos un Centroamericano Cruza Nuestra Frontera Sur," *Excelsior*, March 23, 1986.
8. Interviews with Alejandro Hidalgo Molino, Director of *Servicios Migratorios*, Ciudad Hidalgo, Chiapas; refugee aid worker in Chiapas; and Juan Roque Flores; March, 1986.
9. "Campaña de Localización de Extranjeros en Todo el País," *Excelsior*, January 18, 1986; "Deportan de Chiapas a 52 Ilegales Centroamericanos," *Excelsior*, January 28, 1986; interviews with Juan Roque Flores and José Humberto Flores Lara, March, 1986; interviews with Nancy Grey Postero, attorney, Tucson, Arizona; Guillermina Valdez, Assistant Director of Centro de Estudios Fronterizos del Norte de México, Ciudad Juárez; January, 1986.
10. Memo to Immigration inspectors from Lic. Carlos Ramírez López, Interior Ministry, April 19, 1983. Refugee aid workers in Mexico City report an increase in detentions in Mexico City prior to and during the June, 1986 world soccer cup finals.
11. "Fueron Deportados Cinco Ciudadanos Salvadoreños," *Excelsior*, November 12, 1985; "Illegal Central Americans Returned," *The Mexico City News*, November 17, 1985; Jaime Durán, "Están en México mas de 200 mil salvadoreños," *Excelsior*, February 10, 1985.
12. Candelaria Rodríguez, "Se descentraliza el servicio de migración: Carillo Olea," *La Jornada*, May 26, 1985; Teresa Garza, "Denuncias por extorsión y tortura en el aeropuerto," *La Jornada*, December 10, 1985.
13. Lubin Jiménez, "Indocumentados, con la Muerte a Cuestas," *Excelsior*, April 28, 1985; Arthur Golden, "Immigration Agents Fired," *The San Diego Union*, December 12, 1985; Dora Elena Cortés, "Actúa impunemente migración y la policía federal contra ilegales: CIEM," *El Universal*, August 15, 1986; Editorial, "Servicios Migratorios: de la Extorsión al Cinismo," *Diario de Juárez*, September 26, 1985; Ricardo de Muro, "Extorsiones y fraudes a indocumentados," *unomásuno*, July 25, 1984; interviews with Central Americans in Mexico and the U.S., September, 1985-March, 1986.

14. Porfirio Díaz López, "Exigen Agentes Migratorios a Guatemaltecos 90,000 Pesos para Dejarlos Pasar Ilegalmente," *Excelsior*, July 11, 1984; interviews with Central Americans in Mexico and the U.S., September, 1985-March, 1986.
 15. Interviews with Lilia Velásquez and Marco Antonio Rodríguez, January, 1986.
 16. Norma Alicia Pimienta, "Permanecen hacinados los 165 ilegales detenidos," *El Imparcial*, November, 7, 1985; interviews with José Luis Pérez Canchola and Linton Joaquin, January, 1986.
 17. Robert Kahn, "The Refugee Odyssey — Running the Gauntlet of Corruption, Con Games and Criminals," *The Mexico City News*, August 5, 1985; interviews with Genaro Chaparro and Father Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones, January, 1986.
 18. Editorial by *El Dictamen*, "Elefante Blanco," *Excelsior*, January 26, 1986; "Piden que Funcione Estación Migratoria," *El Fronterizo*, October 4, 1985; "Ha Decrecido en BC el Flujo Migratorio de Centroamericanos," *El Mexicano*, August 14, 1985; Golden, "Deportee Housing Planned."
 19. General Law on Population, Art. 10; "Piden que Funcione Estación Migratoria," *El Fronterizo*, October 4, 1985; "1122 Centroamericanos Fueron Detenidos en 19 Meses," *Diario de Juárez*, August 26, 1985.
 20. Dora Elena Cortés, "Actúa impunemente migración y la policía federal contra ilegales: CIEM," *El Universal*, August 15, 1986; "Trato de criminales da población a los sudamericanos aquí, critican," *El Universal*; "Drama de un Cuervo de Indocumentados," *El Mexicano*, October 24, 1983; interviews with Central Americans and U.S.-Mexico refugee aid workers, January, 1986.
 21. "Represalias contra Salvadoreñas," *El Fronterizo*, October 5, 1985; "Aseguran que Son 10 Detenidas las Extranjeras Custodias por Efectivos en 'La Presa'," *ABC-Tijuana*, September 8, 1985.
 22. Interviews with Marco Antonio Rodríguez and U.S.-Mexico refugee aid workers, January, 1986.
 23. Interview with José Luis Pérez Canchola, January, 1986.
 24. Pimienta, "Permanecen hacinados los 165 ilegales detenidos."
 25. Aurelio Garibay, "41 Indocumentados, 5 Niños, Presos en Celdas Promiscuas," *ABC-Tijuana*, September 7, 1985; interviews with José Pérez Luis Canchola; Marco Antonio Rodríguez; Genaro Chaparro; Father Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones; January, 1986.
 26. "Demandan la Presentación de Tres Centroamericanos Detenidas Aquí," *Diario de Juárez*, October 11, 1985; interviews with Enrique Lomas; Father Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones; and U.S.-Mexico border refugee aid workers; January, 1986.
 27. Interviews with Juan José Juárez Estrada, Director of *Servicios Migratorios*, Matamoros, January, 1986; Genaro Chaparro and Marco Antonio Rodríguez, January, 1986; Carlos Gonzales, April, 1986.
 28. Interviews with Carlos Gonzales, April, 1986; José Luis Pérez Canchola, Father Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones, January, 1986.
- There were reports that non-Central Americans, including 15 Indians and 19 Pakistanis, were deported to Guatemala for fear they would cause problems during the June, 1986, world soccer finals and then jailed in Guatemala. "Alerta policia por la eventual presencia de tres terroristas," *La Jornada*, June 4, 1986.
29. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 63; interviews with José Humberto Flores Lara, March, 1986; Linton Joaquin; Father Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones; U.S.-Mexico refugee aid workers; January, 1986.
 30. Interview with Armando Vásquez, March, 1986.

31. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 5.
32. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1985, p. 10; interview with Eduardo Arboleda, March, 1986.
33. Interview with Eduardo Arboleda, March, 1986.
34. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 12; interview with official of Guatemalan human rights organization who does not wish to be identified, Mexico City, February, 1986.
35. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1983, p. 7; UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, 1984, p. 15. Examples of the kind of reports received are of pressure from the U.S. in detaining Central Americans; Mexico sending reports to the U.S. about refugees; and the U.S. paying Mexico by the head for each Central American deported. "Refugees in Nogales," *Coyote*, Tucson, Arizona, 1983.
36. "Tácticas Adecuadas Para Detectar a los Extranjeros Indocumentados," *El Mexicano*, October 5, 1983; telephone interviews with Gene Smithburg, Assistant Chief, Border Patrol, San Diego, California, March, 1986; telephone interview with Al Guigni, Regional Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, El Paso, Texas, January, 1986.
37. "Reducido el Número Deportados por Tecate," *El Mexicano*, June 10, 1985; Joaquín Paredes, "En Celdas Insalubres, Familias de Indocumentados en la Presa, BCN," *Excelsior*; Golden, "Deportee Housing Planned."
38. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, pp. 58, 59; interviews with José Luis Pérez Canchola, Marco Antonio Rodríguez, March, 1986.
39. Deposition of Larry Richardson, taken on September 23, 1982 for *Noe Castillo Nunez, et al. v. Hal Boldin, et al.*, No. B-81-311 (S.D. Texas); interviews with Linda Yáñez, attorney, Brownsville, Texas, November, 1985; Patrick Hughes, January, 1985. Telephone interviews with Lupe Castillo, legal assistant at Tucson Ecumenical Council Legal Aid, Tucson, Arizona; and Al Guigni; January, 1986.
40. Aguayo, *El Exodo Centroamericano*, p. 58; telephone interview with Cliff Rogers, Deputy District Director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, San Diego, California, January, 1986.
41. Interview with Perry Steele, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Mexico City, December, 1985.
42. "The McNeil/Lehrer News Hour," January 15, 1986; telephone interview with Al Guigni, January, 1986.
43. Jim Schacter, "Border Sweep Nets 3,500 Suspected Felons," *The Mexico City News*, dispatch from the *L.A. Times-Washington Post*, April 17, 1986.
44. Affidavit of Father Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones, dated November 1, 1985, filed in *United States of America v. Sister Darlene Nicgorski*, No. CR85-008-PHX-EHC (D. Ariz.).
45. Interview with Carlos Gonzales, April, 1986.

CHAPTER 7

REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT

1. Interviews with Ernesto Gonzales de la Torre, Comitán, Chiapas; Central American refugees in Paso Hondo, Santa Rosa, and Las Cieneguitas camps, Chiapas; and representatives of Comité Cristiano de Solidaridad, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas; March, 1986.
2. "Empiezan a Repatriar a los 40 mil Guatemaltecos," *Excelsior*, February 20, 1986.
3. Juan Balboa and Blanche Petrich, "750 mil Centroamericanos viven fuera de sus países de origen," *Perfil de La Jornada*, October 30, 1984.
4. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, 1985, pp. 2, 13; interview with César Pastor and Manuel Vidal, March, 1986.
5. Orme, "Mexico Begins to Assimilate Guatemalan Refugees."
6. Interview with César Pastor and Manuel Vidal, March, 1986.
7. "Guatemaltecos en la Frontera," *Excelsior*, May 10, 1984; interviews with Central American refugees in Paso Hondo, Santa Rosa, and Las Cieneguitas camps, Chiapas; and Wellesley College project researchers, March, 1986.
8. Interviews with Central American refugees in Paso Hondo, Santa Rosa, and Las Cieneguitas camps, Chiapas; Wellesley College project researcher; March, 1986.
9. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 41; interviews with Joyce Cavanaugh; Giles Durocher; and Italo Oriolo, First Secretary, Immigration, Australian Embassy, Mexico City; October, 1985.
10. Interview with Eduardo Cortez, December, 1985.
11. Interview with Joyce Cavanaugh and Giles Durocher, October, 1985.
12. Interviews with Joyce Cavanaugh and Giles Durocher; Italo Oriolo; October, 1985.
13. Interview with Italo Oriolo, October, 1985.
14. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 40.
15. Interview with Joyce Cavanaugh and Giles Durocher, October, 1985.
16. Interview with Italo Oriolo, October, 1985.
17. For example, the UNHCR only learned that procedures related to family reunification had changed because a group of Salvadorans who came to Mexico to join their relatives were deported. UNHCR, Annual Protection Report, Mexico, 1984, p. 28.