

# Modern Mexico (1876-1994)

## HT 2019

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Building upon the legacies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the further subject examines Mexico's history from the Mexican revolution to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The focus is placed on investigating two central questions of the Mexican 20<sup>th</sup> century: How did a popular revolution mutate into a "successful" authoritarian state? How to explain the formation of an extremely inequitable capitalist regime after the revolutionary process? In debating these questions, the further subject will analyse major social, economic and political achievements of the post-revolutionary regime (unparalleled levels of economic growth, political stability and social reforms), as well as its conflicts and constraints.

The course aims to introduce students to many of the most relevant discussions about political, economic, and social issues in modern Mexico. To this end, the set of texts includes fragments of literary texts, declassified documents, journalistic articles, and other primary sources. Over the course of the term, the students will gain a critical perspective of the enduring legacy of the Mexican revolution and will strengthen their ability to research and interpret primary sources in a complex politically charged environment.

The further subject is divided in two sections: faculty classes and college tutorials. The faculty classes will be centered around processes that shaped Mexican politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Building upon the analysis of primary sources, the college tutorials will focus on specific conjunctures of Mexican political and social history.

All primary sources and almost every secondary source is available in English. Reading knowledge of Spanish is desirable, though not necessary.

## WEEK 1, FRIDAY 18 JANUARY 2019

### Mexico during the government of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911)

#### Primary set texts:

James Creelman, 'President Diaz: Hero of the Americas', *Pearson's Magazine* XIX, no. 3 (March 1908): 231–77. [45 p.]  
John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1910), 9–48, 120–37, 237–54, 299–340. [114 p.]

#### Core secondary text:

Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), chap. 1.

#### Suggested secondary works:

Timothy Anna et al., *Historia de México* (Barcelona: Critica, 2001), chap. 3.  
Robert Marshall Buffington and William E. French, 'The Culture of Modernity', in *The Oxford History of Mexico*, ed. Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 398–432.  
Alfonso Reyes, 'Mexico in a Nutshell', in *Mexico in a Nutshell and Other Essays*, trans. Charles Ramsdell (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), 104–18.  
Thomas Benjamin and Mark Wasserman, eds., *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexico History, 1910-1929* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).  
Friedrich Katz, *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1988).  
Alan Knight, 'The Mexican State, Porfirian and Revolutionary, 1876–1930', in *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain Republics of the Possible*, by Miguel Ángel Centeno and Agustin A. Ferraro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 116–38.  
Paul Garner, *Porfirio Díaz* (Routledge, 2001).  
Jennie Purnell, 'With All Due Respect: Popular Resistance to the Privatization of Communal Lands in Nineteenth-Century Michoacan', *Latin American Research Review* 34, no. 1 (1999): 65–121.  
Paolo Riguzzi, 'From Globalisation to Revolution? The Porfirian Political Economy: An Essay on Issues and Interpretations', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 1 (2009): 347–68.  
Sarah Washbrook, *Producing Modernity in Mexico: Labour, Race, and the State in Chiapas, 1876-1914* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

## WEEK 2, FRIDAY 25 JANUARY 2019

### The Mexican revolution and the establishment of a new regime

The Mexican revolution was not a sole event; it was a constellation of local revolutions with distinct regional features. The faculty class will analyze the revolution's regional particularities as well as its different social components. More importantly, the class will examine its key features and the way its outcome shaped the development of the institutions of post-revolutionary Mexico.

#### Primary set texts:

Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs: A Novel of the Mexican Revolution [Los de Abajo: Novela de La Revolución Mexicana]* (Penguin Books, 1915). [176 p.]

Ricardo Flores Magón, A de P. Araujo, and WM. C. Owen, *Land and Liberty: Mexico's Battle for Economic Freedom and Its Relation to Labor's World-Wide Struggle* (California: Mexican Liberal Party, 1913), 1–23, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002073103989>. [23 p.]

Emiliano Zapata, 'Plan of Ayala', 28 November 1911, [http://college.cengage.com/history/world/keen/latin\\_america/8e/assets/students/sources/pdfs/55emilianozapataplandeayala.pdf](http://college.cengage.com/history/world/keen/latin_america/8e/assets/students/sources/pdfs/55emilianozapataplandeayala.pdf). [4 p.]

Francisco Madero, 'The San Luis Potosi Plan', ed. United States Congress Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 730–36, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044102829280;view=1up;seq=1>. [6 p.]

#### Core secondary text:

Sarah Osten, *The Mexican Revolution's Wake: The Making of a Political System, 1920-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chap. introduction, VI & VII.

Alan Knight, 'The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? Or Just a "Great Rebellion"?' , *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 4, no. 2 (1985): 1–37.

#### Suggested secondary works:

Anna et al., *Historia de México*, chaps 4 & 5.

John M. Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico -The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), chaps 1 & 2.

Frank Tannenbaum, 'Land Reform in Mexico', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 150 (1930): 238–47.

Javier Garcíadiego, *La Revolución Mexicana: Crónicas, Documentos, Planes y Testimonios* (D.F. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005).

Alan Knight, *U.S.-Mexican Relations, 1910-1940: An Interpretation* (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, 1987).

John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968).

Don Coerver and Linda Hall, *Revolution on the Border: The United States and Mexico, 1910-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

Alan Knight, 'Frank Tannenbaum and the Mexican Revolution', *International Labor and Working-Class History* 77, no. 1 (2010): 134–53.

Jurgen Buchenau and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Mexico Once and Forever Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

Jean Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Adolfo Gilly, *The Mexican Revolution* (Verso Books, 1983).

Martín Luis Guzmán, *The Eagle and the Serpent* (New York: Knopf, 1928).

## WEEK 3, FRIDAY 1 FEBRUARY 2019

### The *cardenismo* as a state project: failure or an achievement?

Most historians agree that the government of Lázaro Cárdenas was “a genuinely radical movement, which promised substantial change”. However, the scope of the political achievements of the *cardenismo* are still an open question. By analyzing the public debates motivated by the labor, agrarian and education reforms championed by Cardenas, students will gain a deep understanding of the key policies propelled by Cardenas, as well of its structural limitations.

#### Primary set texts:

- Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, ‘Representations to the Mexican Government Regarding the Expropriation of Oil Properties of American Companies without Providing for Adequate Compensation (Documents 676-710)’, in *The American Republics, Volume V*, 1938, 720–72, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1938v05/ch35>. [52p.]
- Josephus Daniels, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 246–54. [8p.]
- Jorge Cuesta, ‘Politics in the University, El Universal, September 21, 1933’, in *Liberty in Mexico: Writings on Liberalism from the Early Republican Period to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*, ed. José Antonio Aguilar Rivera (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1933), 502–8. [6p.]
- Jorge Cuesta, ‘A New Clerical Politics, El Universal, October 9, 1933’, in *Liberty in Mexico: Writings on Liberalism from the Early Republican Period to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*, ed. José Antonio Aguilar Rivera (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1933), 509–13. [4p.]

#### Core secondary text:

Alan Knight, ‘Cardenismo: Juggernaut or Jalopy?’, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, no. 1 (1994): 73–107.

#### Suggested secondary works:

- Anna et al., *Historia de México*, chap. 6.
- Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
- Knight, ‘The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? Or Just a “Great Rebellion”?’
- Halbert Jones, *War Has Brought Peace to Mexico: World War II and the Consolidation of the Post-Revolutionary State* (University of New Mexico Press, 2014).
- Frank Tannenbaum, *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950).
- Amelia M. Kiddle, *Mexico’s Relations with Latin America during the Cárdenas Era* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016).
- Arnaldo Córdoba, *La Política de Masas Del Cardenismo* (D.F. México: Era, 1974).

## WEEK 4, READING WEEK

## WEEK 5, READING WEEK

## WEEK 6, FRIDAY 22 FEBRUARY 2019

### Strongmen and state weakness during the golden age of the PRI (1946-1968)

Confronting the metanarrative that has prevailed among contemporary scholars, the main idea of this block is that stability, peace and consensus did not characterize the period from 1946 to 1968. The opposite is true: "Mexico's state apparatus remained underfunded, understaffed and ill-informed." The faculty class will highlight the synchronic stability and inefficiency that persisted during the period. Among other elements, the class will offer a critical assessment to the limited practical importance of the party's peasant corporatist block, the fragmentation of the political class, the turf wars between security agencies, the limited power of the president, the existence of major territories and communities beyond state control and the immense power of regional elites in defining key political decisions.

#### Primary set texts:

Digital National Security Archive, ed., 'After the Revolution: Lázaro Cárdenas and the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional', *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 124*, 2004, <http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB124/index.htm>. (*Collection of 37 declassified US government documents (1960-1964) on the confrontation between Lazaro Cárdenas and the federal government*). [approx. 125 p.]

+ Selected documents of the Mexican Intelligence Digital Archives (MIDAS) collection. MIDAS is a crowd-sourced, public access digital archive of historical documents from Mexican intelligence agencies. The collection is drawn from Mexico's two principal security services, the Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS) and the Dirección General de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales (DGIPS) and covers the period c.1940 to c.1985.

Access:[http://ddsnex.crl.edu/titles?f\[0\]=collection%3AMIDAS&f\[1\]=grouping%3AArchivo%20Sergio%20Aguayo](http://ddsnex.crl.edu/titles?f[0]=collection%3AMIDAS&f[1]=grouping%3AArchivo%20Sergio%20Aguayo)

#### Core secondary texts:

Paul Gillingham, 'Who Killed Crispín Aguilar? Violence and Order in the Postrevolutionary Countryside', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. Wil G. Pansters (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 91–111.

Rogelio Hernández Rodríguez, 'Strongmen and State Weakness', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938-1968*, ed. Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Duke University Press, 2014), 108–25.

Renata Keller, 'A Foreign Policy for Domestic Consumption: Mexico's Lukewarm Defense of Castro, 1959—1969', *Latin American Research Review* 47, no. 2 (2012): 100–119.

#### Suggested secondary works:

Anna et al., *Historia de México*, chap. 7.

Benjamin T. Smith, 'Who Governed? Grassroots Politics in Mexico Under the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, 1958-1970', *Past & Present* 225, no. 1 (2014): 227–71.

Paul Friedrich, 'A Mexican Cacicazgo', *Ethnology* 4, no. 2 (1965): 190–209.

Alan Knight, 'The Weight of the State in Modern Mexico', ed. James Dunkerley (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2002), 212–53.

Renata Keller, *Cuba, the United States and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Halbert Jones, *War Has Brought Peace to Mexico: World War II and the Consolidation of the Post-Revolutionary State*.

Paul Gillingham, 'Military Caciquismo and the PRIísta State: General Mänge's Command in Veracruz', in *Forced Marches: Soldiers and Military Caciques in Modern Mexico*, ed. Ben Fallaw and Terry Rugeley (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 210–37.

## WEEK 7, FRIDAY 1 MARCH 2019

### The decline of the social state and the emergence of opposition in Mexico

The economic success of the “Mexican miracle” came to an end in the seventies. The emergence of a new middle class and the growing difficulty of the state to impose the narrative of the “revolution made government” resulted in the appearance of new actors which challenged the legitimacy of the system. In a cold war context, this confrontation proved to be the first threat to the post-revolutionary regime since the triumph of the revolution. The faculty class will analyze the features of the emergence of radical opposition against the regime.

#### Primary set texts:

Digital National Security Archive, ed., ‘Tlatelolco Massacre: Declassified U.S. Documents on Mexico and the Events of 1968’, *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 10.*, 1998, <http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB10/intro.htm>.

*Collection of 30 declassified US government documents on the 1968 massacre of student demonstrators.*

Elena Poniatowska, ‘The Student Movement of 1968’, in *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1980), 555–69.

+ Selected documents of the Mexican Intelligence Digital Archives (MIDAS) collection. MIDAS is a crowd-sourced, public access digital archive of historical documents from Mexican intelligence agencies. The collection is drawn from Mexico’s two principal security services, the Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS) and the Dirección General de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales (DGIPS) and covers the period c.1940 to c.1985.

Access:[http://ddsnext.crl.edu/titles?f\[0\]=collection%3AMIDAS&f\[1\]=grouping%3AArchivo%20Sergio%20Aguayo](http://ddsnext.crl.edu/titles?f[0]=collection%3AMIDAS&f[1]=grouping%3AArchivo%20Sergio%20Aguayo)

#### Core secondary texts:

Santiago Levy and Carlos Bazdresch, ‘Populism and Economic Policy in Mexico, 1970-1982’, in *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*, ed. Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards (University of Chicago Press, 1991).

John W. Sherman, ‘The Mexican “Miracle” and Its Collapse’, in *The Oxford History of Mexico*, ed. Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 575–607.

Alexander Aviña, ‘Guerrilla Movements and Armed Struggle in Cold War Mexico’, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 2017, 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.387>.

#### Suggested secondary works

Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

Alexander Aviña, *Specters of Revolution: Peasant Guerrillas in the Cold War Mexican Countryside* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Fernando Herrera Calderón and Adela Cedillo, *Challenging Authoritarianism in Mexico: Revolutionary Struggles and the Dirty War, 1964-1982* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Adela Cedillo, ‘Tracing the Dirty War’s Disappeared: The Documents of Operación Diamante’, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 19, no. 1 (2013): 71–90.

Sergio Aguayo Quezada, *La Charola: Una Historia de Los Servicios de Inteligencia de México* (D.F. México: Grijalbo, 2001).

Jaime M. Pensado and Enrique C. Ochoa, eds., *México Beyond 1968: Revolutionaries, Radicals, and Repression During the Global Sixties and Subversive Seventies* (University of Arizona Press, 2018).

## WEEK 8, FRIDAY 8 MARCH 2019

### Conflict and violence in the aftermath of the political and economic transition

Faced with a flawed economic model and with the inability to exercise political control over many layers of society, the government suffered a political and economic transition during the last twenty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. However, the neoliberal transformations of the state and its structural policies triggered drug-related violence, and corruption challenging state institutions. The faculty class will examine the structural adjustment policies applied in Mexico in the nineties as well as their unintended consequences.

#### Primary set texts:

Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, *Zapatistas! Documents of the New Mexican Revolution* (Autonomedia, 1994), 20–81, [http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/Zapatistas/Zapatistas\\_book.pdf](http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/Zapatistas/Zapatistas_book.pdf). [61 p.]

Digital National Security Archive, ed., 'Rebellion in Chiapas and the Mexican Military', *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 109*, 2004, <http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB109/index.htm>. (*Collection of 41 secret and confidential intelligence information reports on the rebellion in Chiapas in 1994*) [100 p.]

#### Core secondary texts:

Salvador Maldonado Aranda, 'Stories of Drug Trafficking in Rural Mexico: Territories, Drugs and Cartels in Michoacán', *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 94 (2013): 43–66.

Mark T. Berger, 'Romancing the Zapatistas: International Intellectuals and the Chiapas Rebellion', *Latin American Perspectives* 28, no. 2 (2001): 149–70.

Roderic Ai Camp, 'Democratizing Mexican Politics, 1982–2012' (Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History, 2015).

#### Suggested secondary works

Alan Knight, 'War, Violence and Homicide in Modern Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 1 (2013): 12–48.

Roderic Ai Camp, 'The Time of the Technocrats and Deconstruction of the Revolution', in *The Oxford History of Mexico*, ed. Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 609–36.

Wayne A. Cornelius, 'The Political Economy of Mexico under De La Madrid: Austerity, Routinized Crisis, and Nascent Recovery', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 1, no. 1 (1985): 83–124.

Julia Preston and Samuel Dillon, *Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), chap. 1.

Pablo Piccato, 'Homicide as Politics in Modern Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 1 (2013): 104–25.

Carlos Tello Díaz, *La Rebelión de Las Cañadas* (D.F. México: Cal y Arena, 1995).

Marco Estrada Saavedra, *La Comunidad Armada Rebelde y El EZLN: Un Estudio Histórico y Sociológico Sobre Las Bases de Apoyo Zapatistas En Las Cañadas Tojolabales de La Selva Lacandona, 1930-2005* (D.F. México: El Colegio de México, 2007).

Wil G. Pansters, ed., *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

Wil G. Pansters, Benjamin T. Smith, and Peter Watt, *Beyond the Drug War in Mexico: Human Rights, the Public Sphere and Justice* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Jorge Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

José Eduardo Zárate Hernández, 'Caciques and Leaders in the Era of Democracy', in *Caciquismo in the Twentieth-Century Mexico*, ed. Alan Knight and Wil G. Pansters (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2005), 272–95.

Wil G. Pansters, 'Building a Cacicazgo in a Neoliberal University', in *Caciquismo in the Twentieth-Century Mexico*, ed. Alan Knight and Wil G. Pansters (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2005), 296–326.

Neil Harvey, *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy* (Duke University Press, 1998).