

Intersession Course
January 2006

The Dilemmas of Mexican Democracy & the Dynamics of US-Mexican Relations

INS 564

Instructors: Bruce M. Bagley & William C. Smith

Dates: January 2-16, 2005

Instructors

Dr. Bruce Michael Bagley (Ph.D. in Political Science from UCLA) is Professor of International Studies at the University of Miami. He has written extensively on U.S.- Latin American and U.S.-Mexican relations with particular emphasis on the issues of Colombian politics, U.S.-Mexican interdependence, drug-trafficking and transnational organized crime. He is currently completing two books, the first on US-Colombian relations and the second on US-Mexican relations.

Dr. William C. Smith (Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford) is Professor of International Studies at the University of Miami and has published extensively on democratization, social change, and economic reforms in Latin America. He is currently completing a major project supported by the Ford Foundation on transnational civil society networks and the impact of globalization of national politics in Latin America.

Description

This course will examine the dynamics of contemporary politics in Mexico and the evolution of U.S.-Mexican relations in recent decades. Using readings, lectures and class discussions to assess key issues critically, the course will provide class participants with an opportunity to explore major themes such as the transition to democracy, social change, and economic reform in Mexico and key issues such as NAFTA, immigration, drug trafficking, human rights, and the plight of indigenous peoples in a globalizing world. We will begin with an intensive week of activities in Mexico City before traveling to Oaxaca, which UNESCO has included on its list of places comprising the "cultural patrimony of mankind." In Oaxaca, we will spend a week examining the continuities from Mexico's indigenous past to its multicultural present and the evolution of social, economic, and political transformations.

Active participation in class discussions and field experiences will be expected of all students. Discussions will constitute an essential part of the course. The quality of these discussions will depend on your informed participation. The lectures, readings and field trips are designed to complement and reinforce each other.

Objectives

1. Students will achieve familiarity with the basic literature and key issues concerning Mexico's current democratic transition and its relations with the United States.
2. Through readings, lectures and field trips, students will have the opportunity to locate key contemporary issues in their appropriate historical context.
3. Students will have the opportunity to meet and interact with Mexican academics, policymakers and civil society leaders.

4. Students will have the opportunity to travel around Mexico City and Oaxaca and their environs to familiarize themselves with some of Mexico's most well-known museums, archeological sites, and governmental and academic institutions.

Grading

The course will be open to both graduate and undergraduate students. Fluent Spanish is, of course, useful but is not required to participate in the intersession program or to complete the course for credit. Grades will be based on the following weighting system: 1) Participation in class discussions and field experiences will account for 50% of your final grade; and 2) Completion of a review essay (undergraduates – one 20-page paper or two 10 page papers; graduates – one 25-30 page paper). This paper will account for 50% of your final grade and must be completed by May 2, 2005.

Required Readings

Jorge Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro, *United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

A collection of Xerox articles will be provided prior to departure.

Recommended Reading

Julia Preston and Samuel Dillon, *Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy* (Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 2004).

Recommended Works of Fiction

Carlos Fuentes, *The Death of Artemio Cruz* (*La muerte de Artemio Cruz*). (1991 or any paperback edition).

Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs: A Novel of the Mexican Revolution* (*Los de abajo*). (Any paperback edition).

Angeles Mastretta, *Tear this Heart Out* (*Arrancame la vida*). (1998 or any paperback edition).

Adolfo Aguilar Camín, *La guerra de Galio* (1991 or any paperback edition).

B. Traven, *Canasta de Cuentos Mexicanos*. (Any paperback edition or any of his other novels, most of which are available in English).

Supplementary Viewing: Films

Amores Perros

Traffic

¡Tu mamá también!

El crimen del Padre Amaro

¡Viva Zapata!

Taxis: Radio-dispatched taxis (the safest) can be obtained at anytime by calling Corporativo de Multiservicios Funcionales, S.A. de C.V. (CMF) at the following numbers:

1. 564-80473
2. 565-06971
3. 565-74968

Daily Schedule

Week 1: January 2-9

1. *Sunday, January 2*

Course participants should plan to arrive in Mexico City in the late morning or early afternoon and check into the Hotel Edison (Edison 106, Colonia Tabacalera, Telephone from USA — 0011-5255 55-66-09-33).

Note: For transportation from the airport to the Hotel Edison in Colonia Tabacalera purchase a ticket at the Taxis del Aeropuerto stand (yellow cabs) inside the airport terminal just to the left of the exit from Customs. Cost: approximately \$12 dollars (130 pesos). Pesos can be acquired at the ATM machines or purchased at the Casas de Cambio inside the airport at the current daily rate (approximately 11 pesos = 1 US dollar).

3:30 *p.m.* Meeting with Professors Bagley and Smith for an orientation to the Colonia Tabacalera and health and safety issues.

4:00 *p.m.* Leave for the Hostería Santo Domingo (Zócalo area) for an early dinner and a discussion of the next two week's activities.

6:00 *p.m.* Return to the Edison.

Free evening. Suggested activity — Visit Plaza Garibaldi to enjoy Mariachi music.

2. *Monday, January 3*

9:00-11:30 *a.m.* Seminar with Professor Bagley on “Mexico’s Pre-Columbian Legacies.”

11:30 *a.m.*-1:00 *p.m.* Lunch in local area.

1:00-2:30 *p.m.* Seminar with Professor Smith on “Social, Political, and Economic Transformations in the 20th Century.”

3:00-5:00 *p.m.* Walk to Alameda Park and view Diego Rivera’s famous mural *Sueño Dominical en el Parque del Alameda*.

Free evening.

Readings

W. Sanders & B. Price, “Introduction,” *Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization* (Random House), pp. 5-34.

F. Chevalier, “Summary,” *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* (University of California Press, 1968), pp. 308-314.

N. Hamilton, “Mexico.” In H. Vanden and G. Prevost, eds., *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 285-323.

A. Schedler, “From Electoral Authoritarianism to Democratic Consolidation.” In R. Crandall, G. Paz & R. Roett, eds., *Mexico’s Democracy at Work: Political and Electoral Dynamics* (Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp. 9-38.

3. *Tuesday, January 4*

9:30 *a.m.* Leave for the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Chapultepec Park.

10:00*a.m.*-2:00*p.m.* Tour of Museum.

2:00 *p.m.*-3:00 *p.m.* Lunch at Cafeteria located in the Museum of Anthropology.

3:00*p.m.*-5:30 *p.m.* Students free to choose among various options located within walking

distance from the Museum, including: the Castillo de Chapultepec, the Museo Rufino Tamayo, the Museo de Arte Moderno, and the Centro Cultural de Arte Contemporáneo.

5:30 *p.m.* Return to Edison.

6:30-9:00 *p.m.* Seminar with Marcos Moloenizik on “The Armed Forces and the Militarization of Public Security,” followed by a seminar with *Wall Street Journal* correspondent José De Córdoba on “The Whole World is Watching: Challenges of Covering Mexican Politics.”

Free evening.

Reading

R. Camp, “Mexico Alert: Civil-Military Relations: Charting a New Direction?” *Hemisphere Focus*, Vol. XII, Issue 2 (5 Nov. 2004), pp. 1-7.

Domínguez/Fernández de Castro, Preface, Introduction, and Chapter 1 (“History”), Chapter 2 (“The Changes in the International System”) and Chapter 3 (“International Security”).

4. Wednesday, January 5

8:30 *a.m.* Microbus leaves for visit to Teotihuacán Pyramids, archaeological site located outside of Mexico City.

9:30 *a.m.*-12:00 *noon.* Tour of Teotihuacán.

12:00-1:30 *p.m.* Lunch in restaurant at the Teotihuacán site.

1:30 *p.m.*-4:00 *p.m.* Continue tour of Teotihuacán.

4:00 *p.m.* Microbus leaves for the Edison.

5:30 *p.m.* Arrive at the Edison.

6:30-9:00 *p.m.* Seminar with Prof. Jorge Chabat (CIDE) on “Conflict and Cooperation in Mexican-US Relations from Echevarría to Fox,” followed by a seminar with Jesus Velasco on “Neocons and US Foreign Policy toward Mexico and Latin America.”

Free evening.

Reading

L. Carlson, “Wal-Mart vs. the Pyramids.” Americas Program, Inter-Hemispheric Resource Center, 12 Oct. 2004.

Domínguez/Fernández de Castro, Chapter 4 (“The Effect of International Institutions”), Chapter 5 (“The Domestic Context for Foreign Policy Decision-Making”) and 6 (“Content and Conduct of Foreign Policy”).

P. Starr, “US-Mexico Relations.” *Hemisphere Focus*, Vol. XII, Issue 2 (9 Jan 2004), pp. 1-8.

5. Thursday, January 6 (Día de los Reyes Magos)

9:30 *a.m.* Leave for morning visit to Zócalo area and old colonial part of town.

10:00 *a.m.*-1:00 *p.m.* Tour of Zócalo and environs (Palacio Nacional, Templo Mayor, Nacional Cathedral, Secretaría de Educación Pública, Colegio de San Ildefonso).

1:00-2:30 *p.m.* Lunch in downtown Mexico City.

2:30 *p.m.* Take Metro (subway) to the Museo de las Intervenciones (Calle 20 de Agosto y General Araya, San Diego Chrususco).

5:00 *pm.* Return via Metro to the Edison.

6:30-8:30 *p.m.* Seminar with Prof. Antonio Ortiz Mena (CIDE) on “NAFTA, the FTAA, and Mexico’s Insertion in the Process of Globalization.”

Free evening.

Readings

- J. Castañeda, "NAFTA at 10: A Plus or a Minus?" *Current History*, Feb. 2004.
- R. Crandall, "Mexico's Domestic Economy: Policy Options," M. Pastor & C. Wise, "The Fox Administration and the Politics of Economic Transition," G. Gereffi & M. Martínez, "Mexico's Economic Transformation under NAFTA," and M. Luna, "Business and Politics in Mexico." In C. Crandall, G. Paz & R. Roett, eds., *Mexico's Democracy at Work: Political and Electoral Dynamics* (Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp. 61-88, pp. 89-118, pp. 119-151, pp. 332-352.
- K. Gallagher, "Free Trade and the Environment: Mexico, NAFTA, and Beyond." Interhemispheric Resource Center, 17 Sept. 2004, pp. 1-3.
- T. Friedman, "What's That Sound?" *New York Times*, 1 April 2004, pp. 1-2.
- T. Friedman, "Out of the Box." *New York Times*, 4 April 2004, pp. pp. 1-2.

Recommended

S. Weintraub, *Nafta's Impact On North America: The First Decade* (CSIS, 2004).

6. Friday, January 7

- 8:30 a.m. Leave for the National Headquarters of the Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN).
- 9:00 a.m.-11:00 p.m. Discussion leading PAN officials on the role of the governing party in a new democratizing political system coordinated by Prof. Sigrid Arzt (Director of Research for the PAN).
- 11:00-11:30 a.m. Break.
- 11::30 a.m.-1:00 p.m. Seminar with Prof. Sigrid Arzt on "Public Security Challenges: The Judicial System, Police, and the Military in Mexico's New Democracy."
- 1:00-5:30 p.m. Lunch and walking tour of Colonia Coyoacán with visits to Frida Kahlo's Casa Azul, the Leon Trotsky Museum, and refreshments at the San Ángel Inn.
- 5:30 p.m. Leave for the Edison..

Free Evening — Optional Evening Activities: Informal dinner and attend the Ballet Folklórico (Palacio de Bellas Artes) or the Lucha Libre Mexicana.

Readings

- J. A. Crespo, "Party Competition in Mexico: Evolution and Prospects" and B. Magaloni & G. Zepeda, "Democratization, Judicial and Law Enforcement Institutions, and the Rule of Law in Mexico." In K. Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico* (Institute for Latin American Studies, 2004), pp. 57-81 and pp. 168-197.

7. Saturday, January 8

Morning Free.

12:15 p.m. Leave for TAPO bus station.

2:15 p.m. Take ADO GL autobus for Oaxaca.

8:15 p.m. Arrive Oaxaca. Check-in at the Posada Las Mariposas located at Pino Suárez # 517 (Tel/Fax from the USA: 011 52 (951) 515 5854).

Free evening. Dinner and walk around the Zócalo area.

Readings on Bus

- J. Cohen, "Community, Economy and Social Change in Oaxaca, Mexico: Rural Life and

- Cooperative Logic in the Global Economy.” In G. Otero, ed., *Mexico in Transition: Neoliberal Globalization, the State and Civil Society* (Zed, 2004), pp. 154-168.
- “Viva Oaxaca” (2004).
- “A Day in Oaxaca: One of the New World’s Nicest Cities...” *Mexconnect* (1999).
- “What’s Doing in Oaxaca,” *New York Times*, 7 Dec. 2003.
- “Shopping in Mexico is a Cultural Lesson,” *The Seattle Times*, 2 Sept. 2004.
- “Grasshoppers with Mescal in Oaxaca,” *New York Times*, 5 Sept. 2004.
- “Oaxaca, Where the Cooking’s Hot and Cool,” *Washington Post*, 21 Oct. 2004.

Week 2: January 9-16

8. Sunday, January 9

- 9:00 a.m. Leave for Monte Albán.
- 10:00 a.m.-2 p.m. Tour of Monte Albán.
- 2:00 p.m. Return to Las Mariposas.
- 3:00 p.m. Arrive at Las Mariposas
- Free Afternoon/Evening* Suggested activities include the free evening concert and enjoying the cafés, restaurants and markets near the Zócalo.

Readings

- Tracy Brandenburg, “Journey to the Centre of Visual Thought.” (photocopy)
- Víctor de la Cruz, “Tu lanu, tu lanu (“Who are we? What is our name?”). (photocopy)
- “Niséforo Urbietta, un hombre zapotec que se rescató a través de su arte.” *La Jornada*, 7 Oct. 1996.
- “7,000 Years of Religious Ritual is Traced in Mexico.” *New York Times*, 21 December 2004.

9. Monday, January 10

- 9:00 a.m.-Noon Seminar with Profs. Bagley and Smith on “NAFTA, Agricultural Restructuring, and Indigenous Peasants in Mexico.”
- Noon-2 p.m. Lunch in the area.
- 2:00-5 p.m. Walking tour with Niséforo Urbietta, a local Zapotec artist and cultural activist, of the Cathedral and other places of significance in the Zócalo area.
- 5:00-6:00 pm. Rest/Refreshments
- 6:00-8: p.m. *Conversatorio y tertulia* with Prof. Tracy Brandenburg (UM Foreign Languages) and Niséforo Urbietta.

Free evening.

Readings

- H. Mackinlay, “Rural Producers’ Organizations and the State in Mexico: The Political Consequences of Economic Restructuring.” In K. Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico* (Institute for Latin American Studies, 2004), pp. 286-331.
- A. Anaya Muñoz, “Explaining the Politics of Recognition of Ethnic Diversity and Indigenous Peoples’ Rights in Oaxaca, Mexico.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct. 2004), pp. 414-433.

10. Tuesday, January 11

- 10:00 a.m.-1 p.m. Tour of the Centro Cultural Santo Domingo.
- 1:00 p.m. Lunch in the Zócalo area.

Rest of the day free for exploration in Oaxaca Suggested activities include (all within walking distance) the Rufino Tamayo Museum of Pre-Hispanic Art, the Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca, the Contemporary Art Museum, the Bénito Juárez Museum, etc.

Readings

L. Hernández Navarro & L. Carlsen, “Indigenous Rights: The Battle for Constitutional Reform in Mexico.” In K. Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico* (Institute for Latin American Studies, 2004), pp. 440-465.

11. *Wednesday, January 12*

9:00 *a.m.* Leave for Oaxaca bus station.

9:30 *a.m.* Take bus for Teotitlán del Valle, which lies about 15 miles east of Oaxaca and is one of Mexico’s greatest weaving centers.

10:30 *a.m.*-1:00 *p.m.* Visit the Mercado de Artesanías, the workshop of the late Arnulfo Mendoza, a world-class master weaver, the Centro de Arte Textil Zapoteco Bii Daüü, and other village workshops and cooperatives.

1:00-2:30 *p.m.* Lunch at the Restaurante Tlamanalli, operated by the Mendoza sisters and specializing in traditional Zapotec dishes.

2:30 *p.m.*/3:00 *p.m.* Take bus to return to Oaxaca, with a possible stop at Santa María el Tule, a small town with a giant tree more than 160 feet in diameter and 2000 years old. It’s the biggest in the world, although not the tallest or the oldest.

5:00 *p.m.* Arrive in Oaxaca.

Free evening.

Readings

A. Olvera, “Civil Society in Mexico at Century’s End.” In K. Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico* (Institute for Latin American Studies, 2004), pp. 403-439.

12. *Thursday, January 13*

Free Day! This is the day to indulge yourselves. While of course you could stay in bed, or catch up on your reading (do this please!), you can also visit the numerous other places in Oaxaca, including the Ethnobotanical Gardens, the Bénito Juárez food market, the artisan market, etc. You can also visit nearby archeological sites, such as Mitla and Yagul, or villages, such as Zaachila and Ejutla, both of which have their market days on Thursdays. Another great option is to take a cooking class with Iliana de la Vega, a well-known chef and owner of El Naranjo, one of Oaxaca’s premier restaurants (you must sign up prior to departure—estimated cost: US \$50.00: for details see: <http://www.elnaranjo.com.mx/oaxaca/CLASSES.HTML>).

Readings

J. Fox and G. River-Salgado, “Building Civil Society among Indigenous Migrants.” Interhemispheric Resource Center, 12 Oct. 2004, pp. 1-8.

J. Houghton and B. Bell, “Latin American Indigenous Movements in the Context of Globalization.” Interhemispheric Resource Center, 11 Oct. 2004, pp. 1-8.

T. Rosenberg, “Why Mexico’s Small Corn Farmers Go Hungry?” *New York Times*, 3 March 2003, pp. 1-2.

G. Thompson, “Mexican Town Refuses to Abandon Fallen Hero’s Dream.” *New York Times*, 7 Nov 2004, pp. 1-3.

Free evening.

13. Friday, January 14

9:00 *a.m.* Leave for the Santa Ana de Zagache, Nicéforo Urbieto's home village.

10:00 *a.m.-1:00 p.m.* Together with Nicéforo and Tracy Brandenburg, we will visit this small Zapotec village (approx. 3,000 population) off the beaten track. We will have the opportunity to discuss agrarian issues, including NAFTA's impact on indigenous peoples, labor migration and transnational social movements, and the decline of the Zapotec language and culture.

1:00 *p.m.* Leave for Ocotlán.

1:30-5:00 *p.m.* Lunch and get to Ocotlán during its famous Friday market day in Ocotlán, when the town fills with people and goods at reasonable prices.

5:00 *p.m.* Take bus back to Oaxaca.

Free evening.

Readings

G. Thompson, "Mexico's Leader to Pursue Genocide Case." *New York Times*, 1 Sept. 2004, pp.1-3.

A. Guillermoprieto, "The Morning Quickie." *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 51, No. 13 12 August 2004, pp. 1-10.

S. Weintraub, "Mexico: Pessimism is Rational." *Hemisphere Focus*, Vol. XI, Issue 30 (4 Nov. 2004), pp. 1-4.

S. Weintraub, "A Mexico Initiative for the Renewed Bush Administration." *Issues in International Political Economy*, No. 59 (Nov. 2004), pp. 1-2.

14. Saturday, January 15

10:00 *a.m.-12:30 p.m.* Seminar with Prof. Smith on "Alternative Future Scenarios for Mexican Democracy" and Prof. Bagley on "Drug Trafficking, Immigration, and Security Issues in Mexico-US Relations."

12:30-2:00 *p.m.* Lunch in area.

2:00-5:00 *p.m.* Individual meetings to finalize research paper topics.

Afternoon: Free time for last visit to the Zócalo, museums, and markets. Pack bags and have dinner.

9:45 *p.m.* Leave for Oaxaca bus station.

11:15 *p.m.* Take ADO GL bus to TAPO bus station in Mexico City.

15. Sunday, January 16

5:30 *a.m.* Arrive TAPO bus terminal and take taxis to the Bénéto Juárez Airport.

9 *a.m.* *Onward:* Participants return to Miami.

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Papers due on May 2, 2005