

## SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF MEXICO FROM 1910 to PRESENT

**I. The Mexican Revolution and the Emergence of Modern Mexico.** Note the five factors affecting the character of Mexico in the 20<sup>th</sup> cen.: (1) Mexican Revolution and aftermath, changing role of govt., end of 400 years of feudalism; (2) population explosion esp. after 1940 & resultant rural-urban migration; (3) proximity to U.S. and dependent relation on it ("pocho culture"); (4) impact of oil dependence & growing tourism speeding modernization/globalization in various regions; (5) role of central govt./PRI/oligarchy up to 2000.

A. **Revolution** - military period 1910-20 (loss of 1 million of 15 million people;

- Role of Madero, challenged "geriarchy" of Diaz, began w/ call for national uprising to oust Diaz, started slow, continued w/ revolts all over -- P. Villa & Orozco success in Chihuahua ignited others leading to Madero presidency, reaction of caudillos, ending w/ death in 1913 and rise of Vicente Huerta.
- Revolution really begins w/ end of Madero regime and rise of revolutionary leaders (most poor mestizo/Indian background)—marks end of racist class/feudal system.
- E. Zapata in Morelos w/ Indian supporters ('Land & Liberty', Plan of Ayala—major focus on return of expropriated lands to peasants).
- Huerta dictatorship 1913-14 w/ Porfirista support, lack of recognition from U.S.—Wilson. V.Carranza w/ Villa, A. Obregon and Calles formed Constitutional Army of North & w/ Wilson's support gained control July 1914.
- Fighting between Villa, Carranza, Zapata. Convening of Constitutional Convention by Carranza to reinstate that of 1857 in 1917.
- Key amendments: **Article 27** gave nation rights to all natural resources (water, minerals etc.) eliminating foreign monopolies & restricting foreign ownership, communal *ejidos* of Indians made inalienable, limited size w/ promised redistribution of lands; **Article 123** protected workers & destroyed debt peonage; limited role of church. Provisions mostly ignored by Carranza presidency from 1917-20. Fought unions of workers unsuccessfully—first nat. org., 1918—Confederation of Mexican Workers (CROM). Military revolution ends in 1920.

B. **Revolutionary Reconstruction, 1920-40. Obregon** took over presidency w/ devastated economy, famine etc. (Carranza shot while escaping w/ loot), 1920-24.

- Was first to be committed to enforce Constitution of 1917— efforts aided by WWI, need for henequen from Yucatan;
- Appointed Villistas and Zapatistas to govt., returned about 3 mill acres to 600 villages.
- Focus on education for all—Minister Jose Vasconcelos, vision to establish a national identity for Mexico. (cf. Batalla, pp. 113-15) Obregon w/ U.S. support able to end uprising making **Calles** next president.
- Focus of **Calles (Jefe Maximo)** on economy, modernizing w/ capitalist policies, attempt to take control over national resources especially oil. Difficulties enhanced by Grt. Depression & Cristero rebellion--result of anticlerical stance of Constitution, stalemate between Church & State.

- Consolidated political control w/ PNR, also politically corrupt, supported Cardenas as next puppet pres. (first not from North) that he could control but didn't (was exiled in 2 yrs).
- **Cardenas**, '34-'40, went to populace w/ Six Year plan, supporting peasant (CNC) & labor unions (CTM).
  - Land reform -breakup of haciendas- hallmark of presidency, establishment of *ejidos* = 47% of 18 million hectares redistributed.
  - Nationalized oil in 1938, increased emphasis on education w/ practical focus on rural areas.
  - Significant pop. increase (1930—16.5 million, '40—20 million). Reorganized PNR into PRM consolidating political forces in one govt. org., including diverse groups—CNC & CTM;
  - set stage for domination by PRI oligarchy. Great Revolution ends in 1940

**II. Modern Mexico from 1940 – 2000.** Major characteristics of period – political stability, economic growth & industrialization. Key problems unresolved -- population growth & poverty. By late 1980's population increased by 450%, to 81+ million w/ 70% in urban areas (largest cities - Mesa Central, more recently US/Mexican border); oil dependency and tourism and increasing dissatisfaction w/ PRI policies and differential impact of globalization.

**A. Conservative Shift – 1940-1958.** Primary focus from 1940 on – institutionalization of revolution: industrialization, urbanization, development as defined by major features/direction of *Mexico Imaginario*, integrating all sectors of society in line w/ western development models.

- **Camacho, 1940-46**, WWII, improved relations w/ U.S., establishment of *bracero* program (Mexican contract laborers in U.S.) w/ Roosevelt. Program lasted from '43-'64, set stage for continued migration. Focus on making Mexico self-sufficient in manufactured goods, abandoned efforts at agrarian reform, greater control over labor; govt. lead in industrialization
- **Miguel Aleman (1946-52)** focus on industrialization cont.d (doubled oil production), massive public works- PanAm Hwy, "green revolution"; consolidation of power by PRI & with it increasing corruption by govt. officials (*la mordida*)—focus on benefits to middle class & business elites at expense of masses.
- **Cortines (1952-58)** conservative, focus on business, brought in enhance PRI credibility, after graft in Aleman regime. Efforts to deal w/ "indigenous problem" by gradually bringing them into "modern Mexico" while retaining some of their positive cultural features– work of Manuel Gamio, *indigenismo*" (defense of Indian cultures). Establishment of *Instituto Nacional Indigena* (I.N.I.) in 1948 (see Batalla, pp. 114-120); major focus on education, health, integrating them into Mexican society as citizens--de-Indianizing them w/ resultant loss of cultural autonomy. Resistance by Indians seen as problematic, means of keeping them marginalized, cultural stigma attached to being "*indio*".
- Significant pop. increase meant more migration to Mexico City (12 million by 1980) and to U.S. – increasing environmental degradation in rural areas (e.g., Sierra Mixteca, 100,000+ Mixtec in California). Note Mexican women get vote in 1954, ERA in 1974, increasing role in govt. positions.

- B. Changes in Direction –1958-1988.** Adolfo **Lopez Mateo** (1958-64). Liberal direction, democratic reforms, distributed 30 million acres to ejidos & private farmers to alleviate pop. pressures (didn't curb pop. growth tho), education a priority, increased state control over economy—agric. & industrial growth
- **Diaz Ordaz** (1964-70) – conservative focus on industrialization and economic development—established Border Industrialization Program in 1965, *maquiladoras*, U.S. assembly plants, special zone 12.5 mi on Mexican side of border; known for brutal repression of all dissention – massive student demonstrations, Mexico City, 27 Aug., 1968 (500,000 protestors), used paramilitary *granaderos* to put down – **Tlatelolco Massacre** at Plaza of Three Cultures), Oct. 2, hundreds killed, 2000 jailed—known as the *guerra sucia* (dirty war); major damage to PRI credibility.
  - **Echeverria** (1970-76), noted for continued repressive tactics, Mexicanization of business, lessening Mexico dependence on U.S. (reinstatement of 51% Mex. control rule), included more “shared development” w/ greater govt. intervention in economy, coalition w/ labor, peasants (investment in ejidos, agriculture a priority; increased domestic problems, huge budget deficits w/ inflation at 20-30%/year; devaluation of peso .
  - **Lopez Portillo** (1976-82) large federal deficit, troubled economy, instituted govt. reforms for (ineffective) rural development,
    - primary focus on capital intensive industrialization (Monterrey group--Garza & Sada families--controlled indus. sector in NE);
    - weakened indigenous communities; discovery oil reserves in Chiapas & Tabasco '74--Mexico 4<sup>th</sup> largest oil producer by 1981 (78% of exports in '82, oil glut led to severe econ. crisis—12 mill. in deficits).
  - **De la Madrid Hurtado** (1982-88) economic recovery aided by loans from IMF, conservative focus,
    - earthquake (9/19/85—killed 10-20,000);
    - collapse of oil market 12/85 led to more open economy (w/ less state regulation), joined international free trade GATT – opening Mexico politically & economically first steps to major changes in 1990's.
    - Major problems: elite control of govt. apparatus by PRI; economic stagnation in countryside + continued pop. growth led to increased migration (40 yrs inc. from 20 mil to 81 mil, 1990 w/ 70%+ urban); attempt to control *mordidas* by those in power
    - 4 million Indians, 60+ ethnic groups, 40-50+ languages, 6%+ of pop. & 12% of total land under permanent cultivation—indigenous “problem” ignored; inc. gap between rich and poor despite growth of middle class (25% of pop), tourism (\$3 billion into economy) inc. literacy (20% 1910, 82% 1990) etc. Significant dissatisfaction w/ govt. policies – need for change.
- C. Move toward Democracy.** Marked by increased factionalism in PRI—foreign educated “technocrats” opening economy, reversing protectionist policies vs. “dinosaurs” wanting to protect patronage. Rise of PAN (Nat. Action Party) & other opposition parties, domination by PRI ended, more open elections.
- **Salinas de Gortari** (1988-94) – technocrat pushing for privatization & commercialization of agric. production, establishment of NAFTA (trade liberalization);
    - key action—reform of Article 27 & Agrarian Code ending *ejido* protections and subsidies, credit, and other support to peasants (seen as being ‘anti-modern’), as part of restructuring Mexican economy after bailout by int. financial interests/IMF

- polarized Mexican society into wealthy few vs impoverished masses (Chiapas-70% below poverty level, extreme poverty inc. by 1/3<sup>rd</sup>); 51% of manufactured exports came from maquiladoras; lifted 51% Mexican ownership rule—more foreign investment
- Zapatista rebellion 1/1/94 in Chiapas, organization of EZLN mark beginnings of major shakeup along w. assassination of PRI pres. candidate Colosio & then PRI Sec. general Jose Ruiz Massieu in '94; effect of 500 yr anniversary—1992 amendment to 1917 constitution – multiethnic not mestizo nation
- **Zedillo** (1994-2000), another PRI technocrat, austerity program instigated by fiscal crisis (devalued peso, worst recession since Revolution, ½ pop in poverty in '97), '95, bailout by U.S. w/ oil as collateral; increased democratic elect. reforms, exposure of corruption by Salinas & cronies (Atty Gen. Raul Massieu, collusion in assass., millions in US banks) —failing banks in '95 due to fraud and political payoffs, drug money laundering – rising crime, drive-by assassinations, kidnappings, esp. in borderlands
- **Vicente Fox** (2000-06)—first time in 71 yrs. not a PRI president (conservative PAN, populist candidate), much more diversity w/ grassroots org. etc. in political process—Mexicans in U.S. voted for first time, young voters; more open society, less corrupt
  - First action to submit San Andres Accords of '96 to Congress, support of constitutional amendment for indigenous rights and autonomy, Zapatista march from Chiapas to Mexico City, efforts failed; first 3 yrs, political gridlock.
  - Devastating impact of NAFTA on agricultural production in Mexico, esp. re: maize - farmers can't compete ag. U.S. govt. subsidized maize (500% inc., 94-00) + impact of genetically modified maize introduced); demonstrations by farmers, unions, Jan '03 – Fox pushed to renegotiate NAFTA, give renewed support, rural sector.
  - Contraction of economy after 9/11, loss of maquiladoras (545 in one yr) to E. Asia
  - By 2002, 1 of 3 adult Mexicans has lived in US—21 million in US w/ Mexican roots, only ½ there for 5+ years, 6-7 million, illegally. Immigrant remittances to Mexico (13 billion in '02) second only to oil as source of foreign revenue; creation of transnational culture
- **Presidential Campaign, 2006 – Felipe Calderon** Hinojosa, PAN – conservative agenda like Fox vs. **Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO)** from PRD, mayor of Mexico City, focus on renegotiating NAFTA, education, pensions, reduce poverty – populist people's candidate w/ support of grassroots org.— cliffhanger results, Federal Election Tribunal decided in favor of Calderon after 2+ months midst protests of fraudulent election – continued demonstrations, Chiapas, Oaxaca (against corrupt PRI governor).