

## **Society and Culture of the Spanish Speaking Countries, 4<sup>th</sup> Week**

### **Mexico Part II**



**March 22**

**Jungwon Kang**

# Organization

## History and social issues of contemporary Mexico

- History overview: from post-revolutionary to contemporary period
- Economy in the globalization: NAFTA (presently USMCA)
- Social movement in the globalization: Zapatista movements
- Drug war: another war in Mexico
- 2018 Presidential Election and the Victory of AMLO
- Mestizaje and femininity: Our Lady of Guadalupe and La Malinche
- Religion, festivals and rituals

# Mexico: History Overview (20<sup>th</sup> century and beyond)

1929-2000: One-party system led by “Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)” → caudillo, monopoly of political, social, economic systems

1940-1968: the triumph of the capitalist state and economic growth

1968-2000: shattering the PRI's hegemony and economic crisis

- Massacre at the Plaza Tlatelolco in 1968
- Mexico City earthquake in 1985
- NAFTA and FZLN (Zapatistas) uprising in Chiapas 1994
- Vicente Fox (PAN, National Action Party) elected president 2000 ended the 71 years control of PRI

2000-2012: loss of hegemony, control of PAN by Vicente Fox (2000-2006) and Felipe Calderón (2006-2012)

2012-2018: PRI's restoration of power by the election of Enrique Peña Nieto in 2012.

Dec. 1, 2018: Andrés Manuel López Obrador (MORENA)'s landslide victory and the inauguration of the first leftist leader in decades

# Tlatelolco Massacre, October 2, 1968



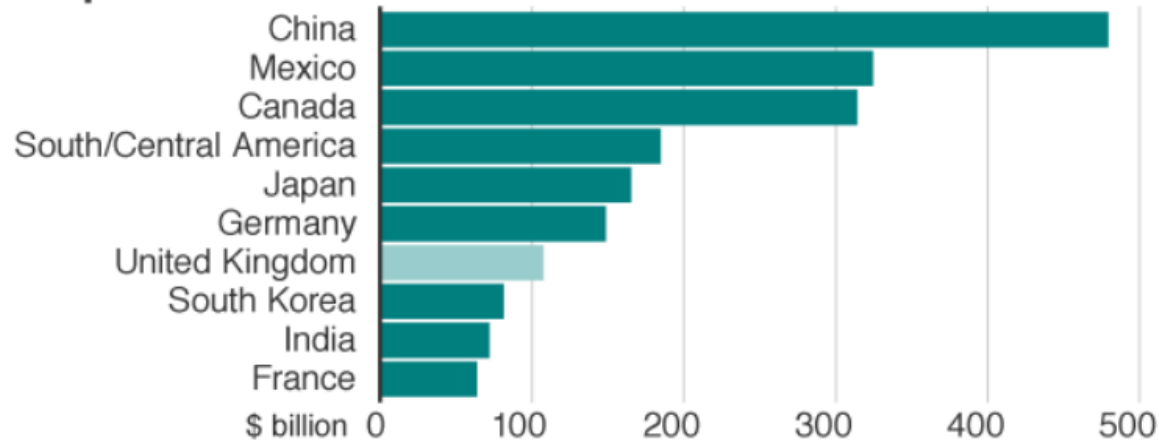
# Economy in the Globalization: NAFTA (USMCA)

- ▶ North American Free Trade Agreement signed by Canada, Mexico and the United States, effecting on January 1, 1994
- ▶ As of 2007, the largest trade bloc in terms of GDP in the world
- ▶ Proposes to eliminate barriers of trade and investment
- ▶ Different impacts by sectors, (e.g., positive to business owners, negative to the U.S. workers in textile, manufacturing industries, or the Mexican farmers, etc.)
- ▶ Critiques that it increased income inequality and it did not help for job creation.
- ▶ Creation of maquiladoras in Mexico, especially on the borderline, many of which being transferred from the U.S. to Mexico in search of cheap labor force.
- ▶ In 2020, the new trade deal (USMCA) came into effect, replacing the NAFTA.

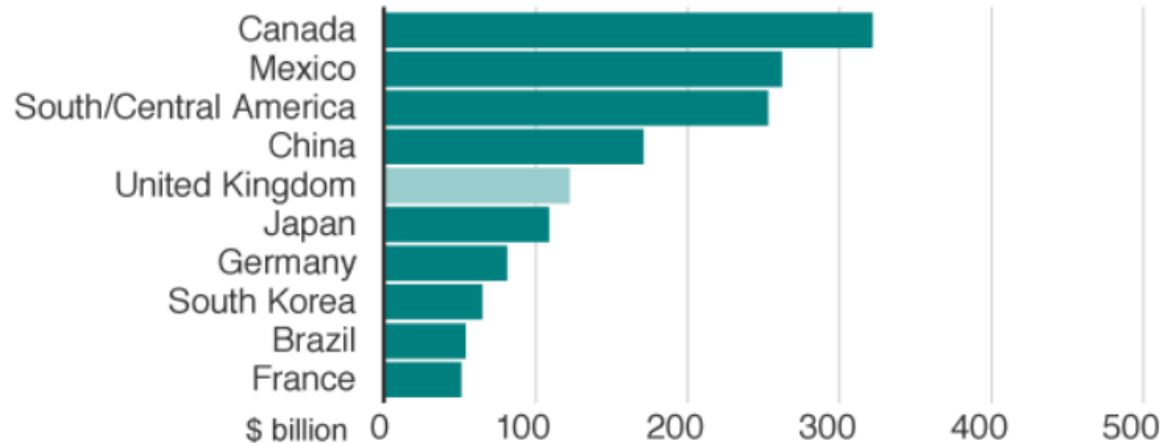
# US top trading partners

Trade of services and goods in 2016

## Imports



## Exports























Source: US Census Bureau

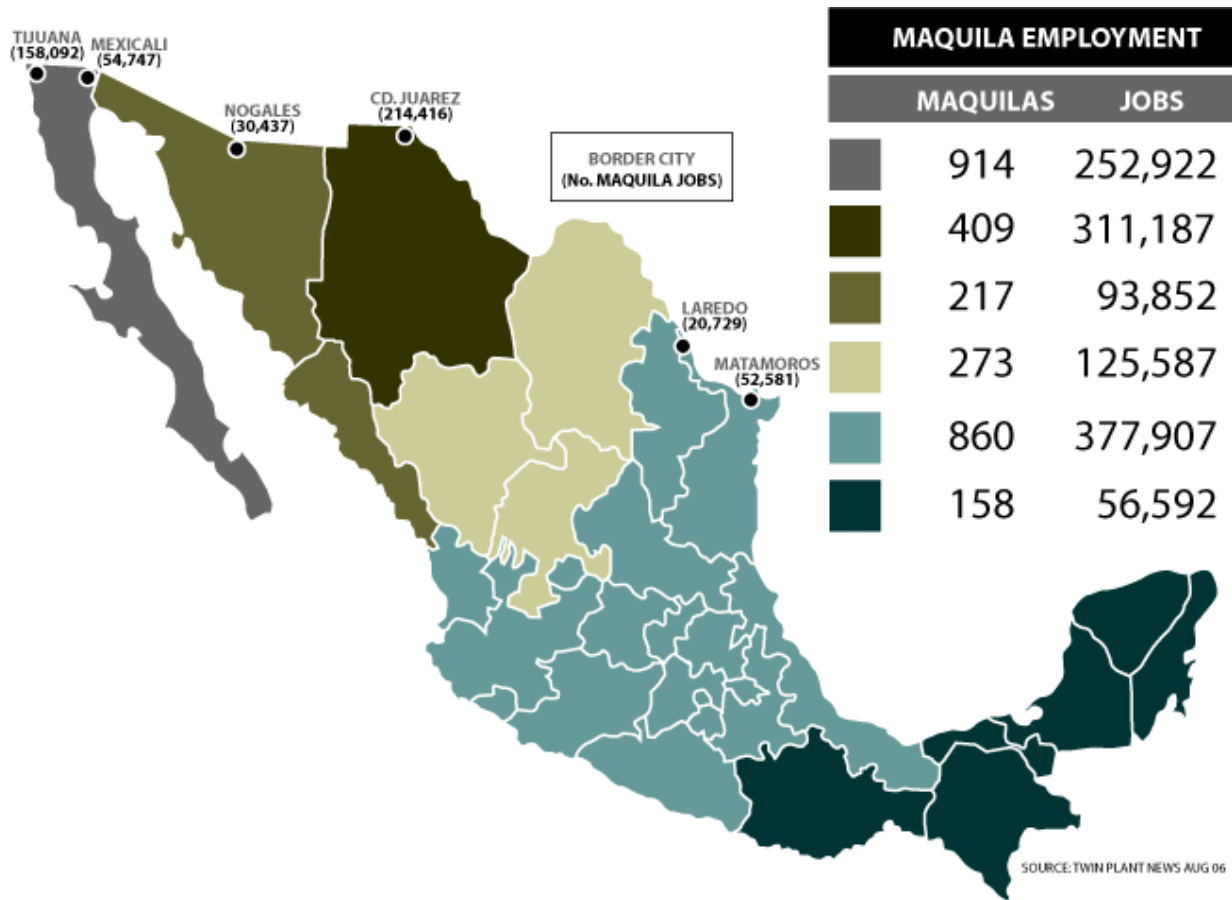
BBC

<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-44802666>




### Mexico top 5 Export and Import partners

Market	Trade (US\$ Mil)	Partner share(%)
 United States	344,602 	76.49
 Unspecified	24,707 	5.48
 Canada	14,065 	3.12
 China	7,194 	1.60
 Germany	7,070 	1.57
Exporter	Trade (US\$ Mil)	Partner share(%)
 United States	216,282 	46.59
 China	83,505 	17.99
 Japan	18,193 	3.92
 Germany	17,761 	3.83
 Korea, Rep.	16,727 	3.60

<https://wits.worldbank.org/countrysnapshot/en/MEX>



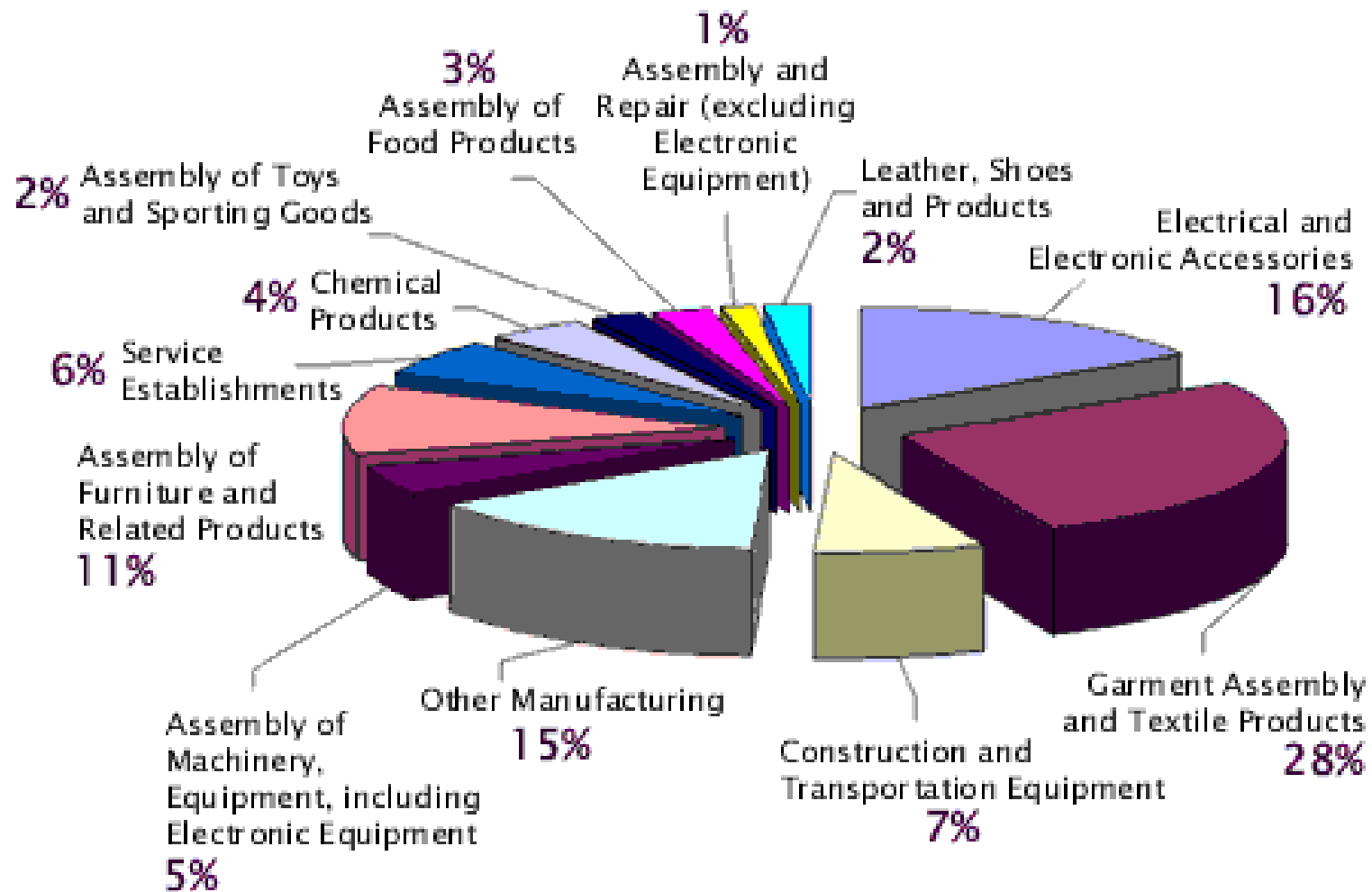
## 멕시코에 진출한 한국 기업 주요 생산 기지

	자동차	기아차	몬테레이에 연산 40만대 규모 자동차 공장
	가전	삼성전자	티후아나에 TV 공장, 케레타로에 생활가전 공장
		LG전자	멕시코칼리·레이노사에 TV 공장, 몬테레이에 냉장고 공장
	철강	포스코	알타미라에 연산 90만t 자동차용 아연 도금 강판 생산공장

자료: 코트라·각시



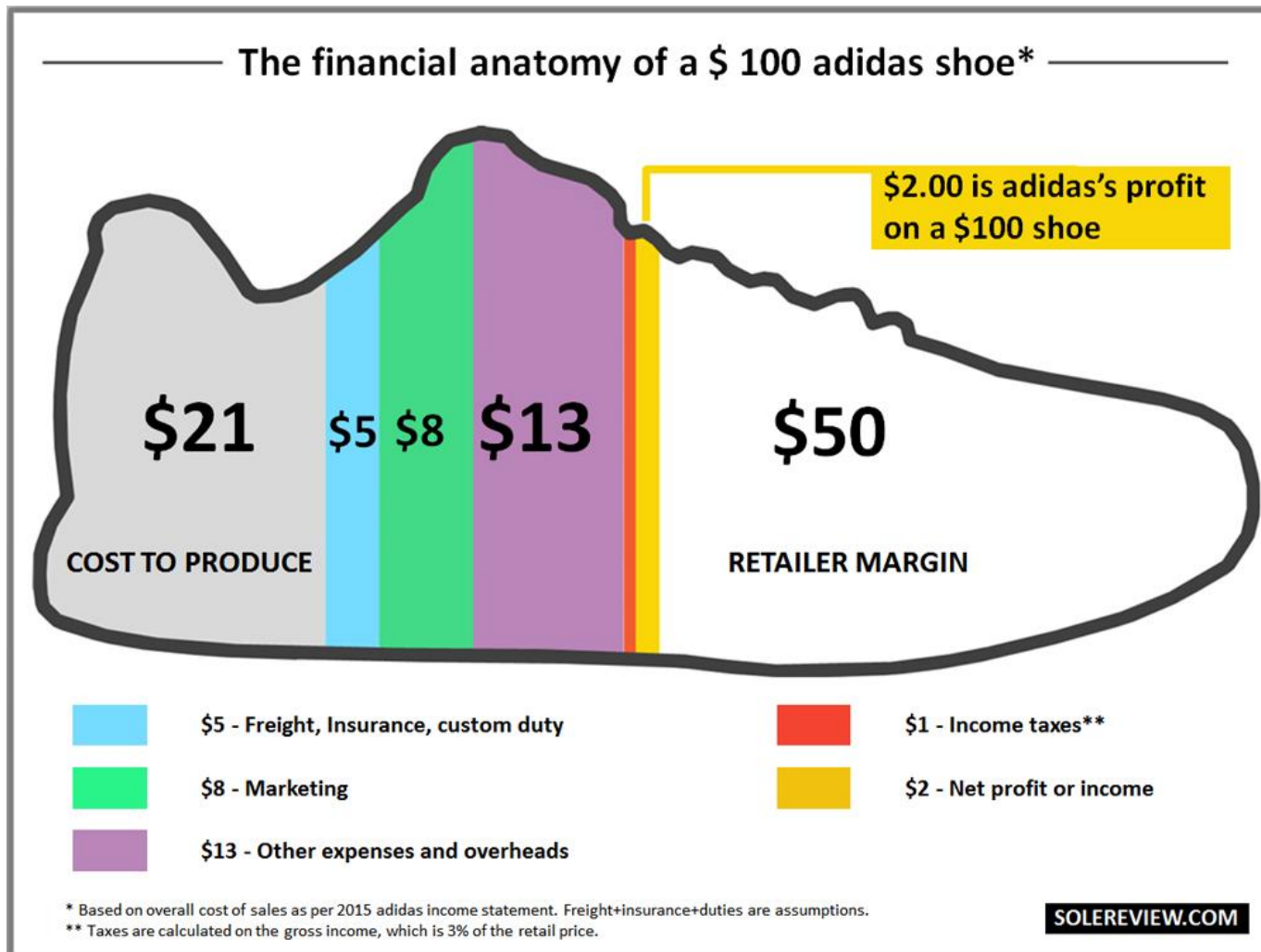
# Maquiladora Composition



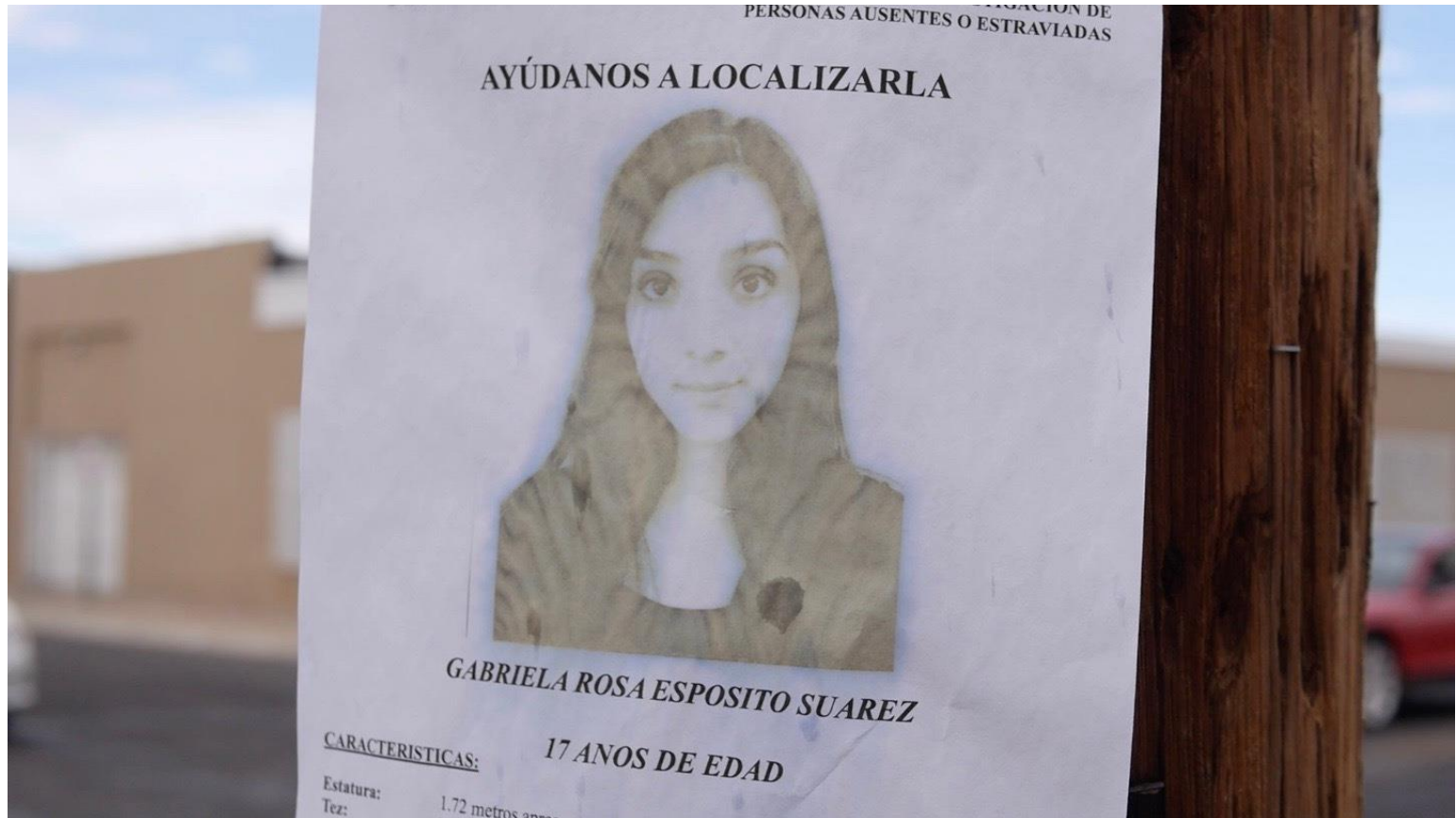
# Maquiladora Industry



# Maquiladora Industry



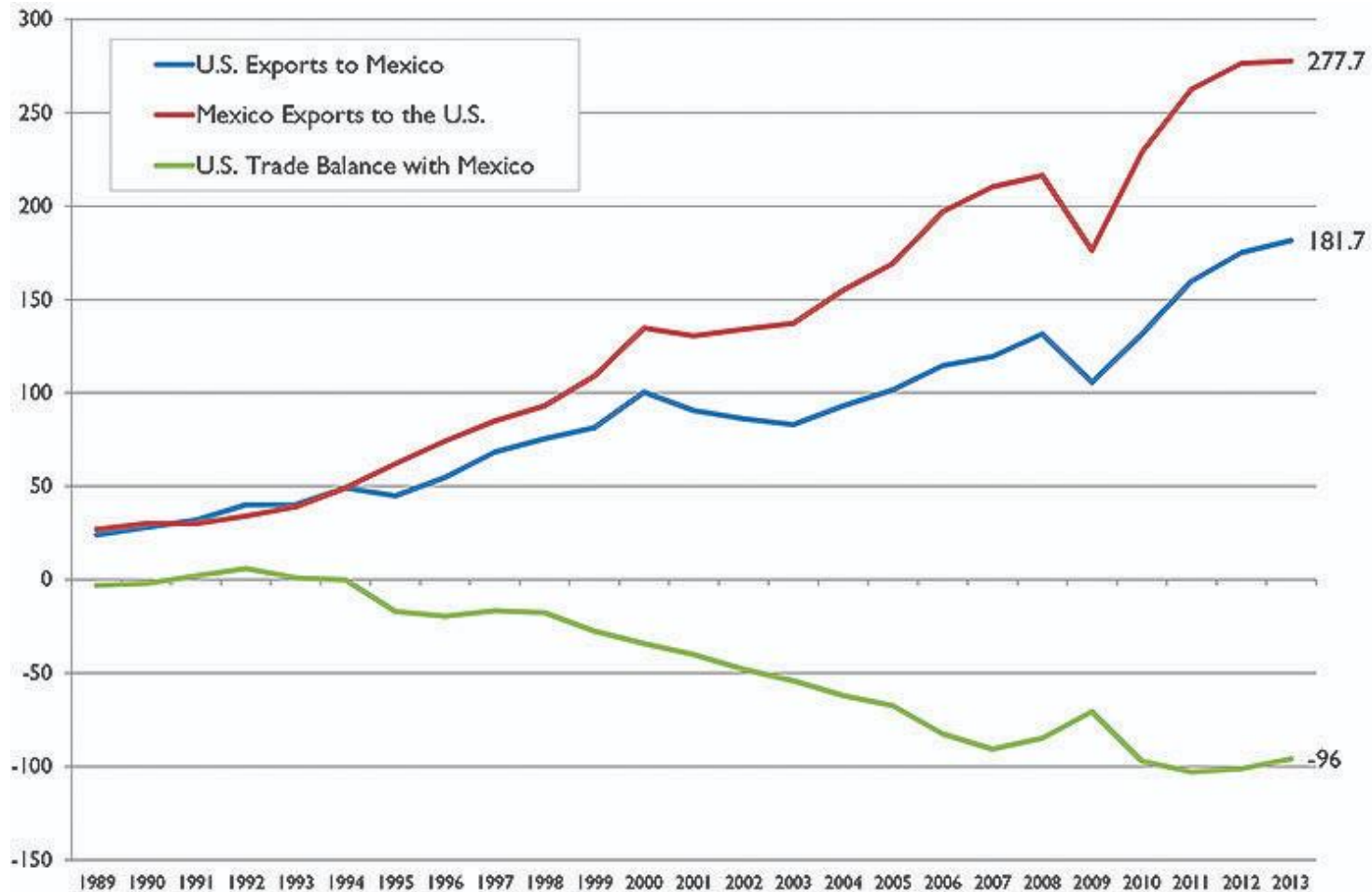
## Female homicides(Femicides) in Ciudad Juarez



<https://www.womensmediacenter.com/fbomb/this-film-is-taking-on-femicide-in-juarez-mexico>



# Mexico-U.S. Trade Since 1989



<https://clas.berkeley.edu/research/trade-nafta-paradox>

# USMCA: Updating NAFTA to Bring Trade Into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

## NAFTA

vs

## USMCA



Automobiles must have 62.5% of their components manufactured in Mexico, Canada, or the United States to qualify for zero tariffs.

### Automotive

Automobiles must have 75% of their components manufactured in Mexico, Canada, or the United States to qualify for zero tariffs.



Phased out all agricultural tariffs with Mexico and most with Canada, excluding those on dairy, poultry, eggs, and sugar.

### Agriculture

Enhances access to Canada for U.S. dairy, poultry, and egg products.



### Small Businesses

Establishes a committee on small business issues to help firms expand trade internationally.



### Labor Provisions

By 2023, 40–45% of all automobile parts must be made by workers who earn at least \$16 per hour.



### Digital Trade

Prohibits custom duties on electronically-distributed products (e.g. software, video games, movies, music, books) and supports the cross-border flow of data.



### Biopharmaceuticals

Raises intellectual property protections for biologic medicines in Canada and Mexico closer to the U.S. standard.



Protects creative works (e.g. music, movies, books) for 50 years after a creator's death.

### Copyrights

Protects creative works (e.g. music, movies, books) for 70 years after a creator's death.



Sets threshold at which U.S. shipments to Canada and Mexico incur duties at \$16 and \$50, respectively.

### E-Commerce

Increases threshold at which U.S. shipments to Canada and Mexico incur duties at \$112 and \$117, respectively.



Permits companies to sue the government over changes to policies that they claim would harm future profits.

### Environment

Eliminates the legal mechanism companies use to combat environmental regulations.



PassUSMCA.org



# **Social Movement in the Globalization: Zapatista Movement (1994-present)**

- ▶ Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional (EZLN) occupied Chiapas towns on January 1, 1994 (simultaneously at the beginning of NAFTA).
- ▶ Peace talk between EZLN and the Mexican government on February 15, 1996, however, its treaty (“San Andres Peace Accords”) was not ratified by the Congress without any further progress.
- ▶ Massacre of Acteal on December 23, 1997, murdering 43 Zapatista supporters.
- ▶ Journey (“Zapatour”) to Mexico City, leading to a rally of 150,000 on March 11, 2001.
- ▶ Congress address in the Mexican Congress on March 28, 2001.
- ▶ The EZLN has five ‘Caracol’ (autonomous communities) in Chiapas as well as 27 rebel autonomous municipalities. In 2019, Zapatistas announced to expand their control into another 11 areas of the state.
- ▶ Until now, Zapatistas have never disarmed. Nearly 300,000 people in 55 municipalities live as Zapatistas.



# Rebellion in Mexico Zapatistas Take Aim at NAFTA

By Eric Jackson

"General, what's going on in San Cristóbal? There's a lot of people..."  
"I don't know. They aren't people celebrating the New Year?"  
—phone call to Military Region XXXI, 1:45 a.m. January 1

**D**espite all of the news coverage about Mexico during last year's NAFTA debate, a New Year's Day rebel offensive in Chiapas caught most North Americans unaware. Those whose main images of Mexico are the allegedly growing markets which dominated the discussion of NAFTA probably won't understand the far-reaching political consequences of the uprising in Mexico's breadbasket.

Yet on both sides of the Rio Grande, those who know the history of U.S.-Mexican relations realize that the stakes are high. The last time that Mexico had a revolution, Woodrow Wilson sent the Marines into Veracruz and Tampico, and dispatched General Wilson, a "Black jack" flashing on a long and brutal chase after Pancho Villa. It didn't work then, but if the unpopular Mexican government loses its grip on the country, or seems about to do so, President Clinton may be tempted to fix broken NAFTA dreams with military intervention.

Rarely have Mexican peasants had as much to complain about as this past New Year's Day, when NAFTA was in effect. An influx of cheap U.S.-produced food is expected to drive many of them out of the market and off of their land. Economist Thea Lee, a former Pin Abovian and research fellow at the Economic Policy Institute, estimated in the January 1990 AGENDA that 80,000 to 2 million Mexican farmers will be displaced. Commandante Marcos, who led the rebel attack on San Cristóbal, openly said the NAFTA connection: "It's clear the date is related to NAFTA, which for the Indians is a death sentence. Once it goes into effect, it means an international massacre."

In the rebellious zones of Chiapas, pressure on indigenous farmers is especially acute. Since ancient times until recent decades the Lacandon and other descendants of the Mayas owned and farmed their land communally. Yet to integrate Mexico into the world economy, the government divided the land among individuals, imposed taxes and other policies to force a change from subsistence to cash cropping. It left the small farmers without the roads, equipment, fertilizers or credit to compete in modern agribusiness. The predictable foreclosures of traditional Mayan lands drove many into the wilderness to make way for cattle ranches and mechanized, chemical-based corporate vegetable farming. When the Lacandon and others retreated to the jungle to slash and

burn new subsistence farms, big landowners backed by gunrunners and holding titles obtained from corrupt officials, showed up to take that land, too.

One result is that Chiapas is one of Mexico's principal food-exporting regions. Another result is that Chiapanecos (what the state's natives call themselves) are among the poorest in a poor country. In Chiapas, some 80% of the houses have dirt floors. Despite the presence of hydroelectric dams which provide three-fifths of Mexico's power, more than one-third of the state's communities have no electricity. With one dollar per each 1,500 of the state's three million residents, some 15,000 people die from preventable diseases every year in Chiapas.

That it is no big surprise that the depressed and rebuffed. Only the timing and scope of the attack, in which about 2,000 well-disciplined combatants of the Zapatistas Army of National Liberation known by the Spanish acronym EZLN, or more popularly, as the Zs, captured four county seats, caught authorities by surprise. Mexican soldiers and police had already fought a number of smaller skirmishes with the EZLN over the previous year. Though there were soldiers and rebels killed and many injuries of local villagers, last May, a government eager to reassure foreign investors consistently denied that an insurrection was underway.

The Mexican government now treats the Zs' threat with the utmost seriousness. It sent 15,000 troops into Chiapas. It sent planes and helicopters to bomb and strafe El Carrizal, San Antonio, El Cedral and El Corralito—the poor neighborhoods in and around San Cristóbal. It deployed tanks and armored personnel carriers throughout the region's towns. Soldiers arrested suspected rebels, bound their hands with wire, and summarily executed them with bullets through the backs of their necks. Within a week, according to unofficial sources cited by the press, some 1,000 people were killed.

Several human rights delegations made their way into Chiapas to document the army's work. Observers from a team organized by New York's Center for Constitutional Rights reported "clear and indisputable evidence of extrajudicial executions," disappearances, helicopter attacks on Red Cross vehicles and the press, apprenticeships given to army soldiers, and other evidence of the use of torture." Another



PHOTO: © 1994 Jack Kurtzepf/Visuals

**January 9, 1994: Mexican peasants in San Cristóbal de las Casas walk past a Panhard armored car guarding the Zócalo (city hall) after EZLN (Zapatista) guerrillas started a New Year's insurrection in Chiapas that killed more than 100 people. The Mexican army occupied San Cristóbal and most of the towns south after the guerrillas started their campaign.**

delegation led by Medea Benjamin (of San Francisco's Global Exchange network) interviewed 21 indigenous men in a local jail. The prisoners said that they were denied food and water for four days, and were given only a urine solution to drink. Their bodies showed the bruises of beatings, and the men claimed that though they were not rebels, the soldiers used water torture to force them to admit EZLN membership. Amnesty International added its voice to the denunciations, alleging widespread beatings, torture, detention without criminal charges and summary executions. The human rights group also criticized the government's refusal to allow foreign experts to inspect bodies or examine autopsy files.

Along with tanks, the government offered peace talks of a sort. Under the government's proposal, those rebels who were captured or decapitated by the army would get amnesty, in exchange for turning in their weapons and naming their leaders. When the machete-wielding surrender demand failed to elicit a response, the Salinas administration began taking cease-fire. For their part, the Zs demanded recognition as a belligerent force—a status which would give the EZLN access to the United Nations and captured Z combatants Geneva Convention protections—before engaging in talks. The government rejected that demand.

Under public pressure, the government stopped the house-to-house searches, executions and aerial bombardment in the towns, and promised not to launch offensives on the rebels' mountain strongholds. Despite the alleged cease-fire, fighting reportedly continues in the countryside. Large cattle ranches, many of them created by the absorption of indigenous people's small farms, came under EZLN attack. The ranchers were to take up arms, something that many of them have already done for years, when they consolidated their land grants.

This time, the landowners are unlikely to have an easy time of it. The EZLN and veterans of past

Mexican guerrilla movements claim that a full-blown rebel army is moving in large units in the mountains of Chiapas. Zapatista combatants wear uniforms: olive green pants, brown shirts, bandanas and rubber boots. "How can you hide 2,000 to 3,000 Zapatistas without anyone realizing it?" asked ex-guerrilla members of the Center for Historic Investigations of Armed Movements. Volunteers at the center, veterans and guerrilla movements which rose and fell in the Mexican states of Guerrero and Oaxaca in the 60s and 70s, distinguish the EZLN as far more powerful than the armed movements of a generation ago.

Unlike typical guerrilla armies—which avoid large battles in the early stages of war—the Zs made large-scale assaults on fortified positions. Many rebels died in four unsuccessful attacks on an army outpost at Rancho Nuevo. Others died defending the town of Ocosingo from surrounding soldiers. However, in keeping with the guerrilla maxim that "the who fights and some way have to fight another day," the Zapatistas, having first demoralized the city halls that they captured in the initial hours of fighting, withdrew from San Cristóbal and the other large towns when the army approached. As they retreated, the EZLN took a former state governor and a general as hostages.

The government moved to counter international criticism of both its brutality since the uprising and what it did to provoke the peasants in the first place. The army issued a blanket denial of all atrocities, but refused to discuss any specific cases. Promises of food and money for poor came down from Mexico City. Whenever possible, journalists were dropped at army roadblocks surrounding the central zones. Central Americans, the Catholic church and green-eyed foreigners were accused of stirring up the trouble.

The accusations against Central Americans were particularly terrifying for hundreds of thousands of Guatemalan refugees who live in Chiapas camps. Since the December 1993 AGENDA for coverage of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 9)

## Rebellion in Mexico (FROM PAGE 3)

ploy is foreigner-bashing. The present regime sells national assets (for example, the phone company) to foreigners at a pace not seen since the days of Porfirio Díaz. Many Mexican observers compare the technocrats around President Salinas with Díaz's "científico" advisors, then the most effective theorists and administrators that foreign companies could buy. After NAFTA, tales of blonde-haired green-eyed bogeymen might just ring true—but not if told by the foreign-identified government.

Walsh reports that the Zapatistas represent a large part of the population. One indicator of the Zs' true threat is the reaction throughout Mexico. Less than two weeks after the fighting began, 80,000 to 100,000 Mexicans marched in the capital, demanding a negotiated end to the crisis. Along with EZLN-claimed power line bombings in the central states of Puebla and Michoacán, a number of apparently unaffiliated groups set off bombs in the capital. Commandante Marcos, who is neither indigenous nor from Chiapas, objected to characterizations of the EZLN as local: "Our movement," said the commander, "is not Chiapaneco, it is national. There are people like me, who come from other states, and Chiapanecos who fight in other states. We are Mexicans." While the Zapatista military threat seems for now to be mainly confined to Chiapas, its political challenge casts a much larger shadow.

The threat that the rebels pose to the long-entrenched Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) is the real crux of the government's

## Few U.S. and Canadian factory owners seem eager to run away to Latin America's newest war zone and pay taxes to a rebel army.

year term as president. Since the last presidential vote, frauds in state elections sometimes caused riots and occupations of government buildings. [Phillis Engelbert and Jeff Gearhart covered the aftermath of the last stolen federal election in November 1988's AGENDA.] With a peasant army already in the field, many observers draw comparisons to 1910, and wonder aloud if another election theft could spark a civil war.

To head off that possibility, the PRI announced an agreement on election reforms. Instead of the old PRI election supervisors, an independent election commission will be

appointed. Government financial support for the PRI's campaign will be withdrawn. Radio and TV stations will no longer be exclusive PRI propaganda outlets. There will be an independent prosecutor to review any election theft charges. Despite his acceptance of the agreement, PRD leader Cárdenas immediately expressed doubts that the ruling party would live up to it. Other PRD spokespeople attributed the agreement to pressures generated by the Chiapas uprising.

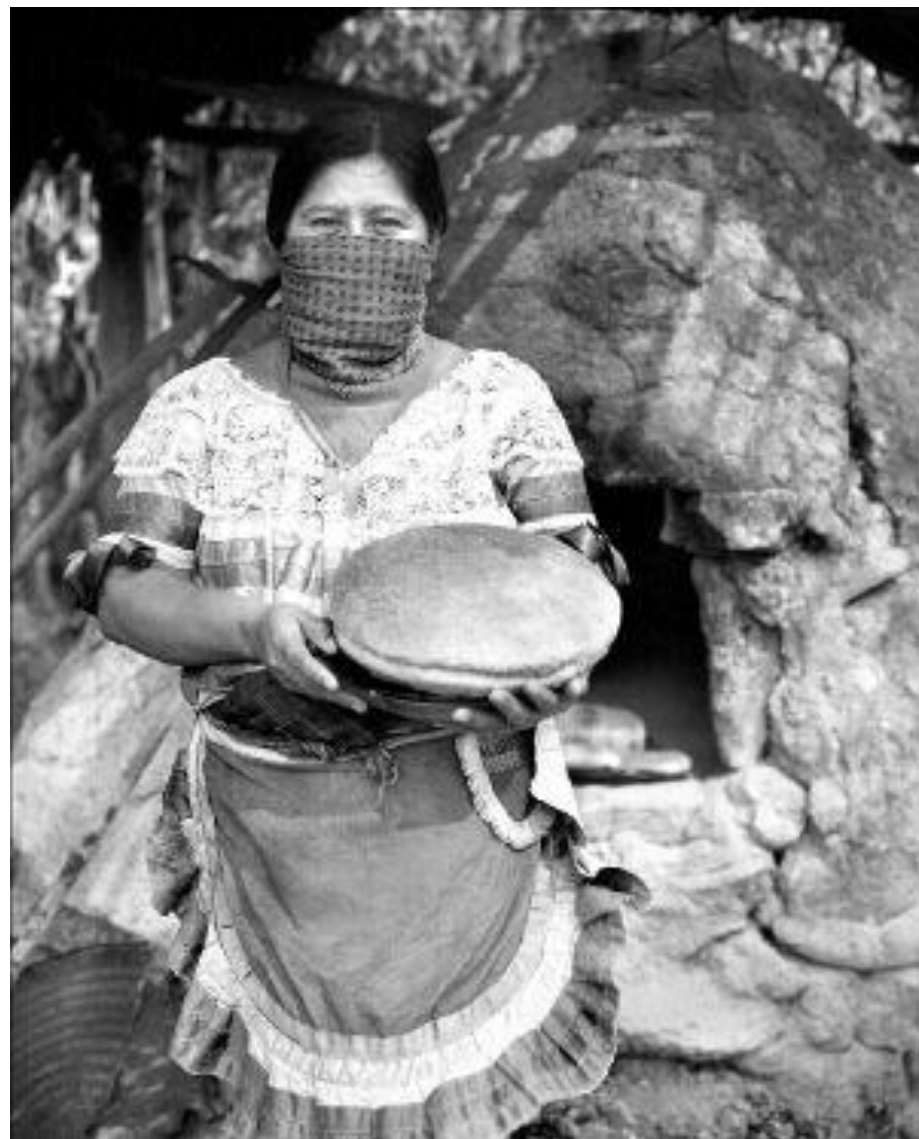
The EZLN has no ties with any political party, and denies any "perfectly-defined ideology," such as Marxism-Leninism. Commandante Marcos downplays his group's differences with the PRD: "We don't distrust the political parties as much as we do the electoral system. The government of Salinas de Gortari is an illegitimate product of fraud, and this illegitimate government can only produce illegitimate elections."

The Zs call for the PRI government's overthrow, the formation of a transitional



# Zapatista Movements: A New Kind of War

- New kind of war: fight not by gun, but by words “our word is our weapon”
- Communication skills and strategies: create global alliance through internet
- Ethnicity and inclusion. Pan-Mayan/Pan-Indigenous constituency
- Indigenusness, autonomy
- Charismatic leadership of Subcomandante Marcos







INICIO / COMUNICADO SLIDER

Feb  
27  
2020

## PRONUNCIAMIENTO ANTE EL SECUESTRO DE MIEMBROS DEL CNI EN CHILÓN, CHIAPAS, POR SU PARTICIPACIÓN EN LAS «JORNADAS SAMIR SOMOS TODAS Y TODOS»

[Deutsch Übersetzung](#)  
[English Translation](#)  
[Traduction en Français](#)  
[Tradução em português](#)

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26 de febrero 2020.

Al pueblo de México.  
A las redes de resistencia y rebeldía.  
A la Sexta Nacional e Internacional.  
A los medios de comunicación.  
A los organismos de Derechos Humanos.

Google Búsqueda



JBG y  
Comisión Sexta

### Archivo Histórico

1993 1994 1995 1996  
1997 1998 1999  
2000 2001 2002 2003  
2004 2005 2006  
2007 2008 2009 2010  
2011 2012 2013  
2014 2015 2016 2017  
2018 2019

### Comunicados de las JBG





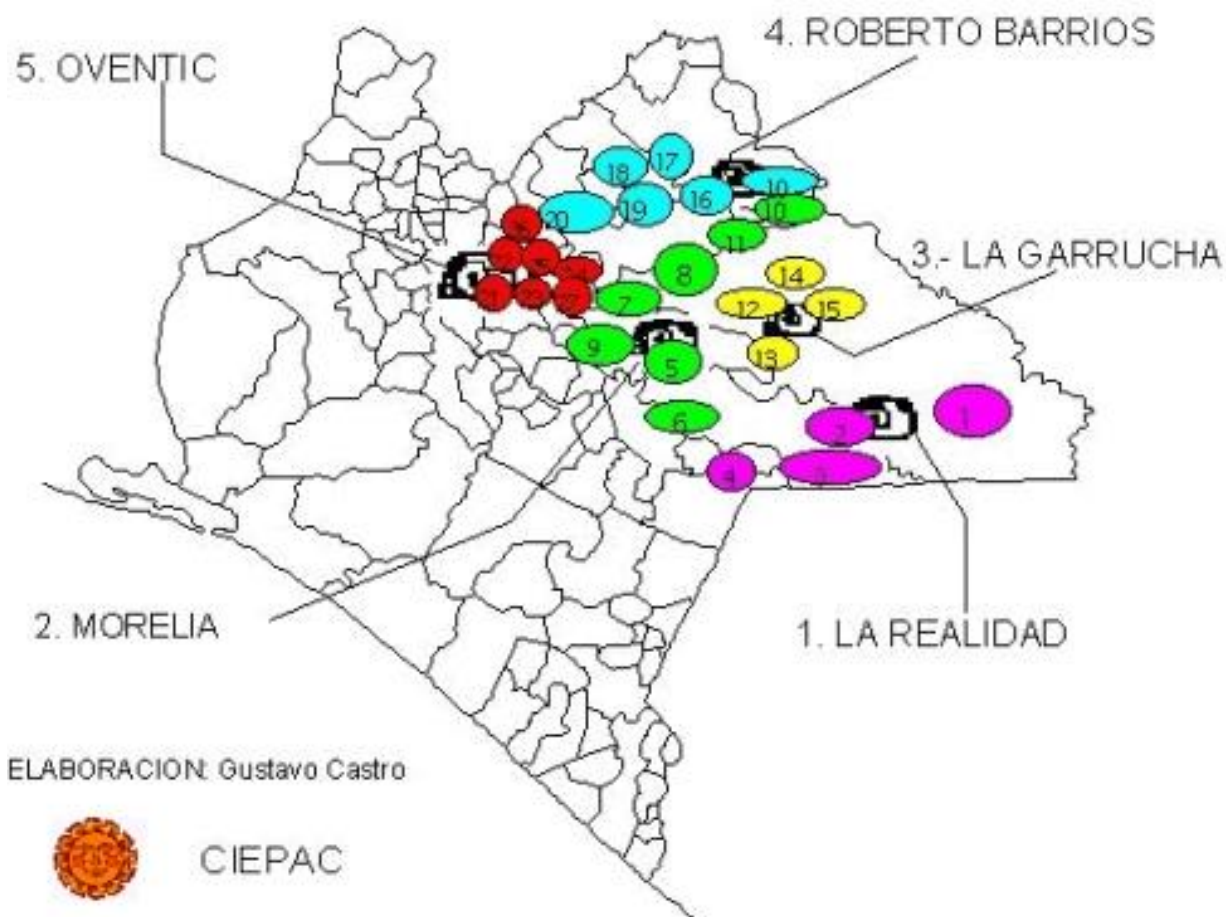








## LOS CARACOLES DEL EZLN LAS JUNTAS DE BUEN GOBIERNO EN CHIAPAS













<https://www.infobae.com/2014/01/05/1534996-las-deudas-chiapas-el-otro-estado-dentro-mexico/>

# Drug War: Another War in Mexico

- ▶ Armed conflict among rival drug cartels and between the drug cartels and the Mexican government
- ▶ Mexico, a major drug producing and transit country, drug cartels in Mexico control about 70 percent of the foreign narcotics flowing into the United States.
- ▶ About 90 percent of cocaine entering the United States transits through Mexico.
- ▶ Anti-drug campaign during the presidency of Felipe Calderon (2006-2012), annually about 45,000 troops involved in addition to state and federal police forces
- ▶ Effects: violence, corruption of officials, human rights violation
- ▶ Lopez Obrador declared that he would consider legalizing certain drugs to fight poverty and crime. In 2021, Mexico's Supreme Court decriminalized recreational marijuana use for adults. Still, legalization bill still is stalled.

## Los líderes del narcotráfico

**NG** **Cártel Jalisco Nueva Generación**  
Nemesio Oseguera  
"El Mencho"



**CS** **Cártel de Sinaloa**  
Ismael "El Mayo" Zambada García  
  
Juan José Esparragoza Moreno  
"El azul"



**LZ** **Los Zetas**  
Maxilely Barahona Nadales "El Contador"  
  
Román Ricardo Palomo Rincónes  
"El Coyote"



**CG** **Cártel del Golfo**  
Sin líder visible  
opera con 11 células



**CT** **Los Caballeros Templarios**  
Ignacio Rentería  
"El Nacho"  
o "El Cenizo"



**FM** **La Familia Michoacana**  
Homero González Rodríguez  
"El Chivo"



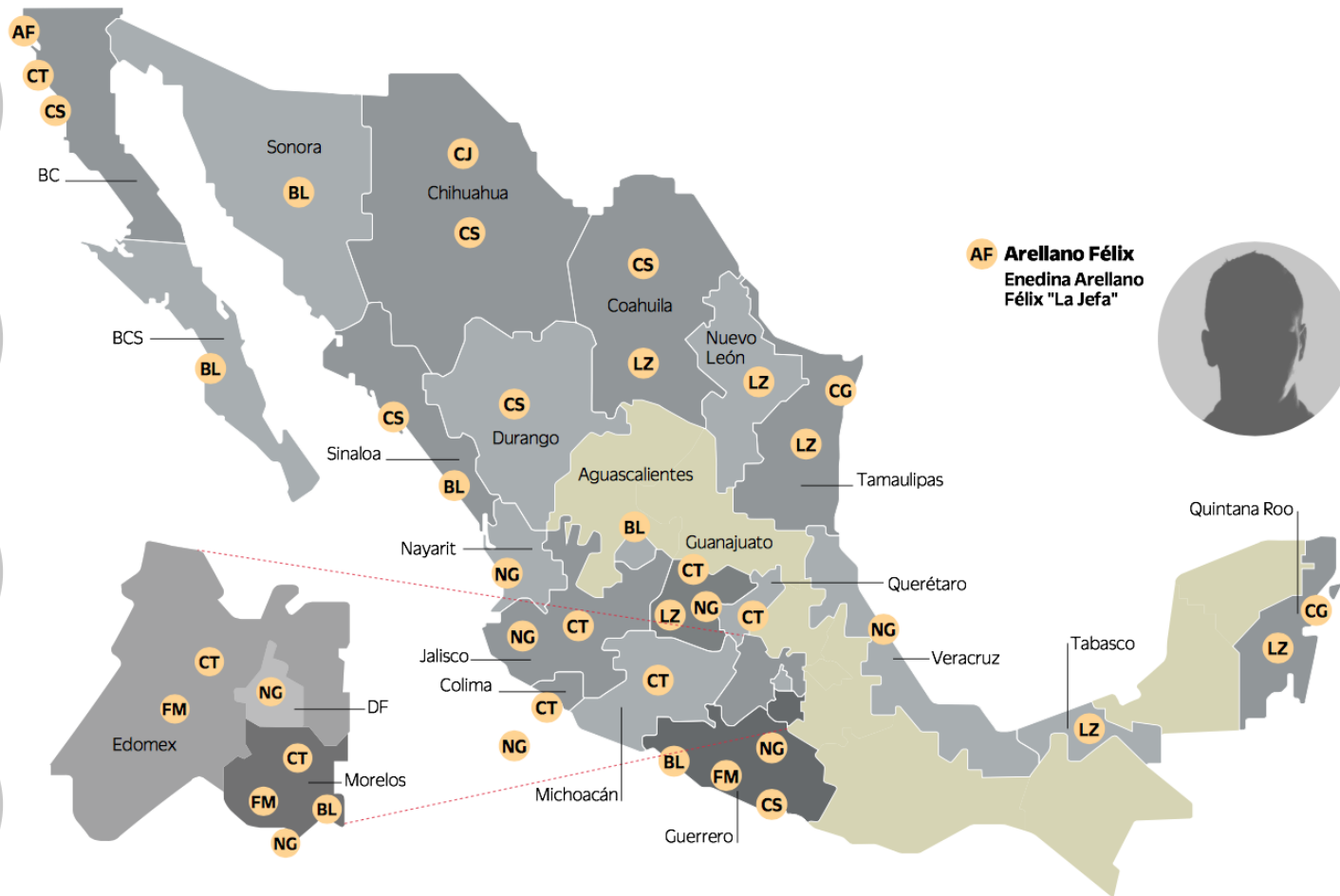
**BL** **Cártel de los Beltrán Leyva**  
Fausto Isidro Meza  
"El Chapo Isidro"



**CJ** **Cártel de Juárez**  
Juan Pablo Ledezma  
"El JL"



**AF** **Arellano Félix**  
Enedina Arellano  
Félix "La Jefa"



Fuente: Procuraduría General de la República (PGR)



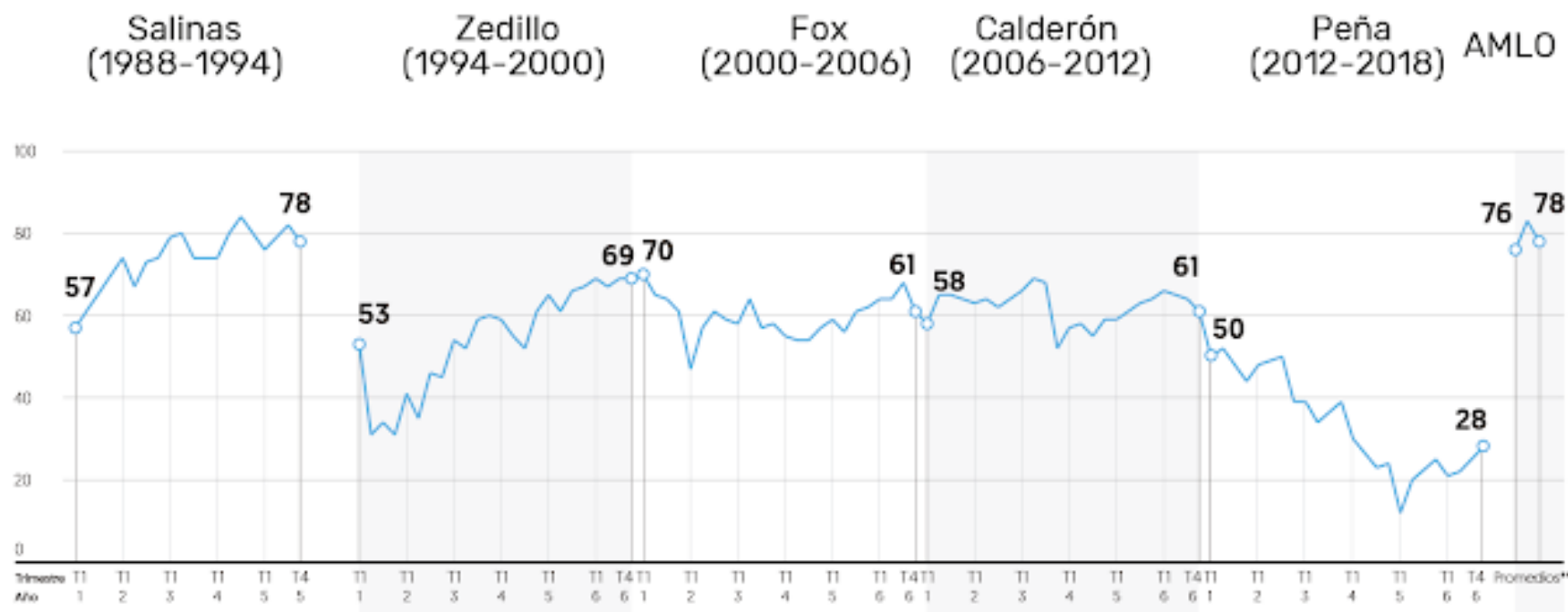
Enrique Peña Nieto  
(PRI, 2012-2018)

Andrea Lopez  
Obrador (MORENA,  
2018-2024)





## Aprobación presidencial, 1989-2019



Fuente: Presidencia 1990-93 (telefónica); Reforma 1994-2018 (vivienda);  
 El Financiero-AM 2018-2019 (telefónica y vivienda).  
 El dato de 1989 reportado por Consulta-Mitofsky.

\*\*Promedios AMLO dic, ene-feb, y mar

# 2018 Presidential Election and the Victory of Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador(AMLO)

- As the former head of Government of DF (equivalent to city mayor for the capital) and the former president of PRD (leftist opposition party), he ran for the presidential elections for three times, first for 2006 election which he lost in a narrow margin of 0.56%, second for 2012 election which he lost in a margin of 6.6%. For the third trial for 2018, he won an outright majority of 53.1%.
- Many considered him as the first left-wing president of Mexico since the 1930s.
- Since he took office in December 2018, as a leftist and nationalist leader, he carried out the following measures:
  - Cancel the controversial International Airport Project.
  - Ordered the creation of a truth commission to re-examine the kidnapping and murder of 43 students.
  - Increase the minimum wage by 16% in 2019.
  - Despite above efforts, he confronts growing criticism that he has not properly addressed the imperative issues that he inherited including crime, violence against women; slowing economic growth; corruption.





<https://www.paudal.com/2022/03/09/womens-day-2022-8m-about-75-thousand-women-attend-the-march-in-cdmx/>

# Mestizaje and Femininity: Our Lady of Guadalupe and La Malinche

## Our Lady of Guadalupe:

- On December 9, 1531, manifested to Juan Diego
- Connection to the Virgin Mary, and Tonantzin
- A symbol of all Catholic Mexicans, “the first mestiza”, “the first Mexican”
- “The Mexican people have faith only in the Virgin of Guadalupe and the National Lottery” (Octavio Paz)
- Pilgrimage to the Basilica of Guadalupe in Monterrey
- Celebration in December 12<sup>th</sup>

## La Malinche

- Nahuatl woman acting as interpreter, advisor, lover and intermediary for Hernan Cortes
- Conflicting values, treachery, victim or symbolic mother of the new Mexican people

# Mestizaje and Femininity: Our Lady of Guadalupe and La Malinche



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=htBHTkpDxC8>



# Our Lady of Guadalupe and La Malinche

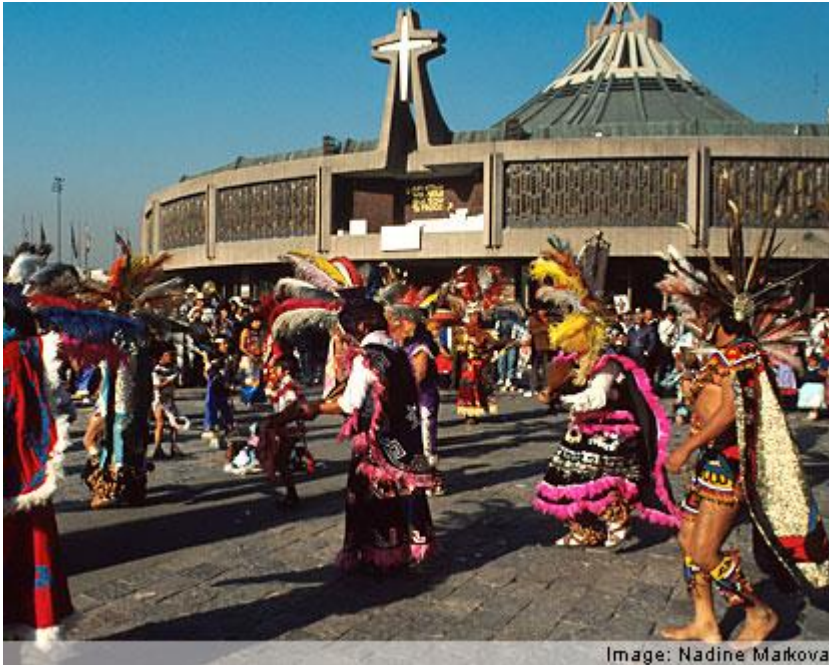


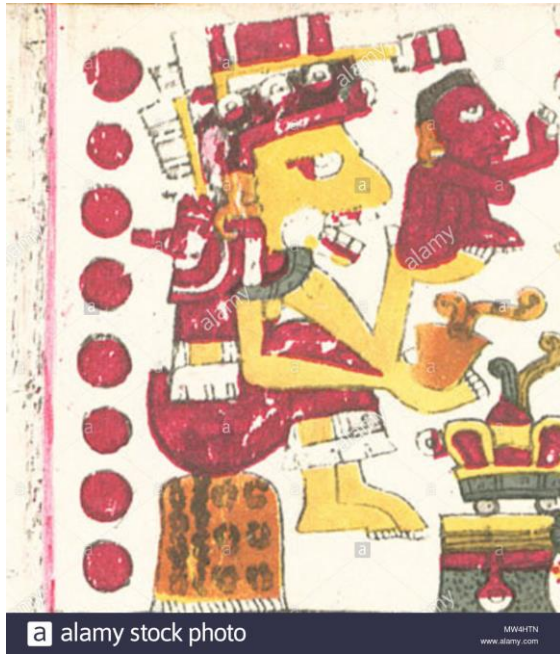
Image: Nadine Markova

Basilica de  
Guadalupe,  
Festival on the  
December 12<sup>th</sup>



# Mexican Catholic and Festival: Day of the Dead

- The Day of the Dead (día de los Muertos) is a Mexican holiday that is associated with the Catholic celebrations of All Saint's Day and All Souls' Day, and is held on November 1 and 2.
- Differently from Halloween that is characterized by terror and mischief, Day of the Dead demonstrates love and respect for deceased family members.
- Some Mexican scholars argue that the festival has indigenous pre-Hispanic roots. Others argue that it has more in common with the Spanish tradition and that it was later promoted by the revolutionary government to encourage indigenismo.
- Despite the debate, it has become a national symbol in Mexico. A common symbol of the holiday is the skull which is represented in masks (Jose Guadalupe Posada's depiction of La Calavera Catrina vs. the folklore of La Llorona, the weeping woman).
- The altars are built in private homes and cemeteries to welcome spirits back to the realm of the living.



Aztec's deity Mictecacihuatl



Jose Guadalupe Posada's depiction of La Calavera Catrina







Diego Rivera's Dream of a Sunday Afternoon in Alameda Park









Day of the Dead Parade in Mexico City

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iX7\\_KwtPiTA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iX7_KwtPiTA)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1q0e2AN4V4>





Disney Movie, Coco and the Day of the Dead

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9uyhbb2W30>

