

**GOV 337M / LAS 337M: The Politics of Mexico**  
(Fall 2011 – Revised August 24, 2011)

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This course analyzes Mexico's 20<sup>th</sup> century political and economic development, with a peek at early 21<sup>st</sup> century dynamics. Why did Mexico experience both political stability and economic growth until the 1970s while other Latin American countries endured brutal military regimes? What accounts for Mexico's severe economic crises of 1982 and 1994? Why did the PRI lose in 2000 after 71 years in power? How "democratic" is Mexico's new democracy? The first portion of the course examines Mexico's post-Revolutionary politics, the characteristics of the national political regime during the classic period of stability with economic growth, and the tumultuous political and economic environment from the 1970s to the end of the century. This material will be presented chronologically, but rather than a descriptive history, we will focus on *explaining* political and economic outcomes. Subsequently, we will examine key themes in Mexico's new fully competitive democracy.

You have two grading options for this course. Option 1 consists of three exams (two in-class midterms and one take-home final essay). Option 2 consists of two in-class midterm exams and one research paper.

*Research Paper for Option 2.* This will be an independent and largely self-directed 10-page research paper focused on a particular event in contemporary Mexican politics (i.e., after 1911). As a political science paper it should seek to explain *why* the event occurred. In doing this, it should focus on the actors involved, their competing interests, and their various resources. The paper should include, but be more than, a simple description of the event. As a research paper, it should involve research in the library and perhaps on the internet, but in all cases must make use of *scholarly* books and journal articles beyond those assigned on the syllabus. Completing the research paper will require more work than taking the final exam, but it should be more rewarding. Following the rules of citation and attribution is mandatory and plagiarism will earn a failing grade in the course and referral to the University for disciplinary action. Please review the university's plagiarism guidelines at [http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/scholdis\\_plagiarism.php](http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/scholdis_plagiarism.php).

Students who plan to write a research paper must submit a one-page statement of research intent by October 26. The statement should include a clear summary of the event to be covered, the actors involved, and their goals. It should also include at least three citations of sources you have *already* read for your research. Researching and writing this one-pager will take real work, so budget about a week. If the research topic is determined to be infeasible, students will have one week to hand in a revised statement for which the same rules apply. Students who pursue this option should plan on meeting with me to discuss the topic and progress. Students that do not hand in the statement by October 26 or whose proposal is not accepted after two rounds will follow Option 1.

This course will use +/- grading and will not be curved. The final grade for the course will be determined as follows:

Option 1:		Option 2:	
Midterm 1	30%	Midterm 1	30%
Midterm 2	30%	Midterm 2	30%
"Final" Essay	35%	Research Paper	35%
Participation	5%	Participation	5%

*Participation:* 5% of your final grade will be based on participation. Although the course is structured as a lecture, I try to involve students each day and the small class size will give many opportunities for you to participate.

*Spanish-language option for some readings:* Students may substitute selected Spanish-language readings available for purchase in an optional packet for the English-language readings in the main packet. See me if you are interested in this option. All written assignments must be in English.

*Make-up exams.* Early final exams will not be given. One midterm exam may be made-up if missed for medical reasons under the following conditions: 1) You must have a note from a doctor; 2) You must contact me before the exam by e-mail, telephone, or in-person unless you are not conscious; 3) The make-up exam must take place as soon as possible after the originally scheduled exam and before the graded exams are handed back to the class. Once the graded exams are handed back, a make-up exam will not be possible.

*Extra credit.* There is none. The course has plenty of regular credit options.

*Class etiquette – my responsibilities.* I will arrive on time, deliver lectures with enthusiasm and energy, encourage you to ask questions, think critically, and engage with the material. I will make myself available for questions and consultations during office hours and by appointment. I will be respectful of you and of the class.

*Class etiquette – your responsibilities.* I expect that you want to learn. Principally, this means that you engage the lectures and readings with enthusiasm and energy. I encourage you to wrestle with the material, criticize it and my lectures, and ask questions. In addition, I expect that you will arrive on time, complete assignments on time, and show respect for the teaching assistants, your fellow students, and the learning process. Please turn off your cell phones when you enter the classroom. If you use a computer during class either commit to keeping only a word processing program open or sit in the back row.

*Economic hardship:* No student should be unable to take this course due to economic hardship. If you cannot afford to purchase the required course materials and cannot utilize the reserve copies at PCL, then please see me.

*Students with disabilities:* Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>

*Religious holidays.* Students who will miss an assignment due to recognized religious holidays should let me know as early as possible so that we can re-schedule that assignment.

*Communication with the Instructor and TA:* In addition to scheduled office hours, we will gladly make special appointments, when our schedules allow, if you have courses, a work schedule, or child/eldercare duties that conflict with our office hours. We can be reached by phone and by e-mail. Please be aware that we may not check e-mail in the evenings and on weekends. In addition, it is our policy not to respond to e-mail that does not use correct English (curmudgeonly, I know, but text messaging abbreviations have begun to show up in exams and papers).

Prior experience indicates that students cannot satisfactorily complete assignments without attending every lecture.

#### *Required Readings:*

- Kenneth F Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), available for purchase at the Coop. In the highly unlikely case that there are any profits from sales of the book at UT, I will donate 100% of them to the UT undergraduate scholarship fund.
- A Two-volume course packet that is available for purchase at Speedway Copy in Dobie Mall
- Required readings are listed first for each lecture; recommended readings follow but are not in the packet. The page numbers in the syllabus refer to the original page numbers of the book/journal. The average number of pages of reading per session is 47.6 (i.e. 95.2 per week) – shown in brackets below.
- Two copies of the course packets are on reserve at PCL.

#### *Resources of general interest:*

- English-language news sources on Mexico include: The Herald [www.mexiconews.com.mx](http://www.mexiconews.com.mx); Mexidata [www.mexidata.info](http://www.mexidata.info); LANIC <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/mexico>;
- Spanish-language news sources on Mexico include: El Universal [www.eluniversal.com.mx](http://www.eluniversal.com.mx); Reforma [www.reforma.com](http://www.reforma.com) contact the Benson library re: password; La Jornada [www.jornada.unam.mx](http://www.jornada.unam.mx); Proceso [www.proceso.com.mx](http://www.proceso.com.mx); Milenio [www.milenio.com](http://www.milenio.com).

## **I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW**

### **Mexico in Latin American and World Context (August 24) [37]**

- Read pp. 1-2 of the syllabus.
- Skidmore, Thomas and Peter Smith. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 226-262. All page numbers refer to original page numbers, not those of the course packet.
- Highly Recommended: Preston, Julia and Samuel Dillon. *Opening Mexico*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2004, pp. 3-29. [Note that aide from this one, recommended readings do not appear in the course packet]

### **Perspectives on Mexican Political and Economic Development (or, why theory is important) (August 29) [16]**

- Collier, Ruth Berins. *The Contradictory Alliance*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1992, pp. 1-8.
- Teichman, Judith. *Policymaking in Mexico*, 1988, pp. 1-8.

- Recommended: Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena*. South Bend IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002, pp. 27-39.

### **The Revolution of 1910 and the Constitution of 1917 (August 31) [57]**

- Hellman, Judith Adler. *Mexico in Crisis*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988, pp. 3-31.
- Recommended: Hansen, Roger. *The Politics of Mexican Development*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971, pp. 11-40.

## **II. THE CLASSIC ERA OF POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH**

### **Labor Incorporation (September 7) [62]**

- Collier, pp. 9-37.
- Middlebrook, Kevin. *The Paradox of Revolution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp. 72-106
- Recommended: Teichman, Judith. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, pp. 48-68.

### **Peasant Incorporation (September 12) [48]**

- Sanderson, Steve. *Agrarian Populism and the Mexican State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, pp. 53-70 and pp. 78-109.
- Recommended: Hellman, Judith Adler. *Mexico in Crisis*, pp. 84-102 (emphasis on 91-102).

### **Managing the Masses: Corporatism and Clientelism (September 14) [65]**

- Hellman, pp. 33-57 (emphasis on pp. 40-57) AND pp. 135-172 (skim the tamale story).
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp 1-6 AND pp. 33-47.
- Recommended: Collier, pp. 38-70.
- Recommended Film: *La Ley de Herodes*, 1998, VIDCASS 8818 Benson Collection LAC-Z.

### **Managing Elite Conflict (September 19) [45]**

Presidentialism:

- Garrido, Luis Javier, "The Crisis of Presidencialismo" in Cornelius, Gentleman, & Smith, pp. 417-434.

Succession ("El Dedazo"):

- Castañeda, Jorge. *Perpetuating Power*. New York: The New Press, 2000, pp. xvii-xxiv, 3-23.

Intra-Party Competition through "Camarillas":

- Camp, Roderic. *Politics in Mexico*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 114-123.
- Recommended: Roderic Ai Camp, *Mexico's Mandarins*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2002.

### **Economic Development Policy and the Mexican Miracle, 1940-1970 (September 21) [64]**

- Hansen, Roger. *The Politics of Mexican Development*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971, 41-69.
- Ramírez, Miguel "Mexico" in Laura Randall (ed.) *The Political Economy of Latin America in the Postwar Period*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997, pp. 112-148 (emphasis on pp. 112-130). This is also a good overview for more detailed material to be covered 3/2 and 3/7.
- Recommended: Hellman, pp. 103-124; Levy, Daniel and Kathleen Bruhn. *Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 149-179.

### **Opposition Party Failure, 1930s-1970s (September 26) [55]**

- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 12-17 AND pp. 71-97.
- Mabry, Donald. *Mexico's Acción Nacional*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973, pp. 16-31.
- Chand, Vikram. *Mexico's Political Awakening*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001, pp. 78-97 (emphasis on pp. 89-97).
- Carr, Barry. *Mexican Communism*. Research Reprt #42, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1985, pp. 7-17.
- Recommended: Carr, Barry. *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1992; Loaeza, Soledad. *El Partido Acción Nacional: La larga marcha, 1939-1994*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999; del Río, Eduardo (Rius), *Los panuchos*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1997.

### **Adjusting Dominant Party Rule: Political Turbulence, 1968-1977 (September 28) [60]**

- Hellman pp. 173-228.
- Zarembo, Alan "Mexico's History Test" *Newsweek International*, July 2, 2001, pp. 1-5.
- Recommended: Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 3.
- Recommended Film: *Rojo Amanecer*.

### **Authoritarian and Democratic Elements of the Dominant Party Regime and Midterm Review (October 3) [10]**

- Middlebrook, Kevin "Political Liberalization in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Mexico" in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Time for Q&A for midterm exam – please come with your questions prepared.

## **Midterm Exam #1 In-Class (October 5)**

### **III. ECONOMIC CRISIS AND DOMINANT PARTY DECLINE**

#### **The Debt Crisis (October 10) [52]**

- Lustig, Nora. *Mexico: The Remaking of an Economy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1992, pp 14-27, pp. 28-60.
- Frieden, Jeffrey. *Debt, Development, and Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 59-66.
- Recommended: Review Ramirez chronology from 2/14 readings; Hellman, pp. 217-232; Teichman, Judith. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995.

#### **The New Economic Model (October 12) [60]**

- Lustig, pp. 96-140.
- Heredia, Blanca "State-Business Relations in Contemporary Mexico" in Mónica Serrano and Victor Bulmer-Thomas (eds.) *Rebuilding the State: Mexico After Salinas*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1996.
- Recommended: Teichman, Judith. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995.

#### **Social Costs in the "Lost" Decade (October 17) [40]**

- Pastor, Robert and Carole Wise "Mexican-Style Neoliberalism" in Carole Wise (ed.), *The Post-NAFTA Political Economy*, pp. 41-81
- Recommended: Lustig, pp. 61-95; Damian, Araceli, *Adjustment, Poverty, and Employment in Mexico*. Sydney: Ashgate Press, 2000.

#### **The Urban Reaction: New Labor and Social Movements (October 19) [53]**

- Burgess, Katrina "Mexican Labor at a Crossroads" in Joseph Tulchin and Andrew Selee (eds.) *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 73-107.
- Bennett, Vivienne, "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico between 1968 and 1988" in Arturo Escobar & Sonia Alvarez, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, pp. 240-259.
- Recommended on labor: Murillo, Victoria. *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 92-130; Bizberg, Ilan "Modernization and Corporatism in Government-Labour Relations" in Neil Harvey (ed.) *Mexico: Dilemmas of Transition*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1993.
- Recommended on urban politics and social movements: Eckstein, Susan, *The Poverty of Revolution: The State and Urban Poor in Mexico*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988; Haber, Paul "Cárdenas, Salinas, and the Urban Popular Movement" in Neil Harvey (ed.) *Mexico: Dilemmas of Transition*. New York: St Martin's, 1993, pp. 218-248.
- Recommended Films: *The Global Assembly Line*, 1986. VIDCASS 5385 UGL AV.; *Amores Perros*, 2000, DVD 610 UGL AV Reserves.

#### **The Rural Reaction: Zapatistas and other Rebels (October 24) [40]**

- Harvey, Neil. *Rebellion in Chiapas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998, pp. 169-198.
- Frontline World on Chiapas, 11 pages.
- Kraul, Chris "Land of Discord" *Los Angeles Times* 10/13/03, 4 pages.
- Recommended: Appendi, Kristin "The Challenges to Rural Mexico in an Open Economy" in Tulchin and Selee, 2003, pp. 255-275; Navarro, Luis Hernandez "Zapatismo Today" available at [www.americaspolicy.org](http://www.americaspolicy.org)
- Recommended Film: *A Place Called Chiapas*, Canada Wild Productions Ltd., 1998; (mostly) recommended films: *Men with Guns*; *A Place Called Chiapas*.

#### **Voters and Elections in the Transition to Democracy (October 26) [41]**

- Klesner, Joseph "Electoral Politics and Mexico's New Party System." *Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting*, pp. 1-23.
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 97-115.
- Castañeda, Jorge. *Perpetuating Power*. New York: The New Press, 2000, pp. 231-239.
- Recommended: Dominguez, Jorge and James McCann. *Democratizing Mexico*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 6.

## **Statement of research intent due October 26 for Option 2 students.**

## IV. MEXICO'S NEW DEMOCRACY

### PRD and PAN in the Transition to Democracy (October 31 and November 2) [120/2=60]

- Shirk, David. *Mexico's New Politics: The PAN and Democratic Change*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005, pp. 49-61 AND pp. 97-129.
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 139-169.
- Bruhn, Kathleen "The Partido de la Revolución Democrática: Diverging Approaches to Competition" in Mónica Serrano (ed.) *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998, pp. 114-136.
- Recommended: Mizrahi, Yemile. *From Martyrdom to Power: The Partido Acción Nacional*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003; Mizrahi, Yemile "The Costs of Electoral Success: The Partido Acción Nacional in Mexico" in Mónica Serrano (ed.) *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections*, 1998, pp. 95-113; Arriola, Carlos. *Ensayos sobre el PAN*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económico, 1994. del Río, Eduardo (Rius), *Los panuchos*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1997.
- Recommended: Sánchez, Marco Aurelio. *La élite en crisis*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdes, 1999; Borjas Benavente, Adriana Leticia. *Partido de la Revolución Democrática: Estructura, Organización Interna y Desempeño Público, 1989-2003*. Mexico City: Gernika, 2003.

### Ending Dominant Party Rule: Why Fox Won the 2000 Elections and Midterm Review (November 7) [58]

- Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 17, pp. 477-501.
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 210-254.
- Time for Q&A for midterm exam – please come with your questions prepared.
- Recommended: Bruhn, Kathleen "The Making of the Mexican President, 2000: Parties, Candidates, and Campaign Strategy" in Chappell Lawson and Jorge Domínguez (eds.) *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 123-156.

## Midterm Exam #2 In-Class (November 9)

### Deconcentrating Political Power: Congress and the Judiciary (November 14) [17]

- Casar, Maria Amparo "Executive-Legislative Relations: Continuity or Change?" in Andrew Selee and Jacqueline Peschard (eds.) *Mexico's Democratic Challenges*. Stanford University Press, 2010, pp. 117-134
- Recommended: Nacif, Benito "Understanding Party Discipline in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies: The Centralized Party Model" pp. 254-286 and Weldon, Jeffrey "The Legal and Partisan Framework of the Legislative Delegation of the Budget in Mexico" pp. 413-445, both in Morgenstern and Nacif; Ugalde, Luis Carlos. *The Mexican Congress: Old Player, New Power*. Washington DC: CSIS, 2000.

## V. U.S.-MEXICO RELATIONS AND SPECIAL ISSUES

### Globalization and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (November 16) [52]

- Dominguez and de la Castro, pp. 17-34 AND pp. 63-73.
- John Audley, "Introduction" in *NAFTA's Promise and Reality*. Report by the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2003, pp. 4-8.
- Sandra Polaski, "Jobs, Wages, and Household Income" in *NAFTA's Promise and Reality*. Report by the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2003, pp. 11, 14-17, 20, 24-29, 31-35.
- Recommended: Recommended: Robert Pastor, "North America's Second Decade" *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb), 2004; Chapters by Robert Pastor and Peter H. Smith in EJ Chambers and PH Smith (eds.) *NAFTA in the New Millennium*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2002; FTAA official website [http://www.ftaa-alca.org/alca\\_e.asp](http://www.ftaa-alca.org/alca_e.asp); Gisele Henriques and Raj Patel, "NAFTA, Corn, and Mexico's Agricultural Trade Liberalization" <http://americas.irc-online.org/reports/2004/0402nafta.html>; Stephanie Golob, "Beyond the Policy Frontier: Canada, Mexico, and the Ideological Origins of NAFTA" *World Politics* 55 (April 2003), 361-98; Gary Hufbauer and Gustavo Vega-Cánovas, "Wither NAFTA: A Common Frontier?" in P. Andreas and T. Bierstaker (eds.) *The Rebordering of North America*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

### Business Power in the Free Trade Era (November 21) [43]

- Joseph Stiglitz, *The Roaring Nineties: A New History of the World's Most Prosperous Decade*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2003, pp. ix-xvi AND pp. 202-240.
- Anthony DiPalma, "NAFTA's Powerful Little Secret; Obscure Tribunals Settle Disputes, but Go Too Far, Critics Say" *The New York Times*, March 11, 2001, five pages.
- In-class video: Trading Democracy, *NOW with Bill Moyer's*. Transcript [http://www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcript\\_tdfull.html](http://www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcript_tdfull.html)

### (Im)migration (November 23) [57]

- Andreas, Peter "The Paradox of Integration: Liberalizing and Criminalizing Flows across the U.S. Border" in Wise, 1998, pp. 201-220.
- Dominguez and de la Castro, pp. 148-155.
- Wayne Cornelius "Impacts of NAFTA on Mexico to U.S. Migration" in Chambers & Smith, 2002 pp. 287-300
- Zarembo, Alan "Coyote, Inc" *Newsweek International*, August 30, 1999, pp. 1-6.
- Recommended: Sonia Nazareno and Don Barletti, "Enrique's Journey" *The Los Angeles Times*. George Borjas, *Heaven's Door*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 1-27; A. Messina and G. Lahav (eds.) *The Immigration Reader*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006, pp. 34-88. Wayne A. Cornelius "The

Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor,” in Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (ed.) *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 115-155. Barry Yoeman, “Silence in the Fields” *Mother Jones*, January/February 2001. John Salt and Jeremy Stein, “Migration as a Business: The Case of Trafficking,” *International Migration* 35, 4 (1997), pp. 467-491; Douglas Massey, Jorge Duran, and Nolan Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002. Audrey Singer “Welfare Reform and Immigrants: A Policy Review” in P. Kretsedemas and A. Aparicio (eds.) *Immigrants, Welfare Reform, and the Poverty of Policy*. Westport CT: Praeger, 2004; PEW Trust: Billions in Motion [http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf\\_pew\\_hispanic\\_funds\\_home.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_hispanic_funds_home.pdf); Remittance Senders and Receivers [http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/pew\\_hispanic\\_banks\\_112403.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/pew_hispanic_banks_112403.pdf); Christian Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Luis Alberto Urrea, *The Devil’s Highway*. New York: Little Brown, 2004. Jorge Ramos; Jorge Ramos, *Dying to Cross*. New York: Harper Collins, 2005. Jack Citrin, Donald Green, Chris Muste, and Cara Wong, “Public Attitudes toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Factors” *Journal of Politics* 59, 3 (August 1997), pp. 858-881. Philip Martin and Michael Teitelbaum, “The Mirage of Mexican Guest Workers” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2001, pp. 117-131; Steven Camarota, “How the Terrorists Get In” *The Public Interest*, Fall 2002, pp. 65-78; Mónica Serrano, “Bordering on the Impossible: U.S.-Mexico Security Relations after 9-11” in P. Andreas and T. Bierstaker (eds.) *The Rebordering of North America*. New York: Routledge, 2003; Michael O’Hanlon and Max Boot, “A Military Path to Citizenship” *Washington Post* October 19, 2006, 2 pgs. Lee Hamilton, “Here’s Blueprint for Congress on Immigration” *The Indianapolis Star*, Nov 7, 2006. Tamar Jacoby, “Immigration Nation” *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec), 2006, pp. 50-66.

- Useful websites: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org> Camarota reports at <http://www.cis.org>; <http://www.immigrationforum.org>; <http://www.ceip.org>; <http://www.cis.org>; <http://www.urban.org>; <http://www.nber.org/papers/> and search keyword “immigration”; excellent research though somewhat difficult to read at <http://irpshome.ucsd.edu/faculty/gohanson/courses.htm>; Washington Post and New York Time spotlight on immigration issues <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/custom/2006/03/31/CU2006033101407.html> and [http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/i/immigration\\_and\\_refugees/index.html?8qg](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/i/immigration_and_refugees/index.html?8qg); <http://www.borderangels.org/portal/>; <http://www.minutemanborderfence.com/>; many pro and anti videos on [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) – search for “immigration.” <http://uscis.gov/graphics/>. Immigration statistics from USCIS <http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/index.htm>; USCBP <http://cbp.gov>; U.S. Department of Homeland Security <http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/>; Texas Homeland Security <http://www.texas homelandsecurity.org/>.

### Drug Trafficking, Corruption, and the Rule of Law (November 28) [35]

- Rosenberg, Tina “The Taint of the Greased Palm” *The New York Times Magazine*, 8/10/03, pp. 28, 30-33.
- Arteaga Botello, Nelson and Adrian López Rivera “Everything in this Job is Money” *World Policy Journal* 17, 3, Fall 2000, pp. 61-70.
- “Lessons from Juarez, Crime in Mexico” *The Economist* 6/4/05, 2 pages.
- McKinley, James “Scandals Shake Mexico’s Confidence in Elite Drug Police” *New York Times* 12/28/05, 3 pages.
- Oriana Zill and Lowell Bergman, “Do the Math: Why the Illegal Drug Business is Thriving” *Drugs Wars*, PBS Frontline, 2000, five pages.
- Michael Goodman, “Muerto, Inc.” *Los Angeles Magazine*, 1997, seven pages.
- Ellingwood, Ken “Mexico vs. Drug Gangs: A Deadly Clash for Control” *Los Angeles Times* 6/3/08, 2 pages.
- Wilkinson, Tracy “In Sinaloa, the Drug Trade has Infiltrated ‘Every Corner of Life’” *Los Angeles Times* 12/28/08.
- Recommended: LA Times Series <http://projects.latimes.com/mexico-drug-war/#its-a-war>; [http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/03/mexicos\\_drug\\_war.html](http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/03/mexicos_drug_war.html) Steve Suo, “Unnecessary Epidemic,” *The Oregonian*, Oct 3-7, 2004 – this is a multi-part investigative report worth reading. Celia Toro, *Mexico’s ‘War’ on Drugs*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995. Available online at <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/2048/login?url=http://www.netLibrary.com?urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=17593>; W. Carsten Andersen and Graham Farrell, “Drug Demand Reduction Policy and Practice in the United States: A Preliminary Review” in John Bailey and Jorge Chabat (eds.) *Transnational Crime and Public Security*. Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2002, pp. 217-253. James McKinley, Jr., “Mexican Cartels Lure American Teens as Killers,” June 23, 2009. Colleen Cook, “Mexico’s Drug Cartels” CRS Report for Congress, Feb 25, 2009, pp. 2-18 <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/105184.pdf>; Terrence Poppa, *Drug Lord, the Life and Death of a Mexican Kingpin*. New York: Demand, 1998.
- Useful websites: DEA report on Texas <http://www.dea.gov/pubs/states/texas.html>; [http://www.drugstory.org/drug\\_traffic/supply.asp](http://www.drugstory.org/drug_traffic/supply.asp); DEA report on Mexico <http://www.dea.gov/pubs/intel/03047/index.html>; CIA report on Heroin traffic <http://www.cia.gov/cia/di/products/cncweb/index.htm>; Drug threat assessments <http://www.usdoj.gov/ndic/>; Organization of American States report on Mexico [http://www.cicad.oas.org/en/?mem/eng/Reports/Progress\\_2001-2002/index.htm](http://www.cicad.oas.org/en/?mem/eng/Reports/Progress_2001-2002/index.htm); White House <http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/>; including “Drug Use Trends” Executive Office of the President, Oct 2002; Federal trafficking penalties summary <http://www.dea.gov/agency/penalties.htm>; Teen and young adult drug use surveys <http://monitoringthefuture.org/>; Albuquerque Journal series on drugs from 1997 <http://www.abqjournal.com/news/drugs/>; : State Department Drug Control Strategy Report <http://www.state.gov/g/inl/rns/nrcrpt/2001/rpt/8478.htm>
- Recommended videos: Traffic; Blow; Drug Wars, PBS Frontline 2000. Also see <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/>; Peter Jennings’s *Ecstasy Rising*, CBS Primetime, available at <http://www.youtube.com/w/Ecstasy-Rising?v=aAEauEQEwzQ>; PBS Frontline *Meth Epidemic* at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/>; Oregonian Report on Meth at <http://www.oregonlive.com/special/oregonian/meth/>.

### Looking Ahead (November 30) [48]

- Pamela Starr, “Mexico and the United States: A Window of Opportunity?” Pacific Council On International Policy Special Report, April 2009, pp. 1-22, emphasis on pp. 1-14.
- Aguilar Camín, Hector and Jorge Castaneda “A Future for Mexico” *NEXOS*, January 2010, pp. 1-23.

**“Final” take-home essay for Option 1 students (handed out November 30, due in my office in 4.112 Batts by 4:00 p.m. on December 7)**

**Research paper for Option 2 students (due in my office at 4.112 Batts by 4:00 p.m. on December 7)**