

Political Transitions in Mexico

What constitutes a political transition in Mexico?

What do we mean by transition?

- **a. political pluralism, elections and competitive democracy?**
- **b. a well-developed civil society?**
- **c. political pluralism etc. combined with economic democracy?**

Politics and Parties

–PRI, PRD and PAN, what will happen with these political parties?

–a. Hypothesis I: change to 2-party system

These parties will break down into a Left vs. Right party

–b. Hypothesis II: continue with current system

Three-way PRD/PRI/PAN split will continue

–c. Hypothesis III: alternancia

PRI+PAN versus PRD

–Case Study: what is a political party?

The PRD and the internal factions (*corrientes*) within it

a. Amalia Garcia and Los Chuchos

b. Ebrard and Lopez Obrador



PARTIDO PARA EL
ROBUSTECIMIENTO DE LA
DERECHA



la nueva izquierda



Civil Society: **what is civil society?**

–Contemporary Mexicans and Politics:
How will civil society be organized?

H^a. Mexicans continue to support Power Politics:
political bosses, caudillos continue to be important

H^b. Mexicans become more party-oriented:
corporativist modality of Mexican society becomes
predominant

H^c. Mexican politics evolves along class lines

H^d. Mexican politics becomes a politics of the local:
Atenco, Tepoztlan, Zapatismo

H^e. Mexican politics becomes US-style *Televisa* politics:
Low voter turnouts, information about politics
derived from television, mass media sources

Counting the Votes: each political faction watches

- a. Party systems intact
 - b. Local politics very important: PRD voters vote left in national and state elections, but PRI in local elections
- WHY??**

WALMART



Remaking the Civil Society- Government Nexus:

- 1980s NGO-boom as NGOs take over formerly state functions
 - Neoliberal retrenchment in 1980s. State withdraws from social functions such as provision of benefits
 - 1990s: state *capacity* becomes severely degraded by budget cuts
 - » lack of trained government employees
 - » lack of basic infrastructure to distribute benefits
 - » lack of even complete lists of who potential beneficiaries might be!!!
 - mid-1990s crisis: how does the state respond to Zapatismo without any state agencies capable of distributing benefits?

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Antecedentes

YEAR	POLICY	FUNCTIONS	CONSEQUENCES
1955-1989	1. STATE-MANAGEMENT IN COFFEE SECTOR (INMECAFE OPERATES AS COFFEE-SECTOR PARASTATAL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION • ORGANIZATIONAL PROMOTION • TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING • COMERCIALIZATION • FINANCE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OVER-CENTRALIZATION • HIGH ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS • PATERNALISM • CORRUPTION • PRODUCERS LACK KNOWLEDGE OF PRODUCTION PROCESS.
1989-1990	1. DISSOLUTION OF STATE-MANAGEMENT IN COFFEE SECTOR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • APLICATION OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES • SUBSIDIES MANAGED BY VARIOUS STATE INSTITUTIONS • COFFEE-SECTOR MANAGEMENT TRANSFERRED TO PRODUCER ORGANIZATIONS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SUDDEN STATE ABANDONMENT OF ALL COFFEE SECTOR ACTIVITIES • INSTITUTIONAL DISORGANIZATION • PRODUCERS LACK INSTITUTIONAL OVERSIGHT • WEAK INTER-ORGANIZATION COORDINATION DUE TO LACK OF PLANNING IN STATE WITHDRAWAL FROM COFFEE SECTOR
1990-2000	1. WEAK OR NONE COFFEE SECTOR POLICY 2. FREE MARKET POLICIES	• ACTIVITIES DEVELOPED BY: A. PRODUCER ORGANIZATIONS B. TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS C. FEDERAL AND STATE-LEVEL GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS (CONSEJOS ESTATALES AND MEXICANO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRODUCTION PROCESS MANAGED BY 'SOCIAL SECTOR' ORGANIZATIONS THAT TAKE ON COST OF MARKET LIBERALIZATION • TRANSNATIONALIZATION PROCESS. • MEXICO WITHDRAWS FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORUMS • MANY ACTIVITIES NOT COVERED BY OR POORLY DEVELOPED, Ex. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, RESEARCH, ETC.



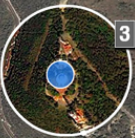
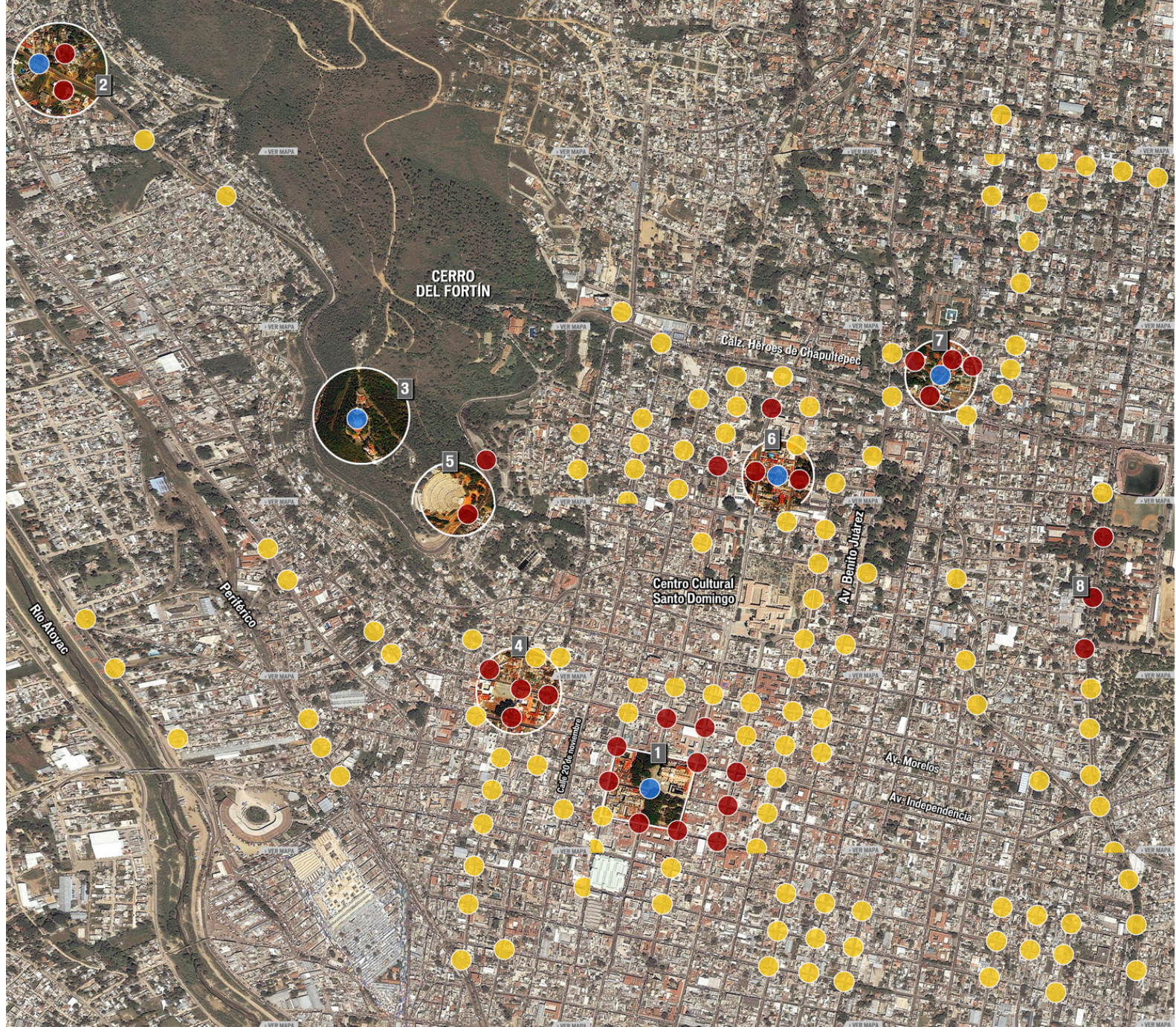
Oaxaca
2006:

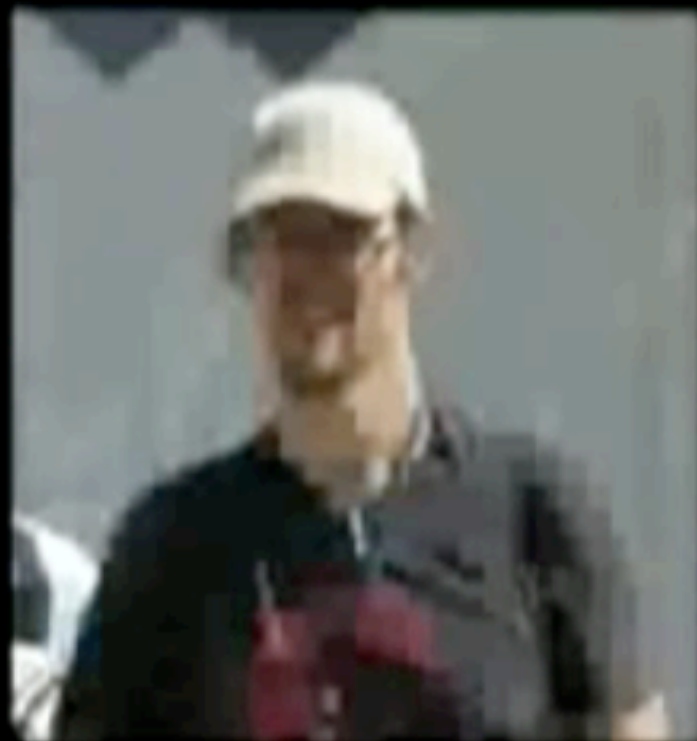
National
Politics
And
Local
Action



Extremely
Unpopular
Governor:

Civil
Uprising
To
Remove
Him
From
power





Bradley Roland Will
Video Póstumo

–CEPCO Peasant Confederation takes over state functions

- **distribution of government benefits**
- **peasant confederation distributes ALIANZA, PROCAMPO, coffee-producer support benefits**
- **distribution of NGO & *Multilateral Institutional* monies**
- **World Bank gives \$50 billion in wake of Zapatista revolt, but Mexican government must distribute \$\$ through NGOs,**
Also: MacArthur Foundation, Fondo Canadiense, Inter-America Foundation (US gov't), BID
- **Technical support for basic producer activities, e.g., coffee production**
- **management of commerce: international marketing by NGOs**

International Politics: What is the role of international intervention in Mexico?

- US pentagon and aid to Mexico's Military**
- International Solidarity and transnational Zapatismo**

Political Economy of Mexican Capitalism

- State Capitalism gives way to decentralized, disorganized, neoliberalized Capitalism?
 - PRO:
 - the IVA moves forward,
 - state-industry revenue no longer necessary to the government?
 - CON:
 - Power-brokers in the government will not relinquish control of the state;
 - Mexican working and peasant classes oppose privatization
 - Stephen: gov't efforts to market privatization as land titling meet difficulties:: **PROCEDÉ**
Morelos: peasants don't support land titling
Oaxaca: peasants don't support land divisions

Mexico-Centered economy gives way to regional economies?

» CON:

- » The power of Mexico's center will prevent regional development
- » Sedimented Geography of transport, trained labor force, and infrastructure difficult to overcome

» PRO:

- » NAFTA, the growth of regional economies, and resolution of regional conflicts undercut Mexico-City centered power
- » New industries in service sector (e.g. tourism, information services) less tied to traditional infrastructure constraints