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MEXICAN LABOR BIBLIOGRAPHY

By Dan La Botz

[This bibliography is a work in progress.]

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Introduction

I originally wrote many of these notes, annotations and reviews for Mexican Labor News and Analysis, an electronic newsletter about Mexican workers and labor unions that I have edited for the last several years. (See MLNA at: http://www.ueinternational.org/ Now I have put these notes and reviews together to comprise an annotated bibliography of books in English and Spanish dealing mostly with the modern Mexican labor movement, that is since the mid-nineteenth century. This bibliography includes historical and social science studies of the working class and labor unions, and labor leaders' biographies. There are also related books on social movements and politics. In addition, because the subject matter is often closely related, I have included a number of books dealing with economic history and studies of specific industries.

Because of their importance to the labor movement, this bibliography also includes many books on the history of the Mexican anarchist, socialist, and communist movements, and related biographies. Finally, because of the intertwined history of the Mexican Revolution and Mexican labor organizations, I have also included many of the important books dealing with the Mexican Revolution.

A bibliography such as this is necessary for several reasons. First, Mexican publishing houses are often small and short lived ventures without the resources to advertise their publications internationally. Second, both the small and large Mexican publishing houses often publish small press runs of only 2,000 copies of each book, meaning that many of these books never find their way to U.S. or other foreign libraries. Third, most academic bibliographies, reviews and journals often neglect journalist, popular or labor union books, many of which are included here.
All listings are by the author’s last name (that is by the author's father's name). The citation (author, title, edition, city, publisher, date) is followed by an indication of the books other features (photographs, tables, charts, bibliography, index) and the number of pages. Next comes the book note, beginning where the information was available with a brief description of the author (academic, journalist, union leader, etc.), followed by descriptive comments on the book and perhaps an evaluation.

Note: Some book have a short note in section I and a longer review in section II, those books are marked with three asterisks (***) following the citation.

I – Bibliography of Mexican labor


Diego Abad de Santillan was a Spanish anarchist who also lived in Argentina and spent some time in Mexico. This short book deals with Ricardo Flores Magon as revolutionary and as author. The text includes many long extracts from Ricardo Flores Magon's journalism, manifestos and letters.


Hugo Aboites is not only a professor and researcher in the Department of Education and Communication of the Metropolitan Autonomous University at Xochimilco, but also an activist and advisor to the movement of students and parents which has challenged so-called educational reforms. In this significant book, Aboites examines the influence of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and the American model of higher education on Mexico's university system.

Aboites argues that the United States's model of education based on tuition, restriction of access, commercialization of services, and links to private industry has worked to destroy Mexico's tradition of free higher education. Aboites argues in the conclusion of his book that Mexicans should fight for autonomy, democracy, and the creation of an economy which improves the lives of Mexico's masses. Deals with issues of higher education in Mexico and the United States, and in the effects of NAFTA and neo-liberalism on our societies.

S. Lief Adelson and Mario Camarena Ocampo are historians and the editors of this collection of nine essays in social and cultural history of the Mexican workingclass. The essays deal with workers in the late 19th or 20th century and discuss textile workers, stevedores, and petroleum workers, among others. One essay deals with Mexican immigrants to Chicago, and another with the history of workers in Mexico City.


This book is both a history of Mexico’s intelligence services, and of their repression of Mexico’s guerrilla movement and of other social movements. A must read for those interested in human rights, social movements and revolutionary struggles in Mexico.

Javier Aguilar Garcia, ed. **Los Sindicatos Nacionales.** (A series.)

Javier Aguilar Garcia is a professor at the Institute of Social Investigation at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and the editor of this series of books on various industries and national labor unions. Each book brings together a series of essays by authors who are experts on a particular industry or union. The essays deal both with the history and the contemporary situation of the industry and union. Each volume is approximately 300 pages. So far there are five volumes in this series all edited by Aguilar which follow:

**Volume III. Industrias Dinamicas.** Mexico: G.V. Editores 1988. (This volume deals with the unions of the following industries: automobiles, airlines, soft-drink bottling, rubber workers, chemical industry.)
**Volume V. Electricistas.** Mexico: G.V. Editores, 1989. This volume deals with the electrical workers of SME and SUTERM and with the nuclear workers of SUTIN.

Javier Aguilar Garcia et al. **Legislacion Laboral: El Debate de una propuesta.** Mexico. Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana (UAM) Xochimilco and Fundacion Friedrich Ebert, 1996.

Attorneys Nestor de Buen and Carlos de Buen found themselves at the center of a controversy after they wrote a proposed labor law reform bill for the National Action Party (PAN) which was presented to the Chamber of Deputies (the Mexican lower house) on June 12, 1995. Their proposal to change the Federal Labo Law (LFT) combined elements of both employer demands for greater flexibility to achieve higher productivity,
and some of the labor-left's demands for an end to the system of corporativism or state party (PRI) control over the unions.

In 1996 the Mexican Network of Labor Researchers and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (the German Social Democratic Party foundation which provides funds to some labor unions and academic groups in Mexico) organized a seminar to discuss the law at the Metropolitan Autonomous University's Xochimilco campus. This book contains essays evaluating and criticizing the de Buen/PAN proposal by some of Mexico's leading labor lawyers, sociologists of work, and labor historians: Javier Aguilar Garcia, Graciela Bensusan, Rosa Albina Garavito, Marco Gomez Solorzano, Jorge Gonzalez Rodarte, Patricia Gonzalez Rodriguez, Octavio Loyzaga de la Cueva, Luisa Mussot, Mario Ortega Olivarez, Patricia Ravelo, Armando Rendon Corona, Jesus Rodriguez Godinez, and Sergio Sanchez.

Most of the authors of these essays are quite critical of the de Buen/PAN proposal, and the general conclusion is that this proposed reform of the Federal Labor Law would, even if it ended the state-control over the unions, lead to a new employer-dominated corporative control. This book is important, especially for those interested labor law and the relationship of unions to the state and employers.

Jorge Alonzo and Juan Manuel Ramirez Saiz, La Democracia de los de Abajo. (Mexico: La Jornada Ediciones, Consejo Electoral del Estado de Jalisco, and Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Humanidades/UNAM, 1997).

Since 1985 there has been a great debate in Mexico over democratization of the government, political parties, and society in general. Many Mexicans looked to "civil society," that is to the citizens of Mexico to carry out this democratization and end the one-party state of the Institutional Revolutionary Party. But "civil society" turns out to be a problematic concept, for that civil society is divided into social classes which often have antagonistic interests, rich and poor, bosses and workers, landlords and peasants.

This book, the title of which could be translated "The Democracy of the Underdogs," looks at civil society and its underdogs: Indians, women, peasants, the urban poor, workers, the debtors movement. Two essays will be of particular interest to those who study Mexican labor unions. Arturo Alcade J. and Bertha Lujan U. write on "How Mexican Workers Experience Democracy," and Susan Street writes on "The Teachers and Democracy from Below." But the entire book will be important for those who follow Mexico's social movements and process of democratization.

Oscar Alzaga and Max Ortega, eds. Trabajo y Democracia Hoy. Las 100 luchas mas importantes del movimiento de los trabajadores. (Magazine) Number 25 (Special). Mexico, D.F.

This special number of the magazine Trabajo y Democracia Hoy edited by attorney Oscar Alzaga and historian Max Ortega presents a profusely illustrated history of the 100 most important labor battles in the history of Mexico from 1906 to 1995. There is also a short but excellent bibliography.

Gregg Andrews is Assistant Professor of History at Southwest Texas State University. His book is an important re-examination of the relationship between the AFL and the US government and also looks at the relations between the AFL and the Mexican CROM. The time period as the title indicates is 1910 to 1924. Notes, bibliography, index.


Alberto Arnaut Salgado spent many years both as an academic and an advisor to top officials of the Mexican Secretary of Public Education (SEP), and his book was written while studying at the Colegio de Mexico. Arnaut's book is, to the best of our knowledge, the only history of the teaching profession in modern Mexico. This book will be very useful to specialists studying education. But, primarily focussed on the Mexican government's various education plans, budgets, and teacher education and training programs, this book is a bureaucrat's history of the educational bureaucracy. Arnaut's book is quite uneven. Certain omissions strike one as strange. Arnaut cannot bring himself to mention Jose Vasconcelos, Secretary of Education in the early 1920s who transformed Mexican education, nor does he include in his bibliography Claude Fell's great study of Vasconcelos's work in those years. With the exception of the chapter "Maestros en la Revolucion," Arnaut fails to relate the vicissitudes of the teaching profession to the changes in Mexico's economy and society. Arnaut discusses the relation between the Secretary of Education and the Mexican teachers' union (el SNTE), but he has little to say about the historic struggle of teachers for reform from below. He does not discuss the significance of "Socialist Education" in the 1930s. He barely mentions in passing the great teachers' strike of 1956. He does he not discuss the National Coordinating Committee of the teachers union (la CNTE) of the 1980s. This book will be important for specialists, but too dry for most readers.


Alberto Aziz Nassif is a researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social (CIESAS) and a columnist for the Mexico City daily newspaper La Jornada. His book is a study of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) and its relations with the state, using as his hypothesis the theory of "corporativism" or state control of the union. The book treats the entire time span of the CTM from its creation in the 1930s until the mid 1980s when the author was writing. Charts, tables, bibliography.

Jean-Pierre Bastian. *Los disidentes: Sociedades protestantes y...*
Jean-Pierre Bastian's *Los disidentes* is the story of Protestant churches in Mexico from the beginning of the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz until the Revolution. The book describes the attempts by President Juarez to create a schismatic church and his failure, and then the arrival of the Protestant missionaries from the United States. Bastian shows the relationship between Protestant congregations, rebellious peasants, and groups of artisans and workers in textiles, mining railroads, and other industries. Protestant church groups sometimes worked alongside or with union and socialist groups in Mexico during the Porfiriato, and later in the movements of Ricardo Flores Magon and Francisco I. Madero. Well written, extremely intelligent and thought-provoking Bastian's book will be of interest to those who study Mexican labor, the Mexican Revolution, and U.S. influence in Mexico.

Maria Cristina Bayon's *El sindicalismo automotriz mexicano frente a un nuevo escenario: una perspectiva desde los liderazgos*. Mexico: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) and Juan Pablos Editor, 1997. 207 pages. Notes, bibliography.

Maria Cristina Bayon's book represents an important contribution both to the study of the automobile industry and to the more general discussion of the nature of Mexican labor unions. Bayon's book opens with a detailed discussion of the state of the Mexican auto industry, and then moves to a fascinating discussion of the state of the Mexican auto workers' unions, based largely on interviews with local union leaders.


Charles Bergquist's *Labor and the Course of American Democracy: U.S. History in Latin American Perspective* brings together five essays dealing with the relationship between the U.S. and Latin American all organized around the theme of the centrality of labor. The author puts the issues of democracy, social equality, and internationalism at the center of his discussion, arguing for democratic reform, and I think it would not be far wrong to call this a social democratic interpretation of U.S.-Latin American history. Rejecting both laissez-faire capitalism and Leninist Communism, Bergquist argues for a more democratic and egalitarian relationship between the people of the United States and those of Latin America.

Journalist David Brooks and professor Jonathan Fox have put together a remarkable collection of 19 essays in some 440 pages that represents the distillation of almost 10 years of experience in cross-border organizing since the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). These valuable essays by journalists, academics, and activists dealing with labor, the environment, migration, human rights, and citizens coalitions describe, discuss and evaluate the most important organizing work across the U.S.-Mexico border.

**Julieta Campos. ¿Que hacemos con los pobres? La reiterada querella por la nacion.**

Julieta Campos is a novelist, essayist, university professor, former president of Pen Club (1978-1982), etc. Her book is an encyclopedic discussion of the nature of poverty in Mexico, a wealth of information. The book has notes, index, bibliography.

**Nicolas Cardenas Garcia. Empresas y trabajadores en la gran mineria mexicana: 1900-1929.**

Cardenas, head of research in history at UAM-Xochimilco, emphasizes the miners’ daily life and communities, as well as their labor unions, strikes and relationship to the government in this important and prize-winning study of the Mexican mining industry between the end of the Porfiriato and the crash of 1929.

**Barry Carr. Marxism and Communism in Twentieth Century Mexico.**
Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1992. 437 pages.

Barry Carr is labor historian and professor La Trobe University in Australia. His book is a history of the Mexican Communist Party from its birth in 1919 to its demise in 1988, and is included in this list because of the role of the Mexican Communist Party in various labor and peasant organizations. Carr's book is the definitive book in English on the Mexican Communist Party. Tables, extensive notes, bibliography, index.

**Jorge Carrillo. Dos Decadas de Sindicalismo en la Industria Maquiladora de Exportacion: Examen en las ciudades de Tijuana, Juarez y Matamoros.**

Jorge Carrillo holds a doctor of sociology degree from the Colegio de Mexico and is a researcher at the Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Tijuana. His book is a study of the labor unions in the maquiladoras from 1969 to 1989, looking at the original theory behind the creation of the maquiladoras, changes in technology, the workforce, the role of gender and the unions. His case studies are Tijuana, Juarez and Matamoros. The book contains two important appendices, one giving the labor conflicts in the maquiladoras from 1969 to 1986 and the other giving the decrees which have regulated the maquiladoras. Carrillo
reaches important conclusions about these "low profile" unions and their affect on the rest of the Mexican labor movement.


Manuel Ceballos Ramirez's *El Catolicismo Social* represents an important contribution to Mexican social and labor history. For years most Mexican historians ignored or wrote out of history altogether the Roman Catholic "social Christian" organizations. *El Catolicismo Social* will help to correct this distorted view. Ceballos Ramirez documents the rise of the social Christian movement in Mexico, including the creation of dozens of different workers' organizations in many states of Mexico. These various workers' organizations came together under the umbrella of the Operarios Gaudalupanos and the Union Catolica Obrera. Ceballos Ramirez estimates that by 1911 as many as 30,000 workers were associated with these Catholic workers' organizations. This book which discusses Roman Catholic theology, and gives a detailed account of a great variety of Mexican social Christian organizations is a book for specialists. But its central argument remains of more general interest and importance.


Several distinguished sociologists and historians--Oscar F. Contreras, Alejandro Covarrubias, Miguel Angel Ramirez and Juan Luis Sariego Rodriguez--have written essays for this study of the Cananea copper mine since the privatization in 1989. The dean of Latin American sociologists of labor, Francisco Zapata, is the author of the introduction.


Luis Chavez Orozco of Guanajuato, Mexico (1901-1966) held various positions in governmental institutions such as the Secretary of Foreign Relations and the Library of the Secretary of Public Education. He was an autodidact who became interested in history and eventually wrote many articles and books. This book, produced for the Fifth Meeting of Mexican and U.S. Historians held in Patzcuaro, Michigan in October 1977 is a selection of documents about the devastation of the Mexican artisans in the early 19th century, and includes plays and state legislative debates.

Originally published in 1935 by the Secretaria de la Economia Nacional with this same title as volume VIII of the series Documentos para la Historia Economica de Mexico. The book is made up of two reports one by a Pedro Joseph del Leonz and the other by a Mr. Areche. Apparently both reports were solicited by the Viceroy after a miners rebellion in the Real del Monte, near modern day Pachuca, Hidalgo. Chaves Orozco in the 1934 introductory note writes: "Did a proletarian clase exist in New Spain? If it did, what was its class consciousness?"


Cockcroft—having written a dozen books in the meantime—has returned to write a new, and yet more comprehensive and compelling synthesis: Mexico’s Hope: An Encounter with Politics and History. What began as a re-writing of the earlier book became an entirely new work, one which incorporates not only recent scholarship, but also reflects the impact of new social movements, particularly those of indigenous people and women. This is a history of Mexico informed by the struggle of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) and by the women who work in the maquiladoras on the U.S.-Mexico border. It is a history of the Mexican people in all of their diversity.


Maria Lorena Cook, assistant professor at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, asked, "How did teachers build a mass movement for democratic unionism in an 'official' union and in an authoritarian society?" In response to that question she has written an excellent account of the important rank and file labor movement known as la CNTE, the Coordinating Committee of the Mexican Teachers Union (el SNTE). Most studies of social movements or of labor reform movements ignore or neglect the importance of the movement's own organizational structures, procedures and values, but Cook puts those issues at the very center of her study. What makes this book important is its emphasis on the democratic self-organization of the teachers movement as essential not only to its survival, but also to the achievement of its goals of democratizing the union, and--at least for some of its members--the larger goal of democratizing Mexican society.


Victor Alejandro Espinoza Valle holds a bachelor's degree (licenciatura) in public administration from the Autonomous University of Baja California, a masters and doctors degree in political science from the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

Jacinto Barrera Bassols has put together this collection of 284 letters of Ricardo Flores Magon found in the archives of the Secretaria de Relación Exteriores (SRE) in Mexico City. The introduction is a detailed account of the provenance of the letters, biographical details, and an account of the Mexican government's system of spies and secret agents. There are name, place, and subject indices.


Manuel Fuentes is a professor of labor law at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) since 1981, a teacher at the University Obrera in Mexico, and a member of the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights and the National Association of Democratic Attorneys (ANAD). His book A comparative study of Canadian, U.S. and Mexican labor law, looking at the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement upon the workers in all three countries.


A history of the early twentieth century Mexican working class putting new emphasis on the role of Roman Catholic political and labor organizations and comparing those Catholic movements to the anarchist labor movement. The book contains four appendices with important anarchist and Catholic labor documents.


Galicia Espinosa tells his story as a worker in Amecameca, Estado de Mexico, during the period the Mexican Revolution. A carpenter in a textile mill, and later a
worker at the Ford Motor company, he tells straightforward engaging stories whether about his work in the factory at San Rafael or his encounters with the Zapatistas.


Rosa Maria Garza Marcue is an academic at the Centro Regional de Puebla of the National Institute of Anthropology and History. Her book is a study of the Democratic Tendency and the SUTERM electrical workers union in the 1970s.


Juan Gomez-Quinones has written a 90-page intellectual biography of Ricardo Flores Magon, together with 140 pages of documents. Gomez-Quinones looks at Flores Magon's career as a revolutionary, but in particular he had upon the Chicano community in the United States. The documents include manifestos, newspaper articles, and letters.


Elba Esther Gordillo is the former general secretary of the Mexican teachers union (SNTE) and a leader of the "Foro: Sindicalismo Ante la Nacion," or the Foro group of unions. Her book is a collection of essays and speeches written in the 1990s, and lays out her views on the need for a new Mexican labor union culture.


Jose Enrique Gonzalez Ruiz is a founder of the Frente Nacional de Abogados Democraticos (FNAD), and a professor at the Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). He was formerly the rector of the Autonomous University of Guerrero from 1981 to 1984.

His book is an account of the Route 100 bus drivers in 1995 and 96, very sympathetic to the union of the bus drivers of Route 100 and its political leadership. The book contains many appendices with various manifestos, letters from the union leadership in prison, and end notes with references to newspaper articles and other documents.

Maria Luisa Gonzalez is a researcher who has written extensively on industry, unions and workers, including articles on the sugar, steel, textile, and soft drink industries. This book is not about unions, but important for those who are interested in unions. It looks at the impact of free trade and specifically of NAFTA on the Mexican capital goods sector.


Miguel Angel Granados Chapa is a newspaper columnist for the Mexico City daily Reforma and a radio commentator on "Radio UNAM." His short biography of Fidel Velazquez is both good history and an excellent critical account of Fidel. "Fidel Velazquez is the incarnation of that style of labor representation, closer to the bosses and the government than to its constituency, more combative against that unionism which it considers the enemy than it is against the highest cost of living, inflation, or rip-offs." (pp. 9-10.)


George W. Grayson is Class of 1938 Professor of Government at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. He is the author of several books on the Mexican oil industry and the petroleum workers union. He also writes for such papers as the *Wall Street Journal* and has served as a member of the state legislature of Virginia. His book, Volume XI, Number 3 of the Center for Strategic and International Studies "Significant Issues Series," is a very handy overview of the Mexican labor movement.

**Angelina Gutierrez Arriola.** *Los Transnacionales y los Trabajadores.* Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas de la Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico and Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1990. There are 24 tables and a statistical appendix. No bibliography, but notes.

Angelina Gutierrez Arriola is an academic and her book is a study of the impact of the transnational corporations on the Mexican working class. The book is divided into three chapters: Chapter I. "La Internacionalizacion del Capital y la Division Internacional del Trabajo;" Chapter II. "La Economica Mexicana y el Proceso de Internacionalizacion de Capital;" Chapter III. "Tercera Fase: La Economica Mexicana en la Decada de los Ochenta."


Dale Hathaway, a community activist and professor of political science at Butler University in Indianapolis, has written a readable, useful account of Mexico's most
politically important independent labor union federation the Authentic Labor Front or FAT. Hathaway sets his history of the FAT in the context of the new movement's fight against corporate globalization, a movement in which the FAT has played an enormously important role. Based on interviews with FAT leaders and activists, original documents, and a wide-array of secondary sources, this is both a good read and a reliable historical account.


Hernandez Padilla's El Magonismo is a detailed study of the Mexican Liberal Party from its founding until the death of its principal leader Ricardo Flores Magon. The book deals with the founding of the party, the Cananea and Rio Blanco strikes, the two attempts at national uprisings in 1906 and 1908, and then offers a critical evaluation of the PLM and its legacy. The books appendices contain the Manifestos of 1905, 1906 and 1911.


Carmen Herrera is an associate of CEREAL, the Center for Reflection and Labor Action, a labor human rights center which grew out of Roman Catholic social activism. Her book is a sophisticated theoretical and legal handbook for teaching workers and worker educators what are workers' human rights and how to fight for them within the Mexican legal system. The book is a compendium of useful information about the legal situation of workers in Mexico, written from a Roman Catholic perspective.


While ostensibly a history of anarchism after 1920, in reality this book is divided into two parts. The first half of the book tells the story of Ruben Jaramillo, the sometimes Communist, mason and Methodist preacher, who organized peasant movements and political parties from the the late 1930s into the early 1960s when he was murdered by the Mexican Army and police. The second part of the book is Hodge's version of a history of anarchist theory and practice. Unfortunately, Hodge believes that Stalinist Communist, Maoists, Trotskyists, and the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) can all be considered part of this Anarchist Tradition, so the second part of the book is quite confused and confusing.

Carlos Illades is an academic and a professional historian. His book is a history of artisans in Mexico City in the late 19th century, and argues against the thesis that artisans declined and disappeared in the late 19th century with the introduction of industry. Illades argues that artisans were a vibrant part of the Mexican working class in the 19th century who helped to shape the culture of new groups of workers. An important work of social history.


An extended interview with Enrique Flores Magon, one of the leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) dealing with his life from his childhood to the death of his brother Ricardo in 1922. This book, written like a novel, is an important primary source for the study of the brothers Flores Magon and the PLM.


Dan La Botz is a former labor activist, writer, and Visiting Assistant Professor at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. His book is a concise overview of the history of the Mexican labor movement from 1910 to 1988. The book's emphasis is on the struggle of rank and file workers against union bureaucrats, bosses and the state.


La Botz originally wrote this book as an investigation and report for the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund of Washington, D.C. The report was circulated to Congress and intended to educate legislators on the conditions of Mexican unions and workers during the debate over NAFTA. The book deals with the history, legal rights, and conditions of Mexican workers with emphasis on the years of presidents de la Madrid and Carlos Salinas de Gortari. The book is fundamentally an indictment of the Mexican government for its failure to protect workers' rights.


In this book La Botz attempts to put the Chiapas uprising led by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation into the context of Mexico's other democratic movements. The book is included in this list because Chapter 8 "Workers Plot Rebellion on the Northern Border," is a survey of various cross-border international labor organizing strategies. La Botz looks for example at cooperation between the United Electrical
workers (UE) of the United States and the Authentic Labor Front (FAT) of Mexico.

Notes, bibliography, index.


A brief, well documented account of the trials of Ricardo Flores Magon and other members of the Mexican Liberal Party.

**Gustavo Lopez Pardo.** *La Administracion Obrera de los Ferrocarriles Nacionales de Mexico.* Mexico: UNAM & El Caballito. Notes, bibliography, 217 pages.

Gustavo Lopez Pardo, a researcher at the Institute of Economic Investigations of the National Autonomous University, has written an important book about one of the most fascinating episodes of Mexican labor history: the workers' administration of the national railroads from 1937 to 1941 during the administration of President Lazaro Cardenas. Cardenas completed the nationalization of the Mexican railroads (begun during the Porfiriate), but this turned railroad workers into public employees without the right to strike. To resolve this conflict with the railroad workers union, Cardenas turned the administration of the railroads over to the union.

Cardenas made it clear that the union's could administer the railroads, but did not own them and could not determine their basic policies, such as shipping rates. The once militant union, now both manager and workers' representative, became deeply divided internally and ineffective in either role. Eventually the railroad management passed back into the hands of the state. This book makes an important contribution to the history of the Mexican labor movement and the Cardenas administration, and to discussions of workers' management of industry. Based primarily on documents from the Mexican Archivo General de la Nacion (AGN).


Edward C. Lorenzo’s *Defining Global Justice* gives us the first attempt at a broad overview of the history of the role of the United States in the International Labor Organization. Based on an impressive command of a wide variety of sources, this well organized and clearly written account explains how the social gospel movement, progressive era reformers, academics and attorneys, feminists and consumers, and labor unions attempted to shape an international organization that could establish standards to protect workers around the world.

A series of talks delivered at a forum on the petrochemical industry organized by the Instituto de Estudios de la Revolucion Democratica which is a think-tank of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). The eight talks or essays all opposing the privatization of the petroleum industry include presentations by Herberto Castillo and Cuauhtemoc Cardenas Solorzano.


The authors are journalists. Their book is a collection of newspaper articles from September, October and November 1985 from three Mexican daily newspapers: *La Jornada*, *El Universal*, and *Unomasuno*. The first part of the book is reportage, the second part testimonies and interviews.


Colin M. MacLachlan is the author of several books on colonial Mexico and professor of history at Tulane University. His book *Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution* is an account of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) and the U.S. government's repression of the party in the United States. The book discusses the PLM's relations with U.S. labor unions, socialist and anarchists, and includes an account of the major trials of the PLM leaders. What makes this book distinctive is its interesting critique of Ricardo Flores Magon and the PLM for their failure to proclaim their anarchist politics and to take a more active role in the revolution.


The writer Jorge Mejia Prieto has written a short pseudo-autobiography of Fidel Velazquez, head of the Mexican Confederation of Workers (CTM), that is, a biography written as if it were an autobiography. The book is illustrated with about 20 cartoons.


Kevin Middlebrook is Director of Research at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California at San Diego. His book is a study of the relations between the Mexican state and the labor movement from the era of the revolution until today, but with its emphasis on the railroad workers and the automobile workers unions. Middlebrook makes use of government agency documents, such as records of the labor board hearings. The book rejects the "corporativist" view of unions and emphasizes the relative autonomy of workers even within the official unions. A political scientist,
Middlebrook has written in an unattractive and inaccessible academic style. Nevertheless this will be the standard work in English on Mexican unions for some time.


Mino Grijalva's book is a study of the obrajes or textile manufactories which existed in New Spain from the 16th to the 18th century, a study in proto-industrialization. The author looks both at domestic work and workers concentrated in the obrajes. Based on property inventories, the author describes various obrajes and their technology. The emphasis in this book is on technology, and the author has little to say either about work organization or about the workers themselves. Interestingly, the obrajes were later displaced by Indian home workers whose labor was cheaper. There are a number of interesting illustrations.


Global Exchange, the non-governmental organization which is a leader in promoting international solidarity and in supporting struggles for democracy in Mexico, has produced an excellent short pamphlet on Mexican teachers, their struggle for democracy, and the Mexican government's campaign of repression against them. Author David Monroy combines history, political analysis, and journalism in this wonderfully written booklet will be of use of interest to labor unionists and human rights activists. Teachers unions in Canada and the United States should buy quantities of this pamphlet to distribute among their officers, stewards, and active members, and other unions might do so as well. This pamphlet makes an excellent companion to Maria Lorena Cook's book *Organizing Dissent: Unions, the State, and the Democratic Teachers' Movement in Mexico*, and could be recommended for classroom use in courses in Latin American studies or labor studies.


Yoland Montiel is a researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social (CIESAS). Her book is a study of the worker and union response to technological and work organization changes at Volkswagen of Mexico in the 1970s and 80s.

Morales’s book is an excellent global study of the problem of Mexican labor migration to the U.S. The book is a Marxist analysis which puts the labor migration issue into the context of U.S. and Mexican economic relations, and the economic and social history of both countries. The book both traces the history of Mexican labor migration to the United States and looks at the major economic, social and political issues involved. There is a detailed discussion of the Simpson-Rodino Immigration Law. The final pages look at efforts at international labor solidarity.


Victoria Novelo is a researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social (CIESAS). Her book is a sociological study of the struggle for union democracy in the Mexican petroleum workers union in the 1980s.


Max Ortega is a university professor at the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM) Iztapalapa Campus, best known for his historical work on the railroad unions. His book is an account of the impact of neo-liberalism on the Mexican labor unions. The book is divided into four long chapters. Chapter I "Corporativismo, reestructuracion capitalista y Estado del bienestar. Consideraciones teoricas generales"; Chapter II "La estrategia economica neoliberal de los gobiernos de Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado y Carlos Salinas de Gortari, 1982-1992"; Chapter III. "Sindicalismo oficial, 1982-1992"; Chapter IV "La political laboral, 1982-1992." There is an extensive bibliography.


Professor Max Ortega and his associate Ana Alicia Solis de Alba propose in this book a global evaluation of the changes in the relations between the state and the unions. The book is divided into three chapters: Chapter 1 "La crisis del corporativismo y los nuevos perfiles organizativos de los sindicatos en Mexico;' Chapter 2 "Modernizacion y reorganizacion del sindicalismo oficial;' Chapter 3 "Sindicalismo independiente y resistencia sindical." There is a bibliography.


Vincent C. Peloso has put together an excellent collection of 16 essays (including the introduction) dealing with labor and social movements in eleven Latin American countries. Written by thirteen historians and two political scientists from universities in Canada, Puerto Rico and the United States (surprisingly there are no Latin American-based scholars represented), these essays examine Latin America’s labor history in the
twentieth-century through the triangular prism of what has become the Holy Trinity of all contemporary studies in the humanities and social sciences: class, race, and gender. If the old labor history focused on trade unions and leftist parties, and the new labor history looks at how race and gender complicated issues of class, party and politics, then these essays represent the best tendencies toward synthesis of the best elements of old and new.


Pena's book could be called the anarchosyndicalist, eco-feminist study of the maquiladora workers and their communities. Mostly about the mostly female maquiladora workers of Ciudad Juarez, this study is based on thirteen years of both field and library research, and is in part an institutional history of COMO, the Center for the Orientation of Women Workers (COMO) of Ciudad Juarez, and of its affiliated cooperative, SOCOSEMA, the Cooperative Society of Selectors of Materials. The book also discusses the leading figure in COMO, Guillermina Valdes Villalva. While advocating democracy, autonomy and workers' control, it fails to address key questions concerning democracy in the movements and organizations it studies. Yet in the course of this long, meandering and irritating read, one learns a good deal about the maquiladoras and the way they work.

**Sonia Perez Toledo, Los Arestanos de la ciudad de Mexico, 1780-1853. Mexico: Colegio de Mexico and Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa, 1996. Maps, charts, graphs, appendices, bibliography, index of names. 300 pages.**

Historians beginning with Luis Chavez Orozco argued that the artisan class had been destroyed early in the nineteenth century by a combination of the Spanish Bourbon reforms, the Mexican Independence movement, and the assault of the Enlightenment and Liberalism which looked upon the artisans's guilds as closed corporations of the old regime which had to be destroyed in order to create free men and free markets. The supposition was that the decree of 1813 which gave any man the right to exercise a trade had destroyed the guilds and led to the extinction of the artisan class. Sonia Perez Toledo demonstrates in this book that the artisans, their shops and their guilds survived well into the mid-nineteenth century and stood at the heart of Mexico City and its economy. Originally her thesis at the Colegio de Mexico, the book is influenced by the "new social history" of British historians such as E.P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm. However since the sources are the census, city records (actas de cabildo), the newspaper (Seminario Artistico) of the Board for the Development of Artesans (Junta de Fomento de Artesanos), and records of the Vagrant Court (Tribunal de Vagos), the artisans cannot speak for themselves. Nevertheless, this book is an important contribution to the early history of the Mexican labor movement, as well as to the history of Mexico in the nineteenth century.

W. Dirk Raat's Revoltosos is a study of various Mexican political individuals and organizations operating in the U.S. and along the U.S.-Mexico border between 1903 and 1923. The central focus of the book is the activity of eight leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM). Raat he looks at relations between the PLM and the IWW, also at the American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party and anarchists. But the central focus of the book is on U.S. repression of the anarchist movements both by the state and federal government, and has detailed accounts of the trials and political persecution of the PLM in the U.S.


This little book on the Authentic Labor Front--Forty Years of Libertarian Struggle--(FAT), was written by four enthusiasts of that independent Mexican abor federation. It is made up of a collection of short essays on the history of the FAT (about 60 pages) and a chronology of the FAT (another 60 pages). Jorge Robles, the anarcho-syndicalist FAT activist and author, has left on this book the imprint of both his iconoclastic intellect and his idiosyncratic style. The essays are interesting and insightful, polemical and partisan. The writing is elliptical and sometimes telegraphic, and at times it is more outline than essay. Those who are bilingual will find it an interesting companion to accompany Dale Hathaway's Allies Across the Border: Mexico's "Authentic Labor Front" and Global Solidarity (Cambridge: South End Press, 2000).


Jorge Robles is a former university researcher and educator and Luis Angel Gomez is a university professor, both have also been activists in Mexico's independent unions. Their book is an interpretive chronology of the Mexican labor movement from 1900 to 1980.


Cuauhtemoc Ruiz is a supporter of the Euzkadi rubber workers union. His book is a short history of the Euzkadi rubber workers union, a union which has played an important role in the militant and democratic currents of the Mexican labor movement.

Rafael Sagredo, born in Santiago Chile, received his doctorate from the Colegio de Mexico and is a professor at the Catholic University and a researcher of the National Library of Chile. His book is a biography of a Mexican prostitute Maria Villa, also known as La Chiquita who, after she was convicted of the murder of another prostitute, became prisoner number 4002. Based on her diary, the interviews of the prison psychologist, and newspaper accounts, the book discusses the institution of prostitution and the life of prostitutes in the porifirate, as well as sexual mores. Written in a popular style and without notes, the book has an extensive bibliography of literature from various countries dealing with the issue of prostitution.

Leslie Salzinger, Genders In Production: Making Workers In Mexico’s Global Factories (berkeley: University Of California Press, 2003). Notes, Bibliography, Index. 217 Pages.***

Leslie Salzinger’s book Genders in Production, contains informative chapters, intelligent observations, and significant insights, but may still be disappointing to those who concern themselves with workers’ rights, labor unions, and more generally with human rights on the Mexican border. Salzinger distances herself from the reformers and radical critics in the academic and intellectual world, downplays or ignores worker rights issues, and minimizes the labor union question which is central to an understanding of the maquiladora worker and her (or his) plight.


Augustin Sanchez Gonzalez is a former university professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, later a free-lance writer and the author of several books. His biography of Fidel is a serious, non-academic biography of the leader of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM).


Sergio Sanchez is a researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social (CIESAS). His book is a study of leftists in the Mexican labor movement in the 1980s, particularly in the Coordinadora Sindical Nacional (COSINA) in 1982 and 83, and the nuclear workers union (SUTIN) in the mid 1980s.

Jack Scott. Yankee Unions, Go Home! How the AFL Helped the U.S. Build an

Jack Scott's Yankee Unions, Go Home! is a history of the role of the U.S. labor unions in Latin America, based on secondary sources. The book provides a useful overview, and while there is no separate chapter on the U.S. unions in Mexico, there is a discussion of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. This is a rather doctrinaire Marxist or Leninist book, and useful for that perspective.


Enrique Semo was a leading intellectual of the Mexican Communist Party and a serious academic historian. This book is a Marxist study in economic and social history from the colonial era to the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and into the 1920s. The book is divided into two sections: Studies of the Economy and Studies of the Class Struggle. These classic essays, several of which were originally published in journals in the 1960s, have a theoretical and historiographical character, though they are well grounded in specific historical studies.


Anyone studying the history or current state of the Mexican labor movement should read this important feminist study of Mexican labor. This is a book to make us all rethink our conception of the Mexican working class and union movement. Using Marxism and feminism, Solís has rethought the Mexican labor movement from a woman-centered perspective. While some will find the opening chapters and some other sections too theoretical or abstract, the book also analyzes important workers struggles both for union democracy and against employers and the state.


The autobiography of Salvador Sotelo Arevelo (1904-1988) is a fascinating account of 61 years in the life of a rural school teacher in Michoacan, from his birth in 1904 until his retirement. The book deals with his experiences in the Mexican Revolution, as an immigrant worker in California, during the Criterio Rebellion, during the years of president Lazaro Cardenas, and then in post-revolutionary Mexico. As a boy, Sotelo was an admirer of the local indigenous peasant leader Miguel de la Trinidad Regalado, known as El Indio Regalado, a fighter for agrarian reform and a lieutenant of Emiliano Zapata. After Sotelo's hero was murdered and beheaded, Sotelo vowed to
dedicate his life to agrarian reform. Sotelo's autobiography is a vivid and moving account of the rank and file teachers who worked to fulfill the promise of the Mexican Revolution in the villages, the school teachers who became the spokespersons for the demands of the rural peasants and laborers. One of the most fascinating aspects of this book is its treatment of religion and the church. This is an excellent piece of testimonial literature which would be useful in Mexican history classes.


Susan Street is researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social (CIESAS) in Guadalajara. Her book, based on first-hand interviews and observation as well as documentary research is a study of the teacher's union (SNTE) in the state of Chiapas. Street looks at the way that teachers struggled against both the union bureaucracy (charros) and the government Secretary of Education bureaucracy to create new democratic structures and a new democratic consciousness. Her book is essential reading for those interested in the contemporary Mexican labor movement, as well as those interested in the origins of the recent struggles in Chiapas.


Torres Parres graduated from UNAM and then took a doctorate in historia from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris, and is a professor of history and modern Latin America at the UNAM. His book is a study of the relations between Mexican and U.S. labor organizations, particularly between the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). His interest is in international labor solidarity, and in the mutual political influence of U.S. and Mexican labor radicals in the period between 1900 and 1923. The book is particularly good in tracing the relations between the PLM and the IWW, Socialist Party, American Federation of Labor and U.S. anarchists such as Emma Goldman.


Jose Luis Trueba Lara is a Mexican journalist. His book is a sensationalistic account of the struggle in 1995 and 96 by the bus drivers of Ruta-100 in Mexico City.


Ethel Duffy Turner was an American radical who worked with Ricardo Flores Magon and the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) and for a while edited the English language page of the PLM's newspaper Regeneracion. Turner's biography of Ricardo Flores Magon remains an important primary source for the life of this Mexican anarchist revolutionary. The appendix contains articles and letters by several PLM leaders.


John Kenneth Turner was an American socialist who worked with Flores Magon and the Mexican Liberal Party. His book Barbarous Mexico, which originally appeared as a series of magazine articles in 1909, was an indictment of the regime of dictator Porfirio Diaz. Many of the chapters of this book deal with the conditions of peasants and workers in Mexico under Diaz, including the conditions of servitude and even slavery under which they worked. A classic and a primary source for the study of the revolution.


Maria Xelhuantizi-López's Democracy on Hold represents one of the most important contributions to the study of the Mexican labor movement in the last several years. One of its greatest strengths is that is provides extensive quotations from a variety of sources, giving the reader a clear sense of the debate. While the book would be important in any case, it takes on additional significance because it represents the view of Francisco Hernández Juárez, head of the Mexican Telephone Workers Union (STRM) and one of the three co-chairs of the independent National Union of Workers (UNT). As Xelhuantizi-López writes in her introduction, he is “the intellectual author of this project.” What makes Xelhuantizi-López's book so important, is that she puts the “protection contract” at its center. Such contracts, which protect employers from genuine labor union organization in Mexico, may represent as much as 90% of the 600,000 registered union contracts in Mexico.


Doctor Francisco Zapata is a professor of sociology at the Colegio de Mexico. This book analyzes Latin American labor unionism in terms of economic models of development and class and populist union models, looking at the twentieth century experience of Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Brazil, and Mexico. The book ends with a discussion of the crisis of labor unionism in Latin America and speculation about future developments.

**Francisco Zapata. El Sindicalismo Mexicano Frente a la Restructuracion. Mexico:***
El Colegio de Mexico and Instituto de Investigaciones de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo Social, 1995. 179 pages. Table.


Fernando Zertuche is the author of several studies of Mexican political and intellectual figures. For this book Zertuche Munoz has written a 50-page biography of Ricardo Flores Magon and collected a number of his most important essays, manifestos, and letters. There is also a short bibliography of the major workers on Flores Magon.

II – Bibliography of Mexican labor – review essays.


Maria Cristina Bayon's book represents an important contribution both to the study of the automobile industry and to the more general discussion of the nature of Mexican labor unions. Bayon's book opens with a detailed discussion of the state of the Mexican auto industry, and then moves to a fascinating discussion of the state of the Mexican auto workers' unions, based largely on interviews with local union leaders.

Mexico's auto industry is central to the country's economy, Bayon explains. In 1994 Mexico ranked 12th among 15 countries which produced 92 percent of all cars. Mexico has 20 assembly plants in 11 states, 500 autoparts plants, and 1,000 distributors. Between 1990 and 1995 the auto industry invested more than seven billion dollars in Mexico. The industry represents 10 percent of the Mexican gross national product, and in 1994 generated 35 percent of manufacturing export and 18 percent of total exports. Auto exports are second only to petroleum in their importance to the Mexican economy. The Mexican auto industry is dominated by foreign multinational corporations such as Ford, General Motors, Volkswagen and Nissan. The only important Mexican company is Dina.

Bayon explains that Mexican auto workers have no national auto workers' union, but rather find themselves divided into company or plant unions which keep workers