

Notes

Abbreviations

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| AGN | Archivo General de la Nación |
| AHENR/CH | Archivo Histórico de la Escuela Normal Rural de Cañada Honda, Aguascalientes |
| AHENR/SM | Archivo Histórico de la Escuela Normal Rural de San Marcos, Zacatecas |
| AHENR/T | Archivo Histórico de la Escuela Normal Rural de Tamazulapan, Oaxaca |
| AHSEP | Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública |
| C | Caja [Box] |
| CONALTE | Consejo Nacional Técnico de la Educación |
| DEANR | Departamento de Enseñanza Agrícola y Normal Rural |
| DFS | Dirección Federal de Seguridad |
| DGEN | Dirección General de Enseñanza Normal |
| DGIPS | Dirección General de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales |
| EXP. | Expediente [Record] |
| H | Hoja [Page] |
| LEG. | Legajo [File] |
| NARA | National Archives and Records Administration |
| P-MAC | Presidentes, Manuel Ávila Camacho |
| SEP | Secretaría de Educación Pública |

Introduction

1. Three other people were also killed, and twenty-four suffered gunshot wounds, including seven *normalistas*. On the army's tracking of the students, see Anabel Hernández and Steve Fisher, "La historia no oficial," *Proceso*, December 13, 2014. For a blow-by-blow account of the attack on the normalistas and the state's cover-up, see Hernández, *Verdadera noche*.

2. Human Rights Watch, "Vanished."

3. For example, just two and a half months earlier, the military had killed twenty-two people in Tlatlaya, Mexico State, claiming the casualties resulted from a confrontation with drug traffickers. Investigations soon revealed the military had executed at least twelve of the individuals who were unarmed or trying to surrender and altered the scene to look like a confrontation had taken place. A much larger massacre, of 193 people, mostly Central American migrants, took place in 2011 in San Fernando, Tamaulipas. It was perpetrated by the Zetas cartel, but investigations also revealed the participation of Mexican police. On Tlatlaya, see Human Rights Watch, "Mexico." On San Fernando, see "Mexican Police Helped Cartel Massacre 193 Migrants Documents Show," *NPR*, December 22, 2014, <https://www.npr.org/2014/12/22/372579429/mexican-police-helped-cartel-massacre-193-migrants-documents-show>.

4. While much of this violence took place under the presidential administrations of Vicente Fox (2000–2006) and Felipe Calderón (2006–12), both from the National Action Party, the violence itself resulted from the PRI's decreased hegemony and the ensuing turf battles. With the ascendance of opposition parties since the 1990s, the PRI no longer held a monopoly over regional drug-trafficking power arrangements.

5. During the summer and fall of 1968, students from campuses across Mexico City organized a series of protests. Initially sparked by the government's excessive use of force against a skirmish between two rival high schools, the movement that developed soon issued a demand list that, among other things, included freedom for political prisoners, the abolishment of Mexico City's riot squad, and respect for university autonomy. More generally, participants denounced the enormous amount of resources devoted to the Olympic Games Mexico was preparing to host that fall. On October 2, as students held a massive rally in Tlatelolco's plaza, the army surrounded them and fired into the crowd, leaving an estimated two hundred to five hundred dead. Although it was known primarily as a student massacre, the mobilizations included many other sectors of the population who were also victims of repression.

6. In the 1930s the rural normales became explicitly for the sons and daughters of campesinos as well as the children of rural teachers. The term *campesino* is itself expansive and generally refers to those from the countryside who are poor.

7. For a sample of these thinkers' writing, see Loyo Bravo, *Casa del pueblo*.

8. Paul Gillingham has studied this dynamic in Guerrero for the 1930s and 1940s, but there is little other work for subsequent decades or other regions. See “Ambiguous Missionaries.”

9. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, xvi.

10. On critical pedagogy see Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Paulo Freire emphasized that the means of transmitting knowledge matter as much as the content. At rural normales the education process rarely followed the dialogic approach envisioned by Freire.

11. For an overview of theories of consciousness, see Carpenter and Mojab, “Adult Education.”

12. See Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*.

13. For a Latin American case study that looks at the diverse origins of consciousness among Chilean workers, see Winn, *Weavers of Revolution*.

14. See, for example, Choudray, *Learning Activism*; and Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*.

15. Organizations like the Black Panthers or the Young Lords, for example, devoted much time and energy to breakfast programs for Black and Brown children, community health care, or campaigns to bring attention to toxic or dilapidated inner-city housing.

16. See, for example, Gould, *To Lead as Equals*.

17. For two works that detail this process for dramatically different times and places, see Aviña, *Specters of Revolution*; and Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*.

18. In the first chapter of *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*, Elisabeth Jean Wood provides a concise summary of various explanatory frameworks of this puzzle.

19. For the 1950s independent teachers’ movement, see Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*; for the 1970s, see Cook, *Organizing Dissent*.

20. In 1964, for example, only 2.9 percent of school-age children in the countryside completed the six years of elementary education, a number that also reflected the small proportion—one in ten—of schools in the countryside that went up to sixth grade. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 266–67.

21. Sanderson, *Agrarian Populism*, 144–55.

22. Wright, *Death of Ramón González*, 6–7. As Wright shows, such large-scale use of chemical fertilizers also had devastating effects on the environment and on the health of farmworkers.

23. Gollás, “Breve relato de cincuenta años,” 232–33.

24. Latapí, *Análisis de un sexenio*, 140; and Torres, “Corporativismo estatal,” 167.

25. Torres, “Corporativismo estatal,” 164.

26. Muñoz Izquierdo and Lobo, “Expansión escolar,” 10.

27. Cook, *Organizing Dissent*, 212. In the late 1970s, the SNTE had over half a million members; by 1985 it had 700,000 and by 1990 close to a million. Torres, "Corporativismo estatal," 162, 166.

28. For example, Carlos Jonguitud Barrios, himself a graduate of a rural normal who later studied law at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, headed the SNTE from 1974 to 1977. Before leading the official teachers' union, he served on the PRI's executive committee and was later a national senator for the party. He was also the director of the country's social security system and governor of San Luis Potosí in the early 1980s.

29. Torres, "Corporativismo estatal," 166.

30. Street, "SNTE," 47.

31. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 116; and Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 96n4.

32. For example, Jackson Albarrán, *Seen and Heard in Mexico*; Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*; Lewis, *Ambivalent Revolution*; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*; Vaughan, *State, Education, and Social Class*; Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*; Raby, *Educación y revolución social*; and Ruiz, *Mexico*.

33. Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*; Gómez Nashiki, *Movimiento estudiantil*; Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*; and Zolov, *Refried Elvis*.

34. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*; McCormick, *Logic of Compromise*; Alegre, *Railroad Radicals*; Aviña, *Specters of Revolution*; Walker, *Waking from the Dream*; and Padilla, *Rural Resistance*.

35. While there is now an emerging historical literature on elections, with a few exceptions, such as Luis Javier Garrido's *El partido de la revolución institucionalizada*, the state party that emanated from the revolution and ruled Mexico continuously for seven decades has received scant historiographical attention. While historians acknowledge that what came to be known as the PRI underwent important shifts, power struggles, and changes, there have still been few historical studies about the institutions that played a key part in its function as a state party. For example, there is no historical study on the SNTE, Mexico's biggest and most powerful union, whose leadership was intimately tied to the party's corporatist structure. Thom Rath's *Myths of Demilitarization in Postrevolutionary Mexico, 1920–1960*, and Aaron W. Navarro's *Political Intelligence and the Creation of Modern Mexico, 1938–1954*, are important examples of works that have now begun to probe the state party's inner workings and its relationship to other institutions. María Muñoz's *Stand Up and Fight* likewise examines how a sector of the indigenous leadership became incorporated into and engaged with the PRI. For recent work on elections, see Gillingham, "Mexican Elections"; Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy*; Gómez Tagle, *Transición inconclusa*; Servín, *Ruptura y oposición*; Loaeza, *Partido Acción Nacional*; and Pansters, *Política y poder en Puebla*. On the PRI's early years, Gillingham's *Unrevolutionary Mexico*.

36. This follows Greg Grandin and Gilbert Joseph's call to consider Latin America's century of revolution as a distinct historical period. See Grandin and Joseph, *Century of Revolution*.

37. Joseph, "Latin America's Long Cold War," 402.

38. Grandin, "Living in Revolutionary Time," 28.

39. Pensado and Ochoa, *México beyond 1968*.

40. Gillingham and Smith, *Dictablanda*.

41. How hard or how soft the state's heavy hand came down depended on a group's socioeconomic standing. Mexico's most marginalized—the rural poor—bore the brunt of the state's use of force. The 1968 Tlatelolco massacre was exceptional not in its brutality but in its attack against middle-class protesters in the nation's capital before the eyes of the international community as Mexico prepared to host the Olympic Games. State violence in the countryside—both selective and indiscriminate—was a constant feature of the PRI regime. See, for example, Aviña, *Specters of Revolution*; McCormick, *Logic of Compromise*; and Padilla, *Rural Resistance*.

42. Knight, "Peculiarities of Mexican History," 132–42.

43. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, 186.

44. Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith, for example, argue that "for the majority of Mexicans the Cold War may instead have depoliticized everyday life" because expressions of discontent "remained wedded to pre-existing rhetoric, alliances and organizational structures." "Introduction," 24.

45. Dubois, "Atlantic Freedoms."

46. Novick, *That Noble Dream*. See also Linda Gordon's critique of Peter Novick's framework, which, she writes, sets up an objectivity/relativism binary that "oversimplifies the meaning and tensions between structuralist determinism and emphasis on agency." "Comments," 685. These questions are thus not new, but it behooves us to keep them in mind as we take stock of the first post-1940s Mexicanist historiographical generation in a field that, as Jaime M. Pensado and Enrique C. Ochoa remind us, has long been inaccessible to working-class students of color. "Preface," xiii.

47. While noting an inherent tension in acknowledging our position as historians while taking distance from it, Trouillot rejects "both the naive proposition that we are prisoners of our pasts and the pernicious suggestion that history is whatever we make of it." *Silencing the Past*, xix.

48. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, ix.

49. Part of the General Directorate of Political and Social Investigations (Dirección General de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales, DGIPS) and the Federal Security Directorate (Dirección Federal de Seguridad, DFS), these collections were formally declassified in 2002 (though the former collection had been partly accessible since 1999). Beginning in 2014, access was increasingly restricted, but as of February 2020, Mexico's National Archive (Archivo General de la Nación)

announced that these collections were once again open and available for consultation. My own research with the DFS collection took place in 2007.

50. The SEP archives have changed locations three times since I first began my work there in 2007. Their reference system has also undergone some modifications. My repeated inquiries about post-1940s documentation on rural normales never received a clear answer, other than these documents are still part of personnel files and therefore inaccessible.

51. Individual institutional particularities, themselves marked by regional context and histories, are beyond the scope of this study. Regional or comparative ethnographies will hopefully be the subject of future research. For two historical works on individual normales, see Hernández Santos, *Tiempos de reforma*; and Ortiz Briano, *Entre la nostalgia y la incertidumbre*. Students in education programs in Mexico have also written theses on individual rural normales, though neither these nor the historical studies cited here make claims about the particularities of the institutions that are the subject of their work. Examples of such theses include Reynoso Sánchez, “Ser estudiante normalista rural”; Pinto Díaz, “Formadores”; and Vite Vargas, “Formación docente.”

52. Portelli, “Living Voices,” 248.

53. Portelli, “What Makes Oral History Different,” 67, 64.

54. For example, many participants cite the prominent leadership of rural normalistas in the challenge to the SNTE’s authoritarianism and corruption in the 1970s and 1980s as resulting from the political formation at rural normales. There, mandatory FECSM marches, *boteos* (soliciting donations on buses or along highways), and political assemblies meant that many of their graduates had experience in the art of public speaking, political recruitment, and popular organizing. No such institutionalized practices existed in state and urban normales. Significantly, it was not just the left that tapped into such skills; rural normalistas also relate that these very qualities made them attractive among official circles eager to co-opt them.

55. Victoria Ramírez, interview.

One. Normales, Education, and National Projects

1. Fowler-Salamini, *Agrarian Radicalism*, xv.

2. On teacher resistance during the Díaz regime, see Vaughan, *State, Education, and Social Class*, 75–76; and Cockcroft, “Maestro de primaria.”

3. Cockcroft, “Maestro de primaria,” 568. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

4. Fell, *José Vasconcelos*, 119.

5. Fell, *José Vasconcelos*, 127.

6. Vaughan, *State, Education, and Social Class*, 140–42.

7. Vasconcelos, “Discurso pronunciado en el Teatro Arbeu en la Fiesta del Maestro,” May 14, 1921, *Boletín de la Universidad* 2 (July 1921): 240, quoted in Fell, *José Vasconcelos*, 119–20.

8. Carr, "Fate of the Vanguard," 343.
9. Craven, *Art and Revolution*, 40.
10. Olcott, *Revolutionary Women*, 7.
11. Alma Gómez Caballero, phone interview, May 8, 2020.
12. Vasconcelos, *José Vasconcelos*, 292.
13. Palacios, *La pluma y el arado*, 150–51.
14. Palacios, *La pluma y el arado*, 46, 16.
15. See Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*.

16. Interestingly, Vasconcelos became a harsh critic of action pedagogy. Writing in the 1930s, he objected to Dewey's conception that children be given substantial freedom to learn from their environment. Instead, argued Vasconcelos, teachers should play an active role in instilling—not awakening—the principles of humanity. Since, for him, these principles were Iberian in origin, he rejected Dewey's philosophy that upheld Anglo-Saxon pragmatism based on a reification of the natural. "We do not know the natural, only its appearance humanized since its origins," wrote Vasconcelos in "De Robinson a Odiseo." Vasconcelos, *José Vasconcelos*, 36.

17. Sáenz, "Algunos aspectos de la educación," 26–27.
18. Dewey, "What Mr. John Dewey Thinks," 6.
19. Rafael Ramírez, "Propósitos fundamentales," 31–36.
20. Bassols, "Programa educativo de México," 44–46.
21. Dawson, *Indian and Nation*, xxv.
22. De la Peña, "Educación y cultura," 62–63.
23. Giraudo and Furio, "Neither 'Scientific' nor 'Colonialist,'" 15–16.

24. This document also critiqued an indigenist policy based on charity and specifically censured attempts to redirect scholarship funds for indigenous students at rural normales to instead pay for public work brigades in their communities. Berzunza Pinto, *Indígenas y la república Mexicana*, 26, 8.

25. Account based on Newland, "Estado Docente and Its Expansion," 454–59.

26. For a volume that brings together historical, anthropological, and pedagogical studies of state and community initiatives on indigenous education in Mexico, see Bertely Busquets, *Historias*. On indigenous bilingual teachers in the latter part of the twentieth century, see Dillingham, *Oaxaca Resurgent*.

27. For the indigenous population—then defined as those who did not speak Spanish and were from heavily indigenous communities—the SEP created thirty-two indigenous boarding schools during the 1930s. While teaching literacy, Spanish, and hygiene, these schools, as Alexander Dawson writes, "endeavored to cultivate rather than break down ethnic affiliations" by training social leaders within specific ethnic communities and experimenting with bilingual education. Part of Cárdenas's leftward shift, these initial experiments in cultural pluralism later became Indigenous Coordinating Centers run by the National Indigenist Institute, which in the 1950s and 1960s began to train *promotores bilingües*, agents of bilingual education and development. Dawson, "Histories and Memories,"

83–84. On the radicalization and political involvement of these promotores as both students and teachers, see Dillingham, “Indigenismo Occupied.”

28. In 1936, when the number of students who spoke an indigenous language was a little over 7 percent, rural normales began to provide supplementary instruction to those who did not speak Spanish and relaxed grade requirements, allowing them to remain enrolled even if they failed certain curricular offerings. Regional inspectors were also charged with devising plans to better recruit students from indigenous communities. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 157. In the 1960s one-third of spots at normales were to be reserved for indigenous bilingual students, to be selected by the communities themselves, but it is unclear whether this goal was met. “Convocatoria para el concurso de admisión de nuevo ingreso,” June 20, 1967, AHENR/SM, C “Varias, 1966–67.”

29. On Lunacharsky and Vasconcelos, see Fell, *José Vasconcelos*, 662; on the Marxist content of the cultural missions’ theater troupes, see Robert Herr, “Puppets and Proselytizing”; on *El Maestro Rural*, see Palacios, *La pluma y el arado*.

30. Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, 119.

31. Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, 28.

32. Dawson, “Histories and Memories,” 83–84.

33. National integration was a cultural rather than a racial problem, according to Vasconcelos, who declared, “I can conceive of no difference between the ignorant Indian and the ignorant French or English peasant; as soon as one or the other is educated, they become auxiliaries of the civilized life in their countries and they contribute, each in their own way, to the betterment of the world.” Vasconcelos, *José Vasconcelos*, 291–92.

34. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 155–56.

35. See Flores, *Backroads Pragmatists*.

36. Miñano García, *Educación rural en México*, 16.

37. Vilchis Cedillo, “Escuela-Ayllu de Warisata,” 152. According to Mario Aguilera Dorantes, the principal of several rural normales in the 1930s, who in later decades occupied other high SEP positions, the central office of Warisata displayed an image of Cárdenas. See “Con Mario Aguilera Dorantes,” in Bolaños, *Historia de la educación*, 145.

38. Mistral, “Reforma Educacional de México,” 163.

39. Transnational connections may in fact have been stifled by governments’ strong nationalist emphasis. Mistral herself later lamented, “I have learned bitter things, that men believe miserably in *pequeñas patrias*, in the Mexican or Chilean air, in the Mexican or Chilean pastures. I have not been convinced by such ferocious nationalism.” Gabriela Mistral, “Motivos de la vida” (unpublished, 1924), Archivo del Escritor, Biblioteca Nacional, Chile, Santiago, s/n, quoted in Moraba Valle, “Lo mejor de Chile,” 1238.

40. The case of China, where in the 1930s rural normales became the principal institutions of secondary education in the countryside, offers some uncanny

similarities to Mexico. These schools also provided free room and board and a modest stipend and were principally attended by students from poorer, mostly peasant families. Their graduates, a large number of whom joined the Communist Party, “carried the torch of the urban-born communist movement to the countryside.” Liu, “Prometheus of the Revolution,” 567. In another striking comparison to Mexico, Xiaoping Cong writes about Chinese normales: “Teachers’ schools became centres of radical discussion and activities. Discontented rural students supplemented the government-stipulated curriculum with radical texts and responded enthusiastically to the encouragement they got from an older generation of leftist intellectuals who had survived the Nationalist purges of the late 1920s. Organizers won over many students in teachers’ schools, recruiting them to become grassroots workers for the Communist Party.” *Teachers’ Schools*, 168.

41. Cox and Gysling, *Formación del profesorado*, 89–93.

42. See, for example, Green, *Education Reconstruction*; Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*; and Anderson, *Education of Blacks*.

43. In the case of El Salvador, Héctor Lindo-Fuentes and Erik Ching write, “Teachers were one of the most important and most unexpected sectors to emerge as part of the left-leaning opposition to the PCN [Partido de Conciliación Nacional, National Conciliation Party]. In the first half of the 1960s teachers developed a collective consciousness and began questioning their traditional position in the military’s system of rule.” Lindo-Fuentes and Ching, *Modernizing Minds*, 89. On Chile, see Cox and Gysling, *Formación del profesorado*, 88.

44. Vaughan, *State, Education and Social Class*, 16.

45. Vaughan, *State, Education, and Social Class*, 62; and Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 58.

46. Miñano García, *Educación rural en México*, 37–41. See appendix for sample classes for this and subsequent decades.

47. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 61; and Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 382.

48. Miñano García, *Educación rural en México*, 23–45.

49. Ibarrola, “Formación de los profesores,” 245, 249.

50. In 1950, of the country’s 65,000 teachers, 43,000 did not have a teaching degree. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 103n12. Through correspondence courses or weekend training at centers throughout the country, the Federal Institute for Teacher Training offered teachers the opportunity to gain their degree after six years of study. According to official figures, between 1959 and 1964, it enrolled an average of 24,472 teachers a year, for which it was termed “the largest normal school in the world.” SEP, *Obra educativa*, 163–64.

51. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 192–95.

52. These included the Regional Normal Teaching Centers (discussed in chapter 4), the National School for Preschool Teachers, and the short-lived National

Schools for Industrial and Agricultural Work. Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 3:487, 492.

53. Such were the declarations made by then minister of education Víctor Bravo Ahúja. Ahúja, *Diario de una gestión*, 2:201, quoted in Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 129.

54. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 172–74.

55. This decentralization process actually began in the late 1970s but proceeded slowly, partly because of the fierce opposition of the SNTE, whose power it would weaken by fragmenting the teaching corps into state unions. The late 1980s saw tumultuous battles that resulted in the destitution of the previously dominant faction known as the Revolutionary Vanguard, led by Carlos Jonguitud Barrios. The new leadership, headed by Elba Esther Gordillo, agreed to support the decentralization efforts on the condition that the union retain national representation of education workers. For a detailed account of the process, see Arnaut Salgado, *Federalización educativa en México*, chap. 9.

56. For a discussion of how the SEP deliberately constructed this mystique, see Palacios, *La pluma y el arado*. In the 1980s the SEP sponsored a project to collect the experiences of these early educators “who, through multiple pedagogical experiences transmitted early civic values, knowledge, civics, art and culture . . . so they could be known and acknowledged by contemporary Mexican society.” The testimonies were published as a five-volume work entitled *Los maestros y la cultura nacional, 1920–1952*, edited by Engracia Loyo Bravo, Cecilia Greaves, and Valentina Torres. Quote from “Presentación,” 1:7.

57. As part of their application, students must present proof of their poor background. This documentation often comes in the form of a letter from the municipal or ejido authorities. Undoubtedly, a portion of the students have come from what would more accurately qualify as the lower rungs of the middle class and used either false documentation or political connections to gain entrance. Normalistas themselves often denounced such practices and—as discussed throughout much of this work—sought to mitigate the numbers of such students by demanding a voice in the admissions process. In recent years, at some schools, members of the student association travel to students’ homes to verify their living conditions.

58. Since the 1950s and 1960s, there have been important networks of indigenous teachers, operating under the category of *promotores bilingües*. Because they were hired on a piecemeal basis and had no union representation, they were paid less and often disparaged by normal graduates as second-class teachers. In the 1970s *promotores bilingües* successfully fought for formal recognition within the SEP, a status that entitled them to membership in the official union. From there, as Alan Shane Dillingham shows for Oaxaca, they mounted a dual struggle for equality within the teaching profession and for union democratization. The more radical ones engaged in theories of anticolonialism and antiracism, providing an important basis for subsequent proposals for indigenous

education that challenged long-standing assimilationist frameworks. See Dillingham, *Oaxaca Resurgent*.

59. Known as *Escuelas Normales Indígenas Interculturales Bilungües* (Intercultural Bilingual Indigenous Normal Schools), these institutions gained official recognition thanks to the combined organizing efforts of indigenous activists and dissidents of the official teachers' union. These normales recruit students speaking indigenous native tongues and privilege a curriculum focused on indigenous history, culture, and language. Despite their official recognition, the indigenous normales face ongoing battles with the SEP about resources, the nature of the courses they offer, and a guarantee of jobs for their graduates. Additionally, about twenty normales currently offer a specialization in bilingual and intercultural education. See Baronnet, "De cara al currículo nacional."

60. The halls of the SEP in Mexico City are themselves covered with Rivera's frescos; in the three-story building, a series of 120 panels depict an epic narrative of rural struggles for liberation, proletarian revolution, and the popular power brought about by ejido councils, unions, and rural schools. The celebration of such radical traditions, some scholars argue, enhanced the state's revolutionary image as a guarantor of worker and campesino rights. See Coffey, "All Mexico on a Wall"; and Carr, "Fate of the Vanguard."

61. On rural normales as an imagined community, see Luis Hernández Navarro, "Ayotzinapa y la fuerza del normalismo rural," *La Jornada*, October 28, 2014.

62. Examples of these works include Cortés Martínez et al., *Educación rural en México*; Aguayo Álvarez, *Paseo por los recuerdos*; Arias Delgado, *Saltando la cerca*; Quintal Martín, González Salazar, and Pacheco Hidalgo, *Historia de la benemérita Escuela Normal Rural "Justo Sierra Méndez"*; Zúñiga Castillo, *Normalismo rural en Tamaulipas*; *Soy normalista*; Bustos García, *Ximonco*; and Fabre Baños, *Normal rural de Galeana*.

63. During the Porfiriato, for example, the percentage of Mexico City's teachers who were women went from 56.8 in percent in 1875 to 76.2 percent in 1905. González Jiménez, "De cómo y por qué las maestras llegaron a ser mayoría," 756.

64. Other than in this type of reference, northward migration, otherwise so ubiquitous in rural Mexico, is relatively absent in the documentation and interviews of rural normalistas. Like so many people in Mexico, those I interviewed had at least one relative living in the United States, but their own trajectories did not involve seeking work *del otro lado* (on the other side), an indication of how much the teaching profession constituted a sound economic option. In fact, in their educational profile, normalistas differed from the average migrant to the United States, whose years of schooling tended to be far less. See Durand, Massey, and Zenteno, "Mexican Immigration to the United States," 116.

65. Like migration to the United States, for most of the decades covered by this study, references to narco-trafficking are absent from the documentation and interviews of rural normalistas. This is likely due to two factors. First, Mexico's

drug trade and cultivation networks have historically taken place in locales separate from rural normales. Drug cartels' pervasive hold on vast sectors of rural Mexico—including the dynamics leading to the 2014 attack on Ayotzinapa's students—is a phenomenon more characteristic of the early twenty-first century. Second, the historiography on Mexican drug trafficking is relatively new, with scholars only recently turning their focus to the middle decades of twentieth century. As more historical studies emerge on both drug trafficking and the postrevolutionary period, scholars may uncover overlap between what we currently hold as distinct sectors.

Two. A New Kind of School, a New Kind of Teacher

1. Balam, "José Hernández Delgadillo," 58–61; and Hernández Zamora, "Prefacio," 11.

2. Ruiz, *Mexico*, 89.

3. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 381.

4. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 23–24.

5. Vaughan, *State, Education, and Social Class*, 143–45.

6. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 88.

7. Loyo Bravo, "¿Escuelas o empresas?," 89.

8. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 91; and Loyo Bravo, "¿Escuelas o empresas?"

9. According to a 1928 examination of enrollments, 20 percent of pupils' families were ejidatarios, 39 percent were small-scale property owners and campesinos, and the remaining 41 percent were merchants, professionals, artisans, large landowners and cattle ranchers, members of the military, and industrialists. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 94.

10. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 97.

11. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 226.

12. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 226.

13. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 73.

14. Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*, 67.

15. Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*, 67–68.

16. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 140.

17. Loyo Bravo, "¿Escuelas o empresas?," 79.

18. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 47; and Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 154.

19. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 159–60, 157. Language was of course not the only marker of indigenous identity, but in its efforts to recruit indigenous students, the SEP used it to differentiate indigenous from mestizo pupils.

20. Civera Cerecedo, "Coeducación en la formación de maestros rurales," 273.

21. Raby, "Principios de la educación rural," 576–78.

22. Raby, "Principios de la educación rural," 557–58.
23. "Informe que el ciudadano Gral. de División Lázaro Cárdenas rinde al H. Congreso del Estado al terminar su periodo constitucional 1928–1932 y contestación del presidente mismo," *Tip. Arte y Trabajo*, Morelia, Mich., September 15, 1932, 11–12, quoted in Córdoba, "Maestros rurales," 78.
24. Raby, "Principios de la educación rural," 558–59.
25. Raby, "Principios de la educación rural," 562. Tacámbaro's rural normal was not the first federally sponsored institution, but it is the oldest one to survive and is today located in Tiripetío, Michoacán.
26. See Villela Buenrostro, *Maestro del pueblo*.
27. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 225–353.
28. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 260.
29. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 47.
30. Antonieto Rodríguez, "El maestro como verdadero líder social de las comunidades," July 26, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34256, Exp.15-27-20-7.
31. Maurillo García, "Influencia de la escuela rural en la comunidad," July 25, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34272, Exp.15-27-30-56.
32. José Ma. Villanueva, "La escuela rural como factor de engrandecimiento y progreso del pueblo mexicano," July 26, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, c 34178, Exp.15-27-16-44.
33. María de la Luz Rodríguez, "La educación del adulto: Medio eficaz para la acción socializante de la escuela rural," July 26, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34265, Exp.15-27-20-22.
34. José Ma. Villanueva, "La escuela rural como factor de engrandecimiento y progreso del pueblo mexicano," July 26, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34178, Exp.15-27-16-44.
35. Manuel López Cienfuegos, "Prueba de técnica de la enseñanza de lectura y escritura," May 9, 1942, AHSEP/DGEN, C34236, Exp.15-27-19-41.
36. Rafael Ramírez, *Escuela rural mexicana*, 65.
37. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 281.
38. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 349.
39. Vidal Ramírez, "La escuela rural como agencia de mejoramiento económico, social y cultural," November 24, 1932, AHSEP/DGEN, C34263, Exp.15-27-26-62.
40. Maurillo García, "Influencia de la escuela en la comunidad," July 25, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34272, Exp.15-27-30-56; see also Alejandro Sendejas, "¿Es ventajosa la coeducación?" 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34253, Exp.15-27-2-23.
41. Olcott, *Revolutionary Women*, 96–97.
42. Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*, 16.
43. See Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*; and Joseph and Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation*. On revolutionary citizenship, see Olcott, *Revolutionary Women*.

44. Cecilia Rodríguez, "La educación integral del niño campesino único medio de lograr una patria mejor," July 26, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34275, Exp.15-27-27-182.
45. Antonieto Rodríguez, "Maestro como verdadero líder," July 26, 1933, AHSEP/DGEN, C34275, Exp.15-27-20-7.
46. Palacios, *La pluma y el arado*.
47. Butler, "'Liberal' Cristero," 658.
48. Raby, "Principios de la educación rural," 565–66, 574–75.
49. Meyer, *Cristiada*.
50. See Purnell, *Popular Movements*.
51. Butler, *Popular Piety*.
52. Bassols "Programa educativo de Mexico," 51.
53. Bassols, "Programa educativo de México"; Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*, 1:53–54; and Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 51–52.
54. Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*, 1:100–101; and Rubenstein, "Raised Voices," 315.
55. See Valdés Silva, "Educación socialista y reparto agrario."
56. Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*, 1:121–22; and Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 37–38.
57. Civera Cerecedo, "Pedagogía alternativa y revolución," 9.
58. *Memoria*, 1933, 1:52–58, cited in Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 39.
59. These were the Federation of Regional Education Workers Union, the left-wing group of the Confederation of Mexican Teachers, as well as the National Teachers League. Britton, *Educación y radicalismo*, 1:131.
60. "Manifiesto a los campesinos," November 1934, AHSEP/DGEN, C34177, Exp.344/11.
61. See Valdés Silva, "Educación socialista y reparto agrario."
62. "Educación socialista y la escuela rural," 59, 63, 65.
63. Gabino Bautista and E. Dávila R., "La escuela socialista ante los problemas del hogar," *El Maestro Rural* 7, no. 6 (September 15, 1935): 31–32.
64. "Prueba de admisión," January 1940, AHSEP/DGEN, C34231, Exp.15-28-18-3.
65. "Pruebas extraordinarias educación rural," n.d., AHSEP/DGEN, C34254, Exp.15-27-25-19.
66. Isabel Nava, "Examen de aptitud," December 17, 1935, AHSEP/DGEN, C34207, Exp.15-28-5-66; and Manuel Castro, "Prueba práctica," December 16, 1935, AHSEP/DGEN, C34203, Exp.15-27-40-28.
67. Pascual Orozco García, "La escuela rural," January 22, 1946, AHSEP/DGEN, C34231, Exp.15-28-18-13.
68. Evancio Ocampo Sandoval, "La escuela rural mexicana y la actitud del maestro ante los problemas sociales," December 19, 1945, AHSEP/DGEN, C34231, Exp. 15-28-18-16.

69. Ma. Guadalupe Ortega, "Examen de aptitud," December 18, 1935, AHSEP/DGEN, C34258, Exp.15-28-17-50; Castro, "Prueba práctica," December 16, 1935; and Macario Pantaleón, "Informe de las labores desarrolladas," August 20, 1935, AHSEP/DGEN, C34236, Exp.15-27-19-18.
70. Máximo Xochipa, "Examen de aptitud," December 3, 1935, AHSEP/DGEN, C34148, Exp.15-28-32-30.
71. Nava, "Examen de aptitud," December 17, 1935.
72. See Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*.
73. "Padre de familia," Instituto de Acción Social Destinado a la Regional Campesina de Tenería, 1934, AHSEP/DGEN, C34177, Exp.37.
74. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 126–27.
75. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 127–37.
76. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 147. The five-volume collection of rural teachers' memories, *Los maestros y la cultura nacional, 1920–1952*, edited by Engracia Loyo Bravo, Cecilia Greaves, and Valentina Torres, also recounts numerous anecdotes about Cristero violence and priest-led hostilities.
77. Raby, "Principios de la educación rural," 580–81.
78. Lewis, *Ambivalent Revolution*, 93–94.
79. SEP, *Misiones culturales*, 238, 307.
80. Castro, "Prueba práctica," December 16, 1935.
81. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 207.
82. García Téllez, *Socialización de la cultura*, 234, quoted in Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 219.
83. Ing. Emilio F. Ferreira, "Plan mínimo de acción," January 15, 1937, AHSEP/DEANR, C3081, Exp.16-3-8-171, quoted in Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 241.
84. Sociedad de Alumnos de la Escuela Regional Campesina, "Manifiesto," August 1934, Tamatán, Tamaulipas. Document transcribed in Calderón López-Velarde, "Escuela normal rural," 170–73.
85. Mariano Orozco Álvarez, interview. Established in Tacámbaro in 1922, Michoacán's first rural normal changed location several times, first to Erongarícuaro, then to Huetamo, and finally to Tiripetío.
86. Sociedad de Alumnos de la Escuela Regional Campesina, "Manifiesto."
87. "Conclusiones del Primer Congreso de Estudiantes Campesinos de la República," Exp.509: 4–8-8–30, AHSEP, quoted in Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 217.
88. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 217.
89. FECSM, "Convocatoria a las sociedades de alumnos," 6.
90. Morales Jiménez, "Evocaciones de un profesor de banquillo," 208–9.
91. FECSM, "Convocatoria a las sociedades de alumnos."
92. "Circular de Luis Villarreal, jefe del DEANR, a los directores de las escuelas regionales campesinas," March 18, 1936, AHSEP/DEANR, C3015, Exp.16-1-2-97, quoted in Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 223.

93. “Bases para la organización y funcionamiento del gobierno escolar en las escuelas regionales campesinas,” AHSEP/DEANR, C3015, Exp.16-1-2-97, cited in Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 224–25.

94. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 223–24.

95. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 234.

96. Santos Valdés, “Democracia y disciplina escolar,” 104.

97. Santos Valdés, “Democracia y disciplina escolar,” 86.

98. With the onset of the conservative administrations of the 1940s and 1950s, this characteristic, Santos Valdés noted, was dismissed as communist. “Democracia y disciplina escolar,” 100–101.

99. Civera Cerecedo, “Pedagogía alternativa y revolución,” 10. By the 1960s, however, some student activists mentioned the importance of maintaining a high grade point average so as not to give the school authorities an excuse to expel them.

100. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 242–48.

101. Fabre Baños, *Normal rural de Galeana*, 42.

Three. “And That’s When the Main Blow Came”

1. Felipe Cortés Martínez, interview.

2. Blancarte, “Intransigence, Anticommunism, and Reconciliation,” 85, 75.

3. See the articles in Padilla and Walker, “Spy Reports.”

4. Servín, “Propaganda y Guerra Fría,” 12, 22.

5. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 87.

6. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 143.

7. See Hamilton, *Limits of State Autonomy*.

8. *Novedades*, July 10, 1940, translated and quoted in Blancarte, “Intransigence, Anticommunism, and Reconciliation,” 75.

9. *Novedades*, July 10, 1940, translated and quoted in Blancarte, “Intransigence, Anticommunism, and Reconciliation,” 75.

10. *El Universal*, January 20, 1941, quoted in Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 43.

11. “Discurso pronunciado por el Sr. Licenciado Luis Sánchez Pontón, Secretario de Educación Pública,” April 23, 1941, AGN/P-MAC, Exp.708.1/6, quoted in Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 47.

12. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 360.

13. For example, Jesús Melo, David Téllez, and 120 other signatories to Manuel Ávila Camacho, May 14, 1941; Extracto: Carlos F. Carranco Cardoso to C. Presidente, May 3, 1941; Comité Directivo Nacional del Frente Zapatista de la República to C. Presidente de la República, July 24, 1941; Asociación Nacionalista de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos to Congreso de la Unión, May 12, 1941; and Julio Godoy to Manuel Ávila Camacho, n.d., all in AGN/P-MAC, Exp.549.11/6.

14. Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza Pública Mexicana (STERM) Sección XVI, Michoacán, to Manuel Ávila Camacho, July 2, 1941, AGN/P-MAC, Exp.549.11/6; and Miembros del ejido de Cuajinicuilapa, Guerrero, to Presidente de la República, November 5, 1941, AGN/P-MAC, Exp.549.11/6.

15. H. Cárdenas, *Caso Ayotzinapa*, 167–68.

16. Sociedad de Alumnos Ricardo Flores Magón to Manuel Ávila Camacho, May 28, 1941, AGN/P-MAC, Exp.549.11/6. Despite Ávila Camacho's conservatism, he was Cárdenas's handpicked successor, which gave him legitimacy among many progressive forces. The 1940 right-wing candidacy of Juan Andreu Almazán further accentuated the left's support for Ávila Camacho.

17. In 1938, in accordance with Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, which declared all subsoil resources property of the nation, President Cárdenas had nationalized the oil industry, which until then was held by U.S. and British companies. The act became a powerful nationalist rallying cry as it made good on the revolution's promises and asserted Mexico's sovereignty against two powers with a history of foreign intervention.

18. Sociedad de Alumnos Ricardo Flores Magón to Manuel Ávila Camacho, May 28, 1941.

19. Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 3:248–51; and Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 49.

20. "La labor del Nuevo Srio. de Educación Licenciado Octavio Véjar Vázquez," *Excelsior*, December 1, 1941.

21. H. Cárdenas, *Caso Ayotzinapa*, 149, 163–64.

22. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 370–74.

23. "La escuela rural mexicana," June 30, 1959, AHSEP/Conalte, C56, Exp.1496, Leg.1.

24. Civera Cerecedo, "Coeducación en la formación de maestros rurales," 273.

25. "Código disciplinario," Fall 1964, AHENR/SM, C1965-2. It is difficult to determine when this specific regulation came into place.

26. As Alicia Civera Cerecedo explains, it is unclear whether school staff actually ran underwear checks. Students resisted them, and nurses were reluctant to take on this battle. *Escuela como opción de vida*, 372.

27. "Informe general de labores," November 30, 1952, AHENR/T.

28. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 183.

29. López Pérez and Hernández Santos, "Mujeres campesinas," 47.

30. "La función del maestro rural," *Novedades*, February 14, 1942.

31. "20,000 escuelas rurales llamadas a desaparecer," *Novedades*, December 10, 1941.

32. Of the seventeen thousand members the Mexican Communist Party reported having in 1937, almost a third were teachers. Raby, *Educación y revolución social*, 91–92.

33. Carr, "Fate of the Vanguard," 337n14.

34. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 52.
35. "Arde en fantástica pira un millón de libros escolares," *Excelsior*, December 4, 1941.
36. Pope Pius XI, "Divini Redemptoris: Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Atheistic Communism," March 19, 1939, http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370319_divini-redemptoris.html.
37. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 57.
38. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 63.
39. Álvarez García, "Difusión de las ideas," 153, 178.
40. Miñano García, *Educación rural en México*, 119; and Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 3:314.
41. "Informa visita a la Escuela Normal Rural de Comitancillo, Oax.," February 9, 1959, AHSEP/Conalte, C40, Exp.1065.
42. "Informa visita a la Escuela Normal Rural de Comitancillo, Oax.," February 9, 1959; and Hernández Santos, *Tiempos de reforma*, 148–54.
43. "Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración de la convención de educación normal, en Saltillo, Coah.," April 23, 1944, in Torres Bodet, *Educación mexicana*, 99–101.
44. SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 1:168.
45. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 389–90.
46. During Cárdenas's administration, the average percentage spent on education was 12.7; during Ávila Camacho's administration, it was 10.2. See Wilkie, *Mexican Revolution*, 160–62. On Alemán's wealth, see Niblo, *Mexico in the 1940s*, 208.
47. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 65–66.
48. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 196; and "Strike of Students at Rural Normal Schools," March 31, 1950, NARA, Record Group 59, box 4496.
49. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 195; and Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 3:377.
50. "Strike of Students at Rural Normal Schools," March 31, 1950; and Memorandum, March 24, 1950, AGN/DFS 9-27, Leg.2, H168–73.
51. An intelligence report noted that the FECSM had received a thousand letters of support from various organizations. Memorandum, March 24, 1950; and "Strike of Students at Rural Normal Schools," March 31, 1950.
52. Memorandum, April 14, 1950, AGN/DFS 9-27, Leg.2, H228–32.
53. Piedad Banuet Quero to Salvador Varela, April 15, 1950, AHENR/T.
54. Memorandum, April 14, 1950.
55. "Strike of Students at Rural Normal Schools," March 31, 1950.
56. Santos Valdés, "Breve historia de la FECSM," 31.
57. "Political Conditions in Mexico from April 16 through May 15, 1950," May 19, 1950, NARA, box 3230, General Records of the Dept of State 1950–54; and Memorandum, April 14, 1950.

58. "Strike of Students in Rural Normal Schools," March 31, 1950; "Public Education in Mexico," February 27, 1950, NARA, Record Group 59, box 4496; and Memorandum, March 24, 1950. Founded in 1939, the Confederation of Mexican Youth constituted the youth wing of the official party and included student organizations from universities as well as technical, agricultural, and teacher-training schools. Despite its ties to the official party, member groups included some with leftist tendencies that were affiliated with the Popular Party and the Mexican Communist Party.

59. Founded in London in 1945 and headquartered in Prague, the International Union of Students maintained a pro-Soviet position in world affairs. It came to have an important presence in Latin America, where it defended the Cuban Revolution and supported clandestine student organizations. Also founded in 1945, the World Federation of Democratic Youth included communist youth groups from around the world as well as nationalist organizations from Asia and Africa.

60. "Página editorial," *Excelsior*, February 11, 1950, in "Public Education in Mexico," February 27, 1950, NARA, Record Group 59, box 4496.

61. Francis White to Henry Holland, August 25, 1954, NARA, Record Group 59, box 4496.

62. "Dismissal Under-Secretary Mexican Ministry of Education," May 21, 1953, NARA, Record Group 59, box 4496; and "El plan comunista de Gómez Robledo," *Excelsior*, February 16, 1953 (newspaper clipping in same NARA folder).

63. Santos Valdés, *Autobiografía*, 61.

64. This is not only a reoccurring theme in countless normalista testimonies but a fact recognized by education officials themselves. For example, one SEP official wrote, "In spite of the deficiencies we frequently denounce in our schools, more often than not, youngsters eat better there than they do in their homes." In SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 2:188.

65. Mariano Orozco Álvarez, interview.

66. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview.

67. José Luis Aguayo Álvarez, interview.

68. Conversely, education officials worried that parents sent their kids to the junior high school component of the normal only "to rid themselves of an additional mouth to feed" but withdrew them from school once old enough to earn their keep, so they could join the labor market and contribute to the household income. Hernández Ruiz, "El problema de la deserción escolar," in SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 2:188. See also "Informe final," December 9, 1954, AHENR/SM, C79.

69. Ruiz del Castillo, *Othón Salazar*, 105.

70. Manuel Arias Delgado, interview.

71. Felipe Cortés Martínez, interview.

72. Reynaldo Jiménez, interview.

73. Felipe Cortés Martínez, interview.
74. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview.
75. "El problema de la deserción de los alumnos," July 2, 1954, AHENR/SM, C53, 1959–60.
76. Rosalva Pantoja Guerrero, interview.
77. Graciela Cásares, interview.
78. "La reforma educativa en la enseñanza normal," November 10, 1963, AHENR/SM, C1963. The name sometimes began with "Club" rather than "Committee."
79. Vicente Estrada, interview.
80. Felipe Cortés Martínez, interview.
81. Vela Gálvez, "Organización estudiantil y su acción formadora," 233.
82. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview.
83. SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 1:175.
84. SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 1:169.
85. "Oficio circular," March 23, 1954, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57.
86. "Proyecto de planes de estudio para las escuelas normales primarias," n.d., AHSEP/Conalce, C31, Exp.885, Leg.1.
87. Aguayo Álvarez, *Salaices*, 105.
88. Specific classes, activities, and times varied from school to school and changed over time.
89. See appendix for list of courses and subject areas.
90. "Expediente General del Proyecto de Plan de Estudios," 1959, AHSEP/Conalce, C48, Exp.1288, Leg.1.
91. "Expediente General del Proyecto de Plan de Estudios," 1959.
92. The number, types, and names of committees varied from school to school and often changed over time. Other committees included those on work, reforestation, recreation, sports, professional development, regional arts and crafts, and school annexes. "Informe que rinde el C. Director de la Escuela Normal Rural de Cañada Honda, Ags.," May 1954, AHENR/CH, C27b, 1950–54; "Ponencia que presenta la dirección general de enseñanza normal," 1964, AHSEP/Conalce, C52, Exp.1343, Leg.1; and Consejo Escolar, [ca. 1962–63], AHENR/SM, C10, 1962.
93. "Carta de Dirección General de Enseñanza a Directores," June 12, 1954, AHENR/SM, C1955.
94. "Carta de Dirección General de Enseñanza a Directores," June 12, 1954. See also "Informe que rinde el C. Director de la Escuela Normal Rural de Cañada Honda, Ags.," May 1954; "Ponencia que presenta la dirección general de enseñanza normal," 1964; and Consejo Escolar, 1962–63, AHENR/SM, C10, 1962.
95. "Informe que rinde el Sr. Director," May 1954, AHENR/CH, C27b; "Código disciplinario," June 19, 1954, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57; and "Código disciplinario," Fall 1964, AHENR/SM, C1965.

96. For example, Vela Gálvez, “Sistema democrático disciplinario,” 257; and Quintal Martín, González Salazar, and Pacheco Hidalgo, *Historia de la bene-mérita Escuela Normal Rural “Justo Sierra Méndez,”* 154.
97. Santos Valdés, “Democracia y disciplina escolar,” 100–101.
98. “Circular #21/53,” April 15, 1953, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57; and “Instructivo de la Dirección General de Enseñanza Normal,” January 24, 1954, AHENR/SM, C53.
99. “Forma en que deben estar concebidos y redactados los escritos de la Sociedad de Alumnos,” November 9, 1954, AHENR/CH, C27, 1950–54.
100. Santos Valdés, “Democracia y disciplina escolar,” 100–101.
101. Director Miguel Silva Sánchez and Subdirector Fernando Segura Basaure to Guadalupe de Zavaleta, November 15, 1959, AHSEP/Conalte, C40, Exp.1065.
102. For example, a 1942 Aguascalientes newspaper reported that several students had been unjustifiably expelled from the rural normal of Cañada Honda, accounts a school inspector’s investigation revealed to be false. Civera Cerecedo, *Escuela como opción de vida*, 370n20.
103. “Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración de la convención de educación normal, en Saltillo, Coah.,” April 23, 1944, in Torres Bodet, *Educación mexicana*, 100–101.
104. Santos Valdés, “Democracia y disciplina escolar,” 112.
105. SEP, *Educación rural mexicana*, 245. See also Arnaut Salgado, *Federalización educativa en México*, 238; Ruiz, *Mexico*, 84; SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 2:60–61; and Hernández Ruiz, “Problema de la deserción escolar,” 182–83.
106. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 103n12.
107. SEP, *Educación rural mexicana*, 243, 261, 265.
108. “Instructivo de la Dirección General de Enseñanza Normal,” January 25, 1954, AHENR/CH, C27, 1950–54.
109. “Circular #8,” March 1955, AHENR/SM, C1955.
110. “Los problemas de la selección de alumnos,” June 27, 1954, AHSEP/Conalte, C53, Exp.1374, Leg.1.
111. I was unable to locate federal records on the establishment of new rural normales during the 1950s due to the inaccessibility of post-1940 documentation at the Ministry of Public Education Archive.
112. Ceniceros, “Política educativa del regimen,” 351.
113. Carlos María Peralta Oropeza to Celerino Cano Palacios, March 10, 1959, AHSEP/Conalte, C4, Exp.17, Leg.1.
114. “El problema de deserción de los alumnos,” July 1954, AHENR/SM, C53.
115. “Resoluciones de la Segunda Comisión,” in SEP, *Educación rural mexicana*, 241.
116. “Resoluciones de la Segunda Comisión,” in SEP, *Educación rural mexicana*, 242.

117. "Enseñanza Primaria en los Estados y Territorios," 1953, AHSEP/Conalte, C29, Exp.801.
118. Wilkie, *Mexican Revolution*, 160–61.
119. Medina, *Hacia un nuevo estado*, 170.
120. Gillingham and Smith, "Introduction," 2–3.
121. Gollás, "Breve relato de cincuenta años," esp. 232.
122. For detailed studies on this process, see Sanderson, *Transformation of Mexican Agriculture*; Barkin and Suárez, *Fin de la autosuficiencia alimentaria*; and Hewitt de Alcántara, *Modernización de la agricultura mexicana*.
123. "Guión para la elaboración," November 5, 1957, AHSEP/Conalte, CII, Exp.286.
124. Walker, *Waking from the Dream*, 3.
125. See Padilla, *Rural Resistance*; Grammont, "Unión General de Obreros y Campesinos"; and Bartra, *Guerrero bronco*.

Four. Education at a Crossroads

1. Ruiz del Castillo, *Othón Salazar*, 113–14, 120, 124, 131–32, 133; and Othón Salazar, interview.
2. "Instructivo de la Dirección General de Enseñanza Normal," January 25, 1954, AHENR/CH, C27; and "Sobre inscripción de alumnos en las escuelas normales rurales," January 21, 1955, AHENR/SM, C1955.
3. On the rail workers' movement, see Alegre, *Railroad Radicals*; on the National Polytechnic strike, see Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*; and on the press, see Servín, "Propaganda y Guerra Fría."
4. SEP, *Junta Nacional de Educación Normal*, 2:185.
5. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, 184–85.
6. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 259.
7. Plutarco Emilio García Jiménez, interview.
8. Vicente Estrada, interview.
9. Charles Nash Myers calculated that by 1960 Mexico City "had 39.3 per cent of the national enrollment in middle education, but only 13.7 per cent of the total school age population." *Education and National Development*, 95.
10. "Strike in the Normal School for Elementary Teachers," April 16, 1953, NARA, Record Group 59, box 4496.
11. Cardiel Reyes, "Período de conciliación y consolidación," 2:357.
12. Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 61.
13. Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 62–63.
14. Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 80.
15. Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 82–85.
16. Othón Salazar, interview.
17. Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 95.

18. The increases ranged from 15 to 57 percent, depending on rank and seniority. Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 95, 98–99, 101.
19. Declaraciones del Comité Pro-Pliego Petitorio y Democratización de la IX: “Razón de ser del movimiento,” August 10, 1956, quoted in Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 39–40, 95.
20. Quoted in Caballero and Medrano, “Segundo período de Torres Bodet,” 364.
21. Amembassy Despatch 1193, April 8, 1960, NARA, Central Decimal File, 1960–63, 812.43, box 2337.
22. “Circular #32,” January 9, 1962, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.
23. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 243–44.
24. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 243–44.
25. Aboites, “Salario del educador,” 71.
26. Normalistas with scholarships were to serve three years or pay back their financial aid.
27. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 116.
28. Ávila Carrillo and Martínez Brizuela, *Historia del movimiento magisterial*, 37.
29. Amembassy Despatch 1193, April 8, 1960.
30. Bernardo Ponce, “Perspectiva,” *Excelsior*, April 5, 1960; and “El conflicto de la Normal,” *Séñal*, April 3, 1960, quoted in Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 249.
31. Amembassy Despatch 1193, April 8, 1960. See also Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 248–49n9.
32. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 248–49n9.
33. Amembassy Despatch 1193, April 8, 1960.
34. Amembassy Despatch 1193, April 8, 1960.
35. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 271–72, 275.
36. SEP, *Obra educativa*, 149.
37. Plutarco Emilio García Jiménez, interview.
38. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 216.
39. Inaugural address, December 1, 1958, quoted in Caballero and Medrano, “Segundo período de Torres Bodet,” 360.
40. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 272.
41. Amembassy Despatch 1193, April 8, 1960.
42. Plutarco Emilio García Jiménez, interview.
43. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 186–88.
44. Ávila and Muñoz, *Creación de la Comisión Nacional*, 92–93.
45. Torres Bodet, *Memorias*, 387.
46. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 235.
47. Convocatorias published in *Tiempo* quoted in Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 235.
48. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 240–41, 236.
49. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 174; and Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 215.

50. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 154.
51. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 306.
52. See, for example, “Bolchevizar al país es la meta othonista,” *El Universal*, May 14, 1958, reproduced in Lobato, *Movimiento del magisterio*, 199–204.
53. *Señal*, October 5, 1958, quoted in Torres Septién, *Educación privada*, 203.
54. The Catholic newspaper *Señal* continuously published editorials about Cuban children being taken from their parents and sent to the Soviet Union as well as children being educated in prison-like schools with government-issued Marxist texts. See Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 305.
55. *El Universal*, January 18, 1961, quoted in Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 161.
56. *Boletín de la UNPF*, no. 8 (April–May 1961): 6, quoted in Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 161–62.
57. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 271.
58. The president made this statement on July 1, 1960, shortly after Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticós visited Mexico. “Dentro de la Constitución, mi gobierno es de extrema izquierda,” *Excelsior*, July 2, 1960, quoted in Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 262.
59. *Excelsior*, November 24, 1960, quoted in Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 285; see also 284–85.
60. Christlieb Ibarrola, *Monopolio educativo o unidad nacional*, 56.
61. Alejandro Avilés, “Extrema izquierda: Monopolios, capitalismo de estado,” *La Nación*, July 10, 1960, 2, quoted in Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 265–66.
62. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 274–75.
63. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 164.
64. “Un mentis a los detractores gratuitos del Dr. y Prof. Pablo Gómez Ramírez,” *Índice*, October 21, 1964; and Torres Septién, *Educación privada*, 217.
65. Torres Septién, *Educación privada*, 202.
66. Cárdenas spearheaded Mexico’s National Liberation Movement, which defended Cuban self-determination. The former president also criticized large industrial monopolies and latifundios, as well as the control the state exercised over unions. He had good relations with the MRM as well as the rail workers fighting for union independence. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 263, 287.
67. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 165; and “Socio-Economic Aspects of Mexico’s Public Education System: A Monterrey View,” February 14, 1964, NARA, Record Group 59, box 369. The former puts the number of demonstrators at 150,000, while the latter gives 100,000.
68. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 169–70.
69. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 168; and Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 373.
70. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 364, 372, 389, 393.
71. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 377.

72. In fact, the free-textbook program recalls Vasconcelos's initiative to print and disseminate a massive number of classic works of literature, a measure by which the state positioned itself as a guide of national cultural development. Loaeza, *Clases medias*, 225.

73. See Latapí, "Pensamiento educativo de Torres Bodet."

74. SEP, *Acción educativa del gobierno mexicano*, 29–30.

75. Torres Bodet, "Técnica y educación," in Torres Septién, *Pensamiento educativo de Jaime Torres Bodet*, 113–20, quote on 113. In 1955 Mexico spent 1.1 percent of its gross domestic product on education, less than half what poorer countries such as Jamaica, Ivory Coast, Sri Lanka, and Uganda did. This amount had increased to 2.1 percent by 1965 but was still less than in countries like Chile and Argentina, which spent 3.6 and 3.3 percent respectively. Cuba spent 5.6 percent of its gross domestic product on education. For 1955 figures, see Navarrete, "Financiamiento de la educación pública," 48. For 1965 figures, see Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos, *Dinámica de la población*, 220.

76. The committee Torres Bodet convened argued that the budget necessary to ensure school access for the three million children who by the SEP's calculation did not attend school in 1950 would never be approved by the finance ministry. To make the goal more tenable, the SEP proposed to meet educational demand rather than need. Thus, those who had dropped out or did not attend school because of chronic illness would not be included in the target population. This logic reduced the number almost by half, to 1,700,000, a figure that did not account for population growth. That problem, President López Mateos told Torres Bodet, would be dealt with by future administrations. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 253–55.

77. Navarrete, "Financiamiento de la educación pública," 35. The number was far higher in the countryside, where, in 1960, 76 percent of rural primary schoolteachers taught without certificates. Myers, *Education and National Development*, 55.

78. SEP, *Obra educativa*, 163.

79. Caballero and Medrano, "Segundo período de Torres Bodet," 385–86.

80. SEP, *Obra educativa*, 163.

81. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 116n75.

82. "Instructivo al que se sujetará la expedición y registro de títulos para maestros normalistas," 1961, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.

83. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 96; and Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 88–89.

84. Myers, *Education and National Development*, 52.

85. Navarrete, "Financiamiento de la educación pública," 31.

86. Caballero and Medrano, "Segundo período de Torres Bodet," 372.

87. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 114.

88. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 114.

89. Over the coming decades, fourteen more CRENS would be established throughout Mexico. Today, their numbers equal that of rural normales.
90. SEP, *Obra educativa*, 150.
91. Torres Bodet, *Jaime Torres Bodet*, 259.
92. "Dictamen sobre el punto dos de la convocatoria," [ca. late March 1959], AHENR/CH, C29, 1957–61.
93. "Informando semana de guardia," May 5, 1958, AHENR/CH, C29, 1957–62; "Dando a conocer paro," May 6, 1958, AHENR/SM, C164, Administración Académica; "Dando a conocer paro," September 10, 1958, AHENR/SM, C164; and Loyo Brambila, *Movimiento magisterial*, 53.
94. "Dictamen sobre el punto dos de la convocatoria," [ca. late March 1959].
95. "Dictamen sobre el punto dos de la convocatoria," [ca. late March 1959].
96. "Dictamen sobre el punto dos de la convocatoria," [ca. late March 1959].
97. "Se contesta Pliego de Peticiones," April 29, 1959, AHENR/CH, C29, 1957–62.
98. "Relativo a la superación del sistema en todos sus aspectos," March 31, 1958, AHENR/CH, C29, 1957–62.
99. Examples of purportedly unfounded student mobilizations against directors included those at the rural normales of Misantla (Veracruz), Tamazulapan and Comitancillo (both in Oaxaca), and Panotla (Tlaxcala). Union officials cited conflicts between school directors and staff at Hueyapan (Puebla), Atequiza (Jalisco), and Ayotzinapa (Guerrero) as further evidence of a system in crisis. "Circular #002," May 11, 1959, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57.
100. "Relativo a la superación del sistema en todos sus aspectos," March 31, 1958.
101. "Relativo a la superación del sistema en todos sus aspectos," March 31, 1958.
102. SNTE, "Circular 30," April 1959, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57.
103. "Relativo a la superación del sistema en todos sus aspectos," March 31, 1958.
104. "Se presentan consideraciones respecto al personal comisionado," July 23, 1958, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57.
105. "Proponiendo una modalidad de trabajo," January 15, 1958, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954–57.
106. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 193–94. Until then normalistas took thirty-eight different courses divided into three general areas: cultural literacy (knowledge of the classics), the science of education (pedagogical methods), and hands-on training, often in the form of workshops. Hernández Santos, *Tiempos de reforma*, 197–98. See appendix for sample schedules.
107. "Ponencia que presenta la Dirección General de Enseñanza Normal," [ca. late 1950s], AHSEP/Conalte, C52, Exp.888, Leg.1.
108. "Relativo al acuerdo de fecha 26 del actual," August 29, 1960, AHENR/CH, C29, 1957–61.
109. "Circular #15," [ca. 1964], AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64; and Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 193–94. In the rural normales, Torres Bodet

implemented the curricular changes that the National Meeting of Normal Education had proposed since 1954. Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 3:488–92.

110. “Circular #32,” January 9, 1962, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.

111. The SEP issued the CRENS’ working-group reports with instructions on the new course structure, pedagogical methods, and changes in grading practices. “Cuarto Seminario de Estudio de los Centros Regionales de Enseñanza Normal,” August 24, 1963, AHENR/CH, C31, 1963–66.

112. Minutes of meeting between director and teachers at the rural normal of Cañada Honda, September 5, 1962, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64; “Reunión de Colegio de Maestros,” September 2, 1964, AHENR/SM, C1965; and “Oficio Circular,” September 5, 1964, AHENR/SM, C1965.

113. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8 1965, AHENR/SM, C1965.

114. For example, “Pidiendo salida del maestro de literatura,” December 10, 1965, AHENR/CH, C31, 1963–66. The poor teaching quality that resulted from such situations was often a cause of student protest. “Magisterio,” July 4, 1963, AGN/DFS 40-1, Exp.36, H202–5.

115. “La reforma educativa en la enseñanza normal,” November 10, 1963, AHENR/SM, C “Varios 1963.”

116. Sometimes referred to as a committee, sometimes a club, the Political and Ideological Orientation Club also organized cultural events related to song, theater, and poetry. “Club de Orientación Política e Ideológica ‘Valentín Gómez Farías,’” March 17, 1959, AHENR/SM, C52.

117. “La reforma educativa en la enseñanza normal,” November 10, 1963.

118. “Proyección de las actividades agropecuarias,” November 1964, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.

119. Ing. Carlos M. Peralta O. to Prof. Celerino Cano Palacios, March 10, 1959, AHSEP/Conalte, C4, Exp.17, Leg.1.

120. The SEP expanded and renamed the branch that oversaw agricultural practices. Previously the Office of Economic Development, it would now be the Office of Agricultural Extension and Education to reflect the link between production and education. “Circular #69,” December 9, 1963, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.

121. “Instrucciones en relación con las prácticas agropecuarias,” September 20, 1966, AHENR/CH, C33, 1966–69.

122. “V Seminario de Estudio de las Escuelas Normales del Calendario B,” August 1964, AHENR/CH, C33, 1966–69.

123. “V Seminario de Estudio de las Escuelas Normales del Calendario B,” August 1964.

124. “V Seminario de Estudio de las Escuelas Normales del Calendario B,” August 1964.

125. “Cuarto Seminario de Estudios de los Centros Regionales de Enseñanza Normal,” [ca. 1963], AHENR/CH, C31, 1963–66.

126. “Sobre la promoción escolar,” June 25, 1959, AHENR/CH, C29, 1957–61.

127. “Normas para calificar las asignaturas,” June 17, 1964, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.

128. “Normas para calificar las asignaturas,” June 17, 1964.

129. “Sobre la promoción escolar,” June 25, 1959.

130. Minutes of meeting between director and teachers at the rural normal of Cañada Honda, September 5, 1962, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64. This latter statute was a point of contention with the FECSM since its delegates’ responsibilities involved travel to other schools and they thus often missed many classes. “Acta Num. 3,” October 23, 1962, AHENR/SM, C10, 1962.

131. “Sobre la promoción escolar,” June 25, 1959; “Circular #16,” March 19, 1964, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64; and “Las tareas del seminario,” February 12, 1964, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960–64.

132. “La reforma educativa en la enseñanza normal,” November 10, 1963.

133. While in the projected budget Adolfo López Mateos assigned larger educational expenditures than Cárdenas, the actual amount spent was consistently lower. Wilkie, *Mexican Revolution*, 160–64, esp. table 7-2 and n.5. Significantly, as James Wilkie notes, the SEP’s publication *La obra educativa en el sexenio, 1958–1964*, was based on projected rather than actual spending.

134. Torres Bodet, “Técnica y educación,” in Torres Septién, *Pensamiento educativo de Jaime Torres Bodet*, 114.

135. Latapí, “Pensamiento educativo de Torres Bodet,” 37–38.

136. See, for example, McGinn and Street, “Has Mexican Education”; Muñoz Izquierdo, “Análisis e interpretación”; and Muñoz Izquierdo and Lobo, “Expansión escolar.”

137. In 1960, for example, when the army ended a student strike at the University of Guerrero by killing at least twenty people, the social outrage led to the resignation of Governor Raúl Caballero Aburto. In 1966 a student protest over a hike in bus fares in Morelia triggered an army takeover of the University of Michoacán San Nicolás de Hidalgo. In Sonora, when students joined widespread state protests in 1967 over the imposition of an unpopular PRI gubernatorial candidate, the army occupied the campus of the state university. That same year students at the Agricultural School Hermanos Escobar in Chihuahua sought an expansion of educational access for the poor by demanding that this heretofore private school be made public. And, of course, the 1968 student movement in Mexico City coalesced around a broad set of political demands; its two months of demonstrations ended in an army massacre in the Tlatelolco plaza.

Five. "The Infinite Injustice Committed against Our Class Brothers"

1. "Un mentis a los detractores gratuitos del Dr. y Prof. Pablo Gómez Ramírez," *Índice*, October 21, 1964. An earlier, significantly abridged version of this chapter appeared in *México beyond 1968: Revolutionaries, Radicals, and Repression during the Global Sixties and Subversive Seventies*, edited by Jaime M. Pensado and Enrique C. Ochoa (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

2. Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution*, 165.

3. Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution*, 6.

4. Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, 165, 77, 111–13.

5. Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*, 82, 173.

6. Boyer, *Political Landscapes*, 44, 145–46.

7. "Estado de Chihuahua," September 20, 1964, AGN/DGIPS, C1025, Exp.22; and Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 81–82.

8. The three industries were Celulosa de Chihuahua, Industrias Madera, and Maderas de Pino Industrializadas. "Estado de Chihuahua," September 20, 1964.

9. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 50; and García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 69–70.

10. José Ibarra was one of four partners in the Cuatro Amigos livestock company, which bought fourteen thousand hectares from Bosques de Chihuahua. The other three were Alejandro Prieto, Tomás Vega, and Roberto Schneider. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 51.

11. Memorandum, October 8, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H246–54; and Daniel Reyes, "Guerrillas en la sierra chihuahuense de Madera," *Sucesos para todos*, September 11, 1964.

12. Grammont, "Unión General de Obreros y Campesinos," 225–28.

13. Memorandum, September 18, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H56–58.

14. García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 52–53.

15. The Normal Night Schools provided accreditation courses for educators who already worked as teachers but did not have the proper credentials. Founded toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Arts and Trade School and Ladies' Industrial School imparted courses in various trades. The former included classes in bookmaking, carpentry, mechanics, shoemaking, and technical skills for radio and television work, and the latter instructed women in cooking, sewing, and secretarial work. These schools, as opposed to the rural normales, were under state jurisdiction.

16. García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 53–54.

17. "Organizan la Federación de Estudiantes de Chihuahua," *El Heraldo*, May 12, 1962.

18. Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 96.

19. Quoted in Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 99–100.

20. "Bosques de Chihuahua, S.A., Asesinos," *Índice*, February 27, 1960.

21. Reyes, "Guerrillas en la sierra chihuahuense"; Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 51–52, 59; and García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 144.
22. Memorandum, October 8, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H246–54.
23. "Bosques de Chihuahua, S.A., Asesinos"; and "'Bosques Asesinos S.A.' condenados en México por Renato Leduc en 'Siempre,'" *Índice*, April 21, 1960.
24. "Eliminación total de cacicazgos piden los jóvenes," *El Norte*, March 7, 1960.
25. "Ritmo de libertad y de progreso que ha sido detenido," *El Norte*, March 7, 1960.
26. "Llegó la caravana de campesinos de Madera," *El Norte*, November 20, 1960; and García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 41.
27. "Dentro de la ley . . . lo que quieran . . . fuera nada," *El Norte*, November 27, 1960.
28. "Gobernadorcillo Constitucional de Chihuahua," *Índice*, October 22, 1960.
29. From a Sonoran family, Ríos was active in the UGOCM and like Gámiz spent time in Mexico City, where he met numerous PP activists. He became a UGOCM delegate and moved to Madera after Luján Adame's assassination. Gaytán came from a large campesino family from Dolores, Chihuahua; his was one of the many families dispossessed of their land by Bosques de Chihuahua. Also a UGOCM leader, Gaytán led the union's commissions to Mexico City demanding land and education reform. In 1962 he was elected sectional president of Mineral de Dolores, where, together with Gámiz, he helped set up a school and spearheaded other community projects. See Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 121–22; and López Rosas, "Pensamiento y estrategia política," 74.
30. Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 184; and López Rosas, "Pensamiento y estrategia política," 42–46.
31. Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*, 85–89.
32. Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 186–87.
33. Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*, 107–8.
34. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 60.
35. Salvador Gaytán, interview by López Rosas, June 30, 2007, Mexico City, quoted in López Rosas, "Pensamiento y estrategia política," 59.
36. Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 82; and López Rosas, "Pensamiento y estrategia política," 72.
37. "Reportaje de la sierra de Temosachic, Madera y del viejo Mineral de Dolores," *La Voz de Chihuahua*, May 12, 1963.
38. Toro Rosales, *Testimonios*, 40–42.
39. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
40. Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 166.
41. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
42. Memorandum, June 5, 1963, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.6, H307; "Información sobre el estado de Chihuahua," June 6, 1963, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.6, H310; and "Un mentis a los detractores gratuitos."

43. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview; and Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 167.
44. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview. To avoid confusion, in this chapter I refer to Alma by her first name.
45. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview. Alma joined the Revolutionary Action Movement in 1971 and was captured and jailed in 1973.
46. José Luis Aguayo Álvarez, interview.
47. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview. Bosques de Chihuahua owned 615,445 hectares from its purchase of Northwestern Railway and had a concession of 563,393 hectares from Alemán's presidential decree, giving it control of over a million hectares. "Estado de Chihuahua," September 20, 1964.
48. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview.
49. Manuel Arias Delgado, interview.
50. Silvina Rodríguez, interview.
51. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
52. "Estado de Chihuahua," June 15, 1967, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.20, H391.
53. "Cobarde actitud de los comunistas emboscados," *El Herald*, April 29, 1961; and "Todos son alumnos de la Escuela Normal de Salaiques, desde donde fueron traídos," *El Herald*, May 1, 1961.
54. García, "Fui secretario general," 77–78; and García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 63.
55. "Chihuahua, agresión sinarquista," *Política*, May 15, 1961.
56. As Eric Zolov writes, while the United States framed its concern over the Cuban Revolution as a matter of national security in the battle against communism, in Mexico conservative sectors used it to further contain Cardenismo. See "¡Cuba sí, Yanquis no!"
57. "Todos son alumnos de la Escuela Normal de Salaiques."
58. García, "Fui secretario general," 77–78; and García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 63.
59. García, "Fui secretario general," 77; and "Chihuahua, agresión sinarquista."
60. Gámiz, "Participación de los estudiantes."
61. Aguayo Álvarez, "Prólogo," 13.
62. Manuel Arias Delgado, interview.
63. Gámiz, "Participación de los estudiantes."
64. "Del 7 al 12 de octubre será el encuentro en la sierra," *Acción*, September 18, 1963.
65. Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 245, 255–56.
66. "Fue detenido por la policía en Cuauhtémoc," *El Herald*, October 20, 1963.
67. Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 250–51.
68. Gámiz, "La participación de los estudiantes en el movimiento revolucionario," *Índice*, November 7, 1963. This is a somewhat modified version of the text appearing in *Ediciones Línea Revolucionaria*.

69. Gámiz, "Participación de los estudiantes."
70. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 97.
71. Contreras Orozco, *Informantes*, 90; García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, 118; and "Violento choque entre campesinos y tropas federales en la zona de Janos," *El Norte*, January 19, 1964.
72. "La versión de los campesinos," *El Norte*, January 19, 1964.
73. "Golpe final a invasiones," *El Heraldo*, January 21, 1964.
74. Memorandum, February 20, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.1, H413-16.
75. "Torres Bodet decidirá la situación del grupo estudiantil de Saucillo," *El Heraldo*, February 23, 1964.
76. "Tratarán de disuadir a estudiantes de Saucillo de participar en las asonadas," *El Heraldo*, February 23, 1964.
77. Memorandum, February 20, 1964.
78. "Tratarán de disuadir a estudiantes de Saucillo."
79. "Torres Bodet decidirá la situación."
80. Memorandum, February 19, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.1, H406-7; and Memorandum, February 20, 1964 AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.1, H424-25.
81. "Última hora: Tres estudiantes y dos profesores detenidos y consignados," *El Norte*, February 23, 1964; "Motín de estudiantes normalistas disuelto con bombas lacrimógenas," *El Norte*, February 23, 1964; "La intervención enérgica de las autoridades se hizo necesaria," *El Heraldo*, February 23, 1964; Memorandum, February 22, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.1, H441-44; "El mitin por la tarde abundó en amenazas," *El Heraldo*, February 23, 1964; and quote from "Actúan agitadores profesionales," *El Heraldo*, February 23, 1964.
82. Toro Rosales, *Testimonios*, 24-25.
83. "Intervención enérgica de las autoridades."
84. "Última hora."
85. "Intervención enérgica de las autoridades."
86. Toro Rosales, *Testimonios*, 28-30.
87. "Antecedentes sobre los distintos problemas que presentan las escuelas normales rurales en el estado," April 15, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.8, H52-54.
88. Toro Rosales, *Testimonios*, 27.
89. "Carta abierta al Sr. Presidente de la República Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz desde la penitenciaría del estado," *Índice*, September 27, 1965.
90. "La UGOCM cumplió y cumplirá mientras exista con el papel histórico q'le corresponde," *Índice*, November 7, 1963.
91. "Antecedentes sobre los distintos problemas que presentan las escuelas normales rurales en el estado," April 15, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.8, H52-54.
92. "Antecedentes sobre los distintos problemas que presentan las escuelas normales rurales en el estado," April 15, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.8, H52-54.
93. Gral. de Div. Praxedes Giner Durán, "Al pueblo del estado," *El Heraldo*, February 25, 1964.

94. Toro Rosales, *Testimonios*, 11–67.
95. “Atenderá el agrario el problema campesino, sin prejuicios de tipo político o ideológico,” *El Norte*, March 5, 1964; and “Declaran a los agentes de la procuraduría,” *El Heraldo*, March 5, 1964.
96. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 102; and Contreras Orozco, *Informantes*, 94–95.
97. Contreras Orozco, *Informantes*, 95; Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 87; and Reyes, “Guerrillas en la sierra chihuahuense.”
98. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 127–29.
99. Memorandum, October 8, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H246–54.
100. Memorandum, April 6, 1964, AGN/DFS 10-26, Leg.8, H17–23; “Gran presencia de animo en medio de un desorden,” *El Heraldo*, April 7, 1964; Oscar Viramontes, “Un incidente que hizo temblar a Chihuahua,” *El Heraldo de Chihuahua*, October 12, 2009, <http://www.oem.com.mx/elheraldodechihuahua/notas/n1360455.htm>; and “Por una ventana escaparon el alcalde y catorce personas más,” *El Heraldo*, April 7, 1964. Newspaper accounts and intelligence documents disagree about whether Mariñelarena was a student from Chihuahua’s State Normal or from the rural normal of Salaiques.
101. Intelligence note attached to “Circular No. 1” of the Ejército Popular Revolucionario, September 2, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.2, H125.
102. “Gran presencia de animo.”
103. “Manifiesto,” May 5, 1965, AGN/DFS 11-142, Leg.1, H120.
104. “Antecedentes sobre los distintos problemas que presentan las escuelas normales rurales en el estado,” April 15, 1964; intelligence note attached to “Circular No. 1” of the Ejército Popular Revolucionario, September 2, 1964; and description of political affiliations of some teachers from the rural normales of Salaiques and Saucillo, August 24, 1964, AGN-DFS 100-5-1, Leg.2, H110–11.
105. “Información sobre el estado de Aguascalientes,” November 3, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-1-1, Leg.3, H147–48.
106. “El cierre de internados y de las escuelas normales,” *Índice*, September 12, 1964; “Clausuran las normales nocturnas de Chihuahua, Juárez, Ojinaga y Parral,” *El Heraldo*, August 25, 1964; and Memorandum, November 11, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H80–83.
107. “No han llegado los 103 que ofreció la SEP,” *El Heraldo*, August 25, 1964.
108. Memorandum, September 12, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H2–3; Memorandum, November 8, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H37–40; Memorandum, November 11, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H80–83; and Memorandum, October 29, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H345–47; and “Carta abierta al Sr. Presidente de la República.”
109. Memorandum, October 29, 1964; description of political affiliations of some teachers from the rural normales of Salaiques and Saucillo, August 24, 1964, AGN-DFS 100-5-1, Leg.2, H110–11; and Memorandum, September 18, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H56–58.

110. "Huelga en 16 escuelas normales rurales," *Índice*, November 21, 1964; Memorandum, November 22, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H258-60; Memorandum, November 4, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H417-19; and Memorandum, November 29, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H275.

111. Memorandum, November 8, 1964.

112. Memorandum, December 2, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H277-78.

113. Miguel Quiñónez to Javier Flores, reproduced in Aguayo Álvarez, *Paseo por los recuerdos*, 178-79.

114. Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 173-75.

115. Flores Torres, González García, and Ruiz Hernández, "Homenaje a Miguel," 176.

116. Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 172; and Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 335-36.

117. "Manifiesto," January 15, 1965, reproduced in Vargas Valdés, "Los Gaytán y el movimiento guerrillero."

118. "Manifiesto," January 15, 1965.

119. López Rosas, "Pensamiento y estrategia política," 151.

120. Memorandum, May 20, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.2, H223-26.

121. "Boletín de prensa," *Índice*, June 12, 1965.

122. "Único camino a seguir."

123. Aleida García Aguirre traces how, during the early 1960s, numerous graduates from Chihuahua's rural normales, especially Salaises, taught in the Sierra Tarahumara. García writes that this concentration took place partly because of personal recruitment networks but also because of the region's federal education inspector, Manuel Reynaldo Gaytán, a member of the Communist Party and a supporter of those trying to democratize the teachers' union, who created an environment favorable to progressive and radical teachers. *Revolución que llegaría*, chapter 4.

124. Flores Torres, González García and Ruiz Hernández, "Homenaje a Miguel," 178.

125. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview.

126. Elizabeth Henson's *Agrarian Revolt* and Jesús Vargas Valdés's *Madera rebelde* are two recent exceptions.

127. This captain, Lorenzo Cárdenas Barajas, reportedly trained members of Fidel Castro's group during their stay in Mexico before the Cuban Revolution. Henson, "Madera 1965," 33.

128. Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 350.

129. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 174-75.

130. According to Javier Contreras Orozco, the military may have known of the group's plan. *Informantes*, 137-38.

131. "Panorama nacional," *Política*, October 1, 1965. This detachment included four T-33 jets, one C-54, and one D-54 with sixty-eight parachuters. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 182.

132. The Jaramillista movement, for example.
133. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
134. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
135. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
136. Henson, *Agrarian Revolt*, 142.
137. “Panorama nacional”; Toro Rosales, *Testimonios*, 96; Vargas Valdés, *Madera rebelde*, 356; and Santos Valdés, *Madera*, 120.”
138. “Panorama nacional.”
139. “Estado de Chihuahua,” October 12, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.14, H206-10.
140. “Estado de Chihuahua,” October 12, 1965; and “Estado de Chihuahua,” October 5, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.14, H160-62.
141. “Estado de Chihuahua,” October 12, 1965.
142. “Estado de Chihuahua,” October 29, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.15, H78-81.
143. “Estado de Chihuahua,” October 12, 1965. Quote from Jaime Canelas López, *10 años de guerrilla*, 26.
144. “Estado de Chihuahua,” November 24, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.18, H265.
145. José Ángel Aguirre Romero, interview.
146. “Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México,” January 20, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.17, H290-96.

Six. Learning in the Barricades

1. “Estado de Morelos,” March 14, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.1; “Estado de Morelos,” March 15, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.1; and “Estado de Morelos,” March 18, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.1.
2. On students and modernity, see, for example, Manzano, *Age of Youth*; and Zolov, *Refried Elvis*.
3. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, 181.
4. Ramiro Arciga, interview.
5. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, xv.
6. César Navarro, interview.
7. Pedro Martínez Noriega, interview.
8. Reynaldo Jiménez, interview.
9. Proceso Díaz, interview.
10. Accounts of novatadas are remarkably absent from the archival documentation but consistently appear in the oral histories of male normalistas. In some schools that had recently become coeducational, women also underwent initiation rituals although they were separate from, and less aggressive than, those organized by their male counterparts. In two all-women normales I visited,

students did mention initiation rituals, referred to as the *semana de pruebas* (week of proving yourself). The student committee organized various physical activities such as cleaning the school grounds, weeding the fields, or participating in long marches. The novatas are likely recent in female normales.

11. Novatas are frequently invoked by officials and the mainstream media as an example of the rural normales' toxic environment.

12. Despite such demeaning components, continues Pensado, "many newcomers willingly participated in these rituals, which celebrated a cosmopolitan notion of youth through a temporary appropriation of the streets." *Rebel Mexico*, 53–55.

13. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.

14. Herminia Gómez Carrasco, interview.

15. Elsa Guzmán, electronic communication, May 15, 2019.

16. César Navarro, phone interview, May 15, 2019. Significantly, when some rural normales became coed in the 1990s, at schools like El Mexe, Hidalgo, novatas did extend to female students. Rather than shaving their heads, however, the initiation ritual included identifying anyone who was conceded dressing her up in a princess outfit, and dowsing her in dirty water. The goal was to show that at rural normales no one was better than anyone else. Vite Vargas, "Reconfiguración de la cultura institucional," 153.

17. Isidro Rodríguez, interview.

18. Augusto Carrasco Orozco, interview.

19. Isidro Rodríguez, interview.

20. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.

21. Augusto Carrasco Orozco, interview.

22. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.

23. See Dillingham, *Oaxaca Resurgent*.

24. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.

25. López de la Torre, *Guerras secretas*, 199.

26. Hermenegildo Figueroa García, interview.

27. César Navarro, interview. Issued in 1962 by Fidel Castro in the wake of the Bay of Pigs invasion and Cuba's expulsion from the Organization of American States, the Second Declaration of Havana reiterated Cuba's commitment to socialism and affirmed Latin America's revolutionary possibilities.

28. César Navarro, interview.

29. Cañas Loya, "La FECSM y el golpe," 87.

30. Belén Cuevas, interview; and Pedro Martínez Noriega, interview.

31. Manuel Arias Delgado, interview.

32. García Arellano, in Zúñiga Castillo, *Normalismo rural*, 33.

33. Graciela Cásares, interview.

34. Olademis Leyva, interview.

35. Catalina Calderón, interview.

36. Bustos García, *Ximonco*, 30.

37. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.
38. Memorandum, April 2, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-19-1, Leg.9, H147-48.
39. Guevara Niebla, "Antecedentes y desarrollo." Mónica Naymich López Macedonio, whose study ignores normalistas' long process of organizing, politicization, and struggles, portrays the FECSM as a clientelist affiliate of the PRI. See Naymich López Macedonio, "Historia de una relación institucional."
40. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8, 1965, AHENR/SM, C1965; "Pliego General de Peticiones," January 27, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H306-12; and "Marcha estudiantil por la ruta de la libertad," February 16, 1968, AGN/DFS 11-142, Leg.3, H264-72.
41. Ernesto Enríquez to Eleno Medina Vázquez and Eusebio Mata Mejía, October 29, 1963, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960-64.
42. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8, 1965; and "Estado de Morelos," April 2, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.2. Members of the student body also participated in the committee administering student funds. When directors at individual schools charged illegal fees—such as at Mactumactzá, where students were asked to make registration payments—the FECSM denounced it, leading the SEP to notify all rural normales that such transactions were illegal. "Circular #11," March 3, 1964, AHENR/CH, C30, 1960-64.
43. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8, 1965.
44. Ernesto Enríquez to Eleno Medina Vázquez and Eusebio Mata Mejía, October 29, 1963; and Memorandum, October 29, 1963, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.1, H270-71.
45. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8, 1965.
46. "Magisterio," July 4, 1963, AGN/DFS 40-1, Exp.36, H202-25.
47. "Magisterio," July 4, 1963.
48. "Se informa en relación con el magisterio," August 19, 1963, AGN/DFS 63-19, Exp.1, H188-90.
49. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8, 1965.
50. "Se informa en relación al magisterio," March 3, 1964, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.1, H283.
51. Memorandum, October 29, 1963, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.1, H270-71.
52. "Los normalistas rurales en lucha," *Voz de México*, April 4, 1965; "Comité Ejecutivo de la Sociedad de Alumnas to C. Director Silverio Díaz," March 26, 1965, AHENR/CH, C31, 1963-66; Memorandum, March 27, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.12, H386-87; "Normales rurales," March 29, 1965, AGN/DFS 63-19-65, Leg.1, H337-40; and "Estado de Durango," April 1, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.2.
53. "Normales rurales," March 29, 1965.
54. "Estado de Morelos," April 2, 1965.
55. Memorandum, March 23, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-15-1, Leg.6, H152.

56. Memorandum, March 23, 1965; "Estado de Morelos," April 9, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.2; "Estado de Morelos," April 2, 1965; and "Estado de Morelos," March 23, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.1.
57. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la FECSM to Agustín Yáñez, March 8, 1965.
58. "Acta de Constancia," August 13, 1954, AHENR/CH, C28, 1954-57.
59. Rosalva Pantoja Guerrero, interview.
60. "Estado de Morelos," March 16, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.1.
61. "Estado de Morelos," April 7, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.2; and "Estado de Morelos," March 19, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.1.
62. "Estado de Morelos," March 24, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.1; Memorandum, March 23, 1965; and "Estado de Morelos," March 18, 1965.
63. "Estado de Morelos," April 9, 1965.
64. "Estado de Morelos," April 12, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.2.
65. "Estado de Morelos," April 24, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.2.
66. "Circular No. 21," April 26, 1965, AHENR/SM, C1965; "Convocatoria," June 3, 1965, AHENR/SM, C1965; "Relacionado con la inscripción de los alumnos de nuevo ingreso," April 26, 1965, AHENR/SM, C1965; and "Estado de Puebla," April 25, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C 448, Exp.2.
67. "Se contesta a pliego de peticiones," March 19, 1965, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.1, H300; and "Estado de Durango," May 6, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-8-1, Leg.4, H36-38.
68. "Normales rurales," April 23, 1965, AGN/DFS 63, Leg.1, H300.
69. "Estado de Durango," May 6, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-8-1, Leg.4, H36-38.
70. "Estado de Guerrero," May 10, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-10, Leg.20, H278.
71. "Pliego general de peticiones," January 27, 1968.
72. "Contestación al pliego general de peticiones," February 8, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H14-18; and "Normales rurales," February 14, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H27-28.
73. "Marcha estudiantil por la ruta de la libertad," February 16, 1968.
74. "Marcha estudiantil por la ruta de la libertad," February 16, 1968.
75. "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 5, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H160-61.
76. "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 4, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H140-44; and "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 5, 1968. The head of the confederation was even present at the final negotiating meeting. "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 8, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H199-204.
77. "A todos los padres de familia," November 11, 1968, AHENR/SM, C7, Movt. October 2, 1968.
78. "Necesaria desaparición de las escuelas normales rurales," *El Universal*, March 14, 1968, in AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H11.
79. El Comité Ejecutivo de la Sociedad de Padres de Familia to Compañeros Padres de Familia, March 6, 1968, AHENR/CH, C33, 1966-67/68/69.

80. "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 5, 1968; "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 8, 1968; "Normales rurales," February 14, 1968; "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 2, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H124-26; "Marcha estudiantil por la ruta de la libertad," February 16, 1968; "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 13, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H6-8; "Estado de Chiapas," May 25, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C478, Exp.1; and "Distrito Federal," October 7, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C484, Exp.02.

81. "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 4, 1968; and "Estado de Chiapas," March 6, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.

82. In the late 1960s, the authorities threatened students with suspension if they used their stipend for anything other than personal use. "Normas que regirán a los alumnos de esta institución y a los padres de familia o tutores," n.d., AHENR/CH, C34, 1968/69/70.

83. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.

84. "Estado de Morelos," April 5, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.2.

85. "Estado de Morelos," April 5, 1965.

86. "Estado de Morelos," March 17, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C478, Exp.1; and "Estado de Morelos," March 18, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C478, Exp.1.

87. Belén Cuevas, interview.

88. Esperanza Guzmán Gamboa, interview.

89. El Director to Comité Ejecutivo de la Sociedad de Alumnos, October 28, 1968, AHENR/CH, C4, 1968/69/70.

90. Herminia Gómez Carrasco, interview.

91. Silvina Rodríguez, interview.

92. "Más y mejor educación para los campesinos de México," August 1969, AHENR/CH, C36, 1970-71.

93. Memorandum, November 8, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H37-40; Memorandum, September 12, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H2-3; and "Más y mejor educación para los campesinos de México," August 1969.

94. "Escuelas normales rurales," August 8, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5, H326-33.

95. "En defensa de las normales rurales contra la reforma antipopular y reaccionaria," August 8, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.7, H59-66; Memorandum, November 8, 1964; and Memorandum, September 12, 1964.

96. "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 4, 1968; and "En defensa de las normales rurales contra la reforma antipopular y reaccionaria," August 8, 1969.

97. Memorandum, November 14, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.11, H111-15.

98. "Escuelas normales rurales," September 1, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.7, H302-37. As Pensado shows in *Rebel Mexico*, these agents were key to the government's authoritarian practices.

99. Olademis Leyva, interview.

100. "Estado de Chihuahua," October 29, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.15, H78-81.
101. "Estado de Durango," May 6, 1966, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H70-73.
102. "Estado de Durango," May 7, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-8-1, Leg.4, H47-51.
103. "Estado de Durango," May 6, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-8-1, Leg.4, H36-38; and "Estado de Chiapas," May 10, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1732A, Exp.01.
104. "Escuelas normales rurales," April 25, 1973, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.11, H6.
105. "Concurso de oratoria en la escuela normal rural de Panotla, Tlax.," November 25, 1965, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H1, 3, and 4.
106. "Escuelas normales rurales," September 4, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H119-25; "Estado de Guerrero," April 27, 1969, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.33, H294-95; "Estado de Jalisco," February 15, 1969, AGN/DFS 100-12-1, Leg.19, H37-38; "Estado de Puebla," April 21, 1969, DFS/AGN 100-19-1, Leg.19, H296-97; "Estado de Durango," May 8, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-8-1, Leg.4, H56-58; "Seminario sobre la educación normal rural," *Voz de México*, March 10, 1969; and "La marcha de obreros de triplay," *Voz de México*, March 23, 1969.
107. "Estado de Durango," May 8, 1966; and "Estado de Durango," May 7, 1966.
108. "Estado de Durango," May 8, 1966.
109. Gould, "Solidarity under Siege," 365-66, 366n81. As Gould notes, participation in political movements is often accompanied by festivity and personal fulfillment. See also Grandin, "Living in Revolutionary Time."
110. "Normales rurales," February 14, 1968; "Marcha estudiantil por la ruta de la libertad," February 16, 1968; "Marcha estudiantil por la ruta de la libertad," February 17, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H60; and "Problema de las escuelas normales rurales," March 2, 1968.
111. "Tema II. De la supervisión en las escuelas normales rurales," 1967, AHENR/SM, C8, 1966-67; and "Normales," 1969, AHSEP/Conalte, C89, Exp. Reforma Educativa.
112. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 37.

Seven. "A Crisis of Authority"

1. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 33-35.
2. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 33-35, 38.
3. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 54.
4. "Estado de Chiapas," May 24, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C478, Exp.1.
5. Among the fourteen rural normales slated to become agricultural schools were El Perote, Veracruz, and El Roque, Guanajuato. The former, however, never reopened, and El Roque instead became an institution to train teachers for agricultural schools.
6. Prawda, *Teoría y praxis*, 69-70.
7. Álvarez García, "Difusión de las ideas," 159.

8. “Posibilidad para la reestructuración del sistema de enseñanza post-primaria rural,” and “La reestructuración de la enseñanza posprimaria rural,” both [ca. 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67.

9. “Estado de Morelos,” July 1, 1967, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H202–4.

10. “Normales rurales,” June 24, 1967, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H159.

11. “Estado de Guerrero,” June 22, 1967, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.2.4, H245.

12. “Estado de Morelos,” July 1, 1967.

13. Angel Posada Gil, Fermín Esparza Irabién, and Apolinar Ortiz Espinosa to C. Director Federal de Seguridad, June 29, 1967, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H167; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 41–43.

14. “La organización del gobierno escolar,” [ca. May–June 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 73–75.

15. “De la supervisión en las escuelas normales rurales,” [ca. May–June 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 90–92.

16. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 85.

17. “La reforma educativa,” [ca. May–June 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 84–88, 105–8, 128–31.

18. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 122.

19. “El calendario escolar,” [ca. May–June 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67.

20. “El calendario escolar”; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 76–81, 101–2, 121–24 (quote on p. 124).

21. “El problema de la formación profesional,” [ca. May–June 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 89–90, 108–11, 131–35.

22. “Organización de la vida económica en las escuelas normales rurales,” [ca. May–June 1967], AHENR/SM, C8, 1967.

23. “Organización de la vida económica en las escuelas normales rurales”; and SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 81–84, 103–4, 125–28.

24. SEP, *Memoria: Primera asamblea nacional*, 109–10; “La organización del gobierno escolar”; and “Posibilidades para la reestructuración,” AHENR/SM, C8, 1966–67.

25. “Declaración de Atequiza,” *Voz de México*, March 23, 1969; and “Estado de Chiapas,” May 24, 1968.

26. Rivera Borbón, *Gasto del gobierno federal mexicano*, 77. Moreover, as Carlos Rivera Borbón notes, the SEP’s projected spending was often less than its actual spending (70–80). See also “Educational Reform and the Mexican Education System,” January 24, 1969, NARA, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1967–69, box 349. For 1965 figures, see Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos, *Dinámica de la población*, 220.

27. “Declaración de Atequiza.”

28. “Declaración de Atequiza”; emphasis in original.

29. “Hacia la Central Estudiantil Independiente,” *Voz de México*, June 15, 1963.

30. For a list of these struggles, see Guevara Niebla, “Antecedentes y desarrollo,” 6–8. See also “Pese a todo, los estudiantes no retroceden” and “La Voz editorial,” *Voz de México*, April 23, 1967.

31. See Zolov, “¡Cuba sí, Yanquis no!”

32. Guevara Niebla, “Antecedentes y desarrollo,” 13.

33. “Se informa en relación con el magisterio,” May 7, 1964, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg. 1, H298–99; “Se informa en relación con el magisterio,” October 8, 1964, AGN/DFS 40-1, Leg.38, H1; and “Por la unidad de los estudiantes,” *Voz de México*, December 12, 1965.

34. For example, “Sobre el encuentro nacional de dirigentes estudiantiles,” *Voz de México*, October 30, 1966; and “Estado de Chihuahua,” April 11, 1967, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.19, H357.

35. “Culminó la Jornada Nacional por la Reforma Democrática de la Educación,” *Voz de México*, April 16, 1967; and “Balance de la jornada nacional estudiantil,” *Voz de México*, April 30, 1967. The former articles cite 125,000 participants, while the latter puts the number at 150,000.

36. “Por la ruta de la libertad,” *Voz de México*, February 11, 1968; and “Estado de Guanajuato,” February 5, 1968, AGN/IPS, C519, Exp.04.

37. “Estado de Guanajuato,” February 2, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C519, Exp.04; and “Conjura contra la libertad,” *Voz de México*, February 4, 1968.

38. “Estado de Guanajuato,” February 3, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C519, Exp.04.

39. Alma Gómez Caballero, interview.

40. “Nuestra marcha será una demostración pacífica,” *Voz de México*, February 4, 1968; and “Estado de Guanajuato,” February 2, 1968.

41. “Por la ruta de la libertad,” *Voz de México*, February 11, 1968; and “Estado de Guanajuato,” February 3, 1968.

42. Terán Olguín, *Marcha por la ruta de la libertad*, 26–27; “Por la ruta de la libertad”; “La disolución de la marcha estudiantil y las provocaciones anticomunistas,” *Voz de México*, February 18, 1968; and “La verdad y la razón se impusieron,” *Voz de México*, February 25, 1968.

43. “Se informa en relación con el magisterio,” October 8, 1964.

44. “Universidad,” December 17, 1963, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Exp.15, H122; Memorandum, April 7, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.291, H18; “Estado de Guerrero,” November 18, 1966, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.22, H88; “Estado de Guerrero,” n.d., AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.22, H410–11; “Normales rurales,” March 20, 1967, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.2, H123; Memorandum, March 2, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-3, Leg.2, H46–49; “Información sobre el estado de Chihuahua,” June 13, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.8, H296–97; Memorandum, October 27, 1964, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.10, H323–25; Memorandum, April 2, 1965, AGN/DFS 100-19-1, Leg.9, H147–48; “Estado de Nayarit,” November 19, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H255; and “Estado de Chiapas,” June 21, 1969, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.

45. “Estado de Morelos,” March 24, 1965, AGN/DGIPS, C448, Exp.1; and “Solidaridad con los normalistas rurales en lucha,” *Voz de México*, April 4, 1965.

46. "Datos Generales de la Central Nacional de Estudiantes Democráticos," September 15, 1966, AGN/DFS 11-142, Leg.2, H190-92.
47. José Luis Aguayo Álvarez, interview.
48. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, "Cuarto informe de gobierno," reproduced in Ramón Ramírez, *Movimiento estudiantil*, 2:203-4.
49. "Carta al C. Director de La Sociedad de Alumnas," September 19, 1968, AHENR/CH, C34, 1968-70; "A todos los padres de familia," November 11, 1968, AHENR/SM, C7, Movt. 2 oct. 1968; "Estado de Chiapas," July 31, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01; "Estado de Chiapas," August 14, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01; "Distrito Federal," September 22, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C484, Exp.02; "Estado de Guerrero," November 8, 1968, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.32, H178-79; and Bustos García, *Ximonco*, 13.
50. Ramón Ramírez, *Movimiento estudiantil*, 1:435, 471.
51. Proceso Díaz, interview.
52. José Francisco Casimiro Barrera, interview.
53. "Escuelas normales rurales," November 11, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H167-68; "Información de Ciudad Victoria," November 9, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1475B, Exp.51; "Escuelas normales rurales," November 9, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H147-48; "Escuelas normales rurales," November 13, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H200-201; "Escuelas normales rurales," November 19, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.4, H253-55; "Estado de Nayarit," November 9, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1475B, Exp.51; and "Estado de Aguascalientes," November 9, 1968, AGN/DGIPS, C1475B, Exp.51.
54. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.
55. See Oikión Solano, "Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria."
56. García Aguirre, *Revolución que llegaría*, chap. 4.
57. "Educational Reform and the Mexican Education System," January 24, 1969.
58. "La formación de maestros de enseñanza primaria," Dirección General de Enseñanza Normal, 1969, IV Congreso Nacional de Educación Normal, AHSEP/Conalste, C94, Exp.1169, Leg.3.
59. "Discurso de inauguración," April-May 1969, Saltillo, Coahuila, AHSEP/Conalste, C4, Exp.1169, Leg.3.
60. Pablo Latapí, "Reformas educativas," 1327.
61. Latapí, "Necesidades del sistema educativo nacional," 170.
62. "Educational Reform and the Mexican Education System," January 24, 1969.
63. Latapí, "Reformas educativas," 1327.
64. "Educational Reform and the Mexican Education System," January 24, 1969; and Latapí, "Necesidades del sistema educativo nacional," 136-37. In 1965 Mexico ranked last among Latin American countries in terms of its taxation as a percentage of the gross domestic product. Smith, "Building a State on the Cheap," 259-60.

65. Latapí, “Reformas educativas,” 1329.
66. “En defensa de las normales rurales contra la reforma antipopular y reaccionaria,” August 8, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.7, H59–66.
67. “En defensa de las normales rurales contra la reforma antipopular y reaccionaria,” August 8, 1969.
68. “En defensa de las normales rurales contra la reforma antipopular y reaccionaria,” August 8, 1969.
69. Greaves, *Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional*, 193; and Luis Herrera y Montes, “Crítica al plan de estudios para las escuelas normales,” *Magisterio*, no. 106, December 1969.
70. “Se informa sobre la escuela normal rural Luis Villarreal,” February 27, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H230–31; “Estado de Chihuahua,” February 28, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.3, H247–50; and “Escuelas normales rurales con sus zonas campesinas de afluencia,” March 4, 1968, AGN/DFS 63-19, H313–23. While some ejidatarios were affiliated with nonstate associations such as the Independent Campesino Central or the General Union of Mexican Workers and Campesinos, the vast majority belonged to the PRI’s National Campesino Confederation.
71. For example, “Escuelas normales rurales,” July 29, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5, H26–33; “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 7, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5, H297–302; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 16, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H210–15.
72. “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 7, 1969; “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 8, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5, H326–33; “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 16, 1969; “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 18, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H233–42; “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 23, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.7, H116–19; “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 13, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H129; and “Se levanta acta,” [ca. 1968], AHENR/CH, C34, 1968/69/70.
73. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.
74. Mauricio Alvarado and five other signatories to Prof. Luis Álvarez, [ca. mid-1969], AHSEP/Conalte, C101, Exp.1, Ref.201.3:25/1341/1; and Pedro Martínez and forty-two other signatories to Presidente Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, [ca. mid-1969], AHSEP/Conalte, C101, Exp.1, Ref.201.3:25/1341/1.
75. El Comisario Ejidal and twenty-seven other signatories to Luis Álvarez Barret, July 18, 1969, AHSEP/Conalte, C101, Exp.1, Ref.201.3:25/1341/1.
76. Roberto Andrade and seventy-eight other signatories to Sr. Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordáz, [ca. mid-1969], AHSEP/Conalte, C101, Exp.1, Ref.201.3:25/1341/1.
77. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.
78. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 3, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H73–79; “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 4, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H119–25; “Normales rurales,” June 16, 1969, AGN/DFS 61, Leg.5, H1; “Escuelas normales rurales,” July 12, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5, H12, 64–69; “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 1, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.7, H302–7; “Escuelas

normales rurales,” September 2, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H1-17; “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 8, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H227-33; and “Circular Num. 17-D,” June 19, 1969, AHENR/CH, C34, 1968/69/70.

79. “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 7, 1969.

80. “Escuelas normales rurales,” 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H1-12; “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 3, 1969; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 9, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H257-60.

81. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 5, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H159-65.

82. José Francisco Casimiro Barrera, interview.

83. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 4, 1969; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 2, 1969.

84. Morán López, “Recuerdos tristes,” 97.

85. “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 7, 1969; “Denuncian la ocupación de las normales,” *El Día*, August 6, 1969, in AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 5, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H177-85. One student, for example, described how he and his schoolmates were made to walk barefoot on the burning pavement. See Ruiz Valenzuela, “Cierre de nuestra escuela normal,” 95-96.

86. Report issued by Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios, August 18, , AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H276-79.

87. “Escuelas normales rurales,” 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H1-12; and Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.

88. “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 15, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.6, H177-85; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” August 2, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.5, H156-61.

89. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 6, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H119-25, 253-54.

90. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 8, 1969; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 10, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H298-301.

91. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 10, 1969.

92. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 10, 1969.

93. “Problema estudiantil,” September 13, 1969, AGN/DFS 11-4, Leg.92, H154-55.

94. FECSM to C. Prof. Mario Aguilera Dorantes, September 29, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.9, H216-17.

95. López de la Torre, *Guerras secretas*, 228.

96. López de la Torre, *Guerras secretas*, 217.

97. González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, “Amilcingo,” 78-79. Several recent ethnographic studies of individual rural normales detail the persistence of this unofficial curriculum that is structured, regulated, and reproduced by the students themselves. For example, Reynoso Sánchez, “Ser estudiante normalista rural”; Pinto Díaz, “Formadores”; and Vite Vargas, “Formación docente.”

98. Of the teacher-training system, the report specified, “The normal schools of Mexico are a kind of seminary in which eager, dedicated young men and women are isolated from the mainstream of national life during the years of their instruction. They are in the hands, for the most part, of dedicated Marxists.” “The Engagement with Mexican Higher Education Instruction,” August 1, 1963, NARA, Record Group 59, box 3246.

Eight. “That’s How We’d Meet . . . Clandestinely with the Lights Off”

1. Elsa Guzmán, interview.

2. “Estado de Jalisco,” May 7, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.12, H147-48; “Escuelas normales rurales,” May 22, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.12, H72-73; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” April 25, 1973, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.11, H6.

3. On June 10, 1971, students in Mexico City marched in support of their peers at the Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon, whose campus had been occupied by the state police. This demonstration in Mexico City was the first major student mobilization since 1968, and many hoped it would revive the student movement.

4. See Aviña, *Specters of Revolution*.

5. On the conservative middle class, see Walker, *Waking from the Dream*, chap. 2.

6. “A los estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales,” October 16, 1974,

AHENR/T.

7. Marcos José García, interview.

8. Aristarco Aquino Solís, interview.

9. Elsa Guzmán, interview. Once Guzmán finished her secundaria studies in Champusco, she went to the rural normal of Tamazulapan in Oaxaca.

10. “Minutarios,” [ca. May 1973], AHENR/SM, C1, 1973-74, cited in Hernández Santos, *Tiempos de reforma*, 355.

11. “Escuelas normales rurales,” May 22, 1974.

12. For example, “Escuelas normales rurales,” May 13, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.12, H214-15; and “Escuelas normales rurales,” May 21, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.13, H28-30.

13. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 25, 1972, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.10, H40-42.

14. “Estado de Chihuahua,” December 4, 1972, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.10, H182.

15. “Estado de Guerrero,” December 12, 1972, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.10, H295, 297, 314, 321.

16. “Estado de Jalisco,” May 22, 1973, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.11, H10-11; and “Estado de Jalisco,” November 24, 1972, AGN/DGIPS, C1188, Exp.01. The removal of López Iriarte likely had to do with more than just the FECSM’s demand. The official teachers’ union had accused him of contravening President Echeverría’s vision and representing an obstacle to the general will of the country’s teachers. See “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 25, 1972.

17. "Estado de Chihuahua," October 13, 1970, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.30, H172-73; "Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales de la república," May 9, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.12, H97-119; and Hernández Santos, *Tiempos de reforma*, 324.
18. Elsa Guzmán, interview.
19. "Se ratifican normas para evaluar a dirigentes estudiantiles," December 5, 1974, AHENR/T.
20. "Resoluciones finales a las peticiones presentadas por la Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México," May 30, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.14, H54; "Distrito Federal," June 4, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C964, Exp.2; and "Anuncia la SEP regularización de los predios de las normales rurales," *Excelsior*, May 21, 1974.
21. "Estado de Hidalgo," September 3, 1975, AGN/DFS 100-11-1, Leg.6, H222-23.
22. "Estado de Sonora," November 15, 1973, AGN/DGIPS, C1730B, Exp.05.
23. "Estado de Chiapas," October 16, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1131, Exp.1; and "Estado de Chiapas," October 18, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1131, Exp.1.
24. "Estado de Michoacán," January 10, 1973, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.10, H325; "Estado de Hidalgo," April 25, 1974, AGN/DFS 40-147, Leg.1, H290-91, 298-99; "Escuelas normales rurales," May 2, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.11, H223-24; "Estado de Hidalgo," May 19, 1974, AGN/DFS 40-147, Leg.2, H72-74; "Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales de la república," May 9, 1974; "Estado de Chihuahua," October 11, 1974, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.50, H26-27; and "Estado de Chihuahua," October 12, 1974, AGN/DFS 100-5-1, Leg.50, H31-33.
25. "Estado de Chiapas," November 11, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1131, Exp.1; and "Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales de la república," May 9, 1974.
26. "Estado de Chiapas," September 7, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
27. "Estado de Chiapas," October 17, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01; and "Estado de Chiapas," October 19, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
28. "Distrito Federal," February 25, 1975, AGN/DGIPS, C1667A, Exp.3; and "Escuelas normales rurales y escuelas tecnológicas agropecuarias," [ca. 1975], AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.15, H62-64; on the students' expulsion, see "Magisterio," July 14, 1975, AGN/DFS 40-1, Leg.82, H47-49; and "A la opinion pública," August 1975, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.16, H134.
29. "II Congreso Ordinario de la Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México," October 15, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.14, H220-24; and "Estado de Chiapas," October 16, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
30. Marcos José García, interview. The PST emerged in 1973 as a party that would bring together dispersed workers, campesinos and student leaders, and its organizers often delivered results by appealing to government offices for resources, subsidies, and supplies made increasingly available by Echeverría's social programs.

For the PST's recruitment efforts, see report by Luis de la Barreda Moreno on student leaders from various rural normales, [ca. October 1974], AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.14, H239-44. On the PST, see Alonso, *Tendencia al enmascaramiento*.

31. "Magisterio," July 14, 1975.
32. Report by Luis de la Barreda Moreno on student leaders from various rural normales, [ca. October 1974].
33. "Escuelas normales rurales," May 21, 1974; and "Escuelas normales rurales," May 22, 1974.
34. "SEP," April 13, 1976, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.17, H121.
35. "A los estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales y a la opinion pública," October 26, 1976, AHENR/T.
36. "Al consejo directivo de la Federación de Estudiantes Campesino Socialistas de México," November 12, 1976, AHENR/T; emphasis in original.
37. Two years later, in Tamaulipas, former students and teachers of the rural normal of Tamatán (closed in 1969) also established a new rural normal, named San José de las Flores. This new school, however, did not join the FECSM and, unlike Amilcingo, is virtually absent from the archival documentation, making it difficult to determine its history.
38. Report on various normales rurales, [ca. November 1974], AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.12, H113-15.
39. Franco Solís, *¡Que se estén quietecitos!*, 32-33, 34, 38, 43, 35-36.
40. "Escuelas normales rurales," May 2, 1974; and "Estado de Chihuahua," May 22, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.13, H45.
41. Franco Solís, *¡Que se estén quietecitos!*, 46-47.
42. "Estado de Morelos," July 28, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1194, Exp.03; and Franco Solís, *¡Que se estén quietecitos!*, 48
43. "Escuelas normales rurales," May 2, 1974.
44. González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, "Amilcingo," 68.
45. "Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales de la república," May 9, 1974.
46. "Resoluciones finales a las peticiones presentadas por la Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México," May 30, 1974.
47. "Estado de Morelos," June 24, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1194, Exp.03.
48. "Estado de Morelos," May 30, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1194, Exp.03.
49. "Estado de Morelos," June 3, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1194, Exp.03; and González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, "Amilcingo," 70.
50. Franco Solís, *¡Que se estén quietecitos!*, 75, 166-67.
51. "La verdad sobre Temoac," *Correo del Sur*, July 22, 1979.
52. González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, "Amilcingo," 70.
53. "A los habitantes del municipio de Temoac, Mor.," *Correo del Sur*, July 8, 1979.
54. Franco Solís, *¡Que se estén quietecitos!*, 75-76, 80; and González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, "Amilcingo," 70.

55. González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, “Amilcingo,” 77.
56. González Villarreal and Amann Escobar, “Amilcingo,” 83.
57. Xóchitl García, interview.
58. García’s father survived his nine stab wounds, but his companion did not. On the Jaramillista movement, see Padilla, *Rural Resistance*.
59. Xóchitl García, interview.
60. The small office that houses the school archive is named after Eva Rivera, who, unlike the other three leaders, died of natural causes.
61. Aguayo Quezada, “Impacto de la guerrilla,” 92.
62. “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 2, 1969, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.8, H1-17.
63. See Oikión Solano, “Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria.”
64. Young, *Guns, Guerrillas*.
65. Aguayo, *Charola*, 311.
66. Herminia Gómez Carrasco, interview.
67. As Jeff Gould found across the Americas, youth who participated in political movements “recall high levels of personal fulfillment and intense political commitment.” Some, as a Uruguayan student put it, conceived of their “devotion to the political struggle not as a free option but as an irrepressible moral obligation.” Gould, “Solidarity under Siege, 364–67.
68. Alma Gómez Caballero, phone interview, May 8, 2020.
69. Robinet, “Revolutionary Group,” 129–30.
70. “Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales de la república,” May 9, 1974; “Escuelas normales rurales,” June 26, 1975, AGN/DFS 11-235, Leg.31, H38–39; “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 30, 1975, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.17, H13–14; and “Estado de Morelos,” October 25, 1975, AGN/DFS 100-11-1, Leg.7, H14.
71. Elsa Guzmán, interview.
72. For example, “Estado de Chiapas,” April 29, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
73. Suárez, *Lucio Cabañas*, 53.
74. “Grupo Genaro Vázquez Rojas,” n.d., AGN/DGIPS, C2760, Exp.único.
75. Elsa Guzmán, interview.
76. “Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales de la república,” May 9, 1974; “Escuelas normales rurales,” June 26, 1975; “Escuelas normales rurales,” September 30, 1975; “Estado de Morelos,” October 25, 1975; and “Estado de Sonora,” May 30, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1730B, Exp.05.
77. “Estado de México,” May 21, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1070, Exp.03.
78. “Estado de Chiapas,” May 31, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
79. “Estado de Hidalgo,” February 13, 1976, AGN/DFS 100-11-1, Leg.7, H202; “Distrito Federal,” May 13, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1157A, Exp.01; and “Problemas que se han suscitado en las escuelas normales rurales,” May 9, 1974.

80. "Distrito Federal," May 9, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1157A, Exp.01.
81. "Hago del conocimiento de usted," August 16, 1976, AGN/DGIPS, C1660A, Exp.02.
82. "Escuelas normales rurales," October 26, 1977, AGN/DFS 63-17, Leg.19, H246-48.
83. "Estado de Hidalgo," May 4, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1183, Exp.03.
84. "Estado de Chiapas," October 15, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1131, Exp.1.
85. "Estado de Chiapas," October 13, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
86. "Informe sobre la situación en las escuelas normales rurales," October 16, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.14, H258-62.
87. "Escuelas normales rurales," October 13, 1974, AGN/DFS 63-19, Leg.14, H192-93; and Calderón López-Velarde, "Escuela normal rural," 103n2.
88. "Estado de Durango," February 27, 1975, AGN/DGIPS, C1667A, Exp.3.
89. For example, "Relación de alumnos dirigentes y activistas negativos de las escuelas normales rurales," [ca. February 1975], in AGN/DGIPS, C1660A, Exp.02; and "Estado de Chiapas," July 4, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01.
90. "Escuelas normales rurales," May 2, 1974.
91. "Escuelas normales rurales y escuelas tecnológicas agropecuarias," [ca. 1975]; and "Estado de Guerrero," [ca. 1975], AGN/DFS, 63-19, Leg.16, H179-85.
92. "Estado de Chiapas," May 16, 1974; "Estado de Chiapas," May 17, 1974; "Estado de Chiapas," August 28, 1974, all in AGN/DGIPS, C1723A, Exp.01; and "Estado de Sonora," May 6, 1974, AGN/DGIPS, C1730B, Exp.05.
93. "Estado de Guerrero," October 15, 1974, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.48, H261-62.
94. "Estado de Guerrero," July 20, 1978, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.75, H36-37; "Estado de Guerrero," September 13, 1978, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.75, H217-18; and "Estado de Guerrero," September 14, 1978, AGN/DFS 100-10-8, Leg.76, H1-4; and "Estado de Guerrero," September 29, 1978, AGN/DFS 100-10-1, Leg.77, H31-33.
95. "A los jóvenes estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales," March 27, 1976, AHENR/T.
96. "A los jóvenes estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales," March 27, 1976.
97. "Al consejo directivo de la Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México," November 12, 1976; emphasis in original.
98. "A los jóvenes estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales," March 27, 1976.
99. "Al consejo directivo de la Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México," November 12, 1976.
100. "A los estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales y a la opinión pública," October 26, 1976.
101. "A los jóvenes estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales," March 27, 1976.
102. "A los estudiantes de las escuelas normales rurales," October 16, 1974.
103. "Al consejo directivo de la Federación de Estudiantes Campesinos Socialistas de México," November 12, 1976; emphasis in original.
104. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 145-46.

105. *Excelsior*, November 15, 1969, quoted in Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 4:171.
106. McGinn and Street, “Has Mexican Education,” 331.
107. Morales-Gómez and Torres, *State*, 51.
108. Latapí, “Reformas educativas,” 1330.
109. In a two-step process—in 1971 and again in 1973—subjects at normales were condensed from five areas: scientific, humanistic, psychopedagogical, technological, and physical-artistic, to the following three: human-scientific; physical, aesthetic, and technological; and professional training. Latapí, *Análisis de un sexenio*, 74–75; and Calderón López-Velarde, “Escuela normal rural,” 187. See appendix for specific classes.
110. Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 4:173.
111. Recall that until 1969, at rural normales, junior high school education was part of their six-year coursework; students thus entered after finishing elementary school.
112. In 1969 normalistas had eight separate subject areas in which they had to take classes: cultural, pedagogical, psychological, social, philosophical, technological, artistic, and physical. Calderón López-Velarde, “Escuela normal rural,” 107.
113. See Hernández Santos, *Tiempos de reforma*, 364–68.
114. Vera, “Reformas a la educación normal,” 110.
115. Victoria Avilés Quezada, comments on Vera, “Reformas a la educación normal,” 128. See also Othón Salazar and the Movimiento Revolucionario del Magisterio to Víctor Bravo Ahúja, Secretario de Educación Pública, July 14, 1972, AHSEP/Conalte, C150, Exp.333, Leg.1; and Movimiento Revolucionario del Magisterio, “La formación de maestros en la república mexicana” ponencia presentada a la Conferencia popular de educación, cited in Victoria Avilés Quezada, comments on Vera, “Reformas a la educación normal,” 128.
116. Vera, “Reformas a la educación normal,” 128–29.
117. “El problema de las normales rurales,” *El Día*, April 23, 1977.
118. “Los buenos deseos hacia el maestro rural,” *El Día*, April 23, 1977.
119. Othón Salazar and the Movimiento Revolucionario del Magisterio to Víctor Bravo Ahúja, Secretario de Educación Pública, July 14, 1972.
120. “El problema de las normales rurales.”
121. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 128–30. In a similar vein, the SEP allowed teachers to occupy positions in both day and evening schools, a strategy that raised take-home pay by increasing work hours rather than wages—double exploitation—as one study characterized it. Ávila Carrillo and Martínez Brizuela, *Historia del movimiento magisterial*, 48.
122. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 145–46, 131n9.
123. “Escuelas normales rurales,” May 22, 1974; Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 5:263–64; and Calderón López-Velarde, “Escuela normal rural,” 127.
124. Calderón López-Velarde, “Escuela normal rural,” 127.

125. Robles, *Educación y sociedad*, 226.
126. Arnaut Salgado, *Historia de una profesión*, 132.
127. See Dillingham, *Oaxaca Resurgent*.
128. Torres, "Corporativismo estatal," 165.
129. Morales-Gómez and Torres, *State*, 30.
130. Morales-Gómez and Torres, *State*, 30–31.
131. Aboites, "Salario del educador," 89.
132. Schmelkes et al., *Participación de la comunidad*, 102–4.
133. Morales-Gómez and Torres, *State*, 31.
134. "Medio siglo de dictadura burguesa."

Epilogue

1. Street, "Lucha por transformar," 188–90.
2. Arnaut Salgado, *Federalización educativa en México*, 266.
3. Arnaut Salgado, *Federalización educativa en México*, 268–69.
4. Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 5:101–4.
5. Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales*, 5:264.
6. Cook, *Organizing Dissent*, 108, 113, 132, 143, 157, 200–201.
7. Arnaut Salgado, *Federalización educativa en México*, 277–80.
8. Gilbert, "Rewriting History," 275–88.
9. Gilbert, "Rewriting History," 295.
10. Karina Avilés, "El SNTE pagó a televisa campaña de comunicación para la ACE," *La Jornada*, August 12, 2013. Gordillo had, in fact, played an important role in Calderón's election as she threw the union's weight behind him in what was a highly contested election, resulting in a razor-thin victory margin against the leftist candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador. Santiago Igartúa, "Revela Elba Esther pacto con Calderón para apoyarlo hacia la presidencia," *Proceso*, June 29, 2011, <https://www.proceso.com.mx/274462/revela-elba-esther-pacto-politico-con-calderon-para-apoyarlo-rumbo-a-la-presidencia/amp>.
11. Laura Poy Solano, "Las normales rurales, semilleros de guerrilleros, afirma Gordillo," *La Jornada*, August 6, 2010, <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2010/08/06/sociedad/035n1soc>; and Karina Avilés and Claudia Herrera, "Gordillo emite sentencia de muerte para escuelas normales," *La Jornada*, August 16, 2008, <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2008/08/19/index.php?section=sociedad&article=043n1soc>.
12. The events in Hidalgo, Chiapas, and Michoacán discussed later in this epilogue are based on numerous press accounts published at the time. Most are also chronicled in Luis Hernández Navarro's works *Cero en conducata* and *No habrá recreo*.
13. "Mactumactzá y el Banco Mundial," *Diario Este-Sur*, September 8, 2003, cited in Velasco Hernández, "Ciclo metabólico," 8.

14. See Jill Freidberg's documentary film *Granito de arena*.

15. In May 2006, what began as a protest of Oaxacan teachers for better pay and working conditions turned into a rebellion against Governor Ulises Ruiz (2004–10) as parents, youth, indigenous communities, and other popular sectors joined them to form the People's Popular Assembly of Oaxaca. Together they took over and barricaded the center of Oaxaca City, demanding the resignation of Governor Ruiz for his generalized corruption and acts of repression. The People's Popular Assembly held the capital until November, when President Fox dispatched federal police, army, and navy units to dismantle the popular camps. After six months, state and paramilitary repression had left about two dozen dead (including the U.S. filmmaker Brad Will) and many more beaten, raped, tortured, and incarcerated.

16. For more on Peña Nieto's Education Reform Law and its critics, see Bocking, "Mexican Teachers' Movement."

17. David Agren, "Mexico's Education Reforms Flounder as More Spent on PR than Teacher Training," *The Guardian*, May 15, 2018.

18. Ernesto Martínez Elorriaga, "Más policías que maestros en evaluación docente en Michoacán," *La Jornada*, July 9, 2017, <http://semanal.jornada.com.mx/ultimas/2017/07/09/mas-policias-que-maestros-en-evaluacion-docente-en-michoacan>; Javier Trujillo, "Más de 2 mil maestros de Guerrero se presentan a examen," *Milenio*, March 3, 2015, <https://www.milenio.com/estados/2-mil-maestros-guerrero-presentan-examen>; and Ángeles Mariscal, "Maestros y policías se enfrentan durante evaluación en Chiapas," *El Financiero*, June 20, 2015, <https://www.elfinanciero.com.mx/nacional/maestros-y-policias-se-confrontan-durante-evaluacion-en-chiapas>.

19. President Peña Nieto took ten days to make any pronouncements on Ayotzinapa and then dismissed it as a local affair. When mounting public pressure forced his administration to accept an international investigative team, its members were subjected to a defamation campaign from news outlets close to the government, their phones were targeted with sophisticated spyware sold by Israel to the Mexican government, and, despite pleas from the families of the Missing 43, they were ushered out of the country before their investigation was complete; the initial findings contradicted the government's version. Through its last days in office, the Peña Nieto administration insisted on what the Attorney General Jesús Murillo Karam called the "historic truth," that local police had handed the students over to members of a drug organization, who burned their bodies in a nearby dump. Independent national and international investigative teams, for their part, pointed to forensic evidence that rendered such a scenario impossible. Investigations such as Anabel Hernández's also revealed a chain of command in the government's actions the night of the attacks that reached high government and army levels. See Hernández, *Verdadera noche de Iguala*.

20. Hernández, *Verdadera noche de Iguala*, 52–53.

21. On capitalism by dispossession, see Harvey, *New Imperialism*. On its application to the war on drugs and the extent to which international antidrug agreements serve the logic of capital, see Paley, *Drug War Capitalism*. Dawn Paley also documents the links among the Colombian state, the paramilitaries, and the latter's involvement in drug trafficking and assassination of activists. For an account of the state-cartel operation to recover the drug cargo from one of the buses taken by the Ayotzinapa students, see Hernández, *Verdadera noche de Iguala*, chap. 12.

22. Aviña, "War against Poor People," 134.