

ABSTRACT

THE TEXTO UNICO Y GRATUITO: A MEXICAN CASE STUDY DESCRIBING THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE SOCIAL CHANGE

by John Alver Dobson

The purpose of the case study was to describe a crisis that erupted in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico during the month of February, 1962, when that city was the center of an educational conflict between national and state authorities on the one hand, and a coalition of private institutional groups on the other over the adoption of a new school curriculum and its corresponding textbook series.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis will, therefore (1) synthesize theoretical conceptualizations as to the nature of change paying particular attention to those theories or portions thereof which illuminate the nature of social change; (2) explore the historical antecedents to this latest eruption from pre-hispanic times through three hundred years of Spanish colonial domination to a century of attempts at curricular change in the Mexican nation; (3) examine, in depth, the socio-political crisis which occurred during the month of February, 1962, in Monterrey, Mexico as a result of

John Alver Dobson

attempts to change the educational curriculum; (4) probe the curricular reforms and textbooks to ascertain whether or not fundamental ideological changes were introduced at that time; and (5) ultimately develop the underlying issues that are at the root of the conflict in terms of the contribution they make to a broader understanding about the nature of social change.

Tentative Insights

An historical case study is neither designed as an empirical examination of a carefully controlled experiment nor will it produce scientific evidence which can be reproduced. What it does offer is a general overview as to the nature of a given problem, and it also identifies certain manifestations which can later be examined more carefully by the scientist. Therefore, this case study was not structured to produce major conclusions, rather it was designed to indicate areas that required further research.

(1) The concept of social change is still an evolving theoretical formulation that calls for further fundamental research. As the body of literature grows then social scientists will be able to structure a general theory of societal change. This case study suggests

John Alver Dobson

by its own design a means of examining the phenomenon of change as it takes place in a social system. It draws together history, education, psychology and sociology in an interdisciplinary task. This is essential since social change is in essence what happens to people in institutions over a period of time.

By identifying a sequence of events in history that seemed to be momentarily of a critical import the case study was able to encapsulate the struggles of people involved in a rapidly changing society in such a way as to provide more than a superficial insight into the nature of social change. Footnotes in history, such as this study, are valuable because they telescope into a very short time space the many ingredients that the social scientist must take cognizance of before a more empirical study can be executed. Although the sequence of events that took place in Monterey during the month of February 1962 cannot be replicated, the struggle between the adversaries can be mirrored in countless communities around the world as men strive to protect what is to them important in their culture from destruction, and as societies adjust to the exigencies of the modern world order. Of course, more studies of reality situations

John Alver Dobson

will no doubt permit scholars to identify the pattern of social change with more accuracy than to date has been the case.

THE TEXTO UNICO Y GRATUITO: A MEXICAN CASE STUDY
DESCRIBING THE ROLE OF EDUCATION
IN SOCIAL CHANGE

By

John Alver Dobson

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Education

1967

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Cole S. Brembeck, Dr. Frank Blackington, Dr. Charles Cumberland, and Dr. Stanley Hecker who together served on my doctoral committee. Dr. Brembeck, as chairman, was particularly helpful in guiding me as I wrote my thesis.

This document is, of course, dedicated to my wife, Cindy, whose encouragement ensured my success.

I should like to also express my thanks to Mr. Ernest Manino, Director, Office of Overseas Schools, United States Department of State, and the Board of Directors of the American School Foundation of Monterrey, Mexico, who provided financial aid which enabled me to undertake my doctoral studies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION.	1
	Summary Description of the Crisis.	1
	Outline of the Thesis.	3
	Review of the Literature	7
II	THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF SPANISH COLONIAL EDUCATION.	29
	Introduction	29
	Pre-Columbian Times.	30
	The Colony of Nueva Espana	33
	Peninsulares and Criollos: An Elite Minority	42
	Orphans and the Emerging Mestizo	46
	La Sociedad Criollo, 1580-1700	50
	The Bourbon Century, 1700-1808	62
III	A CENTURY OF CURRICULAR CHANGE.	75
	Introduction.	75
	Independence: 1808-1820.	76
	Liberal Reform: 1820-1830.	78
	Civil War: 1830-1880	80
	The Unsolved Problem	86
	Reorganizing the Nation's Schools.	91
	The Catholic Church and the Revolucion	94
	Articulo #3 Amended.	99
	The Presidency Adolfo Lopez Mateos (1958-1964).	102
	Concluding Comments.	110
IV	THE BUILD-UP TO CRISIS.	113
	Punta del Esta and Other World Happen- ings	113
	The Mexican Educational Scene.	117
	The Charge of Communism in Government.	120
	The Parade is Organized.	125
	Last Minute Attempts to Stop the Demon- stration	132

CHAPTER		PAGE
V	FRIDAY, 2 FEBRUARY 1962.	142
	Background.	142
	The Anti-Textbook Demonstration	143
	Agradecimiento: A Printed Thank You	160
VI	THE NEWSPAPER WAR.	165
	Background.	165
	La Secretaria de Educacion Issues a Statement	167
	A Press Release From the Comision Nacion- al de Libros de Texto Gratuitos	168
	Nacional Editorial Comment on the Demon- stration	169
	Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion.	177
	Comision Organizadora Protests Comite's Newspaper Attacks	182
	La Federacion de Sociedades de Padres de Familia Protestila Comision Organiza- dora.	184
	Secretary of Education Torres Bodet Ap- points Experts.	186
	News Releases	187
	Paterfamilias Refuse to Meet.	188
	A Second Invitation is Extended to the Comision	189
	Advertisements for and Against the Texto Gratuito.	190
	Parents Meetings in the Government Schools	194
	An Interview with Torres Bodet.	195
	Last Minute Maneuvering.	199
VII	THE COUNTER DEMONSTRATION.	205
	Sunday, 11 February 1962.	205
	Newspaper Commentary the Morning After.	219
	A Letter to the Editor.	227
	Commentary on the Educational Problem	229
VIII	LA MESA REDONDA.	237
	Background.	237
	The Second Meeting of the Round Table Monday 26 February 1962	240
	Tuesday, 27 February 1962	246
	Wednesday, 28 February 1962	247
	Thursday, 29 February 1962.	250
	Final Interchange	252

CHAPTER	PAGE
IX	AN EXAMINATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL ISSUES MENTIONED IN THE CASE STUDY. 258
	Ideology Foreign to Mexican Tradition. . . 258
	Rights of Parents Violated 266
	El Texto Gratuito. 268
	Analysis of the Charges. 277
X	CONCLUSION. 281
	A Synopsis of the Events in the Crisis . . 282
	A Diagnosis of the Crisis in the Light of Social Change Theory. 283
	The Role of Education in Social Change . . 293
	Tentative Insights in the Light of this Case Study 297
	BIBLIOGRAPHY 299

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Summary Description of the Crisis

On the second of February 1962 between 100,000¹ and 300,000² men, women and children poured into the streets of Monterrey, México, protesting the adoption of a new primary school curriculum and its complementary free textbooks. Within ten days, 11 February 1962, the same city witnessed a smaller--30,000³ to 100,000⁴--but equally enthusiastic demonstration in favor of the educational reforms. During the succeeding thirty days Monterrey and the State of Nuevo León were gripped with meetings, speeches, full page ads, and a general discontent resulting from the polar positions held by the state government and a coalition of private institutional groups.

As the excitement was beginning to wane in Monterrey the state government of San Luis Potosí ordered the political

¹El Sol de San Luis Potosi, February 3, 1962 (San Luis Potosi, Mexico: Cadena de Periodicos Garcia Valseca, XX 3324), A-1.

²El Norte, February 3, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8460), B-1.

³El Norte, February 12, 1962 (Monterrey, Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8469) B-1.

⁴Excelsior, February 12, 1962 (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Excelsior, LX, 43), B-1.

offices of the Partido Democratico closed on a Wednesday night, 22 March 1962.⁵ The party's leaders were arrested on the grounds that they were publishing seditious and pornographic literature.⁶ The central issue again was the introduction by the state of the national curricular reforms and the adoption of the textbook series.⁷

On the eighth of May, 1963, the issue of the curricular reforms boiled up for a third time after the publication, in the Mexican capital, of a pastoral letter signed by twenty-two bishops and archbishops protesting, in general terms, the educational policies of the federal government.⁸ In essence the bishops charged that the rights of man and of institutions were being violated by an autocratic state. The pastoral letter was followed on the 31st of October, 1963, by a massive demonstration of adhesion to the Church's position by the citizenry of the State of Puebla,⁹ and lesser demonstrations in various parts of the country. Although the heat of passion has somewhat subsided during the subsequent several years the issue as to the direction education should move society has not yet been settled in the

⁵ El Sol de San Luis Potosí, March 23, 1962 (San Luis Potosí, México: Cadena de Periodicos Garcia Valseca, XX, 3372), A-1.

⁶ "Educational Section: The Battle of the Books", Newsweek, 61 (February 25, 1963), 88.

⁷ Ibid., 88.

⁸ Excelsior, May 8, 1963 (México, D.F.: Editorial LXI, 160), B-1.

⁹ El Sol de Puebla, November 1, 1963 (Puebla, México: Cadena de Periodicos Garcia Valseca, XV, 2802), A-1.

minds of many Mexicans. Indeed, the debate was again revived recently with the publication of Life en Español of the opposing views written by leading political figures.¹⁰ The continuing polemic between adversaries is indicative of an underlying conflict which momentarily surfaced with the national curricular reforms. The charge of communists in government and the autocratic imposition of a communist-styled curriculum and textbooks was but an overt manifestation of a covert conflict that has plagued México for the better part of two centuries; it is plaguing emerging countries throughout the world. It is a conflict of values; it is a conflict between differing interpretations of the rights of man, the function of institutions--including the family, schools, and churches--, and the status of the national state. That this conflict can be examined within the context of an educational crisis is particularly significant, since it indicates the central role that educational institutions have assumed within the nation-state.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis will, therefore, (1) synthesize theoretical conceptualizations as to the nature of change paying particular attention to those theories or portions thereof which illuminate

¹⁰Life en Español, September 27, 1965 (México, D.F.: Time-Life Inc.), 54-56.

de p

area

area

to a

Vani

cria

Yeni

elco

cent

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

area

the nature of social change; (2) explore the historical antecedents to this latest eruption from pre-hispanic times through three hundred years of Spanish colonial domination to a century of attempts at curricular change in the Mexican nation; (3) examine, in depth, the socio-political crisis which occurred during the month of February (1962) in Monterrey, Mexico, as the result of attempts to change the educational curriculum; (4) probe the curricular reforms and textbooks to ascertain whether or not the fundamental ideological changes were introduced at that time; and (5) ultimately develop the underlying issues that are at the root of the conflict in terms of the questions they raise and the contribution they make to a broader understanding about the nature of social change.

(1) The introductory chapter will discuss the various theories of society as conceived by social scientists who have examined the nature of Latin culture. This background in social structure will be followed by a synthesis of current theories of social change. The case study will not, however, attempt to prove or disprove any particular theory, rather the various conceptualizations will serve as tools with which to diagnose the sequence of events that gripped Monterrey, México for the month of February in 1962. In this way a deeper understanding will be obtained as to why the society lost its normal equilibrium and rhythmic motion.

20

207

208

21

212

213

216

217

218

219

220

221

222

223

224

225

226

227

228

229

230

231

232

(2) The history of Mexican education begins before the advent of the Spaniards when the Indian tribes that ranged over Mexico trained their children to become functioning members of the tribe. Colonial education began in 1521 with the establishment of a school for Indians by Fray Pedro de Gante. From that date to the present the educational establishment has been the center of controversy. An examination of the pattern of conflict that has evolved down through the centuries will provide another dimension of understanding as to the Mexican educational milieu. The most useful source in educational history is Francisco Larroyo's Historia Comparada de Education de México¹¹ which is by far the most complete study on the subject. In addition, modern editions of primary works will be used. The contemporary scene will be based primarily on historical surveys, government reports, original studies, newspaper stories and personal interviews with educational leaders.

Since the history of educational conflict will serve primarily as background material, a thorough historical examination of Mexican education and its history will be

¹¹ Francisco Larroyo, Historia Comparada de la Educación en México (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1964).

avoided. Rather an attempt will be made to highlight those critical points in time when conflict occurred so as to place the current crisis in its proper perspective.

(3) In examining the actual conflict that took place in Monterrey, México, the writer will rely upon newspaper accounts, editorial and paid political commentary printed in the newspapers, and eyewitness accounts provided by the principal adversaries. This section will be structured closely to the chronological happenings as they took place. No attempt will be made to evaluate the differing accounts or interpretive comments made by the news media or the interviewees.

(4) The curricular reforms undertaken by the federal educational authorities, in cooperation with state and local educators, merit careful consideration not only because they were the apparent cause of the educational crisis, but also because of their far-reaching attempt to reorganize the educational establishment. Fortunately, the primary sources are abundant and still available for this aspect of the study.

Although the textbooks¹² are but a part of the overall curricular reforms undertaken by the Federal Ministry of

¹² Mi Libro de Primer Año to Mi Libro de Sexto Año
Series (México, D.F.: Comisión Nacional de los Libros de
Texto Gratuito, 1961).

Education their orientation and social content were and are explosive and radically different from previous Mexican texts. Whereas the general curricular reforms were challenged pedagogically, the textbook series that was adopted to implement the reforms was separately challenged as being Marxist and subversive to Mexican traditions. Stories in the books dealing with man's social relationships will be analyzed in an effort to ascertain their socio-political content.

(5) The final portion will attempt to highlight those elements of the crisis which seem to have a transcendent relevance for the study of social change. Utilizing the tools of social change theory the writer will examine these manifestations in the crisis in order to understand more fully the nature of the human interaction that took place. It is not the intention of this study to enunciate a new theorem on the nature of change, nor will it test any of the current hypotheses. The final chapter will, however, suggest certain societal structures that require more detailed study and eventually scientific interpretation.

Review of the Literature

The nature of this case study requires a broad spectrum review of the literature dealing both with an analysis of Mexican social thought and the more general theories of social change. Both Mexican and American

307
110
880
26
27
21
26
26
27
26
30
31
25
27
32
30
30
31
25
22
50
/

authorities will be perused in order to draw from the examination of the Mexican scene a relevant description as to the essence of social interaction. The theoretical formulations of change, on the other hand, will be primarily North American.

The Mexican intelligentsia is rather limited in number, and as Octavio Paz points out in The Labyrinth of Solitude,¹³ their contribution to Mexican culture has been curtailed, because they have been absorbed by the institutional fabric of the nation-state. Thus, Leopoldo Zea, Jose Vasconcelos, Francisco Larroyo, Martin Luis Guzman, Samuel Ramos, Jaime Torres Bodet, and Octavio Paz himself became actors in the post-1917 movement that has worked to institutionalize the gains of the Revolución Mexicana. By their involvement they have disqualified themselves from serving as impartial interpreters of Mexican culture. This is a particularly salient point because one of the fundamental conflicts in society revolves around the social structure and national purpose of Mexico. With the "giants" of Mexican thought closely allied to the nation-state their efforts to fuse the varying institutions into a cohesive whole are suspect; this is particularly true of Vasconcelos an historian and former minister of education, Larroyo a political functionary

¹³Octavio Paz, The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico, trans. Lysander Kemp (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961).

and educational historian, Guzman, another historian and current Presidente of the commission responsible for the textbooks involved in the controversy, Torres Bodet, a philosopher who as minister of education introduced the reforms, and Paz, an official of the foreign ministry as well as the foremost thinker in contemporary Mexico.

The conflict, as it will be developed in this thesis will ultimately become an examination of two opposing theories of society, and how the theories utilize the educational establishment in order to effect change in the social system. The political thinkers who project these opposing views tend to cluster around either the concept that the state is supreme or that the state merely coordinates the activities of dominating social institutions. The Mexican thinkers mentioned above tend towards the former position while a coterie of national and foreign writers, including men such as Jacques Maritain (French), Luis J. Actis (Argentine), Emile Pirolley (French), Joseph Schlarman (North American), Tristan de Athayde (French), Abelardo Leal, Sr. (Mexican), and Ramon Sanchez Medal (Mexican), center around the latter. In either case the intellectuals conceive of the school as the crucial institution through which they can achieve their type of society. This, of course, is in keeping with von Leibnitz' classic statement: "Give me control of the schools and I will change the face of Europe in less than a century."

Thus an open conflict centered around an educational program becomes critically important in the development of society, because the adversaries are fully cognizant that their way of life is being threatened or being enhanced by the curricular changes. This study will necessarily touch on the challenge being made by both those who favor a national state that is supreme and those who favor autonomous viable institutions that dominate the subservient state.

Another confusing issue that recurs throughout the study, and indeed has plagued Mexican education throughout its history, is the role of man in society. One of the original cries of the 19th century liberals was that the "rights of man" were inviolable against the oppression of both Cross and Crown. Today the advocates of a weak state and strong institutions are using the same cry with the rationale that men have the inviolable right to choose the institutional structure through which their personality will develop; similarly, advocates of strong institutions claim that man through his inherent rights at the primary institutional level--that is through the family--establishes his right to educate his child as he sees fit within secondary institutions. Thus the role and functions of the individual within society must be partially identified; as Linton pointed out:

Although any particular individual is rarely of great importance to the survival and functioning of the society to which he belongs or the culture in which he participates, the individual, his needs and potentialities, lies at the foundation of all social and cultural phenomena. Societies are organized groups of individuals, and cultures are, in the last analysis, nothing more than the organized repetitive responses of a society's members.¹⁴

A serious question seems to emerge: does man have the primary right to choose the education he wishes to give his child, or does the state as the corporate expression of all men hold that right? A corollary question also awaits reply: does man exist as an autonomous individual personality, or is he, through his personality, merely an expression of an institutional will?

This introduction would not be complete without a summary description of current theoretical statements dealing with social change. Although the science of sociology gained its first impetus with Marx's analysis of and predictions regarding a changing society there was little written precisely about social change for almost a century, except for Weber's commentary on the effects of the Protestant Reformation on Germany and Europe. Indeed, Parsons wrote less than fifteen years ago that "a general theory of the

¹⁴Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), 5.

processes of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge,"¹⁵ On the grounds that not enough was known concerning motivational processes.

A decade later Parsons undertook his first essay entitled, "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change."¹⁶ In the 1961 paper Parsons interprets change to be generally the result of differentiation within the social system. He writes that the cycle of differentiation begins with a deficit input at the goal attaining boundaries of the social system. That is, if there developed an input-output imbalance in the social system, then the more viable sub-systems of the system adjust their internal structures to enlarge their functions at the expense of the weaker sub-systems. Thus the sub-systems of the social system function so as to maintain structural patterns which balance input-output functional relations with one another.

Parsons' deficient input construction was, in a sense, the Mexican government's analysis of the socioeconomic situation wherein the national imbalance of rich and poor, with the corresponding low productivity and usefulness of the latter. The government's attempt to effect

¹⁵ Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), 486.

¹⁶ Talcott Parsons, "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change," Rural Sociology (Ithaca, New York: Rural Sociological Society).

change made corresponding changes essential among the other sub-systems, which, in general terms, precipitated the crisis.

Unlike Parsons who theorized on the nature of the total social system, Kingsley Davis develops his interpretations of societies in terms of its demographic manifestations. In fact, it was Davis that coined the term "population explosion" to describe the disorientation transpiring in contemporary society. Davis develops his conceptual stance regarding change on the theory that "the social system [is] a moving equilibrium."¹⁷ "Either tacitly or explicitly anyone who thinks about society tends to use the notion. . . It is usually phrased in static terms, but as soon as the element of time is added it alludes to a moving equilibrium."¹⁸ His central theme is that the various deterministic theories of change, particularly the Marxian position that the mode of production determines social, political and intellectual action, do not accurately perceive the major role played by socio-cultural variables. By concentrating on variables other than economic he attempts to refute the so-called "cultural lag" theory: in fact, he contends that socio-cultural

¹⁷Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), 633.

¹⁸Ibid., 634.

variables facilitate economic and technological change.¹⁹ When Davis explains change he differentiates between social change and cultural change. The former he considers merely internal "stresses and strains" of the moving equilibrium resulting from shifts in the power structure among the various sectors of society. Cultural change, on the other hand, is indicative of a fundamental re-orientation of the entire culture and includes renovation in science, art, technology, philosophy and the norms of social organization.²⁰

The question Davis poses viz-a-viz this case study is how does an exploding poverty-ridden population react to change that stands to benefit them economically at the same time that it appears to be challenging their socio-cultural bias. Similarly, what is the reaction of the elitest segment of society that dominate the industrial complex when change, from which they will benefit economically, also conflicts with their socio-cultural bias. Although never examined openly this contradiction between cultural and economic needs underlies the entire case study. The study will describe how one community resolved, in part, this dichotomy.

¹⁹Ibid., 634.

²⁰Ibid., 635.

George C. Homans' principal interest has been the examination of the small group, and his interpretations as to the nature of social change have necessarily been projections of this orientation. His two major works: The Human Group²¹ and Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms²² begin with the individual then project from that to the small group then to more complex structures. Although Homans disclaims interest in the subject of social change he does suggest certain possible causes for change. Utilizing a unilinear social class distinction Homans points out that low status and high status people have a greater propensity for deviant social behavior than others. Homans also expressed concern for the individual who has been isolated from the controlling--nurturing--influence of an institutional fabric. "Elementary social behavior does not grow just in the gaps between institutions; it clings to institutions as to a trellis. It grows everywhere. . ."²³

And again,

The cycle is vicious; loss of group membership in one generation may make men less capable of group membership than the next. The civilization that, by its very process of growth, shatters small group life will leave men and women lonely and unhappy. . . Each of the

²¹George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950).

²²George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (New York: Brace and World, Harcourt, 1960).

²³Ibid., 103.

sociologists--Durkheim, LeBon, Figgis, Brooks Adams--who began just before World War I, to point out the signs of decay in our society, used the same metaphor. They said that society was becoming a dust heap of individuals without links to one another.²⁴

Homans, in his analysis of social change, primarily concentrates upon what he conceives of as apparent social disintegration. His concern is more one of survival of existing systems rather than the interaction of the system to precipitate a better or different system.

There is no functional prerequisite for the survival of a society except that the society provide sufficient reward for its individual members to keep them contributing activities to its maintenance, and that it reward them not just as members of that society but as men.²⁵

Otherwise the social system disintegrate.

Homan's thesis that low and high status people have a greater propensity for deviant social behavior suggests the need to examine the backgrounds of the various actors to ascertain its validity. Unfortunately, the nature of the case study precludes any in-depth evaluation as to the nature of the individuals involved. It is valuable, nevertheless, to consider, at least superficially the role of the low and high status people involved. Homan's consideration as to the role of institutions being the "controlling--

²⁴George C. Homans, The Human Group, op. cit., 457.

²⁵Ibid., Chapter 4.

nurturing--influence" over the individual is perhaps one of the most important theoretical tools to be used in this case study. Time and again the reader will be aware of the institutional forces at play in the ferment of people attempting to identify their own role in the crisis, and it will become more readily evident that social behavior tends to be a reflection of institutional influences and not a myriad of individual wills.

Everett E. Hagan, although not strictly speaking a sociologist (professor of economics, M.I.T.) places major emphasis on the need for personality change amongst the economic innovators if successful social change is to be effected.

The preceding discussion has laid strong emphasis in change in personality. Other conditions have been assumed constant; change in personality, or more strictly, a change in social structure leading to a change in personality, has been treated as the prime mover of social change. This seems justified because of the great empirical importance of change in personality.²⁶

When Hagan refers to the need for change in personality he is broaching the same problem as Mexican governmental leadership diagnosed at the outset prior to the educational crisis. However, the Mexican government undertook to implement the second step, not mentioned by Hagan, of

²⁶ Everett E. Hagan, On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins (Homewood, Ill.: Harper and Brothers, 1962) 237.

introducing attitudinal change amongst the general population. The logical choice of instruments for this major effort were the public and private schools of the Mexican nation. The Monterrey crisis resulted not only from the attempt but also with the rapidity of the projected change; of course, the traditional institutions that dominated the society reacted not only to the direction of the personality change but also to their own role-change.

Robert L. Garner, vice president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, seems to corroborate this point of view when he states that "development is a state of mind."

People have to develop themselves before they can change their physical environment and this is a slow process. . . It involves changes in relations between classes and races. It requires improvement of governmental organization and operations; the extension of social institutions, schools, courts, and health services. These things take much longer than the building of factories and railroads and dams. . . Habits of thought and of conduct are the most stubborn obstacles to development. . . 27

Pitirim A. Sorokin's conceptualizations about the social system are grounded in his analysis of the nature of the super-organic world. He likens the world "to the

²⁷ Eugene Staley, The Future of Underdeveloped Countries (New York: Council on Foreign Relations and Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), 203.

mind in all its clearly developed manifestations,"²⁸ and embraces such things as language, religion, philosophy, science, the fine arts, law, ethics, and social organization. The interactions of the social system are found mainly in the "reflexed and instincts; sensations, feelings, and emotions. . . ." of human beings.²⁹ Sorokin, quite opposite to Homans, contends that society must change in order to survive. Indeed, he believes, change is inevitable and the only aspect that varies in the rhythm and swing of change. Thus change is slow or fast depending upon the socio-cultural milieu.³⁰

Sorokin's "inevitability of change theory" suggests that all societies must continually modify their social and cultural relationships in order to assure the survival of the society. This virtually insures that the institutional fabric will be under stress and at times experience crisis, for all the component parts in the social system will necessarily undergo continual need for readjustment.

²⁸Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), 3.

²⁹Ibid., 4.

³⁰Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics: A Study of Change in Major Systems of Art, Truth, Ethics, Law and Social Relations (Boston: Porter Sargent, Pub., 1957) 645-6, 649.

Robin M. Williams, Jr., on the other hand, differentiates between "social change" and "social motion." The latter he describes as merely the functional interaction that takes place within the society as it evolves. Social change he considers as occurring when:

. . . there is a shift in pattern--when new relationships emerge, new standards and goals become shared. It is not necessarily social change if an individual meets a situation new to him nor if individuals vary in their behavior in given types of situations--only when difference is shared and endures long enough to be recognizable as a new structure can we say that the culture or society has changed.³¹

This interpretation is in keeping with Williams' "structural-functional" analysis of social systems. Thus, the structure of a social system must markedly change, or the functions of various component sub-systems must be significantly altered for social change to, in fact, have occurred.

Both Davis, mentioned above, and Williams attempt to differentiate between the normal adjustments in the society and a significant alteration in the patterns of the system. A case study will not readily define itself as being either social change (cultural change in Davis vocabulary) or social motion (social change); indeed, the study would superficially manifest the latter characteristics and it would only be after the crisis period had passed and the effects could be evaluated that a meaningful differentiation could be made.

³¹Robin Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2nd. Edition, revised, 1960) 567.

Robert K. Merton, another social scientist concerned with social change, has devoted the greater part of twenty years describing varying conditions of society. "Cognitive mapping," as this identifying procedure is called, is closely associated with Merton's theoretical research, for he has emphasized the importance of accurately describing the many concepts of sociology. In dealing with social change he contents himself to describing various conditions that precipitate social change. Among them are:

'Relative deprivation' as felt by a class or group, and its importance as a potential in conflict with authority.

'Self hypnosis' through one's own propaganda and the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Conflicting value-orientations in primary groups.

The trickle effect, such as the 'trickling down of fashions and styles in the system of stratification.'³²

Merton also broaches the subject of social change in his address to the Fourth World Congress of Sociology:

In a final remark on these and the many other lines of cleavage among sociologists, I should like to apply a formulation about the structure of social conflict in relation to the intensity of conflict that was clearly stated by Georg Simmel and Edward Ross. This is the hypothesis, in the words of Ross, that 'a society. . .

³²Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), 305, 421.

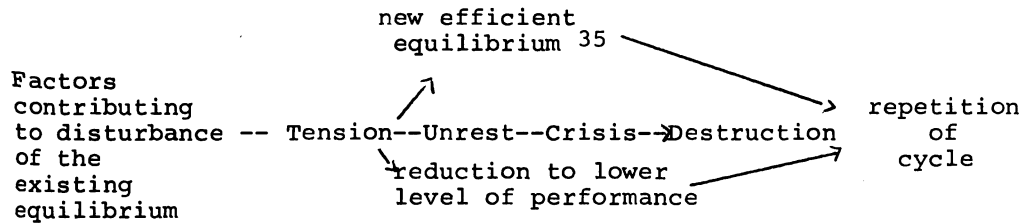
which is riven by a dozen. . . [conflicts] along lines running in every direction, may actually be in less danger of being torn apart with violence or falling to pieces than one split along just one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow and cross clefts, so that one might say that society is sewn together by its inner conflicts.'

It is an hypothesis borne out by its own history, for since it was set forth by Simmel and by Ross, it has been taken up or independently originated by some scores of sociologists, many of whom take diametrically opposed positions on some of the issues we have reviewed. (I mention only a few of them: Wiese and Becker, Hiller, Myrdal, Parsons, Lewis Goser, Berelson, Lazarfeld and McPhee, Robin Williams, Bahrendorf, Coleman, Lipset and Zelfitch, and among the great number of recent students of 'status discrepancy,' Lenski, Adams, Stoghill and Hemphill.³³

Howard P. Becker, the last of the theorists to be considered, is unique in that he makes change a part of the conceptual device by which change is analyzed. He considers resistance to change or enthusiasm for change as the factors most important in determining the focus of the social system. He then utilizes the sacred-secular continuum as his guideposts for the identification of the orientation of a society.³⁴ Early in Becker's career, he describes the equilibrium cycle in terms of a necessary development resulting from change:

³³Charles P. Loomis and Zona, K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories (Princeton, N.J.: D. VanNostrand Co., Inc., 1961), 617-618.

³⁴Howard Becker, Through Values to Social Interpretation (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950), 285.



Later he began describing society as an open system in a "steady state." That is, a society which is continually changing, but one in which the propensity for change is integrating. Change thereby becomes the mechanism for maintaining a steady or balanced state.³⁶

Becker's continuum clearly shows the steps that normally constitute the process for change; however, little or no attempt is made to identify the nature of the factors which contribute to causing an imbalance in the equilibrium. Neither does Becker provide tools for measuring the new level of efficiency. Nevertheless his Tension--Unrest--Crisis continuum provides the reader with the actual steps that were to occur during Mexico's introduction of the new educational curriculum and textbook.

The theoretical constructs offered by the various social scientists above provide the reader with tools which help identify and illuminate those aspects of the case

³⁵Joyce O. Hertzler, Society in Action (New York: The Dryden Press, 1954), 59.

³⁶Howard Becker, Man in Reciprocity (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956), 458.

study crisis which are transcendent and valuable for the study of social change. Although all thinkers provide "an element of truth" in what they write it is not the object of this case study to validate all social change theory. In fact the intent of an examination of this genre is to take social change theories and attempt to diagnose those aspects of the interplay of personalities and institution which submerged in the drama, confusion, and human contradictions found in a case study of this nature.

The following aspects of the several theories in social change are helpful to a deeper appreciation of the case study. The "social motion" and "stresses and strains" syndrome are, of course, evident throughout the study. In the chapters which provide the historical background it is readily apparent that the society is continually being modified in order to cope with the changing needs and circumstances of Mexican society. The demands placed upon the personality of the various people is perhaps the major key to understanding why the crisis took place. Changing the curricular format and introducing a free textbook are innocuous in themselves but when one considers that thousands of individuals committed to various and sundry institutions and their ideologies then it becomes more readily apparent that a reaction to enforced change was imminent. Hagan has emphasized a need for a change in the social which would foster a change in personality.

Obviously any attempt to establish conditions favorable to a restructuring of society would be resisted by those affected unfavorably. This situation is further compounded when one realizes as Homan's has suggested that eliminating social behavior is fostered and guided by an institutional fabric. The opposite to Homan's later statement on low and high status people seems to be the reality of the case study. Oscar Lewis and others who have studied the small group seem to emphasize how institution-bound the low-status individual really is. However, there is no contradiction in these seemingly opposite viewpoints, for Homan's was attempting to point out the macrocosmic circumstance wherein a large segment of a society are in a cycle of distruction whereas Lewis was merely pointing out that even the lowest status personalities are bound by the moves of their encompassing institutional forces. Thus it is necessary to be constantly aware that individuals do not exist outside a system of institutions and that the personalities of the myriad of individuals involved in this case study are but a mirror of the institutional forces at work around him. In the destructive syndrome many low status individuals reacted to the changes introduced opposite to their own self-interest. This, indeed, corroborates what Homan's is attempting to describe.

The other major theme that is of significance to an understanding of the relevance of this case study is highlighted by several of the sociologists reviewed. Merton and Ross allude to the need for a society to be "riven by a multiplicity of conflicts" rather than one or two in order to remain intact. One interpretation of this would be that the institutional fabric of a society must be sufficiently diversified in order to ensure that every issue does not invariably polarize the interest groups. Parsons also deals with the problem of how sub-systems are always seeking more beneficial relationships through the input-output sequence. In a social system where there are but a few sub-systems any minor adjustment in the system will invariably seem like a major crisis since the society does not have a sufficiently complex infra-structure to absorb the reacting shock waves of the change. In this case study the reader will be aware of the limited institutional fabric and the tendency for the Mexican society to polarize on the issue of curricular change as it has divided historically on almost every issue. The nature of the case study is such that the interaction amongst the various institutions becomes readily apparent.

The resistance by individuals as well as their institutions to the curriculum reforms introduced by the Secretariat of Education can best be understood when it is realized that the objectives of the educational changes was to make a fundamental adjustment in the nature of Mexican society. The many traditional roles and relationships amongst men were threatened but not with immediate change, with change within a generation or two. None the less, the threat was real and parental concern for their children's future was sufficiently important that there developed a general reaction to the educational policies. As Staley has pointed out in The Future of Underdeveloped Countries:

The social obstacles to development are tenacious because they are deeply imbedded in the habits of millions of individuals, in the accepted arrangements we call institutions, and in the system of values by which people decide that some things are good and others bad, some more important some less important.³⁷

The events that took place in Monterrey, México during February 1962 are significant to both students of Latin American affairs and social scientists generally. During one short month and in one locale there is encapsulated most of the principal parts usually manifest in a social

³⁷Staley, op. cit., 210.

crisis. The overt issues involved were clearly enunciated by the adversaries, and the covert cultural conflicts readily discernable. An historical approach, as used in this case study, provides an opportunity for a depth examination of human interaction on a large scale.

This case study is not a scientific study, however, it draws certain cogent analyses from scientifically conceived theorems regarding the nature of change in society which help interpret the historical events and make them meaningful. No attempt will be made to develop theoretical constructs, nor will the study substantiate or disprove given hypotheses although informal observations will be made. This historical case study will be descriptive in that it merely orders the events as they took place. The concluding chapter will, however, suggest certain aspects of the study that in the opinion of the writer warrant further investigation.

CHAPTER II

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF SPANISH COLONIAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Mexican educational history carefully records the nature and evolution of Mexican society as it gropes for an identity. The sequence of events to be related below clearly identify the social forces that have attempted to direct the development of the social order. Indeed, the failure of Mexican society to mesh into an integrated cohesive whole from the very earliest times precipitated a history of factional struggles between powerful blocks that strove to coagulate the society under their respective leadership. The net result has been a reduced efficiency due to continuing tension, unrest, crisis, and periodic destruction.

The essential factors contributing to Mexican social conflict can be identified as two clusters of institutions each attempting to dominate society. During the course of history first one group was dominant, then the other cluster emerged to challenge the former's leadership. Unable to effect a new efficiency equilibrium the opposing forces

proceeded to cause the disintegration of the society by their continuing struggle. Only at the end of the historical sequence--1920 to present--have the original challengers been able to dominate the social system, and then only by a small margin, and begin integrating and developing a modern nation-state.

Pre-Columbian Times

Mexican heritage had its beginnings before the pale of recorded history when the indigenous peoples began forming communities in the sheltered valleys of the Sierra Madre mountains. These communities eventually formed tribal and national alliances which became the early Toltecs and Chichimecs and the later Aztecs and Mayas.

Aztec civilization was widespread during the fifteenth century. From their capital at Tenochitlan, in the valley of Mexico, they dominated an empire embracing a territory extending to Vera Cruz in the east and to Oaxaca in the south.¹ The Aztec nation was over 300,000 strong, with well over one million subject and/or allied tribes.² This nation

¹Francisco Larroyo, Historia Comparada de la Educación en México (México, D.F. Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1964), 66.

²Ibid., 66.

was dependent upon the effectiveness of a small religious and military class to govern and to dominate the empire. To ensure the development of this class, the Aztecs had an elaborate educational program.

From birth to death members of this religious and military class were obligated to follow a well defined tradition of lifetime obligations. When a male child was born a special religious ceremony was conducted in which the following words were used:

Hijo mio, muy tierno: escucha hoy la doctrina que nos dejaron el señor Yoalteculti y la senora Yoalticitl, tu padre y tu madre. De medio ti corto tu ombligo: sabete y entiende, que no es aqui tu casa donde has nacido, porque eres soldado del que esta y criado; eres ave y soldado del que esta en todas partes; pero esta casa donde has nacido, no es sino un nido, es una posada donde has llegado, es tu salida para este mundo; aqui brotas y floreces, aqui apartas de tu madre como el pedazo de piedra donde se corta; esta es tu cuna y lugar donde reclines tu cabeza, solamente es tu posada esta casa; tu propia tierra otra parte estas prometido; que es el campo donde se hacen las guerras, donde se traban las batallas, para alli eres enviado, tu oficio y facultad es la guerra, tu obligacion es dar beber al soldado sangre de los enemigos, y dar de comer a la tierra que se llama Taltecaxtli, con los cuerpos de los contrarios. . . 3

In essence, the family and the leaders of the community dedicated the child to a life of service to the tribe.

³Ibid., 69.

Children of both sexes and all classes were educated at home for the first fourteen years of their lives. Boys learned their father's occupation while the girls became homemakers. They were also inculcated with the mores of their particular community. Children were given a definite part in the various rituals and social events which took place from time to time.⁴

Sons of the leader class were placed in a school-- Calmecac--at the age of fourteen for three five-year periods of training. Each level prepared the men for certain functions within the community. After the first period the student graduated as a tlamacazto (novice), after the second a tlamecaztli (deacon) and after completing the fifteen years a student became a tlanamacac (priest).⁵ During war time these same grades were the junior, intermediate and senior officers.

In addition to the Calmecac school, the Aztecas maintained a system of community schools designed to train the rest of the people of the nation in the art of warfare. The telpochcalli, as the military school was called,

⁴Ibid., 71.

⁵Ibid., 72.

instilled loyalty and obedience towards the ruling class as well as teaching military techniques.⁶ In return for loyalty and obedience the people expected the leadership class to guide the destiny of the nation. When the effectiveness of the leader class disintegrated the structure collapsed.

The Colony of Nueva España

On April 22, 1519 an expedition of Spaniards, under the leadership of Hernán Cortés, landed on the sandy shores of Chalchiuhcuecan. Cortes planted the Cross of Christ and the standard of the king and queen of Aragon and Castilla on the high ground overlooking the beach, while his 900 soldiers and sailors celebrated Mass. Chalchiuhcuecan was then renamed Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz.⁷ In this act of loyalty to both church and state, Cortés propagated an arrangement which had proved so effective in the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Aztecs were defeated by the year 1521, and their former empire became the nucleus of Nueva España. Expeditions were sent both north and south over the succeeding years until

⁶Ibid., 72.

⁷Ibid., 85.

the Virreynato de Nueva España included territory as far north as San Francisco, California, and as far south as the Itsmuth of Panama.

In the wake of the conquistadores' rapid and violent conquest of Las Indias came the missionaries and the settlers. These two social factors were to emerge before the end of the first century of Spanish domination as the bases for the permanent occupation of the New World. The friars worked incessantly to Christianize and pacify the Indians. The settlers worked equally hard to establish a new social and economic fabric for their own preeminence and the subjugation of los naturales.

The strength of the colonial system was based upon three ingredients; a system of land-holding by loyal Spaniards, the diffusion of Christianity to all levels of society, and a stratification of that society. The original land grants were given to soldiers in return for services rendered in securing the new colony. Later generations of criollos were expected to continue the tradition of service in either the military, civil or religious posts. The Christian Church not only brought salvation to the infidels, but also new cultural concepts which permeated the colonial society. Indians and Spaniards alike were obligated to turn to the Christian Church for intellectual and moral guidance throughout the colonial period. The third ingredient of the colonial

system was the rigidly stratified society in which the indio was subjugated to a level of serf-like peonage.

For the three hundred years of colonial domination the Christian Church and the Spanish colonial government cooperated very closely. Commencing with the Papal Bull of 1493 and ending with the Inquisition trials of Morelos and Hidalgo, the Christian Church supported the colonial concept of government. This support was given to the temporal authorities in return for absolute leadership in all those things spiritual. The Church, therefore, was given a free hand establishing educational institutions for the colony.

Missionary Zeal

Once the initial phase of conquest had been effected dedicated missionaries began working to bring lost souls to Christ. Dominicans Bartolome de las Casas, Juan Torres, and Martin de la Paz dedicated their lives to the Quiche-Maya in Yucatan and the Capitanía General de Guatemala. The Franciscans vigorously pressed for the Christianization and protection of the naturales in the Audiencia de México. Pedro de Gante, Motolinia, Juan de Zumarraga and others worked tirelessly for the well being of their charges.

The major religious orders--Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and later the Jesuits--were in the New World at the request of the Crown. They were given the specific

responsibility of Christianizing the infidels. Fernando el Catolico, Carlos I (v), and Felipe II all decreed supportive legislation. The Leyes de Burgos (1512), for example, ordered that all Indians should be taught the scriptures and traditions of Catholicism, and those students who were capable should be taught reading and writing. The Crown's commitment to the Indians dated back to the Papal Bull of Demarcation signed by Pope Alexander IV (1493). Another factor which placed the burden of mission work on the Crown was the Patronato Real whereby the Church of Rome was placed under the King of Spain in all the latter's possessions. In return for political control of the Church's hierarchy the Crown assumed broad financial and political responsibility over its endeavors.

Indian Patio Schools

Two types of educational institutions emerged in response to the Leyes de Burgos. They were the patio school and the formal school for sons of caciques. The patio school became the central concern of the Franciscans of Mexico after the arrival of the "twelve apostles" (Motolinia, Zumarraga, etc.) in 1524.⁸ The Franciscans

⁸Francis Borgia Steck, Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, MCMLI), 10.

scattered to several Indian communities near Mexico City and initiated their work.

Immediately on reaching these centers, the priests selected suitable sites and ordered the construction of low buildings in which there should be a large room where the children might sleep, with other smaller rooms for services of various sorts. . . . When the buildings were ready, the chief Indians were instructed to bring to school their children and place them in the school. Most of them did so, but some, instead of bringing their own children, substituted for them the children of their servants or slaves. . . . They gathered from six hundred to a thousand in each school where they were cared for by old men and fed with provisions brought by their mothers who likewise looked after clothing them. The padres practically lived with them, and for the sake of example, performed their devotions before them.

The school day began with matins, which all the pupils were of course expected to attend, since the principal instruction they were to receive, especially in the early years, was religious. After matins they [the priests] taught the children until the hour of mass, and again after mass until the noon meal hour. After eating, they rested awhile and returned again to study until later afternoon.⁹

A corollary to the teaching of the Scriptures was instruction in castellano. Although many friars learned native dialects, and often translators were used to import instruction, the general emphasis was to teach the boys the language of Spain.

An important point to be made about the patio schools was their attempt to gain control of the future leaders of

⁹Charles S. Braden, Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1930), 143-144.

the numerous Indian villages. Motolinia related:

The first town to which the friars went to instruct was Cuautitlán four leagues from México. They also went to Tepotzotlan. . . because among the children of the lords receiving instruction in the house of God were also the little lords of these two towns, nephews or grandchildren of Moteuczoma (sic), these being outstanding inmates of the house.¹⁰

Essentially, the Church fathers were interested in making their charges Christian. To be Christian intimated a minimal social and economic level. Thus the friars encouraged the Indians to become like the Spaniards around them. Motolinia devoted considerable space in his book to a description of how the Indians learned many of the trades and skills of the Spanish craftsmen. He praised their natural abilities to copy workmanship, and at one point related the story of the man who stole a saddle-pattern, copied it, then returned the original to its owner. He justified this, and many similar acts, because of the salutary effect on the economy. When an Indian learned a trade "the Spaniard must immediately lower their prices. However, as long as there is only one master in a trade, the master charges whatever suits him. Thus by their talent and dexterity the Indians have become effective slayers of monopoly."¹¹ What the

¹⁰ Steck, op. cit., 174.

¹¹ Ibid., 300.

friars could not teach their charges in the way of trades they encouraged the Indians to find out as best they could. They encouraged the Indians to participate in the colonial market economy. Indians were soon making and selling such diverse wares as saddles, shoes, textiles, cabinets, and musical instruments. They also became expert masons and carpenters. Any Spaniard, friar or not, to support the Indian invasion of the Spanish artisan markets was not likely to gain friends!

Indian Cacique Schools

Fray Pedro de Gante is accredited with establishing the first formal school in America. His first school was at Texcoco (1523). This school was moved (1525) to the city of Mexico and later designated the official cacique school in the Virreynato de Nueva España.¹² The position of the Crown as regards to formal education for Indians can best be stated in the following quotation from the Ordenanzas (1512-1542) which summarized the Consejo de Indias laws and decrees during thirty years.

En las ciudades principals del Peru y Nueva Espana se funden [colegios], donde sean llevados los hijos de caciques de pequena edad, y encargados a personas religiosas y diligentes, que los ensenen y doctrinen

¹²Larroyo, op. cit., 95.

en Christianidad, buenas costumbres, policia y lengua Castellana, y se les consigne renta competente a su crianza y educacion.¹³

The Colegio de San Jose de los Naturales (Gante, 1525) and the Escuela de San Francisco (Gante, 1525) were two schools under one convent roof. The Colegio instructed Indians in reading, writing, and number concepts. The Escuela, on the other hand, taught artes y oficios (crafts and trades). Later the Colegio expanded its course work to include portions of the Latin grammar curriculum.¹⁴

Indeed, the de Gante schools were so successful that the informal Latin instruction of the Colegio San Jose was incorporated into a new school called the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco (Mendoza, 1536). The Colegio was under the personal patronage of Virrey Antonio de Mendoza. The Colegio de Santa Cruz prospered to such an extent that the colonists became alarmed at the implications of an educated Indian elite. Jeronimo Lopez, a counselor to the viceroy wrote a letter to Carlos V in 1541 which said in part:

No contentos con que los indios supiesen leer y escribir, puntar libros, taner flautas, chirimias, trompetas o teclas, or ser musicos, pusieronlos a aprender gramatica. Dieronse tanto a ellos y con tanta solicitud que habia muchachos, y hay cada dia mas, que hablan tan elegante latin como Tulio, y viendo que la cosa acerca de esto iba en crecimiento y que en los monasterios

¹³Ibid., 93.

¹⁴Ibid., 95.

los frailes no se podian vales o mostrarles, hicieron colegios en donde pudiesen e aprendiesen y se les leyesen ciencias e libros. A lo cual, cuando esto se principiaba, muchas veces en el acuerdo del obispo de Santo Domingo ante los Oidores, yo dije el yerro que era y los danos que podian seguir en estudiar los indios ciencias, y mayor en dalles la Biblia en su poser, y toda la Sagrade Escritura, que trastornasen e leyesen. . . A venido esto en tanto crecimiento que es cosa para admirar ver lo que escriben en latin, cartas, coloquios y lo que dicen; que habra ocho dias que vino a esta posada u clerigo a decir misa, y me dijo que habia ido al colegio a lo ver, e que lo cercaron docientos estudiantes e que estado platicando con el, le hicieron preguntas de la Sagrada Escritura acerca de la Fe, que salio admirado y tapados los oidos y dijo que aquel era el infierno y los que estaban en el disciplos de Santanas. Esto me parece que no lleva ya remedio sino cesar con lo hecho hasta aqui, poner silencio en lo porvenir; si no, esta tierra se volviera la cueva de las Sibilas, y todos los naturales de ella espíritus que lean las ciencias.¹⁵

This letter was a clear indication of the hardening attitude of the settlers towards the mission endeavor of the Church and towards the Indians themselves.

The Spanish secular clergy and colonists generally supported the thesis postulated by Franciscan friar Juan de Sepulveda in his great debate with Dominican friar Bartolome de las Casas at the Congreso de Teologos y Filósofos which the king called at Valladolid (1550). Sepulveda declared that the Indians were "servi a natura" because they were barbarians; they were barbarians because they were men without reasoning power; they were irrational because they were

¹⁵Ibid., 93.

infidels; and, for the same reasons, they were condemned by nature to slavery.¹⁶ Although Las Casas convinced the Congreso that the Indians were not to be considered slaves, but children of God, the obverse was quickly becoming a fait accompli. What Las Casas won in theory was lost in practice.

The Spanish settler of the first century was motivated by the desire and need of instant wealth. Many of them were extremely poor upon arrival in the New World. Their only resource was massive Indian labor. This was used to extract the mineral and agricultural wealth of the new land. In the mind of the Spanish colonist his survival was wholly dependent upon large scale subservient labor. Any effort to protect or nurture the Indians was considered a direct threat to economic success. The initial protection provided by the Church was soon displaced by the tremendous need of large scale labor pools. By 1580 the peninsulares and the criollos had overcome all opposition, and those remaining Indians took their place in the social order as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Peninsulares and Criollos: An Elite Minority

It would be wise to examine the Spanish settler who wrested control of the better part of two continents from their native inhabitants. Between 1493 and 1592, 7,976

¹⁶Ibid., 94.

persons migrated from Spain to Las Indias.¹⁷ This figure might appear somewhat low, but even if it were fifteen fold¹⁸ that number the total would account for but a small fraction of the population of the Spanish colonies. There are numerous references of settlements being founded with but a handful of Spaniards, and then the village being designated as a presidio responsible for vast stretches of land and countless natives. Guadalajara, for example, was the governing center for a territory that extended from the central plateau of México northward to include lands from Texas to California. In 1572 the population of Guadalajara was 150. The Audiencia de Nueva Galicia, of which Guadalajara was the capital, had only 1,500 Spaniards.¹⁹

The Spaniards devised two techniques by which to utilize the available manpower; namely, the encomienda and the repartimiento. The encomienda system divided colonial territory, people and certain resources amongst favored Spaniards. Often encomiendas were granted to various religious

¹⁷Charles Edward Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America: A History (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 32.

¹⁸John A. Crow, The Epic of Latin America (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1946), 277.

¹⁹Chapman, op. cit., 103.

orders, but the bulk of the grants were given to the colonists. The responsibility of the encomendero was to provide for the spiritual and physical needs of the Indians, and in return he was given a tribute by the Indian villages based upon the productivity of the land and people. This grant was usually for a given length of time. The repartimiento, on the other hand, was the physical distribution of manpower for work on specific enterprises. Usually a Spaniard would contract with the governor for a certain number of Indian men to work in a mine, sugar mill, or other industry. The village headman would then be ordered to assign men from his community to the labor force. Soon the Indians and the Church friars equated the repartimiento with sure death. For this reason Las Casas, and others, continually attacked the institution as legalized murder. Also, many of the Indian rebellions were attributed directly to this forced labor.

Las Casas accused the Spaniards of the death of more than five million Indians in Yucatan, Chiapas, and Guatemala.²⁰ More recent studies have indicated an equal number of deaths in the Audiencia de Mexico. Of course, this excessive genocide was not entirely the direct result of the repartimiento, but the social disorientation that it, and other

²⁰ Bartolomeo de las Casas, The Tears of the Indians, trans. John Phillips (Stanford, Calif.: Academic Reprints, n.d.), 51.

economic measures, precipitated were certainly a major cause. The uprooting of men from villages so they could work in distant mines immediately caused family disintegration. This in turn caused a breakdown of the village social system. Whilst the Indian society was crumbling the colonial social order, in its stead, was becoming firmly entrenched.

Educational Implications of An Elite Minority

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a small sector of society provided that sector (peninsulares and criollos) with the resources requisite for the very best of Spanish education.

Criollos were, by and large, taught their first letters--reading, writing, and number concepts, catechism, and the social graces--by tutors. For the most part the tutors were priests, but there were occasionally laymen as well. Formal schooling followed several years of tutoring and began with matriculation into the colegio. The colegio was university preparatory in nature with a curriculum of mathematics, castellano, Latin grammar, and religious teachings. Colegio study was followed by further education in one of the facultades. The major facultades were canon law, civil law (sometimes the two were combined), philosophy, theology, mathematics, and medicine. It was an education designed for the cultured gentlemen. It prepared men for

service in the Church or colonial public administration. And it was selective even amongst a select minority.

The educational framework which was to function throughout the colonial period (indeed continues even to the present day!) was established during this formative period.

Orphans and the Emerging Mestizo

As intimated in the description of the conquests, as well as in the settlement patterns, the New World of the 16th Century was a "man's world," There were few Spanish women. Men came to seek their fortunes. They intended, at some later date, to return to Spain, or at least send to Spain for a bride. In the interim a new breed was born. The mestizo was an orphan. The mestizo was a child without social roots. The mestizo was a reject from two societies. Often the literature describes the mestizo as a middle group between indio and criollo; during the period of his emergence he was scorned by white, brown and black, and relegated to a status among the mulatos and zambos. The mestizo's salvation was due to his sheer numbers. By the end of the colonial period the mestizo ranked high in the demographic distribution of the population.

Mestizo Schools

As early as 1547 Bishop Zumarraga wrote the king soliciting support for the founding of a residence school for homeless mestizos in the Audiencia de México. He described, in considerable detail, the aimless wandering of children along the highways and within the cities of Nueva Espana. They were numerous. They were without guidance. The bishop feared for the stability of the colony if such children were allowed to grow to manhood without help. In response to the bishop's pleas the Colegio de San Juan de Letran was founded during the same year.²¹

Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacan and sometime presidente of the Audiencia de México, became famous for his work in the rehabilitation of mestizo boys. His first institution was the Hospital de Santa Fe in the city of Mexico (1532). This, and his later hospitales, had provided for the physical as well as the spiritual and intellectual well being of orphans. Vasco de Quiroga was an avid reader of Thomas More's La Isla de Utopia, and he attempted to incorporate much of it in his schools. Each school was self-contained with the boys staying on after they were cured to learn their first letters, and later to work in the fields or shops to support the others. Then, after

²¹Larroyo, op. cit., 105.

the boys had learned an economically productive skill, they were permitted to leave the school.²² Vasco de Quiroga recognized the mestizo as the future backbone of society. His initial concern was to stabilize their lives, both individually and corporately, as the artisans and tradesmen of colonial society. Thus, he insured their integration and, to some extent, their upward mobility in a class conscious system.

Although the mestizo attained a position in society which allowed for a measure of economic success he was still outside the criollo and peninsular strata. The demarcation was repeatedly in cedulas and ordenanzas. Positions in both Church and state administration were the exclusive prerogative of men with sangre pura. Similarly, the opportunities for higher formal education were placed outside of their reach. Though the position of the Crown in this matter remained static throughout the colonial period there appeared to be numerous exceptions. So many, in fact, that officials on both sides of the Atlantic were continually complaining of mestizo encroachment into criollo domain.

²²Ibid., 100.

Feminine Education

Little mention has been made, thus far, as to the nature of feminine education. During this first century of colonialism schools were established for both indias and mestizas. A limited number of schools for Indian girls were established by Bishop Zumarraga, the first being the Colegio de Tezcucuo (1529). This, and the schools that followed, taught castellano, catechism, and 16th century home management. Zumarraga and Virrey Mendoza sponsored similar schools for orphan mestizas. The Colegio de Niñas (Mendoza, 1535) and the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Caridad (Zumarraga, 1547) were the first for this class. The pervading purpose of both the schools was to make the girls into Christian Spanish-like wives and mothers.²³

Fall and Rise of Social Orders

The first century of Spanish domination in the New World was characterized by the general disintegration of Indian society and the emergence of the colonial system. Although numerous attempts were made by the Spanish to stabilize Indian society within the colonial framework, they were largely unsuccessful. The prosperity of the economic system depended upon large scale subservient labor,

²³Ibid., 105.

and this spelled the doom of the integrated Indian social system. Thus, the colonial economy and its society were built on the bodies of countless--two to twenty million--Indians.

La Sociedad Criollo, 1580-1700

Chapman pointed out in his book: Colonial Hispanic America that "the Spaniards from Spain held nearly all the best government jobs."²⁴ He went on to give these statistics:

12 out of the first 369 bishops were criollos,
 4 out of the first 160 virreyes were criollos,
 14 out of the first 602 capitan-generales were criollos.²⁵

Then he intimated that the criollos were powerless in terms of the Spanish appointees. This is not an accurate picture of the colonies. Gradation no doubt existed, but there was, in fact, an interdependence between the senior Crown and Church officials and the criollos. The reasons for this are obvious: in the first place, every Spanish family was destined to become criolla within one generation. Secondly, the economic leadership of the colonies rested with the criollos. And finally, effective colonial government could not transpire without the criollos who filled the ranks of middle and lower officialdom. Of course, criollos support

²⁴Chapman, op. cit., 116.

²⁵Ibid., 116.

of the colonial establishment was of mutual benefit; they, in turn, were able to maintain their own status, and wealth, in terms of the preponderant majority of indios and mestizos.

La sociedad criolla was so deeply entrenched in the sinews of colonial power that it was able to organize and maintain a socio-economic system wherein the bulk of the advantages accrued to it for over two hundred years. The encomienda, for example, was radically modified in the Leyes Nuevas (1542) to provide for better treatment of the Indians and to limit control of the encomienda to one lifetime. So bitter in their denunciation were the encomenderos (criollos and peninsulares) that the laws were modified substantially, and then not effectively enforced. Again, in 1571, the Ordenanzas attempted to reorganize the encomienda system only to have the laws honored in the breach. It was not until 1720 that the Crown finally abolished the encomienda. By that late date the criollo had developed the entailed hacienda as an adequate alternate solution to land ownership.

An Educational Overview

Education provided the key to upward mobility. This was especially the case for those criollos who entered the civil service or the religious orders. The school structure utilized by the peninsulares for their criollo children, was, by and large, a replication of school found in Spain.

Although the schools were supported by private tuition, as well as public grants, they were usually owned or supervised by the Catholic Church. The primary concern of the criollo schools was the preparation of men to fill status positions within the emerging social structure. As a result, the New World schools closely followed the curriculum and pedagogical practices current in 16th and 17th century Spain.

The Bishops of America met in Lima in 1582 to develop plans for the systematic implementation of the Council of Trent's resolutions dealing with internal reforms of the Catholic Church. These leaders of Catholicism immediately ordered the founding of seminarios in all the dioceses of the New World. Although the seminarios were primarily for the training of the clergy, specific provisions were made for the admittance of laymen.²⁶ Thus, at a time when criollo education was developing a significant institutional base, it was given energetic support by the Christian Church.

By 1600 the educational system of criolla society was complete. The principal ordenanzas and cedulas regulating education and educators had been issued. The principal teaching orders were operational. The major universidades were firmly ensconced.

²⁶ Carlos Gonzalez Orellana, Historia de la Educación en Guatemala (México, D.F.: Colecion Cientifico Pedagogica, 1960), 90.

La Escuela de Primeras Letras

Many of the early tutors were secular clergy who went from home to home teaching the young. Later, the clergy would gather groups of criollos together at the parish church. As the demand grew, laymen began teaching as well. The Church attempted to regulate the laity by requiring proof of high Christian character. This was usually a letter signed by the teacher's confessor. Proof of sangre pura was also necessary.

By 1600 there were so many teachers, both lay and cleric, that the colonial government stepped in to regularize primary education. So widespread and disparit were the tutorial schools that the viceroy of Nueva España, don Gaspar de Zuniga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey, issued the Ordenanza de las Maestros del Noblísimo Arte de Leer, Escribir y Contar.²⁷ The qualifications made mandatory by this law reflect the level of competency of primary school teachers.

- 1- The local government of the municipio was authorized to name two of its most intelligent and expert teachers to visit all of the teachers and their schools. These two men were to examine teacher competency, and, if they deserved certification, issue letters of approval.

²⁷ Larroyo, op. cit., 109.

- 2- Those who were eligible to be teachers could be neither negro, mulato or indio. Being Spanish, they were required to provide personal information to indicate high moral character, and they were to give evidence that they were cristiano viejo. (An old Christian was one that had not been converted from Judaism or Islam.)
- 3- Teachers were expected to know the five types of arithmetic computation: addition, subtraction, multiplication, fractions, and division of whole numbers.
- 4- Teachers were to know how to read novels as well as pastoral letters. Also, they were required to write script of various calibrations and styles.
- 5- If an individual began teaching without being examined, his school would be closed.
- 6- Schools were not permitted to open within a radius of two blocks from existing schools.
- 7- Coeducation was strictly prohibited. Amigas, female tutors, were prohibited from teaching boys.
- 8- Teachers with certificates were not permitted to hire others to teach in their stead or to divide the groups with sub-teachers in charge of sections.
- 9- Owners of grocery or merchandise stores were prohibited from opening a school in the back room.
- 10- Teachers were required to teach Christian doctrine, the catechism, and the practices of worship.²⁸

The Ordenanzas of 1600 remained in force until the end of the colonial period. But as early as 1672 virrey Leon Ignacio Pico of Nueva Espana complained that the

²⁸Ibid., 109.

Ordenanza was not being enforced, and that unqualified--intellectually or by color--teachers were operating schools.²⁹ And by the end of the 18th century there was considerable disregard of the caste qualification.

The Conde de Monterrey was, also, responsible for legislation dealing with feminine education and the qualifications of amigas. Education for criollas was genteel in nature. The amigas, elderly ladies of pure blood and high moral character with written proof of each, taught elementary notions of religion, reading, writing and manual skills--crochet, embroidery, and so on--and of course manners.³⁰ The colonial attitude toward feminine education was succinctly summed as follows: "Mujer que sabe latin, nunca ha de tener buen fin."³¹

El Colegio

The colegio was considered a part of the sistema universitaria. Most of the early colegios were first of all seminarios for the preparation of a colonial clergy and only subordinately schools for the laity. This institutionalization within the larger body of the Church gave the colegio a distinct advantage over the escuelas de primeras letras.

²⁹Ibid., 115.

³⁰Ibid., 110.

It gave the colegio continuity, and it gave the colegio a large reservoir of highly qualified teaching personnel. Thus the colegio was originally a part of the seminario and only in its development did it become an entity unto itself. When formal schools were being organized in the New World, they were called by a variety of names, but their purpose was uniform: the preparation of criollos for leadership in either Church or state.

To the Franciscans goes the credit of establishing the first seminario in the New World (Xochimilco, 1525).³² They were shortly followed (1526) by the Dominicans who established the Convento Grande de Mexico.³³ The Augustinians arrived in Mexico in 1540 and built the Convento de Tiripitio.³⁴ The Jesuits were relative late comers to Nueva Espana; they established their Convictorio and Colegio Maximo de San Pedro in the capital in 1572.³⁵ The Jesuits were in abject poverty during their first year. A wealthy man gave them a modest adobe house with a thatched roof. The Indians of Tacuba were assigned to build them a small chapel, also with a thatched roof and a dirt floor. A nearby convent,

³²Larroyo, op. cit., 130.

³³Ibid., 134.

³⁴Ibid., 139.

³⁵Ibid., 146.

las monjas de la Concepción, fed them. In the very same year of their arrival they established San Pedro y San Pablo. Three years later their colegio was so successful that they established a second institution, San Gregorio.³⁶ The meteoric rise of the Jesuits can be seen in their early spread to the principal provincial cities of Nueva España. By 1586 the Jesuits had colegios in Patzcuarco, Oaxaca, Puebla, Veracruz, Tepotzotlán, Guanajuato, and Guadalajara.³⁷

A reason for the Jesuits preeminence in the field of education was their systematic teaching methods. Although they followed the curriculum developed in Europe before the Renaissance (the Seven Liberal Arts or the Seven Pillars of Wisdom) their careful attention to detail and their iron-clad discipline gave the subjects and the schools a new viability. The method of teaching utilized by the Jesuits included oral explanations by the professors, recitation by the pupils, and debate amongst the pupils on controversial points. The curriculum was divided into three levels: (1) castellano and Latin grammar, (2) Latin composition, Latin authors, humanities, arts, rhetoric, and declamation, and (3) finally, theology and philosophy.³⁸ Graduates

³⁶Ibid., 147.

³⁷Ibid., 148.

³⁸Maclean y Estenos, op. cit., 94.

of Jesuit schools were soon recognized as the most literate scholars in the colonies. Perhaps the most important of the Jesuit institutions was the Colegio Mayor de Santa Maria de Todos los Santos (1573), which was founded in direct competition with the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México. The Colegio Mayor was limited to select post-bachilleres students. As a result of its design and the careful selection of its pupils the Jesuits could claim that out of their first fifty-five graduates only sixteen did not become important officials in either the Church or state.³⁹

Las Facultades de la Universidad

Care has been taken in the preceeding discussion of formal education to draw the relationship between the various institutions as being part of a sistema universitaria. Perhaps the pervading reason for the use of Spanish words throughout this paper is to identify more precisely the Hispanic concept of university. A facultad was a semi-autonomous cluster of teachers who held the title of doctorado in one of several classical fields. This cluster, corporately or individually, had the ultimate power to bestow or deny degrees to any candidate in their facultad. The usual facultades found in a sistema universitaria were theology,

³⁹Ibid., 95.

philosophy, canon law, civil code, mathematics, and later medicine.

The first universidad, of any consequence, to receive a royal charter was the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima (1551). The Universidad de Mexico followed four months later. Carlos V signed the necessary cedulas for both institutions. Both universidades began operating immediately.⁴⁰ The university, like the other levels of education, was led by, and fought over, by the various religious orders.

The Misiones at the Frontiers of the Empire

Before leaving the century of the criollo mention should be made of the continuing work of the Orders with the Indians. The Indians of northern Nueva Espana were unlike the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas of the preceding century. These tribes were aggressive migrant hunters. They had little regard for the sedentary agricultural life of the colonists or their subjugated Indian brothers. Thus, there was intermittent warfare between those who would be masters and the restless Indians.

The Crown attempted to bring peace to the outer reaches of its empire by decreeing the reducciones whereby Indians were required to settle in communities. The reducciones

⁴⁰Ibid., 77.

were placed under the control of friars who often had no more than two soldiers to protect them. The friars were charged with the responsibility of pacifying the Indians, and organizing a sedentary economy for them. With amazing rapidity the friars brought peace and prosperity to most of the troubled areas. In northern Nueva España the Jesuits Kino and Salvatierra and the Franciscans Graces, Serra, and Lasuen explored and established missions along the northwest frontier. Las Casas' thesis of peaceful conquest was proven partially valid.

Indian education was in a state of general eclipse during the criollo century, except with regard to the reducciones mentioned above. The reason for this decay was primarily the lack of interest amongst the new criollo leaders. The patio schools mentioned in the preceding section were dependent upon the economic sustenance by civil authorities and the encomenderos. The colonial authorities had distributed the encomiendas to colonists with the proviso that the holder of the crown land was responsible for the care and education of the Indians therein. This proviso was generally honored in the breach, since the colonial government was hesitant to enforce the directives from Spain in the face of criollo objection. In fact, the trend was the obverse with the Santa Oficio (located in México) ordering the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlalteloco, the famous school

for Indians, closed. The criollos had attacked the Colegio.⁴¹ Thus, the Indian was forgotten.

Seeds of Destruction

Even before the sociedad criolla came to full flower the seeds for its own demise had been sown. The aforementioned description of criollo education provides a clear picture as to why the polarization of the 18th century and the civil strife of the 19th developed.

The Spaniards were careful to limit educational, and correspondingly socio-economic, opportunity to that minority of the population that possessed sangre pura. The concern of the elite was not so much the purity of blood, as can be noted in the numerous exceptions that were made when necessary, rather it was the concentration of colonial power within a relatively small group. Colonial society followed traditional Spanish practice of a powerful nobility that was served by a highly educated cadre of criollo officials. This made an effective leadership combination which quickly became entrenched to the disregard of others.

The schools of the 17th century reflected two things: first, they reflected the rapid establishment of a Spanish social system wherein a highly literate minority was

⁴¹Lorroyo, op. cit., 117.

requisite to meet the needs of both church and state. Second, they reflected the recognition by the educators that future power rested with the criollos. If the bitter struggle that ensued between educators could be reduced to its least common denominator it was for the right to educate the future colonial leadership.

Perhaps the only area in which the sociedad criolla came to grips with its future was in its work with the mestizos. A place was made for mestizos in the social order, although only a limited amount of systematic education was provided. The work that was done was primarily charity in response to the widespread pestilence, plagues, and starvation that characterized the 17th century.

Thus the 17th century came to a close. La Sociedad Criolla was at the zenith of its power. Its wealth exceeded that of any peoples. Its position was unchallenged. Its pleasures excessive. Its loyalty to the crown, church, and the status quo unquestionable.

The Bourbon Century, 1700-1808

In 1700 Carlos II, the last of the Hapsburgs, died. Philippe d'Anjou (Felipe V, 1700-1746) succeeded to the throne as the first of a long line of Bourbon monarchs. During the period under study, the Bourbons were creative exponents of Enlightened Absolutism. Their power reached

its apogee under Carlos III (1759-1788) and its perigee when Carlos IV (1788-1808) and his son Fernando VII (1808-1808--he was later restored) reigned. This century was characterized by Spanish involvement in successive, if not continuous, military and naval conflicts with Britain. It was a time when British power was rapidly spreading throughout the world. This was the period when Pitt and others were creating the First British Empire. During this span of history these two nations were at war eight times. And, at the expense of Spain, Britain became the "mistress of the seas."

While Spain was struggling to maintain her international position every effort was being made to revitalize her kingdom and empire. Internal Spanish reforms were of two kinds. First, the enlightened monarchs permitted the entry and flowering of European intellectualism. And, second, there was a vigorous reconstruction of the then current economic practices. In both cases this reorientation was interpreted to mean one thing in Spain and another in her colonies. So while Fray Benito de Feijoo (Teatro Critico Universal o Discursos Varios de Todos Generos de Materias) and Ignacio Luzan (El Hombre Practico o Discursos Varios Sobre Su Conocimiento y Enseñanza) were actively and creatively interpreting Locke, Descartes, Leibnitz, Rousseau and others to Spanish intellectuals, colonial intellectuals were being

discouraged from journeying to Spain to study under them. Similarly, when the works of these European thinkers began appearing in Hispanic America they were immediately proscribed by the Santa Oficio.⁴²

In the second case, while the Bourbons were "liberalizing" economic restrictions in Spain, in keeping with the enlightened practice of incorporating the emerging bourgeois entrepreneurs into the leadership, the Spanish government began imposing and enforcing more restrictions upon the Hispanic American economic elite. Thus, the disestablishment of Cadiz as the one colonial trading port permitted greater freedom to Spanish merchants, but coupled with this benefit to Spain was the introduction of customs inspectors in the colonies to ensure that all trade was, in fact, with the mother country, and that all taxes were paid on that trade--two things that had not been strictly enforced heretofore.

Tax law supervision necessitated close scrutiny of all levels of colonial government. The Bourbons replicated the system established in France of Intendencias. The plan was to have throughout the colonies a super-structure of officials directly responsible to the Crown, and who would not be influenced by the criollo economic interests. The net result was a marked increase in tax revenues and trade with Spain.

⁴²Gonzales, op. cit., 122.

Although the Bourbon monarchs were winnowing out excesses in criollo economic and social power little attempt was made to challenge criollo society itself. The Crown and the criollo continued to recognize a mutual dependency. This was evidenced by the abolition of the encomienda (1720) and its replacement by the entailed hacienda. Criollo power was thereby made more secure though no longer excessive.

While the general trend of Bourbon reform was acceded to by la sociedad criolla in their enlightened self interest, the violent reactions to colonialism also sprung from that body. Herein lies a puzzle: Why did some criollos oppose their own best interest? The answer can best be understood through a cursory examination of education during the 18th century.

Educational Overview

Criollo educators polarized during the Bourbon century. This was a direct reflection of the societal polarization that appeared in the intellectual realm. The vested interests that had struggled to gain power during the preceding centuries reacted against any intrusions of new forces on their dominant position. The intellectual thoughts of Locke, Descartes, Montesquieu, and Rousseau spread rapidly amongst

intellectuals throughout Europe and America. Thus wealthy dominant criollos were excited by the intellectual power of current philosophical ideas while at the same time not wishing to weaken their own socio-economic position viz a viz the masses. (Baron von Humbolt estimated that there were 3,276,000 peninsulares and criollos governing 13,634,000 mestizos, indios and negros.)⁴³ As the 18th century progressed socio-economic considerations outweighed philosophy, and the power of criollo society moved to support those elements of church and state that restricted the advocates of change. Meritorious as the ideas might have been the risks were too great.

There were three phases in colonial educational history during the Bourbon century. From 1700 to 1759 education continued to be a stagnant medieval institution. Then under Carlos III a reform movement attempted to introduce changes in the colonial institutional structure. The colonial reformers were blocked and forced to establish new structures outside the existing hegemony. A vigorous colonial reaction set in on Carlos IV when the international implications of reform were perceived as a threat to the criollos best interests.

⁴³Chapman, op. cit., 189.

La Sistema Universitaria

The universidad that entered the 18th century belonged to the classical medieval tradition of Europe. The reform movement that swept the Spanish universidades under the Bourbon enlightenment was equally requisite in the Hispanic American colonies. Unfortunately, the structure of the institutions was such that the reformers were excluded.

The institution of the universidad was designed to give it considerable autonomy of thought and action. The power over education was vested in the cloister. The cloister was composed of all faculty members, plus the maestrescuela, and all holders of advanced degrees living in the community at large. The rector was elected by this body, and all additions to its membership had to be approved by itself (subject to the veto by the maestrescuela). The cloister was empowered to grant all degrees, incorporate all colegios, and supervise all curricula. This broad power had been designed into the system by the Ley de las Siete Partidas (issued by Alfonso el Sabio) in order to encourage and protect intellectual freedom. The net result was intellectual stagnation.

The basic problem of the universidad was that members of the cloister tended to select like minded thinkers to the end that the universidad was dominated by the thought

and practice of by-gone days. The dominant philosophy of the universidades was Aristotilian as interpreted by Scotus.⁴⁴ Teaching was an endless re-examination of ancient thought. Professors would lecture on obtruse points to illuminate another variation on the same theme. Students in their stead were expected to follow the time honored tradition of scholastic debate (usually on Wednesdays and Saturdays) in which a book of philosophy would be flicked open with a special sabre (used only for this ceremony). The adversaries would then take sides and debate "abstract ideas, despicable chimeras, and vain subtleties" in a "coarse and barbarous style."⁴⁵ as Skinner, a British traveler, described the event.

When a new philosophical idea was introduced by a professor it was to destroy it rather than to understand. Thus, Descartes was attacked and summarily dismissed because of his concept of the pineal gland (a gland that tied the senses to the mind). The professors completely overlooked his concept of methodological doubt as an entre into expanded philosophical exploration.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Gonzalez, op. cit., 122.

⁴⁵John Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 74.

⁴⁶Ibid., 76.

Expulsion of the Jesuits

Perhaps one of the most significant milestones in the Bourbon century was the year 1767. In that year the backbone of the educational system throughout the Spanish Empire was subverted. Carlos III considered the Society of Jesus a threat to his Crown, a state within a state. The Portuguese and French kings had previously suppressed the Order in their domains, and the Pope was soon to follow. Carlos III ordered the confiscation of all Jesuit property, and the transference of Jesuit responsibilities to the Dominicans and Franciscans. The general reaction to the Hispanic colonies was one of dismay. There were sporadic outbursts of violence, but they were quickly suppressed. In terms of social loss the Virreynato de Nueva Espana never recovered. The Jesuits were the only intellectuals who had the resources to dominate the various factions represented within education. Although they were opposed to radical change they were not reactionary; indeed, they were fostering certain changes in order to strengthen education. With their departure men of lesser light assumed control of criollo education.⁴⁷

The expulsion decree attempted to anticipate the educational dislocation with instructions on how to organize municipal schools. The decree said in part:

⁴⁷Gonzalez, op. cit., 122.

Por lo cual os mandamos que procedais sin la menor dilacion a subrogar la ensenanza de primeras letras, latinidad y retorica . . . oyendo a los ayuntamientos, diputados, y personeros del comun y otras personas del comun y otras personas celeosas e inteligentes, sobre el modo practico que haya en cada paraje.... proponiendo el numeros de maestros, pasantes y repetidores que les deben ayudar, sus salarios y emolumentos; en inteligencia que se les debera contribuir con el que antes de ahora daba el respectivo pueblo, sin novedad y completar lo que faltase de las temporalidades ocupadas.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, without the financial resources previously utilized by the Jesuits there was a general school closing. Local support was insufficient, and the various incentives provided by the civil authorities were not adequate to keep the schools open. The Society of Jesus, despite its widespread educational and social endeavor, represented a supra-state committed to the defense of the True Religion. With the wave of new thought sweeping Europe there was a hardening of Jesuit institutional power against it; although, individual Jesuits participated in the movement. The Society of Jesus, in its opposition to the Bourbon Enlightenment, was challenging the concept of the Patronato Real whereby the Church was subservient to the Crown. Carlos III accepted the challenge and destroyed the challenger.

⁴⁸ Amanda Labarca Hubertson, Historia de la Ensenanza en Chile (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1939), 51.

Progressive Reaction to Scholasticism

With the expulsion of the Jesuits there was a period (1767-1788) during which time the progressive educators in colonial society attempted to assume the vacant leadership in education. Carlos III encouraged change by decreeing a general curriculum reform in 1771.⁴⁹

In the same spirit of reform Virrey Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de Padilla, second Count of Revillagigedo, sponsored the Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos de la Nueva Espana (1781), the Escuela de Mineria (1783), and the Colegio de las Vizainas. The Academia was a school of art and architecture. The Escuela de Mineria was a mine engineering school. The Colegio was the first school in Hispanic America to teach the colegio level curriculum to girls, and it was the first colegio to be private lay controlled. On both counts there was heated debate. Archbishop Rubio y Salinas appealed the virrey's decision, but both Carlos III and Pope Clemente turned him down.⁵⁰

General Social Reform

The Bourbon century was a period of renewed social concern for the oppressed. Father Lorenzana y Buitron,

⁴⁹ Ibid., 56.

⁵⁰ Lorroyo, op. cit., 170.

Archbishop of Nueva Espana (circa 1750) was an outstanding leader of the social reform movement. Buitron will long be remembered for his famous pastoral letter in which he urged the general assimilation of indios as well as mestizos, into the mainstream of society. He also ordered all priests of the kingdom to work for the well-being of the downtrodden and against their oppression. His words were militant, but he tempered them by pointing out that it would be in the criollos enlightened self interest to help the masses.⁵¹

The nature of the problem of general social reform was such that, despite the increased work on the indio and mestizo's behalf, the demographic growth of these strata far outdistanced that of the criollo. The root of the problem was essentially the inability of the criollo to adjust his social system quickly enough to absorb large numbers of emergent peoples. And, so long as the masses were denied social incorporation their illegitimacy would be a festering sore in the body corporate.

Carlos IV, 1788-1808

The enlightened leadership of Carlos III was dissipated by his son Carlos IV. Under the latter's rule a general reaction permeated Nueva Espana, as well as the

⁵¹Ibid., 159.

rest of the Empire. The reformers were isolated from the reins of power. The increasing fear of the peninsulares and criollos as to the implications of rapid change led to a more rigid attitude towards change. The reaction that dominated education was true throughout the social order. Clearly the criollos perceived the next step to be incorporation, and thereby a sharing of the wealth, with the demanding exploding mestizos. Just as clearly they were determined not to take that step.

Throughout his reign Carlos IV was involved in a succession of European crises. In order to cope with them, and to guard against any eventuality, the government of Spain sought to stabilize its power. In the case of Nueva Espana this meant an increased interdependence between peninsular and criollo. Carlos IV's decision to support the status quo in the colonies was probably justified in the light of news he must have received daily from "reformist" France. It was also justified by virtue of the manifest power held by the elite criollo. Indeed, it was the criollo who contained the revolutionists throughout the most of the independence period with their 100,000 plus militia.⁵²

⁵²Chapman, op. cit., 205.

The 108 years of Bourbon rule began with reform and ended in relapse. Carlos III and his energetic viceroys and bishops attempted to guide the empire along a growing and ever more complex social system. They were incapable of effecting sufficient change within the criollo society to cause renewed growth and development. Carlos IV, in his turn, threw his lot with stability, as opposed to change, in order to ensure his own survival. Thus permitting the criollos to protect their own interests by equating them with the interests of the Crown.

CHAPTER III

A CENTURY OF CURRICULAR CHANGE

Introduction

In the preceding section, dealing with colonial education in the Virreynato de Nueva Espana, certain themes were developed: the destruction of the indio's pre-Hispanic society, the ascendance of the criollo as the dominant force in society, and the emergence of the mestizo.

Toward the end of the colonial period the mestizo, as merchant, professional, and incipient industrialist, was building an economic and social base from which to challenge the power of the landed criollo ruling class. During the last two decades of Spanish colonial rule this bourgeois mestizo began demanding, and in some cases obtaining, a voice in the affairs of his community. At the outset it should also be pointed out that the new bourgeoisie included urban criollos and peninsulares who had been excluded by entail or primogeniture from sharing in the landed wealth of the colony. Urban economic activity was, however, the major avenue for upward mobility for emergent mestizos.

Another equally important factor at play during the twilight of colonialism was the piercing winds of European and North American revolutionary political thought. Many a criollo, whose vested social and economic interests would tend him toward Spanish political alignment, was swept into the independence movement with the calls of "liberty, equality, and fraternity. . . the unalienable rights of man."

Independence: 1808-1820

Although social as well as economic adjustments were taking place prior to independence, the bourgeois interests and the criollo intellectuals did not have sufficient economic or political power to radically transform their homeland. Indeed, modern innovations that were begun in the spirit of pre-revolutionary France were quickly stemmed by the ruling criollo class when that nation--France--was plunged into its bloodbath. The leaders of Mexican independence were compelled to wait until conditions in Spain became sufficiently disoriented to facilitate fragmentation of the colonial structure.

With the imposition of Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain (1808) the cabildos of the capital cities of the various colonial entities--virreynatos, capitanias-general,

audiencias, and presidencias--rejected allegiance to Joseph and adhered to one of the Bourbons--primarily Fernando VII or Carlos IV with the occasional flirtation with Fernando's sister, wife of the King of Portugal (residing in Brazil). Of critical significance in all of this was the rejection of the assumed authority to govern claimed by the self-styled Consejo de la Regencia in Cadiz.

The War of Independence extended from 1810 to 1820. Padre Hidalgo called upon his people--rural and village folk together with his intellectual friends--to overthrow the oppressors. Hidalgo was soon captured, tried by the Inquisition (Santa Oficio), then killed by the army, as were Morelos and others. Only Guerrero survived the might of the criollo military power in his mountain redoubt. The criollo military might was able to contain the rebels. Indeed, it was only when the Spanish monarchy, Fernando VII again enthroned, was faced first with the Constitution de Cadiz and then with a military rebellion in Spain that the criollos reversed their stance and assumed leadership over the independence movement. From Mexico Iturbide was sent out to capture Guerrero, but instead the two leaders signed the Plan de Iguala and joined their armies in the ejercito trigarante. Thus after ten years of struggle Mexican independence was secured under the guarantees of

independence from Spain, equality between classes, and supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church.

Liberal Reform: 1820-1830

Although national independence was achieved, by and large, through coalition amongst various social and economic factions, the alliances were soon dissolved, and the various interest groups renewed their struggle for control.

Control over the educational system was virtually the first order of business. General Guadalupe Victoria, after Iturbide's short reign, incorporated the Compañia Lancasteriana (1822) which was placed under the nominal control of the escoceses--Scottish Rite Masonic Lodge of Mexico. Victoria actively supported their early development by turning over to them the "edificio de la extinguida Inquisición." The first Lancasterian school, then, began in the Sala del Secreto del Santo Oficio (secret chamber of the Holy Office).¹ In this symbolic act, the line was drawn between the opposing factions for control over the minds of children. On the one hand non-clerics who adhered to the "liberal position" demanded that education be disestablished as a private preserve of the Catholic Church, on the other hand Church

¹Francisco Larroyo, Historia Comparada de la Educación de México (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1964), 198.

educators who adhered to the "conservative position" insisted that the direction of education remain in the hands of the Church. The immediate success of the Lancasterian schools was partly due to the spirit of change permeating the new Republic, and partly because the Catholic Church's schools had been disorganized after the downfall of Iturbide and the withdrawal of Catholic hierarchy. Ezequiel A. Chavez described the Mexican situation:

The establishments founded or supported by the clergy decayed as did the clergy itself, since for several years since Independence was achieved there was no leadership. The Archbishop, don Pedro Fonte, had withdrawn for Europe, the bishops had died or followed don Pedro, and the seminaries had been closed. The nearest operating seminary to which students could pursue their studies was New Orleans. The curates that remained in Mexico ceased to minister to the needs of their parishoners and dedicated their full time to political intrigue.²

The leaders of the early reformist period were anxious to extend education to the urban mestizos for it was this group that provided the main support for their government. Although the government of the early liberals tended to reduce the power of the Church they, for the most part, were committed to a Catholic oriented curriculum.

²Ibid., 196.

During the same period, 1820-1830, Indian rudimentary education almost completely disintegrated. The wide system of colonial parish schools, especially along the frontiers, ceased to function. They were not re-established after independence was secured for three main reasons: the emigration of churchmen, the elimination of state subsidy, and the lack of concern by rural aristocracy and the urban bourgeoisie. Concern for the indios was not to become an issue again until the 20th century.

Civil War: 1830-1880

Despite the initial successes experienced by the Mexican reformers, they were soon deeply involved in political turmoil. The Lancasterian schools suffered as a consequence of being supported by or allied to a political faction.

Valentin Gomez Farias, Vice-President of Mexico, and Acting President while Santa Ana was away (1833) declared: "La ensenanza primaria, que es lo principal de todo, esta desatendida y se le debe dispensar toda proteccion, si se quiere que en la Republica haya buenos padres, buenos hijos, buenos ciudadanos que conozcan y cumplan sus deberes."³

³Ibid., 212.

Thereupon, he established a Direccion General de Instruccion Publica to supervise education in the Federal District and the Federal territories. He authorized the establishment of schools by private--other than clergy--citizens; he opened a normal school and proposed the extension of education to the Indians; and, he suppressed the Universidad de Mexico. Gomez Farias gave his reasons for suppressing the Universidad as being that it was "inutil, irreformable y perniciosa." "It was inutil because it did not teach anything, irreformable because reform must be based upon the past and in this case the past held nothing to reform, and perniciosa because it destroyed youth. . . it made them eunuchs."⁴

Gomez Farias was then deposed by Santa Ana who immediately revoked the liberal laws and directives. The reformists went into eclipse and a centralist regime (1842-1846) re-wrote the Mexican constitution. The new charter was known as las Bases Organicas which again provided for a Catholic oriented education. The Compania Lancasteriana was nationalized (1842), then returned (1843) to the esoceses who were authorized to extend their schools, in conjunction with the Church, throughout the nation.⁵

⁴Ibid., 221.

⁵Ibid., 215.

Mexico was still recoiling from the crushing disaster experienced in its war with the United States of America when it was again torn by a decade of near-anarchy (1846-1856) with the centralists (conservatives) and the federalists (liberals) bitterly fighting each other for power. Perhaps the classic example of the conflict between the conservatives and liberals can be drawn by tracing the history of the Universidad de Mexico. It was suppressed by Gomez Farias (1833), reopened by Santa Ana (1834), suppressed by Comonfort (1857), reopened by Zuloaga (1858), suppressed by Juarez (1861), reopened by Maximiliano (1861), then suppressed by the interloper (1865) not to be reopened until the closing moments of the Diaz regime (1910).⁶

Essentially, the struggles of the 19th century revolved around whether the church or the state would maintain effective control over education. During the interim the schools of the nation were destroyed and re-constituted innumerable times in order to respond to the demands of the clique in power.

After the War of the Reform and the Constitucion de 1857 placed the liberals under Juarez and Lerdo de Tejada firmly in power the Mexican political milieu was radically adjusted. The Church of Rome was separated from its

⁶Ibid., 221.

wealth, its schools were nationalized, and its monastic orders were expelled. The Federal Government proclaimed complete separation between church and state.

While the struggle for control of education was generally over by 1865, the problem of educating the populace had not been touched. Indeed, the concept of popular education was still a dream at the close of the century. The best efforts of the liberals were stymied by the federal system of government which placed education in the hands of the several states. The states were limited in resources, as was the national government, so only a limited number of children in the major cities benefited from schooling. Public schools were virtually non-existent, church schools were clandestine, and the Lancasterian school were in eclipse.

The educational conundrum Mexico was experiencing during the 19th century was broken, in part, with the introduction of philosophical positivism.

After Prussia's defeat at Jena by Napoleon that nation underwent radical social and economic transformation. Comte and Herbart were the intellectual leaders of the change, and the real gymnasium was their vehicle. This secondary school moved markedly away from the traditional humanities curriculum by emphasizing the natural and the physical sciences.

Prussia's rapid intellectual and economic reconstruction excited political leaders everywhere.

Indeed, realism provided Mexican leaders with an ideology, and Prussia was their model. Mexicans dreamed of transforming their country through education. Herbartian pedagogues were imported, normal schools were created and placed at their disposal, and a thorough restructuring of the curriculum was undertaken. Between 1870 and 1910 primary and secondary education was under Herbartian sway. Mexico provided fertile ground for the Herbartian invasion, since 19th century liberalism under Juarez, Lerdo de Tejada, and Diaz stabilized the country for the first time since Independence. The nation's political, economic as well as intellectual leaders were anxious to capitalize on peace in order to re-build their patria.

Galindo Barreda was the foremost early "positivist" who attempted to apply realism to education. Early in the Juarez regime he began expounding the positivist position in education, a position that the nation was soon to accept.

Una educacion en que ningun ramo importante de las ciencias naturales quede omitido; en que todos los fenomenos de la naturaleza, desde los mas simples hasta los mas complicados, se estudien y se analicen a la vez teorica y practicamente en lo que tienen de fundamental; una educacion en la que se cultive asi, a la vez, el entendimiento y los sentidos, sin el empeno de mantener por fuerza tal y cual opinion, tal o cual dogma, politico o religioso, sin el miedo de ver contradicha, por los hechos, esta o aquella autoridad; una educacion, repito, emprendida sobre tales

bases y con el solo deseo de encontrar la verdad, es decir, lo que real mente hay, y no lo que en nuestro concepto deberia haber en los fenomenos naturales, no puedo menos de ser, a la vez que un manantial inagotable de satisfacciones, el mas seguro preliminar de la paz y del orden social, porque el pondra a todos los ciudadanos en aptitud de apreciar todos los hechos de una manera semejante y, por lo mismo, uniformara las opiniones hasta done sea posible. Y las opiniones de los hombres son y seran siempre el movil de todos sus actors. Este medio es de seguro lento, pero que importa si estamos seguros de su importancia? Que son diez, quince o veinte anos en la vida de una nacion, cuando se trata de emprender el unico medio de conciliar la libertad con la concordia, el progreso con el orden? El orden intelectual que esta educacion tiende a establecer, es la llave del order social y moral de que tanto habemos de menester. . . 7

Barreda and other positivists were convinced and they convinced the nation, that a system of education based upon scientific principles would create intellectual order amongst the leadership element of the nation, and this, in turn, would be the key to social and moral order which was urgently needed.

With the elevation of Porfirio Diaz to the presidency, and throughout his long rule (1876-1880, 1884-1910) the "cientificos," as the positivists were called in Mexico, worked for the creation of a new Mexico. Along with the resurgence of mining, and the creation of railways and manufacturing, came a major influx of German educators. Laubscher and Rebsamen were two of the major contributors. They both worked in teacher training institutions--Escuela

⁷Ibid., 245.

Modelo de Orizaba, Academia Normal, and others. Through their scientific orientation--teaching was a science--and perceptions into child psychology they inspired a generation of Mexican educators throughout the Republic. Although Rebsamen was an immigrant, he firmly believed that the public school was the primary vehicle for the foundation of a modern nation-state. He spoke as a nationalist at a time when Mexicans were still seeking national unity:

La unidad nacional completada en los campos de batalla, necesita imperiosamente, para consolidarse, de la unidad intelectual y moral de este hermoso pais. La independencia mas dificil de conquistar es la intelectual y moral de un pueblo entero, que convierte al mas humilde de sus hijos en un ciudadano libre.⁸

Throughout his career Rebsamen urged Mexicans to consolidate their nation through education. He believed that only by bringing all Mexicans into the mainstream of Mexican life could national unity and progress be achieved.

The Unsolved Problem

While the educational theory emerging in the Mexican milieu equalled that found either in Europe or the United States of America there remained beneath the facade of modernity the unsolved problem: integration of the indigeneous indio

⁸Ibid., 280.

and indigent mestizo masses that had been forgotten since the time of the colonial rural missions.

Although one of the major achievements of the Diaz regime was the revitalization of the public school system it was to little avail. More money was devoted to school construction, more teachers were trained, and more students were enrolled in school than ever before, but the modernization of the nation completely overlooked the needs of the rural dweller.⁹ Joaquin Baranda's contention, as Ministro de Justicia y Instruccion Publica, was that upgrading and scientifically organizing the existing schools was of primary importance. At some later date, he believed, the masses would benefit.¹⁰ The gross result of this attitude was that in 1913 there were 7,000,000 above school age illiterates.¹¹ The net result was the Revolucion de 1911-1917.

During the revolutionary crisis Mexico collapsed. The years of fighting and the destruction of the 19th century social order were written into the Constitucion de 1917 in

⁹Ibid., 302.

¹⁰Justo Sierra, La Educacion Nacional (Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1948), 14.

¹¹Ibid., 15.

an attempt, once and for all, to redress the long standing grievances. Much has been written about the "revolucion que no ha terminado. . . " as Calles declared in his famous Grito de Guadalajara, and indeed the literature has been warranted. Many significant reforms were, and are being, instituted. Perhaps the over-riding problem that faced Mexico, and precipitated the military part of the Revolution, was the demand by the poor--indigent and indigenous--to have a voice in their own destiny. Of primary concern to the poor were land, suffrage, and education. Every government from 1917 forward has attempted, to a greater or lesser degree, to achieve national unity by extending the benefits of citizenship to them. No longer was economic and social power to rest with a small oligarchy, nor political power with an intelligensia, but according to the constitution all power was to rest with the people.

Education was to play a major role in making the ideals of the Constitution de 1917 the realities of national life, for the leaders believed that only a literate and knowledgeable populace could exercise effective citizenship. The escuelas rudimentarias (1911), conceived by Justo Sierra to teach the indios Spanish, were reformed to provide the rural folk with a fundamental education as well as certain trade skills. These rural schools rapidly found

their way into the major concentrations of Indian population. From a beginning of 200 such schools (1914) with less than 10,000 pupils, the escuelas rudimentarias grew to over 8,000 (1934) with almost 700,000 pupils.¹² At this time indigenous education was incorporated into a broader national rural education program. In addition to indigenous schools, maestros misionarios were introduced into the national scheme in order to circulate among the less populated rural parts of the nation to supervise lay teachers who were serving humble hamlets.¹³ Perhaps the most dramatic educational effort made during this period (1920-1940) was the creation of misiones culturales. These misiones were composed of teams of technicians who were charged with the responsibility of revitalizing stagnant rural communities. Health officers, doctors, teachers, nurses, skilled artisans and farmers were participants in various combinations, but with the teacher usually serving as the coordinator.

As the Federal Government extended the work into rural areas there evolved a rationale as to the aims and objectives of this work. Jose M. Puig Casauranc, Secretario de Educacion Publica under President Calles (1924-1928) formalized it in the following statement:

¹²Larroyo, op. cit., 350.

¹³Ibid., 352.

1. The rural school is an educational institution designed to help the agrarian improve his economic well being.
2. Learning should take place in practical situations more so than in the confines of the school building.
3. The rural school should be a-tune to the needs of the community and should avoid imposing a foreign or urban curriculum.
4. The rural school should serve as an example in the development of new methods and techniques in the areas of agriculture and small industries.
5. The rural school should be a democratic ideal and should stand out as a symbol of the fruits of democracy.
6. The rural school should be the moral teacher of the community by discouraging fanaticism, alcoholism, and premature sexual relations.
7. The rural school should teach Spanish, and make it synonymous with nationalism.
8. The rural school should encourage its students to go as far as possible in the educational system and not be content with reading and writing.
9. The rural school should be co-educational and try, thereby, to equalize men and women in rural society.
10. The ultimate aim of the rural school should be to raise the disinherited peon to a more equitable place in Mexican society.¹⁴

Commonplace as the ten points might seem in today's light, the young missionary teacher who went out to the rural wilderness carrying the banner of national unity and progress

¹⁴Ibid., 353.

through education was generally confronted with a suspicious if not hostile community that thoroughly distrusted the urban dwellers and their government. More than one teacher lost his life to this hatred and countless hundreds were simply run out. Indeed, to the present day it is difficult for the Federal Government to maintain schools in Indian hamlets.

Reorganizing the Nation's Schools

During the early 1920's Jose Vasconcelos, as the first Secretario de Educacion Publica after the revolution, initiated a thorough reform of the educational system. Puig Casauranc and Bassols, in their turn, carried the reforms further. In every case these educational leaders were guided by the Bases para la Organizacion de la Escuela Primaria, conforme al Principio de la Accion. The following is an excerpt from the document, and it clearly directs the schools to an activity centered education.

La accion debe constituir la base y fundamento de la vida del nino en la escuela primaria.

El trabajo escolar, y muy especialmente el que se traduce en actividades corporales, presentara oportunamente motivos para formar en el nino habitos sociales.

Las actividades manuales que se realicen en la escuela primaria no tendran por objeto transformar a esta en taller o centro de industria, sino que servirán de fundamento para la investigacion, informacion y coordinacion cientificas para el desarrollo de la cultura estetica y para dar una educacion prevocacional.

Los trabajos del niño no deben perseguir un fin preferentemente utilitario desde el punto de vista económico. Las ocupaciones a que el niño se entregue en la escuela deben tener un íntimo contacto con la vida, de manera que sean la continuación de las que practica en el hogar o en el medio social en que vive.

La escuela debe enseñar al niño lo que necesita como niño.

El niño debe ser tratado lo más individualmente que sea posible.¹⁴

Essentially, the program to be introduced in the primarias of the nation was to follow Decroly's interest centered curricular theory. The teacher was to set themes close to the child's experience, and then build around the child's interest. During this period Dewey and Kilpatrick were popular guides in the normal schools of the nation. The educational institutions of the nation were swept up in the revolutionary zeal to build a new society through education. Indeed, the entire curricular theory introduced during the 1920's and reintroduced in the 1930's can be identified in the curricular reforms of the 1960's. The objective in each case was to build an integrated society in which all children would be afforded the benefits of a modern state.

¹⁴Ibid., 353.

Apart from revamping the curriculum a structural change was effected in organization of the schools. Up until 1925 students graduating from the primarias of the nation were afforded little or no opportunity for further education outside of the preparatorias. The preparatorias principal function was that of preparing the students for their university studies. In fact, they were considered an integral part of the university system and under its control. Calles issued a decree in 1925 initiating a new level of education henceforth to be called ciclo secundaria.¹⁵ Essentially, the decree removed the first three grades of the preparatoria from the jurisdiction of the university and placed it under the sponsorship of the Secretaria de Educacion Publica. Thus the Federal Government, and the state governments, assumed responsibility for nine years of schooling, six in the primarias and three in the newly formed secundarias.

The objective of the new secondary education, as outlined by the Direccion de Educacion Secundaria was:

To enlarge and elevate the general culture of the student as given at the primary level.

To enlighten the student in the physical, intellectual, moral, and aesthetic aspects of life.

¹⁵Ibid., 402.

To prepare the student to meet his civic and social responsibilities as a member of our free democratic nation.¹⁶

In order to more fully implement the broad educational program the Federal Government established an Institute Escuela Nacional de Pedagogia (1928) to prepare teachers for secondary education.¹⁷

No detailed mention has been made concerning urban state educational institutions. Throughout this period of the Revolution state education remained the prerogative of well-to-do urban dwellers. With the exception of Yucatan and one or two other states there was a minimum of public education, and then it was concentrated in the primary grades. Private and clerical schools recovered their position in education especially in the secondary and preparatory levels. State departments of education were more like local regulating bodies, than leaders of school systems.

The Catholic Church and the Revolution

Don Pascual Ortiz Rubio was elected president in 1930. Due to a personal and political crisis he resigned in 1933. However, during the latter part of his term he had a very energetic Secretario de Educacion Publica by the name of Narciso Bassols. Bassols' fame, or infamy,

¹⁶Ibid., 402.

¹⁷Ibid., 409.

was due to his belief that the federal education authorities should diligently enforce Artículo #3 of the Constitucion de 1917. That is they should intensify their inspection of private parochial schools. Such inspection was to ensure that non-clerical citizens were teaching a non-sectarian curriculum along lines drawn by the Secretaria de Educacion. Such efforts on the part of the government were initiated in 1932. The Archbishop of Mexico, don Pascual Diaz, immediately issued a pastoral letter which said in part:

Parents should consider teachers as being auxiliary parents responsible for the Christian education of their children. At the same time teachers should consider themselves cooperators with parents in the Christian education of their students. Neither the parents nor the teachers should be at any time diverge from the norms which the Church has laid down and which are design to ensure the true Christian education of children.

He ordered, therefore:

Parents in the archbishopry of Mexico must abstain from sending their children to secondary non-church schools.

Parents have the obligation to send their children to Catholic primary schools whenever possible in order to ensure their Christian education.¹⁸

Bassols reaction to the Bishop's order was given in a speech to the Camara del Congreso de la Union. He said, in part:

¹⁸Ibid., 420.

The death of religious prejudice is, fortunately, a consequence of the education of the masses. . . The Secretaria is convinced the religious opiate is an instrument by which the worker masses are kept in subjection. The secondary schools will liberate them from economic servitude. Its incorporation into the school system of the nation should be laica, as all other aspects of the regime were.¹⁹

Although general Abelardo L. Rodriguez replaced Ortiz Rubio, Bassols remained minister in 1934.

During this period both Calles, former president, and Cardenas, the next president, entered the church-state argument on the side of the Constitucion de 1917. For the succeeding two years, 1932-34, these two men marshalled support amongst the labor union movement for a vigorous attack on parochial education.²⁰

Even though Lazaro Cardenas was nominated for the presidency by the ruling party, he campaigned the length and breadth of the country as if he were the "underdog." His platform pledge was the fulfillment of the Constitucion. Once in power, 1934-40, Cardenas launched an educational program with a two-fold orientation: universal education and a new social order. More and more schools were built throughout the Republic in an attempt to give all children the opportunity to obtain an education.

¹⁹Ibid., 420.

²⁰Ibid., 426.

In response to the demands of labor unions, as well as the international situation during the Thirties--depression--, the Cardenas government amended Articulo #3 to give Mexican education a socialistic orientation.

The education to be imparted by the State will be socialistic, and, also, will exclude religious doctrine, it will combat fanaticism and prejudice in order that the children will learn to be rational and exact in their concepts of the Universe and social life.²¹

Those children that did enter the public schools were taught, among other things, that theirs was the responsibility to proclaim the new social order; theirs was the responsibility to build a new society, a new Mexico composed of proud, independent people. Even today, thirty years later, Lazaro Cardenas is considered to be one of the most popular leaders of the Mexican working man.

Although Cardenas instilled Mexican workers with a dream, his objective of universal education fell far short of the mark. It seemed that the more schools he built the more schools he needed to cope with Mexico's exploding population. By the end of his term of office it was still officially estimated that more than half of the population of Mexico continued to live in a state of ignorance;²²

²¹Ibid., 432.

²²Carlos Alvear Acevedo, La Educacion y La Ley (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Jus., 1963), 254.

precisely, the same situation that existed in the last year of Diaz' government.

Another step in the federalization of education took place when Cardenas' Secretario de Educacion Publica, Gonzalo Vazquez Vela, signed agreements with most of the state departments of education whereby the ministry would provide materials and pedagogical supervision of state urban schools.²³ It will be remembered that the Federal Government was already responsible for technical, vocational and rural education throughout the nation.

The revolutionary fervor of the 1920's and 1930's reached its peak under Cardenas. Government schools were called "socialist schools," the curriculum and the teachers reflected the movement mounted by the government to build a new Mexico. The movement was blocked in the rural locales by a suspicious, religious, conservative populace that equated "socialism" with anti-Christianism, and considered co-educational institutions as proof of the immoral orientation of the curriculum. The movement was blocked by the private and parochial schools that continued to attract the children of those people who generally controlled the social and economic life of urban Mexico, and who consequently refused to support public urban education. And the movement

²³Ibid., 260.

was blocked by the economic condition of Mexico, since the federal government could not count upon sufficient resources to overcome the many obstacles.

Articulo #3 Amended

Following Cardenas in the presidency was General Manuel Avila Camacho, 1940-46, who modified the objective of education to be "education in the service of national unity."

It was Camacho's Secretario de Educacion Publica, Vasquez Vela, who was responsible for initiating the modification in the constitutional article in order to delete its extreme socialist orientation. At one point, 1943, Vasquez declared that democracy and patriotism were not compatible with socialistic education.²⁴ After such a statement the labor sector of the P R I forced him to resign; however, his objective was nonetheless achieved. Jaime Torres Bodet, Mexico's internationally known humanist and author, effected the change in the article.²⁵

A man of such high reputé immediately brought a new dimension to the Secretaria de Educacion Publica y Bellas

²⁴Larroyo, op. cit., 443.

²⁵Ibid., 448.

Artes. His leadership theme was that Mexican education should be dedicated to peace, to democracy, and to social justice.²⁶

In his own words:

If victory is to guarantee the precepts in whose name the free nations fought it is incumbent that the nations direct their educational establishments to make as their first norm the doctrine of peace. The second norm resides in formulating an education for democracy not only within states but between them. The third norm is to make education serve as a preparation leal for justice because so long as liberties are merely a part of treaties and constitutions and not related to the realities of everyday life, and so long as the peoples of a nation are incapable of exercising their liberties and their responsibilities, then peace and democracy are in danger of perishing.²⁷

Under Torres Bodet Artículo #3 of the Constitucion de 1917 was reformed for the third and last time:

Education which is imparted by the State--Federacion, Estados, Municipios--will harmoniously develop all the faculties of the human being, and foment in him, at the same time, love for the Patria and a conscience for the international solidarity which is found in independence and in justice.²⁸

Torres Bodet's three years in office were crowned with the campaign to teach the rudiments of reading and writing to the ignorant masses. La Campana Nacional contra el Analfabetismo, as it was known, commenced in 1944. From

²⁶Ibid., 449.

²⁷Ibid., 451.

²⁸Ibid., 446.

August (1944) to February (1945) the Secretaria planned the campaign and established the widespread popular support for the educational effort. From March (1945) to February (1946) the nation was mobilized to the motto of "each one teach one." The remainder of 1946 was devoted to evaluating the national effort. Two conclusions were drawn: one and a half million adults were taught to read and write, and, equally important, the citizenry was made graphically aware of the national problem of ignorance.²⁹

Miguel Aleman Valdes became constitutional president of Mexico in 1946 and continued in office through 1952. Torres Bodet resigned to become UNESCO under-secretary for education. Gual Vidal became Ministro de Educacion. The analfabetismo program was continued, but perhaps the most spectacular educational achievement during Aleman's term of office was the erection of the Ciudad Universitaria outside Mexico, D.F. The magnificent work was officially opened by the president in 1953, four hundred years after its founding as the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico.³⁰

²⁹Ibid., 452.

³⁰Ibid., 464.

Education continued its rhythm of progress under the succeeding president Ruiz Cortines (1952-58). During Ruiz's presidency public education received over 12 percent of the national budget, exceeding for the first time all other allocations. Nonetheless, Ruiz Cortines lamented in 1958 that out of seven million school age children, three million were still on the margin of education.³¹ Also, despite the efforts of the analfabetismo program only one out of every two adults could read or write.³²

The Presidency Adolfo Lopez Mateos
(1958-1964)

Lopez Mateos centered his campaign for the presidency on the theme of universal education. He committed himself to putting every first grade child in school before the end of his term. He promised to build a school house in every hamlet in Mexico. And, he declared that no child was to go hungry.

Upon his election he immediately recalled Torres Bodet from UNESCO to direct the Secretaria de Educacion Publica y Bellas Artes. Torres Bodet, in his turn, initiated a survey of Mexican educational needs in order to develop a comprehensive program of development.

³¹Ibid., 470.

³²Ibid., 470.

In 1959, less than one year after his appointment, Torres Bodet submitted an extensive report recommending complete reform of primary education throughout the republic. The end objective of the Plan de Once Años, as the project was soon to be called, was to put all the children of the nation who were eligible in primary schools under qualified teachers at the end of eleven years. The plan consisted of five major points of attack on Mexico's problem of illiteracy: the primary school curriculum was to be thoroughly reformed, free textbooks and workbooks were to be provided to all children, healthful breakfasts would be sold at minimal cost, a gigantic school house construction program would be initiated, and the teacher training program would be broadened in order to increase the production of school teachers.³³

Several statistics were offered as reinforcement for the need to undertake such a "crash program." In the first place, although education was nominally a state function the states had relinquished their responsibility to educate rural folk to the federal authorities and consequently the Secretaria de Educacion Publica was, in 1959, directly responsible for the education of 58.85% of all school age children at the primary level. The states and municipalities counted for 30.64% of the children and the private incorporated

³³ Reforma Educativa, "Los Libros de Texto Gratuitos y Las Corrientes del Pensamiento Nacional" (Mexico, D.F.: Talleres Graficas de la Nacion, II, 1962), 15.

schools only 10.53%. So even at that moment the Secretaria was deeply involved in the direct education of 2.5 million children.³⁴ The concern of the federal authorities was that the type of education it was providing children under its charge, who were primarily rural dwellers, was not suiting their needs, and consequently educators had to radically adjust the curriculum. Another concern of the Secretaria, and also the state and local authorities, was the demographic explosion which was at that time overpowering the educational system, and which was just beginning. The report pointed out that in 1959 4,436,561 children were in school. By 1970 there would be 7,195,000 children demanding admittance. In the opinion of the report the federal government had to act immediately to meet this exploding demand, or face educational chaos.³⁵ The president immediately authorized the Secretaria de Educacion Publica to establish the necessary agencies to undertake the task. Congress concurred.³⁶

A revision of the curriculum was immediately initiated under the auspices of the Consejo Nacional Tecnico de la Educacion so that primary and secondary education would be

³⁴Jaime Torres Bodet, Discursos 1941-1964 (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porru, S.A., 1965), 65.

³⁵Ibid., 70.

³⁶Reforma Educativa, op. cit., 22.

more suitable for boys and girls who were terminating their education at one of those levels. During the immediate past primary school was a preparation for secondary school which in turn was preparation for preparatory. Again, Dewey, Kilpatrick and Decroly were emphasized as the theoretical basis on which the curriculum would be built. The many subjects were grouped into four major areas, the large classes--75 plus in a class--were divided into project and activity groups of eight and ten, and the material taught was made less theoretical and more tangible. Music, art, dramatizations, and games were prescribed together with projects, activities, and excursions. Indeed, the Secretaria was reintroducing a refinement of the curriculum, first introduced by Jose Vasconcelos during the early 20's.

In order to ensure that no child be denied an education due to an inability to purchase the required textbooks, the Presidente de la Republica named leading citizens representing the various sectors of society as a Comision Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuito. The Comision was responsible for the selection and distribution of the approved textbook. Members of the commission included newspaper publishers, writers, businessmen, labor leaders, industrialist as well as educators. The Comision immediately invited all authors of textbooks, educators, as well as other citizens to submit

manuscripts for consideration. The winning authors would receive cash grants of \$75,000 Ps. for each manuscript selected. After careful consideration, the Comision selected works which were designed for first and second grade. These were immediately published and distributed to the federal rural schools on a limited bases, then, as their success was proven, they were disbursed more widely. Once all the federal school children were provided with free textbooks, the Secretaria de Educacion began entering into contracts with state educational authorities whereby the Comision could begin providing textbooks to state schools.³⁷

Although the official book was prescribed as the basic textbook in the subject, the Comision consistently maintained the attitude that curriculum experts at the federal, state, and local level had the right, indeed the obligation, to select libros de consulta in the various subject matter areas. The concern of the Comision was that a minimum education be provided to all children, but at the same time they did not want to put a maximum level of learning.³⁸

The Comision de Libros de Texto Gratiuto projected that by 1968 textbooks and workbooks would be provided in

³⁷ Ibid., 26.

³⁸ Interview with Prof. Timoteo Hernandez, Director General of the State Department of Public Instruction, Nueve Leon.

all subject matter areas from first grade through sixth grade to all children in both public and private schools. Also, in order to ensure a constant improvement in the quality of the material provided, the Comision held tri-annual competitions amongst interested Mexican writers.³⁹

A third area of concern to educational authorities was the limited diet of rural and urban children alike. The Instituto Nacional de Proteccion a la Infancia was designated as responsible for providing breakfasts to the children. INPI became the special responsibility of the wife of the President, and in each state an Instituto de Proteccion a la Infancia was established under the patronage of the wife of the governor. The breakfast program was only a part of their widespread social endeavor, but its value in the Plan de Once Anos was beyond measure. Two points must be made about the program as an indication of its importance. In the first place, a wholesome breakfast of powdered milk, powdered eggs, and powdered re-fried beans was sold to every child who so wished one hour before school. It was sold in order that the child nor his parents would develop the attitude that a beneficent state would provide for them. However, the price was just a few centavos in order to

³⁹Ibid.

ensure that all children would eat. The second point was that the operation of the program in the school was placed in the hands of mothers' committees. The state IPI authorities would provide only the food, the school mothers had to organize the breakfast, collect the money, clean the classroom after breakfast, and in general run the program. This organization was significant in that it was the basis upon which the educational authorities began constructing local parents organizations that would develop a concern for their school.⁴⁰

Another area of impact in the Plan de Once Anos was through the Comité Administrador del Programa Federal de Construcción de Escuelas known as CAPFCE. This Comité undertook the project of school house construction on a scale never before attempted in Mexico,⁴¹ or for that matter in any other area of the underdeveloped world. Their plan was simply to put into operation one new schoolhouse every day once they reached their maximum productivity, then continue that rhythm until 1970. The Comité sponsored a worldwide competition amongst architects for plans for a pre-fabricated steel frame classroom that would be both durable yet light enough to be transported on the backs of

⁴⁰ Author's personal observations.

⁴¹ Larroyo, op. cit., 461.

mules and oxen carts if necessary. The design selected was dramatic in its functional simplicity. After the design was proven to the satisfaction of the Comite a prefabricating plant began producing the component parts. The classroom was carried to jungle tropic villages in dug-out canoes. It was carried up through pine forests to Scandanavian-type villages. It was carried across desert sands to Indian tribes of the northwest that were still resisting assimilation. Army engineers were assigned to assist villagers erect their school. Here again, the educational authorities made full use of local committees of men who were made responsible for the laying of the foundation, the erection of the building, and, once it was functioning, its maintenance.

Each schoolhouse was provided with a teacher's residence. The apartment was attractive yet simple, and it was the hope of the authorities that the quarters would alleviate, in part, the lonely existence of a city-bred teacher who was assigned to the wilderness. The problem of providing teachers for rural schools was acute in 1959. Not only were there few teachers being produced by the normal schools, but those coming out refused rural assignments.

The students' distaste for rural teaching was not only the normal reaction of a city dweller to the inconveniences of rural life, there was also an antipathy on the part of rural folk toward the city teacher. Indeed, more than one

teacher has been killed, many more tarred and feathered, and even a more numerous group just simply run out of town because they attempted to teach ideas contrary to the mores and folkways of the village.

In order to avoid the conflict between rural and urban peoples as well as to produce more teachers for the burgeoning schools the Secretaria de Educacion Publica reintroduced the system of rural federal normal schools open exclusively for rural youth. The Secretaria also opened numerous branches of the Instituto Federal de Capacitacion del Magisterio (emergency teacher training program) which would accept, as did the normal schools, young men and women who had completed secondary (grade 9) school. The rural normal schools as well as the Instituto began working on a "crash program" which would produce sufficient teachers to fill the new classrooms.

Concluding Comments

This rather brief overview of Mexican education provides the reader with a historical background which will facilitate in the understanding of the numerous variables that were brought to bear during the February crisis that took place in Monterrey in 1962.

Time and again education was thrown into the center of history when institutional forces attempted to direct the destiny of the nation through their control of the schools. The church, by means of its direction of education, facilitated the institutionalization of a social system that continues to permeate society even unto the present day. The liberals of the 18th and 19th century attempted to reform society through the schools, and the revolutionaries of the 20th century are still hard at that task.

Indeed, the crisis in Monterrey serves as a classic case study as to the social forces acting and reacting to the incessant force for change that has been institutionalized into Mexican life. This thesis could remain as a macro-study of education in Mexico, but it would lose its most valuable aspect, that of mirroring the struggles that have taken place throughout Mexican educational history. Each step along the path represented a crisis between institutional forces that were trying to direct society. The crisis in Monterrey was just one step, a footnote if you will, on the pages of history. A footnote, however, that reflected all the manifestations of institutional struggles that have directed the course of education. The various theories of social change describe in the beginning chapter describe changes in impersonal terms, as if men were blocks to be stacked, sorted and shuffled according to patterns..not emotion

This footnote provides an insight into the human element and how man fits into the history of a society. It also provides certain indications and insights as to the relationship of man in society to the institutions of that society. It points up, rather markedly, the importance of education in the societal milieu, and how the institutional fabric of society is so intertwined that all institutions have quite marked interests in directing the development of education.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUILD-UP TO CRISIS

Punta del Este and Other World Happenings

Excitement ran high during the months of January and February 1962 as Mexicans read with interest of the United States' struggles for supremacy over the communist bloc. The Bay of Pigs was a recent memory. The newspapers were full of their northern neighbor's determined bid to isolate Cuba at the Punta del Este (Uruguay) Conference of Ministers. Pope John XXIII was, at the same time, calling on Catholic Bishops to meet with him in an Ecumenical Council which would serve as a beginning of the long-dreamed of reapproachment between the various Christian communities. A step made necessary, in part, because of the threat of communism.

Other news of the day caught John Glenn's orbit of the Earth in the spotlight momentarily, and the release of the spy-flyer, Francis Gary Powers, was eminent. Also, the United States Atomic Energy Commission accused the Soviet Union of having exploded another underground nuclear device. And, finally, de Gaulle ordered the arrest of ex-General Raoul Salan as a prelude to an independent Algeria.

The United States of America was vigorously attempting to recover from the disastrous effects on Latin American public opinion caused by the defeat of the Bay of Pigs invaders. Unable to dislodge Fidel Castro and communism by force, the United States turned for support to the Organization of American States/Organizacion de Estados Americanos. An emergency conference of Ministers was called during the early days of 1962 at Punta del Este, Uruguay, to consider whether or not communism was to be permitted within the alliance of American nations. After appeals from both the United States (to exclude communism) and Cuba (that each state has the sole right to govern its internal affairs without the intervention of another nation or group of nations) the Ministers voted to expel Cuba. The vote found the United States of Mexico, the Republic of Argentina, the Republic of Ecuador and the Republic of Bolivia voting against expulsion.

As a consequence of this vote Frondizi, president of Argentina, was overthrown by a military oligarchy; the Ecuadorian government was forced to change its stance by certain elements within the country; and less than two years later, when the progressive government of Paz Estenzorro was overthrown by militarists in Bolivia one of the firsts acts of the new government was the withdrawal of recognition from Cuba. Thus, Mexico alone, of all the Latin American states, steadfastly refused to withdraw its Ambassador from Havana.

The reason for this refusal was grounded in a succession of tragic historical episodes in which Mexico suffered as the result of foreign intervention. After achieving Independence in 1821, Mexico was faced, within twenty-five years, with an army from the United States of America storming the Mexican capital (1845), followed by the forceful acquisition of the northern half of their territory. Next came the French invasion of Napoleon III and the puppet reign of Maximilian (1862-1867). The most recent violation of Mexican territory was made by the United States army under General Pershing, who, under orders from President Wilson, criss-crossed northern Mexico in search of Pancho Villa.

As a consequence of these successive violations of her sovereign territory, Mexico has established as a national policy, and has attempted to introduce as international law, the concept that no nation has the right to intervene into the affairs of another sovereign state.

The newspapers of the day played up the contrary positions held by the United States of Mexico and the United States of America. Considerable debate was generated within Mexico as to her stance. Certain newspapers commented that their nation's position was one of being weak on communism, while the other faction implied that "tío Sam" was wielding the "big stick" of Imperialism and Mexico

alone could withstand the pressure. Political cartoons and commentaries were sharply divided, for the issue of communism was of grave concern to Catholic Mexicans.

Historical precedents were of little import when compared to the threat of an atheistic ideology. To reinforce the ominous nature of the conflict there was an announcement by the United States Atomic Energy Commission that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had detonated still another underground nuclear device. The readerships concern over communism was counterpoised by Pope John XXIII's calling of the Ecumenical Council whose major purpose was the strengthening of the Roman Catholic Church by internal reforms and by a reapproachment with other Christian communities, particularly the Orthodox Christian Church that was then suffering under the heel of communism. A stronger unified Christian Church could defeat communism. Thus, implicit in this logic was that the Mexican government's refusal to reject Castro placed it against the position of the Church. Reopening, thereby, an old wound in state-church affairs within Mexico.

The Mexican Educational Scene

On the Mexican scene education was very much in the news. In the northern states school was half over and the students were in a restless mood. In the southern states the school year was just beginning, and the Garcia Valseca chain of newspapers was highlighting various problems encountered in the public schools. Everyday feature articles and pictures were presented to the reading public as front page news.

The Universidad de Nuevo Leon experienced a succession of walkouts, demonstrations and petty sabotage during the closing days of January. The issues at hand were demands made by the students to the Rectoria (university administration) that the university make adjustments in certain fees, examination procedures, and that the Instituto de Trabajo Social (school of social work) be incorporated into the university system. After a number of fruitless discussions, with neither the Rector nor the students' committee willing to modify their positions, the university students' committee signed a petition outlining the stand of their followers. To support the petition students belonging to thirteen university schools went out on strike. Their demands were as follows:

A reduction of the monthly student fee from \$45.00 Ps. (four dollars) to \$30.00 Ps. (three dollars);

The cancellation of examination fees for extraordinary final examinations and special examinations; also, the cancellation of fees for advance standing examinations which the Consejo Universitario had set at \$30.00 Ps. and \$80.00 ps. respectively;

The establishment of the right of all senior university students to repeat the final examination in any subject up to five times.¹

In the southern half of Mexico school children were beginning their school year. On February 1, the day school opened, the Garcia Valseca chain of newspapers began its annual educational campaign. The twenty-two newspapers gave front page coverage to the number of schools in session, the number of children entering school and the serious limitations of building and equipment confronting the educators. In the State of San Luis Potosi, one of the states soon to erupt into conflict, El Sol de San Luis Potosi reported that 1,377 schools were active with a total enrollment of 175,000 students between the ages of seven and fourteen years.²

On subsequent days El Sol undertook an intensive campaign of criticism of state and federal educational

¹El Porvenir, January 28, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial El Porvenir, XLIV, 17165), A-1.

²El Sol de San Luis Potosi, February 1, 1962 (San Luis Potosi, Mexico: Cadena de Periodicas Garcia Valseca, XX, 3322), A-1.

authorities who had announced rather proudly that school had begun normally and according to plan. The Sol's headline on Friday, February 2, 1962 was: MILLARES DE ALUMNOS EN EL SUELO, SIN AIRE, NI LUZ Y BAJO TECHOS RUINOSOS (Thousands of students on the floor, without air, nor light and below ruined roofs). A front page picture depicted five boys sitting or kneeling around an old fashion two-seater bench-type plank desk. The feature article described the actual conditions on the first day of school thus:

In the immense majority of the schools of this city (San Luis Potosi) which were inauguating the 1962 scholastic year the same panorama was repeated to the point of exhaustion: insufficient, incommodious, non-functional and ruined classrooms; destroyed furniture made in forgotten times and incapable of satisfying [present day] scholastic necessities; lack of classrooms, lack of schools, lack of space and above all an excess of [teacher] good will. And while up to five students sit around a bench-type desk made for two, the administrators of Federal and State schools distributed yesterday rose colored statements:

'Classes began today--recite the delcarations--with absolute normality. There were no incidents in any school because of the lack of space. All the teachers worked normally at their jobs.' Only the state administration admitted that the school "Filmoneo Mata" could not be opened 'because the roofs were in bad conditions.'³

In a separate article the Secretario General de Promociones and the Secretario General de Gobierno commented on behalf of the Gobernador, Professor Manual Lopez Davila,

³Ibid., A-1.

that the state government was cognizant of the serious educational problems of the state and that at that very moment the Gobernador was in Mexico, D.F. attempting to obtain funds for the immediate construction of one hundred more schools.⁴

While the concern in San Luis Potosi, as well as other states, was for more classroom space in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, parental discontent centered around the announcement by the state public educational authorities that a new curriculum would be introduced into the state incorporated primary schools the following September.⁵

The Charge of Communism in Government

On Thursday, 25 January 1962, the daily newspaper El Norte located in Monterrey, the capital of the state of Nuevo Leon, published a second section front page article written by assistant editor, Lic. Eduardo Leal, Jr., accusing the state government of Gobernador Estatal, Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal, of being communistic. Leal made particular reference to how communists had infiltrated into the inner circles of the official party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional--PRI--, and from there how they had

⁴El Sol de San Luis Potosi, February 2, 1962 (San Luis Potosi, Mexico: Cadena de Periodicos Garcia Valseca, XX, 3323), A-1.

⁵Ibid., A-1.

advanced to appointive posts in the state government. Two "known communists" Jose Alvarado, Rector of the Universidad de Nuevo Leon, and Professor Jose Ramos Losano, Secretario de Gobierno, were alluded to as outstanding examples of the communist takeover.⁶

This situation in the state government was, according to El Norte, in direct contradiction to the political posture the Mexican government was at that moment taking at the Conference of Ministers at Punta del Este, Uruguay.⁷ The Mexican political posture at the conference was, in essence, that their government was vigorously against communism and equally against the intervention of one state into the affairs of another.

In a separate article, also on the front page of the second section, El Norte headlined a charge that the REFORMAS EDUCATIVAS ALARMA LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA (the educational reforms [to be introduced the following September] alarm the parents). Three major points were made in the article: that the Direccion de Educacion Estatal was coercing private incorporated schools by ordering them to submit the names of teacher-candidates to the state office for approval before

⁶El Norte, January 25, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8451), B-1.

⁷Ibid., B-1.

their appointment to the teaching staff; that the Direccion Estatal was attempting to structure the curriculum in such a way so as to facilitate the "grabbing" of the children away from the parents, as had happened in Russia and Cuba, at some undisclosed later date; and that the state was refusing to permit the parents any say in the education of their children.⁸

The following day both the Gobernador, Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal, and the Director General de Educacion, Professor Timoteo L. Hernandez, responded to the charges. The Gobernador held a press conference in which he denied the charge of communism; according to El Norte Livas described Lic. Leal, Jr. as "stupid" for having written such an article.⁹ The feature article of the second section was a copy of a letter written by Professor Hernandez denying the charges made the preceding day, and further trying to explain the position of the state department of education. In reply to the first charge Hernandez wrote that they had always required the private incorporated schools to register their teachers together with documented proof of competency. This was done in order to protect the students and the parents

⁸Ibid., B-1.

⁹El Norte, January 26, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8452), B-1.

from incompetent and unqualified teachers. In reply to the second charge, the Director General pointed out that his department always adhered closely to Artículo 30 of the Constitucion de 1917. And, finally, as regards to the rights of parents over the education of their children he stated that his department had been following a consistent policy of encouraging parents in the various public and private schools to organize, as outlined in the Education Act, parents organizations--Sociedades de Padres de Familia.¹⁰

The following day, Saturday 27 January 1962, El Norte again carried second section banner headlines: Posponen hasta septiembre el cambio educativo (The curricular modifications to be postponed until September). El Norte reported that Professor Timoteo Hernandez had cancelled all future in-service training to be held in preparation for the following year's curriculum reforms.¹¹ Professor Hernandez, when questioned on this, stated that the initial phase of the training program had been completed and that the program was neither cancelled at that time, nor was the new curriculum postponed because of parental pressures; rather, the

¹⁰ Ibid., B-1.

¹¹ El Norte, January 27, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8453), B-1.

new curriculum was never intended to be introduced during the middle of the year, but that a program of orientation was being held as a prelude to change.¹²

Reacting to what they believed to be a direct threat to their rights as parents, a nucleus of parents formed the *Comite Organizador* (later to be called *Comision Organizadora*) de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia under the leadership of Ing. (engineer) Eliot Camarena.¹³ On Monday, 29 January 1962, Ing. Eliot Camarena issued a statement to the press declaring that his organization was pressing for the right of all parents to decide on the type of education they wished for their children to be recognized by the educational and political authorities of the nation. He also gave certain of the background for having formed the *Comite*:

A group of parents began considering the formation of some kind of parents organization about six months ago. What prompted our attention to this matter was the agitation and serious damage inflicted upon a number of schools in both Guadalajara and Puebla by anti-educational elements in society. In anticipation that the same might take place here we decided to organize and prepare for that eventual day, so that we could present our points of view and insist that our rights be recognized.

We have the right to be heard, and both the teachers to whom we have entrusted our children's education and the educational authorities must accept our point of view.¹⁴

¹²Interview with Prof. Timoteo Hernandez, March 15, 1966.

¹³Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena, March 14, 1966.

¹⁴El Norte, January 29, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8455), A-10.

The Parade is Organized

On the same day, in El Porvenir, another daily newspaper in Monterrey, a full-page advertisement was published by the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia inviting all parents to a demonstration to be held protesting the curriculum reforms and reiterating the right of parents to educate their children as they see fit.

C O N V O C A M O S

A TODOS LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA

that they participate in a grand demonstration planned for this coming Friday, 2 February, which will begin at the Alameda Mariano Escobedo and end with a public assembly in the Plaza 5 de Mayo which is in front of the Palacio de Gobierno del Estado.

This Manifestacion to which all the peoples of Monterrey and the circumventing Municipios has as its only objective the public and respectful expression of the thinking and feeling of the padres de familia as regards to the education of their sons. In this regard there have recently surged forth a grand number of rumors and commentaries which have provoked justifiable alarm.

Specifically, the Manifestacion which will be held, will opportunely maintain and support the following principles:

10. Education of children is a natural right which corresponds basically to padres de familia.

20. The following postulates of the Declaracion Universal de los Derechos del Hombre which were subscribed by all member states--Mexico amongst them*¹⁵--of the Organizacion

*Although signed by Mexico's ambassador to the U.N. it was never ratified by the Mexican Senate.

¹⁵Interview with Prof. Timoteo Hernandez, March 15, 1966.

de las Naciones Unidas: "Art 26.-3) The parents have the preferred right to choose the type of education which is to be given to their sons."

3o. The function of the Gobierno in the area of education should be to support the responsibility which in the first place corresponds to the parents for the education of their sons, and as a consequence of the supporting role the Autoridades are obligated to create and maintain the most favorable conditions for the carrying out of the parents' wishes by providing resources, materials and the organization necessary.

4o. [The Gobierno] should not impose or modify the educational curriculum without giving the parents the opportunity to know and, through their authentic representative institutions, make such pertinent observations and recommend such changes as are necessary.

5o. An official attitude contrary to our postulates deserves the repudiation of the padres de familia. If in other areas of Mexican social activity there has been resignation or conformity, [the contrary is true] in the area that deals with the education and formation of our sons, [wherein] we emphatically declare that we do not admit nor tolerate not one act which pretends to disregard the rights of the parents to educate their sons.

6o. The position expressed above is the only defense against the danger that in the Mexican youth communist instruction is disseminated which will destroy our traditional concepts of the family, the patria (fatherland) and the dignity of the human person.

As a consequence [of the above] we convoke all the padres de familia and the public in general in order that they might, in a manner both respectful and orderly, support the aforesaid principles by participating in the grand Manifestacion next February 2nd.

In this way we will fulfill our obligation as Mexicans and as padres de familia, contributing thereby to the strengthening of the integrity of our Patria.

MONTERREY, N. L. A 29 de ENERO de 1962¹⁶

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLONESA DE PADRES DE
FAMILIA

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1.-Ing. Eliot Camarena | 6.-Gilberto Luna |
| 2.-Humberto Lobo | 7.-Lawrence Amaya |
| 3.-Ing. Arturo Perez Ayala | 8.-Ricardo Chapa, Jr. |
| 4.-Ing. Romulo Garza | 9.-Lic. Luis Santos de la Garza |
| 5.-Antonio Luis Vignau | 10.-Pablo Madero |

During the last week of January there was an intensification of activity as the Comision Organizadora began preparing for the announced demonstration to be held on Friday. Fifteen mobile public address systems were mounted on trucks and cars by the Committee of Sound Trucks. These units were then assigned to certain sections of the city throughout the week in order that every adult would be made aware of the approaching demonstration. Boys and girls, under the supervision of adults from the Komite de Spoteadores, distributed handbills in all sections of the city. The radio and television media was used with both spot announcements as well as "impartial" newscasts and interviews dealing with the problem.¹⁷

The television news reporter, Lic. Raul Garcia Garza in his nightly broadcast "El Mundo de Hoy" (the world today) reported, for example:

¹⁶ El Porvenir, January 29, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial El Ponvinco XLIV, 17166), A-1.

¹⁷ Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzales, March 14, 1966.

The new system of education is rather unfortunate, the student does not study and there is no way to force him to. The program allows him to do whatever he pleases, except miss school because at that point his parents are notified.

This is a resume of the experience of the Colegio America* one of the most outstanding schools in Nuevo Laredo, Tamps. after six months under the reformed curriculum.

As a result of the government's attempt to coerce the private incorporated schools into signing a statement that they were satisfied with the new program, 'El Mundo de Hoy' contacted the director of the Colegio America, professor Amezcua, to find out his opinion of the curriculum.

'They [the government] have established a methodology, it appears that they are trying to bring the child closer to nature. The students go out to observe in class groups with student leaders for every eight students, and the children are supposed to learn from their excursions.'

'One of the inconveniences to this system is that not all the colegios (private schools) have proper school buses to move the children from one point to another, depending on the theme of the class.'

He then said: 'The padres de familia and the colegios of Laredo could not unify soon enough and they imposed this new system upon us. Now we have concentrated [our forces] and have asked that they let us use other books in addition to the texto unico which was established by the government.'

The preceding was a telephone interview with professor Amezcua held today. He agreed that although the reformed curriculum and new textbooks had been in use for six months already he could see more negative results than positive ones, and that the previous program was better.¹⁹

*A private incorporated school with Catholic Church affiliation.

¹⁹ El Norte, January 31, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8457), A-9.

Other committees were made responsible for transportation, the press releases, flags and the himno nacional, policing of the marchers to ensure a peaceful demonstration, and the rostrum committee to plan the speeches. Perhaps the most dramatic aspect of committee work was the telephone invitations through which every individual who possessed a listed telephone number was contacted, warned of the communist takeover of education and invited to join the demonstration. All service and fraternal clubs were invited to join as well. The committee responsible for inviting the national unions--mine and metal workers, railroad, petroleum, telephone, etc.--were not permitted to communicate with either the leadership or the rank and file. The independent and autonomous unions were contacted and did participate.²⁰

Each committee operated under the leadership of a coordinator, who met together each day for the five days preceding the demonstration. All the committees were composed of males and apart from them were other committees of an unofficial nature composed of women who cooperated with the men.²¹

While the Comision Organizadora was preparing for the giant demonstration the state government moved to undercut their support by calling all the directors of the private

²⁰Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena, March 14, 1966.

²¹Ibid.

incorporated schools to a meeting in the Gobernador's chambers. The Gobernador met with them and asked if they had any objections with the reformed curriculum that they had been examining together with the state educational authorities.²² According to Professor Hernandez there was general agreement that there was nothing objectionable in the new textbooks or reformed curriculum,²³ however, when the Gobernador asked them to sign a declaration stating this position only twenty-six of the sixty-two present signed.²⁴

This attempt on the part of the government to gain support of at least a portion of the private incorporated schools was immediately challenged by the Comision Organizadora in a full page advertisement dated Wednesday, 31 January 1962, published in El Norte.

A TODOS LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA

In regard to the educational problem which we presented yesterday in one of the newspapers for your general understanding, we wish to clarify certain happenings of the last twenty-four hours.

The C. Gobernador called together all the Directors de Escuelas Incorporadas and attempted to obtain their signature on a Declaracion addressed to all padres de familia which would state that there are no problems as regards to the reforms taking place in

²²El Norte, February 1, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8458), A-8.

²³Interview with Prof. T. Hernandez, March 15, 1966.

²⁴El Norte, February 1, 1962, op. cit., A-8.

education. In accord with the press information of the 62 Directores at the meeting 26 signed and 36 refused to sign. The Director de Education Publica, Professor Timoteo L. Hernandez was given the responsibility to order the publication of this Declaracion in the papers.

We wish to say that said declaration is of little importance if the conditions under which it was obtained are examined.

It is evident that they [the government] is attempting to make the demonstration appear as merely a protest against certain administrative directives issued by the Direccion de Educacion Publica en el Estado. As we explained amply to the C. Gobernador in the meeting we had with him on Monday, January 29, the Manifestacion has as its only and exclusive objective, providing an opportunity to the padres de familia who believe they have the preferred right to choose the type of education they wish for their sons to demonstrate publicly and thereby make full use of their constitutional right.

The Manifestacion will serve as a direct plebiscite and will thereby define more clearly the position of the padres de familia as regards to this transcendent problem. There are only two postures:

PRIMERA: Either the parents defend for themselves the right to educate their sons in accordance with their customs and convictions;

SEGUNDA: Or the parents abdicate their right to educate their sons, and thereby subject them to the type of education and formation which the state wishes to impose.

We believe that the union of parents will give us the necessary strength so that they [the government] will respect our rights.

In our opinion it is not only justified but also an obligation, which should be stimulated, that all the padres de familia, men and women, participate in this grand demonstration.

With the utmost order, cordiality and respect it will begin at 10:00 o'clock in the morning of Friday, February 2nd leaving from the Alameda Mariano Escobedo, on the east side, in order to arrive in front of the Palacio de Gobierno for a public assembly.

Monterrey, N.L. a 30 de Enero de 1962

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES DE
FAMILIA 25

Last Minute Attempts to Stop the Demonstration

As the different committees worked rapidly to complete their part of the demonstration preparations the Comision Organizadora continued to press the state authorities in both private interviews and printed statements. Ing. Eliot Camarena, and other members of the Comision held a second audience with the Gobernador after they had "heard" that certain segments of the community were planning to break up the demonstration. Therefore, they demanded and got guarantees from the Gobernador that both juridicial and traffic policemen would patrol the entire length of the parade route, and that elements of the military would remain on the alert in case there might be a need for them.²⁶

²⁵El Norte, January 31, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8457), A-12.

²⁶El Norte, February 2, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8459), B-1.

On February 1, Thursday, the last of the series of full-page advertisements to be published before the demonstration appeared in El Norte. It was an open letter written by a parent by the name of Roberto Hernandez.

A LA OPINION PUBLICA

LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES DE FAMILIA HACE SUYA ESTA CARTA PORQUE EXPRESA EN ESENCIA EL SENTIR QUE NOS HAN HECHO LLEGAR LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA EN LOS ULTIMOS DIAS.

PIDO LA PALABRA SENOR GOBERNADOR:

In this dispute which has surged between us the padres de familia and you, I wish to participate by giving you my opinion.

Yesterday on the radio I heard a recording of the meeting that you had with the Directores of private incorporated schools. In it you asked them certain concrete questions pertaining to what they had found in the new educational methods which [the state department of education] is considering introducing. Also questions were asked regarding the new textbooks, particularly in relation to ideology. To all these questions they [the directores] answered that they had no objections.

Let us not forget the circumstances surrounding the reunion. It was entirely dominated by the Sr. Gobernador who personally inquired of the forty or more Directores of private incorporated schools, who [for their part] were hastily brought together during the afternoon. As I understand the circumstances they were ordered to appear before the Gobernador without any advanced warning. They were naturally overwhelmed and more precisely subconsciously aware that their schools existed at the pleasure of the state authorities, since they [the government] have never missed a chance to threaten the closing of the private incorporated schools if they did not adjust their program to the official requirements.

And if they [the directores] answered that they did not find anything objectionable and contrary to the thinking of Mexicans, they said the truth, but you, Sr. Gobernador, escaped through a tangent. The problem isn't that today the texto unico has anything objectionable per se. What alarms us is that you are IMPOSING a texto unico and a metodo unico, whereas in the past the directores of the schools could select from a wide range of textbooks and teaching techniques in order to tailor the program of study to the needs of their schools. And in this way every school struggled to excell. Imposing on us a single texto unico and a method and a curriculum unknown in our milieu, and probably in the majority of occidental countries, is something which we cannot in any accept because it will become the first 'hook,' the first 'lazo,' with which to capture us. If we did accept it, who could then stop the changing of the textbook so that it would include ideologies which would be tendentious to our families and which would carry our sons towards the communist doctrine? And who can assure us, Sr. Gobernador, looking at the people who surround you, and others who are encrusted in the Secretaria de Educacion, and have been for many years, that this will not happen? These are the reasons that not even a little mouse with a grain of intelligence would not believe you.

On the other hand the Circular sent out by Professor T. Hernandez to all the Directores said clearly that before contracting a new teacher they should send him before the state department of education to get their [the government's] approval. Isn't it sufficient that he has his title? Doesn't this give the communist in the government the opportunity to begin excluding certain kinds of teachers and introducing others into the schools who are also communists?

Our concern over those [individuals] with communist affiliation is justified, Sr. Gobernador. By means of the press they have been discovered, and no one has denied it.

In the aforementioned meeting, after you had spoken to the Directores and retired from the meeting, you left presiding Professor Humberto Ramos Lozano. That is, you left with men who were already intranquil a man who has known [communist] affiliations. As a political tactic this was terrible, Sr. Gobernador. At the end of the meeting a statement was written which was published

today. Twenty-five of the forty-five Directores at the meeting signed the statement which said in part: 'the administrative policies and technical modifications proposed in the reforms do not violate existing laws nor are they an attack against the morality or customs [of our community].' In the first place there were only twenty-five and not twenty-six as was stated, since Prof. Teodoro Hernandez C.P.T. signed twice, and because the second signature was in the name of his Instituto de Ciencias Mercantiles. The problem with which we are confronted does not have anything to do with commercial schools. By the name of the school I suppose it as a commercial school. Or was it only a fictitious name put down so that there would be another name. I wish to repeat that the signators did not lie, if they do not see the danger, the padres de familia certainly do. Also, the problem which was presented to the Directores of schools, although their opinion is valued, is not really their problem but that of us the padres de familia. We do know that from the pedagogical point of view the method of instruction has certain inconveniences and many incongruences, of which one of the most risky is the organizing of the children in class subgroups of eight each with its own elected leader or head, relegating thereby the teacher to the position of policeman. The boys will certainly gradually move to undermine the authority of the teacher, and possibly the parents as well as they develop this independent spirit. We have already seen in Cuba, in several sad cases, that it was these small teams of students who repudiated then expelled from their schools the teaching staff.

And now that we have recalled Cuba, I wish to mention that when the Direccion de Educacion imposed this new method the professors were given a textbook to serve as a guide. That book was called La Unidad de Trabajo y Estudio and its author is Clara O. Cardounel, Profra. de la Escuela Normal de Matanzas, Cuba, and it was written in 1960. That was the year when the communists under Fidel Castro initiated the scholastic revolution. Do you think we feel tranquil when we see that the same kind of a program is going to be introduced to our children next September, and that the guide the teachers will use comes directly from Cuba? Of course, I have not read the book and therefore cannot judge it, but what can come out of Cuba that is possibly any good?

We cannot forget that the process of infiltration by the communists into the educational system of Cuba was extremely slow, gradual and smooth. The

private incorporated schools were of two types: those of religious brothers and sisters and those that were lay controlled. The Castro regime told the private lay schools that they were continually fighting the religious schools, and that the government was considering closing them. The lay schools supported the move because it meant that their schools would absorb the children removed from church schools. The second step was, of course, to close the private lay schools. However, the schools were not closed as such, they were just absorbed in the government school system. With control of the schools the government began teaching a completely communistic oriented curriculum.

Sr. Gobernador, don't mix things up. The padres de familia don't blame you, these are plans which the Secretaria de Educacion wants to impose. In other states, particularly, in the important cities the parents have opposed the introduction and they have been successful. They have now made the intent in Monterrey, and we did not let them surprise us. Are you with us, the padres de familia, or with those that we ridicule with such justification?

ROBERTO HERNANDEZ

COMITE ORGANIZADOR DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE
PADRES DE FAMILIA

COORDINATOR: ING. ELIOT CAMARENA²⁷

On the same day, Thursday, El Norte also printed a paid advertisement sponsored by the two national teachers unions representing federal and state schools in the State of Nuevo Leon. The advertisement was placed in section "C" page 6 after the sports section.

²⁷ El Norte, February 1, 1962, op. cit., A-8.

A LA OPINION PUBLICA Y LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA

The Magisterio de Nuevo Leon joined in two unions-- Secciones 43 and 23 of the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacion--and in virtue of the notices and happenings of the past week wish to express, with complete sincerity, their points of view on this matter.

[The statement made by the Comision Organizadora] is totally inaccurate that the Reforma Educativa, being established on a national basis in order to improve and expand Educacion Primaria in all Mexico, violates in any way the rights of the padres de familia. Nor does it attempt to establish doctrines which are foreign to the idiosyncracies of our people.

As educators, and as padres de familia also, conscious of our obligations, we would be the first to obstruct any attempt to carry to fruition educational procedures which would be detrimental to Mexican youth. We affirm, categorically, that the false alarm which is being made here has no reason for being. It does not obey neither technical nor scientific reasoning, but it is merely a politically motivated act. The Gobierno Federal and the Gobiernos de los Estados are undertaking, in these moments, a gigantic effort to push our culture to the most extreme corners of our patria. Similarly, they are attempting not only to improve education quantitatively but also in quality. Public opinion should not be misled or surprised by the unfounded rumors which are insinuating that [the government] is attempting to take away the rights of the parents in the education of their sons. This is beyond discussion.

What is happening is that vested interests, under the pretext of defending the interests of the Mexican home, are attempting to sow seeds of discord and alarm, impeding, thereby, the tranquility which is so beneficial to the progress of our poor.

There is nothing in the new programs which signifies the imposition of doctrines foreign to our history. On the contrary, the new curriculum is inspired in the postulates of our Revolucion Mexicana.

The new programs follow the desire [of our government] to make our form of education superior in accordance with advances in science, in technology, and in the democratic social organization of our days. They tend to foment in the student initiative and the spirit of cooperation. They respect the personality of the child and they are based on a better understanding of a child's characteristics and interests.

The principles that inspire the new methods and curriculum are the products of contemporary pedagogical experience, and they coincide with the most advance ideas of Mexican educators. They respond to the ideals and the realities of our patria which requires active, capable, responsible and consciencious citizens who will identify with the destiny of our Nation.

The Gobierno Nacional has, with audacity and patriotism, undertaken to overcome the great and secular problem of providing textbooks to all children; and they have distributed to this moment millions of free textbooks to children throughout the Republica. Works that have been scrupulously written to follow closely the latest scientific knowledge and [that are] inspired by the most elevated human values known; they also foster love of our fatherland, our history and our idiosyncracies. This gigantic business of the present Regimen has brought an end to the anarchy in the textbook industry and has removed the profit motive from education. It has established an educational media that is scientific, moral and patriotic.

The value of the new program is not that it provides a new orientation to education, because in fact the educational orientation of our nation has been defined in our Carta Magna. The value is in that it provides an accurate and impartial interpretation of Mexican life, and it regroups the material in such a way as to stimulate the child's learning.

The new program of education reduces neither the right nor the obligation of the padres de familia as regards to the education of their children. On the contrary it will tie together more completely the teachers and the parents in the task of educating the child.

The methodology of the new programs follows the evolution in the science of education which has, as in all other areas of human knowledge, grown significantly. It is unheard of for society to refuse to introduce new machinery in industry or agriculture when modern technology proves its efficiency. It is inhuman to disturb the use of modern technology medical knowledge. It is unfortunate if the schools are not permitted to introduce modern methodology and are compelled to continue using anachronistic techniques, because by it the child is limited physically, morally as well as intellectually in his development.

Similar to the right bestowed on the medical authorities who work to overcome sickness, the lawyer in the areas of jurisprudence, to the agronomist as regards to the best methods to achieve greater productivity of the land, it is for the technicians in the theory and practice of education who are competent, basing their decisions on the latest advances in biological study, in psychology, in sociology, and in philosophy of education, to develop the best possible curriculum and methodology which is then carried out in the name of society and the padres de familia.

Education is a science, and as such, it evolves with the growing understanding and changes that are found in society. The modifications made are designed to bring theory and practice closer to the realities of Mexican life.

It has long been used in nations known for democracy and advanced liberal concepts. The new approach should not be reproached by those who do not know the science and practice of education; and even less should it be rejected because of extraneous political motives. The purpose of the reforms is to help the child become a better Mexican.

The Magisterio de Nuevo Leon supports the educational reforms undertaken by the Gobierno Federal and that of the Estado de Nuevo Leon which are designed to improve the education given to Mexican youth.

Finally, permit us to ask the padres de familia to reflect on the nature of the problem, with their high ideal and flaming patriotism, and search out the bases for the problems poised [by the organizers of the Manifestacion]. Then, we would hope that they would join us to work for the progress of our nation. For without working together only harm and negative results can ensue.

The percipitators of this sterile and artificial agitation, motivated by other reasons, know full well that it is they who must bear all the responsibility for the consequences which may result by interrupting the rhythm of labor which the Regimen has, as an irrevokable

decision, undertaken. It has undertaken in this manner the attempt to satisfy the great [educational] needs of the people.

Monterrey, N.L. 10 Febrero de 1962

COMITE EJECUTIVO DE LA SECCION XXIII DEL S. N. T. E.

Secretario General	Secretario de Organizacion
Profr. G. E. Leal Roacha	Profr. D. Pena Cantu
Secretaria de Finanzas	Secretario de Pensiones y Jub.
Profr. F. Garza Pena	Profra. L. Villarreal Cirilo
Secretario de Trabajo y Conf.	Secretario de Accion Social
Profr. J. M. Garza H.	Profr. F. Alvarado
Secretario de Relaciones	Oficial Mayor
Profr. B. Montemayor	Profr. D. Martinez L.

COMITE EJECUTIVO DE LA SECCION XLIII DEL S. N. T. E.

Secretario General	Secretario de Trabajo y Conf.
Profr. Ramon Salinas E.	Profr. Jesus Iruegas Zavala
Secretario de Fom. de Construc.	Secretario de Relaciones
Profr. J. R. Escamilla	Profr. G. Fuentes G.
Secretario de Acc. Educativa	Secretario de Organizacion
Profr. Santos Noe Rodriguez	Profr. V. Cantu
Secretario de Acc Social	Secretaria de Finanzas
Profr. G. Cuellar	Profra. A. Gonzalez T. 28
Secretario de Ac. y Acuerdos	
Profr. J. B. Palau	

On Thursday, February 1, El Norte devoted the front page of its section "B" to a half page picture of another demonstration held in Monterrey on the 5 February 1936, when 50,000 fathers and mothers marched on the governor's palace in protest of an apparent communist infiltration in the State government.²⁹ On the same page there also appeared a press release from the governor, Lic. Eduardo Livas V.

²⁸ Ibid., C-6.

²⁹ El Norte, February 2, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

asking the people to remain calm and that the demonstrators remain within the law.³⁰

Thus the stage was set for Friday, 2 February 1962.

³⁰Ibid., B-1.

CHAPTER V

FRIDAY, 2 FEBRUARY 1962

Background

The actual demonstration was the work of the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia, as were the preparation leading up to it. The local parents' organization, as well as the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia, decided to challenge the Secretaria de Educacion Publica and the federal and state governments on their decision to revamp the entire elementary school curriculum. This decision to demonstrate against the curriculum and the textbook was prompted by the general discontent of parents and educators in the private incorporated schools, who were concerned that the various governmental authorities were encroaching on their relatively independent status. However, parents of public school children also became alarmed at the nature of the reforms and joined in the demonstrations.

Mexico traditionally patterned its curriculum upon European models, particularly French, which provided a rigorous program of learning centered around subject matter. Successful students were well equipped to continue their education at the university level. However, the attrition

was extremely high.¹ The Mexican Secretaria de Educacion Publica, under the leadership of Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, decided to reorient the entire educational system after an extensive study which culminated in the Plan de Once Anos. Under the Plan the schools were instructed to play down the subject centered curriculum and emphasize the child and his needs.² As part of the new program the federal government began writing and publishing an integrated series of textbooks which were designed to do two things: establish a minimum standard of quality in the teaching materials, and to provide every child enrolled in school with free textbooks. The latter aspect was part of Presidente Adolfo Lopez Mateos's political platform before his election to the presidency. It was based upon the premise that many poor children do not enter, or soon drop out, because they cannot afford commercial textbooks.³ The paterfamilias, it should be pointed out from the outset, did not challenge the concept of a "free" textbook, rather that the government wrote it.⁴

The Union Nacional de Padres de Familia has, since its inception in 1917, challenged Articulo Tercero in the Constitucion Politica de 1917 which deals with education.

¹Interview with Prof. Timoteo Hernandez, March 15, 1966.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena, March 14, 1966.

Of particular concern to this organization was, and is, the anti-religious position taken by this document. The Union Nacional has steadfastly claimed that the state must play a secondary and supportive role to the family and other institutions in the education of children. They further accuse the national government of attempting to usurp the rights and responsibilities of man by not permitting him to make choices as to the kind of education he wishes for his children.⁵ Thus, there has been a continuing polemic between a government that has consistently minimized the role of religious institutions within education and a strong rather vocal group of parents who are attempting to restructure the schools according to their estimations of the realities of Mexican society.

The Anti-Textbook Demonstration

On Friday, February 2, 1962, all the industry, commerce and professional establishments in the City of Monterrey were closed by the owners, and the employees were told to meet at the Alameda Mariano Escobedo. Being a working day, employees were advised that their week's wages, including Friday, would be distributed after the projected giant anti-government rally.⁶

⁵Ramon Sanchez Medel, El Derecho de Educar en la Escuela (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Jus., 1963), 12.

⁶Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez, March 14, 1966.

Ing. Eliot Camarena and other members of the organizing committee took their places at the front of the throngs that began gathering long before the appointed departure time. At 10:00 A.M. sharp, even while more people were still arriving, the marchers began walking slowly towards the Governor's Palace thirty blocks away. The marchers moved in wide lines stretching from the walls of the buildings on one side of the street to the walls on the other. As the marchers moved on, more and more men and women followed in their steps carrying signs of: 'MEXICO SI! COMUNISMO NO!' and 'NUESTROS HIJOS NO SON DEL ESTADO.' Unabated by the heaviest rainfall in the history of the state men and women, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, walked arm in arm singing the Himno Nacional and shouting loud cheers to la patria, la familia, la iglesia (church) and the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia. Even as the leading elements of the demonstration were arriving at the Palacio others were just departing from the park. Soon the plaza in front of the state government building was filled with more than 30,000 people. Then the streets adjoining the capital became clogged, and a multitude of persons spread as far as the eye could see were jammed along the parade route.⁷

⁷ Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena, March 14, 1966.

Throughout the entire demonstration there was not one single incident reported of unseemly or delinquent conduct. Indeed, the tenor of the entire day was one of holiday which the rain and the masses of human bodies seemed to stimulate. This demonstration was perhaps the most significant civic act since the anti-communist demonstrations of 1936, and it was only exceeded in size by the 1957 holiday which was called by the governor to welcome the "little giants" back from their triumph in the Little World Series baseball tournament.⁸

The speeches were somewhat anti-climatic when compared with the 300,000 human beings who, by their presence, were protesting the imperious attitude of the civil authorities.⁹ The words spoken generally repeated the tenor of the previous days newspaper articles, as well as the banners carried by the marchers.

The speakers represented the various sectors of society in the traditional Mexican format of public demonstrations: a mother spoke first, followed by an industrial workers, then an industrialist, a leader of the political opposition, and finally, the coordinator of the Union Neoleonesa de

⁸ El Porvenir, February 3, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L.: Mexico: Editorial El Porvenir, XLIV, 17171), B-1.

⁹ Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena, March 14, 1966.

Padres de Familia. The "dialog between the governed and the governors" was closed with a statement by the Gobernador.

"Lolita" Landa, a Mother Speaks

Senora Dolores Garcia Tellez de Landa, the first speaker of the program, set the tone of the subsequent speeches in her eloquent defense of the rights of mothers over the education of their children. She said:

I come to this platform as a Mexican mother and from my mouth I express the sentiments of all mothers.

We have heard that we have the primary and natural right to educate our children. This for me is very easy to understand because on all sides I see maternity homes to which we, as mothers, go to give birth to our children. And I don't see on any side incubators belonging to the state. (applause and laughter)

On the other hand, and this is important to remember, the large majority of Mexican mothers dedicate ourselves, before God, to watch over the minds of our children. We, my husband and I, are the ones who have to give an account before our Creator, and how easy it would be for us, believe me, that the State would be the one that had to present its accounts before God. In the year 1961, Dear God, many were saved and many were condemned. (applause)

And on another side, they ask us to respect the educational authorities. And I am going to tell them, in my words as a mother, who lives with daily reality, when I wish to impose authority in my home, I have to first gain the confidence and the respect of my children. When I want to impose my will on the basis of threats and punishments, I will only create paper dolls and not true free men. (prolonged applause)

TEXTO EN QUE EL PADRE SE IGNORA (textbook in which the parent is ignored)

What makes me rebel against the system is that the parents were not taken into account before [the program] was imposed upon us. It is traditional that the Secretaria de Educacion Publica never listens to parents. . . never. I [have] just finished reading, precisely yesterday, a list of all the brilliant intellectuals that intervened in the writing of the Texto Unico and I know well, as a mother of a family, that the intellectuals can be brilliant but they live in an interior reality [which] is completely foreign to my reality of every day. And not one parent figured among them, [not one] entered with this group of brilliant intellectuals to develop the Texto Unico.

POR QUE NO EXPERIMENTAL EN ESCUELAS TIPO? (why don't they experiment in the model schools?)

We have come here to this demonstration, the Mexican women, with heart yes, but also with head. And we come also with the serenity and dignity which is given to us by the grand feeling of responsibility [for our children]. Because of this, Sr. Gobernador, we wish that you become the words of our motto which has sustained us for many years. The motto of the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia claims for us the natural and primary right to education of our children. [The motto] restores to the education of our children the elevated mission of forming whole men. And tell them [the educational authorities] the people of Monterey and Nuevo Leon are draped in the flag of the Union [Nacional de Padres de Familia] which is emblazoned with the motto: 'Por mi Deber y por mi Derecho' (for my obligation and for my right). (applause) Muchas gracias. (continued applause) 9

Alfredo Garza Duarte, A
Worker Speaks

Alfredo Garza, a worker, followed Senora de Landa to the rostrum. In an emotional speech he defended the home and the inalienable rights of the parents over the education of their children; he also reiterated his faith in God. He, as a worker, eulogized the role and importance of women, particularly as to their love and nurture in

⁹El Porvenir, February 3, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

creating a home. "Men, in turn, must sacrifice and devote their lives to providing for the home, so that within the harmonious family the children can be educated." Of particular importance was the emphasis Garza Duarte placed on the role of God in having given the parents "children and thereby obligating them to educate these children in the path of God." He also made one quote which brought an interesting response from the crowd. He began by quoting a poem which is quite popular amongst school children for declamation contests: "Mexico creo en ti, en tus campos, en tus industrias, en tus hombres," and then he said: "remembering the phrases of a grand patrician of the reform movement who said: el respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz" (respect for the rights of others assures peace). Before concluding this famous motto first uttered by Benito Juarez, a famous liberal president of the 19th century, there was an uproar of whistles and jeers of disapproval which stopped the speaker for almost half a minute.¹⁰ When Duarte was again able to speak he quickly concluded with a quotation taken from the Himno Nacional. In his final words he drew a parallel between the great fatherland (Patria) and the "small fatherland" which is Monterrey. The Patria is based upon "the

¹⁰ Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez, March 14, 1966.

work and love of men and women, and men and women are the ones who make it progress." He also emphasized that "we must love and adore our women because they know the secret of God." And finally, a question: "Are we going to permit without a fight the giving of our fatherlands to other ways of life? My friends, we must defend as men our way of life. And we must not cry afterwards." (applause)¹¹

Ing. Luis J. Prieto, A Member of
the Professional Class Speaks

Ing. (engineer) Luis J. Prieto was the next to speak. He declared in his speech, as summarized in El Provenir, that the "introduction of the texto unico into the educational system was a monstrous and totalitarian tendency on the part of the government. It was a monstrous threat to the dignity of the educational reform which is supposed to mold the conscience of the child and it is also incompatible with the foreign political posture of the Mexican government which reproaches communism abroad, and internally favors it." He also spoke of the rights of parents over their children, and the custody the parents had as to the education and the maintenance of the Christian principles which in the home the child receives. In concluding, he indicated that the purpose of the educational reforms was to re-direct the concept

¹¹ El Porvenir, February 3, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

of the dignity of the person, of the home, and of Mexican historical traditions.¹²

People of Monterrey! I congratulate you! We expected this of you, because if parents don't know how to walk over the water and over the inclement weather of the times, less could they march over the craggy trail of the conquest of their rights as parents. The heart is filled with joy and the spirit becomes gigantic before the plebiscite of fathers and mothers, who with their presences come to affirm in this rotunda in a definite manner that the right to educate children corresponds only and exclusively to the parents and not to the state.

This demonstration also confirms that if on other occasions and under other circumstances we have been apathetic, egoistic, or timid cowards in defending our rights, on this occasion and always when [the problem] is about the rights of parents and in the defense of our sons, we will be here present. And this [is] because we understand our sublime mission as parents; we know that man is composed of matter and of spirit, with a dignity granted by the same God and with a transcendent destiny through which our mission as parents is not only procreation but also education of [our] children. It is not necessary to mold bodies [but] it is necessary to form the spiritual conscience and will [of children].

HORA CRUCIAL EN LA HISTORIA (crucial hour in history)

It is true that the State has the obligation to promote then facilitate education, but never, never, should they [the governors] pass on top of our rights, trying to supplant them, and even less [trying] to suppress them. In the face of this problem which occupies us, when [we find ourselves] in this crucial hour of our history, the result will be the definite triumph, at any cost, in order to hold on high our dignity, and our sovereignty. [If we do not triumph] the family will be destroyed and the dignity and the grandeur of the Patria [as well] because the texto unico and the sistema unica (unitary curriculum) are totalitarian; because the desire to make uniform thinking through education signifies that the democratic government is [being] transformed into a dictatorship, and if the Estado does it without knowing, without understanding

¹² Ibid., B-1.

this pathetic act, [they] manifest [their] ignorance. But if they do it in full conscience, then it is a wicked abomination and it is a treachery to the principles of liberty of our people.

CONDUCTA INTERIOR (internal conduct)

Only a few days ago, Senor Tello, our Chancellor at the O.E.A. (Organizacion de Estados Americanos/Organiza-tion of American States) sustained the thesis of self-determination of peoples, and what difference is there, senors y senoras, in that which we are asking for? Namely, the right of self-determination by parents to educate our children in accordance with our just principles and preferences. Or is it, perhaps that the foreign policy [of our nation] is one, [and] diametrically opposed to what applies in the interior of the Patria. The same Senor Tello, in his discourse at the O.E.A. [meeting at Punta del Este] said, 'The Estado does not pretend at all to invade that which through the milenium of occidental cultural tradition has been considered the dominion reserved for man.'

INCOMPATIBILIDAD DE DOCTRINAS (incompatibility of doctrines)

That is, the intimate, esthetic, intellectual, religious and familiar [aspect] of that marvelous and supreme center of auto-determination which is the human person. And is it not at the moment when the Estado invades [education] that it trips over our rights as parents? And in case we, in this moment all parents, are consciencious of this crucial hour, and [at the same time] supported in the thesis espoused by el Senor Tello, we sustain that the education of our children is an unrenouncable obligation and an unalienable right of parents and never, never [will we] haltingly renounce this right. We sustain, and will [continue to] sustain that all the school and educational monopoly is illicit; even more, when they physically and morally force the family to become a part of a school [system] contrary to the will of their conscience and of their ligitimate defense and preference.

Senores, our unquietness is just and it is understandable, because in the minds of all parents there is [concern] as to the imposition of a system of education, without warning, without asking opinions, and almost it can be said, with considerable coercion of the schools. The question is why: Why did they [the government] rush to impose this program? Would it not, by chance, be of more benefit for the people that those millions of pesos that are spent periodically to exalt the personalities of some people be invested [better] in the schools, and also to pay the teachers whose work as collaborators with the parents [in the education of the children] has not been recognized.

CONTRA EL TEXTO UNICO (against the government textbook)

And, of course, those unquieted [feelings] are even more [serious] when the texto unico is supported by persons foreign to the thought and feeling of the people.

And that unsettledness is even more grave because of the closeness in both time and space of the sad and painful lesson of a beloved and brother people [of Cuba] whose children were turned over to the Estado. Their educational system was based upon a texto unico with a single source of information and a single ideology; of course, our unquieted and anguished [concerns] are comprehensible and justified.

HOMBRES PARA CADA EPOCA (men for each age)

Senores padres de familia, if we analyze history, we will find that God has given humanity the men necessary for the times, and in these anguished moments we must meditate whether we are not the men of the times. As parents are we not prepared to make a total effort and a total self-denial in order to defend the sovereignty of the family in this solemn and transcendental moment; and I ask you, senores padres de familia, and I expect your clamorous answer: Are you prepared to fight and work to defend the education of your children? (SI roared the crowd) Are you disposed to defend the right to choose the education you want for your children? (si) Do you promise to safeguard the dignity and sovereignty of the Patria by educating your children upright? (SI) Dios (God) and the Patria are witnesses of this solemn promise and we will fulfill it. If we fulfill it as

parents, in addition to defending the rights that we have as parents, we are also giving our children an illuminated inheritance and a non-erasable example to remember. We will receive as recompense the affection, the gratitude, and the respect of the generations to come. We will get the imperishable kiss of the Patria and the crown of justice which God bestows on the great and generous spirits. . . VIVA MEXICO! VIVA ¹³ (applause)

Rafael Alonso y Prieto, A
Political Leader Speaks

Rafael Alonso y Prieto's speech was, to quote a summary article published in El Porvenir, "perhaps the most aggressive and forward of all the speeches given during the demonstration." It was by one of the most vigorous leaders of the Mexican opposition. He challenged the right of the government to decide the type of education a child should have, or what was best for a child. Particularly when considerations as to the growth and development of the whole child was concerned. He drew a parallel with the Mexican government's consistent position that it, the government could not teach one form of worship, or one set of dogma, or one interpretation of God. He said that nobody could indicate the route to be followed in developing a Christian conscience, and that Christians had the responsibility to defend their right to choose their own path, and that they should fight for that right whether they be in the trenches or in the streets.¹⁴

¹³ Ibid., B-1, 10.

¹⁴ Ibid., B-1, 11.

Pueblo de Monterrey!

I come to this tribunal and to these microphones solely to comply with an obligation previously made with the people of Nuevo Leon. Because after listening to the valiant and generous words of Lolita Landa, for us men there is nothing left to do but be counted as present.

And before saying that I have to say as regards to this reunion, I wish to express publicly our admiration, our devotion, our enthusiasm, for these glorious Mexican women of which Lolita Landa is an example. Lolita, receive from this generous population of Monterrey, and through you all our Mexican mothers receive, our admiration and our respect. These are the mothers heroic!

Padres de familia de Monterrey: It is necessary to make precise and summarize the points of the questions which have brought us to this plaza, under the sun and the rain of Monterrey, stepping in puddles of water and with the heart afire with enthusiasm. It is necessary to make precise the points of the question because [they] have attempted to twist and divert them along other paths. Even today, this morning, in the press of Monterrey there appeared an insertion paid for by some textile union leaders who attributed to this generous multitude, to all these padres de familia of Monterrey, as being the instruments of bastard interests. If such [a statement] was not tragic, it would be comical. All these people of Monterrey sold! All these people of Monterrey being used for unconfessed political interests! Senores, I appreciate the people of Monterrey too much to contest these vile charges.

UNA BUROCRACIA EN LA RECTORIA (a bureaucracy in the rectory)

And senores, the problem is only one. Do the padres de familia have the right, and are the authorities going to recognize our primary right, to decide the type of education to be given to our children. Or will the bureaucrats of the Secretaria de Educacion Publica and the Direccion de Ensenanza del Estado be the ones who will decide how our children are to be educated. These are simply the alternatives which are presented [to us] and it clearly shows the ground on which this question is planted. Permit me to refer to only one group of elements.

First, they attempted to obtain a signed affirmation by a group of directors of schools which included something of everything: to frighten, to disorient, and to make accomplices, all those who affirmed that in the texto unico and in the methods [of instruction] there was nothing contrary to the traditional morality of the Mexican people.

UN METHODO FOR IMPOSICION (a methodology by imposition)

But the problem is not that. The problem isn't if there is or is not anything contrary to our mode of being in that method [of instruction] or in those textbooks. That problem will come later. The problem is whether, good or bad, crooked or straight [they] want to impose them [books and program] by force. They want us to think, on their word of honor and nothing more than their word of honor, that the books have nothing contrary to our traditions and our way of being.

And later, signed by the Sindicatos de Enseñanza there appeared an insertion in the daily papers of which two sentences are of interest. The first reads: 'The public opinion should not be surprised by the unfounded rumors in which [the state] is supposed to be taking away the rights of parents to educate their children.' The article goes on to say that 'this is beyond discussion.' Then further down in the same insertion it says (in language that is no guarantee of their pedagogical capacity) the following: 'It is for the techniques of educational theory and practice to competently select the methodological innovations with which they [the teachers] will professionally use in the name of society and the padres de familia!'

This [statement] put in common ordinary Castilian actually says: the right of the padres de familia is not under discussion: but since you all are a bunch of uneducated [people] it is for us, the bureaucrats, the ones who know more, to decide and say how your children are going to be educated. And later, in the same paragraph, they tell us that this practice is similar to the pedagogical experience of the most advanced democratic and liberal nations, without mentioning which [ones they were referring to) probably Poland, Hungary, Checoslovakia, and Soviet China.

NADA ESTERIL, UN PUEBLO RESPONSABLE (nothing sterile, a responsible people)

This is the point of the discussion, neither political interests nor rebellion [are involved] today. We are a people conscious of our rights and respectful of our authorities. The problem, senor Gobernador del Estado, the problem is essentially and simply [the difference] between two different theories: one is the theory that supports the premise that the authorities, the men who are accidentally in power, have the faculty to decide and impose their decision on the entire population. This theory, Senor Gobernador, is not revolutionary. It is the most reactionary theory known to man. It supported the phareohs of Egypt when they forced thousands of slaves to build their pyramids; it supported the Assyran satraps when they constructed the vasting hanging gardens of Babylonia; and it supported the nefarious Spanish Monarchy when they ordered proclaimed throughout Colonia (the New World) that their subjects had been born to be quiet and obey.

DECISIONES DE LA TECNICA Y LA MORALIDAD (decisions on the technology and the morality).

And the other [theory], Senor Gobernador, is the principle which has been fought and bled for. The principle that it is right that things which are actually of a technical nature, such as the construction of highways or the assessing of property, or the construction of a dam, be done by those who are the authorities [in these matters] and who have the right to make the decisions. But in that which belongs to the Founder and is essential for all, that is, in the matter in which we adore our God, in the manner in which we maintain our liberty, in the manner in which we educate our children, it is for us, not ourselves assuming a collective right, but all, each one of these people [from] the poorest, the most modest, and the most ignorant of all, [it is he] that has the fundamental right to decide according to his own conscience, which is the road that his children should follow.

LA DISYUNTIVA ES LIBERTAD O MUERTE (the disjunctive is liberty or death)

Senor Gobernador, Senor Presidente Municipal, you have before you this generous people of Mexico, you have in front of you the best people in the world. I believe that never in the history of the Patria has there been presented to the authorities a crossroads

this glorious and full of promise as is presented to you [today]. You can, through this crossroads of history, gentlemen, become the leaders and flag-draped paladins of a people who are disposed to advance with you decidedly and firmly into history. Mexico is disposed to fight against misery, and the oppression and the ignorance and the tyranny. Mexico knows that it must forcefully remove all these sicknesses from the Patria, and we will not falter in the effort nor be fearful of the sacrifices. The authorities of the nation can be paladins and flagdraped in this cause if they want to be so; but they can choose and also be hangmen of the people, [a people] who would rather die in the trenches and in the streets defending the right of their liberty. The choice is in your hands. The people have made their choice. You all, the authorities of the country, if you are true to the international obligations which have been assumed [by the nation], if you are true to the traditions of the people, [you] can pass into history with the glorious aurora of the national heralds.

This is, Senor Gobernador, the definitive plan which this multitude has come before your presence to state, and for us, padres de familia regiomontanos, I wish to finish with only two viabrant stanzas of our Himno Nacional which are habitually sung, and have ceased to be just part of a song but one of the most profound expressions of our sentiments towards Mexico: "Antes, Patria, que enermes tus hijos bajo el yugo su cuello dobleguen, sus campanas con sangre se rieguen, sobre sangre se estampe su pie." "Y sus templos, palacios y torres, se derrumben con horrido estruendo y sus ruinas existan diciendo: de mil heroes la Patria aqui fue." (applause)¹⁵

Ing. Eliot Camarena, The Coordinator
of the Demonstration Speaks

Ing. Eliot Camarena, the coordinator of the demonstration for the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia, spoke to the marchers explaining that

¹⁵Ibid., B-1, 10.

the Union was currently requesting legal status from the state government which would permit it to function as a non-profit, cultural institution, and thereby be able to serve the interests of parents better. Along the same, it was being formally affiliated with the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia, gaining strength from them and providing them with additional strength in their national struggle against the imposition of a type of education not in keeping with the traditions of the Mexican family.¹⁶

Lic. (Lawyer) Eduardo Livas Villarreal,
Gobernador del Estado Libre y Soberano
de Nuevo Leon Replies

At the end of the Eliot Camarena short speech the rostrum fell silent. Three hundred thousand pairs of eyes that had been focused upon the leaders of the demonstration turned until they were gazing upon the center balcony of the governor's palace situated across the plaza from the bunting draped speakers' stand. The mass of people were hurriedly talking amongst themselves in speculation as to what the governor would say. There were piercing jeers from scattered hecklers. The Governor, Ramos Losano Secretario de Gobierno, and Gonzalez Saenz Presidente Municipal stood together on the balcony.

¹⁶Ibid., B-1, 11.

Livas' reply, hardly audible above the hostile noises emanating from the plaza, was brief. Using the government's own microphone loud speaker system which crackled and wavered, he said that he too was born in a maternity, as were his children, and not in state owned incubators. He began lecturing the crowd, according to the newspaper El Norte, on their civic responsibility, but his words were quickly lost in the hoots and cat calls which persisted. The rest of the speech, except for the final sentences, was not heard.¹⁷

The speech was, in fact, an amiable attempt to answer the charges made by the speakers without committing himself to any change in official attitude. He praised them for their orderly conduct, assured them that there was nothing detrimental to their best interest in the program, offered to take their complaints to the authorities while at the same time declaring that the sovereignty of the Estado Libre y Soberano de Nuevo Leon was not being transgressed, and finally, he announced that a round table conference would be called immediately so that the points of view of both sides could be frankly and openly discussed. He closed his speech with a firm pledge that his government would never be taken by element foreign to the best interests of the Estado.¹⁸

¹⁷ Interview with Abelardo Leal, Jr., September 12, 1965.

¹⁸ Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez, September 13, 1965.

In his reply to the speech by the Gobernador, Lic. Luis Santos de la Garza thanked him for his presence. Santos said that this confrontation between the governor and the governed gave the demonstration the characteristics of a democracy, since it permitted a dialogue directly between them. He added that the Gobernador could count on their support as he took their case to higher authorities, and that it was up to him to carry the issue as far as he wished.¹⁹ Since Santos de la Garza was speaking extra-programa the governor and his entourage departed as he began:

Senor licenciado Eduardo Livas Villarreal, I will take just a few minutes more of your time! Senor licenciado Livas. . .²⁰

Santos spoke to an empty balcony.

Agradecimiento: A Printed Thank You

The following day the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleoesa de Padres de Familia purchased a half-page ad in the major newspapers thanking the people of Monterrey for their support. The printed statement read:

¹⁹El Norte, February 3, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de La Vega, XXIV, 8460), B-1.

²⁰Ibid., B-1.

A G R A D E C I M I E N T O

We wish to express our sincere appreciation to all the persons that in one way or another assisted in the realization of the great demonstration of padres de familia which was held to reaffirm the right of the parents to educate their children in accordance with their convictions and customs and in repudiation of clearly communistic systems.

To the nuevoleonesa mother who with her presence gave an insuperable proof of her civic mindedness and of her love for her children and her family.

To the State Authorities who, not being able to avoid the demonstration, gave us guarantees that were our right in order to avoid shameful acts by irresponsible people.

And ultimately to the generous town of Monterrey, that knew how to respond once more with gallant forcefulness and decision to the completely loyal and honorable call that we made, joining despite the downpour of rain, in a grand civic act in which was manifest the unity and the excellence of this community to which is owed the greatness of Monterrey.

Because of the naturalness and transcendent quality of the meeting we believe that this demonstration is just the beginning in the indefinite fight which we must pursue in order to defend our children from the many times that they appear to be threatened by the bad Mexicans who hope to import foreign ideologies that are far from our traditions of a free country that loves peace and justice.

Monterrey, N.L. a 4 de Febrero de 1962

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES DE FAMILIA²¹

On a separate page the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia purchased additional space to reproduce an advertisement

²¹El Porvenir, February 3, 1962 op. cit., B-6.

that originally was published in the Mexico, D.F. newspaper Excelsior. In the ad this organization attempted to provide a background to the crisis. The published essay read:

COMUNISMO EN LA ENSEÑANZA

Deep preoccupation and general inconformity has taken place amongst the parents of school age children in the City of Monterrey at the bad and totalitarian educational policies pursued by the Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo Leon led by the team of philo-communist colaboradores, headed by Professor Humberto Ramos Lozano, Secretario de Gobierno.

Whatever nation that claims abroad of having a representative democracy and respecting the fundamental rights of man--as our country has just done at Punta del Este--should internally recognize that the education of children is a natural, primary and inalienable right of the parents and, only as delegated by the parents, the teachers; and that the State's responsibility is that of being protectory, supplementary and complementary, in accord with Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed without reservation by Mexico: 'The parents have the preferred right to choose the type of education which is to be given to their children.'

In opposition of said rights, and even of our own Constitution de 1917 and secondary laws--as the Mexican bar association reported on July 29, 1960--the government has been imposing on the primary schools of the nation the obligatory and exclusive use of the texto unico whose content contains grave and numerous pedagogic errors that have been pointed out by more than two hundred full-time teachers in the government schools. They published a statement on August 24, 1960 criticizing the introduction of the textbooks and the new curriculum. The texto unico teaches all Mexican children dogmatically and exclusively the 'official truth' that is presented in the text.

That is the way things are, without taking into account absolutely at all the parents of school age children--since they were not informed, nor consulted, and even less granted the opportunity to choose in an affair so vital to the education of their own children. The

government of the State of Nuevo Leon has just imposed by force, in all the schools of Monterrey, a new educational curriculum at the primary level which has not only sown actual anarchy, due to their differences with the new methods of teaching adopted in the texto unico y obligatorio, but also that, through the curricular approach of areas de conocimiento (core curriculum), the educational authorities tend to orient the pupils towards the Marxist ideology of the authors: professors Mario Aguilera Dorantes, Celerino Cano Palacios y Humberto Ramos Lozano. This system of education exists and has been developed amply in Russia, from whence it passed to Cuba, and from there it has arrived in our country.

In order that this new program of study might succeed, the Director General de Educacion de Nuevo Leon, has ordered that all classes be suspended in the primary schools and that the teachers be brought together in order to receive indoctrination in accordance with the new system of teaching, and that the full-time teachers and technical personnel of the private schools can no longer be named by them [the private schools], but must only be proposed to the state [which will then approve or disapprove].

Similar attempts to remove the rights of the parents in Monterrey has provoked their justified indignation and has moved them to organize today (February 2, 1962) a popular demonstration repudiating totally the ideology and methods that the local government is attempting to impose upon them.

The parents of school age children that have organized throughout the country, join in this grand movement of protest, which is attempting to secure within our country the international declarations and commitments made by Mexico.

Mexico, D.F. a 2 Febrero de 1962

UNION NACIONAL DE PADRES DE FAMILIA

Lic. Ramon Sanchez Medal, Presidente
Ramon Dibildox, Secretario

Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Aguascalientes
Federacion de Asociaciones de Padres de Familia de
Colegios del Distrito Federal
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Jalisco
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Nayarit
Federacion de Sociedades de Padres de Familia del Estado
de Puebla
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Chihuahua
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Yucatan
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Guanajuato
Union de Padres de Familia de Tlaxcala
Union de Padres de Familia del Estado de Colima
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Michoacan
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Oaxaca
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Queretaro
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de San Luis Potosi
Union Estatal de Padres de Familia de Durango

(Tomado de 'Excelsior') ²²

²²Ibid., B-8.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEWSPAPER WAR

Background

On February 4, 1962, El Porvenir ran a quarter page notice issued by the government of the Estado de Nuevo Leon inviting the general public to civic ceremonies which were to be held the following day commemorating the Constitucion de 1857 and that of 1917.¹ During the program the Gobernador Constitucional del Estado, the legislative and judicial authorities, the Presidente Municipal, and the Comandante of the 7a. Zona Militar would mount guards of honor at the monuments of Benito Juarez, one of the authors of the constitution (1857), and Venestuario Carranza, Primer Jefe de las Fuerzas Constitucionales who, upon gaining possession of Mexico's government ordered the writing of the Constitucion de 1917. Both presidents and both constitutions are considered liberal and anti-clerical. The Constitucion de 1857 is famous, or infamous, for having provided the legal basis for the nationalization of Catholic Church property,

¹El Porvenir, February 4, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L. Mexico: Editorial El Porvenir, XLIV, 17172), B-1.

the secularization of church schools, and the granting of religious and political liberty to all Mexicans--both Indian and white. Up until 1857, Mexico was a political state with a state church, the Roman Catholic Church, that had nominal control over the educational system. Indeed, much of the civil war that raged throughout the nation from Independence (1821) to the liberal victory of 1857 was caused by the conservative liberal struggle over education. Benito Juarez was ex-communicated for precipitating the schism between church and state.

The Constitucion de 1917 was drawn from the same mold and it reiterated the same separation of church and state, particularly in the field of education. Indeed, the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia was formed in Mexico, D.F. in 1917 to combat Articulo Tres Constitucional which stated in part that education was to be free, universal, and secular and that no clergy could teach. Their position then, as it has been ever since, was that the parents had the primary right to choose the type of education to be given their children and that the state could not dictate that all children were to receive a secular education when this was in conflict with the wishes of the parents. The Union Nacional de Padres de Familia believed that if the parents wished to give their children an education under the

auspices of a religious institution then they had the primary and natural right to do so.²

La Secretaria de Educacion Issues a Statement

As a reaction to a nationwide advertising campaign sponsored by the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Minister of Education, held a news conference in the capital. A summary of that conference was published in El Porvenir as front page news.

NEITHER THE COURSES OF STUDY NOR THE TEXTBOOKS ARE AGAINST DEMOCRACY: T. BODET

Mexico, 3 (AEE)--Neither the new primary curriculum nor the free textbooks diverge from the ideal principles found in Mexican democracy, affirmed the titular head of the Secretaria de Educacion in response to the demonstrations held in Monterrey yesterday, and which were under the auspices of the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia.

The minister of education said that he had not received any communication from the governor of the state [of Nuevo Leon] as regards to the demonstration, but nonetheless, [he] rejected "with major patriotic conviction" the accusations made against the free textbooks and the new curriculum.

It is sufficient to read the books--he said--in order to understand them, and our only desire is to contribute to the progress and the integration of all our citizens through one civic, practical and functional education in which the authentic values and interests of Mexico are taken into account.

²Interview with Ramon Sanchez Medal, Presidente de la Union Nacional de Padres de Familia during the crisis, March 12, 1966.

Torres Bodet concluded by saying: 'In this way the parents of school age children in both the capital and the states have understood it [our educational reform]; contrary to the demonstrators of Monterrey, they have requested the free textbooks, and have expressed their gratitude to the government that distributes these works and they given their comprehensive support to the curricular reforms.³

A Press Release From the Comision Nacional
de Libros de Texto Gratuitos

The following day, February 5, El Porvenir carried another front page article announcing the distribution of the free government textbooks to all schools in which Calendario "A" was in force. That is, the nation's capital and the states which have a mild summer climate. It was estimated that the Secretariat would distribute twenty-two million books during the 1962 school year. Sixty percent of the books published would go to schools in Calendario "A" and the rest to schools, including Nuevo Leon, in Calendario "B."⁴

The books, according to the article, were edited by the Comision Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuitos which was presided over by Martin Luis Guzman. It went on to say that

³El Porvenir, February 4, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

⁴El Porvenir, February 5, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

1962 would be the first year that textbooks and workbooks for the fifth and sixth grades would be included in the distribution, since the Comision had been in the past unable to find sufficient publishing houses to print the books.

The article concluded by describing the new competition which the Comision was holding amongst writers and educators for new textbooks. Over sixty authors had already expressed interest in preparing manuscripts, and the secretariat had announced that the winners would win cash prizes of \$75,000Ps. each. The total amount of money to be allocated for prizes exceeded several million pesos.⁵

National Editorial Comment on the Demonstration

In the nation's capital the leading newspapers carried lengthy editorials datelined February 5 discussing the demonstrations held in Monterrey. Their tenor was not one of alarm at the imposition by an autocratic state of a Marxist curriculum, rather it was one of concern as to the broader implications of the schism which was developing between the various sectors of the society, providing thereby a gentle reminder that Mexico had gone through one bloodbath

⁵Ibid., B-1.

in this century as a result of a schismatic situation and no one relished another such experience. Mexico's stability had been built on compromise and consensus and the opponents in the current crisis should return to this tenet of Mexican life.

The newspaper Novedades wrote:

REPERCUSSIONS OF PUNTA DEL ESTE

The resolutions adopted in the Conference of Chancellors at Punta del Este has had expected repercussions, but alarming nevertheless, in the countries whose Ministers of Foreign Relations abstained from voting in favor of excluding Cuba from membership in the OEA. The reactionary militarists in Argentina, the Christian Democratic Party of Ecuador, the forces of the right in Brazil have found, in the condemning of the Marxist-Stalinist regime of Cuba a magnificent pretext to foment a conservative-type campaign.

In Mexico, unfortunately, the same phenomenon has taken place. Since the purity of attitude assumed by our Chancellery did not leave a margin of question for the forces of reaction to attack them, and since there was considerable favorable public opinion towards the Mexican position--that no state has the right to pass judgment on what has happened in Cuba since states don't have jurisdiction over the affairs of other states and therefore have no foundation for applying sanctions--so they [the reactionary forces] searched for a pretext in order to foment a rightist movement. In no other way can the demonstration against the texto gratuito that took place in the city of Monterrey last Friday be understood.

Whoever has read the books in question would have to be convinced that they have absolutely nothing that smells of communism. Thus has declared Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, and thus have thousands and thousands of parents recognized who have with satisfaction and even with enthusiasm seen the effort made by the authorities to provide books to Mexican children.

UNDERCOVER INTEREST

But there is something more. The argument used by some of the orators in the tumultuous demonstration in Monterrey were identical to those which were employed in previously published by the consortium of industries which specialize in the publication of textbooks which at a great cost the primary school students throughout the nation were obliged to buy. It is natural that those who see the loss of their income, thanks to the books which the students receive at no cost to themselves, be disturbed; but it is not with that in order to defend their interests, they grab for help by declaring expediently that the rights of man are in danger. This position is lamentable since if there is anything that the government is doing that deserves applause it is precisely this work, which is not only economic.

The Secretaria de Educacion primary objective is to provide Mexican youth with a textbook that is both adequate and not a burden to his parents sparse resources.

But it appears that after the Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores condemned adequately the Castro regime, nothing seemed easier than to attack all that we wish to as deriving from or coinciding with Marxist-Leninism and, stamping it thus, rejecting all discussion. The truth is that the textbooks, contrary to the statements made by the self-styled representatives of the parents, are inspired by a liberal doctrine, clearly anti-totalitarian and tending to reaffirm the democratic principles of patriotism and peace between brothers and humanity, which is indeed the doctrine of Mexico.

In addition, since the primary schools are authorized to choose as supplementary books all those that they wish, in addition to the textbook which the government provides, in no way can it be thought that this is an arbitrary imposition of totalitarian doctrines and procedures.

Hopefully those parents who truly and positively search only for a better education for their children, do not get involved with a movement which is clearly political, which attempts to revive the ancient problem of Articulo Tercero Constitucional and will, if they continue, easily bring a reaction against them; that is, a leftist movement which can be ignited amongst certain groups of professors and students and thereby create difficulties for the nation, turning the situation into one analogous to those taking place in various parts of Hispanic America. [These countries] have become victims of disorder, tumults, and acts of terrorism, which will in turn cause reprisals which will destroy internal tranquility and place in danger the peace and the existence of authentic democratic regimes.⁶

The Excelsior also editorialized on the subject of the demonstrations:

THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN MONTERREY

In order to moderately censure certain methods of the Secretaria de Educacion Publica, and particularly the introduction of the so-called libro de texto unico there has just taken place the largest concentration of parents in the memory of that industrious city.

The reason that one hundred thousand regiomontanos congregated in the alameda 'Mariano Escobedo' was, according to what the orators told them [the crowd] the decision to protest against the dogmatism which was signified by the existence of only one school textbook, which will in practice exclude from the classroom the teaching of any other views which are not in agreement with the official truth contained in that book.

It should be pointed out, in the first place, that the SEP (Secretaria de Educacion Publica) does not call the educational material that it distributes amongst the children of Mexico as texto unico, rather it is called texto gratuito. It is imperative, then, to

⁶ El Porvenir, February 6, 1962 (XLIV, 17173), op. cit.

clarify and rectify this misunderstanding which exists amongst a considerable number of paterfamilias of the country, and which causes dangerous agitation in this moment in which the Continente seems to be the victim of synchronized efforts of subversion directed by extra-continental forces unhappy with our hemispheric policy.

The idea to distribute school material amongst the children of the country is generous and noble. The State is concerned, in the first place, without a doubt, with the large sectors of children whose parents are without the necessary resources to acquire them. Without a doubt, reason is with the parents of the Sultana del Norte [Monterrey], if they consider the imposition of an official text as a precedent for any future government to that of Presidente Lopez Mateos, which might not respect freedom of instruction and the rights of man, and another titular head of SEP that hasn't the care and the task of Doctor Torres Bodet, which might attempt to utilize the texto gratuito as an arm with which to attack the liberty of instruction.

On the other hand, the parents should consider the stimulus this will give qualified teachers when they realize that they can write their own textbooks, displacing those that currently exist or serving as supplements through which they will make viable the progress of education. They will gain the honorary recognition which will correspond to them, as well as obtain an increased income which they very much need.

Mexican society, on its part, should not judge as without reason our neutral education system, which does not permit the entrance of conflicting ideologies. This [neutrality] follows the proposition of respect for the liberty of the children who live in a pluralistic society; but society fears the force of power against the fundamental choices of liberty of conscience when the State does not have competition. It fears, also, the results of the psychological impossibility on the part of the teachers, the authors of the textbooks or the directors of the commission in charge of editing them [to remain neutral]. On the other hand, the neutrality of education automatically leaves the spiritual formation of the child in a vacuum. But a society cannot be founded on a vacuum; it cannot be without an ideological basis, a foundation of common base values.

Similarly Mexican society does not ignore that the vacuum resulting from the school vacuum cannot be filled through education in family situations subjected to tensions, misery and the lack of preparation. For this reason we applaud the decision of the parents to keep vigil over the school life of their children, to be interested in educational problems, to be concerned over the preparation and the quality of the textbooks and the teachers, and because they understand patriotism and morality and the virtues imparted in education. But in this affair they should act always well informed, always conscious that unfounded or inopportune agitation can be utilized by the enemies of Mexico to compromise the peace, the prosperity, and the well-being of the nation.

A third major newspaper, the Universal, wrote:

Last Friday, in the capital of the Estado de Nuevo Leon, there took place a demonstration in which more than one hundred and fifty thousand people participated, according to newspaper reports. The demonstration externalized the peoples' discontent with the educational reforms which the government is attempting to introduce into this northern federal entity. The demonstration was fortunately without disorderly incidents since both the government authorities and the demonstrators worked incessantly to avoid them.

As could be expected in these cases, the speakers made use of the spoken word in the Plaza de la Republica, in the name of the Union de Padres de Familia de Monterrey. They expressed their points of view in regards to the matter at hand, especially to the right which belongs to the progenitures to educate their vastigles and, for this reason, they claimed the right to approve or disapprove the system [of instruction and textbooks] which are going to be introduced.

On his part, the Gobernador del Estado, Lic. Eduardo Livas V., after listening to the spokesmen of the demonstration explained the educational program, recognized their right to hold a public assembly as they had,

⁷Ibid., B-3.

and then invited the parents to form a commission to study, together with representatives of the Secretaria de Educacion, the problem and in that way arrive at an adequate solution for the good of all.

The purpose of the Comision would be to exchange ideas and thereby erase misunderstandings between the governed and the governors. In this way cause to disappear the unsettled situation and the discontent that exists and which obstructs the march of public life.

We must accept as an incontrovertable fact that there is nothing so prejudicial and dangerous for a collectivity as the divorce between the authority and the people in question--whatever be their origin--that provoke divergencies in thought or in action, since all effort and even common purpose is lost in the sterility of discord.

Happily, both the people of Nuevo Leon and their authorities have offered the nation, through their actions, a magnificent example of the high civic spirit and the mutual respect which has exalted them, and which gives a clear idea of the social and cultural development to which we have arrived in the passing of time. Now the problems and the ideological differences are debated and discussed without taking recourse to aggressive behavior which in the final count merely ignites spirits and leaves tragic results.

Once more, with this formula found by the government of Nuevo Leon and their people--the referred to commission which will study the matter--there is a clear evidence of the well recognized political and social stability that we enjoy, after innumerable sacrifices and efforts which the entire Nation has worked to achieve. Above all else, we have the irrefutable obligation not only to conserve, but to refine and improve for the benefit of the present and tomorrow's patriots.

If this line of conduct had been followed on other occasions, how many unfortunate experiences of the past could have been avoided and what setbacks could we have been saved from in the ascendent march of our nation!

But in the final analysis the remedies of the wrongs of Mexico cannot be found in the past nor in the lamentations as to what could have been, but the solutions can be found in the present in which we live and in the immediate future.

It is for this reason that the way in which the crisis was handled in Monterrey is of great importance.

It is also important to discuss that that which has occurred could easily provoke a certain type of collective psychosis, which very simply could be taken advantage of by those whose object it is to provoke crisis and public intranquility for the advantage of their unconfessed interests. And this must be avoided at all costs. The country needs, now as never before, complete calm and peace in order that it can continue to forge its true grandeur and power.

It is very easy for saboteurs of peaceful national existence to exploit the respectable sentiments of the people and take the issue to the extreme; it is only necessary to remember the reproachable 'McCarthyism,' that veritable 'witch hunt' which our neighboring country to the north experienced. One in which all that resulted was an inheritance of hate and rancor mostly for the ridiculousness of its authors.

Never has disorder and unsettledness produced beneficial results, but usually to the contrary, it engenders violence and more violence, and along with it, the chaos and the human anguish which deteriorates social relationships and the harmonious living of the entire civilized community. For that reason, all those things that cause people to deviate from their course of normalcy are a detriment.

It is very true that we live under a regime of complete liberty; of expression, of gathering together, of thought, etc. etc., but there also exists the legal means to obtain satisfaction from that that is considered inappropriate or that which creates discontent. And this should not be forgotten, now that the public life of Mexico is developing and unfolding within a system of government based upon Human Rights and Justice.

It is within these terms that all the national sectors have an undeniable obligation: that of conserving the internal peace of the Nation and adjusting themselves to that which is established by laws even though they are

contrary to their thinking. [Also, they should] consciously or unconsciously support the public institutions, which are the pride of a people that have fought, only a little more than a half century ago, for their liberty and for their economic independence.⁸

Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion

The three aforesaid editorials published in the Mexican capital were reproduced by the Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion on February 6, 1962 in the leading newspapers of Monterrey. El Porvenir printed the editorials on a full page, and on the reverse side printed a half page announcement by the same organization calling the liberal and revolutionary forces of the state to a grand demonstration and meeting in defense of the constitution:

COMITE DE DEFENSA DE LA CONSTITUCION

In order that the liberal and revolutionary forces of the state present their points of view with respect to the affairs that have taken place during the recent and bad intentioned agitation provoked by the traditional enemies of the Revolucion Mexicana, the progressive sectors of Monterrey invite the people to a

GRAN MANIFESTATION Y MITIN

which will be celebrated next Sunday the 11th of this month, beginning at 10 A.M. The place of departure will be the alameda 'Mariano Escobedo'

MONTERREY, N. L. FEBRERO DE 1962

Presidente: Teniente coronel Medico Cirujano
Francisco Vela Gonzalez
Vice Presidente: Pablo Vazquez Ceballos

⁸Ibid., B-3.

Secretario: Dr. Rafael Garza Gonzalez
Pro-secretario: Dr. Jose Luis Salinas Rivero
Tesorero: Profra. Magdalena de la Fuente
Pro-tesorero: Profr. Antonio Gonzalez Trevino⁹

This ad hoc committee in defense of the Mexican constitution was a grouping of individuals hastily drawn together by Dr. Vela G. as representatives of those people who took exception to the anti-government orientation of the textbook demonstration.¹⁰ The choice of the name: "Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion" was made, according to Dr. Vela G.,¹¹ to clearly indicate what the issue really was between the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa and the liberal and progressive forces of Monterrey. The issue essentially focused on Articulo Tercero Constitucional which categorically excludes religious instruction and religious control of the schools. Although Articulo Tercero Constitucional has not been effectively enforced in the schools of the private sector, the anti-textbook demonstrations of February 2 was clearly a challenge by a segment of the populace as to the government's attempt to extend its control on private schools. Success by the "reactionary forces," Dr. Vela G. believed, would encourage them to seek to reintroduce the

⁹Ibid., B-4.

¹⁰Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez, March 14, 1966.

¹¹Ibid.

religious issue into the political and educational affairs of the nation.¹²

I believe that the liberal and progressive forces of Monterrey must continually be on guard against encroachment by the reactionary clerical minority which is continually attempting to undermine the institutional fabric of our nation. A fabric that has been carefully woven together since the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917.

I fought in that civil war to secure, forever, a clear separation between things political and things religious.

I organized the committee in an attempt to counterbalance the influence of the paterfamilias.¹³

The following day, February 7, a half-page announcement was published in the leading newspapers of Monterrey by groups supporting the Comité de Defensa de la Constitución which read:

COMITE DE DEFENSA DE LA CONSTITUCION

In order that the liberal and revolutionary forces of the Estado de Nuevo Leon present their points of view as regards to the affairs that have occurred in the recent and bad intentioned agitation provoked by the traditional enemies of the Revolución Mexicana, the progressive sectors of Monterrey are calling the people to the

GRAN DEMONSTRACION Y MITIN

that will be held next Sunday the 11th of this month, beginning at 10 o'clock at the alameda "Mariano Escobedo"

Monterrey, N. L.

Febrero de 1962

Federacion de Sociedades de Padres de Familia de Escuelas Oficiales y Particulares Liberales (federation of parents societies of government and private liberal schools)

¹² Ibid.

¹³ El Porvenir, February 7, 1962, op.cit.

Organizaciones de Trabajadores Revolucionarios (organizations of revolutionary workers).

Secciones 43 y 23 de Maestros del Estado y Federales (teachers unions #43 and #23 of federal and state schools).

Liga de Comunidades Agrarias del Estado (league of agrarian communities of the state).

Association de Egresados de las Escuelas Oficiales (Alumni association of government schools).

Gran Logia del Estado de Nuevo Leon (Grand Lodge [Scottish Rite] of the State of Nuevo Leon).

Comite Estatal del Partido Revolucionario Institucional (state committee of the political party PRI).

Delegacion Estatal de Veteranos de la Revolucion (state delegation of revolutionary veterans).

Sindicatos de Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado (state employees workers unions).

Federacion de Organizaciones Populares (C.N.O.P.) (federation of popular organizations [a wing of PRI])¹⁶

Livas Asks for Round Table Discussions
Between the Demonstrators and the Experts

On February 7, 1962 El Porvenir carried banner headlines saying:

LIVAS PROPONE QUE PADRES Y EXPERTOS EXAMINEN EL PLAN EDUCATIVO (Livas proposes that the parents and the experts examine the educational plan).

"The Complaint of the Parents Sent to Torres Bodet"

"Hopefully He Will Arrange a Conference in Which the Government Will Participate"

¹⁶Ibid., B-14.

The Gobernador del Estado communicated to the Ministro de Educacion, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, the objections made by the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia. He presented the educational position of the demonstration of the 2nd of February, and he urged that the Secretario send a technical commission in order to examine together with a group of individuals designated by the Union those aspects of the program to which they objected.

Lic. Livas spoke by telephone with the Ministro, and then sent Torres Bodet a letter with the salient points which had been made by the orators in the public assembly.

Similarly, with the idea of avoiding misunderstandings, none of the state government functionaries will intervene in these projected round-table discussions. The Gobernador appointed, as observers however, professors Ciro R. Cantu, Director of the Normal Superior, and Oziel Hinojosa, Inspector of the private incorporated schools of the state.

Upon announcing the above yesterday, Lic. Livas V. added that he had had the opportunity to greet licenciado Ernesto Enriquez, Sub-secretario de Educacion Publica, in Ciudad Victoria with whom he discussed the matter of the protest.

THE TECHNICIANS TO DISCUSS

The Gobernador also stated that no one was better equipped to discuss the educational aspects of the problem than the technicians of pedagogy, and in view of this he had asked Dr. Torres Bodet to designate a special commission which would meet with similar technicians named by the Union de Padres de Familia. The Gobernador concluded, by saying, that he momentarily expected the decision of Dr. Torres Bodet, and he would communicate the names of the technicians to the press as soon as possible.¹⁴

¹⁴ El Provenir, February 7, 1962 op. cit., B-3.

Comision Organizadora Protests Comite's
Newspaper Attacks

On the 8th of February the organizing commission of the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia issued a full page ad in the El Porvenir in response to the Mexico City newspaper editorials published by the Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion. With one inch boldface type across the top of the page the article began:

A LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA

Obliged because of the false commentary which interested sectors have circulated in grand profusion through flyers and newspaper publications, hoping to discredit--if not to misguide--the viril, respectful and austere protest of an entire people whose concerns erupted in the GRAN MANIFESTACION of Friday the 2nd of the present month, we wish to reaffirm our position in order that the parents and the people who chose to accompany us are certain that their civic act of such magnitude should not lose its luster with injuries or libertine attacks, because there are proofs which always speak for themselves.

We insist that this movement was not political nor was it involved with any political party. Neither does it [the movement] maintain relations nor connections of any kind with workers' or owners' organizations; but we do not deny that members from one and the other [group might have been involved]. [Members] who, in the field of education, feel that their rights or those of their children are being prejudiced associated with us in defense of their common interest. From there we emphatically declare that the reform of Articulo 123 of the Constitucion General de la Republica--as a charge that they [the Comite] maliciously attempt to mix here--is totally foreign to the objectives that brought the parents together. In no way does it have anything to do with our movement. The conflict resulted from a general problem and not one of a specific sector of society, and in no way does an individual's social class count in the composition of the demonstrators. All that

mattered was that parents, who have children, participated in this legitimate fight for the recovery and affirmation of our rights, which at the same time are our obligations, for the sake of our children.

In carrying out our demonstration we believed we were carrying out guarantees consecrated in our Constitution, and since that Manifestacion was carried out within the foremost order, respect, and discipline we are certain that we did not commit any violation to its principles or postulates, despite what might be said today in defense of it.

It is also unexplicable that they want to tie this authentic movement of parents, with the recent conference at Punta del Este. Public opinion realizes that our intranquillness and preoccupation was connected with the implanting of new educational systems which they "the government" attempted to impose, and this we did not do, rather the Direccion de Educacion del Estado [were the ones who precipitated the crisis]. Thus the problem has a real origin and its consequence cannot be fictitious, as they have attempted to present [to the public].

In summary, we proclaim once more that the objectives that we pursue are very simple and that they have permanent value in themselves, although malevolent interest opinion wish to misrepresent or divert us from our true origin.

I.--We declare and support the principle that the parents have original and preferred right to give their children the type of instruction that is most in keeping with their convictions and customs. The respect of this right is not a gracious act of the state, because it is concentrated in the international pacts which Mexico has subscribed and ratified in its Senate of the Republic.

II.--We are not in accord that through its systems, methods or books which it attempts to impose, that the State is considered, that is to say the Government, as the supreme maker of all that surrounds us, because these objectives are properly a part of totalitarian regimes which we Mexicans have repudiated in our Constitution. In addition, we do not believe that the Mexican State pretends to sustain such a criterion by virtue of its free distribution of textbooks, because apart from the fact that these books were purchased with money which we Mexicans paid as taxes, this sole circumstance is notoriously insufficient evidence to pretend to disown our democratic organization, wherein the Family and the Society occupy superior positions.

III.--Nor can we be in agreement, when they attempt to impose systems, methods or textbooks which carry the least Communist tendency. Our fear is well founded, because said systems, methods and texts have been structured by people that might very well have superior pedagogic capacity but whose communist ideology is undeniable. They are systems, methods and texts which are followed in Russia and which were used at the beginning of the educational reforms in Cuba, which lamentably degenerated into communism.

IV.--Because we oppose and will continue to oppose attempts to introduce educational systems used in totalitarian states, we don't believe we are conservatives. Rather we are [people] searching for and hoping for progress in the field of education, but progress structured over bases which use the classical methods of instruction. [A type of instruction] which to the great merit of Nuevo Leon was used by distinguished teachers such as one Miguel F. Martinez, one Serafin Pena, one Pablo Livas (the governor's father), one Macario Perez and many others whose memory we guard with great respect.

ATTENTIVELY

MONTERREY, N. L. THE 8th OF FEBRUARY OF 1962.

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES
DE FAMILIA¹⁵

La Federacion de Sociedades de Padres de
Familia Protestila Comision Organizadora

On the same day--8th--in the same paper--El Porvenir--on a different page the Federacion de Sociedades de Padres de Familia published a half-page statement directed toward the general public.

¹⁵El Porvenir, February 8, 1962, op. cit.

A LA OPINION PUBLICA

The undersigned, representing the authentic Societies of Parents of the Schools of Monterrey, have noticed with disgust the unprofitable agitation which, directed towards unconfessed ends, is being conducted by a group of people who utilize unfounded rumors in order to provoke an unsettled climate which breaks the rythm of constructive work of the regiomontanos and which affects, more than one thinks, various sectors of the community, but particularly the many children.

The same falseness of the rumors will cause them [the illegitimate group] to fall, since the truth never fails to open the way. We, who do indeed visit the Schools wherein our children study, have verified that the Official Schools and the Private Liberal Schools work in a plan of the highest and maintain the prestige of nuevoleonesa education.

We have noticed that the Federal Government, through the Secretaria de Educacion Publica and the Gobierno del Estado, are making great and successful efforts to improve the education of the community; that they have developed educational programs which began one year ago in the Federal District and in various political entities of the Republica; that they are particularly concerned with modifications to the methods of instruction, and they are attempting to introduce a more objective and efficient education for our youth. Finally, that they have earmarked many millions of pesos in order that our children have available to them free textbooks and workbooks. Even more, we personally have examined the content of the textbooks and programs, and we have validated the school work finding that in them there is an absolute respect for the dignity of the human, a firm tendency to maintain the family unit, a strengthening of the personality of the child in order to develop capable and prepared men.

Because of the above we declare:

1o.--We give our most complete support to the Gobierno Federal and to that of the Estado de Nuevo Leon, for the great drive that they are giving to Popular Education.

2o.--We affirm our satisfaction for the way in which the nuevoleonesa schools are operating, and we reiterate our confidence in the Federal and State teachers.

30.--We reject the disorienting agitation which the self-styled Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia is conducting.

40.--In order to compensate the teachers of Nuevo Leon and in support of the Gobierno Federal presided over by the C. Lic. Adolfo Lopez Mateos and that of the Gobierno Estatal headed by C. Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal, we invite all the Parents and the Organizations of Workers, Farmers, and the Popular Sectors to join in a GRAN MANIFESTACION which will take place next Sunday, the eleventh of this month, and that will begin in the Alameda 'Mariano Escobedo' at 10 o'clock in the morning.

PARENTS OF FAMILIES WE AWAIT YOU
Monterrey, N. L., 6 Febrero 1962

FEDERACION DE SOCIEDADES DE PADRES DE FAMILIA
Presidente: Pablo Vasquez Cefallos
Secretario de Actas: Maria Antonieta Martinez de V.
Tesorero: Arturo Leal Zamoral¹⁶

Secretary of Education Torres Bodet
Appoints Experts

As the preparations for the counter-demonstration were reaching their climax, the third phase of the story began. El Porvenir carried a front page, second section, two inch headline announcing the appointment by the Secretaria de Educacion of two experts who would be sent to Monterrey in order to discuss the educational reforms and the textbooks. The spokesmen made clear that the experts were going at the request of Gobernador Livas. The article went on the state that the governor had ordered his collaborators to remain

¹⁶Ibid., B-14.

outside the round-table discussion so that they would not influence either side. The discussions would, therefore, be essentially between the paterfamilias and representatives of the Secretaria de Educacion. The article concluded by saying that the governor had talked personally with Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet and had been advised by him that Professors Manuel Boneta Mendez and Enrique Garcia Gallegos were en route to Monterrey.¹⁷

News Releases

On the same page was a brief news release issued by the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia stating that the giant demonstration was being falsely accused of capitalizing on the Punta Del Este conference, and that it was also using the textbook issue to re-open the question of Articulo 123 of the Constitucion.¹⁸

In an adjacent column therewas a brief announcement from Mexico, D.F. stating that the Comision Nacional Tecnica de la Educacion para el Texto Gratuito was currently renovating its editorial facilities in order that new equipment and machinery could be installed. The purpose of the renovations was to permit their own agency to print all the textbooks and workbooks within their own facilities.

¹⁷Ibid., B-1.

¹⁸Ibid., B-1.

They estimate that twenty-two million books would be printed in 1962 and twenty-four million in 1963. Once the projected renovations have taken place, the article went on to say, the Comision would print up to twenty-eight million books each school year. The source of the information used for this news item was part of the annual report prepared by the Presidente of the Comision, Martin Luis Guzman. The article concluded by quoting a statistic from the report which stated that seventeen percent more children were able to be in school because of the free textbook program.¹⁹

Paterfamilias Refuse to Meet

Friday's headlines in El Porvenir (9 February 1962) were: NO HUBO JUNTA DE PEDAGOGOS; LOS PATERFAMILIAS FIJAN CONDICIONES (There wasn't a meeting of pedagogs; the paterfamilias fixed certain conditions before they would meet). The article stated that the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padre de Familia declined to meet with the experts from the Secretaria de Educacion until the governor of the state answered two basic questions:

¹⁹ Ibid., B-1.

10.--Does the State and the Federation recognize the inalienable rights of parents over their children and their right to give them the type of education which they wish within universally accepted principles which are also sanctioned by the Mexican Constitution?

20.--Will the government change its plans and its textbooks if they cannot demonstrate that they carry an implicit communist inclination?²⁰

Although the representatives of the Comision Organizadora declined to meet on Friday--as the article continued--the directors of the leading private incorporated schools were in attendance. The representatives of the Secretaria de Educacion invited these personages to submit questions in writing. All questions would be answered with a brief commentary then, and a written statement at a later date. After a brief interchange the meeting adjourned until the Comision Organizadora named representatives to meet with the experts. The second meeting was tentatively scheduled for the following Saturday, February 10.²¹

A Second Invitation is Extended to the Comision

The same edition of the paper carried a quarter page announcement by Professor Timoteo L. Hernandez, Director General de Educacion Estatal, and Professor Daniel Urencio

²⁰El Porvenir, February 9, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

²¹Ibid., B-1.

Ramirez, Director de Educacion Federal in the state, inviting the directors of the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia to a ROUND TABLE for the following Saturday.²²

Advertisements for and Against
the Texto Gratuito

In Section B, page twelve, the following announcement was printed as a half-page ad:

EL COMITE DE DEFENSA DE LA
CONSTITUCION

cordially invites all the social classes, lovers of progress and the forward advance of our community to the

GRAN MANIFESTACION Y MITIN

which will take place next Sunday the 11th of the present month at 10 o'clock. This act will have as its fundamental purpose the support of the educational plan of eleven years developed by the government presided over by Lic. Adolfo Lopez Mateos. A plan that is designed to eradicate ignorance and elevate the level of culture of the Mexican nation.

NOTE: Meeting Place will be the alameda 'Mariano Escobedo'

Monterrey, N.L. Febrero de 1962 23

On the same day the Comision Organizadora opened a two-pronged attack on both the Comite de Defensa and the Gobernador. The first was a small seven and a half by ten inch advertisement notifying the parents as follows:

²²Ibid., B-3.

²³Ibid., B-12.

A LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA

It has been brought to our knowledge that the government schools are attempting to obtain the support of the parents for the curriculum which is currently in interdict, and they [the government officials] are obligating them [the parents] to participate in a demonstration which is being organized for Sunday next. [School officials] are threatening the parents who don't participate with the expulsion of their children [from school].

WE WISH TO INFORM THE PARENTS THE FOLLOWING:

- I. The demonstration which is planned doesn't have anything to do with the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia.
- II. No one has the right to expell a student from a public school merely because his parents are not in agreement with the curriculum and textbooks which they [the educational authorities] wish to impose, even though they [the books] might be free.
- III. Our offices are at the disposal of all those parents who are experiencing pressure to participate in a demonstration with which they are not in sympathy; or if they see themselves threatened with the expulsion of their children.

ATTENTIVELY

Monterrey, N. L. a 9 de Febrero de 1962

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES
DE FAMILIA

OUR OFFICES ARE IN

CONDOMINIO ACERO
Front of the Plaza Zaragoza
Offices 861 and 817
Telephone 2-72-86 24

²⁴Ibid., B-6.

The second prong was a full-page open letter to the governor of the State of Nuevo Leon:

CARTA ABIERTA

Sr. Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal
Gobernador Constitucional del Estado
Presente:

Sr. Gobernador:

As regards to the introduction of the new curriculum and obligatory texts in the private and public schools of the state which the Direccion General de Educacion Estatal is attempting to impose, you have asked the Secretaria de Educacion Publica to send a Comision de Tecnicos in pedagogy to examine the program of study together with a Comision designated by this Union.

Also you have stated, according to the press, that your immediate collaborators must remain on the margin of the confrontation. You have designated as observers professors Ciro R. Cantu and Oziel Hinojosa, the first named being the Director of the Normal Superior School of the state and the second the Inspector of private incorporated schools.

As we understand it, the technicians which you requested from the City of Mexico are already here, and they called a meeting yesterday of all the directors of colegios incorporados.

You are justified in attempting to find a solution to this problem which your own government has created, since the governor's function is to listen to the governed and [then] find adequate solutions to collective problems, but the way this has been handled causes us to reflect thus:

I.--Our protests were justified if you must call for technicians from Mexico in order that they might explain the system of education and the textbooks. If you don't have adequately trained personnel here then how have they and are they teaching our children?

II.--Also, if this is an attempt by the Secretaria de Educacion to impose its curriculum, why doesn't the state [of Nuevo Leon] defend its sovereignty and develop its own system of instruction. One that has been developed by its own teachers and parents. Parents who have the right to give their children the kind of education that they consider suitable to their convictions and customs, even without being confessional. [An education] that is simply human and designed to make whole men and not adorers of communist materialism.

III.--Another point, what good does it serve when you order functionaries of the state to remain on the margin of the discussion, if those that the Secretaria sends are equally defenders of the curriculum and the texts?

IV.--Finally, we wish to point out that the preceding [comments] don't mean to say that we reject the problem or your [willingness] to discuss it; on the contrary, we are happy to accept the invitation and we will initiate the talks as soon as you answer the following questions:

PRIMERA: Does the Estado and the Federacion recognize the preferred right which parents have in determining their children's education. A right sanctioned under universally accepted principles and specifically sanctioned by the government of Mexico in its Constitucion?

SEGUNDA: Will the state change its curricular plans and texts, even abandon them if necessary, if they cannot demonstrate that such curricular plans and texts do not have a communist tendency?

Analyzing these questions we conclude:

I.--If you recognize the first, we are available to initiate the discussion and study;

II.--If you intend to impose the program, despite the objections made concerning its communist tendencies then all will be sterile, and it will remain the sacred right of the parents to continue defending our children from the imposition of a materialistic education which is in open war with our democratic system.

We await your answer, Senor Gobernador, in order to proceed with one of the two paths open to us.

ATTENTIVELY

Monterrey, N.L. a 9 de Febrero de 1962.

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES
DE FAMILIA²⁵

Parents Meetings in the Government Schools

On Friday night many of the public schools held meetings which their respective Sociedades de Padres de Familia invited functionaries from the Direccion de Educacion to explain the new curriculum and textbooks. The meetings were also open to the public for questions. According to the newspaper account published the following day there was a generally favorable response on the part of parents to the explanations made. Several schools voted to send telegrams of support to the governor. At the end of all the meetings the school officials invited the parents to participate in the Sunday demonstration. According to newsmen, at various meetings the chairmen studiously avoided bringing the question of support to a vote, so that parents would not be pressured into participating in the demonstrations.

²⁵Ibid., B-7.

The "Abelado L. Rodriguez" public school, located in Colonia Independencia--the poorest sector of the city--, provided a variation to the general pattern of parents' meetings. Although there was general acceptance of the new program there was considerable criticism of the excursions which formed a part of the lessons. Parents cited examples of children being taken to slaughter houses, maternities, and other places which would "undoubtedly pervert the imagination of a child." At the Rodriguez school a father took over the microphone on two occasions in order to denounce the school officials who allowed such a thing. He later called for the impeachment of the elected officials of the Sociedad de Padres de Familia charging them with being perverted themselves for allowing the school to take their children on such trips. He was unable to get parental support for his motion.²⁶

An Interview with Torres Bodet

In Mexico the Secretario de Educacion, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, was interviewed by reporters after his weekly Friday meeting with the Presidente de la Republica. Upon being

²⁶El Porvenir, February 10, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

asked about the agitation in Monterrey he replied: "The secretariat does not consider that it should defer the orderly progression of its work to answer at any moment the attacks and twisted statements made through the press of its own acts when there are clear legal paths open to all citizens."

The minister also stated that the free textbooks were developed in response to a social demand, and he affirmed that to date thirty-seven million copies of the textbooks had been distributed and soon another twenty-two million books would be in the hands of students.

Torres Bodet then asked the reporters: "How many of you know how to read have taken the opportunity to consider the textbooks? Well, then of which of all its pages is there some orientation which departs from the principles and the ideals of our democracy?" He then answered his own question: "These are works written within a positive attitude towards a patriotic union, without passion and without rancor. Thousands of parents have given their expressed approval."

He then went on to say that teachers can study and adopt supplementary books which will permit children whose parents can afford to buy them to have a more complete education and a more brilliant horizon in their world. "Nevertheless, I insist that the attitude [of the parents in the demonstration] does not justify the rejection of the

free textbooks." He continued, "It can be said, if the motives or pretexts of the attacks were valid, [then] the nation is already dead."

In an apparent response to the charges that the compulsory books were unconstitutional he said: "It has been said that the compulsory nature of the free textbooks is illegal. It is interesting [to note] that, over the years, the compulsory characteristics of authorized commercial texts has not been charged with the same illegality." He added, "In this respect it is well to remember that, in accordance with Artículo 103 Constitucional, it is up to the tribunals of the Federacion to decide whether an act violates or not the guarantees established by the constitution. [Anyone] can go to the Federal Tribunals in defense of the rights which they believe they have been violated."

The new curriculum, according to the minister, is the result of a study conducted by the Consejo Tecnico de la Educacion and it is not the work of any one teacher. The state educational agencies also participated in its formulation.

Dr. Torres Bodet said that it was imperative to reform the entire curriculum in order that education could be of a more practical nature, and meet the needs of the great mass of students who are dropping out of school.

Later in the interview then he affirmed that the new curriculum does not modify the fundamental orientation of Mexican education. "According to those precepts indicated by our constitution when it affirms that the education to be imparted by the Estado will be democratic and be designed to develop all the faculties of the human personality, and stimulate in him, in turn, a love for the Patria and a conscience for international solidarity, as well as independence and social justice."

The Secretario went on to describe the curriculum as a grouping of subjects, "according to the natural interests of the child: his health, his physical development, the need to understand the world which surrounds him, his growing possibilities and his need to collaborate in collective life, and the development of his interests in work and in the national culture." He continued by saying that each unit of study is planned by a committee of students which serves to prepare in each student "the moral formation of a future citizen, not merely a subject of the state but [rather] as a personality conscious of his rights, and no less conscious of his obligations to his family, his classroom, his school, his city, his nation and finally, to all his peers worldwide.

There was nothing in the program, according to Torres Bodet, that attempted to change the values of the people, instead it was a dedicated attempt "to search for the effective progress of the people."

He concluded by saying that if there were any concrete objections made in good faith concerning the program or the books, the Consejo Tecnico de la Educacion would carefully consider them. "The law points to paths by which parents can form organizations and express their views. The so-called 'Union Nacional de Padres de Familia' could and can express its view in writing for the [consideration] of the Consejo Nacional Tecnico and it has the right, obviously, to denounce the supposed constitutional violations of which it speaks. What it cannot do is attribute to itself [the role] of national spokesman of parents until it can validate that status with enabling documents which comply with the Ley Organica de la Educacion Publica, and which are required before a national confederation is legally established."²⁷

Last Minute Maneuvering

On Saturday, 10 February 1962, the second section banner headlines in El Porvenir read: TORRES BODET Y LIVAS EN DEFENSA DEL TEXTO UNICO Y EL NUEVO PLAN (Torres Bodet

²⁷Ibid., B-1.

and Livas in defense of the textbook and the new curriculum). The sub-title declared that the Padres de Familia would not go to the round table discussions scheduled for Saturday unless the governor accepted the two basic points made in their open letter. The governor and the Secretario de Educacion, in their stead, both reiterated that the books were in the finest Mexican tradition, that they did not have anything in them that was foreign to Mexican life, and that the books were another step in the government's program to carry out the mandates of the constitution. That is, the free books were part of the program to make primary education free and compulsory.²⁸

On the same page the Asociacion Democratica Mexicana printed a two column advertisement titled: INQUIETUD RELIGIOSA INSATISFECHA. The ad was one of a series of short reprints taken from the Revista de Revistas No. 2834 and its theme was essentially this: Children are born with the natural desire to love God--"No solo de pan vive el hombre." However, when God is denied in the education of the children, then communism offers a substitute. The substitute is materialism. "Los comunistas no nacen, se hacen" (Communists are not born, they are made). "Sen formados constantemente en las aulas del mundo." (They are constantly being formed in the classrooms of the world).²⁹

²⁸Ibid., B-1.

²⁹Ibid., B-1.

On page four of the second section, 10 February 1962, the governor published his reply to the manifesto which the Comision Organizadora had presented him with the day before.

A LA COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE
PADRES DE FAMILIA

PRESENTE:

In today's press (9 February 62) appears an open letter written by the Comision Organizadora to me in regards to the free textbooks, the new curriculum and the methods of instruction being introduced.

I must reply that in the public reunion of the 2nd of this month, the same Comision Organizadora asked me to be the means whereby the educational opinions which were expressed in that act were carried before the Federal Authorities. I offered to comply with such a request, and with pleasure I did so.

Concerning the questions which form the basis of the manifesto:

PRIMERO: The rights of mexicanos, amongst them that of parents to the education of their children, are assured by the Constitucion Politica de la Republica. My government has been and will continue to be guided by its invariable norms.

SEGUNDO: The new curriculum and free textbooks were formulated or approved by legally instituted agencies and their content is not in contradiction with our traditional culture. In addition, the Secretaria de Educacion Publica and the Gobierno del Estado have designated a Comision Tecnica before which your organization can present, in complete liberty, the points of view upon which your objections are founded.

TERCERO: The attitude [as regards to education] of the local government strictly adheres to the federal pact and there is no curtailment of our sovereignty.

In regard to the above we wish to inform you all that depending on the answers the Gobernador gives to the questions we have placed before him in our Open Letter we will then be able to indicate the road to be followed by this Organizacion.

Also, we wish to clarify that even supposing that the answers be entirely satisfactory in the opinion of the parents, we will, nevertheless, still want to make a consciencious and basic study of the curriculum and textbooks which the government is intent on imposing. In no way will we accept a hurried or superficial procedure, since we believe that this matter of transcendent importance cannot and should not take anyone by surprise.

Really, we cannot understand the rush which you all wish to give this matter, since the Senor Director de Educacion del Estado has manifest that supposing there be a general acceptance of the new curriculum and texts they will take effect beginning on the 1st of September, 1962. Your hurried attitude is without explanation nor any kind of justification, even less since the bases for discussion have not been fixed.

We wish to take this opportunity to protest before you, in all respect, but vigorously nonetheless, because you stated in the meeting held yesterday with all the Directores of Colegios Particulares Incorporados that said meeting was called at our petition and we did not attend. You all know that this is totally false.

Hoping that you all take note of the above, we take this opportunity to subscribe ourselves attentively to your orders.

Monterrey, N. L. a 10 de Febrero 1962

COMISION ORGANIZADORA DE LA UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES
DE FAMILIA³¹

³¹Ibid., B-8.

Both El Porvenir and El Norte carried the last of the series of paid ads purchased by the Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion inviting all social classes, lovers of progress, and the advance of their people to a Grand Demonstration and Meeting in support of the Educational Plan de Once Anos. A program that has been sponsored by the government presided over by Lic. Adolfo Lopez Mateos designed to eradicate ignorance and elevate the cultural level of the Mexican nation.³²

Thus, the stage was again set for a demonstration which would see people marching from the same part to the same governor's palace, but this time in support of the educational policies of the government.

³²El Norte, February 10, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8467), B-13.

CHAPTER VII

THE COUNTER DEMONSTRATION

Sunday, 11 February 1962

On Sunday between thirty-five thousand and one hundred thousand demonstrators gathered at the alamenda "Mariano Escobedo." Shortly after ten o'clock the throng proceeded to march to the Palacio Estatal some thirty blocks away. Although all social classes were nominally represented, the vast majority of the participants belonged to the worker, farmer, and lower middle class sectors. Straw hats, white shirts open at the collar, cotton pants--the typical dress of the more humble groups--dominated the panorama. Long after the march had begun truckloads of campesinos (peasant farmers) continued to pour into Monterrey. Indeed, one of the comments made by El Norte, a leader in the anti-government demonstrations, was that the crowd was not from Monterrey.¹

When the marchers arrived at the plaza facing the governor's balcony they filled the entire area and backed into the streets surrounding. The organizers of the counter

¹ El Norte, February 12, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L. Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, XXIV, 8649), B-1.

demonstration and the speakers of the day who represented the various sectors of society--workers, women, old guard revolutionaries, and professionals--mounted the traditional rostrum below the balcony to speak in support of the educational reforms.²

The Professor Speaks,
Magdaleno Montemayor Chapa

The first speaker was Professor Magdaleno Montemayor C., who spoke in the name of the teachers of Nuevo Leon:

Senor Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal, Gobernador Constitucional del Estado de Nuevo Leon, senor Prof. Humberto Ramos Lozano, Secretario General de Gobierno, senor Lic. Leopoldo Gonzalez Saenz, Presidente Municipal de Monterrey, senores Profrs. Manual Boneta Mendez y Enrique Garcia Gallegos, representatives of the senor Secretario de Educacion Publica, and designated by him to describe the new curriculum and the benefits of the free textbooks, senor Profr. Timoteo L. Hernandez, Director General de Educacion del Estado, senor Profr. Daniel Urencio Ramirez, Director de Educacion Federal en el Estado de Nuevo Leon, senores padres de familia; parents who several days ago were surprised by the announcement that your children were going to be kidnapped by the government so they could be taken to Cuba or the Soviet Union; ladies, mothers of families, who in terror asked the teachers what was going to happen because of the widespread insidious and unsubstantiated charges [against the government program], for all of you, for the people of Nuevo Leon, the teachers have come [today] to explain our position in this conflict. We are going to talk with the greatest respect, because we do not want to exchange insult for insult. Rather we are going to give you the facts which will serve as answer enough to the tremendous unfounded charges [made against the curriculum and books]. When we get sick we go and see a medical doctor, when we need to build a building we go to an architect, but

²Interview with Dr. Fco. Vela Gonzalez, March 14, 1966.

when you go talk about educational questions, permit us who are teachers to give our opinions as to how children should be educated, that is, how to educate mexicanos.

The Constitucion Politica provides the norms which regulate the relationships among mexicanos and we want all mexicanos to understand it. And in it there are rights guaranteed to profess one's own beliefs which neither the government nor its schools will attempt to molest, for any reason: the faith of each mexicano. And this is the truth. Why do they [la Comision] mislead the people when they have not been persecuted? When the rights of each individual are profoundly respected [by the government]? Why do they do such things? Is it not that they wish to use the religious sentiment [of the people] in order to deviate from other questions? We, the teachers, ask these questions from this tribune.

Now let us go on to [discuss] the [educational] methods with a few references to refresh the memory.

During the middle ages childhood education was verbal and the mind was considered a muscle which innocent children exercised at the behest of teachers. But then came a North American, the creator of the school for the people and by the people, the grand philosopher, psychologist and pedagogue John Dewey. This man was born in the State of Vermont and became a professor at the University of Chicago in 1894. He later was a professor at Columbia University--spoken in English if you will!--from 1904 to 1930. This is the man who developed the 'active school' which is being introduced in Monterrey today. As a consequence of the work of Dewey there came another North American teacher, el maestro Kilpatrick, who created the project method. The project method teaches the child to learn without hearing, he learns by listening, living and doing. This method was not Cuban, nor Russian, it was North American.

And we are going to continue refreshing the memory and answer with facts [the charges made against the educational reforms].

Precisely in Brussels, the doctor and teacher Ovidio Decroly created the method [of instruction] known as the centers of interest; it was applied for the first time in the year 1916--as if it were new padres de

familia!--the year was 1916. After being discovered in Belgium it was spread to all the schools of the world, but let us go on to speak of the methods used in Monterrey. At the present time they [the teachers] use the unit of study approach.

The unit of study approach was experimented with over a ten year period in the schools of Pennsylvania by Arthur J. Jones, E. C. Crisill and W. Jones Street. It was these North American teachers who thought out the idea, experimented with it and after ten years of experience, after ten years of practical use in the primaries and secondaries of Pennsylvania they wrote their first book (1946) on the units of study approach. This book has since been translated into Spanish.

Which of these men is Russian; I ask, which are the Soviet methods of which they speak? Those who understand pedagogy know that the discoveries made in pedagogy, as the discovery of penicillin, as in the discovery of the aeroplane, and in all the advances of the culture of mankind, as soon as they have passed the experimental stage, then the arena in which they are practiced and used is not the City of Tlalnepantla nor the City of Monterrey, and the arena where the discoveries of man are applied is all humanity and all over this planet we call Earth, senores padres de familia.

It is necessary that we reply--it is necessary that we reply that the greatest effort and accomplishment of the Revolucion Mexicana was the providing of free schools for the poor. Mexico is one of those countries where the pre-school, primary, secondary, and preparatory--university school education is the cheapest in all the world. For that reason, padres de familia, we applaud the Revolucion Mexicana which has carried education to the masses. Yesterday they said that the free textbook was not a gift; that it was paid for by taxes. We will say that is, if they [the opponents of the book] always pay their taxes! Why does the government give hundreds and hundreds of millions of pesos [to education]? Because the Plan de Once Anos through which presidente Adolfo Lopez Mateos wants to help the people of Mexico. But also, the free textbooks which have been challenged have virtues and virtues and only virtues; they are the formation of Mexican national identity, the social and political integration of this patria which extends from California to the Suchiate and from the mouth of the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) to Yucatan.

These are not totalitarian ideas, and the books are not the only ones. There are many reference books. The reference books can present various points of view, but it is evident that the free textbooks are a guarantee that the sons of workers, that the sons of farmers, that all the poor of Mexico have a book to read, and a workbook in which to write.

Although it has been said before, I will repeat it; September was always a difficult month for the parents of poor families; if they bought textbooks they didn't buy uniforms, if they bought uniforms and textbooks then the children went without food for the entire month; the school breakfast program is given because our people are humble. An attack against the textbooks, and an attempt to withdraw them by force after we have explained their virtues, is tantamount to saying that we are going to take from the people of Mexico the tortilla de la boca (bread from their mouths). This is the truth!

What they haven't admitted is that which truly strains the heart of our little children. It is those bad motion pictures which come to us from other lands, it is those pornographic magazines which stain the mentality of the innocent ones; it is the movie, it is the photography which shows the little creatures things which they are too young to see. We shall organize the Mexican family, we shall close ranks with all those who are really interested in the development of our children [and stop it].

I will say something which I almost overlooked; a year ago the free textbooks were in the warehouses of the Direccion de Educacion Estatal. Why haven't they been distributed? It was because we were missing a nuevoleones who could interpret the feeling of suffering of the people. He dictated the order, and that nuevoleones is Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal. If we-- if we, padres de familia, have already spoken of educational methods which are universally known, if we have already spoken of the quality of the free textbooks, if we have already spoken of the respect the government has towards the question of beliefs, all that is left to us is: why did they mislead the people? What is behind those misleading words? We are going to reply that behind those misleading words is the [political] offensive against the Revolucion Mexicana, and we are

not going to permit that they mix up the Revolucion. The work of Adolfo Lopez Mateos and the work of Eduardo Livas Villarreal should go on, mexicanos. We, the teachers of this fatherland were born of the people, to educate the people, and be confident, padres de familia, those that can hear me and those that wish to pay attention to my words, mexicanos have a concept as to what it is to be of Mexican nationality, as to the meaning of the Constitucion Politica de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, and as to the destiny of America and the world. Mexicanos know their fatherland which is called Mexico. Gracias.³

The Worker Speaks,
Eugenio Martinez

The metalurgical worker, Eugenio Martinez, of Seccion 67, spoke in the name of the working class and gave patent support to the educational program and free textbooks.

Senor Gobernador del Estado, Lic. Edurado Livas Villarreal, Senor Presidente Municipal, Lic. Leopoldo Gonzalez Saenz, Profr. Humberto Ramos Lozano, Secretario de Gobierno, fellow workers, people of Monterrey:

This morning was willed by destiny, God helped us with a magnificent day, so that we could come and parade and speak to the parents, which is this large horde of regiomontanos [gathered here]. Citizens, this is a free people. Tomorrow the independent press--particularly the newspaper El Norte--will publish for the four winds to read, printed in large type, that the meeting was composed of a small group of two or three thousand communists. Today, ten days after there gathered together a concentration of persons belonging to the Sindicatos Independientes in this same plaza, persons that were brought here with the misleading information which they were subjected to, such as that they were coming to fight for the sacred right to educate their children in conformity with their ideas and their customs and their beliefs. We believe that the ideas, the ideas of one reduced group of extremists who planned that

³ El Porvenir, (February 12, 1962), op. cit.

demonstration cannot be anything more than the representatives of something mental, a ridiculous mania, a crazy obsession. [They] want the new generations to sink more and more into ignorance and cause them to stagnate so that they cannot collaborate in the progress of our fatherland.

We also believe that the customs to which they allude are nothing more than the habits acquired by the susceptible economics of a cumulation of wealth which situate those few in a dominant position, in a position of privilege.

We also believe that it wasn't what they said, but rather what they wanted the people to hear; they warped marvelevently the content and they amalgamated to ideas which we first expressed their own ends. But it is us, the worker class, who are faced with the reality of these problems; what they have done is used our slogans and procedures which they have squeezed to defend completely their interests.

How much falsity they have complained around our city! By every means possible these persons went around misleading the people of our city. Over there (pointing to Colonia Independencia) where the poorest people of our city are encaved, the most sensitive people of our city, and, to our disgrace, the most ignorant people of our city. How many calamities these people [The Comision Organizadora] have thrown at our teachers, attacking the same professors who impart to the child his knowledge and place him on the road of progress! The psoture of these elements is unpardonable because the reasons they give, as I have said before, are only attempts to protect their own interests. We consider them anti-fatherland; anti-progressive and enemies of the Regimen, because they have attempted to obstruct the program of the government. [A program] which is only trying to bring light to the children and progress to our fatherland.

But placed before all of these beastly reactionary acts [which have taken place in Monterrey], impregnated [as they are] with calamnities and falsehoods, is the impassible and serene Plan de Once Anos in the area of education. [It] is enwreathed magestically by the primer mandatario of our fatherland, Lic. Adolfo Lopez Mateos, with the complete collaboration of Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal.

We, the organized worker class, are faced with another reality which isn't the one proclaimed, and yes we do remember that when the poder ejecutivo sent to the legislative chambers the amendments to several sections of Artículo 123 of the Constitucion Politica it was these same men who began crying to the sky. In the amended article can be found the phrase upon which the profit sharing program is based. [A program] which is based upon the principles of equality and justice. Also, found in this article are the workers right to indemnization pay and reinstatement in those cases where his employment was unjustifiably terminated.

It has been said, and it was said here [last week] that their meeting was not inspired by political ends. The organized worker class does not believe them, and it doesn't believe them because their ideological position runs parallel to that of political parties that have similarly refuted the reforms. Both have assured the people that their only preoccupation and concern was for the common good [when they opposed the reforms]; their position must be questioned as follows: Are they concerned with the standard of living of the people and that it must rise markedly? NO! Have they ever had sleepless nights thinking about the unjust distribution of national wealth? NEITHER! Nor does it interest them to consider economic problems and attempt to find solutions which will benefit the popular interests [of the people]. The truth is that these people have an unproductive ideology, and one counterpoised against the progress of the Patria. [They] are considering the authentic revolutionary posture of our Gobierno, and fearing the future. They are looking backwards to a dreamed of social order that used to be, and even today continues existing. [An order] which is based upon a privileged minority of white guardians on top of the people.

We [the organized worker class] say once more that the educational plan de once anos of our government is nothing more than the same proposition: the constant preoccupation of our government to irradicate illiteracy, to irradicate ignorance from our people, since this carries with it as a logical consequence the retardation of our Patria. [Illiteracy] fosters economic inequity and the absolute privations of families which very often prefer to send their children out to work for very poor remuneration rather than send them to school.

Senor Gobernador del Estado, the worker class of Monterrey want you to tell the Presidente de la Republica for us that we are in complete support of his program of education and that we are at his service for whatever disposition he wishes to make of us.⁴

The Old Revolutionary Speaks,
Teniente Coronel y Medico Cirujano
Francisco Vela Gonzalez

The representative of the organized worker class was followed to the rostrum by the representative of the old revolutionaries who had fought in the victorious armies of the Revolucion Mexicana, Dr. Vela Gonzalez. The old revolutionist was also the president of the Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion and the prime mover of the counter demonstration.

Senor Gobernador del Estado:

I have the honor of advising you that the forces of the Revolucion have just taken the plaza (fort) of Monterrey without firing a shot. The enemy is beating its retreat, our forces continue covering the city.

Long suffering teachers of Nuevo Leon, padres de familia of Monterrey and of all the state!

Because of the arterial and unjustified attack by a group of citizens of the highest economic spheres of Monterrey, which organized ten days ago to demonstrate in protest, as you all know, against the textbooks given by the Federal Government to the children of the nation. In response to their demonstration a group of liberal citizens joined together to form the Comite de Defensa de la Constitucion and it was this group that invited you all to come here today. Our purpose was simply to express our support both for the Gobierno de Nuevo Leon, headed by Lic. Livas, and the Gobierno Federal headed by Lic. Lopez Mateos.

⁴Ibid., B-3.

The demonstration which was organized by these people [the Comision Organizadora] was done, as you well know, on false promises. They said that the books which the Gobierno Federal has distributed contained communist teachings. This it has been demonstrated, and you have heard, is false. They also said in the various barriadas (poor sections) of the town that the children were going to be taken from their parents, to be put into the service of the Estado. All this, senores y senoras, is out of keeping with the honor and dignity of the men who direct the industries of Monterrey.

The demonstration of the 2nd of February is nothing more than the consequence of the type of education that is taught in certain kinds of private schools. All of you were witness when one of the speakers, in fact a worker, mentioned the name of Benito Juarez there was considerable jeering. Why? Because some of the private schools, senores y senors ciudadanos nuestros, teach [the pupils] to hate the Heroes de la Patria, they teach [them] to hate don Benito Juarez, they call Benito Juarez the Indian traitor, because they have never pardoned him for separating the church and state, because they have never forgiven him for making both the government and education laico (non sectarian).

As a consequence of this type of education we have seen, in different parts of the country, them adulterate Juarez by means of attacks on his statues. We have seen how in Mexico [D.F.] they have covered him with black cloth. We have seen in Durango how they threw him to the ground. We have seen in Colima and in Sonora and here in Monterrey, in the suburb of Santa Catarina to be exact, how the statue of Juarez was insulted by the children of certain private schools which are familiar to you. It is also extremely interesting that the following things took place coincidentally: the federal government's decision to re-assess all taxable property; the student strike at the Universidad [de Nuevo Leon] which didn't have any problems before; the Punta del Este conference in which the Mexican government steadfastly refused to intervene into the affairs of another nation while at the same time speaking openly against communism. It is very strange, senore, that only now that these textbooks have been introduced that they have forgotten that year after year the Secretaria de Educacion and the Gobierno Estatal have published lists of official texts and it never occurred to them to object to these lists. But now that private interests have been threatened, and the publishing houses are going to lose many millions of pesos because the government is giving away textbooks, gratis [they] are protesting.

This system of education, senores, was introduced into other parts of Mexico a year ago, but only in Monterrey, which is being transformed into a reactionary city, only here has there been objections to the system. The City of Saltillo is the only other community, senores, that has taken a similar position.

I said at the beginning that the demonstration of the 2nd of February was based upon lies. Even as late as yesterday, senores, I was shown a flyer which they [the Comision Organizadora] were distributing in all sections of the city saying that those who participated in this demonstration were communists, that we were coming together to attack the Virgincita de Guadalupe (the patron saint of Catholic Mexicans) and that no one better come [to the counter demonstration] because was going to be gun shots. It seems strange, senores, that these capitans of regiomontana industry recurred to lies in order to control a people that werenot in accord with that which they [the Comision] were saying. We were unable to bring together many people, senores, we were lacking the cooperation of industry; they were not here checking their rosters to see who were missing from the demonstration. If so, we wouldn't have fit into this plaza. Pardon us, Senor Gobernador, that we are so few. But senores, we don't need to continue dividing the Mexican people. I hope that we can arrive at an understanding; I sincerely exhort these people of the so-called fuerzas vivas that they re-examine the program, that they don't mix politics and religion with business. The Gobierno Mexicano has never been communist, nor does it ever need the ideological support of a foreign ideology regardless of where it comes from. One of their orators spoke of going to the barriacades. I imagine that these senores have a plan which is not even of eleven years, but of less time, with which to defeat the Gobierno Revolucionario Mexicano. They want to form a new political party, because the ones they have are not successful. They should know beforehand that for every cristero that is hidden in Monterrey, we offer them one hundred chinacos who will come out to defend the ideals of the Republica Mexicana, which are those embodied in the Constitucion de 1917.⁵

⁵ Ibid., B-3.

A Mother Speaks, Lic.
Bertha Alicia Cantu

The last of the speakers to rise to the rostrum was Srs. Lic. Bertha Alicia Cantu de Guerra who represented motherhood.

Senores y Senoras:

I am before you today exclusively in my status as a mother of a family. [I am] conscious of my rights but also of my obligations. [I am before you today] in order to express my opinions only on the subject of the textbooks which the Secretaria de Educacion of the Republica has accepted for its official program and which they [the Comision Organizadora] has tried to purge.

My husband and I know the textbooks completely, since our oldest son who is in the second year of primaria has been using it since last September. We haven't been able to find anything which destroys the unity of the family. Nor [have we found] any tendentious idea directed towards any political end, and nothing which changes the normal course of education which Mexico has followed over the years. On the contrary, they foment--and this is also a fundamental point--they foment the respect and admiration towards our Heroes.

Both my husband and I, in our daily relations with the school life of our sons, have had the opportunity to confirm the before mentioned affirmations. For us it is important to vigilently support the moral and mental health of our sons. We, like every other parent, also feel that we have such an obligation and we think that the following is a reasonable position [for us to take]: that we parents have the preferred right to give our children the education we determine within the universally accepted principles which are specifically sanctioned by the Gobierno de Mexico and which form a part of its Constitucion Federal.

But we also believe that this is not only our right, but it is our primordial obligation. [We must] vigilently ensure that their education is healthy and good for them. This is the reason we are not in agreement with those who say that the free textbooks, good or bad, are not wanted. On the contrary, we believe that being

good we have no right to oppose them, and even more we have the moral obligation to accept them so long as they contain the moral and civic principles which are the basis for the unity of the Mexican family.

We wish to make it perfectly clear that our position is absolutely impartial, and as such we have not to this date found anything in the textbooks that is prejudicial to our children. We would be the first to place ourselves against them if a future textbook [was prejudicial]. We have found no ideas which are foreign to the traditions of the Mexican people, to their Constitution, to their Revolution, or to their Democracia.

But it isn't only their scholastic education that we should vigilently watch, it is also that education which we [as parents] teach ourselves in the home. Now that they [the children] learn the basic principles of instruction, but it is we ourselves who should provide for their moral education, and that through example.

It is necessary to live closely with our children and to preoccupy ourselves with our personal relations with them. If we do this we shouldn't have any fear that they will exchange our ideas and our methods of life for foreign ideologies with which we could not live.

But this, senores, is only an opinion; it is only our opinion derived from our direct contact with said texts. Based upon that knowledge I exhort every parent who hasn't read the text to do so, and then on the bases of this personal exposure and not on what we, or anyone else who doesn't have an exact idea of its content, might say in order to divert or twist your feelings. You have the absolute security that once you have read the books your opinion will coincide with ours.

Muchas gracias.⁶

⁶Ibid., B-3.

Gobernador Livas Replies

The headlines in El Porvenir's second section read:
 LIVAS PIDE QUE SE LLEVE LA PAZ AL HOGAR Y LA ALEGRIA AL
 TRABAJO (Livas asks that they carry peace to their homes
 and happiness to their work). His speech in reply to the
 orators of the counter demonstration was no more than
 several hundred words, and in which he attempted to concilliate
 both sides:

It is for the Gobierno in my charge a positive satisfaction to see how the people here united came together in solidarity and enthusiasm to support the educational program which has as its principal end the carrying of the culture to the great masses of disinherited people of the nation. This is proven civic mindedness!

The textbooks as a mother, dona Bertha Alicia Cantu de Guerra, has said, are books which don't have even one line which is traitor to our morality, our tradition and the basic principles of the Mexican family. We have, por desgracia, had to listen to unfounded remarks which have implied that said books and curriculum are treacherous. This is the responsibility of those who have tried to mislead and say lies [to the people] as regards to the educational curriculum and the school authorities responsible for the program.

You can temporarily mislead our people, but they can't be permanently mislead; for that reason we are confident of their civic-mindedness. [We are also confident] of the moral calibre of our women, and of our Mexican parents. They understand that the Gobierno would never be able to act against the best interest and undeniable rights of parents over the education of their children.

This demonstration of solidarity is surely an encouragement for el senor Presidente de la Republica. [He] sees his people, conscious of their rights and also of their obligations give him this referendum vote of support for the educational program which he has undertaken in favor of the poor children who now have free textbooks.

But esteemed co-citizens, respected mothers of families, these are not the times to sow seeds of discord and to sow hate. We should all unite behind our flag which is the Constitution, which is in tune with the fundamental principles of the Revolucion Mexicana.

The Constitution is our norm; it is the juridical and political basis upon which the nation, the entire people of Mexico, are finding their means of progressing and of improving their standard of living. Particularly those classes that are in most need of improving.

May calm and tranquility be reborn in all the homes of Monterrey, in all the homes of Nuevo Leon. May we be completely conscious that only through our own efforts, through our own work can we contribute to the aggrandizement and to the progress of Mexico. . . based upon our law; the Constitution de 1917.

May these differences of opinion which have been registered amongst certain sectors [of society] and those of us who are here present in this reunion serve as another demonstration, in any case, of the democracy which pervades our country. Return all of you to your homes carrying with you a respectful greeting for all your friends and relations; return in calm and tranquility; return to your effort and your work, which is the only way in which we can make for Mexico a better destiny.

There isn't any problem, however intricate it might be, that cannot be solved through friendly, conciliatory, cordial, sensible and responsible discussions. For this reason, I am satisfied in observing that those [people] who have been attacking the textbooks have accepted [my invitation] to sit down at a round table and discuss [the problem] como gente decente (like cultured people). This is the right approach and from those discussions there should emerge a luz bienhechora (well made light) for all [to follow].

In conclusion, I wish to say to all present in this act that verifies the civic responsibility of the people of Nuevo Leon. We feel a great satisfacaion, as I said to you at the beginning, at [seeing] this example of solidarity that el senor Presidente Lopez Mateos has received. I will transmit, as I did on the second of February, the points of view expressed here to the Superior Gobernador de la Republica.

Pueblo de Nuevo Leon, VIVA LA CONSTITUCION DE 1917!
VIVA EL PRESIDENTE LOPEZ MATEOS! VIVA MEXICO!⁷

Newspaper Commentary the Morning After

The following day all the local papers--El Norte, El Porvenir, El Tiempo--carried the full texts of the speeches as well as photographs of the pro-government demonstrators. El Norte, which had been instrumental in organizing the February 2nd march, carried a section, one inch, headline reading: DESAIRA MONTERREY "DESAGRAVIO" ARTIFICIAL:ASISTEN 30,000 A MANIFESTACION Y MITIN POLITICO (Monterrey distains the "artificial" vengeance: 30,000 participate in the political demonstration). The sub-title following read: Oradores atacan a los padres que solo han pedido una libertad legal (the orators attack the parents who only ask for their legal liberty), then a third and smaller sub-title followed: Se desentienden la causa real del malestar que son los comunistas infiltrados en puestos clave del Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo Leon (they don't understand that the real cause of the discontent are the communists who have infiltrated into key posts of the Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo Leon).

⁷Ibid., B-1.

The lead article, three columns wide and adjacent to four column wide pictures of the demonstrators, read:

Under a splendid sun, some 30,000 persons participated yesterday in a manifestacion y mitin politico in which the speakers attacked vigorously the 300,000 who paraded on the 2nd asking liberty in order that the parents could educate their children.

The demonstrators were employees of the same Gobierno--municipal, state and federal--, as well as teachers, workers of government businesses, laborers of unions in which the leaders are registrars, deputies, or aspiring politicians, and campesinos brought to the city in trucks.

The demonstrators tried to replicate the gigantic demonstration of 300,000 persons, which for the most part were fathers and mothers, of February 2nd. [A demonstration] which took place under an intense aguacero (downpour), and whose purpose it was to exercise their supreme right of liberty of education.

But it differed in many ways because the majority of the demonstrators were out-of-towners, campesinos brought in the old way [by paying them]. The basic problem of communist infiltrators in the key positions of state administration was completely disregarded with the 'supposed defense of the constitution' in which all the people are in accord in respecting and demanding be respected.

In the same manner as the previous [demonstration] a sound pick-up truck preceded the parade which also started from the alameda Mariano Escobedo and followed the same route. However, the parade began a half an hour later than was formally announced while the one of the 2nd began a few minutes before 10 a.m. with the streets converted into rivers of water and of people.

Newspaper men from the Capital were brought at the expense of the Gobierno del Estado so that the several Capital morning papers would publish a different version of what happened than we publish. [They will publish] attacks and offending material so unfortunate like that published by the magazine Tiempo which is edited by none other than the Talleres Gráficos de la Nacion, and directed by Martin Luis Guzman, who is the presidente de la Comision which approved the texto unico.

With people brought together in this way, for the most part under pressure and the threat of discounting working days, exclusion from work, and the expulsion of their children from school, the act [demonstration] was a disgraceful mixture by the Gobierno del Estado, in 'defense' of the Constitucion and in support of the policies of Presidente Lopez Mateos, neither of which are being attacked. To the contrary, they are being taken as a basis for the defense of the rights of the parents to educate their children.

What has happened in Monterey is that at the first of this year the Director General de Educacion del Estado, Profr. Timoteo L. Hernandez, attempted to gain control of the private [incorporated] schools by the simply expedient [of ordering] that these schools could not designate freely the technical and full-time school personnel. Then, about mid-year and very suspiciously, he introduced new methods of education whose essence was unknown. All of these activities are directed by communists who are strategically located in key positions by the Administracion Publica Estatal.

All this gave justified alarm which was expressed in the February 2nd record demonstration of 300,000 persons. [A demonstration] which was orderly, peaceful and respectful; demonstrating thereby the high level of civic responsibility. This was in contrast with the injustices propogated in crude 'flyers' and in insults in the publications printed in Mexico [D.F.] and local speeches, all of which were in preparation for the official demonstration yesterday. In this [demonstration] the Gobierno organized its own 'disgrace' to gain support [by using] the Presidente Lopez Mateos who [in fact] has the support of all the people of Nuevo Leon.

The act terminated with a speech by the Gobernador del Estado, Lic. Eduardo Livas Villarreal.

Without enthusiasm, without happiness, without animo (spirit) but only to comply with a demand of the government of the unions, many people marched, but they took advantage of the first chance when their observers were not watching to withdraw from the mitin. One of the objectives of the meeting was to attack juridical order through political activity reminiscent of epochs with which the whole world believed had been overcome.

It was also evident that there wasn't unity in the unions, since the contingents sent were minimal, and only the men from the country, carried here in trucks, buses, and city buses, were here in mass. Today there were many city buses to transport the marchers, but in the grand manifestation of the fathers and mothers there were none available.

The braceros, some recently returned from the 'other side' and still wearing their characteristic jackets, were also present. The ranks of PRI were not unified either as there was discontent with communist infiltration in the Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo Leon.

It was very obvious that during the morning yesterday the streets of the city were deserted. The Catholics, who make up the majority of regiomontanos went to mass very early or very late remaining in their homes for most of the day.

The police were at the height of their responsibility and thanks to their activity not one disorder or disagreeable act was reported.

Amongst the persons who marched were counted the entire staff of the Consulado Checoslovaco in Monterrey. They carried Mexican flags in their hands.

While they were 'defending the Constitution' they used the police to stop the ringing of the bells of the Templo del Sagrado Corazon, which was their "the clergy's" constitutional right to ring, since they were calling the people to Mass.⁸

Directly below and to one side of the descriptive article above were six free tickets for rides on urban buses to and from the demonstration. The last ticket of the series contained the insert: "today there were buses and free, too!" The tickets were supposed to have been printed

⁸El Norte, February 12, 1962, op. cit.

in the previous day's paper so that the marchers could ride home at government expense.⁹

The local political gossip columnist Ricardo Omana found it appropriate to make two comments in his column Una Columna concerning the demonstration:

The bad that is seen in the texto unico isn't an immediate bad. The people think, nevertheless, that someday, in the years to come there can arrive at [the Direccion de Educacion] a functionary which extremist ideas--of the extreme which concerns us here. That is all.

To support the new educational curriculum, which has nothing to do with communism, there marched yesterday the functionaries of the Consulado Checo. Hagame usted el favor!¹⁰

On the editorial page Pincelada, a political cartoonist, expressed the attitude of El Norte and the organizers and participants of the anti-textbook demonstration with this cartoon (page 224).

El Porvenir reporting on the same demonstration, attempted to maintain a neutral stance. The second section headlines read: LIVAS PIDE QUE SE LLEVE LA PAZ AL HOGAR Y LA ALEGRIA AL TRABAJO. The sub-heading had Livas praising the "parliament" between teachers and parents in which the conflict would be settled. A third and even small headline summarized the paper's attitude towards the orators:

⁹Ibid., B-1.

¹⁰Ibid., B-1.

¹¹Ibid., A-2.

THE ORATORS, SOME AGGRESSIVE, OTHERS DIALECTICAL, DEFENDED THE NEW CURRICULUM AND ITS TEXTBOOKS.¹²

Elsewhere El Porvenir described the demonstration as orderly and peaceful. XEMR radio station as well as the organizers estimated that there were 90,000 marchers, the Mexico D.F. papers estimated that there were over 100,000 people, while El Porvenir and Channel 3 TV both stated that there were between 35,000 and 40,000 demonstrators.¹³ The number of demonstrators is not significant, per se, but the polar estimates indicate the measure of support received by the Comité de Defensa from local news media.

Another commentary by those critical of the second demonstration was found on the editorial page of El Norte in Jesus Gonzalez Fonseca's column, 'Uno, Dos!'

UNO, DOS!

1. The official demonstration was but an insane release organized by communist leaders encrusted in the state administration. . .
2. Deliberate insults were hurled at the same private enterprise that [financially] supports the Gobierno. . .
1. Humble peasants, brought from other Municipalities and other States like irrational beings in transport trucks formed the bulk of the marchers. . .
2. Workers pressured by threats as serious as exclusion [from work] were also obligated to participate in the 'disgrace'. . .

¹² El Porvenir, February 12, 1962, op. cit.

¹³ Ibid., B-1.

1. Bureaucrats from all branches [of government] with the boot squarely on their neck, were also forced to participate in the movement. . .
2. 'Numerous SENORITAS formed the vanguard of this demonstration of PADRES DE FAMILIA,' it was announced by the Master of Ceremonies, Lic. Guillerno Urquijo Alanis. . .
1. The administration of Rangel Frias [former governor of the state] (uncle of the Master of Ceremonies) was accused of being reactionary.
2. In an autumnual attempt to resurge [ex revolutionary] Vela Gonzalez accused the private publishers of textbooks and Monterrey in general of being reactionary. . .
1. The person who should have bitten his tongue was the lider Montemayor Chapa, when he thanked God for the magnificent day. . .
2. He said, 'God assisted us and he gave us this day with such a splendid sun,' before and after which he attacked the church. . .
1. Even the organizers of the demonstration recognized that the concentration of the masses could not compare with February 2nd.
2. Eloquent photographs were taken at the moment when the 'mislead' [people] from other Municipalities were paid their fee for their 'spontaneous participation.'
1. Don't forget that the money is the people's money, that of industry and the workers, whose reddish leaders never tire of attacking vilporously. . .
2. The basic question still goes unanswered: So what?¹⁴

¹⁴El Norte, February 12, 1962, op. cit.

A Letter to the Editor

El Norte limited its Wednesday coverage of the conflict to a letter to the editor:

CARTAS A "EL NORTE"

EL DOCTOR VELA G. ACLARA UN ERROR DEL GOBIERNO (Dr. Vela G. clarifies a governmental error)

Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez
Calsada San Pedro 223
Colonia Miravalle
Monterrey, N.L., Mexico
Febrero 13, de 1962

Sr. Don
Rodolfo Juncode la Vega
Director de "EL NORTE"
Presente

Distinguido amigo:

In a very attentive manner I request that you order that this letter be printed in as much as it will serve to clarify a mis-reproduction by your grand Diario yesterday of the speech which I gave during the civic meeting of Sunday last. [The paper] committed a serious error by changing a word in the last part of the speech from CRISTERO to CRISTIANO which as you well know radically changes the meaning of my phrase.

I said, '. . . they should know that for every cristero which hides, we offer them one hundred chinacos. . .'

which the other papers reproduced correctly. Thus, I believe that the error was made in the printing by your prestidigious Periodico.

I am confident that you will make room for these few lines, and for this I would like to anticipate with my most complete thanks.

Attentively,

Dr. F. Vela Gonzalez,

NOTA DEL DIRECTOR

Querido Paco:

I am very sorry about the trouble that this error may have caused, but I wish to clarify that the error was made by the Gobierno, because I have in my hand the original which was sent for publication and it says "CRISTIANO"

Let's see if the next time you hit the mark.

I embrace you.

Rodolfo.¹⁵

Directly below this exchange of letters was another editorial printed by the Asociacion Democratica Mexicana titled:

TRUTHS ABOUT COMMUNISM

Communism should not be considered only as an economic system, but also as a world view and world interpretation. There exists people who cannot understand why communism is condemnable when the ideal which they propose is an economic society without the exploitation which to date exists with those who control capital.

Whoever thinks along this line doesn't know communism.

¹⁵El Norte, February 14, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

Communism sustains its principles of economic organization on the ideology which pretends to be scientific; it includes the whole man as an individual and social being in their intellectual and corporal activities [as well as] in their religious and political life, and it is this ideology that is perverse, anti-natural and anti-Christian.

ASOCIACION DEMONCRACTICA MEXICANA¹⁶

Commentary on the Educational Problem

On February 18, El Porvenir carried an essay written by Lic. Jose Garcia IZAGUIRRE titled, "CUESTION DE LA EDUCACION; 'Crisis en la Ensenanza'." The prologue was a quote taken from the writings of Jose Vasconcelos, minister of education during the 1920's:

'Contemplado en su conjunto el desarrollo pedagogico de los ultimos anos demuestra un caracter comun de ensayo pequeno y de investigacion por analysis, que corresponde exactamente a la era de liquidacion en que estos sistemas se han producido.'

Within the political fauna there always seems the necessity of identifying the source [of the crisis]. From a grave problem which distresses the parents, they [the political leaders] want to draw conclusions and derivations of a political nature. When the paterfamilias adhere to the Constitucion [de 1917], they are accused of violating it. And when they presume to give opinions they are accused of being against the profit sharing [program in industry and commerce] whose application and regulation this writer has been demanding in the press for more than twenty years. The maquilvalian device of divide and conquer is only used by those who lack the moral prestige to defend them and are not safeguarded by dignity!

¹⁶Ibid., B-1.

Fortunately for the present generations, in our era there no longer exist cristeros and chinacos, even though one epigram of the jacobin old-guard attempts to resuscitate them. What does exist is a criminal complicity with Marxist Leninist communism, which makes present day Mexicans both intranquil and disquieted. Mexicans who are decendents of those same chinacos so Christian that they defeated the vende-patrimos (fatherland sellers) on the Cerro de las Campanas, AND TODAY THEY MUST DO THE SAME WITH THOSE WHO ARE ATTEMPTING TO GIVE MEXICO AN EXTRA CONTINENTAL IDEOLOGY!

La Constitucion Politica de 1917 is venerated by all Mexicans who hope to comply above all, with its revindicated social aspects. There are now an insignificant minority of nation sellers who are fencing with old divisionary battles as a pretext to flame old grivances which have already been overcome, and in the process benefit Marxism Leninism.

The demogogy of the extreme left is as nefarious as that of the extreme right in liberal [laizze faire] economics, WHICH FOR MORE THAN FOURTY YEARS DETAINED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROFIT SHARING PROGRAM!

Today it is insensible to consider the Constitucion Mexicana as the property of the Jacobin faction. El Derecho Constitucional mexicano has never distinguished between cristeros and chinacos, nor between leftists and rightists, nor between reactionaries and revolutionaries, nor between liberals and conservatives, nor between retardists and progressives. THE CONSTITUCION IS OF EQUAL IMPORT FOR ALL AND EACH MEXICAN WHO LOVES HIS PATRIA!

The educational system in Mexico has many deficiencies and it does not guarantee to any patefamilia the liberty to educate their children in the essentials and traditions of mexicanidad (the mexican way of life). The malinchista (those who deny their own culture, as did Cortes Indian lover 'la Malinche') complex which requires illogical imitation by our educational technicians of educational systems from outside the milieu of the Patria. [They are] confessing thereby their own ineptitude and intellectual incapability. IN PART A CONFESSION, REVEALED BY THE PROOF!

If the Constitution Federal does not justify the implanting of the texto unico, neither does the Constitution Politica del Estado permit the local Gobierno to establish [the books] as obligatory since this constitutes an expressed violation of the Soberania (sovereignty) Neoleonesa. [Such an enforced introduction of textbook is also] against the will of the large majority of the paterfamilias. If the free character of primary instruction does not bring a leveling of educational opportunity the introduction of a new curriculum and textos unicos obligatorios is not necessary, because the Ley Organica de Educacion, Seccion VI Articulo 6, imposes the obligation [on the government] to distribute as a subsidy a portion of the taxes collected to private schools.

In Nuevo Leon there exists a pedagogical tradition that the malinchiatas technicians are attempting to substitute with the zoological pedagogy of John Dewey, an Hegelian and pragmatic North American philosopher. Nevertheless, in the same United States all those people with a little intelligence are opposed to the type of education which proclaims the anacronistic Dewey system. A bad week which was produced by the maquinismo (mechanism) of fifty years ago. It is also from North American authors where [we] learn to be concerned for the individual who, being accustomed from childhood--as Dewey counsels--the child learns to make exclusive and pragmatic use of his animal energies. He always keeps his time occupied with manual training, and his mind dispersed with audiovisual sensations. The child becomes inept in the use of his intelligence and his will.

All learning [is] by doing, exclaimed Dewey, believing that only in that way can the ideal be realized, which to him is the accomodation of the child by the society that surrounds them. That is, [Dewey] reduced everything to the level of the zoological species as they are, without the necessity of obligatory texto unicos and schools. But the whole world knows that beyond instinct there is intelligence, that is, there is a rational being that is known as man, and [man] has a separate place in the zoological family. Dewey, in a primitive way attempts to reduce man to pure survival instinct and the malleability of the individual to the social systems which the group imposes.

Isn't the Dewey system a transgression of the liberty of the individual? Neither in the United States nor the Soviet Union has the system lasted, because they considered primary cells of the social organism as dosolvent. Only in Marxist Leninist Cuba of Fidel Castro Ruz is this method being applied. From there communism wants to export it to Mexico, under the patent of diplomatic immunity. The Dewey system, if it is planted in Mexico, would form a submissive population, at the will of the exotic and extra-continental state ideologies which [they] attempt to introduce into our people in order to undermine their traditions. An education for colonial inhabitants who blindly renounce the advantages of a spiritual culture, portioned out in such a manner so as to drive the people towards a materialistic slavery. . . THUS IT WOULD BE UNDER THE DEWEY SYSTEM!

Before Rousseau and Dewey, the great educators of India more than three thousand years ago, taught the great lesson which Socrates later recapitulated: that education is a process of expansion, training and realization of the conscience. Fortunately, life is enriched and elevated with the soul well educated. Precisely because of this it is important that the prodigy develop a wise and free conscience.¹⁷

On Wednesday, February 21, 1962, the masonic paper Oriente carried a two-page article containing pictures of the demonstration in favor of the textbook and the new curriculum. The article also contained a complete transcript of Teniente Coronel Legionario Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez speech. Dr. Vela was at that time Grand Past Master of the Gran Logia de Nuevo Leon (Escoses). The rite provided a contingent and a banner for the February 10th march.¹⁸

¹⁷ El Porvenir, February 18, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

¹⁸ Oriente, February 21, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L. Mexico: Editorial Gran Logia de Nuevo Leon), 2-3.

The Mexico, D.F. magazine Siempre printed an article titled MONTERREY Y EL TEXTO UNICO written by Inigo Laviada datelined February 28, 1962. The article was reprinted in El Porvenir because, as the editor described in a note preceding the article, "certain commentaries were made about El Porvenir which the Daily of the Frontier presents for the consideration of their readers. . . ."

On Friday, February 2nd, there was in Monterrey a popular demonstration against communism, the texto unico and the Marxist collaborators around Gobernador Livas. The number of demonstrators was unusual: according to the daily El Norte three hundred thousand persons marched; according to El Porvenir, a newspaper belonging to the wife of the Gobernador and her family, the demonstrators totalled one hundred and fifty thousand. The act took place in the rain and across flooded streets as was shown in pictures and written articles published in both papers.

. . .

The Mexico city newspapers, because of official pressure, minimized the importance of the demonstration by the regiomontanos. Later certain departments of the government began distributing circulars suggesting that a demonstration in support of the official government policy be organized. The press office of the regime suggested to the press that they give preferred publicity to the demonstration of adhesion which was being produced by the leaders of all the popular classes in response to an official request.

As a replica of the protest against the texto unico, the government of Nuevo Leon and its collaborators organized a demonstration supporting government policy on February 11th. Even with the compulsory attendance of the bureaucrats--in the Direccion de Transito a sign was posted threatening the dismissal of all those who did not participate--and the bringing in of rural peasants, there were only some twenty-five thousand persons in attendance. . . according to the Livas paper, El Porvenir. One of the official speakers, Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez, confessed: 'nosotros no hemos

podido reunir mucha gente, senores; nos hizo falta la cooperacion de la industria. Si no, de otra manera, no hubiera cabido en esta plaza; perdone Ud. senor Gobernador que seamos tan pocos. . . ' (we weren't able to gather many people, ladies and gentlemen; we lacked the cooperation of the industry. Otherwise, we wouldn't have all fit in this square; pardon us, senor Gobernador, that we are so few. . .)*

. . .

Only in totalitarian dictatorships, like Russia, Nazi Germany, Cuba, and Peron's Argentina has a compulsory textbook been adopted. Not one democratic government in the entire world has followed such a path. The idea that the government can make obligatory basic textbooks is necessarily based upon the ridiculous pretension of dogmatic infallibility, common to communist governments of our day and to oriental tyrants of antiquity. Liberty, science and art are strangled by state dogmatism.

. . .

In Paris, on December 10, 1948, the O.N.U. issued the Declaracion Universal de los Derechos del Hombre which declares that one of the rights unavailable to the State is 'the liberty of instruction, and that it is the sole right of parents to choose the type of education be given to their children.'

Neither the [presidential] Decreto which created the Comision Nacional de Libros Gratuitos nor the one which created the Comision Revisora de Libros de Texto y de Consulta, nor the Ley Organica de la Educacion Publica, nor Artículo 3o. Constitucional authorize the imposition of the libro de texto unico y obligatorio. La Barra Mexicana de Abogados (Mexican Bar Association) in a statement on July 29, 1960, considered as illegal and anti-constitutional the pretension of imposing a texto unico.

*In a letter dated March 1, 1962, Dr. Vela G. accused the magazine Siempre of taking his statement out of context, since he was speaking facetiously, because at that moment the plaza was overflowing. He was speaking with pride that so many had indeed attended the demonstration without the coercion of commerce and industry.

The responsibility for the direction of our government is presently in the hands of persons who deserve our confidence. But in the future the circumstances may vary. We know in the high positions of the Secretaria de Educacion there are lodged dangerous individuals who have made public professions of anti-liberal and Marxist faith, [men] such as Celerino Cano, Presidente del Consejo Nacional Tecnico de la Educacion; Mario Aguilera Dorantes, Oficial Mayor de la Secretaria de Educacion; Humberto Ramos Lozano, ex-director de la Segunda Ensenanza and present Secretario de Gobierno de Nuevo Leon; Jose Romano Munoz, Director de Ensenanza Superior e Investigacion Cientifico; Ramon Garcia Ruiz, Coordinator de Educacion Pre-escolar y Primaria; Victor Gallo Martinez, Director del Instituto Federal de Capacitacion del Magisterio, and my old friend Miguel Huerta Maldonado, Director de la Escuela Normal de Maestros.

In the hands of these men the texto unico y obligatorio could become a vehicle towards a marxist tyranny and the oppression of our people.

It is no secret that the Mexican teaching profession is seriously infiltrated with pro-Soviet Marxists. It is now that the decisive battle for the future of our Patria is taking place.¹⁹

El Norte's Saturday edition carried a headline article which announced that the round table discussions between the representatives of the Union Neoleonesa and the Secretaria de Educacion would be reconvened the following Monday. The government representatives were Profr. Antonio Barbosa, Manuel Boneta Mendez, Luis Alvarez Barret and the profesoras Soledad Amaya Solorzano and Dionisia Zamora. The last two mentioned were the authors of the texts which caused the furor. It was also stated that Profs. Ciro R. Cantu and Oziel Hinojosa, representing the state, would participate only as observers.²⁰

¹⁹El Porvenir, February 25, 1962, op.cit., B-1.

²⁰El Norte, February 24, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

The last chapter in the educational crisis which took place in Monterrey during the month of February, 1962 was about to begin. The long awaited round table discussions were scheduled for Monday, 26 February 1962.

CHAPTER VIII

LA MESA REDONDA

Background

The third and final cycle of the crisis in Monterrey centered around a conference table and was held during the last week of February, 1962.

The position the Gobernador Estatal took on February 2nd when faced with 300,000 angry demonstrators was one of offering to sit down and discuss the objections made to the curriculum and the textbooks. He proposed that representatives from the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia join round table discussions with the technical experts from the Secretaria de Educacion in an attempt to resolve the crisis.

The first meeting of the round table was held on Friday, February 9th, when professors Manuel Boneta Mendez and Enrique Garcia Gallegos from the Secretaria de Educacion, as well as professors Ciro R. Cantu (Director of the Normal Superior Estatal) and Oriel Hinojosa (Inspector of private incorporated schools), sat down with the directors of the private incorporated schools. The meeting was held at the Casa del Maestro which overlooks the Alameda "Mariano Escobedo." Only one member of the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia attended--Ing. Eliot Camarena.

After brief talks by both the representatives from the Secretaria the meeting was opened to questions. A short discussion took place then the meeting adjourned.¹ The government officials who came from Mexico for the round table discussions expressed public disappointment that the organizers of the Union Neoleonesa demonstration had not attended the session so that serious discussion could begin.²

The Director General of state education, Profr. Timoteo Hernandez, and the Director of federal schools in the state, Profr. Urencio Ramirez, published an open invitation on Saturday morning inviting the Comision Organizadora to meet at the Casa del Maestro that same day.³ As mentioned in the preceding chapter the Comision published a lengthy CARTA ABIERTA to the Governor criticizing the naming of the government representatives, and declaring that they were willing to meet in a round table discussion if two conditions were met:

PRIMERA: Does the Estado and the Federacion recognize the preferred right which parents have in determining their children's education. A right sanctioned under universally accepted principles and specifically sanctioned by the government of Mexico in its Constitucion?

¹

El Porvenir, February 24, 1962 (Monterrey, N.L. Mexico: Editorial El Porvenir, XLIV, 17192), B-1.

²Ibid., B-1.

³Ibid., B-2.

SEGUNDA: Will the state change its curricular plans and texts, even abandon them if necessary, if they cannot demonstrate that such curricular plans and texts do not have a communist tendency?⁴

The reply of the Gobernador was simply a repetition of previous statements, namely that his government would always remain within the guidelines of the Constitucion and that the books did not have a communist tendency.⁵

The scheduled Saturday meeting was still-born. Profr. Hernandez commented, in an interview held much later with the writer, that the Comision was not prepared to discuss the curriculum and the textbooks so they asked that the meetings be postponed until the last week of the month of February.⁶ The Comision, according to El Norte's assistant editor Abelardo Leal, Jr., took the position that it could not enter into serious discussions until the Gobernador was prepared to commit himself to conditions they had set down. Meeting together at a round table beforehand would be futile, since it was the Comision's intention to seriously examine the curriculum and textbooks and recommend changes therein. The Comision was not interested in just listening to explanations of the program.⁷

⁴El Porvenir, February 9, 1962, op. cit., B-4.

⁵El Porvenir, February 10, 1962, op. cit., B-2.

⁶Interview held with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

⁷Interview held with Lic. Abelardo Leal.

During the ensuing two weeks the Comision Organizadora busied itself in both private examination of the curriculum in order to prepare itself for the discussions and in public meetings with the Gobernador in an attempt to get his formal commitment that the government would consider modification in the program, or even reject it, if it was indeed communist inspired.⁸

The Second Meeting of the Round Table
Monday 26 February 1962

On Monday, February 26th, the round table discussions began in earnest. The Comision Organizadora decided to meet with representatives of the Secretaria de Educacion even though adequate assurances had not been obtained from Lic. Livas. Their attitude was carefully defined in a front page editorial written by Abelardo Leal, Sr., a leading constitutional lawyer and the father of the assistant editor of El Norte. He wrote, in part:

Today begins the battle of the new curriculum in Nuevo Leon, and we must enter it with serenity, prudence, and the LAW.

. . .

The texto unico is simply a form of dictatorship, and attempts to undermine the autonomy and the liberty of parents, WHO ARE THE EXCLUSIVE "JEFES" OF THE HOME. . . The simple word "unico" annuls the right of choice and election.

⁸Interview with Ing. Elliot Camarena.

The use of group leaders in the classroom is a form of slavery, which is being used to indoctrinate the children at an early age to be. . . submissive. All submission of man to man is expressly abolished in Articulo 2 of our Constitucion General de la Republica. On the other hand, the forceful submission of a group of children to the authority of a child distorts in the latter his sense of power. And if a child rebels against this type of organization, then the lider jefe uses the other children to suppress him. . . .

Articulo 3o of our Constitucion, DOES NOT AUTHORIZE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE TEXTO UNICO, NOR THE TYRANNY OF THE SYSTEM OF CHILD JEFE DE GRUPO. On the contrary, IT GUARANTEES EDUCATION WITH LIBERTY OF BELIEFS, of democracy, of independence, of justice, of national solidarity, of economic, social and cultural betterment; it fights against servitude of any kind. IT GUARANTEES THE DIGNITY OF THE PERSON AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE FAMILY, the fraternity, the equal rights of all men, and above all in Fraccion I, "B" it says, "THE EDUCATION is national, WITHOUT HOSTILITIES NOR EXCLUSIVENESS," and in "c" it adds: AVOIDING THE PRIVILEGES OF race, of SECT, of GROUP, of sexes, OF INDIVIDUALS."

. . .

Those commissioned by the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia should go to the meetings with the Delegados Federales, AS MERE OBSERVERS. They should listen courteously as is traditional of Nuevo Leon, they should discuss the different points, and they should report back to the people. . . BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO COMMITMENTS MADE, BECAUSE THIS IS THE RIGHT OF EVERY PERSON, A RIGHT SO SPECIAL AND EXCLUSIVE TO THE DIGNITY OF MAN, THAT NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO MAKE DEALS WHICH WILL IMPINGE ON THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS.

Simply, THE PARENTS, EACH FATHER AND MOTHER, ARE FREE TO CHOOSE THE TYPE OF EDUCATION THEY WISH THEIR CHILDREN TO HAVE. That is the liberty, that is the integrity of the familia mexicana and the autonomy and obligation of padres mexicanos.⁹

⁹El Norte, February 26, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

The meeting began at ten o'clock Monday morning in the Casa del Maestro as scheduled. At the table representing the Secretaria de Educacion were Profr. Antonio Barbosa, Profr. Luis Alvarez Barret, Profra. Dionisia Zamora Pallares y Profra. Soledad Anaya Solorzano. The last two mentioned were the authors of the primary school readers involved in the conflict. Representing the Union Neoleonesa were Ing. Elliot Camarena, Lic. Alfonzo Garza, Ing. Andres Sada, Jr., Ing. Arturo Perez Ayala and Ing. Juan Celada. Senores Garza and Sada are scions of the giant industrial holding company commonly known as the Grupo Industrial which was closed down of Friday, February 2nd for the giant demonstration. The Grupo Industrial controls the major share of the industry of Nuevo Leon. Also attending the meeting were state educational officials--Hernandez, Ramirez, Hinojosa and Cantu--who were present "in the role of observers."

The Monday meeting was primarily devoted to each side stating its official position, and then an attempt was made to establish an agenda for the rest of the meetings.

The government, on the one hand, attempted to describe, with as much statistical detail as possible the educational problems facing the nation as a whole. The fact that only half the children eligible for first grade were attending school, the fact that only half of those who did attend first grade passed into second, and the fact that only one

out of every hundred children entering first grade completed the six years of primaria. The government officials also attempted to explain the educational problem in the light of economic reality. They pointed out that the children of limited resources were unable to purchase books, uniforms, and other school supplies. Indeed, many children who were in school came without breakfast, with little prospects for lunch, and only beans, rice and tortillas for supper. Because of these realities the government was attempting to reorganize primary education.¹⁰

Speaking in general terms, Profr. Barbosa made reference to the Plan de Once Anos as an attempt on a national scale to provide all children, whether they be rich or poor, with a basic primary school education. The Plan, when carried to fruition in 1970, would provide every Mexican child with a minimum of six years education. Part of the Plan was a massive school house construction program which had already (1962) reached the productive level of erecting two classrooms per day.¹¹

After making some preliminary remarks about the curriculum and the textbooks, Profr. Barbosa asked Profras. Zomara and Anaya to speak on their books. With alternating comments they emphasized that the textbooks and the curriculum

¹⁰ Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

¹¹ Ibid.

were designed to give a minimum education to all children, and there was no limit to the amount of enrichment material that a teacher could introduce in order to supplement and amplify the basic core. The books attempted to serve the needs of the child of the campesino, of the worker, and of the members of more wealthy sectors of the society. At no time was it intended to be the only textbook, and indeed their hope was that the individual teacher would tailor her program so that it would meet the needs of the sector of the community using the book.¹²

Lic. Alfonso Garza, taking the lead for the Union Neoleonesa, stated that their objections were based upon the premise that the Estado de Nuevo Leon was sovereign in the area of education, and therefore the Federacion could not impose its curriculum within the state. He went on to point out that Hernandez and Ramirez had attempted to dim the view of the people and introduce the new curriculum and textbook without informing the parents. Garza then read a section of the Presidential Decree which stated that the new curriculum was to be the work of "mixed commissions" composed of professional educators and laymen. Garza then asked why this had not taken place in Nuevo Leon. He terminated his presentation with the charge that the new curriculum

¹²Ibid.

was copied from Russian and Cuban models. Both nations were communist and therefore anti-democratic and incompatible with the Constitucion de 1917.¹³

Ing. Eliot Camarena interjected at the close of the presentation by Lic. Garza that the communistic undercurrent evident in the textbooks and curriculum was further corroborated on Sunday at the "official" demonstration in support of the program, when in fact the representative of the teachers, Profr. Montemayor Chapa, had been one of the delegates who visited Russia and its schools on several occasions.¹⁴

Profr. Hernandez replied to the charges made by the Union by clearly asserting that the state was indeed sovereign, that the state educational authorities had the right to accept or reject the new curriculum, and that only after careful study had they decided to accept the reforms. The initial studies made by state educators was early 1959 when a commission was sent to Mexico to participate in the formulation of the program.¹⁵ Hernandez did not respond directly to the "mixed commissinn" charge,¹⁶ but did say that many different individuals had worked on the program

¹³ El Norte, February 27, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

¹⁴ Ibid., B-1.

¹⁵ Interview with Timoteo Hernandez.

¹⁶ El Norte, February 27, 1962, B-1, op. cit.

and that it was in no way communistic nor did it come from Russia or Cuba.¹⁷ The Monday meeting adjourned until 10 o'clock Tuesday.¹⁸

Tuesday, 27 February 1962

The Tuesday session started with the Union pressing the various educators on whether or not changes could be made in the program if the sovereign state of Nuevo Leon saw fit to make them. The several responses made by Hernandez, Hinojosa, Cantu, Barbosa and others was that no changes could be made but that the state was indeed sovereign.

The Union pressed its advantage by charging that the Ley Reglamentaria de la Educacion had expired since the Artículo 30 Constitutional (which deals with education) was reformed in 1946 and the educational law was written in 1941. Thus, according to the Constitucion government officials can only function under laws supported by constitutional clauses, and since the Ley Reglamentaria was drawn to complement the old Artículo 30 which prescribed that education be socialistic it was now illegal.¹⁹ Thus caught

¹⁷ Interview with Timoteo Hernandez.

¹⁸ El Norte, February 27, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

¹⁹ El Norte, February 28, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

in a legal gambit, all semblance of order disintegrated with the Union officials declaring that they were going immediately to the Gobernador to find out if the state was sovereign or not.²⁰

The meeting adjourned.

Wednesday, 28 February 1962

Promptly at ten o'clock Wednesday morning the representatives of the Union were ushered into Lic. Livas chambers for an audience. Lic. Sada, Jr. immediately demanded that the governor clarify whether or not the state was sovereign. If it was, Sada continued, then state educational authorities together with parents could modify the curriculum as they saw fit. If it was not, the Federacion could impose any curriculum it saw fit. Livas assured his visitors that the state was sovereign, and that the introduction of the new curriculum would be the state's free choice. When Eliot Camarena pointed out that the educators would now acknowledge that the round table could make changes and modifications, Livas replied that embodied in the Presidential Decree was the mechanism for participation by non-educators, and that any group could, if they wished, present their points of view to the Comision Nacional de Textos Gratuitos

²⁰Ibid., B-1.

and the Consejo Nacional Tecnico de la Educacion where they would be listened to and their suggestions studied with care.²¹

After the audience with the Gobernador Estatal, the officials from the Union joined with the government representatives in the third session of the round table. The meeting began at one o'clock. The agenda was devoted to a presentation of concrete criticisms of the curriculum and textbooks by the Union Neoleonesa. Lic. Garza, serving as spokesman for the parents, charged that the curriculum and textbooks were gravely deficient in the teaching of moral and spiritual values. His statement continued:

They [the programs] are deficient particularly in the areas of enrichment in the moral and spiritual values which give the child an idea of his value and as an individual. That is to say, that a child's education should help him understand his own individuality, and should not only teach him his place in a collectivity.²²

Towards the end of the presentation Garza pointed out that Profr. don Pablo Livas (father of the present governor) wrote in his Apuntes sobre Educacion (notes on education) that a teacher must always remember that it "is necessary to include in the education of a child morals, habits, and positive sentiments."²³

²¹Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena.

²²El Norte, March 1, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

²³Ibid., B-1.

In reply to Garza's presentation, Cantu stated that morals and values permeated not only the textbooks, but also the teacher training program at the Normal School emphasized the teaching of these subjects. Of course, as prescribed by the Constitucion morals was strictly separated from religious instruction. This the school official believed was the responsibility of the home and the church.²⁴

Profra. Anaya, one of the authors, stated that she was particularly concerned in her books with the teaching of values, respect for others, and the love of the family. She went on to add that her central purpose was to teach small children a respect for other Mexican children, and a sense of responsibility for the welfare of one another. She characterized her early books with the story of ahomeless Indian boy who was adopted by a family in the city. The story tried, in part, to interpret the similarities and differences found in city and rural children. This was done, she explained, in order that children become more aware of Mexican society.²⁵

The Wednesday meeting adjourned after Miss Anaya's brief commentary regarding her books.²⁶

²⁴Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

²⁵Interview with Profra. Anaya.

²⁶El Norte, March 1, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

Thursday, 29 February 1962

The Thursday session began with a vigorous attack on the textbooks themselves. Lic. Garza y Garza again took the lead for the Union Neoleonesa by declaring that despite what Miss Anaya and others might say about how good the books were, in this case a statistical study clearly proved otherwise. As he spoke he made reference to a carefully prepared chart which he held showing a typical reading book of the textbook series under scrutiny. The chart, as he explained it, showed that on just a few pages the word "community," "collectivity," and "social" are mentioned forty-three times. These, he said, suggest such concepts as "communism," "collectivity," and "socialism." Lic. Garza went on to point out that such words as "collectivity," "community," "social," "health," "naturalism," "cooperation," "state," "government," "civic," "fatherland," "national anthem," and "flag" were used to the almost complete exclusion of "family," "property," "free enterprise," "father," "mother," and other words of this sort.²⁷

The government officials reacted immediately to this charge by saying that the study was based upon an unfair extraction, and that they were prepared to jointly examine

²⁷El Norte, March 2, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

the references made to ascertain their validity. Lic. Garza, and others countered that the chart was proof enough, and they suggested that there was indeed some relationship between the orientation in the textbooks and the Marxist-Leninist education found in Cuba.²⁸

During the interchange that took place on Thursday, representatives from the Secretaria de Educacion advised the rest of the participants that they would have to return to Mexico over the weekend in order to be on the job Monday morning.²⁹ Since the representatives of the Union concluded that the government officials were not prepared to openly examine the books and conscienciously work to improve the new educational program further meetings would be useless.³⁰

In discussing this last meeting of the round table with several of the participants the writer found considerable disparity between the accounts given by the government officials, the representatives of the Union Neoleonesa, and the newspapers. The latter two tended towards the position that the government was never serious in discussing the educational problem, and when the ideological orientation of the books was exposed to them they terminated the meetings. On the

²⁸ Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

²⁹ El Norte, March 2, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

³⁰ Ibid., B-1.

otherhand, the government complained that the representatives of the UNPF and the newspapers, particularly El Norte, were merely attempting to create a political conflict. When the educators attempted to discuss educational matters the Union would twist the issue for their own political ends. They, of course, insisted that they withdrew only when it was clear that the Union was not seriously interested in discussing the educational issues. The meeting adjourned permanently.³¹

Final Interchange

On the third of March the representatives of the Secretaria de Educacion published a half page summary of their activities in Monterrey during the last week of February.

A LA OPINION PUBLICA

At the request of the Comision Organizadora de la Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia, the Ciudadano Gobernador Constitucional del Estado asked the Secretario de Educacion Publica [Torres Bodet] to send to this city a Comision de Maestros who, in round table discussions, clarified the doubts and dispelled the objections [of the Union] regarding the programs and methods of instruction. [The Comision de Maestrso] also discussed the textbooks which were written for primary school throughout the nation.

On the 10th of February the discussions began, however, they were limited only to the drawing up of an agenda in view [of the fact] that the members of the Comision

³¹Ibid, B-1.

Organizadora declared that they did not know the content of the new curriculum nor textbooks very well. As a consequence, the work of the Comision de Maestros was delayed for fifteen days.

Beginning on Monday, February 26th, the teachers sent by the Secretaria de Educacion gave full explanations on the points which were presented [by the Comision Organizadora]. The discussions were recorded by magnetic tape and [they] serve as proof that the padres de familia were unfamiliar with the content of the curriculum and the textbooks.

After the first meeting of the second series of discussions [February 26], and [after] noticing that the newspaper articles were not accurately reflecting the meetings nor certain of the conclusions, the Comision de Maestros proposed that all participants of the round table make a joint statement at the end of each day's work. The purpose of these joint bulletins was to eliminate misleading articles from appearing in the various news media. This proposal was rejected by the Comision Organizadora.

The Comision de Representantes of the Secretaria de Educacion Publica suggested at the beginning of the Thursday meeting that the remaining few days be devoted to examining their [the Comision Organizadora] fundamental objections, and that minor objections be submitted to the Secretaria in writing. The reason for this suggestion was the need for the Comision de Maestros to return to Mexico on Sunday. The representatives of the Comision Organizadora, after discussing the matter amongst themselves, stated that they preferred to terminate [the discussions] immediately. They would present their objections and points of view as regards to the themes on the agenda to the Secretaria de Educacion Publica at a later date.

The Comision de Maestros accepted the decision of the Comision Organizadora, and the work of the round table came to an end.

Monterrey, N.L. 2 Marzo 1962

LOS REPRESENTANTES DE LA SECRETARIA DE EDUCACION	
Profr. Antonion Barbosa Heldt	Profra. Dionisia Zamora
Profr. Luis Alvarez Barret	Pallares
Profr. Manuel Boneta Mendez	Profra. Soledad Anaya
	Solorzano 32

³²Ibid., B-1.

The following Wednesday (March 7th) El Porvenir published a full page ad sponsored by the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia:

INFORME A LOS PADRES DE FAMILIA

In order to inform the parents who bestowed their confidence upon us, and asked us to represent them in the educational discussions with the Estado, we present our report. You will note that the most important aspects of our report have already been amply described by the press, television, and other information media, who coincidentally collected their information directly from the Round Table discussions which were held.

I. On February 10th last, by invitation of the senior Gobernador del Estado we attended a meeting at the Casa del Maestro.

In that meeting we agreed to formally initiate round table discussions on the 26th of February. Since one of the points of our protests was that the educational reforms which [they] were trying to impose on the Estado without anyone having had the opportunity to study them closely, and since they were trying to introduce the program in the middle of the school year, without having permitted the parents to participate in the formulation of the curriculum, our group needed time to study closely books and the curriculum.

Logically this first meeting was merely an exchange of ideas so that an agenda could be formulated. We could not discuss such a delicate matter [the imposition of a new curriculum] whose surprise introduction [into the state education system] was the main reason for the intranquility and the lack of confidence of the parents [in the government authorities.]

II. On the appointed day, February 26th, the formal discussions were initiated with the functionaries of Educacion del Estado, who on that occasion were supported by five technicians sent by the Secretaria. Of the five technicians only Profr. Manuel Boneta Mendez was the only one who had been at the meeting of the 10th, and who could verify what happened then.

III. In order to have a definite basis for our discussions [with the Comision de Maestros] we attempted to establish the following points:

El Estado de Nuevo Leon, in the exercise of its sovereignty, has the faculties without contradicting the federal pact, of formulating programs and methods of instruction. To this end we invoked the Ley General de Educacion Public which is necessarily based upon Artículo 30. Federal.

We have the satisfaction of informing you that since there were several interpretations to the meaning of state sovereignty we went directly to the Sr. Gobernador who supported our point of view.

IV. As regards to the proposed curriculum and textbooks we made the following objections:

(a) the programs are eminently materialistic [although] not so much in what they say or do, but essentially through omission.

(b) they don't sufficiently develop in the child the moral values which permit him to receive an integrated education which is necessary for a complete and harmonious development of the person as an individual.

(c) the programs are suspiciously similar to the educational systems in operation in Russia and Cuba--two countries dominated by communism.

(d) the programs fail to awaken the child's interest in continuing his studies which [in turn] aggravates school attrition which is tremendous, according to what we have been told.

(e) [they] should eliminate from the program those positions and attitudes which [the program] contains, and which are destructive to national and social unity.

(f) in explaining the economic structure within which we live, [the program] incurs the criticism of lamentably suppressing the dominant concepts in the economy and [on the other hand] using freely terminology properly belonging to collective and totalitarian regimes. This, therefore, deforms the visual field of the child in this branch of his studies.

V. In a constructive spirit we made them [the Comision de Maestros] see--and we believe that they accepted our reflections--that:

- (a) the programs need to be enriched with ideas which foment in the spirit of the child the obligation to support national unity;
- (b) that [the program] must impress on the conscience [of the child] value as an individual;
- (c) that [the program] cultivate [the child's] love of his parents and his family as vital social structures;
- (d) that [the program] incline [the child] toward the Truth, but not for personal convenience, rather because truth has superior human value; and ultimately,
- (e) that [the program] revive [the child's] love for our traditions, customs, and way of life, since they are elements which give us august ideas of nation and fatherland.

All these considerations we supported with examples from the same program which serve to justify and reinforce them.

It was our objective to deepen the particular analysis of each area stated above, since we believe that this is the only way possible to consider the whole panorama of the problem under consideration and arrive at any reasonable conclusions. Unfortunately, the representatives of the Secretaria de Educacion stated that such a study would take more time than they had available, since they had just received instructions to return to the City of Mexico.

In the face of such a situation we clearly stated that we intended to continue the discussions with the educational authorities of the Estado (de Nuevo Leon) in order to arrive at [satisfactory] conclusions, since practically all the points on the agenda remained pending, including such important things as methods [of instruction] and textbooks.

In the meantime we went once again before the Senor Gobernador del Estado in order that he might indicate the road which we should follow. Our hope is to complete the agenda and resolve the educational problem

presented. A problem which has deeply preoccupied the parents, not only because it deals with out children but more importantly because it will mold all children, the Mexican of tomorrow. We also believe it, following the thinking of the Senor Presidente de la Republica that man is the supreme value of the Society.

Today we have arranged another interview with the Senor Gobernador in order that he might point out the way we should go.

Monterrey, N.L.
a 7 de Marzo de 1962

UNION NEOLEONESA DE PADRES DE FAMILIA
LA COMISION DE ESTUDIO³³

The audience with the Gobernador was merely a pro-forma gesture for the February crisis was over. The government continued with its plans to introduce the new curriculum and textbooks into the schools of the State of Nuevo Leon. While the unwritten compromise which has long characterized Mexican education continued to hold true with the private incorporated schools going their own way with little or no interference from the state authorities.

³³El Porvenir, March 3, 1962, op. cit., B-1.

CHAPTER IX

AN EXAMINATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL ISSUES MENTIONED IN THE CASE STUDY

The charges made at the outset of the February crisis were in essence two: that the state, through its usurped control of education, was attempting to impose an ideology which was foreign to the historic traditions of Mexico, and that the rights of parents to educate their children had been violated by an autocratic state.

Ideology Foreign to Mexican Tradition

The charge that the schools were teaching a communist ideology was based upon the following evidence. A teachers' manual used to describe the areas de conocimiento (variation on the core curriculum) was written by a Cuban who participated in the introduction of this curricular approach in Cuba during the Castro educational reforms. The Secretario de Gobernacion, Ramos Lozano, was a "known" communist and had been formerly in charge of the secondary education branch of the Secretaria de Educacion Federal. The Rector of the Universidad de Nuevo Leon was a "known" communist. Teachers were henceforth to be screened by the Director General de Educacion Estatal before being granted

a position in one of the private incorporated schools. Currently employed teachers were being "forced" to attend "indoctrination" classes in which a communist curriculum and textbook was being introduced to the teachers, in order that the latter might in turn "indoctrinate" their pupils. And, the texto gratuito was being imposed as the texto unico y obligatorio and that it was communist in content.

In the minds of many responsible Mexican citizens the evidence was clear. As far as they were concerned the national culture was being threatened by these "infiltrators" who had already taken control of the administration of public education, and were now moving to take over the schools and through the schools the minds of Mexican children.

In answering the charges Profr. Timoteo Hernandez, Director General de Educacion, reiterated and in some cases amplified upon the position taken by the government throughout February, 1962. The author of one of the textbooks used to describe the new curriculum was indeed a Cuban, but she had in fact written her book while Castro was still a mountain guerilla. Although Mexico has drawn from other Hispanic countries in the development of its educational system it was pointed out by a speaker in the counter-demonstration that a major portion of the theory behind the curricular reforms was North American and European.¹

¹Interview with Pfors. Timoteo Hernandez.

Ramos Lozano, as Director General de Educacion Secundaria Federal, was not directly involved in the educational reforms which were planned and carried out in the primarias of the nation. Indeed, quite unlike the loose administrative structure found in other nations where officials have shared or overlapping responsibility at the administrative level of state public schools, in Mexico each school level--pre-escolar, primaria, secundaria, preparatorias, comercio, vocational, tecnologico, poli-tecnologico, universidad--are all virtually autonomous with little relationship one with the other. Also, Hernandez pointed out that Ramos Lozano was not a proven communist, his only fault seemed to be that he had not publicly denied being a communist, therefore his detractors were accusing him without verified proof and on the supposition that he must be communist, since he did not deny the charge.²

As far as Alvarado, Rector of the Universidad de Nuevo Leon, was concerned, Hernandez limited himself to saying that he had been appointed as Rector at the beginning of the Livas Villarreal regime, and that, although born in Monterrey, he was more noted as a labor-political columnist in worker oriented papers of the Federal District.³ Asked why he had been opposed at the university, the Director

² Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez. (Ramos Lozano was unavailable for interview.)

³ Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

General stated that "the Universidad de Nuevo Leon has had a history of politically motivated strife. First the "leftists" were forcing out a "rightist" Rector then the "rightists" were attacking the "leftists." Alvarado was a "leftist" who attempted to bring order to the ciudad universitaria and both the "rightists" and the "leftists" ganged upon him."⁴ Hernandez pointed out that Alvarado was finally forced out of the Rectoria the following year (1963). Again, Alvarado had nothing to do with the educational reform of the primarias and to accuse the public school system of communism because of individuals was unjustified and political in implication.⁵

After the counter demonstration the anti-textbook leaders published an implied charge that Profr. Montemayor Chapa was a communist for having visited the Soviet Union.⁶ Montemayor denied being a communist in a personal interview, although he did believe that a certain measure of social reform was essential in Mexico if all Mexicans were to enjoy the fruits of Mexico's progress. When asked if this reflected the views of public school teachers, he replied

⁴Ibid. (Internal quotes the writers.)

⁵Ibid.

⁶El Norte (Monterrey, N.L. Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega).

that he was not speaking for Mexican teachers, however, he posed a question in his stead: "If you were a Mexican primary school teacher earning less than \$1,000 Ps. (eighty dollars) monthly, and you taught children whose family income was equally low in the government sponsored schools would you not favor reform?"⁷

Dr. Vela Gonzalez replied, when asked about this charge of communists, that they--the anti-textbook leaders --were attempting to smear the government's fine program of assistance to the "poor and downtrodden" whom he, and many other revolutionists like him, had fought for in the Revolucion Mexicana. Pressed to elaborate on the trio's--Ramos Lozano, Alvarado, Montemayor--political ideology, Dr. Vela G. responded that the only thing that the three had in common was their membership in the Gran Logia del Estado de Nuevo Leon (Scottish Rite Masonic Lodge).⁸

As a former Grand Master, Dr. Vela G. proudly reviewed the political history of the Logias of Mexico, from their work for Independence--Hidalgo and Morelos were reputed to be Masons--through their administration of the schools during the Independence Period, to the Masons who worked with Juarez, also a Mason, on the Reform Laws and the Constitucion de 1857, and finally to their dominance

⁷ Interview with Profr. Montemayor Chapa.

⁸ Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez.

of the Convencion de Queretaro from which emerged the Constitucion de 1917. When asked what was the role of the Gran Logia in the February crisis Dr. Vela G. candidly replied that officially the Logia was a-political however it did provide a contingent in the counter demonstration to show its support for the social work of the government.⁹

When asked what political leaders were also Masons, Dr. Vela G. demurred, Ing. Eliot Camarena, himself a member of the Caballeros de Colon (K of C) provided the answer when he charged that almost the entire governmental apparatus was Masonic. Lic. Eduardo Livas V., Profr. Timoteo Hernandez, Profr. Ramos L., Lic. Pedro Ortiz (Presidente del Senado Estatal), "todos los del P.R.I." and many more "were involved with the outlawed Masonic orders."¹⁰ Ing. Eliot implied that a close relationship between communists and Masons existed when he pointed out that "Masons, because of their anti-Catholic stance, have aligned themselves with extra-territorial groups (a term used to imply communists) who are dedicated to destroying the traditions sacred to Mexico."¹¹ Asked if he differentiated between Masonic anti-clericalism and anti-Christian, Eliot said he saw no difference, since Masons had been ex-communicated over a century ago and were no longer, therefore, Christians.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Interview with Ing. Elliot Camarena.

¹¹Ibid.

He added, "to be against any aspect of the Church was to be against the Church corporate."¹² He was not, of course, speaking for the Church; however, extemporaneous comments do provide an insight into certain facets of the underlying conflict.

Since the role of the Church in the February crisis had not been mentioned at any time throughout the critical month, nor had the Church made, through the Bishop of Monterrey, any public statement, the conflict remained one between a "group of parents" who were resisting the encroachment of communism, it is difficult to assess the role the Church played in the crisis. That the anti-textbook demonstrators were Christian was evident by the cheers they shouted--CRISTIANISMO SI, COMUNISMO NO--and the banners they carried during the parade. The speakers in their stead made the most pro-Christian speeches heard in Monterrey at a public assembly since the Revolucion.¹³ But when asked what the Church's role was, Ing. Eliot C. vehemently denied any connection.¹⁴ The whole hearted support given to the demonstration by the Caballeros de Colon, parents of private church-affiliated

¹²Ibid.

¹³Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez.

¹⁴Interview with Ing. Elliot Camarena.

incorporated schools, various ladies parish benefit societies,¹⁵ as well as the fact that both the editor of El Norte and his father had been decorated by the Pope,¹⁶ and that the Union Nacional de Padres de Familia had been singled out as an "ideal" type Catholic lay organization by the Pope,¹⁷ did not change Eliot's contention that there was a groundswell of revolution against the autocratic imposition of the curriculum and textbook and that Catholic organization formed no official part of the demonstration. That Catholics were involved, however, Eliot C. proudly pointed out that Monterrey is a deeply Catholic city, and, of course, Catholic parents had and have a paramount concern that their children receive a moral education. Eliot elaborated by saying that the reason so many Catholic schools prospered in Monterrey was because of this abiding concern.¹⁸ Dr. Vela G. said "the Bishop is behind the whole thing; he hasn't learned his lesson yet."¹⁹ (Vela G. was of course referring to the century old struggle between the church and state.)

¹⁵ Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez.

¹⁶ Interview with Sr. Junco de la Vega.

¹⁷ Medel (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Jus., S.A., 1a.)

¹⁸ Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena.

¹⁹ Interview with Dr. Francisco Vela Gonzalez.

Rights of Parents Violated

When asked about the charge that the state educational authorities were attempting to screen the incoming teachers in private incorporated schools, Ing. Eliot C. reached into his files for a clipping taken from El Norte which purportedly reproduced a circular from the Direccion General de Educacion ordering the private schools to submit the names and documents of prospective teachers for state approval before signing contracts with them, Eliot responded: "Is this proof enough?" The writer pointed out that the Direccion was merely following the rules set down by the Ley Organica de Educacion which required all teachers of primary schools to hold a Normal Primaria title, but the leader of the anti-textbook demonstration shrugged and said: "Whether it has happened once or many times it is improper for the state to impose its teachers on the private incorporated schools," In his opinion the director of each school had the sole responsibility, as granted by the parents who sent their children to his school, to select suitable teachers.²⁰

In seeking clarification from the Director General concerning the imposition of teachers on private incorporated schools, Profr. Hernandez stated that "it is the responsibility

²⁰ Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena.

of the state, as the representative of the people corporate, to ensure that the teachers who are designated as responsible for the education of little children to properly qualify."²¹ To be so qualified necessitated the successful completion of a program of study in a recognized normal school, of which there were both public and private. He had issued the circular "more as an annual reminder than anything else."²² Asked if the annual circular had been enforced in the past Hernandez admitted that the state educational authorities had not done so. However, he continued, "now that state education was assuming an ascendant position with more inspectors and other administrative personnel they [the state] were assuming a more decisive posture in ensuring that the educational code is carried out." "The law is there," he went on, "and failure to obey it, or negligence in enforcing it does not change the law. We are determined to carry out our responsibilities."²³

Profr. Hernandez scoffed at the charge that teachers were being indoctrinated, and that only through the intervention of the parents was he forced to desist. The titular

²¹Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

head of the department said that the series of conferences (in-service training) that were held in January and February were designed to introduce to the teachers the curriculum reforms and new textbook that was to be introduced the following September. The inservice training courses were not cancelled under pressure, rather the first phase of the introductory program was completed and the teachers were released. The charge that the state was trying to indoctrinate the teachers was equally injusto (unjust). When the curricular reforms were presented there was open and frank discussion about the changes and together--teachers and administrators--explored ways and means of introducing the changes.²⁴

El Texto Gratuito

Hernandez went on to discuss the texto gratuito which is an integral part of the curricular reforms. He began by saying that the textbooks were free and not obligatory nor exclusive. He continued by describing how they came into being, why they were so important to the progress of the nation, and denying their tie-in with international communism.²⁵

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

Asked why there had been such an eruption in Monterrey, as well as Puebla, Guadalajara, and San Luis Potosi, he replied that the various manifestations of discontent were politically motivated and had nothing to do with the content of the textbooks.²⁶ This, of course, was denied by Eliot Camarena.²⁷ Hernandez pointed out that the textbook series had been issued to both public and private schools the preceding September as a supplement to the existing textbooks and was immediately accepted as the official text without any coercion of any kind. "Even the monjitas (teaching nuns)" he said, "were using the books before this political manifestation."²⁸ "No private schools used or are using the textbooks," countered Eliot.²⁹ The textbooks were in fact used in some of the private church related schools.

When investigating the use of the texto gratuito the writer visited a number of private incorporated schools in which he found that the texto gratuito was prominently displayed in each class room. Asked if the book was used the director would hastily say yes, but when pressed there was a certain amount of evasiveness. Inquiring more deeply into

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena.

²⁸Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

²⁹Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena.

this aspect the author discovered that most private church affiliated schools have been ordered by their Sociedades de Padres de Familia (parents' associations) not to use the texto gratuito. Thus, they display the books, if the Inspector makes issue with their not being used, the director hands the Inspector a notarized letter from the parents, then politely asks him if he would like to meet with the parents in a general assembly to discuss the matter further. The Inspector withdraws the demand.

When inquiring into this hesitancy on the part of the inspectorate, Profr. Arechega, Inspector of private incorporated primary schools for the State of Nuevo Leon, responded that "the Direcction has come a long way in extending its influence over private schools."³⁰ However, they were not yet prepared to challenge the private schools on this matter. Although the textbooks are first on the list of required texts for the various grades, the Director General pointed out that educators were given other books to choose from as well which could be used as libros de consulta (supplementary).³¹

Eliot Camarena used, throughout the interview, the term texto unico y obligatorio rather than texto gratuito.

³⁰ Interview with Profr. Arechega.

³¹ Interview with Profr. Timoteo Hernandez.

Asked to clarify this terminology he simply stated that the books were compulsory and that the state was attempting to force all schools to use government texts to the exclusion of all others. When the writer pointed out that from the Presidential Decree (1959) establishing the Comision Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuito to the present the Comision had been given a clear directive to produce free authorized textbooks, but never was there any mention of making it exclusive, Eliot Camarena replied: "This their first step and we are determined to stop them before they take the second one. They [the government] are establishing a precedent from which they will further erode our liberty."³² Eliot Camarena continued by pointing out that the challenge made by the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia was based upon not only the limitations of parental liberty in choosing the type of education desired for their children, but also on the content of the books in question. The former head of the Union referred to a study made during the round table discussions in February 1962 in which it was "proven" by the Union that the books were full of communist terminology and philosophy and would erode the traditions of democracy and freedom which Mexicans had fought so long and hard to achieve."³³

³²Interview with Ing. Eliot Camarena.

³³Ibid.

The contents of the textbook, then, became a crucial issue in the conflict. It is important therefore to examine certain of the stories identified by the Union Neoleonesa as being fraught with communist ideology. Eliot Camarena was asked to identify one or two communist stories, but he replied: "Read any of the stories and you will see for yourself."³⁴ Rather, then selecting stories at random, the writer asked Lic. Garza y Garza, the Union Neoleonesa representative at the round table discussions who presented the chart showing the communist orientation of the stories, if he could identify the most communistic stories in the textbook series. He demurred saying that his study took place four years prior, and he could not recall specific stories. Upon being presented 1962 textbooks he readily identified several that were used as a bases for the charges of communism.³⁵

One of the stories Lic. Garza indicated was full of communistic ideology is about a group of first grade students who could not afford to purchase toys to play with during recess. The boy who was a natural leader of the group suggested that they pool their pennies and buy a ball together. They all agreed that this was a good idea so the following week they bought a big red ball. Each day the

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Interview with Lic. Garza y Garza.



the children played together with the big ball, and at night a different one would take it home. The following week they again pooled their money so that one of the children could buy the toy of his choice. This happened during the successive weeks until all the children had selected a special toy, except the boy leader who had optioned to be the last to choose his toy. Unfortunately, the boy fell and broke his leg and was confined to his bed for a couple of weeks. The rest of the children then decided to buy their leader an extra special toy--a train that he was particularly fond of--in order to show their appreciation for his leadership of their friendship group.³⁶

Another story was about a child who was sitting alone on the edge of a playing field during the mid-morning recess. He was pale and looked sick. Another little boy came running to him and asked why he didn't play with the other children. The pale little boy replied that his family was very poor and he always felt sick from hunger since he seldom had any breakfast. The other boy immediately ran to a store near the school and brought back a drink and a torta (Mexican sandwich) for the boy sitting. Without waiting for a word of thanks, he then returned to play with the other classmates.

³⁶Texto Gratuito.

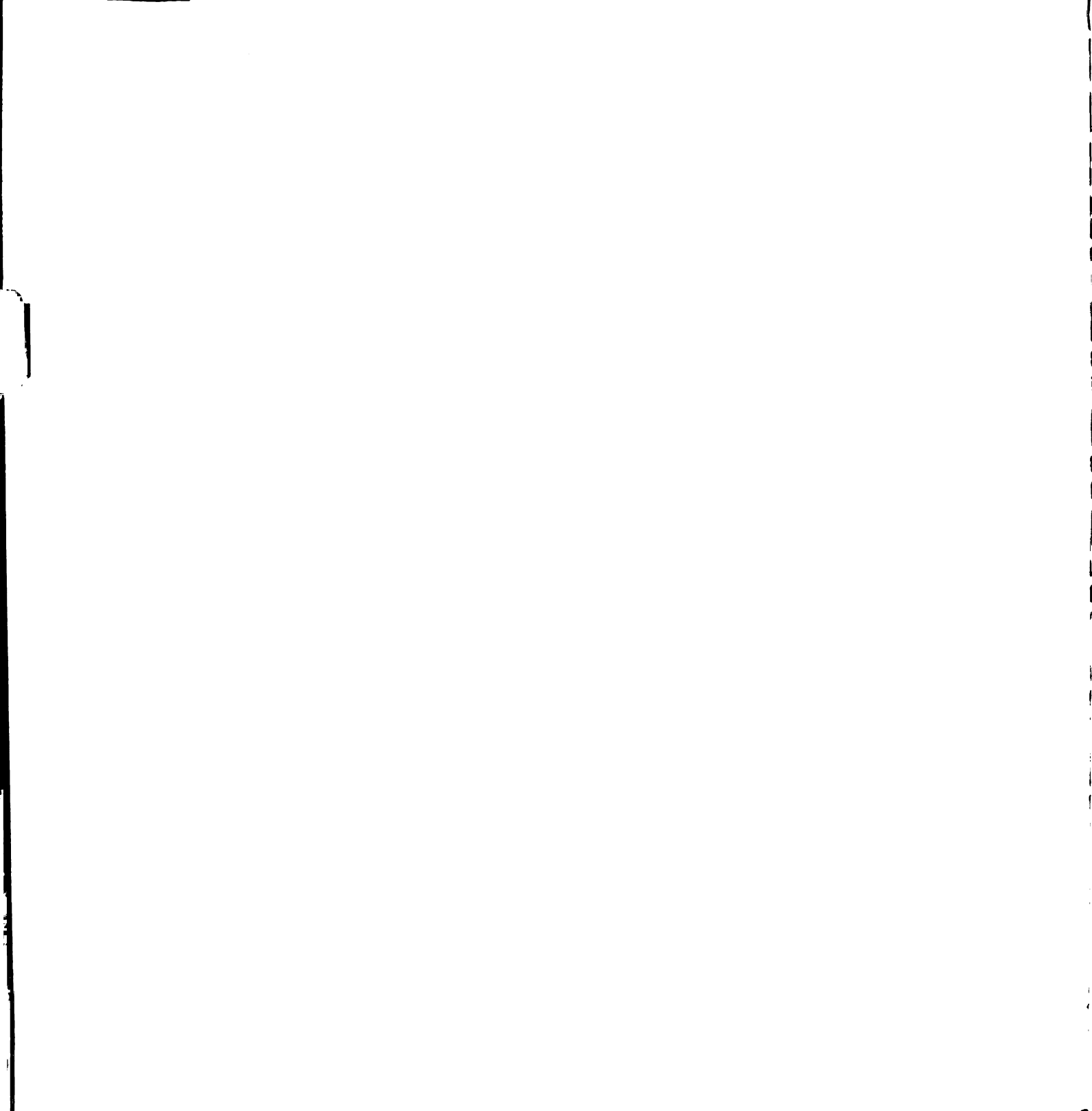
The teacher observed this very generous act and privately commended the child for recognizing his responsibility.³⁷

Lic. Garza pointed out that although many of the stories were innocuous in plot, they seemed to emphasize certain kinds of themes and vocabulary to the exclusion of more traditional concepts. Warming up to the subject, and recalling his presentation, Lic. Garza said that the stories in the textos gratuitos centered around poor children in rural and barrio surroundings and that such words as companero (Castro uses this in Cuba to mean comrade), community, collectivity, social, naturalism, cooperation, civic, state, fatherland, government, and so on were emphasized. "This is a subtle indoctrination of children, who will quickly become accustomed to thinking in these terms and soon forget more traditional words such as family, property, free enterprise, father, mother and so on."³⁸

Asked if he was familiar with the current (1966) stories Lic. Garza said that he was "always on guard for any further encroachment by the government through this form of indoctrination."³⁹

³⁸ Interview with Lic. Garza y Garza.

³⁹ Ibid.



Profr. Hernandez responding to the charges made by Lic. Garza stated that one of the major tenets of the Revolucion Mexicana was the creation of an integrated Mexican society through education, and that the basic theme of these books dealt with the common cause of creating a Mexican society in which all citizens recognized their obligations towards their fellow men.⁴⁰ Hernandez described one of the stories that was serialized through successive lessons in which the father of a city family reads in the newspaper of disastrous floods in the State of Oaxaca (southern Mexico) where his parents live. The father takes the train south from Mexico, D.F. then several days later returns. He reports that his parents are safe and that their farm house had not been destroyed, then he introduces his son and daughter to a boy one year older than they who has now come to live with them. The father explains that the Oaxacan boy's parents were drowned in the flood and that he was left homeless. The children happily greet the boy. The following morning the trio go to school, accompanied by the mother who introduces the Indian boy to her children's teacher. The teacher and the rest of the class greet the new student. The teacher explains to the class that children in the country are often behind those of the city because they don't have

⁴⁰ Interview with Profr. Hernandez.

the same opportunity to go to school. The teacher asks all the children to help their new classmate. The Indian youth, who has the same facial characteristics as Benito Juarez and generally the same biography, quickly integrates into the class life and soon becomes the leader. He, because he is big and strong, becomes the protector of the smaller children in the class, and when a bully comes to beat up one of his friends he immediately settles the fray.⁴¹

The serialized story about the Indian youth repeatedly emphasizes responsibility, cooperation, companionship, Mexicanization of Indian and Spaniard, physical work, love of school and loyalty to Patria. Timoteo Hernandez concluded that "they don't like these kinds of stories because they work towards breaking down class distinction and remind them of their responsibility, which they have not fulfilled, to the humble and poor."⁴² These stories, he went on to say, "were written about children who in the vast majority would be the readers. Most Mexican children are from poor homes and they can relate to these lifelike situations."⁴³

The writer then asked Profr. Hernandez why, if the stories were not communistic, did the Comision Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuito change certain of them so that they emphasized to a greater degree such things as the family,

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

mother, father, friends, occupations (including small businessmen), and played down concepts Garza had been against.

Profr. Hernandez expressed surprise at such an analysis and proceeded to point out that the orientation of the books had not changed although the stories might have been replaced.

He went on to explain that every couple of years the Comision is required, by law, to call for manuscripts from which the reading books are compiled. That there were changes is natural since the authors are perfecting their techniques and the entire format of the reading books is being improved in this way. He did concede, however, that one of the objectives of the Comision was to publish a book series that would heal the breach between various factions in society. In this way the "texto gratuitos would serve to draw together the rich and the poor, the private and the public school students."⁴⁴

Analysis of the Charges

The interview statements made by spokesmen for one or the other side seemed to repeat the positions taken four years before and, at the most, elaborate upon them. There was little attempt on the part of the interviewees to probe beneath the superficial statements to interpret the underlying issues. These the writer will deal with later. But

⁴⁴Ibid.

first an evaluative analysis of the charges must be undertaken. The encroachment of communism was not a proven charge, and could only be justified in that the state educational officials were hard put to prove it did not exist. From an Anglo Saxon juridical position the charge would be thrown out because the Union Neoleonesa could not prove their allegations; however, under Napoleonic Code the one charged must bear the burden of proving his innocents, thus for many Mexicans there was an element of reason in their parental concern over communism in the schools and in the government.

Of course it is extremely hard to prove such an allegation and equally hard to disprove it. Indeed, the validity in the conclusions one arrives at are only as meaningful as the value placed upon the word of the person stating his opinion. Thus, when the Director General de Educacion in the Estado de Nuevo Leon declares that there is no communistic orientation in the curriculum one has just as much justification in believing him as someone else might have in believing the Presidente of the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia.

Similarly, the words of the adversaries viz a viz the other charges are contradictory, however the events tend to permit a more tangible analysis. Although Profr. Hernandez denied being pressured to change his in-service courses for teachers he did, in fact, terminate that phase of the work and never renew them. In 1965, in-service training courses

were initiated for specific topics such as science, math, spelling, etc. but no attempt was made to discuss the textbooks or the philosophy behind the curricular changes. To date this broader topic has been left in abeyance.

The charge that the state was imposing a new curriculum and corresponding textbook is indeed valid if it is assumed that the state is a monolythic structure that functions outside the influence of the people it governs. As pointed out in the preliminary chapters dealing with the evolution of education the people have always been very much involved in its direction. Also, the organization of the Comision Nacional de Libros de Texto Gratuito included representatives of various sectors of society, including la opinion publica. The one sector that was excluded, however, was the Catholic Church. By excluding the Church the government was following a pattern of behavior that has existed since the Constitucion de 1917, indeed ostensibly since the Constitucion de 1857. However, by excluding the Church, the government excluded all the sub-institutions that are akin to it, and which do indeed influence education. The charge that the state was imposing its curriculum was substantiated in terms of private church-related schools having been excluded from the deliberation.

In the case of nation-states such as Mexico, where certain institutions that represent a certain segment of the people are denied decision making participation, then that segment's only recourse is civil disobedience and occasional reactive outbursts. Then as a result of this expression of their will, the course of education is sometimes influenced and occasionally redirected.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to study an event in Mexican educational history in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding as to its role in the process of social change. The case study began with a brief description of the crisis, an outline of the thesis, and an extensive review of the literature. The literature encompassed both historical and social change theory sources. The second portion of the study dealt with a brief commentary of Mexican educational history over the past four hundred years. This was followed by a detailed description of the crisis event and a summary evaluation of its overt manifestations. The final chapter deals with the underlying complexes of social interaction and their relevancy in the light of social change theory.

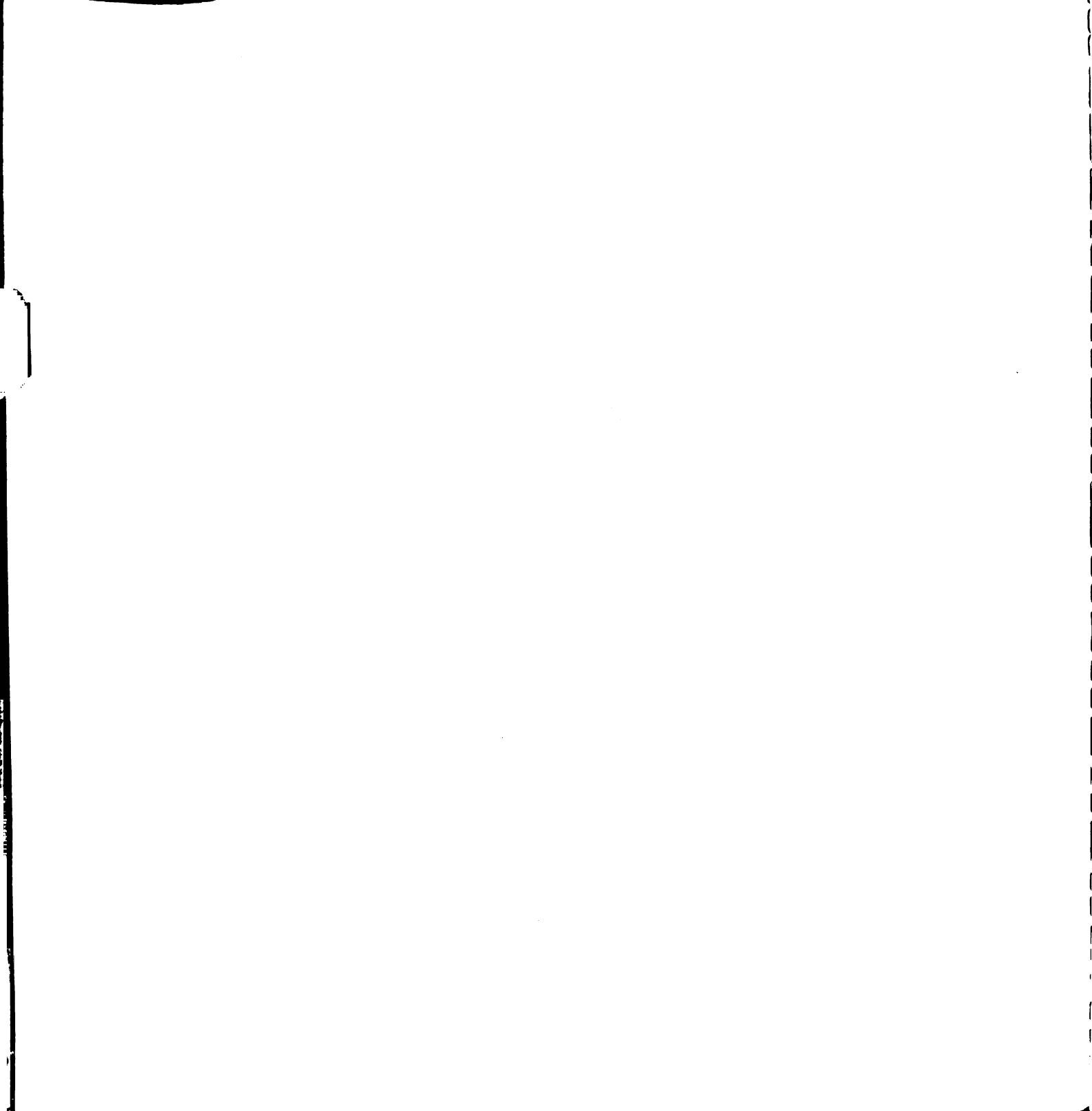
An interdisciplinary approach, such as has been taken in this case study, is an extremely difficult task. This is due to the nature of the several disciplines involved. History deals primarily with the overt manifestations of man in society in an sequential time-space order. Sociology and more particularly psychology are concerned with the covert nuances and underplay that ultimately emerge

as the events of history. The social change theories, drawn from both sociology and psychology, help identify the various stages and aspects of change as they manifest themselves in the case study. Combining the disciplines in this manner has permitted the scholar to focus on the nature of change in man and his institutions.

A Synopsis of the Events in the Crisis

Monterrey, Mexico was the center of a crisis in education that focused the attention of the nation for twenty-eight days during the month of February, 1962. The point of issue was the proposed introduction of a Secretariat of Public Education developed textbook which correlated with a new national elementary school curriculum. The reaction to these several moves was organized by groups of parents who were principally concerned with maintaining the independence of private church-related schools. However, as the issues emerged and the greater Monterrey community was made aware of the situation a general reaction to the government's educational authorities set in.

On the 2nd of February 1962 nearly 300,000 men, women and children marched in protest to the proposed curricular reforms and national textbook series. The closing of stores and factories undoubtedly increased the numbers; nonetheless,



the attitude of the demonstrators was clearly opposed to the policies of national and state governments. It was the biggest single demonstration against the government since the Mexican Revolution. It was also the first aggressive pro-Catholic Church demonstration since the late 1930's.

The speeches made the plaza below the governor's palace all followed a similar theme--a demand that the rights of parents to guide the education of their children be respected and an opposition to the further interference by governmental functionaries in their educational affairs. The newspaper articles, meetings and talks of the succeeding days repeated this general theme.

Although no significant alteration appeared in the attitudes or activities of the opposing sides during the month of February, this moment in history was critical in that it brought into focus the fundamental problems related to the nature of social change and the role of education as a change agent.

A Diagnosis of the Crisis in the Light of Social Change Theory

At issue in the educational crisis was more than merely the introduction of a new textbook series that correlated with a new national elementary school curriculum. Indeed, the content of the books and the courses of study simply provided the catalyst for considerable underlying

unrest towards the general trend in which the Mexican nation seemed to be evolving.

The emotion fraught reaction to government educational policy was largely due to the basic human concern of parents for their children. The magnitude of the demonstration was but a small measure of parental alarm upon hearing biased commentary concerning the type of education being proposed for their children. Both rich and poor joined to oppose the educational reforms with the claim that parents--not the state--had the primary responsibility for their childrens' education. The point at issue then became one of parental rights viz a viz the responsibilities of the nation-state. Parents drew on the 19th century liberal conceptualizations regarding the individual and his rights to claim for themselves the exclusive right to educate their progeniture. The contention of parents was more precisely one of claiming that the institution of the family was inviolable to the pressure of the institution of the state as regards to the education of their children. However, the Mexican family has never been directly involved in the development of school and curriculum; this had traditionally been the responsibility of the church and the state. Choice of curriculum, textbooks, teachers or teaching techniques was severely limited to that approved by the various

educational institutions and this was generally in keeping with French and Spanish educational tradition.

When the state educational authorities diverged radically from the long-standing practice, parents became concerned that their children would be educated in a manner not acceptable to themselves. Mexican parents were not reacting individually to the curricular change rather they were responding collectively as members of an institutional galaxy that, in turn, was responsible for the education of their children.

In Mexico, following Latin philosophical thought, the role of the individual is minimized in the theoretical constructs of society. That is, the individual exists as a personality representing the influence of the various institutions that encompass him. A person reflects those institutions that have nurtured him. His responses to stimuli become the responses of all men who form part of a given galaxy of institutions. To be sure each person's responses vary in degree with the combination of institutions encompassing him, however, in a Mexican setting there is a greater propensity that a person will interact primarily within certain major institutional structures which tend to sustain the whole man. Thus, in keeping with this approach the last statement made by the Comision Organizadora on March 7, 1962 expressed concern for the individual in terms of how the educational institution would integrate the child into the institutional fabric of society.

Parents who tended towards the position that the consumation of their marriage vows within the body of the Christian Church represented a life long obligation to God to provide an environment for their children which would protect the child from atheistic ideologies were justifiably alarmed when they were informed that the intent of the government's educational policies were designed to draw the child away from his Christian heritage. As Christian parents they felt an obligation to place their children in schools that would involve children in the same ideological and institutional milieu as themselves. This was based upon the assumption that a child can and is conditioned primarily by his social environment. Therefore, the training carried out by the educational institutions is of paramount importance for it structures the pattern of responses the individual will make under given circumstances and in keeping with certain philosophical premises. Church-related schools were the traditional method of ensuring that the child followed in the path of his father. When it appeared that his important institution was being threatened by the nation-state there was considerable concern on the part of parents.

This institutional conflict may be more readily understood through a brief examination of the two principal schools of thought that deal with the nature of social organization. These opposing schools provide further insight as to the divergent directions the society was being pulled.

The first is that the nation-state is an institution which must encompass all secondary, terciary, and lower level institutions, and by so doing adequately reflect the needs of all-institutions and consequently the needs of all-men. To be an effective state it is essential that all institutions remain in balance and that the interests of the various institutions be considered and acted upon wherever possible. The state as a supra-institution becomes, therefore, responsible for the creation of institutions whenever necessary in order to carry out its destiny.

This construct of the social system is held by those elements in Mexican society that favored the texto gratuito and who supported the counter demonstration. In essence, supporters of this position, men such as Paz, Larroyo, Torres Bodet, and Guzman conceive of education as the social force through which people are integrated into an institutional framework which is coordinated within a state supra-institutional system.

A carefully designed curriculum and textbook series would of course strengthen the notion that the state is paramount within the society; indeed, the very existence of a national school system which governs all students itself conditions the people to consider the nation-state as the fulcrum of all social activity.

The second conceptualization of society interpreted by Sanchez Medel, Leal and others is that a social system is dominated by institutions of a macro nature, each of which exerts a large share of autonomous interaction. The primary institutions, albeit autonomous, are guided by a common milieu of self interest, and are therefore disposed to accede to, if not outright support, the activities of the other supra-institutions whatever they may be, so long as they do not encroach upon their own interests.

Within each supra-institution would be clusters of institutions servicing the every need of people. The Church, for example, would be a supra-institution; education, social service, and so on would be institutions within the Church, and such things as the family would be entities encompassed by it.

This second construct of society is, in essence, the aspired to system held by those who objected to the imposition of a national curriculum and textbook. To have accepted a national curriculum would have meant the dismantling of a carefully developed program of studies that was then current in all the church-related schools. Such would have been interpreted as an act of subjugation of the church corporate to the nation-state. In the Mexican milieu this would have

substantially weakened the Christian community, particularly in its role of educating the young.

It is readily evident that proponents of the latter social system would be in conflict with proponents of the former. When within a society there are two movements attempting to change that society and when those movements are at opposites then the social system quickly becomes disoriented. In Mexico, there has been a history of crisis when one or the other of the institutional bodies attempted to readjust the precarious balance that exists and the opposite side reacts to maintain itself, or in its own stead exerts its own interest.

Parents in Monterrey acted in the face of unwanted change to protect not themselves individually, but themselves and their families within their traditional institutional fabric. Homan's thesis suggests that the individual is basically controlled and intellectually nurtured by the institutional fabric that enmeshes him. The Mexican parents drew strength from their traditional Catholicism and organized themselves under its aegis into the Union Neoleonesa de Padres de Familia, a Catholic-sponsored lay organization.

Although the Mexican national and state governments had gone to great lengths to involve many sectors and levels of society in the planning of the new curriculum and the writing of a textbook series it becomes readily apparent

that a breakdown in communications occurred. On the one hand, governmental functionaries were limited by their revolutionary tradition of strict separation between church and state, and on the other, the Catholic Church's leadership has historically resisted state activities in educational affairs. Indeed, both major institutional forces have struggled to dominate the schools of the nation since Mexico emerged as an independent state.

There has been a long mutual recognition on the part of both the nation-state and the church that the institutional direction given to children during their school years is a major influence in the personality formation of the individual. Hagan added to this general theme in his analysis of social change by writing that personality change amongst people was prerequisite to the achievement of significant social change. The Mexican government and the Mexican Roman Catholic Church have, in effect, indicated that the schools were the institutional framework through which personality change, and ultimately social change could be achieved. To this end both factions have striven to influence the work of the nation's schools.

The point of conflict between the two macro-institutions occurred when government educational authorities undertook to redirect the curriculum of both public and private schools along lines which would adversely affect, it was supposed, the Catholic Church institutional complex. Since

the church has been proscribed by the state and vice versa, then it becomes extremely difficult for any collaboration or dialogue to take place. The problem becomes even more complex because each institution must function within frames of reference which are both revolutionary and conserving of the historic traditions of Mexico. So whenever either one or the other institution moves too rapidly or radically away from the established guidelines then a balancing reaction as Parsons has pointed out, often occurs. The relative strength of each will determine the new relationship between the macro-institution.

Although the discussion concerning institutions has dealt with the relationship between church and state as they emerged from this case study passing mention should also be made of the economic institutional complex. Indeed, it was a momentary alliance between the church and commerce-industry that confronted the state on February 2nd, 1962. The commerce-industry complex of institutions, however, generally dissipates its strength in the Mexican social milieu by dividing on most social issues. Labor adhering by and large to the states' orientation in social action, while management tending to replicate that of the church.

A question, then, that arises is whither goeth a social system caught up in a dichotomy wherein two major institutional galaxies are at odds as to the destiny of the

system. Simmel and Ross hypothesized that "a society. . . which is riven by a dozen. . . (conflicts) along lines running in every direction, may actually be in less danger of being torn apart with violence or falling to pieces than one split along just one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow and cross-clefts, so that one might say that society is sewn together by its inner conflicts."

The historical sequence drawn in this study outlines the stresses experienced by a nation torn apart during the course of almost two centuries of strife. But contrary to Homan's hypothesis the social system doesn't disintegrate, rather it falls back together more or less as it had been prior to the crisis. This may be due, in part, to the transcendent quality of the institutions involved. The personalities, involved with the institutions are often destroyed as a necessary aspect of the outburst, but the institutions seem to continue.

The macro-institutions involved in the crisis, and their antecedents down through history, were and are working for cultural change as Davis terms a fundamental re-orientation of the entire culture. However, the stresses and strains the social system experienced during the month of February 1962 as a result of a conflict of interest of this nature was, in the aggregate, nothing more than varying degrees of social motion, as Williams refers to it. Indeed,



it becomes increasingly apparent, drawing from this Mexican experience, that cultural change is difficult to achieve so long as the major institutional forces are not in concert; that is, without destroying that part of institutional fabric that is contrary to the changes desired. For so long as the fabric exists then there will exist persons who will aid and abet its cause.

The Role of Education in Social Change

The institution of education emerges as a change-agent in this case study. Indeed, the crisis revolved around the direction education would take and how this would affect the personalities of children. Both the curriculum reforms supporters as well as those opposed to the changes recognized these implications and what the role of the nation's schools would be.

Education was recognized as the principal means whereby a nation could effect the social change desired. It became extremely important, therefore, to the various institutional groups that the direction of the change be compatible with their own general objectives. Those who were angrily calling for a stop in the curricular reforms were at the same time urging that they be given the needed freedom to orient their own schools towards goals which had value and significance to them.

The analysis of the curriculum and the textbooks found in Chapter IX and the interviews with the various personalities involved indicates the concern, on the one hand, and the promise, on the other, expressed towards education. One of the reasons that the crisis centered around the nation's schools was that the public and private school educators had not, indeed could not, agree on the direction the schools should go. This was not surprising since the opponents were operating from distinct and diametrically opposed philosophical positions. The mere act on the part of the state to enfranchise all children in the nation's schools with a uniform curriculum and under state supervision was repugnant to those thinkers--such as Sanchez Medal and Leal--who, although not opposed to children being educated, were adamant in their insistence that the state's role was that of supporting macro-institutions--such as the church--who were responsible for the education of children.

Central in the rationale opposing the national curricular reforms was the concern that children would be taught a moral code and a system of values that were different from their parents. For example, love of God was to be replaced with love of the fatherland and honor of one's parents with respect for government functionaries. Although this was an extreme interpretation it was cited widely in

publications and by numerous individuals who were actively opposing the national education reforms. This indicates in part the concern of the people involved. A concern that was grounded in the reality, as they interpreted it, that the Mexican government was attempting to redirect the education of their children.

Children would be conditioned, by merely participating in the state plan, to recognize the supremacy of the nation-state and the subservience of their own institutional galaxy to it. This would be reinforced by the curriculum content which was designed to teach national symbols and norms of behavior rather than Christian ones. Those opposed to the educational reforms were particularly concerned that the allegiance of their children, so carefully nurtured within the galaxy of church institutions, would be directed towards an atheistic ideology.

Similarly, Torres Bodet, Zea, Paz and Guzman were hopeful of achieving the long sought after dream of Mexican national political leaders. They were attempting to take the nation and its people another step along the road towards creating in Mexico a cohesive modern nation-state. A nation, that would have integrated within one system all its primary, secondary, and tertiary institutional complexes.

The nation-state, conceived by these thinkers, was not a communist formulation, as charged by its adversaries, but more precisely a necessary evolutionary step to achieving

the long sought after integrated social system which could effectively cope with the complexities of the contemporary world. Torres Bodet and the others were particularly concerned with the effects on the nation of a disoriented social system that excluded a considerable proportion of the Mexican population from participating in the development of the nation. They were concerned that many children were excluded from schooling by the mere structure of the institutional fabric and were attempting to reorganize the school system in such a manner as to bring all children into the mainstream of Mexican life.

The role of education, then, becomes one of a potentially powerful change agent which can create amongst the nations citizenry conditions favorable to social change. The educational institution seems to be by its structure the machinery for change rather than the initiator of change. The very organization of the schools into a national school system guides the type of curriculum and student body, similarly the nature of the private-church related schools directs the form and content of their curriculum. Of course, educators have a decided role to play in determining the rapidity of change, but the nature of change rests with the macro-institutions.

This case study and analysis seemed to suggest that education was considered a major institution for carrying out desired social change.

Tentative Insights in the Light
of this Case Study

An historical case study is neither designed as an empirical examination of a carefully controlled experiment nor will it produce scientific evidence which can be reproduced. What it does offer is a general overview as to the nature of a given problem, and it also identifies certain manifestations which can later be examined more carefully by the scientist. Therefore, this case study was not structured to produce major conclusions, rather it was designed to indicate areas that required further research.

(1) The concept of social change is still an evolving theoretical formulation that calls for further fundamental research. As the body of literature grows then social scientists will be able to structure a general theory of societal change. This case study suggests by its own design a means of examining the phenomenon of change as it takes place in a social system. It draws together history, education, psychology and sociology in an interdisciplinary task. This is essential since social change is in essence what happens to people in institutions over a period of time.

By identifying a sequence of events in history that seemed to be momentarily of a critical import the case study was able to encapsulate the struggles of people involved in a rapidly changing society in such a way as to

provide more than a superficial insight into the nature of social change. Footnotes in history, such as this study, are valuable because they telescope into a very short time space the many ingredients that the social scientist must take cognizance of before a more empirical study can be executed. Although the sequence of events that took place in Monterrey during the month of February 1962 cannot be replicated, the struggle between the adversaries can be mirrored in countless communities around the world as men strive to protect what is to them important in their culture from destruction, and as societies adjust to the exigencies of the modern world order. Of course, more studies of reality situations will no doubt permit scholars to identify the pattern of social change with more accuracy than to date has been the case.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acevedo, Carlos Alvear. La Educacion y La Ley. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Jus, 1963.
- Becker, Howard. Man in Reciprocity. New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, 1956.
- Becker, Howard. Through Values to Social Interpretation. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950.
- Bodet, Jaime Torres. Discursos 1941-1964. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1965.
- Braden, Charles S. Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1930.
- Casas, Bartolomeo de las, The Tears of the Indians. Stanford, Calif.: Academic Reprints, n.c. (trans. John Phillips).
- Chapman, Charles Edward. Colonial Hispanio America: A History. New York: Macmillan, 1938.
- Crow, John A. The Epic of Latin America. Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1946.
- Davis, Kingsley. Human Society. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.
- "Educational Section: 'The Battle of the Books'," Newsweek. 1963.
- El Norte. Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial Junco de la Vega, 1962.
- El Sol de Puebla. Puebla, Mexico: Cadena de Periodicos Garcia Valseca, 1963.
- El Sol de San Luis Potosi. San Luis Potosi, Mexico: Cadena de Periodicos Garcia Valseca, 1962.
- El Porvenir. Monterrey, N.L., Mexico: Editorial El Porvenir, 1962.



Estenos, Roberto MacLean. Sociologia Educacional del Peru.
Lima: Libreria e Imprentia Gil, S.A., 1944.

Excelsior. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Excelsior, 1962.

Hagan, Everett E. On the Theory of Social Change: How
Economic Growth Begins. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey
Press, 1962.

Hertzler, Joyce O. Society in Action. New York: The Dryden
Press, 1954.

Homans, George C. Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms.
New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960.

Homans, George C. The Human Group. New York: Harcourt
Brace, 1950.

Humbertson, Amanda Labarca. Historia de la Ensenanza en
Chile. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria,
1939.

Larroyo, Francisco. Historia Comparada de la Educacion en
Mexico. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1964.

Life en Espanol. Mexico, D.F.: Time-Life Inc., 1965.

Linton, Ralph. The Cultural Background of Personality.
New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945.

Loomis, Charles P. and Zona K. Loomis. Modern Social
Theories. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co.,
1961.

"Los Libros de Texto Gratuitos y Las Corrientes del Pensamiento
Nacional," Reforma Educativa. Mexico, D.F.: Talleres
Graficas de la Nacion, 1962.

Medal, Ramon Sanchez. El Derecho de Educar en la Escuela.
Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Jus., 1963.

Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure.
Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.

Mi Libro de Primer Ano. to Mi Libro de Sexto Ano Series.
Mexico, D.F.: Comision Nacional de los Libros de
Texto Gratuito, 1961.

- Orellana, Carlos Gonzalez. Historia de la Educacion en Guatemala. Mexico, D.F.: Colecion Cientifico Pedagogica, 1960.
- Oriente. Monterrey, N.L. Mexico: Editorial Gran Logia de Nuevo Leon, 1962.
- Parsons, Talcott. "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change," Rural Sociology. Ithaca, New York: Rural Sociological Society,
- Paz, Octavio. The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961 (trans. Lysander Kemp).
- Sierra, Justo. La Educacion Nacional. Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1948.
- Sorokin, Pitirim A. Social and Cultural Dynamics: A Study of Change in Major Systems of Art, Truth, Ethics, Law and Social Relations. Boston: Porter Sargent, Pub., 1957.
- Sorokin, Pitirim A. Society, Culture and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.
- Staley, Eugene. The Future of Underdeveloped Countries. New York: Council on Foreign Relations and Frederick A. Praeger, 1961.
- Steck, Francis Borgia. Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History,
- Williams, Robin Jr. American Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2nd. Edition, revised, 1960.

