**General Mexican Reform Period Timeline**

**1921**Mexico is the world's 3rd largest oil producer

**1923**  
Villa assassinated   
America recognizes Mexico  
Fascism Starts in Italy  
  
**1924**  
Obregon supports the CROM union  
Adolfo de la Huerta leads short lived revolt  
Radical reformer Plutarco Calles becomes president  
  
**1926**  
Cristero Rebellion (Civil War) begins, gov fights church ends 1934  
Lindbergh flies across Atlantic  
  
**1928**  
Obregon assassinated, Calles rules till 1934 through puppets Calles creates national party PNR, later known as PRM, which holds power till the 2000  
  
**1934**  
Cardenas becomes president  
Cardenas starts major land redistribution  
Calles forced into exile  
Hitler becomes Fuhrer  
Mao's Long March  
  
**1936**  
Cardenas nationalizes foreign oil companies PeMex founded  
Spanish Civil War

**1938**

Cardenas reorganizes PNR into PRM

**1939**  
WWII starts  
  
**1940**  
Camacho becomes president

Obregon:

* Elected to office in special election, assumes control in November 1920
* Carranza refused to accept Obregon’s victory
* Killed Villa
* Pragmatic (practical) business approach to government
* Sought accomodation with all groups except reactionary clergy and landlords
* Modern version of "pan o palo”
* Sonoran Rebellion:
* Major policies:
  + Land reform
    - Helped with peasant discontent
    - Created a national agrarian commission that oversaw state commissions
    - Had the power to take away land from hacendados for landless
    - Reform was slow due to litigation by landlords
    - Paid for my 20 year bonds
    - There was armed resistance by landlords
    - Opposition by the clergy
    - 3 million acres distributed
    - 320 million acres in the hands of hacendados
    - Even with full land, the government did not provided the things needed to use it
  + Labor
    - Encouraged labor to organize
    - CROM (Labor union headed by Luis Morones)
    - Ties to Samuel Gompers and the AFL in USA
    - Semi official status, supported by government
    - Co Opted by obregon
  + Education
    - Appointed Vasconcelos
      * Made the rural school (See education)
    - Murals on public buildings
    - Conflict between secular and religious schools
      * Priest denounced secular education
    - Obregon did not enforce Article 3 of the Constitution (ban on religious primary schools)
      * Absence of resources meant better to be taught by a priest than not at all
  + Indigenismo
    - Pushed greatness of old indian arts and reassed culture
    - Gamio: Director of anthropology
    - Study of Teotihuacan
    - Preserve and restore heritage
    - Add mass data for sound plan of economic and social recovery
    - Partisans idealized Aztec mexico
  + U.S. relationship
    - Withhold diplomatic recognition of Obregon
    - Obregon compromised because of threat of coup against calles as successor
    - Bucareli agreement (1923)
      * The agricultural properties taken from the US would be paid for with bonds with they were not greater than 1755 hectares
      * The properties that exceed 1755 hectares payment would be immediate and in cash
      * It would create a commission responsible for reviewing the claim pending since 1868; claims out of revolution would be settled separately
      * Article 27 was not retroactive to the americans who had acquired leases before 1917 allowing the exploitation of oil to continue
    - US formally recognizes obregon
    - Coup attempt 1923
      * Put down coup with us military supplies

**Calles**

* Dominated next decade
* Continued on foundations of obregon
* Radical rhetoric: Pragmatic policy
* Land
  + Rapid growth of national capitalism
  + Creation of national bank
    - Strengthens monetary policy
  + Road commission organized
  + Electric codes enacted
    - Stimulates growth of construction and consumer goods industries
  + Aid given to industry
    - Protective tariffs and subsidies
  + Land reform
    - Distribution increased fro Obregon
    - Twice as much distributed: 8 million hectares
    - Problems:
      * Hacendados choose land to give up, most not arable
      * Calles gave no tools to make land usable
    - Government bank created to lend money to ejidos
      * ⅘ of money went to hacendados because of high credit ratings
    - Land reform judged a failure because the grain production of 1930 was below that of 1910
      * Calles concluded peasant proprietorship was not economically desirable and ended land distribution
  + Labor
    - Trade unions serve two purposes:
      * Keep power of capitalism in check
      * Barricade inthe event of attack on capitalists
    - Labor began to split from CROM to form independent unions
      * Disillusioned though with corrupt leaders
  + Conflict with US
    - Welcomed foreign capital but through mexico had the right to regulate conditions around it
    - 1925 dispute over land ownership
    - Mexican congress implements article 27
      * Oil ownership becomes a lease agreement
      * Exchange the title for a 50 year concession
      * 30 renewal
      * Possible further extension
      * Mexican view: Eliminated vagueness and gave oil companies firm titles. Stopped calls for nationalization of oil
      * Oil company view: Law was conficatory, they threatened to drill without confirming concessions
    - American hardliners were “saber rattling”
    - American ambassador “There is a white blood in Calles government”
    - Secretary of state Kellogg stated there were “Bolshevik aims in mexico and Latin America”
    - Intervention stopped arguments from:
      * Progressive senators
      * Press, church, academic groups
      * Realization that the war with mexico would have little national support
  + Religious conflict
    - January 1926 the church hierarchy disavowed the constitution
    - Calles enforced dormant anti-clerical clauses of constitution
      * Calles law
        + Registration of priests
        + Closing of all religious primary schools
    - Church suspended all services in Mexico and boycotted all goods except necessities
    - Militant catholics took up arms (cristeros)
      * Government schools and teachers were targets
      * Government repression was severe
  + Presidential election of 1928
    - Deal between Calles and Obregon
      * Supporters in congress change the constitution to allow former presidents to be reelected after one term
      * Term was extended to 6 years
    - Two opponents for office conspire against Obregon and Calles
      * Calles has them arrested and shot
      * Obregon is elected, three weeks later assassinated
  + Calles: el Jefe Máximo
    - Calles places three different men in office of president to fill obregons term but he is the power. Each one resigns
    - Military uprising crushed in 1929 last “Hurrah” of military caudillos
    - Institutionalized “revolutionary family” (Military and political leaders since 1920)
    - Under different names this party has been ruling mexico since 1929
    - Their vice presidential candidate had never lost an election till fox
    - After consolidating power, revolutionary family turns conservative
      * Shift coincides with great depression
    - By 1933 progressive wing of PNR emerges
      * Part of inner circle of the party
      * 1930 named party chairman
    - 1934 elections cardenas is nominated by party
      * Seen as concession to reformers in the party
      * Calles thought he would remain loyal
      * Cabinet was hand picked by calles

**Cardenas**

* Established a 6 year plan
* Mexican revolution continues
* Establish spirit of government service
* Closed down gambling and prostitution
* Cuts own salary in ½
* Land distribution on large scale
  + Focal point: ejido
  + Land given to both the ejido (communal) and the rancho (individual)
  + Where appropriate large collective farms were established
  + Government provided seeds machinery and credit
  + 45 million acres of land distributed
  + Productivity is increased
  + Structural defects of reforms
    - Conceived to satisfy land hunger instead of real agricultural development
    - Ejidal parcel was very small
    - Land was poor quality
    - Technical assistance was inadequate
* Labor
  + Corrupt leaders removed
  + CTM replaces CROM
  + Strikes supported by government
* Fall of Calles
  + All of these actions angered Calles and he plotted against cardenas
  + Cardenas calls for resignation of cabinet and forms new one
  + By 1935 cardenas si the master of mexico
  + 1936 Calles is deported for “Plotting against the government”
* PRM
  + Cardenas reorganized and purged the party of Calles influence
  + Emerges as PRM
  + The three pillars of this party of labor, the peasantry, and the army
  + Whereas in the past only government employees and aspiring politicians were members of the party, the new organizational scheme allowed mass groups to join the PRM directly. Four “sectors” of the party were established: labour, peasant, “popular,” and “military.”
* Oil Crisis
  + American and british oil company vs. workers Unions
  + Strikes lead to arbitration
  + Arbitration finding is scaled down fro original union demands but the companies refuse to settle
  + March, 18, 1938 Cardenas nationalized the oil companies
  + Economic independence
  + Action was not precedent, 90% of mining was still foreign hands
  + US took strong action due to
    - Good Neighbor policy under FDR
    - Ambassador to Mexico understood Cardenas policy and reasons
  + Timing of the move was also fortunate
    - War in europe was looming
    - Cardenas announced Mexico would pay all claims

**Education:**

* Vasconcelos: Secretary of Education
* Created new type of rural school: La casa del pueblo
  + Designed to serve all the village
  + Taught three R’s: Art. Music, Sports, Theatre, instruction in sanitation and agg
  + Had idealistic but sometimes unprepared teachers
  + Internet teachers were sent to train those in the villages
* Mural painters documented the suffering of the indigenous hands of the spanish conquistadors

**Women**

* Fought alongside soldiers as soldaderas
  + Were often used for sex
* Soldiers were sexualized
  + Objects of desire rather than equals
* Became the subject of corridos
* Joined into journalism and spread rapidly
* Conservative mexican society did not want to acknowledge that mexican women had broken free of cultural expectations
* Got the right to divorce
* Mass education advocated included women
* Education considered dome with a few classes in music and art
* A woman who lived on her own resources could live apart from family
* Article 123: women are protected before and after childbirth from excessive physical labor and permitted periods of rest without loss of salary
* Scholarships became available to women
* Article 123 was enforced giving equal wages among sexes
* Pioneered the teaching field
* Equal political rights as men 1925
* Women joined political parties

**Obregon; challenges; assessment of their impact in the post revolutionary state. (1920-1924) : Wanted to remain in power! (doesn’t advance)**

* Political:
  + Not successful. None of his reforms were implemented. Bucareli accords: had to compromise; subsoil rights to Mexico (article 27 not retroactive=if US bought soil pre constitution (1917) can keep soil) Wanted legal recognition and got it after compromising.
  + Abandoned non secular education: rather have educated people by the church than illiterate people
  + Land reform: tried to give people land, but still made agreements with hacendados, they get to choose which land they keep, soil given to peasants was crappy and they didn’t know how to use it and weren’t given supplies or knowledge of what to do with it.
  + Very compromising person to stay in power. Tried to make everyone happy. Good at consolidating power.
  + CROM (labor unions) secret pact: Morones; Obregon would encourage CROM (labor unions) and keep it growing if Morones would keep politically backing Obregon.
  + Appointed Vasconcelos as secretary of education
    - Started the rural school program so that people in rural areas could be educated
    - Did not enforce article 3 (secular education) of the constitution
  + Plan de Agua Prieta ousted Carranza and brought to power a succession of revolutionary leaders
* Social:
  + First to recognize women.
    - Encouraged national conventions for women to unite
    - Didn't stop it, but just wanted power
  + Homestead Act
    - If widow you can have land of dead husband
  + Armed Resistance
    - Landlords were angered that their land was being taken from them, so they had armed resistances
  + Ignored landless villagers without strong political representation
* Economic:
  + Ad valorem taxes of 10% earn marked for repayment of Mexico’s foreign debt, and an increase in The export tax aimed at slowing oil depletion rate
  + Attempts to increase taxes and to exercise more control over the industry, US and British were against it.
  + Made bad deal with de la Huerta that diverted tax revenues from both the railroads and petroleum industries. Mexico also pledged to privatize the railroads to return them to revolutionary operating condition, despite the enormous costs involved.
  + Gave land to people who fought for him ( authorized establishment of military agrarian land colonies taken from land previously owned by hacendados)

**Calles, and the Maximato; challenges; assessment of their impact in the post revolutionary state.**

* Social:
  + National highway system, electric codes, and national bank
  + Cristero rebellion: catholic church fought against new school systems. Calles just stopped it. Church closed sunday services and closed schools. Rebels wanted to have non secular religion. Really devout Catholics against CROM and beneficiaries of land reform who owed the state a favor. US Ambassador Dwight D Morrow used diplomacy to bring conflict to a close. 2 years of negotiations formed accord declared status quo anti clerical laws remained unchanged but the government would not enforce them in a manner hostile to the church. The civil war changed little in political terms caused lots of death. Reflected inability to win on both sides. Failure of Calles.
  + Caused cristo rebellion: effected administration; his poor decisions affected his administration.
  + Continued the land distribution from the hacendados to the ejidos, but on a larger scale than Obregon
  + Alluded to promising support. Women’s congress was being called to party in 1931, and women had small voting rights, but he didn’t really contribute to their uprising.

Political:

* + Wanted to control the catholic church
    - Started the cristero rebellion
  + Implements article 27
    - Oil ownership becomes a lease agreement
    - Exchange the title for a 50 year concession
    - 30 renewal
    - Possible further extension
    - Mexican view: Eliminated vagueness and gave oil companies firm titles. Stopped calls for nationalization of oil
    - Oil company view: Law was conficatory, they threatened to drill without confirming concessions
  + US intervention
    - Intervention stopped arguments from progressive senators, academics, press, church, and realization that the war would have little antional support
    - Agreement between mexican government and catholic church with Morrow and the cristeros and produced an outline for a final settlement that declared that the anti clerical laws remained unchanged but the government would not enforce them in a manner hostile to the church. Civil war, cost the lives of 90,000.
  + Strong military- he used his own army
  + Puppet president- PNR allowed him to hand pick successors so he can stay in power and control political policies
  + Used land reform as a means of getting support
  + Failed with centralization of power with Cristo rebellion
  + Literacy rates drop because majority of schools were catholic and he closed them
  + Doubles obregon’s land reform/redistribution of land
  + Supported ejidos (farms given to peasants; communal farms) system
    - Land shared between farmers
    - Provided some training, but not as much as Cardenas
    - Did not provide school and seeds, so not a lot of production 1910>1930
  + Land reform not under political
* Economic:
  + Organized first national bank- agricultural banks to provide for impoverished Mexican farmers
    - Problem: the majority of the money (⅘) was given to the hacendados because of their superior credit ratings
  + Gave national aid in the form of tariffs and subsidies
  + Grain production of 1930 was much lower than grain production in 1910, and land reform was considered a failure because of this.
    - This drop in production was because of the Great Depression in the U.S.
  + Avoided national land reform, aimed more at relieving poverty of peasants
  + Trade unions were made so that capitalism would be kept in check
  + Calles was accepting of foreign investments/capital but thought that regulations should be placed around the foreign companies
  + Calles underwriting of huge public works projects facilitated national reconstruction and significantly increased the federal government’s role in the national economy
  + Limiting US involvement, worked to renegotiate debt to be considered bigger power and gave Mexico ownership of all subsoil, but gave foreign countries access to subsoil and upheld Bucareli accords.
  + National labor movement
    - Aided industries with tariffs and subsidies
    - One goal of PNR was labor unions
    - Supported CROM and strikes to appeal to union so workers would be happy and work more efficiently
    - Remained in control over the unions

Set up economic bank but only fed haciendas and didn’t help peasants like it was supposed to.

* If something happens during the administration it is considered during the administration and given to head of administration (ex: low gas prices and trump)
* In terms of constitution made strides towards implementing it because of secular education and working to get US out.

**Cardenas and the renewal of the revolution (1934-1940) : aims, methods, and achievements.**

* Social:
  + Talked to indians
    - Translated speeches so that they could understand
  + Public Moral
    - Hygiene
    - Taught how to work on land
    - Encouraged government involvement
    - Communication and personal skills helped him grow his base
    - Ended gambling, prostitution, drinking houses
    - De-Christianization plan/campaign failed
    - Cuts own salary in half
    - Agrarian bank was not successful and credit given was to one specific area and not to everyone
    - Better jobs and bigger education system
    - 30 to 70% ages 6-10 school attendance rate went up.
  + People say him as more of a paternal relationship
  + Distributed the most land
    - Did it more so to appease the people more so than just agrarian reform. Not doing it for the right reasons
    - Shut down gambling and alcohol. These were what he wanted and he did it so success.
  + Direct telegraph line: if someone has an issue or needs to get in contact with him he had the telegraph line
  + Hurdle that didn’t shake off: challenges with right winged business men
  + Gave women the right to vote and deserved education. Said Constitution gave women the right to vote, women are included in everyone.
  + Villages cannot escape from haciendas because land was harsher and not as easy to farm.
  + Education going completely against religion, people burning churches and killing, and then he had to go back on secular education because people were getting violent.
  + Most of his social aims were implemented even though not all people agreed.
* Political:
  + Removed corrupt leaders from CROM and replaces it with CTM
    - Strikes are supported by the government
  + Increased support for PNR by recognizing the newspaper, founding things, campaigning
  + Nomination for PNR assured his election to presidency
  + PNR turned into PRM: Cardenas wanted to add important sectors: workers, peasants, government employees, and the military. Succeeded in creating broad political party called PRM.
    - PNR: partito national revolutionary: A vehicle for selecting national presidents, controlling national politics.
    - PRM: Intended to benefit the popular classes and consolidate their gains resulted in centralized authority without ensuring long term social and material benefits for the common citizen. Capable of dominating national politics for the remainder of the century. Creation of PRM did not assure that presidents or party kingpins could uniformly impose their will on provincial political bosses who remained entrenched in hamlets town and cities throughout the century. Included women as well.
  + Oil Crisis
    - American and british oil company vs. workers Unions
    - March, 18, 1938 Cardenas nationalized the oil companies
    - Action was not precedent, 90% of mining was still foreign hands
    - Foreigners boycotting mexican goods
    - Timing of the move was also fortunate
      * War in europe was looming
      * Cardenas announced Mexico would pay all claims
    - Did not turn out as well as he thought because people did not want to buy oil from the state, but it did affirm mexican sovereignty
    - Great depression and WWII onset meant that people didn't need that much oil. They thought they were gonna get all their money back from oil but they couldn't.
  + Established the six year plan: includes his want to implement a progressive agenda that favored agrarian reform, socialist education, and economic nationalism in Mexico
  + Removed calles influence from government and really all of mexico, legislative and judicial.
    - Offered calles rules monyr or land for them to leave
    - Appointed people with skill
* Economic:
  + Land distribution both to ejidos and rancheros
    - But, land distribution was to satisfy hunger for land, not to actually help the people
    - When needed, large collective farms were established
    - Didn't actually allow villagers to get free from hacendados and Priests
  + 6 year plan
  + Established national bank, capitalized bank 51 million pecos
    - Bank favored ejidos because thought they’d be most successful
  + Ejidos had varied success, agricultural rates rose, but not a lot of people were happy.
    - Unable to farm correctly due to insufficient resources and bad knowledge.
  + Paid US 30 mil over 4 years
    - Nationalized oil but didn’t help mexican economy
  + Left mines alone
  + Increased taxes on silver mines
    - Big area of income for mexico and with raised taxes foreigners didn’t like it.

**The impact of the revolution on women**

* Article 123: women are protected before and after childbirth from excessive physical labor and permitted periods of rest without loss of salary. Article 123 was enforced giving equal wages among sexes
* Women were taught about things other than the arts andwere then able to move out into the workforce with the help of new scholarships. Worked in doctors, teaching, and journalism
* Focusing on more science and doctors
* Used lots of journalism for impact on voting
* Lots of campaigning
* Gained equal political rights in 1925
* Conservative mexican society did not want to acknowledge that mexican women had broken free of cultural expectations
* Influence greatly increased since revolution in 1910
* Women wanted to vote and were given equal rights, but it was not implemented.
* Cardenas said Constitution included all women
* Since women couldn’t vote they would go out early before voting to promote parties, but were arrested.
* Many women wanted to help with men in the revolution
* Peasant women followed soldiers onto the battlefield
* Sons were educated at the expense of daughters
* Labor enactments were soon necessary for women such as equitable wage, safe and sanitary places, reasonable hours, health, retirement, insurance privileges
* Minimum wage was equal for women and men
* Women Congress and Protection of Mexican Women

**The impact of the revolution on education**

* Obregon: appointed Vasconcelos, opened rural school to educated to teach. Hoped to change environment of campesinos plagued with diseases and often hungry. Established 100s of schools often in remote areas. Students taught basics in core classes but also art, hygiene, and the dangers of alcohol. All students would get a national education by learning spanish, mexican history, and geography. Adults were educated in better farming techniques and how to read and write. Divided his main goals/jobs into 3 sections; create schools, libraries, and find art departments. Inspired generation of student activists who subsequently sought a voice in the political process and helped form two political parties.
* Peasants and clergy did not want education and religious reforms
* Calles: civil war with church. Teacher’s and secular schools targeted. Clergy hated secular education. Lots of their schools shut down. They fought. Dwight Morrow helped compromise.
* Cardenas: terminated teachers dedicated to non secular education. Used classrooms as means of popular mobilization and inclusion of the revolutionary state.

**Aims of Constitution fulfilled?**

* Article 3: Secular Education
  + Compulsory elementary education
  + Free public education
  + Prohibited religion from having any influence in public education
* Article 27: land reform
  + Nation is original owner of all land, water, and subsoil
  + All acts passed since the land law of 1856 transferring ownership of all ejidos was null and void
* Article 123: Labor reform: workers rights to good conditions, rest, wages, etc.
  + 8 hr work day
  + Prohibited child labor
  + Equal money for equal work
  + Wages must be paid in legal tender, not goods, tokens, or vouchers (end of tienda de raya)
  + Right to bargain collectively, organized and strike
* Article 130: Restrictions on the church
  + Nation cannot create law establishing religion
  + Marriage was a civil contract
  + Only individuals born in mexico can be ministers
  + Limited property ownership by church