DEBATE - REFLECTIONS

Ayotzinapa and Resistance
Breaking history with narrative.[1]

Francisco Javier Gómez Carpinteiro

Graduate Department of Sociology of the Autonomous University of Puebla´s Institute of Social Science and Humanities, Mexico

Abstract

The essay examines the murder of three students and the disappearance of another forty-three, who all attended the teacher training college "Escuela Normal Rural of Ayotzinapa", in Guerrero, Mexico. The crimes took place in September 2014, and the only people accused were the local authorities and police force, supported by organized crime groups. According to the rhetoric of the Mexican state, this tragedy is a natural and normal incident (two words that spell out oblivion). I argue that memory and hope are pillars for the construction of different narratives, with theirs own words and concepts. There exists an urgent need for the creation of a different knowledge which will allow for the breaking with capital and the state in any part of the world. The experience of the relatives of the murdered and missing students can provide a guideline for such a proposal.

Keywords: memory, subject, history as narrative, resistance

The assassination of three persons and the forced disappearance of another forty-three in the town of Iguala in the state of Guerrero, Mexico, shook public opinion in Mexico and abroad. According to a variety of testimonies, news and journalistic reports, the perpetrators can only be understood as inhuman; the impacts of their deeds have been absolutely devastating. Without flinching, various government agents denied any involvement of high-ranking officials and laid the blame on Councillor

[1] This article has been translated from Spanish to English by Anna Holloway. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, the editors of JRS, and my colleagues and friends Julia Cotlle and John Holloway. Their comments and critique helped me improve this essay. However, all mistakes are only my responsibility.

Jose Luis Abarca and his wife. They also pointed to the involvement of members of the municipal police and of the band of drug dealers known as "Guerreros Unidos" in the executions and disappearances. [2]

The investigations were slow and clumsy. In the end, a high-ranking Mexican official declared that the missing boys had been taken to a landfill, set on fire and their ashes placed in bags that were then thrown into a nearby river. This has never been supported by scientific evidence and recent research indicates that the bag of remains was planted there by a senior government official. This official declaration represents an attempt to ignore the tragedy and mourning and declare an end to the story of these crimes.[3] The message was meant to convey that there was no alternative but to move on. This matter is now in the past, to be forgotten just as any trauma. What lies behind this rhetoric? What about it is intended to undermine and minimize a pain that, without a doubt, cannot be merely forgotten?[4]

Almost thirty years have passed since the announcement of full freedom guaranteed by the neoliberal economy. Yet, the promises of well-being and happiness based on individual achievement and the implementation of democratic systems have not been fulfilled. On the contrary, its results have proven devastating for large sectors of the world's population. Despite the false promises, a sense of naturalness and normality guides our lives, embedded in what R. Williams (1977) would have called an order of unstable or not total power. Drawing from this order, states have had the nerve to create false expectations of employment, enjoyment and harmony through judicial reforms, based on an illusion of democracy as well as on the construction of a citizenship that exercises its rights and obligations thoroughly and honestly in the permanent constitution of a political community.

In this essay I suggest that we name what obtains, as a result of these illusions, monstrous dimensions that provoke violence, pain,

[2] See *Proceso* (2014)

[3] See the latest report of the Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts, which contradicts the findings of said official investigations and directly involves the state in the Ayotzinapa crime. https://kehuelga.net/diario

[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Epo7Hfs8xCk.

frustration, and rage. They are different sides of individual and collective experiences that result in what Theodor Adorno referred to as "damaged lives" (2005 [1977]). They can provide us with a stark image of the most terrible impacts of the logic of present-day capital which renders everything uniform, wrests us of our humanity, and turns people into things that can be simply added or subtracted, just as the living are counted or the dead forgotten.

This work is a story of our time. It is about the case of the youth who were murdered, the youth who disappeared, who were studying to become teachers at "Isidro Burgos" College in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, Mexico. It is about something that should not have happened, but did; of what happened but must be ignored. Paradoxically, it is the story of an ongoing effort to make us accept that everything must go back to normal; an effort to erase resistance or turn it upside down so that our lives are composed of a multitude of fragments that together create routines that permit us to be prosperous, successful and happy. The fortunate history of the individual that dwells in the routine, standardization and evaluation of productivity is sustained by a system that lacks sensitivity regarding the fabrication of monstrosities.

This essay consists of three parts. The first provides a context for these events through an overview of the Mexican Revolution, one of the most important social revolutions in the twentieth century (Wolf, 1969). The role that public education came to play in the formation of a national community and disciplined citizens proves intimately linked to unfolding of events during that period. Despite concerted attempts at hegemony, there were local places and regions in Mexico that have continued to confront how the forging of a nation resulted in a loss of autonomy. Education, religion, culture and daily life represented arenas of conflict and resistance; a case in point being Guerrero, where Ayotzinapa is located. (see Rubin 1996).

The second focuses on the tragic case of Ayotzinapa. A reconstruction of events as well as their outcomes are presented. The forced disappearance and murder of the youths and others (acts which unfortunately are common in many parts of Mexico) are attributed to organized crime and capitalist interests intent upon exploiting the natural wealth of the region. Finally, the third part explores the connections between these

events and Mexico's "dirty war" in the 1960s and '70s; a period characterized not only by a dirty war, but also a crisis for the populist Mexican state.

As a corollary, the intimate connections between the meaning of regional history and the dominant narrative of the state are explored. Emphasis is placed on the forms of globalizing accumulation, which become solidified in places like Guerrero in a multitude of ways, and the Dantean dimensions of state violence are highlighted. It proves crucial to propose concepts that capture the nature of struggle and hope of the people in order to promote change in our societies.

We argue that faced with pain, death and forced disappearances, in the context of capitalist expansion and its relationship to organized crime in Mexico, there exists an unprecedented violence against opponents of those who profit. Nevertheless, these violent and painful acts do not result in immobilization, but rather exactly the opposite. Tragedy is processed as an experience that constructs histories that create relationships between the past and the present. Through the expression of pain and giving it a name, by exchanging words with others who also resist the transformation into mere objects of a globalizing rationality, knowledge is generated. This knowledge is needed to break from a false objectivism and political posturing that hide behind a mask of liberalism generalized throughout academic practice, as in Mexico.

Teachers to make a people; a people to make teachers

Following the end of the armed conflict of the Mexican revolution in 1920, the elites that were created around the state sought to shape a culturally uniform image of a national political community. Before the revolt, the idea of a strong and centralized state was sustained by the existence of sovereign powers that were based on regional oligarchies, *caudillos* and *caciques* (Alonso 2005: 41). The liberal reforms introduced in the country during the second half of the 19th century were based on the looting and fragmentation of the indigenous community, which had been recognized as a political category since the colonial state. In the asymmetric relations that characterized the simultaneous existence of

indigenous communities and large *haciendas* during the colony and the first decades of Mexico's independence, members of the regional oligarchies acted as strongmen in order to give protection to the communities against the interests of other powerful oligarchies, obtaining in exchange a loyal popular foundation to be frequently used for their own armies and labour force (Florescano 1997: 371-375; Tutino 1986).

In the context of these unequal relationships, for a long period of time the communities were able to have relative control over their natural resources as well as political autonomy. The basis for their subsistence largely depended on the deployment of a community ethics of sharing "poverty", sustained by the creation of funds to ensure food, seeds and the tools for new harvests, the support of religious rituals and the payment of taxes or rents to the state or owners of the *haciendas* (see Wolf 2001).

At the beginning of the 20th century, this form of sovereignty was torn apart by the Porfirio Díaz regime's modernizing policies. Interestingly, Diaz, a former caudillo, had come to power with the support of regional forces and alliances. The original communities had largely lost control over the territory and its politics (Katz 1988). As a result, one September afternoon in 1909, during a reunion of peasants in Anenecuilco, Morelos (Womack 1970: 6-7) who were concerned about the loss of their lands and autonomy, the old men that occupied the high ranks of the socio-religious system declared that all their efforts to recover what had been lost within the legal framework of the state had been in vain. Amidst their despair, they agreed to name someone from a younger generation to recover what had been taken from them—in the name of the people and by any means necessary. This decision, that led to the choice of Emiliano Zapata as representative, was a response to a series of past and present injuries that endangered the existence of the rural community (Gilly 2002: 88-92).

However, the armed revolution broke out with a strong popular content, driven by stories of plunder, injustice and hope (see Knight 1996; Joseph and Nugent ed. 1994). When the armed movement came to an end and a dominant elite emerged, the flows of resistance that were contained in these stories were institutionalized in the post-revolutionary state administration that denied specificities, demands and particular eth-

ics, replacing them with policies of uniformity and centralization and expressed in the creation of a supposed national culture (Alonso 2005:40; Gómez 2013a: 104).

The Ayotzinapa Teachers College forms part of the public education system that emerged with the post-revolutionary state during the 1920s. Its political project, sustained by several intellectuals like José Vasconcelos and Moisés Saénz (Vaughan 1997: 28), has sought to integrate elements that seemed contrary to the meaning of national culture into ideas about citizenship. A desired homogeneity was achieved to some extent through the use of categorizations that supported individualities linked to formal and informal state institutions.

The agrarian reform and the public education system represented good examples of this. The agrarian reform channelled the flows of discontent over hundreds of years of lost lands and resources with the creation of communal land organizations that were constituted through calculations, mappings and censuses that were conducted by government-led technicians and engineers, frequently with the support of local authorities. This is how the "ejidatarios" were created; they represented a construct that allowed the vertical and direct control by the state through farmer syndicates and coordinated entities, as well as through the official party (Gómez 2013: 134-135).

The education system underwent radical changes designed to recreate a sense of national community desired by the elites (see Vaughan 1997: 44-46, Rockwell 2007: 115). In particular, the model of positivist education, put to practice at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries and based on faith in progress, science and modernization, continued along the same lines, and added to these universal premises the reinforcement of national sovereignty. This model encouraged the integration of the indigenous population into the national society. It emphasized rural education, because people living "in the countryside" exceeded—in absolute as well as relative terms—those living in the urban areas (Palacios 1999 40-41). This overall proposal found its highest expression in the so-called socialist school of President Lázaro Cardenas who governed from 1934 to 1940 (Gilly 1997: 420). Its fundamental goal was to create a curriculum and an education that would promote an objectivist approach to the contradictions of class struggle in the ru-

ral areas; this type of education would offer notions of modernity to communities "more integrated with the market and the state" (Vaughan 1997:104).

Along with the creation of the curricula and of the buildings that would house the schools in the rural areas, different institutions were created to quickly train rural teachers in those same social landscapes. They played a key role in post-revolutionary society for the transmission of state policies to the regions and local communities. For some authors, the role of the teachers was important in the creation of a hegemonic language that was understood as the deployment of a set of symbols, practices and organizations for the construction of the state order (Vaughan 1997: 21-22; Rockwell 2007: 167).

Despite this hegemonic rule, the old regional powers received much more support at that time. And the relation and overlapping of these powers gave the impression of an authoritarian architecture that prevailed in all of Mexico. In these scenarios, the control of public space remained mainly in the hands of the *caciques*; their will was always imposed, often through intimidation, the use of force and the support of the local authorities and the different expressions of the state (see De la Peña 1986: 30; Schryer 1980), in order to control formal and informal politics (These *caciques in turn* became governors, e.g. Maximino Ávila Camacho in Puebla, or the Figueroas in Guerrero). However, this image of stability and naturalization never worked in practice. In the villages and regions, what was concealed through the formal or informal institutions of the state—such as the desire for land, justice and autonomy—always emerged as fissures of that dominant order (see Rubin 1996; Friedrich 1986).

The long-lasting popular resistance of the mountainous areas of Guerrero is inscribed in rifts like these. In the face of the permanent farce of fraudulent elections and the stronghold of regional *caciques* who became rich through processes of production of commodities that followed the end of the revolution –including illegal drugs that were always supported by state power (see Astorga 2000: 175) -- a civic movement emerged in the 60s that sought to control the town halls, Coaliciones de Organizaciones del Pueblo (COP-Coalition of Organizations of the People). However, its career in formal politics ended with the system-

atic repression and assassination of its members who were people from more humble sectors. The repression in turn provoked the creation of a *guerrilla* movement led at different moments by the rural teachers Genaro Vázquez and Lucio Cabañas, who were also murdered (Bartra 2000; Montemayor 1997). A political scientist from that period in Guerrero, proposed that "the teacher college and university students (from Ayotzinapa and Iguala) as agitators were central to the growth of the popular movement in opposition to the governor [Raul Caballero Aburto] to such an extent that it nearly resulted in a genuine civil war" (Román 2010: 253).

Despite the scenario of pain and tragedy that was perpetuated in the rural communities of Guerrero with the crushing of any sign of rebellion and the stigmatization of its communities as violent, the element of struggle lived on (Bartra 2000: 15-17). Rather than simple political "agitators", the professors and students of rural teacher colleges have mostly struggled to prevent the implementation of a rationality that sought to create --through a variety of curricula-- a type of human being more fitting to the needs of a cheap labour force that has been trained for the processes of capitalist accumulation. They pursue this by putting into practice horizontal rather than hierarchical forms of doing politics (Gliber 2015).

A piece of news that turns into History and a painful story that becomes hope

From the moment the news of the death and disappearance of the forty-three students in Guerrero broke out and until the completion of this work, there were many protests in Mexico and abroad in response to this tragedy. In the specific case of Mexico, the protests were fuelled by the participation of a large number of young people who do not want to see this crime go unpunished (See Appendix 1 for a chronology with more details about events in Ayotzinapa). Their force has been strengthened by the voice and presence of the relatives, friends and classmates of the missing students who very movingly have expressed their pain and warned against the dangers faced at any given moment. Why are we in danger, we and others close to us, our sons and daughters, mothers and

fathers, brothers, sisters, friends and neighbours? A youth from the Ayotzinapa teacher's college provides a response to this question:

> We would like to note that this scenario is not unique to Guerrero… They are killing young people just for being young. They criminalize us for the way we dress, the way we think, because we are the majority of the population, because they are afraid of us. That's why weapons run through our streets, why they point them at us on a daily basis, why here it's the police who are kidnapping kids, our daughters, to work as prostitutes, to cut them up and sell human organs, for the hit men. Let's not be stupid. You are the Zetas (the armed militia), referring to the State government [of Guerrero] and the government of Mexico. We are beyond fed up. The Ayotzinapa crime is the greater massacre since the 1968 student massacre. In the country there are more than 100,000 dead in eight years; it's human genocide. Those students are not just young people. They are the most combative rural student teachers in the country… There are things going on here. They are killing us… We want the students back alive. At the very least bring us the dead so that we can hold a wake. Give us peace for the mothers. Give us the dead. Give us truth. We feel so strongly the pain of the disappeared. Many of us here have had friends and loved ones taken from us. Here, they have killed journalists, activists, defenders of human rights, defenders of territorial rights. They have killed students, teachers, and whoever else. We are so fed up we are ready to explode. We are not going to shut up.[5]

The question posed and its response are alarming. They articulate a message that is entirely different from the conclusion reached by the state agents regarding the crimes. The question expresses alarm over what violently targets those who do not fit into established patterns, those who surpass the boundaries' institutionality, who question the ruling ideologies and practices of command.

When the fathers, friends and fellow students of the murdered and missing boys point out the underlying threats, their own experience

[5] Video recording of speech in Iguala, Guerrero, by Alf Gz and published on Facebook, November, 5, 2014.

constitutes a rejection of the ruling order, with its own rationalities, institutions and political practices, knowledge and archetypes of what a society must be, and its expression of harmonic conjunction of global, national and local power orders; nothing proves more false than this harmony.

The story of the students, as that of most of the young men and women who study in the rural teacher colleges of Mexico, is completely different from that of the Mexican state in origins as well as consequences, including the insensitive response of current servants regarding the disappearance of the young students. We find ourselves enveloped within all these stories. Ayotzinapa represents a story not yet concluded. It is something that transcends the local and settles in any part of the world where there is violence. Therefore, it is a story that must not be forgotten, that plays a decisive role in the breaking of the course of normalization and routine in which we all—wherever we may live--dwell (see Selbin 2010).[6]

However, in a context of reinforced violence such as the one we are currently experiencing, dignity is difficult to shake off. That is why it should unsettle us that people are encouraged to merely forget and move on with their lives. Between the event of the death and disappearance of these people and the present day, a cycle that generates a notion of democracy persists. And in this cycle it is not only the continuity of its institutions and practices—including the elections—that flows. Within this same flow, our concepts of the subject seem to follow the continuity demanded by the dominant social analyses in order to render comprehensible and quantifiable what must be studied and governed.

The story of the murdered and missing boys can help break this association between knowledge and control as a form of domination over life and death; it is a knowledge that objectifies, that turns people into things of abstraction, accounting and administration. This intent departs from the recognition of a subjectivity that is constituted through

[6] The Spanish word "historia" can refer both to history as "a chronological record of significant events", as well as to a narration, a story told by someone. In this article I use "story" in English to refer to an event that is repeatedly transmitted orally so that it will not be forgotten.

the contradictory and antagonistic stories of people such as the people of Ayotzinapa –ultimately people so similar to ourselves-- in their constitution as subjects that can be expelled from capitalist rationality. The matter of these boys is a horrifying example of what it means to go against all that, which presents itself as homogenizing and centralizing (the antagonistic).

My approach to the meaning of expulsion is not sociological, but rather ethical. It derives from the simple idea of the existence and deployment of capital's World War Four against the people, articulated by the Zapatistas of Chiapas as an alert to create awareness about the danger we all face, a danger that comes from a capitalism that goes beyond freebooting (Subcomandante Marcos, 1997). I do not believe it is convenient at this point to recreate a debate on new forms of accumulation through dispossession, new fencings and their mobilizing or de-mobilizing effects. I simply believe we are faced with the most brutal deployment of the logic of global expansion of capital that produces a long list of expulsions; not only of those who have been driven off their land and have been deprived of other natural resources, but also of those who have been stripped of their rights, livelihoods, dreams and hopes.

The starting point for analysis engaged with a commitment to further an ethical perspective is to criticize the relation between knowledge that renders entire communities the object of expulsion and the creation of a logic that evinces a consciousness of the particular specificities that reinforce, justify and very often achieve the appropriation of large areas, resources and knowledge. These are dismantled so that the individual interests of transnational companies can obtain greater profits. In this perverse communion of knowledge and power, the struggle and resistance of those who have been or are about to be expelled is the clear expression that, despite the brutality experienced, there still exists the ability to stop and overcome these devastating forces against life.

I argue for the importance of the Ayotzinapa youth's resistance. This importance resides in developing no-state subjectivities by generating knowledge contrary to conceptions that standardize, deny, and erase people's experiences. The rural teacher college students' struggle to believe in another type of knowledge, to transmit it and change the world proves crucial. Those studying to become rural teachers and the rural

teachers themselves are amongst those expelled by the totalizing rationality. Their teachings make no sense to the docile subjectivities that the needs of the market require. They do not operate according to that logic; the type of knowledge they promote does not serve it. Therefore, they become targets for expulsion. They are an obstacle to the enrichment of a minute fraction of the rich, the "1%" (Maclay 2012: 311-316).

What follows is a sketch of the history of the place that the students of the rural teacher college do not have in today's Mexican society. I link their story not only to the construction of a state power but also to these incidents of plunder witnessed in Mexico and many other places on the planet. To expel them from the system of education, even to gruesomely end their lives, is not just an option; it is something that can happen specifically in Mexico so that the state can ruthlessly and cynically enact the most shameless levels of present-day capitalist brutality.

Furthermore, this section outlines a different meaning of knowledge. It is knowledge as another history. It creates an alternative narrative that transcends the cannons of official historiography. Therefore, its "data" cannot be verified through different sources; they are, rather, in the words of Adorno (1973: 17-18), marked by what possesses the most objective burden than anything else: the subjectivity of suffering. This knowledge opposes the reified subject that is simplified in attributes or numbers and is named in the long Histories that are written in capital letters, the ones that speak of the creation of state orders that always assign to it a subordinate, abject or subaltern condition. That is why, when I think of another narrative, I think of a political component that disassociates the existence of an illuminating consciousness from the idea of subjects in need of a guide that will illuminate them. That does not only amount to an idea of a subject with raised awareness, it also overflows the identifying concepts to administrate matters of life and death. I do not think of a subject without history, but rather of a subject that goes against history, against the history of domination, terror and despair.

Breaking the siege, creating a different narrative

The disappearance of the forty-three students and the murder of yet another three people occurred when they were asking passer-byes and car drivers for a few coins, and handing out propaganda against the au-

thorities that denied them the support for their school's operations. Why were they asking for money? Were they blocking the traffic in order to raise their voices against corrupt rulers? Why did their practices unleash the inconceivable violence to which they were subjected? There may be many answers. One that contradicts the official version seems most plausible; one that refuses to forget or to trivialize death.

Generally speaking, the curricula of the different levels of education have cancelled or undermined courses devoted to humanistic or ethical concerns. Local histories do not seem to matter and history as a whole is a subject that is partial and ideological, containing silences and celebrations that serve the ideas of prosperity, individualism, and the global market that the state promotes. This history reclaims characters that, in their time, were a motor of modernization while never hiding their authoritarian disposition. Furthermore, they sit on the same pedestals opposite visions of Zapata and Villa, Francisco I. Madero, Venustiano Carranza and Obregon--all of them revolutionary heroes.

The youth of Ayotzinapa, like so many students, the men and women from Mexico's teacher colleges, they all come from working-class communities. The missing boys, specifically, come from villages near the college campus. Their parents work in a variety of jobs. They live hand to mouth. And in places like theirs, to become a teacher contains an element of redemption. For the young students, there is a moral principle to help the other. And this principle depends on schooling: to teach how to read and write, as well as conduct basic arithmetic operations. Indeed, that implies a learning that has limits on what the students will achieve. In recent years, the activities of the professors and students of the teacher colleges have been characterized by their tenacious opposition to the implementation of new systems including curricular and extracurricular activities along the line of the goals set by neoliberal education in its effort to create operational workers for the cultural reproduction of the dominant order. For example, in 2009, when the Alianza por la Calidad de la Educación (Alliance for Quality Education-ACE) emerged, many groups of teachers from throughout the country (and especially teachers and students from rural schools) opposed the reforms that emphasized the strengthening of programs designed to cultivate individuals who would better meet the needs of a neoliberal market. Similarly, that oppo-

sition from teachers and professors is directed against a complex system of evaluation that determines salaries based on points, and interferes in the relationship between present-day teachers and their immediate social environment (see Méndez 2014).

Instead of strict programs leading to a limited and uniform knowledge, the young people learn to encourage the recording of oral histories of those who opposed the *caciques*, the army and the exploitation by agro-and extraction industries. They learn how to cultivate vegetable gardens so that the boys and girls can grow their own healthy and inexpensive food at home (see Univision 2015). They promote the projection and solution of local problems through dialogue, and their mode of administration does not give more power to certain individuals over others. They are committed to re-examining what nature provides and what that means for the endurance of the circle of life. They learn how to be sensitive and capture the condensed knowledge of many generations regarding the past, life, death and all that is linked to the long and short history of the people and gives them dignity. It is this dignity together with hope that constitute the main forces of the struggle of people under constant expulsion and expropriation.

That is why to create a vegetable garden or compost, to walk in the woods and mountains, to know and name the varieties of plants and animals, to symbolically map the meaning of a territory, represent elements that students like those from Ayotzinapa integrate into their teaching. Needless to say, such elements do not closely coincide with the state's official educational plans. Beyond the Cárdenas period and his support to a rural education that sought to create a political community, the idea of progress in the visions of the Mexican elites corresponds to a model of education that promotes only modernization. Therefore, for many decades the rural teacher colleges have enjoyed very little official support. An old teacher tells us that in the 1960s, it was said with cruel irony that the Mexican government gave more money to feed the army´s horses than it did to all the schools of that type (Trujillo Baez 2014).

Precisely in the 1960s, the pressures of authoritarianism and exploitation were so high that the civic movement mentioned above emerged. Many professors that had graduated from the Ayotzinapa teacher col-

lege, such as Genaro Vázquez and Lucio Cabañas, saw no other way to face this violence but with the violence of the poor, a resource that has been mentioned by theorists and historians of the struggles and consciousness of the oppressed (Hobsbawm 1973; Scott 1985; Wolf 1969).

At the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the fantasy of the state order became more fragile. That is when the manifestations of discontent and rupture with the forms of domination appeared in different regions. The repression and violence became obvious. Sometimes the state did not manage to conceal it, as occurred with the murders at Tlatelolco Square in Mexico City (Poniatowska 1971; 2003). In other cases, its military apparatus prepared for anti-guerrilla warfare and completely eliminated groups and cells in the countryside and the cities. Yet, tragic events remained mere rumours. For example, one rumour was that indigenous communities in Guerrero or in some part of the northern highlands of Puebla were attacked with napalm bombs, just as the populations of Vietnam had been attacked by the U.S. Air force (see Trial 2016). Similarly, many regional oppositions to authoritarianism were equally repressed or their main leaders co-opted. But the suffering remained. It remained engraved in many places as a memory that should not be forgotten but rather fuelled. An example is the testimony of an anonymous man, whose extended family participated in peasant organization against the state:

> When I was a child, my uncle, a rural teacher and peasant leader in the 1970s, told me that it was a well-known secret in Atoyac de Álvarez (Guerrero) that napalm bombs had been used in the mountains. Atoyac lies on the mountain slope. The highest parts of the mountains were inhabited by the "chiveros" ("goat people"), that is where the bombs were released. The "chiveros" --who were called like that because "only goats lived" in that arid and cold area-- were young people who lived off robbing, mainly livestock. Lucio Cabañas had tried to convince them to join the movement, but they had refused. They even worked as the "ears" (informers) of the government because they were so poor, they would accept what the government gave them and they would pass on information. They were young people who knew the area very well. However, when the repression of the peasants of Atoyac began,

> the "chiveros" decided to join the struggle. As they knew these paths that were off the beaten track very well, they played a strategically important role within the guerrilla movement. When government officials found out about their participation, they realized the only way to tackle the guerrilla was by eliminating the "chiveros". They used the napalm bombs to wipe out their small communities and burn their houses. That was common knowledge in Atoyac, but the government always denied the information. There had been efforts to look into the use of these bombs in the mountains, but the required permits were never granted and the events were never verified. It is also said that author Carlos Montemayor [now deceased] had to withdraw all reference to the use of napalm bombs from his book, as this information had not been confirmed.

This period of repression in Mexico was called the dirty war and was accompanied by a discourse that was very effective in constructing enemies to the stability of the system. Peasants, urban workers, migrants moving to the cities in search of work and housing, students, militants, were all simply called criminals. They were accused of invading land, participating in informal economies, they were dismissed as subversive individuals who turned their back on their obligation to study, guerrilla fighters who created a climate of violence and instability.[7]

---

[7] A Puebla newspaper offered a brief report on the peasant mobilizations in Puebla and Veracruz, the agrarian conflict and state violence. See *La Opinión* Puebla, 18th January 1975, p. 2, "Peasants evicted by the army in El Palmarillo, Veracruz, the army acted arbitrarily". 11th, February, 1975, p. 2, "Peasants of Monte de Chila (Puebla) invaded 150 hectares of a large estate yesterday".

We also come across this "rumor" on the 11th of February, 1975: "Calling of the Mexican Communist Party to the workers of the state of Puebla. To the peasants and students, to the people in general. "[…] through fascist tactics, first came the blatant violations of the Constitution, then the murder of our comrade Hilario Moreno, followed by the rumors of 'sterilization'. And now the bombings, the terrorism". Puebla, Thursday the 18th of September, 1975. *La Opinión*, front page: "Repression continues in the Sierra Norte. Only a month ago the stockbreeders and their gunmen destroyed the village of Cañada de Colotla, in the municipality of Pantepec, and on the 9th of September the *caciques* shot and seriously injured peasant leader Eleazar Pérez Manzano, secretary of

The same discourse seems to be emerging today, once again directed against similar subjects. It has become quite commonplace to assert that social protest in recent years has become criminalized, as if in other moments in time the classifications used against those who share a different vision of the world, those who break with the logic of capital, go against homogenization and defy authoritarianism had never existed. And, therefore, it is as if classifications based on identity had not been used to justify violence and death.

This provides the main foundation for the narrative that emerged following the disappearance and assassinations of the young students; life must continue as if the pain of others were not our own. The formula for achieving this is simple:

1) Trivialize the event: what happened to the boys was bad luck and the blame placed on local authorities, their hunger for power, their connections to organized crime, and corrupt municipalities. Therefore, the persecution and arrest of the guilty make up for the pain inflicted. The trivialization is also accompanied by the unfolding of this event as a spectacle; the more striking and morbid aspects of the story are emphasized-- such as the actions, persecutions and assassinations of guerrilla fighters that during the dirty war occupied the pages of the bloodier sections of the yellow press and gave special prominence to a rag such as *Alarma*![8] Furthermore, representatives from the intellectual and academic sphere are deployed to supposedly give legitimacy to the trials. All these interpretations are published in newspapers that support the official policies and are transmitted through major radio and television channels that monopolize the media.

2) Do not render the drama visible in academic politics. Beyond the individual or collective display of support from sectors of the academia who participated in different mobilizations and signed letters of repudiation in relation to the criminal actions, and the manifestations of rage

rural affairs of the Independent Central Campesina peasant union of Puebla.

[8] *Alarma!* was a weekly journal that specialized in crimes and death. It was very popular and sold up to two millions copies in one week. It was part of Llergo Press and an archetype of snuff journalism in the entire world, with bizarre phrases and morbid pictures.

and dismay from scholars and intellectuals, the event did not constitute a breaking point. For some years now, during a period characterized by the war declared by the Mexican government on criminal bands, the deaths and disappearances have been constant. Only the finding of clandestine mass graves in San Fernando, Tamaulipas, shocked. But it should have shocked even more. For many, the straw that broke the camel's back –a back that was breaking upon learning of the numerous women murdered in Ciudad Juarez-- was Ayotzinapa.[9] And, as in all the other cases mentioned, the Mexican academic community generally did not go beyond a sense of commotion.

The disappearance and assassination of the young men occurred in September 2014. Concurrently, novel bureaucratic procedures were instituted in Mexican public universities. For professors and/or researchers this entailed the filing of numerous reports, processing applications for bursaries and presenting projects. These additional tasks continued into early 2015 compounded by yet more required reports, work plans, test results, even more applications for similar yet different issues, all amounting to an evaluation of individual work, its quality and the wage that can be earned according to these measurements. The result was a rationalization of individual or group work corresponding to the Toyotaist model of labour organization which has been integrated into the so- Academic Bodies (Cuerpos Académicos – CA), implemented since 1997 by decision of the Secretary of Public Education in most Mexican universities. The main objective of the Academic Bodies was to outline academic trajectories, elaborate subject matters and an increased specialization of academic tasks. In this context, teaching and research continued at its usual pace, driven by the dignified objects of the academe, with its significant empirical content and its link to significant national

[9] From 1993 until today, hundreds of corpses of women, mostly between the ages of twelve and eighteen, have been found in the border town of Ciudad Juarez, in the north of Mexico. Their bodies present violations, strangulations, multiple wounds, dismembering. The viciousness of the murders is scandalous. The clues obtained by independent investigators, mainly journalists, tend to relate these crimes to drug cartels linked to high-ranking individuals of the political and economic elites. On this, see the article by Diana Washington (2003), part of a broader investigation.

problems, as demanded by the agenda of the CONACYT, the country's highest institution for the administration of scientific research in Mexico (see Programa Especial de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación 2014-2018).

There was a shift from genuine indignation to inevitable passive contemplation, at least for a great number of the members of the academic and intellectual world who have always existed as a relatively autonomous sphere of society. However, fortunately not everything devolved into this apathetic attitude. As noted previously, there had been warnings since 2011 that everyone was exposed to death and violence, articulated through the ethical arguments that flourished during the epistolary conversations between the Zapatistas and the philosopher Luis Villoro (see Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos 2011). What the mothers, fathers, and classmates of the dead and missing students have been doing refuels this need to not forget, to not renounce the pursuit of justice, to not surrender, so that these events are not repeated. Therefore, the content for a different narrative that opposes this hypocrisy, naturalness, normality and immobility is concrete and full of hope. This narrative amounts to the realization through words of that which we must call painful and what we must brandish as an argument for changing life itself.

The relatives of the Ayotzinapa students have verbalized the consequences of pain caused by undergoing such a moment. They are the extreme manifestations of a cruel administration of our life and death, the appearance of a state that represents social relations of value whose worst dimensions are lived not only through high levels of exploitation, the expropriation of land and destruction of nature and the ousting of entire populations. They are also experienced through the disappointment of realizing the promise of a better life is a fantasy, through the apathy that makes the immorality of formal politics bearable. The people of Ayotzinapa tell us to break with all of that. For example, the moving words of a father who lost his son on that fateful day of September 2014 have been very present on social media. He noted that even the freedom of his everyday pleasures, such as enjoying his favourite meal or sitting on his terrace during sunset, had been torn away from him when his son was torn away from his life.[10]

[10] "Ayotzinapa: los padres", video de Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3iR8tP2n0t8

His words contain the terrible metaphor of how our highest hopes can be destroyed in an instant. In the words of this man, as in the words of all the mothers and fathers of the boys the Mexican state killed and forcibly disappeared, lies the aesthetic of what must be a narrative of resistance and change.

What is the meaning of this specific set of words and its articulation by those specific individuals? It means many things, the most important being that this story of barbarity will not be told in the language of social sciences or under procedures of analytical rigour. It is/will be a narrative we will all create, those who now suffer, whose pain is deeply engraved on their skin, in the anguish caused by uncertainty, in the remembrance of what has been lost, and in plain and simple hope.

An English-speaking reader may be surprised by the lines written here about the Mexican academy and Ayotzinapa. The reason is that in academic circles outside Mexico there exists a general perception that their studies contain a highly-charged critique against dominant powers. The argument here challenges that general perception. It is true that Mexico has generated important concepts, methodologies and debates about social continuity and transformation. For example, one needs look no further than the theories about cultural change, indigenism, internal colonialism, development and dependence, political ecology, or even the recreation of the famous debate about the agrarian question in the 1960s and 1970s that posed the end of the peasant as it became the proletariat or its persistence and forms of social life, all of which proved consequent in the construction of political consciousness (see Hewitt 1984).

However, from the 1990s until the present, precisely with the regional economic integration solidified with the North American Free Trade Agreement among Mexico, the United States and Canada, the social sciences have lost much of the critical character they possessed in previous decades. Faced with the numerous "post" currents (postmodernism, poststructuralism, postmarxism, etc.), agendas for study that revitalize two specific questions have been prioritized. The first is an essentialism based on identity, which permits the designation of populations as an "object of study" (Indians, women, youth, migrants, etc.) reinforcing the empiricism of the "thing observed". Second, and in part as a critique of that empiricism, there are "realist" studies that treat people

like facts. They place themselves next to concepts like objective tools of their research and, consequently, eliminate any possibility that the subjects might possess to counter history and generate their own knowledge.

Therefore, academic circles, particularly in Mexico, should seek to recover the force of the word. In the face of cynicism, indignation. In the face of the "all is well", commotion. In the face of the end of phases –the end of indignations-- perseverance to bring back the missing ones alive. In the face of the fury of the state and quasi-state forces, reflection. In the face of the opening of a democratic cycle that closes another one, in order to renovate it with the same political class a few years later, rupture; rupture, therefore, permanent rupture with the false illusion of democratic participation and full citizenship.

In May 2015, in the presence of renowned activists, academics and intellectuals from all over the world, with the participation of delegates of the National Indigenous Congress (CNI), supporters of the Sixth Declaration (derived of 2006 "The Other Campaign Zapatista") and many more, including the mother of one of the assassinated students, many words appeared once again to write a story against the official story. It was an interesting occasion because the voices of prominent thinkers intertwined with those emerging from the experiences of struggle, the rage and pain of diverse and different speakers. The result was a successful attempt to curb this renovated narrative of promised prosperity at the cost of destroying life.

The seminar against the "capitalist hydra" called by the Zapatistas is part of the narrative of change that we have been creating for some time. For example, in the public squares of New York in 2011, in the face of the expressions of reciprocity, joy and hope, the word became a concept. If those people suffered from unemployment, lack of housing or broken illusions of any kind, they believed it was due to the economic interests of a few. Therefore, the way in which the expression "they" are the 1% emerged in order to refer to magnates and transnational companies that accumulate the wealth of the world is compelling. And the expression that the rest of us are the 99% is quite hazy. We are those who barely have anything, who have nothing, who have today what will be torn away from us tomorrow, who have hopes that turned into false expectations. We are the ones who get up every morning and see the majesty of these

mountains, rivers for which some poet --no matter where—states that he would give his life. We are those who used to proudly look at our rice fields and cornfields, and now feel the anguish of the presence of wastelands, of sons and daughters who are absent, who have gone away in search of jobs, away from home, far away.

This expression is profound (Byrne 2012). It encompasses all the others. It does not refer to a "multitude" linked together by networks and nodes. We simply seem to be entrapped by this disappointment. Berlant (2011) referred to what has been happening to us during these decades of economic, emotional, professional and other failures as "cruel optimism". We are made to believe that we will have better jobs, quality education, a future that is ensured through pension funds gambled in the stock markets. But this never happens. All that which surrounds us, rather than organizing our lives, disorganizes them, launching us into an enormous and depressing, personal and collective chaos. That is what capitalism is about: it organizes us, it reorganizes us and then disorganizes us again. It is a permanent cycle, the cycle of domination which, in the process, destroys our life and nature itself.

Berlant is right. When hundreds of thousands of people around the world have to leave their homes, flee from war and pile up in refugee camps; boys and girls climb up on a train or a shaky boat and set out on a voyage towards the inferno of the North with the hope of a better life; when job opportunities for all are scarce; when success is a myth that the middle classes ruminate, there is no room for optimism.

The territory of Guerrero is being fought over by large capital devoted to mining because it is located at what is referred to as the "gold belt", where mines are built and exploited more than anywhere in Mexico (Dornbierer 2016). Those capitalists hope that they will be the most significant mines in all of Latin America. They calculate that they will be able to extract sixty million tons of gold from that region over the next twenty years. In addition to gold, that place is key for the transportation of drugs. Control over the region assures multimillion dollar profits. Mexico is currently the second largest producer of marijuana world-wide—after Morocco—and also of poppy—after Afghanistan. There are approximately 12,000 hectares devoted to each in this country and both are cultivated in Guerrero. Gold, marijuana, poppy, a route

for cocaine, natural resources, all of this lends meaning to the "wealth" of the state of Guerrero (see Animal político 2013; BBC Mundo 2013; Expansión-Alianza CNN 2011). Ayotzinapa is precisely in the middle of these big businesses. In order to control them, control of the territory must be taken over, with violence; displacing, assassinating, causing to disappear (Eraña and Rojas 2015).

Every time we hear the fathers, mothers, schoolmates and friends of the missing students of Ayotzinapa say that their resistance and struggle will not be over until they find out what happened to their youth; when we see the Zapatista communities express their problems, engage daily in self-critique and articulate their desire to create a free and autonomous world without a state and without capital, we are forced to transform what experience says into concepts that must eschew what we supposedly must be: submissive, humiliated and exploited (EZLN 2005). Then hope is alive; it is alive in the word and in theory and in a subject that criticizes itself and the world. It is this theory that unveils what is immoral and what is unfair, what must never exist. Could we call this a theory of a revolution forever in process? We believe we can. We always want to radically change the unfairness and the immorality, here, in China, Chiapas, Kurdistan, Argentina, South Africa, Norway, New York, Chicago, Mexico, anywhere, everywhere. It is therefore the theory with which we look at the world today and, along with it, a better future.

APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGY OF THE DISAPPEARANCE AND THE SEARCH FOR THE STUDENTS OF AYOTZINAPA, GUERRERO.

Date/Time	Events
Friday 26th of September 2014	Approximately 80 students who have recently entered the "Isidro Burgos" teacher college of Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, are asking for money in the street, raising funds so as to travel to Mexico City on the 2nd of October and participate in a march commemorating the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre.
21.00	The students leave Chilpancingo, Guerrero, on two buses. On their arrival to Iguala they continue to collect money from passerbyes and drivers. They reach an agreement with a bus driver, who will also join the caravan heading towards Mexico City.
23.00	On their leaving Iguala, the students are ambushed by the municipal police, who fire against the buses with high-caliber weapons. Blocked by a police car, the students exit the bus under gunfire. Some are intercepted, arrested and put into official vehicles. Apparently, others are rounded up in the patio of the headquarters of the Municipal Preventive Police Force.
23.00	The attack on the students attracts the attention of the local media. A press conference is improvised, but the students are once again attacked, this time by people covering their faces.
23.00	Another bus that was transporting a youth soccer football team was also attacked. As a result the bus falls off a cliff leading to the death of the driver, a 14 year-old boy, and a woman who was travelling on a passing-by taxi, whose driver was also injured.
	During the three hours following the attack, two students are murdered –Daniel Solis Gallardo and Jhovani Guerrero—another one is sent to hospital, brain dead after being shot in the head –Aldo Gutiérrez—and yet another one appears abandoned in the street, his face skinned and bearing other signs of torture –Julio César Mondragón. There were also 25 people injured, amongst them a student who was pulled out of a private clinic by the police along with his fellow students before receiving medical attention. Another 43 students have gone missing.

Saturday 27th of September	The government of the state of Guerrero, led by Ángel Aguirre Rivero, a member of the Democratic Revolution Party (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD) but a former member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), orders the arrest of 22 police officers involved in the attack, remanded for first degree murder.
First days of October	More graves of non-identified bodies are discovered, mainly as a result of the actions and mobilization of 550 community guards of the Union of Peoples and Organizations of the State of Guerrero (Unión de Pueblos y Organizaciones del Estado de Guerrero, UPOEG) who combed the region of Iguala in search of the students. The bodies that were discovered did not correspond to the missing students. Their identity remains unknown.
Mid-October	Mexico's Attorney General presents a first assessment of his intervention in the case of the missing students: 300 federal agents took part in the search. 46 police officers were arrested, amongst them 22 officers from Iguala, 10 from Cocula, and 10 civilians pertaining to criminal organization "Guerreros Unidos". José Luis Abarca and the chief of the municipal police forces are to be arrested on charges of organized crime.
October Protests	Local protests taking place in Guerrero are joined by the first nation-wide mobilizations on the 8th and 22th of October in over 20 entities of the country. Approximately 20,000 members of the zapatista civilian support groups arrive to San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, demanding justice for the 43 missing students.
24th and 29th of October	The fathers, mothers and students of Ayotzinapa interrupt all cooperation with the Attorney General due to lack of results. They demand a direct interview with the President, which took place on the 29th. Enrique Peña Nieto commits to respecting the reputation of the missing students. During the meeting, an agreement is reached to guarantee non-impunity, attention to victims, reparation of damages and support to the system of Rural Normal Schools. At the same time, a technical assistance agreement is made with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights at the request of the parents. .

Protests taking place at the end of October and in November	On Wednesday the 29th of October approximately 90,000 people gather up in Mexico City. The same occurs on the 5th of November, with the presence of approximately 120,000 protesters at the city's central square (Zócalo). The days of protest organized on the occasion of the so-called Global Action for Ayotzinapa united people from all around the world who demanded the 43 be presented alive.
November	The demand is now made for the discovery of the students alive, not dead. The search plan is reformulated and a mixed commission of the attorney general and the ministry of internal affairs is created to follow up and coordinate the information. Argentine forensic experts are provided with all the necessary information and means in order to search and identify the recovered remains.
5th and 7th of November	The 5th of November is the day of the biggest national and international protests, with over 80 educational institutions in Mexico on strike. On the same day, José Luis Abarca and his wife María de los Ángeles Pineda are arrested in Mexico City. On Friday the 7th of November then-Attorney General José Murillo Karam gives a press conference that is broadcast live, in which he informs the 43 missing students had been executed, their bodies set on fire until reduced to ashes at a landfill in Cocula, and their remains dumped into a nearby river. The Attorney General presents this as a "historic truth".
8th of November	The fathers, mothers and fellow students of the missing students not only reject and condemn this conclusion the government tries to impose, but also reassert their demand and their struggle for the missing students to be presented alive.

14th and 20th of November	Three caravans of parents depart on the 14th of November, heading towards the north and south of the country, travelling through different states as well as the rest of the state of Guerrero. The caravans arrive to Mexico City on the 20th of November, where the "Great March" takes place. It is the axis of the "Fourth Global Day for Ayotzinapa" which was supported by the strike of 79 schools and 114 universities and higher education institutions around the country, as well as the solidarity of people from all wakes of life and social sectors who took to the streets to demand the 43 students be presented alive. On that same day protests took place in 120 Mexican cities and at least 30 cities around the world. .
December 2014	The fathers and mothers of Ayotzinapa meet with the civilian support groups of the Zapatistas in Chiapas
January 2015	In January 2015, at the "World Festival of Rebellions and Resistances Against Capitalism" that took part in many locations and culminated at the Indigenous Center for Comprehensive Training (CIDECI) in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, the Zapatistas made a formal petition before the National Indigenous Congress so that the relatives of the 43 missing students be received in their villages. The latter also attended the festival as special guests
5th and 6th of February 2015	The Committee of Relatives of the 43 missing students of Ayotzinapa and the Student Committee of the "Isidro Burgos" College make a joint calling to a National Popular Convention on the 5th and 6th of February 2015, to take place in the school's facilities in order to discuss and draw out a plan of struggle evolving around the demand for justice for crimes against humanity, such as the Ayotzinapa case.

April and May 2015	A committee from Ayotzinapa travels around 12 European countries for over a month, invited by participants of the Sezta Internacional, taking their demand that the missing students be presented alive to other countries. 17th of April: Oslo, Norway; 19th of April: Goteborg, Sweden; 21st of April: Helsinki, Finland; 23th of April: Berlin, Germany; 25th of April: Vienna, Austria; 26th of April: Innsbruck, Austria; 28th of April: Milan, Italy; 29th of April: Rome, Italy; 1st of May: Zurich, Switzerland; 3th and 4th of May: Paris, France; 6th of May: Zaragoza, Spain; 7th of May: Madrid, Spain; 9th of May: Barcelona, Spain; 11th of May: Marseille, France; 13th of May: Liege, Belgium; 15the of May: Munster, Germany; 17th of May: Amsterdam, Leiden, Holland; 19th of May: London, England. .
June and July 2015	A Committee from Ayotzinapa travels for two months around different Mexican states and communities, peoples and nations of the Indigenous National Congress.
7th of September 2015	The report of the alternative research conducted by the Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts (GIEI) on the Ayotzinapa case dismisses what then-Attorney General Jesús Murillo Karam had claimed to be a "historic truth". According to the findings, the students had not been burnt at the Cocula landfill.
27th of September 2015	One year has gone by since the disappearance of the 43 students and none of the 111 people arrested for this case have been sentenced. Many complaints have been made by the relatives of the victims and the experts on how the authorities have conducted the criminal processes related to this crime. Protests take place demanding the missing students be presented alive in Mexico City, Chilpancingo, Morelia, Guadalajara, Jalapa, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Culiacán, Pachuca and San Miguel de Allende. Zapatista civilian support groups protest at the Oventic Caracol. Acts of protest also take place in Toronto, London, New York and Madrid, amongst other cities.

9th of February 2016	Forensic experts from Argentina dismiss the Attorney General's "historic truth" on the Ayotzinapa case. They claim many different fires had been conducted in the Cocula landfill since 2010 and it is highly unlikely that all the remains found there belong to the missing students. .
2nd-5th of March 2016	The fathers, mothers and fellow students of the Ayotzinapa students organize a search day in Iguala. At the end of their itinerary, the movement once again demands the 43 be presented alive. The pain and the search have already turned into national and international clamor.

REFERENCES

Adorno, Th. W., 1973, *Negative Dialectics* (New York) Seabury Press.

Adorno, Th. W., 2005, *Minima Moralia. Reflections from a Damaged Life* (London) Verso.

Alonso, Ana María, "Territorializing the Nation and Integrating the Indian": "Mestizaje" in Mexican Official Discourses and Public Culture", in *Sovereign Bodies. Citizen, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World*, edited by Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press.

Anguiano, Arturo, 2015, "Ayotzinapa, acelerador de la crisis estatal", in *A través del espejo, por un pensamiento crítico y rebelde. Publicación trimestral autogestionada,* México, (1): 11-30.

Animal político, 2013, "México: 2º productor de mariguana y heroína en el mundo", "http://www.animalpolitico.com/2013/06/mexico-el-2-productor-de-mariguana-heroina-y-opio-en-el-mundo/ Accessed 16th May, 2016.

Astorga, Luis, 2000, "Traficantes de drogas, políticos y policías en el siglo XX mexicano", in *Vicios públicos, virtudes privadas: la corrupción en México*, edited by Claudio Lommnitz, CIESAS, México Grupo Editorial Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Bartra, Armando, 2000, *Guerrero bronco. Campesinos, ciudadanos y guerrilleros en la Costa Grande [The rough warrior]*. Era, Mexico.

BBC-MUNDO, 2013, "La historia detrás del 'boom' de la heroína mexicana", http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2013/08/130802_heroina_mexico_historia_narcotrafico_chapo_guzman, Accessed 16th April, 2016.

Berlant, Lauren, 2011, *Cruel Optimism*, Durham, D.C., Duke University Press.

Byrne, Janet (ed.), 2012, *The Occupy Handbook*, London, Back Bay Books.

De la Peña, Guillermo, 1986, "Poder local, poder regional: perspectivas socioantropógicas", in *Poder local, poder regional*, edited by Jorge Padua y Alain Vanneph, México, El Colegio de México, CEMCA.

Dornbierer, Manú, 2016, "Guerreo: gold belt", http://www.zocalo.com.mx/seccion/opinion-articulo/guerrero-gold-belt-1460182570, Accessed 16th May, 2016.

Expansión Alianza CNN, 2011, "Guerrero, donde la pobreza 'fertiliza' el cultivo de amapola, http://expansion.mx/nacional/2011/11/07/guerrero-donde-la-pobreza-fertiliza-el-cultivo-de-amapola, Accessed 14th April, 2016.

EZLN, 205, http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-es/, Accessed 17th, March, 2106.

Eraña, Ángeles y Pablo Rojas, 2015, "Más allá de Ayotzinapa", in *A través del espejo, por un pensamiento crítico y rebelde. Publicación trimestral autogestionada,* México, (1): 36-37.

Florescano, Enrique, 1997, *Etnia, Estado y nación. Ensayo sobre las identidades colectivas en México*, México, Aguilar.

Friedrich, Paul, 1986, *The Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method,* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Gilly, Adolfo, 1997, *El cardenismo. Una utopía mexicana*, México, Cal y arena.

Gilly, Adolfo, 2002, *La revolución interrumpida*. México, Era.

Gibler, John, 2015, "The Disappeared. The story of September 26, 2014, the day 43 Mexican students went missing — and how it might be a turning point for the country", *The California Sunday magazine*, 4 January 2015: https://stories.californiasunday.com/2015-01-04/,

Gómez Carpinteiro, Francisco Javier, 2013, ""Desventurada población", Sufrimiento, violencia y no desencanto en una zona de Guerra", in *Movimientos sociales en un ambiente revolucionario. Desde el Altiplano Oriental hasta el Golfo de México, 1879-1931*, coord. by Coralia Gutiérrez, México, BUAP-ICSyH.

Hewitt de Alcántara, Cynthia, 1984, *Anthropological Perspectives on Rural Mexico*, Londres, Routledge.

Hobsbawm, Eric, 1973,"Peasant and Politics", *Journal of Peasants Studies*" 1 (1): 3-22.

Joseph Gilbert and Daniel Nugent, 1994, *Everyday Forms of State Formation. Revolution and Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, Durham, Duke University Press.

Knight, Alan, 1996, *La Revolución Mexicana, 2 t.*, México, Grijalbo.

Maclay, Kathleen, 2012, "Interview with Emmanuel Saenz", in *The Occupy Hand Book,* edited by Janet Byrne, New York, Brown and company.

Méndez, Zulma Y., 2010, "Alianza para la Calidad de la Educación and Production of an Empty Curriculum", in http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-0-230-11291-9_9, Accessed 19th of April, 2016.

Montemayor, Carlos, 1997 , *Guerra en el paraíso*, México, Seix Barral.

Palacios, Guillermo, 1999, "Lectura, identidad campesina y nación: el proyecto socio-cultural de El Maestro Rural en inicios de los años treinta", in *Bajo el signo del Estado*, edited by José Eduardo Zárate, México, El Colegio de Michoacán.

Poniatowska, Elena, 1971. *La noche de Tlatelolco. Testimonios de historia oral,* México, Era.

Poniatowska, Elena, 2003, "A Massacre in Mexico", in *Women Writing Resistance*, edited by J. Browdy de Hernandez, Cambridge, Mass., South End Press.

Proceso, 2014, http://www.proceso.com.mx/418730/el-expediente-ayotzinapa-una-burda-manipulacion; http://www.proceso.com.mx/423414/una-escandalosa-manipulacion, Accessed June 6th, 2015.

Programa Especial de Ciencia, Tecnología e Inovación [Special Program of Science, Technology and Innovation] 2014-2018, Mexico. Mexican Government and CONACYT.

Rockwell, Elsie, 2007, Hacer escuela, hacer Estado. La educación posrevolucionaria vista desde Tlaxcala, México, Colegio de Michoacán, CIESAS, CINVESTAV.

Román Román, Salvador, 2010, "Revuelta cívica en Guerrero (1957-1960). La democracia imposible", in *Proyectos políticos, revueltas populares y represión oficial en México, 1821-1965*, edited by Jane-Dale Lloyd y Laura Pérez, México, Universidad Iberoamericana.

Rubin, Jeffrey W., 1996, "Decentring the Regimen: Cultural and Regional Politics in Mexico", *Latin American Research Review*, 31 (3): 85-126.

Schryer, Franz J., 1980, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores: The History of a Peasant Bourgeoisie in Twentieth Century Mexico*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Subcomandante Marcos, 1997, "7 piezas sueltas del rompecabzas mundial" del Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos http://palabra.ezln.org.mx/comunicados/1997/1997_06_b.htm.

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, (2011), "Carta segunda del intercambio Epistolar sobre Ética y Política" [Second Letter of the Epistolary Exchange on Ethics and Politics], in *Rebeldía* (8): 73-80.

Subcomandante Galeano, 2015,, "Una guerra mundial", in *El pensamiento crítico frente a la hidra capitalista I*, México, Participación de la Comisión Sexta del EZLN.

Scott, James C., 1985, *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance.* New Haven, Yale University Press

Trial, 2016, http://www.trial-ch.org/es/recursos/trial-watch/trial watch/profiles/profile/326/action/show/controller/Profile.html, consulted, 17th, 2016.

Trujillo Báez, Norma "Escuelas rurales normales en México, una Historia de Persecución2, [Rural Normal Schools in Mexico, a Story of Persecution] http://formato7.com/2014/12/01/las-escuelas-normales-rurales-historia-de-persecucion-en-mexico/, Accessed June 7th 2015.

Tutino, John, 1986, De la insurrección a la revolución en México. Las bases sociales de la violencia agrarian, 1750-1940, México, Era.

Univisión, 2015, "Video exclusivo de los estudiantes de Ayotzinapa antes de su desaparición". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5qmXRdNX6VI, Accessed, April /6th, 2015.

Vaughan, Mary Kay, 1997, *Cultural Politics in Revolution. Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940*, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press.

Washington, Diana, (2003) , "Ciudad Juárez: así empezó todo" [Ciudad Juarez: This is how it all began] October 3rd 2003, http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2003/10/31/056n1con.php?origen=index.html&fly=1, Accessed June 17th 2015.

Williams, Raymond, 1977, *Marxism and Literature* (London & New York) Oxford University Press.

Wolf, Eric R., 1969, *Peasant Wars of the 20th Century*, New York, Harper & Row.

Womack Jr., John, 1970, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, New York, Vintage Books.

Wolf, Eric R., 2001, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java, in *Pathways of power. Building and anthropology of the Modern World*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, pp. 147-159.

Writers for the 99%, 2011, Occupying Wall Street. *The Inside Story of an Action that Changed America*, New York and London, Haymarket Books.