Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming are checked below.

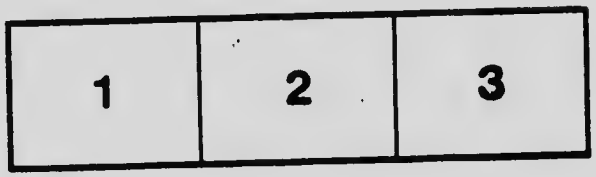
- [x] Coloured covers / Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged / Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated / Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing / Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps / Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black) / Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations / Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material / Relié avec d'autres documents
- [ ] Only edition available / Seule édition disponible
- [ ] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin / La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure.
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restorations may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming / Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- [ ] Additional comments / Commentaires supplémentaires:

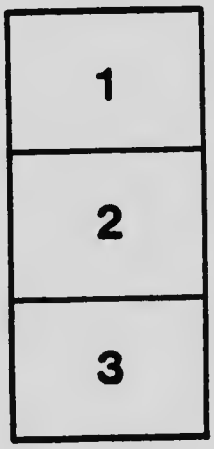
L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

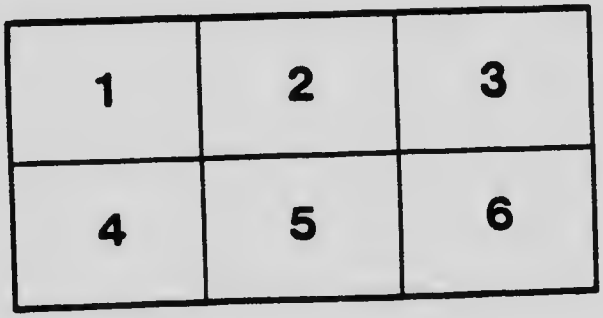
- [ ] Coloured pages / Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged / Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated / Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed / Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached / Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough / Transparence
- [ ] Quality of print varies / Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Includes supplementary material / Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- [ ] Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image / Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.
- [ ] Opposing pages with varying colouration or discolourations are filmed twice to ensure the best possible image / Les pages s'opposant ayant des colorations variables ou des décolorations sont filmées deux fois afin d'obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below / Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10x		14x		18x		22x		26x		30x	
							✓				
12x		16x		20x		24x		28x		32x	

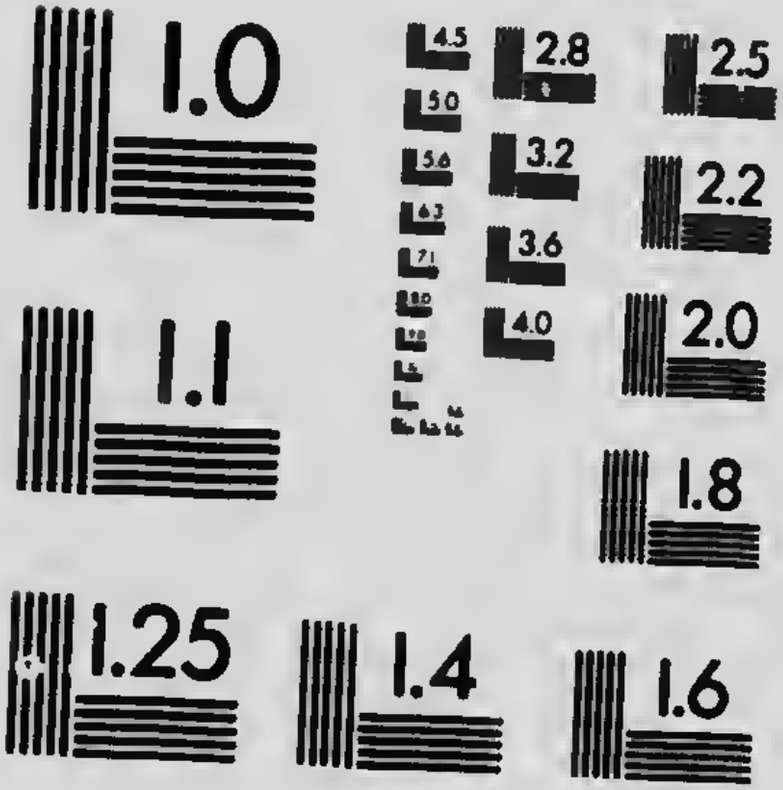






MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

1906-1914

Its Progress, Causes, Purpose and Probable Results

BY

TEODORO M. GAITAN
Mexican Revolutionist

PUBLISHED BY
MEXICAN WORKERS ASSOCIATION
516 Main Street Vancouver, B. C.

PRICE 10c

PREFACE

Within the limits of a pamphlet it is impossible to adequately deal with such a historical event as the Mexican Revolution (1906-1914). This work, therefore, proposes to give a mere casual outline of the movement, dealing principally with matter that has not been published anywhere in the Capitalist Press of the world, and touching upon events as they affect the working population of Mexico. That the need for such a pamphlet is urgent we have no doubt, and trust this work will fill the requirements of the case.

THE AUTHOR.

April, 1914.

INTRODUCTION

The masses of the people have learned in the last few decades what long centuries of experience could not teach them. The principle of authority, that until yesterday was recognized as the essential element in the government of human societies, has failed completely under the regime of democracy.

The spirit of rebellion is spreading. The social fabric is breaking up in all its parts, by the intensity of the new forces of Revolution.

Autocratic authority, is today an illusion that is rapidly disappearing. The modern state in any country is nothing but a formidable barracks in which the order created by minorities is respected at the point of the bayonet and the guillotine.

The heart of Europe burns in the extensive revolutionary fires of her great cities; Paris, London, Barcelona, Milan, are the centers, where are being prepared the raw material of a new humanity. The proletariat of America is threatening capitalism which hypocritically binds them in the chain of industrial slavery. In the far, and until yesterday, mysterious Orient, the castes, that for hundreds of years have dominated these countries, ruling them by the opium of religion, have been compelled to ask for rifles in order to stop the spirit of rebellion. There is not a corner of our planet, where human kind exist, in which the voice of the new men can not be heard. Such is the moment.

Universal attention is fixed upon the spectacle of the Revolution that is developing inside of the limits of the Republic of Mexico. This revolution is, without any doubt, one of the greatest historic events that the revolutionists have produced since the famous Paris Commune, and perhaps from her final results, will depend the way that social events in nations that have identical conditions with Mexico, will take.

In the English-speaking countries, this revolution has not been quite understood, not only on account of the difference of language, the few exchanges with the Mexican press, or the widespread ideas that the fight in Mexico was a fight among certain factions of the capitalist class, but because of the believing of certain socialists and social-anarchists that the Mexican workers were too ignorant to understand their position in society and therefore, to strike the first blow against the system.

Now, Mexico has peculiar conditions that greatly differentiates her from old Europe and from many other nations in America. This prevents the a understanding the Social Revolution in Mexico. The country is extensive territory with a wonderful variety of temperate climate upon its numerous plateaux, and of tropical warmth in its valleys and along the sea coast, and covers an area of 767,000 square

miles in which could be placed the German Empire, France and Great Britain. The country is sparsely settled and the population amounts to nearly sixteen millions, mainly Indians of pure blood and Mexicans. The means of transportation and communication are very meagre. In comparison to the total amount of the population, the foreign element is insignificant, mainly composed of bourgeois, aspirants to such, or slave-drivers. Without many industries to any great extent, and very little exploited in her mineral wealth, Mexico lives, more or less, off the agriculture, that in certain regions gives two and three crops a year.

Mexico established her independence from Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and after a series of revolts, pronunciamientos, revolutions and even wars with several nations, in which she lost more than half of her territory, consolidated what it is called a strong government of democratic appearance, that drenched in blood the uprising of every radical movement, and at the same time, took away the lands of the Indians, who were working them in common, and sold them to infamous exploiters, usually foreign companies, and carrying to the maximum the tyranny and exploitation of the people.

Workingmen were generally treated to the whip, and woe be to the man that should protest against these iniquities. The dirty jail, or shooting soon finished his account, without the civilized world knowing anything about it. Because in Mexico, it was not possible for a newspaper to live that should not obey the caprices of the tyrant. In that way Porfirio Diaz retained his hold on the reins of power during thirty-five years.

So much infamy and tyranny could not last in Mexico for ever, and in 1906 and 1908 the first flames of the Revolution broke out, and since 1910 the movement has been in full march. Some people have revolted in order to substitute some ruler for another, others on account of hatred to the existing tyranny, but the great majority to have full emancipation and true liberty. And [illegible] the Republic of Mexico does not maintain a regular army or navy, and the country is admirably suited for guerrilla warfare, not only because of the mountainous and broken surface of the land, but also because of the difficulties of transporting troops from one place to another, in a short time the rebels dominated great extensions in different regions.

The people in Mexico can do what it is not possible even to attempt in Europe. It is in the camps (the country), not in the cities, where the strength of the Mexican Revolution lies. The great land owners had converted the workers into slaves, and the slaves are in rebellion, and the rebels, [illegible]gh small in numbers, cannot only sustain themselves there, but go to the towns and villages captured to supply the provisions wanted. In a great number of places, in different States, they have appropriated the land and started to cultivate it in common without depending on anybody. And this rebellion, that has not been put down by the last four governments of Mexico, should not be afraid of foreign intervention, as we will see in the course of this pamphlet.

MEXICAN WORKERS' CONDITIONS

The land, which is the natural mother of all wealth, being in a few hands, the great mass of Mexico's population was condemned to place its physical strength, its intelligence, its health and its future at the service of the land monopolists, who profited by the superabundance of labor to impose what are veritable starvation wages, such wages varying, for adults, from eighteen to thirty-seven cents a day, Mexican money, which is half the value of American, for twelve, fourteen and even sixteen hours of daily toil. Misery in its saddest form, was the result of this economic slavery; a slavery maintained by the aid, given by the authorities to the landowners, inasmuch as, in order that this condition could exist, they did not permit the hacienda inhabitants to go beyond their confines, because that would diminish the amount of help and lead inevitably to a rise in wages.

The peon, therefore, was born, reproduced his kind and died, knowing nothing but misery, and steeped in ignorance; since for him there was no school; since, as a child, he must help with his little arms and add his few cents to his father's earnings; since when he became a man, he was forced to break his back that his family should not die of hunger. The wages were so nicely calculated as to compel him to borrow, whereby he was held in slavery for life; for never could he pay the debt, and this debt, on his death, was charged against his descendents, who, in their turn, found themselves compelled to add to it for what they themselves wanted. Thus it was going on, from generation to generation, with the result that the rural population of Mexico, was a veritable population of slaves.

When one of these slaves attempted to fly, either to the city factories or to a foreign land, chiefly the United States, in search of a little more bread, the authorities arrest him, and took him before the manager of the hacienda, who subjected him to torments of which the most corrupt imagination scarcely can conceive, it being the case that few slaves succeed in surviving the tortures they suffer. If the owner or manager was kinder he ordered the overseers to beat the man until he fainted.

The peon had to suffer, in silence, every kind of torture, physical and moral. If, unfortunately, he had a pretty wife, he should permit the master, or the master's sons, to abuse her; and similarly if he had sisters or daughters who awakened his executioners sensuality. If the peon protested, or manifested his disgust in any way, the master sent him to prison or to the barracks, or ordered him to be assasinated, that he may get rid of him at once; counting always on the support of the authorities.

The worker in the factories, mines, etc., was no less unfortunate, for, apart from the wretched wages and long hours of work, which were the rule, he was not allowed to receive visitors in his house or to read papers other than than those which burned incense to the government and upheld these horrible conditions.

Having no liberty save that of dying from hunger, the Mexicans

were on the point of degenerating, or becoming brutalized, and therefore incapable of contributing their share toward human progress.

HOW THE SEEDS WERE SOWN

It was under these conditions that the Liberal Party of Mexico was formed in 1900, and a campaign of education and propaganda was commenced all over the country. In a few months the opposition papers were suppressed by the Diaz government. These papers denounced the cause of the existing misery, ignorance and tyranny; including in their real sweeping denunciation the priests, the plutocrats and the authorities alike. The papers were eagerly read. The clergy had been attacked before, but none had dared to point out that the plutocrats and the government were factors in the odious despotism from which the Mexican people were suffering. Newspapermen were arrested wholesale and many of them assasinated, among the editors killed being Jesus Olmos y Contreras, by the orders of General Mucio Martinez, Governor of the State of Puebla. Another editor assasinated was Mr. Valades in the port of Mazatlan, on the Pacific coast, by orders of General Francisco Canedo, Governor of the State of Sinaloa. Mr. Abelardo Ancona was stabbed in the Police Station of the City of Merida, capital of the State of Yucatan, by order of Governor Olegario Molina, one of the great millionaires of Mexico. But the most awful crime was the one committed by General Rafael Cravioto, Governor of the State of Hidalgo, following order of Dictator Diaz (who in those days had received from Queen Victoria, of England, one of the highest decorations given by the British Crown to foreign heads of state), viz. :—the killing of Editor Ordonez, very well known in the City of Pachuca, Capital of that State. Ordonez was educating the peons and workers to their position, and one night he was arrested and thrown alive into a deep cupola of hot lime. Dictator Diaz and Governor Cravioto were responsible for that savage crime. A widow and some orphans are living yet and they point to Dictator Diaz as the murderer of a husband and a father. Porfirio Diaz(in his 84th year in Paris) should see every night the figure of Ordonez in the moments that his tools were putting him in the fire of the lime.

Hundreds of other editors and speakers were sentenced to jail also, but the first seeds against peonage and tyranny were sown.

The tyranny of Diaz redoubled its cruelty, and a silence even more profound concealed the new crimes of plutocracy and the authorities. It was under such circumstances, that the Liberal Party secretly started to form clubs and groups in cities, towns, farms, haciendas and hamlets all over the Republic. That was in 1904. Workingmen and revolutionary papers made their appearance in the United States and were smuggled to Mexico where they were read in secret by the proletariat. More seed was being sown in spite of the vigilance of the Dictator and his tools, the governors of the States.

THE BEGINNING

September 23, 1906, was the date on which the Mexican people, denying the authority of Dictator Diaz, rose up in arms. Two states of the twenty-seven that compose the Mexican Confederation, the States of Coahuila (in the North) and Veracruz (on the Gulf cost) showed the spirit of their sons by taking up arms and deciding to die in their struggle, or secure liberty for the Mexican people. The towns of Jimenez (Coahuila), and Acayucan (Veracruz), were taken at the point of rifle and bayonet.

Sixty men under Juan Jose Arredondo, a farmer, and Trinidad Garcia, a worker, took the town of Jimenez on the date appointed. The mayor was made a prisoner and the merchants of the town were compelled to give funds for the support of the Revolution.

One hundred men, peons and Indians, took the important city of Acayucan, in the heart of the tropics, after great resistance on the part of the authorities. Both sides had several men killed.

Immediately, in both places, propaganda of the ideals of the Revolutionary Liberal Party was begun. These men belonged to that party. In their platform given out in St. Louis, Mo., the first day of July, 1906, it was stated that the objects of the Party were to overthrow the Dictatorship of Diaz and expropriate all the lands of the government officers, and the great monopolists for the benefit of the workers.

Dictator Diaz, accustomed to rule the country with an iron hand, and suffocating in blood all the opposition against his tyranny, thought that the beginning of the end was at last in view. Coward that he is, as are all tyrants, he immediately sent an ambassador to the United States in order to ask of Theodore Roosevelt, then at the head of the government, all the help he could get. This he did even before sending soldiers to the scene of the trouble. Diaz believed that the Revolutionary movement was being directed from the United States by the Junta of St. Louis, Mo.

Roosevelt, who had praised Diaz in several speeches as one of the "greatest statesmen of the continent" and the man that had made a new Mexico, immediately put in action the machinery of the American government, and through the Department of Justice had arrested several of the members of the St. Louis, Mo., Junta, under trumped up charges, and prevented the Mexican rebels of the State of Coahuila that bordes on Texas, from receiving any help from the hundreds of Mexicans living in Texas that were willing to go across and join the Revolutionists.

Diaz, assured by the wires of the White House that the United States would do all in its power to help to crush the Revolution, sent from Mexico City two armies, one to the North and the other to the tropics.

The revolutionary bodies of Coahuila and Veracruz, after wasting several days trying to increase their numbers, met the Dictators' tools, being at the end defeated and compelled to evacuate the captured towns and disband. The group from Northern Mexico got across the Rio

Grande throwing away their arms, and the group from Veracruz that in two or three encounters with the army of General Mass (the commander sent by Diaz), had dozens of peons and Indians killed, disbanded, flying to the hills.

By the second week of October the country was again in peace, but the other groups of the Revolutionary organization that had been carried secretly all through the country, had not revolted yet, some on account of the lack of arms, others on account of treason at the last hour, and others on account of discovery through the Secret Service of Diaz. However, the Liberals made an attempt to capture the border city of Juarez, State of Chihuahua, and all the proceedings made for that object failed through the treason of a captain of the army of Diaz, who had full knowledge of their plans. That was the 19th of October, 1906. Several Liberals and many workers were arrested and the traitor captain, Adolfo Jimenez Castro, was promoted by Diaz to major in the army for his treason against the working class.

At the end of 1906, Diaz had the prisons all over the country full of the men suspected of taking any part in the Revolution, prepared by the Liberal party. The penitentiary of the City of Chihuahua had hundreds of men from all parts of the state that were implicated in the Revolution. The different important places of Coahuila, Jalisco, Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, and even states so far as Chiapas, that borders with Central America, and is the most southern state of Mexico were searched by the police, and thousands of men were thrown into the dungeons.

Although some of the men were killed in secret by the Diaz cossacks, the majority of the prisoners were convicted in the Federal Courts and sentenced for their "crime of rebellion" to long terms of confinement in the castle of San Juan de Ulua, an inquisitorial place, where three years inside kills the most vigorous physical constitution.

The day of the new year of 1907 the Dictator was feeling better. Roosevelt, the servant of the American capitalist class, was persecuting in the courts of Texas all the revolutionists that took part in the capture of Jimenez and who went to the United States for refuge.

Diaz could not get them into Mexico on account of the strength of public opinion of several American cities against that crime. In Arizona, then a territory of the Union, the Federal Marshall turned over to the Mexican authorities all the Mexican refugees living in the cities of Douglas and Nogales that were asked for by the Diaz consuls. In a word, the Roosevelt administration, violating international law and denying the right of asylum to refugees of other countries, suited the Dictator in order to perpetuate the government of the "greatest statesman of the continent."

The first blow struck by the Mexican proletariat was a failure. And more than the soldiers of the Dictator, the Roosevelt administration is to blame for that.

The results of the blow were hundreds of men killed, and thousands imprisoned in Mexico. Many were persecuted and imprisoned

in the American penitentiaries and county jails of the United States.

However, the Mexican people did not go to sleep. The first battle was lost. The cause was for liberty, and obtaining of better conditions in the future.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1908

We will now take a survey of the year of 1907. It registered more crimes of the Dictatorship. The working class was butchered in Rio Blanco, at the time of the strike of the cotton mills. Men and women were mown down by the machine guns of the tyrant. General Rosalino Martinez, under orders of the Dictator drowned in blood, the strike for better conditions and increase of salaries of the workers. Nearly three hundred men and women were killed and the Rio Blanco (White River) town was painted red.

Newspaper men were prohibited from speaking a word concerning that butchery and only the Mexican papers published in the United States had any words for the execration of the great murderer decorated by Queen Victoria and Emperor William.

The continuation of the movement of 1906 was in view by the revolutionists and members of the Liberal Party, who secretly worked to renew operations. By the way, it is important to state that at the time, Francisco I. Madero, who was living peacefully in San Pedro, a little town of the southwest of Coahuila, attending to his great estates and business, in the manufacture of brandy and cultivation of cotton, condemned the attempt of the workers to rebel against the government of General Diaz, stating that only through peaceful means the people should oppose the President. This paints well the man that three years after became the tool of the Standard Oil Company.

At the end, the revolutionists selected June 25, 1908, to commence armed operations against the Dictator. Forty groups, in different parts of the country, were ready to rise up in arms flying the ensign of social regeneration. Every group was armed through the efforts of its members, because of the lack of funds of the Revolutionary party composed entirely of workingmen. Thus on account of that, the groups of Casas Grandes, State of Chihuahua, tried to buy some arms in the stores that the Mormon Colonists owned, when the conspiracy was discovered.

The Mormons denounced the acts of the workers to the authorities, and wholesale arrests followed all through the State of Chihualhua, of men suspected of being in sympathy with the Mexican Liberal Party. The movement in Lower California, Sonora, Tamaulipas and many other states was prevented from being developed through that fact, but on the date fixed for the uprising, Dictator Diaz found North and Central Mexico in rebellion. Three battles were given by the revolutionists. Las Vacas, Viesca and Palomas were the scenes of the fight between the regiments of the tyrant and the workers.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1910

We have seen the Revolution in its infancy. The movements of 1906 and 1908 had been crushed. But in 1910 the Revolution burst upon Mexico like a volcano. The Anti-Re-electionist party, headed by Francisco I. Madero and Francisco Vazquez Gomez arose in arms, claiming that General Diaz had had enough re-elections by that time, and they were going to secure free suffrage and no re-election. The Plan of San Luis Potosi, given out by Madero, stated that the lands of the people, that had been robbed by the monopolists should go back to the people.

The Mexican Liberal Party also arose with the Red Flag of "Land and Liberty" and advocated the general expropriation of the land, even the land, Madero himself, as a monopolist, held in the State of Coahuila. Other bodies of men rose up in order to throw off the yoke of the tyranny. Nine tenths of the country was against the perpetuation of Diaz. The tyrant was not overthrown by battles. for the battles were comparatively few, but rather by the great majority of the population. He was finally driven from the Capital by a mob.

THE CAMPAIGN

The Northern State of Chihuahua was the first one that arose flying the revolutionary flag. November 20, 1910 was the date when hundreds of me nleft the jobs they had under capitalism, and thousands of peons broke from the chains of slavery on the farms and big estates, in order to begin the fight, that even now is being waged in Mexico. The first day fighting began in different places, and the following day, the revolutionists surprised a federal train, killing 170 soldiers and officers, and spilling first blood, by killing one of the high commanders in the army, Lieutenant Colonel Pablo Yepez. That took place in San Andres, State of Chihuahua.

Inside of a week the revolutionists were in control of the towns of San Antonio, San Andres, Rancho del Torreon, Minaca and Guerrero, of the State of Chihuahua.

Important towns such as Parral and Jimenez of the same State were attacked, but the rebels were repulsed. There was fighting also in Guerrero, State of Coahuila, and in Santa Cruz, State of Puebla, thousands of miles distant from one another.

In the rest of the country encounters took place between revolutionists and federals at Durango, Gomez Palacio, Torreon, Hermanas, Acambaro and Orizaha. Mobs took possession, for a few hours, of Puebla and Zacatecas, important cities of 110,000 and 50,000 population, respectively.

The industrial centres of Nogales, Santa Rosa and Rio Blanco, State of Veracruz, were swept by great excitement, and hundreds of wage workers from the factories and mills went to the mountains to join the rebels. Ahualuco, Etzatlan, Cocula, and San Martin of the State of Jalisco, were won by the revolutionists. Ciudad Guerrero, State of Tamaulipas and Cuatro Cienegas, State of Coahuila, were captured also, but later evacuated.

The rebels winning their fight in the majority of places, the federals were on the defensive all the time.

Ten states of the Republic were in rebellion the first day of December, the day in which Diaz was inaugurated once more "President of Mexico" for a period terminating November 30, 1916.

During the last month of 1910, there were battles of more or less importance between the revolutionists and the troops that the Dictator had sent to Chihuahua, the heart of the campaign, and to other States in which the rebels were operating.

There were encounters in Santa Isabel, Las Escobas, and Cerro Prieto of the State of Chihuahua; in San Pablo del Monte, State of Tlaxcala; in Jimulco, Coahuila, and Janos, Chihuahua. Janos was the first town in which the Red Flag of the workers was raised.

The most important battle fought during the month was the La Junta battle. General Juan J. Navarro, who had been sent from Mexico City to Chihuahua at the head of the 11th, the 13th and the 14th Regiments of Cavalry, the 20th Battalion of Infantry and a few batteries of mounted artillery, was overwhelmingly defeated by the peons and wage workers in La Junta. The number of soldiers that Navarro had killed and wounded was 950 men. He lost 10 cannons and hundreds of arms and ammunition, that passed over to and was afterwards used by the rebels. And there lies the secret of the armament of the rebels. Very nearly all the arms they have at present were before the property of the government.

Another battle won by the rebels took place in Mal Paso, State of Chihuahua, where Colonel Martin Guzman, commander of the 6th Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Vallejo and Captain Gallegos, were killed. In Mulatos of the same State, and in Janos, near the border of New Mexico, the rebels also won. Praxedis G. Guerrero, a revolutionary writer and one of the most decided agitators for the beginning of the Revolution, was killed. The only battle won by the federals was in Cardenas, State of Tabasco. The rebels were compelled to evacuate the town.

At the end of the year, the following States were in arms: Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas in the North; Durango, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Puebla, Tlaxcala, and Mexico in the Center; Veracruz and Tabasco on the Gulf coast, and Sinaloa, Jalisco and Oaxaca on the Pacific coast.

Hundreds of the men in the field were members of the Liberal Party. Personal representatives of this party of the workers were on the ground. The Anti-Re-electionist Party, of which Madero was the head, had columns in the struggle. The Dictator had an awful job before him.

1911 opened and the revolution augmented in power and territory. The territory of Lower California was invaded by an expedition of workers that raised the Red Flag in the towns and villages. The State of Sonora started its campaign, and Queretaro and other central States joined the war against the tyranny. Battles were fought during January in Las Vacas, Coahuila, where 14 federals

were killed, and in Coyame, Chihuahua, where Colonel Dorantes, commander of the 1st Regiment of Cavalry had an awful defeat. General Antonio Rabago was defeated at Galeana after a fight that lasted two days, having 200 men killed. In San Buenaventura, State of Chihuahua, the same officer was compelled to evacuate the town and leave it in the hands of the Reds. The government forces met with little success during the month. Everywhere they were defeated. Sahuaripa and Moctezuma of the State of Sonora witnessed two other victories for the revolutionists. In the South, Tuxtepec, State of Oaxaca, and San Juan, State of Veracruz, more triumphs of the rebels were recorded. Mexicali, Lower California, was wrested from the Federals at the end of the month.

During February and March, new States and thousands of men went over to the revolutionary movement. The Federal District, the States of Morelos, Guerrero, and Aguascalientes, and the territory of Tepic were new fields of action.

The power of the Dictator was disappearing. The 8,000 trained soldiers he had sent to Chihuahua under General Navarro had been defeated and were demoralized. It was impossible to obtain more men, except by conscription and so his army continued receiving defeat after defeat with only two or three victories of no great importance.

The most important battles fought during February were held in the following places: Nieves, Zacatecas, Mulatos and La Ascension, Chihuahua; La Dura, Sonora and Mexicali, Lower California, where General Vega had 27 killed and himself wounded.

The City of Calvillo, State of Aguascalentes, was captured without firing a shot in the first week of March. This month registered battles won by the rebels in Iguala, State of Guerrero, Cananea, La Colorada and Ures, Sonora, in which a fight of 30 hours took place nearly 1,000 men were killed on both sides. The two defeats of the rebels were in Tecate, Lower California and Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. In Tecate, nineteen rebels were put out of their positions by 150 soldiers of the 8th Regiment. Luis Rodriguez, a member of the I. W. W. was killed in the battle. He had nine wounds when the federals found his body. In Casas Grandes, the Madero forces met with a defeat. They had one hundred men killed, and lost all their trains, cars, provisions, etc. Madero was in person at the scene of the fight.

At the end of the month, 7,000 more rebels were in arms in the territory of Tepic and the Pacific States of Sonora and Sinaloa.

The war was continued during the month of April despite the terrible heat of the South. The Dictators forces had several encounters in his favor, and streams of blood of the producers of Society's wealth ran in Zacatecas, where Luis Moya attempted to capture that fortified city, in El Sauz, where Madero, Blanco, Villa, and other politicians of the Anti-Re-electionist Party had headquarters, and were defeated by the Government troops, and in Agua Prieta, border city of Sonora, a town once captured by Red Lopez and then lost to the federals.

The battles won by the revolutionists during the month were in Inde, State of Durango, Atlixco, State of Puebla, where Colonel Torre-

blanca was killed, and in Naco, State of Sonora. In Mexicali, the Liberals to the number of 87 won a battle against 400 trained soldiers of Colonel Mayol, of the Federal army. Mayol had 68 men killed and the workers only one; that was William Stanley, an I. W. W. fighting in Mexico for the welfare of the proletariat.

In Parras, Central Mexico, the revolutionists, after a bloody battle, captured the town, and dynamited the great building of the Catholic Church, the palaces of the West End and the Government buildings. These rebels were class conscious rebels.

This month was when Emiliano Zapata with 600 men showed himself before the world as a social revolutionist, taking the Hacienda of Tenango, State of Morelos, and denying the right of property of the millionaire, Luis Garcia Pimentel, and giving possession of it to the peons that were working there. He burned all the titles of the Big Estate that were found in the safes of the offices, and took away money, horses, and other requisites for the benefit of the Revolution.

The month of May contributed to the history of Mexico several great battles. Tijuana, Lower California, was taken by the Red Flag revolutionists. Juarez, across El Paso, Texas, was captured also, although against the wishes of Madero, who was afraid of the claims of American capitalists that might be injured at the time of the battle. Colonel Tamborrel died like a hero defending the city for the capitalist class. Important cities were lost to the Dictator; the populated mining town of Cananea and the great cities of Hermosillo, Capital of Sonora, and Mazatlan, State of Sinaloa. The South was all on fire, and General Diaz sent to General Huerta, then a dark army officer to fight the rebels in that region. Torreon was taken and 200 bourgeois Chinese that were accustomed to exploiting the Mexican working class were butchered. The mining towns of Asientos, State of Aguascalientes, and Conception del Oro, State of Zacatecas, punished many bourgeois exploiters with death. Bloody battles in Matamoros and Chiautla, State of Puebla, were lost by the Federals. To Diaz everything seemed lost. Cuautla, State of Morelos, and Iguala, State of Guerrero where the workers made the rich men pay on the scaffold for their crimes of robbery and exploitation, and the City of Pachuca, capital of the State of Hidalgo, three hours journey from Mexico City, and in which place the rebels put fire to the plutocrat houses, the banks and the government buildings, making the coward, Governor Rodriguez, and high officers look for refuge in the barns, were the last places won by the Revolution. The governors of other States were giving field for the men in arms without firing a shot in defence of their protector and boss, Diaz. In less than six months the tyrant resigned the Presidency (May 25, 1911), not however, without coming to an understanding with Madero in respect to the terms of peace with his faction. He resigned that day because a mob was formed in the Cadena Street in front of his house and he was afraid of being executed in his palace, the headquarters of his crimes. With the Madero-Diaz peace compact, Madero obtained the co-operation of the Federal army for the future.

THE MADERO DICTATORSHIP

The revolution that drove out Diaz was not fought to put Francisco I. Madero in the presidential chair. Many Mexicans took up arms who had never heard of Madero. The Liberals who took up arms were unfriendly to him from the first, because they considered him a fraud. That even Madero's own immediate subordinates were figting for something else first, and for Madero afterwards is evidenced by the fact that they refused to agree to his peace terms with Diaz, as originally formulated, and the ambitious Madero was compelled to revise his terms in order to persuade his generals to cease fighting.

Instead, the Revolution was a voluntary uprising of the Mexican people to put an end to economic slavery.

The Madero revolt, a part of the Revolution of 1910, failed to realize its ideals. The government was changed. The tyrant Diaz gave place to the Provisional President, De la Barra and De la Barra gave place to President Francisco I. Madero. But the system remained the same, and that is the secret of the life of the Revolution. Madero was a ruler, but the Mexican peons were not looking for a ruler. They wanted THINGS, and certain THINGS that a government, though the best on earth could not give them: BREAD, LAND AND LIBERTY. And—here it is worth while to quote what Mr. Ricardo Flores Magon, one of the smartest writers that the revolutionary party of Mexico has produced, said, at the time. The following translated from the Spanish, appeared in one of the papers, and was attributed to him:

"The Mexican people are in arms because they must play the game to the finish in order to save thmeselves, and future generations from that economic slavery whence spring all tyrannies. Neither Madero, nor any other man can give the people what they need—Bread. They can decree liberty of speech, liberty of assembly, liberty of conscience, etc., etc., but who can decree the abolition of misery? No one: Because it would be a decree at which the rich would laugh. The abolition of misery means the abolition of the rich man's right to retain in his possession, the land, the machinery of production, and the means of transportation. All this the rich man will not let go of from kind-heartedness, but only through being forced."

Because Diaz went to Europe on board the "Ipiranga" and De la Barra took the place of power, the war did not stop for a moment. No, the war went on. And during the Provisional government of Barra, the masses remained in arms. De la Barra did his best to quiet the country and sent thousands of federal troops under General Huerta to fight Zapata but without any success. At the time of the inauguration of Madero (November, 1911), through a farce of elections, because only the Madero followers were allowed at the polls, the States of the Republic were in open rebellion against the government at Mexico City. The fighting was renewed. If the Revolution that drove Diaz into exile was justified, then the subsequent revolution against

Madero was doubly justified; for it was fought on precisely the same program; it was proclaimed not as a new revolution, but as a continuation of the old. We are referring to the Revolution of the Liberal Party, the Yaqui and Mayo Indians, and the Southern rebels working with Zapata, not to the reactionary affairs which General Bernardo Reyes, Pascual Orozco, Attorney Emilio Vazquez Gomez, and finally Felix Diaz tried to carry to victory in order to perpetuate the capitalist system, with more or less reforms.

Madero was just as tyrannical and criminal as Diaz. While many men that fought for him went hungry and disappointed, most of the one hundred and more relatives of his found their way into public office, an uncle and two cousins being in his cabinet. He suspended the constitutional rights, which meant that any man caught with arms in hands should be executed without trial, The orders given to General Juvencio Robles by Madero that incendiarism should be practised on all the towns of the State of Morelos where rebels' friends, and relatives live, was a crime that was carried out. Hundreds of men, women and children were swept by the fire of the machine guns of the Robles artillery, and this will stand for ever, condemning him as a tyrant and a murderer. If he had not been shot as he was during the night of February 22, 1913, the working class would have punished him just the same, the very day that they could have got hold of him. The crimes of Madero were many. Dozens of pages could be written describing the acts of the "little democrat," who was advertised all over the world in the capitalist press as the "liberator of Mexico." Liberator! A millionaire, that controlled hundreds of thousands of acres of land in Central Mexico? Liberator! The man that three years before condemned the genuine movement of the workers against General Diaz.

Even his own party, the Anti-Re-electionist party repudiated Madero a few weeks before his inauguration, because he imposed his friend Jose M. Pino Suarez as Vice-president, Doctor Vazquez Gomez being the nominee of the party, and refused to comply with the platform of the party, to return the lands, that had been wrested from the people by force or fraud during the administration of General Diaz. When asked why he had turned his back to the agrarian plan, he replied: "Why, one of the terms of peace with the last government was that we should recognize as legal all the acts of the Diaz government relating to Property, and after that it was impossible to do anything."

Madero did not want the welfare of the peons, the slaves of his lands. He was playing for the political support of the monopolists. Soon he said that the plan of his party was impracticable. The land policy that Madero actually developed, and the only one, was to dispatch soldiers to kill the rightful owners of the land and to protect the barons in their possession of stolen property.

That is why we see that the Revolution had grown by January, 1912, and a prominent capitalist wrote in an American newspaper the following: "The so-called revolution has never ceased. It has grown. Almost unbelievable outrages are of common ocurrence. The situation

is intolerable. The present regime (Madero's) seems helpless."

Since Diaz resigned, May 25, 1911, until the end of the year, nearly 5,000 people lost their lives in the fields, and two-thirds of them were killed since Madero was "elected" president.

"El Imparcial," a capitalist paper of Mexico City, stated on Dec. 6, 1911, that there had been new uprisings in no less than nine states.

The situation could not be worse than it was at the beginning of the year. The number of arrests was infinite. The jails were full of conspirators, besides thousands of completely innocent persons, together with opposition journalists and agitators, many of whom disappeared mysteriously.

The places where strikes occurred had been converted into military camps, and on every hand abuses and atrocities were committed either by Madero's direct orders or by those of the authorities imposed on the Mexicans by the new tyrants. Executions without legal trial multiplied and the "fugitive law" was in 1912 more in fashion than it was under the rule of Porfirio Diaz.

POLITICIANS FAILURES

The Madero regime had not been 30 days in power when other politicians with their personal followers decided to overthrow it by force.

General Bernardo Reyes with a few men, refugees in the United States, crossed the border into Mexico December 5, 1911, and immediately issued a Manifesto to the Army inviting them to rise against Madero. However, all his plans went to pieces; the army failed to answer, and wholesale arrests of men suspected of being his followers were effected, when evidence of a plot to proclaim Reyes "President" was discovered.

After an encounter on the banks of the Rio Conchos, where five of his men were killed by the Federals, he surrendered himself at Linares, Nuevo Leon, December 24, 1911, and was taken to the military prison at Mexico City, charged with several crimes.

"I called upon the army, I called upon the people, and no one responded," were the words of Reyes when he delivered his sword at Linares. Being one of the most cruel commanders under Diaz, there was sufficient reason for his failure. He was not the humanitarian that was going to the aid of the unhappy and suffering people. He was going for his personal ambitions.

Before proceeding further, it would be well, in view of mistakes often made, to state that during the time of the Reyes revolt, and practically since the day of the downfall of Diaz until the present, the workers carried on war in many parts of the country, in numerous groups of a hundred, two hundred, five hundred and a thousand men, under the Red Flag.

Attorney Emilio Vazquez Gomez, who was Madero's right hand man during the fight against Diaz, and who was made a member of the first cabinet, rose in revolt following the Reyes fiasco. After the official orders for his arrest had been issued, he escaped to the United

States, but his personal followers in certain parts of the country remained in war. He gave out in San Antonio, Texas, February 17, 1912 a Manifesto calling the nation to overthrow Madero, and praying for some reforms, but asking the people to guarantee the interests of the capitalists. Ciudad Juarez, across El Paso, Tex., was captured after a battle by the Vazquistas and the new revolters commenced to protect the exploiters of the people. However, in a month, Orozco, by political trickery threw out Attorney Vazquez Gomez from Mexican territory, where he had proclaimed himself "Provisional President of Mexico," and appointed a cabinet that was in duration three or four days. The Vazquistas were betrayed and sold to the Cientificos whose tool Orozco was. The Vazquista revolt was killed by another revolt, without any necessity that the Madero government, or the workers in rebellion should take part in the job.

Orozco, who was one of the commanders of the Madero army, and then head of the mounted police in the Northern Zone, had severed his connection with Madero in the middle of February, 1912, and stood in rebellion in Chihuahua City. He began a campaign against Mexico City, Sunday, March 10, 1912, in order to restore the Diaz regime. If the Federal army had not stood by Madero, Orozco could have captured the capital. But the Federay army, under General Huerta, stood by Madero, and after a campaign of four months put down completely the Orozco rebellion, in which something like 22,000 men were engaged. The more important battles fought were in Rellano, March 23; San Pedro, March 26; Villa Lopez, March 28; Conejos, May 13; Rellano, May 23; Conchos, June 20; and Bachimba, July 3. The defeat of Orozco in the last place was a tremendous blow to his ambitions. Then, the cities of Chihuahua and Juarez were captured by Generals Huerta, Rabago, Trucy Aubert and Tellez of the Federal Army. Orozco, with a few dozen men, escaped to the hills, entirely defeated. So the Orozco revolt, financed by all kind of interests, Mexican and foreign, passed into history. Orozco was the representative of the old system, and merely the leader of one of the factions into which the old governing class of Mexico was broken up by the revolution which overthrew Diaz.

Felix Diaz, nephew of Dictator Diaz, denying the Madero rule, captured the important port of Veracruz, October 17, 1912, seizing the arsenal and the garrison of 2,000 men, there being practically no opposition. Madero had ordered all the troops possible to concentrate in order to crush the new movement.

Diaz's proclamation declared him in favor of clean elections, several reforms, etc., and that he was going to enforce "full respect for the life and property of Mexicans and foreigners." These words called for the disgust of the working class, who at once condemned his foolish revolt.

After being attacked by land a few days after, the port of Veracruz fell into the hands of the federal army sent by Madero, almost without resistance, the Diaz [illegible] cowardly fighting inside the limits of the city. The arrest of, and subsequent sentence of death passed

on Felix Diaz by court martial, a sentence that never was carried out by Madero on account of his fear of revenge of the Diaz friends in Mexico City, was the last of the new pretender, who was seeking to perpetuate the very conditions that made the Revolution imperative.

1912 closed proving that the four attempts of the politicians Reyes, Orozco, Vazquez Gomez and Felix Diaz were nothing but abortive attempts to restore the old regime. Although they were engineered more or less carefully by certain interested persons, the workers looked at them with contempt. That reason, and the loyalty of the Federal army to Madero accounted for their failures.

THE ZAPATA MOVEMENT

The first instance of the class consciousness of Zapata and his decision to fight until the last, was shown when the commander-in-chief of the forces against the revolutionists wrote a letter inviting him to surrender in the name of humanity, and Zapata proudly answered the army officer that "the men fighting for libertarian ideals, will not surrender, and if the shedding of blood is distasteful you yourself should stop the process."

Such a laconic answer gave to the proletarians the measure of the man that a few years ago was nothing but a peon, without a home but his blanket, who decided to help to throw off the yoke of economic slavery.

When the old dictator Porfirio Diaz sneaked from Mexico and the presidential chair was occupied by the diplomat and Attorney Francisco Leon de la Barra, in order to pave the way to the entrance of Francisco I. Madero to power, the politicians and that class of society that applauds the same for a king or a president, or a monkey in a vaudeville show, thought that Zapata and the southern revolutionists would go back to work and enjoy peace under the new government. However, they saw in two or three weeks, that Zapata and his forces did not deliver their arms to the government, and noticed that when Madero went personally in an automobile to confer with Zapata in order to convince him of the capitalist ideas, Zapata answered that nothing, but the occupation of the lands of the State of Morelos by the workers could stop the war. They noticed that the greatest failure was the result of all the embassies of peace sent to Morelos for the pacification of the State and to please the landowners who were full of fear. The failure of all these attempts rests in the spirit of the Revolution, which is constituted by a strong and vigorous aspiration, rooted in the conscience of the towns in rebellion. The Mexican government is not dealing with a banditry, because in the regular course of the social phenomena it is not possible to conceive that a great number like the Mexican Revolutionists could take the field, raising the flag of bandits.

For the Southern Revolutionists Zapata is not a bandit; Zapata is not an enemy of the welfare of society whom it is necessary to destroy, as the capitalist press of Mexico United States and Canada advise. For the millions of peons and slaves of Mexico that have toiled upon the soil during four hundred years for the benefit of a few thous-

and parasites of different nationalities, Zapata is the man that comes to preach, with rifle in hand, the idea of social equality: economic equality. The peons of Morelos and other southern states that work in the big estates get salaries so small that they are compelled to eke out a miserable existance. These peons consider as their own, the land they toil upon which was taken from them through the brutality of the Spanish conquerors, in the beginning of the sixteenth century; they suffer the consequences of that act of violence, because they look at the manager of the big estate as the genuine representative of the conqueror, yet armed with the tremendous power of "scaffold and sword."

It is a mistake for the capitalist press to make the workingman believe that Zapata is a criminal who ought to be exterminated as a dangerous animal; it is a mistake, because the great majority of the workers look at Zapata as the apostle that raised the flag of regeneration.

All the trascendence of the southern revolution in Mexico could be understood after an examination of the psychology of the peons of the big estate. Analyze that man and you will find crystalized in him all the hatred of several generations, the longings for revenge of numerous outrages, the pains of so many years of suffering and slavery, and the concentrated anger of the man who has nothing but his blood to offer to the idea of social and economic emancipation. It is no political flag that Emiliano Zapata hoists. The flag this proletarian has raised and around which millions of men have flocked is pre-eminently an anti-capitalist flag. Zapata and the peons know nothing of that dirty swamp of politics, do not understand a syllable of government tyrannies, and have never thought of the fool dogma of effective suffrage or no re-election, for these interested only the dirty politicians of the capitalist party of Francisco I. Madero.

The Southern Revolutionists do not want established democracy in Mexico, nor do they wish to perpetuate the institutions of the Republic. They look at the Americans and see that in that country under a Roosevelt or a Taft, republican presidents; or a Wilson, democrat president; the poverty of millions of Americans is the same. And if they knew of a Sir Wilfrid Laurier or a Robert L. Borden, the opposing pilots of Canada's welfare, they would find that the Canadians are as poor under a Conservative as they are under a Liberal administration. What the peon knows is that there are privileged human beings in society who have too much, while he goes hungry; what he knows is that he has to shoulder a painful task in exchange for a few miserable cents doled out to him on pay day; what he knows is that there is a foreman who, to his imagination, represents the principle of brutal and ferocious authority and compels him to toil hard at work, under the penalty of perishing from hunger.

Now, in January, 1912, when the Southern Revolutionary movement, after long months of hard fights, had reached to a great height and it was necessary for the Madero government to create a special army of 60,000 in order to fight it, one of the most important papers of the capitalist class, "Nueva Era," of City of Mexico, said: "An evening paper has just published two articles dwelling on the import-

ance of "Zapatismo" and conceding that it has assumed the proportions of a true social, agrarian revolution. In one of the articles it says that Zapatism has increased so greatly that it is the dominant power in several States, and that in others it is spreading with great rapidity. It calculates that more than THREE MILLION persons sympathize with the idea of recoveries that, as it supposes, figure in his program, and that many of them are disposed to follow and fight in its ranks."

Naturally "Nueva era" deprecates that statement and expresses the opinion that Zapata does not know what he wants. It says : "He is an absolutely uncultivated man, who springs from the humblest of the peasantry, among whom he was reared and brought up. He has had no lecture-hall or book instruction, he has not mixed in good society, and he cannot have any idea of what Socialism is, or what must be the legitimate foundation of the recoveries he is said to be seeking."

The capitalist paper, "Nueva Era," talks like a college professor who imagines that without a degree no one amounts to anything. That is not the teaching of history, which furnishes us with countless examples of unlettered men, who, in troublous times, have swept everything before them. It is probably true that the great thoughts and discoveries that pave the way for another to step forward have their birth in the scholarly brain, but it is also probably true that the action necessary to incorporate them in a people's life is taken far more vigorously and effectively by those whose brains are not weighted down by books. The fighting qualities Zapata inherited, and the close, sympathetic touch with the masses that must come natural to him, are assets of infinitely greater value, at this particular epoch, than are Madero college courses.

"Nueva Era's" article concludes with the declaration that suspension of constitutional guarantee "has become indispensable because it alone can prevent the deceived peasants from lending Zapata a certain amount of co-operation, by acting as his spies, that he may make a mock of, and surprise his pursuers, and by supplying him with the necessaries of life." It adds that at present "there are peasants who work during the day, like honorable and useful subjects, and at night take part in the disastrous enterprises of the ferocious Emiliano Zapata."

There lies the trouble for the Mexican government. Despite all their efforts to ridicule and depreciate Zapata and other so-called "bandits," those men have the sympathy of the common people, who keep them informed as to the enemy's whereabouts, and provide them with food. It is easy to say that the peasant is naturally a law-abiding citizen, but in Mexico it is false. The Mexican peasant loathes the central authority of government, which means to him the tax gatherer and the soldier. Hundreds of pages could be written, all bearing out the statement that the feeling among the Mexican masses is that he who is not engaged in productive labor is, of necessity, a parasite. That is the reason for looking on the idle foreigner with so much suspicion and dislike; but, on the other hand, the best critics all agree

that when the country people have made up their minds that a stranger does not mean to impose on them, nothing can exceed their kindness and hospitality. The Mexicans are naturally the most hospitable of people. Their inherited communistic traditions lead them to share their last cupfull of beans with the famishing, and no workingman goes hungry while others beside him are eating their noonday meal, as not infrequently happens in England, Canada, the United States and other countries of English tongue.

Finally, the visit that in August of 1913 made by Mr. Robles Dominguez, Commissioner of Peace of Huerta to the Southern rebel camp, was another occasion that led Zapata to show again his class consciousness, stating his attitude as follows:

"I have been asked to surrender the ideals which are cherished by my fellow workers. In return for this sacrifice on my part I am offered the office of Governor of Morelos by a government lacking in force sufficient to keep me a single day were the people of this section opposed to this measure.

"We are working not for political wishes, but for an equitable division of the immense land holdings that have made the majority of my people slaves of the owners of the big estates.

"I have been called a bloodthirsty bandit seeking only gain, but I want to say that I am working for a great cause that will triumph in the end. I have refused the unctious and hypocritical proffers of the present occupant of the President's chair."

UNDER THE RED FLAG

The governing idea among the Mexican masses because of the propaganda carried, is that the land and its products belong to those who work the land. One of the Mexican papers said in 1912: "Socialism also has invaded Mexico, where it was first known as "Magonism" (the co-workers of Magon against the system) and has had a widespread effect among the peon class, who understand that it treats of the taking possession of all lands for the people. The outbreaks in the South and Southwest are due directly to this propaganda. Their flag is always the Red Flag."

Wherever the revolutionists fighting for principles are, the Red Flag has been raised.

In the States of Chihuahua, Northern Coahuila and Tamaulipas, the Red Flag has been flying since 1911. Such workers as Higinio Tanguma, Calixto Guerra Chico and many others have carried on prolonged guerilla warfare in Durango, Michoacan, and many other central states also. Thousands of men have not only taken possession of the soil but have divided the crops on hand and sowed fresh ones. In Atencingo, State of Puebla, the peasants rooted out the sugar cane and set the land to chilis and corn, having a practical eye to the necessities of life. This is the course the workers' party of the Red Flag and Liberty has recommended. Its Manifesto of September 23, 1911, dilated at great length on the necessity of maintaining the constructive work of agriculture simultaneously with the armed conflict, that

supplies may be kept up, and the country saved from famine.

When one of these guerrillas captured the town of Hueyapan, in 1912, they destroyed the Catholic Church, breaking in pieces all the images and idols, and the so-called sacred ornaments, with which some of the rebels adorned themselves. The whole of the churches of that town was dynamited. The priest escaped.

One instance of the workers' actions against the masters was when they burned two million pesos worth of sugar cane in Atencingo because it was of no use to them, not being willing that the capitalists should take it to the markets.

The Yaqui Indians work also under the Red Flag. They began insisting on the return of their lands, comprising the entire Yaqui Valley. They could not be fooled by Madero who sent a special envoy to pacify them, and they added their force to the Revolution. Under the Red Flag they have been fighting since 1911, and have taken possession of the eight towns on the banks of the Yaqui and stated by a manifesto that they were going to work the land in common.

The number of Yaquis in arms amounts now to nearly 6,000. Among them is now Juan F. Montero, a well versed revolutionist, very well known along the border of California and Arizona.

3,000 Yaquis were present at the conflicts at Naco, Santa Rosa and Santa Maria, State of Sonora. They occupy the towns of Potam, Bacum, Coceorit and Torin. In the last named place a serious combat actually took place, between them and the so-called constitutionalists. The Indians numbered 400, and finally overwhelmed the constitutionalists, killing thirty, after which they immediately proceeded to destroy the institutions of property, such as court houses, barracks, etc., as generally is done in every town taken by the Red Flag workers. They burned the barracks and the principal houses of the government and rich men, which were reduced to ashes. Oroz and Guamuchil palaces, that were property of the legatees of General Lorenzo Torres, also were burned. In all the towns the Red Flag is flying, and the Yaquis have nailed up proclamations signed by Sibalaume, Morris and Espinosa, stating that the Indians have taken possession of that which belongs to them. During three years they have worked the land in common. The chick-pea crop, calculated at more than a hundred thousand sacks a year, has remained in the hands of the Yaquis, as it is the product of their lands.

HUERTA, THE NEW DICTATOR

The year of 1913 appeared showing the workers in full possession of a great number of towns, villages and Haciendas. The Madero government was near its end by the action of the proletarians, when a military revolt broke out in Mexico City on February 9, 1913, demanding the head of the Dictator. Generals Bernardo Reyes and Felix Diaz, the defeated leaders of the former revolts were liberated from the prison and commenced a fight for the possession of the Capital. Reyes was killed after the first shots were fired. Diaz and Madero fought with their forces firing thousands of shells and cannon balls in

the heart of the city, during ten days, without any advance, and flooding the Capital with blood. 2,950 were the number of dead and 5,260, the wounded. Butchery would have followed if General Huerta, Commander-in-chief of Madero, had not deserted him, making peace with Diaz. Madero and Pino Suarez were compelled to resign, and the cowardly Maderists Congress welcomed Huerta as Provisional President on February 19. A few days after, Madero and Suarez were killed at midnight by government forces under orders of the new tyranny. In Mexico City, Huerta has ruled in peace until today with an iron hand; trying to pacify the country, [illegible] murdered thousands of persons, and sent to exile, Felix Diaz, [illegible] Gomez, Rodolfo Reyes and other politicians that were cons[illegible] against his rule. Huerta himself said at the time when he was seated in the presidential chair: "My sword is the law, and extermination by answer to my enemies." That statement paints him well.

When Venustiano Carranza, Governor of Coahuila, Francisco Villa, Commander in the State of Chihuahua, Jose Maria Maltorena, Governor of the State of Sonora and other governors all friendly to Madero, knew the fate of their boss, they immediately rose up in arms, not only guided by the spirit of revenge, but because they were not willing to lose positions that were giving them great wealth. They refused to recognize Huerta, and to the number of 35,000 men, have carried, during a year, a bloody war in Northern Mexico against the Federal troops, which in many places have met awful defeats. Villa has been distinguished by his energy, activity and bloodthirstyness, but he is hated all over the country by the workers.

Carranza, Villa and their followers call themselves "constitutionlists," and claim they are fighting for the enforcement of the Constitution tramped upon by General Huerta when he deserted Madero, and compelled him to resign.

If they succeed in putting Huerta out, or if Huerta sweeps these reformers away, the revolution will go ahead, and it is worth while to point out once more that the Southern Revolutionists, the Liberals and the Yaqui and Mayo Indians, and other guerillas scattered all over the country, amounting to 130,000 men, will not surrender their arms to any government. If Carranza or Villa are victorious, or Huerta maintains his present hold, they will follow the fight until they get what is stated in their Manifestos already given in this pamphlet. The workers do not want to go back to work for their masters. That is all. If victorious, Carranza or Villa would try to drive the workers again into slavery as they are supporters of the capitalist society. Therefore, they are hated, and fought by the proletariat.

THE FOREIGN INTERESTS

International capitalists, but mainly American and British, have looked at Mexico as a land of the future since 1885. The great natural wealth and material resources of the country were then developed by foreign capital on a small scale. Being in the infancy of her possi-

billties, and having characteristics which gave remarkable evidence of future growth, Mexico was flooded by a current of American, English, French, German and Canadian capital. The "peace of Warsaw" of General Diaz caused European and United States money to flow to Mexico. As capital is an excellent thermometer of stability of the government, the money powers of the world considered that an investment was as secure and as sure of permanent income in Mexico as in the United States or Europe.

Today we see that England alone has $321,302,000 invested in Mexico. France is behind that amount by nearly half and reaches to $143,446,000. The United States has the enormous amount of $1,057,770,000 invested in Mexican mines, railroads, lands, water powers, etc., etc.

The marvellous variety and intermingling of rich lowlands with fertile highlands suited to farming and cattle and sheep raising on a large scale, the evidences of mineral wealth, the extent of primeval forests, the many undeveloped water powers and the opportunities for railway extension, which any traveler can see in Mexico, were the beauties that awoke the lust of the money kings. A new load was put on the backs of the Mexican workers when the little army of foreign capitalists started with the help of the authorities to compel them to labor for the new masters of the machine.

Mexico was called at beginning of the century the El Dorado of the Western world. The bonanza opportunities for money-making of the South and the West of the United States were well-night exhausted. Although there is still room for an enormous amount of ordinary investment, the first, swift gold harvest crop has been reaped. Canada is limited. Alaska is immensely rich but climate prevents extensive profitable exploitation. Mexico was the last logical field, already well pioneered, for great development. So said the capitalists in 1900. And Mexico continued to receive by every train from the North and every steamer the chain of plutocrats and bourgeois who after enslaving the workers in the United States and Europe, were going to tighten the chains on the already enslaved Mexican worker.

The Guggenheims, the Standard Oil Co., Morgan, the Southern Pacific, Hearst, Otis and other interests of Wall Street comprised the American investors. The S. Pearson and Son Co., Limited, of London, the Mackenzie and Mann, and the interests of the Rothchilds composed the British investors. During the full dictatorship of Diaz, the aristocrats of finance of many parts of the world enjoyed the dividends wrung from the Mexican toilers of mines and factories, sugar, hemp, tobacco and other plantations on ranches over which the owners could ride for days without coming to the boundary posts that marked the limits of their holdings.

This foreign capitalism was not a constructnve force in Mexico, but a destructive one. The Mexican workers found themselves under a more brutal and remorseless yoke than during the days of the past. And so when the Revolution broke out, because of this tyranny, we see that railroad bridges were burned or blown up, the tracks have been

torn up, and the workers in rebellion began to take possession of the so-called property of the intruders, also destroying hundreds of millions of capitalist property. Nearly 3,500 miles of railways are out of commission; 3,500 railroad cars have been burned. The slaves work of thirty years under the Diaz tyranny and foreign exploitation has been laid in ruins.

The claims for damages that the foreign capitalists have entered with the new government of Huerta never will and never can be liquidated. Although Huerta would like to please the exploiters, he is unable even to sustain himself in power. As the Mexican Revolutionists have denied the right of private property, all these plutocrats will lose their money, unless the governments of the United States, England, Germany or France send into Mexico their soldiers to collect the damages for the investors of their respective countries.

Therefore, the Mexican upheaval is expensive to foreign interests the same as to the Mexican vested interests. And neither the American or European, any more than the Mexican capitalists will be compensated for their losses in the robberies they were perpetrating on the Mexican people. The cries of the capitalist papers of every American, Canadian or European city will amount to nothing. The insults of hired and cowardly editors in their stupid cry against the Mexican masses will be lost entirely, like so much noise.

Rivers of blood will run because of the energetic resistance [illegible] Mexican peons will offer to such soldiers as compose the armies [illegible] United States and Europe, should forceful intervention be tried.

THE MEXICAN PARTIES

The parties in Mexico can be divided into three groups: Conservative, Moderate and Radical.

The Conservative party is composed mainly of Catholics and are called nowadays the "Catholic Party." This party—the aristocracy of wealth—includes the "cientificos" or grafters, the old friends of Dictator Diaz; also, the Democrats and the personal followers of Felix Diaz. The Catholic is the real capitalist party of Mexico.

The Moderate group embraces three parties: the Anti-Re-electionists, the Constitutionalists and the Liberals. The Anti-Re-electionist party includes some of the small business and professional men, that think that with having a new president every four years, and that with prohibiting the re-election of the officers, Mexico can have peace for ever.

The Constitutionalist party, that have enjoyed millions of dollars worth of advertisements in the columns of the capitalists press of United States and Canada, includes the wise men that jump after every opportunity; the disappointed, for having lost their positions when the Federal army betrayed Madero; the office seekers; the confused warriors and the renegades of the other parties.

The Liberal party (capitalist wing) includes a good deal of the middle class, the historical opponents of the Catholic Church. All these parties stand for reforms inside the system.

The Radical group embraces the Southern Revolutionists called "zapatistas" by the government, and the Liberal party (anti-capitalist). The first party or peon party includes the bulk of the nation and many idealists who are supporting it from all parts of the world. The Liberal party, which has its Junta (Board) in Los Angeles, California, includes the radical, energetic, aggressive, awakened Mexican workers of different trades and occupations, many of whom have been in the United States and speak Spanish and English fluently, and are educated to their position in society.

This party, as we have seen in the first chapters of this pamphlet was the organizer of the revolutionary movements of 1906 and 1908 and the one most feared by the capitalists because it stood for the complete downfall of the capitalist system.

As to the names of the leaders of the parties and their strength:

The "Catholics," led by Attorney Francisco Elgueero, a resident of Mexico City, have a strength of 8 per cent.

The "Anti-Re-electionists," headed by Doctor Francisco Vazquez Gomez, fugitive from Mexico and with residence in Washington, D.C., 5 per cent.

The "Constitutionalists," directed by Venustiano Carranza, a big land owner and former governor of the State of Coahuila during Madero's regime, and Senator under Dictator Diaz, now travelling with some forces in the States of Sonora and Chihuahua, 10 per cent.

The "Liberals," (capitalist wing) with their leader, Attorney Emilio Vazquez Gomez, fugitive from Mexico since 1911 at which time Madero threw him out as the head of Department of the Interior; with residence in San Antonio, Texas, 5 per cent.

As to the Revolutionary parties, or the radical group, they have no leaders, but the Liberals (anti-capitalist wing) have a Junta or Board of advisers composed of five members, Ricardo Flores Magon, Enrique Flores Magon, Librado Rivers, Antonio de P. Araujo and Anselmo L. Figueroa, with strength of 17 per cent.

The Southern Revolutionists have some Juntas or Boards to which belong Emiliano Zapata, Eufemio, Jesus Salgado, Genovevo de la O, Felipe Neri, Amador Salazar, etc., etc., and their strength is 55 per cent.

In a few words, the capitalist parties have a strength of 28 per cent. and the workers 72 per cent.

The party of the peons or Southern Revolutionists want the following as given out in one of their Manifestos:

"The Revolutionary Junta of the State of Morelos, which directs the armed movements of the Southern and Central portions of the Republic, in the name of the country's general Revolution declares:

"That it does not recognize the Provisional government of General Victoriano Huerta, and that it will direct its fire against him until it has overthrown him, and obtained the radical triumph of the principles and promises crystalized in the Plan of Ayala (Manifesto given at the village of Ayala). (1)

"That the Revolution will not tolerate or sanction a government

emanating from the imposition of the Diaz and Madero dictatorships, whether in the National Federation or the States.

"That the Revolution will not lay down its arms until it has seen its promises realized, and that it will struggle, with virile and titanic efforts, until it has secured the liberties of the people; until it has recovered the lands, forests, and waters that have been taken from them by usurpation, until it has finally solved the agrarian problem.

"That the hacienda (big estates) owners, caciques (bosses), and monopolists of the lands, forests and waters, who do not give their adherence to the principles of the Revolution and the solution of the agrarian problem, as prescribed in the Plan of Ayala, will have no right to demand guarantees from the Revolution and their properties will pass into the people's posession.

"The agents and ambassadors of General Huerta's government, who are begging loans from foreign nations, or here in Mexico, to the end that the blood of our people may continue to be spilled, will be adjudged traitors. Those who are seeking to split the Revolution by means of bribery and subornation, and those who, having defended the revolutionary movement, are now betraying it, will receive the same penalty.

"Revolutionary camp in Morelos, March 4, 1913.—Emiliano Zapata—Emilio A. Montano—Felipe Neri—Lorenzo Vazquez—Francisco Mendoza—Genovevo De La O.—Francisco V. Pacheco—Eufemio Zapata—Amador Salazar—Julio A. Gomez—etc., etc.

(1) The Plan of Ayala, given out at the end of 1911, has as its main principle the definite object:—

The economic liberty of the Mexican people, dividing the big estates and great extensions of land without cultivation among the poor class.

Now, the Liberal Party in the Manifesto given out on September 23, 1911, a Manifesto that has been circulated by millions all over Mexico, not only in the towns and cities, but in the heart of the enemies' army, said in part the following:

"MEXICANS: The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes that every human being, by the very fact of his having come into existence, has a right to enjoy each and all the advantages modern civilization offers, because those advantages are the product of the efforts and sacrifices of the working class throughout all time.

"The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes labor as necessary for the sustenance of the individual and of society, and all, therefore, with the exception of the aged, the crippled, the deficient, and children, must dedicate themselves to the production of something useful; that will satisfy our wants.

"The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes that the so-called right of private property is an iniquitous right, because it compels the great majority of human beings to work and suffer for the satisfaction and ease of a small number of capitalists.

"The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes that Authority and the Clergy are the mainstay of the iniquity of Capital, and therefore:—

"The Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party has solemnly declared war against Authority, war against Capital, war against Clergy.

Against Capital, Authority and the Clergy the Mexican Liberal Party has raised the Red Flag on Mexico's fields of action, where our brothers are fighting like lions, disputing the field with the bourgeois hosts, whether those hosts call themselves Maderistas, Reyistas, Vazquistas, Cientificos or what else, since their one purpose is to hoist some individual into the position of first magistrate of the country, in order that, under the shelter of his wing, they may do business without any consideration whatever for the mass of Mexico's population, since they all regard as sacred the right of individual property.

"During the progress of this great movement expropriation must be brought to a head at every cost, as has been done and still is being done by our brothers, the inhabitants of Morelos, of Southern Puebla, of Michoacan, Guerrero, Veracruz, Northern Tamaulipas, Durango, Sonora, Sinaloa, Jalisco, Chihuahua, Oaxaca, Yucatan, Quintana Roo and parts of other States. Mexico's bourgeois press itself has had to confess that the proletariat has taken possession of the land without waiting for any paternal government to deign to made it happy, since that proletariat knows that it has nothing good to expect from governments, and that the emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves.

"These first acts of expropriation have been crowned with the most smiling success; but we must not confine ourselves to taking possession of the land and implements of agriculture. The workers in all the various industries must resolutely take possession of them, so arranging things that the land, the mines, the factories, the workshops, the foundries, the cars, the railroads, the shipping, the warehouses and the houses may remain in the possession of each and every one of the inhabitants of Mexico without distinction of sex.

"The Liberals have not laid down their arms, despite the treaties of peace made by the traitor Madero with the tyrant Diaz, and despite the urgings of the bourgeoisie that they should fill their pockets with gold. We have acted thus because we Liberals are men who are convinced that political liberty does not benefit the poor but only the place-hunters, and because our object is not to obtain places or honors, but to take everything out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, that it may remain in the power of the workers.

"On to the struggle! On to expropriation, with the idea of benefiting not a few but all; for this is not a war of bandits but of honest men and women who desire that all shall be brothers, and enjoy, as such, the good things that Nature offers us so generously, and that the muscle and intelligence of man have produced the sole condition being that each shall dedicate himself to truly useful work."

MEXICO'S OIL WEALTH

Very rich oil fields were discovered in 1910 in the region of Tampico, on the Gulf coast of Mexico. The Rothschild interests, through their engineer, Weetman D. Pearson (now Lord Cowdray) obtained possession of them from the Diaz government. Although the Standard Oil did not start to fight the monopoly until Madero was in power, she tried to wrest from them the concessions concerning oil.

Both capitalist corporations have helped one way or another to the last four governments that Mexico has had in the last few years, and at the present time the Standard Oil Company is supporting the Constitutionalists a little, and Pearson and Son, Limited, and the Shell Training and Transportation Company (the English Rothschild interests headed by Sir Marcus Samuels) are helping Huerta.

It is not true that the Standard Oil started the war against Diaz. We have seen that the Liberal party (workers) commenced it in 1906, four years before the oil fields were discovered. It is not true that the Standard Oil supported Madero since the commencement. The workers movement was in full swing when the Standard Oil struck in. Not until Madero showed great strength in the North, did the Standard Oil support him, wanting legislation that would oust the Rothschild interests from the Tampico oil belt; and furnished Madero with several means to win the power.

When Madero was killed and Huerta came into power, the Rothschild were again in favor, although until today no legislation at all about the oil fields has been passed in the Mexican Congress.

The Revolutionary party is opposed to American or British exploitation of the oil fields.

THE BENTON CASE

British capitalists ought to be blamed for their part in enslaving the Mexican people, and if the workers of Great Britain and her Dominions and Colonies are in sympathy with their brothers of Mexico now in rebellion, they should stand against any intervention of the British Government in the affairs of Mexico, taking one pretext or the other, as one day might happen with the Benton case.

We will not discuss here if William S. Benton was killed in a quarrel with Francisco Villa, or if Major Rodolfo Fierro stabbed him in revenge for his insults to Villa. What we will point out to every English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh or British workingman, is that William S. Benton was one of the enslavers of the Mexican proletariat. During 25 years he robbed the Mexicans, and in that way he made a fortune of 1,000,000 pesos. He had mines, cattle, lands, farms, houses, etc., all products of the workers. He was as guilty as Diaz and Madero were, and all and every one of the Mexican exploiters. For that, he received his punishment at the hands of the workers, and no doubt was condemned to death for his robberies of the Mexican people.

It is probable that more British capitalists are going to be punished in Mexico in the near future, because of similar offenses to that of Benton, those of the Mormon Colonists that were expelled from Mexico, and the other Americans that have paid with their lives their crimes against the Mexican workers. But the Mexican proletarians expect that the wage slaves of the British and Canadian cities will care nothing about the execution of English capitalists in that country. The Benton case has passed into history and is only remembered by those cries of the hired stupid writers of the capitalist press against the Mexican people.

WORKERS VS CAPITAL

In addition to the aid on which they can rely the Southerners and other Mexican revolutionists have the enormous advantage of knowing the country thoroughly, and as they follow guerrilla tactics exclusively—"fighting and running away, that they may live to fight another day"—it is most difficult for the Federal troops to crush them. Perhaps the best proof of that is the fact that, if one had believed the government and capitalist papers, "Zapatism" should have been buried out of sight months and months ago.

All the evidence is in favor of the position that, with his in-born, Indian hatred of authority, the Mexican makes one of the poorest hired soldiers in the world; whereas in free, guerrilla warfare it is hard to find his match. He is apt to be a splendid horseman, he is very hardy; he can subsist on what would spell starvation to a European soldier, and he has little respect either for his own life or those of others. As for his ability to shoot, the Boer war proved conclusively that shooting to kill is learned far better in frontier life than on the practice range.

The Mexican is inflamed to the fighting point against existing economic arrangements; he can fight, especially in the guerrilla style, which the mountainous character of the country favors greatly, and he is fighting on a progressively larger scale. The Mexican government disputes the last statement and claims to be now engaged in stamping out the last embers of revolt, but, judging from the events reported in the same capitalist papers of Mexico City, it would seem that the government is lying.

The Social Revolution now going on in Mexico is fearful for the masters who used to play with common revolts for political purposes, because she does not limit herself to the conquest of a right, the exercise of which is inherent to the human personality, as the right of vote, but tends to the radical transformation of the construction of society; to the deep change of the basis on which society now rests, and to the complete modification of the traditional rules upon which she has developed in the course of civilization. These deep changes are weapons of death for the capitalist class, and as they have for their base the idea of absolute equality, the abolition of private property, and the overthrow of religious dogmas, the system does all in its power

to sustain itself in its last trenches.

The Mexican Revolutionists have initiated a social revolution in the former New-Spain. And before the tremendous threat that means radical communism, which they preach; before the death that announces the principle of absolute equality that inspires them, the capitalist system in Mexico trembles because the masters understand that it is the great mass of producers who are opposed to them, trying to recover the wealth stolen from them by centuries of exploitation and tyranny, willing to demolish completely all the social structure of capitalism, wishing to abolish for ever the awful principle of private property, and to destroy all the basis of the government institutions in order to construct a new situation in which every man shall be master of himself, and nobody will be hungry or out of work, because all the inhabitants of Mexico would have the right to produce what they want, and consume what they wish.

The capitalist class in Mexico is in danger of death. The way of conciliation, for solving the problem, is impossible, because it is impossible to conciliate the interests of the man that has nothing and wants everything, with the interest of the robber that has everything and does not want to turn over the proceeds of his robberies. Mexico is in full battle, and there is no other remedy but to follow the war to a finish. Capitalists against workers.

CONCLUSION

Mexico owes the fortune of being at the head of this great economic and agrarian revolution to her conditions since the Spanish conquest, because the lands of many Indian tribes were stolen by the conquerors, while others were robbed by the tyrannical governments during Independence, and the discontent of the robbed communities has resulted in all the peons deciding to get hold of the land, without paying any attention to the sacrifice that it may be necessary to make.

The number of men who have died by bullet, sword or bayonet during the period of the Revolution (September, 1906; March, 1914) according to best statistics is close to 150,000.

As to the probable results of the Revolution, of failure or success, to us it seems that Capitalist power is weakening in Mexico, since the storm appears to be gathering from many sides, and they are leaving the country in alarm.

The armies of the Capitalist factions in Mexico are not equal in numbers to the forces of the workers. Huerta with 80,000 men and Carranza with 35,000, do not reach to the number of workers in arms all over the country, that is very near to 130,000. Sooner or later, the masses will get rid of all aspirants to political sinecures, and will carry to victory their ideals of the purpose of the Revolution, the establishment of economic liberty, the mother of all liberties.

But, if foreign intervention is carried out, the war will be prolonged for ten or fifteen years. The Mexicans to the number of millions will go to the field and in the most sanguinary war that the world has ever witnessed will try to crush the invaders. In case they get

the worst of it finally, and that is problematic, the workers of the United States and Europe should put a stop to the butchery ordered by International capitalism. Otherwise, Mexico will remain a cemetery where millions of workers of different countries and of Mexico itself will be buried; the first—for defending the robberies of their masters; the second—the Mexicans, for the crime of not being willing to be slaves of any master. If on the other hand, the workers of Great Britain and her Dominions and colonies and the wage-slaves of the United States, and other countries by intelligent and concerted action stop their govenments from intervening in Mexico, the heroes of the present upheaval in that country will take the opportunity to establish a co-operative commonwealth, dream of the slaves throughout the world.