

WE MARCH TOWARDS LIFE



@LOVE_AND_DISORDER_

MAGÓNISMO AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD VIVE!

AN INTRODUCTION TO MAGONISMO

Pictured: armed magonista liberation
of Tijuana, Baja California in 1911



*“The right to rebel is sacred because its exercise is indispensable
to sweeping away the obstacles blocking the right to live.
Rebellion is life. Submission is death.”*

We march towards life. Yesterday, the heavens were the objective of the peoples: now, it is the land. We all have the right to live, and this human doctrine has reached the heart of the soil like a benevolent dew. To live does not mean to vegetate. To live means to be free and to be happy. We want land for all, bread for all.

We are the mob that launches to the four winds like thunder this formidable phrase: “We all have the right to be free and happy!” Blessed are the hearts where protest takes root. Beautiful flowers that have not been properly cultivated. The faces that misery and pain have made ugly are transfigured; tears no longer flow down the toasted cheeks; the faces are humanized— even better—they are divinized, animated by the sacred fire of rebellion. What sculptor has ever carved an ugly hero? What painter has left on the canvas the deformed figure of a hero? There is a mysterious light that envelops heroes and makes them dazzling. Hidalgo, Juárez, Morelos, Zaragoza, shine like suns.

We revolutionaries move forward. The abyss does not stop us: the water is more beautiful as it flows down the edge.

If we die, we will die like suns: giving off light.

WE MARCH TOWARDS LIFE

Speech in San Francisco, CA
July 1907

In the shadows are born the tempests and revolutions that destroy but also fertilize.

Coal, a dark rock that stains the hands that touch it, is strength, light, and movement when it roars in the fire of the cauldron.

The rebellion of the dark proletariat is progress, liberty, and science when this vibrates in its fists and shakes in its minds.

In the depth of the darkness, beings take form, and the palpitations of life begin.

In the belly of the furrow germinates the seed.

The darkness of the cloud is the fertility of the fields; the darkness of the rebel is the freedom of the people.



DARKNESSES

Regeneración, September 24, 1910

“A person is free, truly free, when they do not need to rent out their arms to anyone in order to lift a piece of bread to their mouth.”

This zine has been put together because so many people in my life have been greatly touched by the story of the Magónistas. The hope is that by making the words of their movements accessible to all, others can be just as inspired. To know history, is to know yourself. In schools and in daily life, we are never exposed to our true past. Our existence in the present-day was only made possible by those who came before us. Those in power prefer to keep us unaware of our historical victories. Understanding our connections to the past helps us see how different our futures can be.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 was a world changing event. The Magónistas were people from all parts of Mexico who inspired the revolution that overthrew Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship. Magónismo was based on the philosophies of Ricardo Flores Magón, one of the most important anarchists in the history of the Americas. A vision shaped by both Mexican indigenism and anarchism, Magónista activity became a security concern that reached the highest levels of the Mexican and US governments. Their vision was not able to fully see the light of day, and so Magónismo remains an unfinished story.

Why the revolutionary path?

The era called the *Porfiriato* (the domination of the military dictator Porfirio Díaz from 1876-1911) carried Spain's torch of oppressing the majority of Mexico. His tyranny used the system of government (brought by the European colonizers) to give rich Mexicans and military officers seats of power within the highest public offices all over Mexico. These political bosses would enrich themselves by selling out the natural resources of their localities to North American companies. To do this, the Mexican elites violently evicted entire communities from their ancestral lands, robbing them of their means of sustenance. By 1910, half of the nation's land belonged to fewer than three thousand families. Half of the rural population was landless and forced to work on brutal plantations (*haciendas*).

Opponents of the regime who rose up in protest were violently attacked and/or killed by Díaz's *Rurales* paramilitaries.

In life, as we all know, we must make difficult decisions in the face of the most challenging obstacles: when they encountered hunger and injustice, the Mexican people said "fuck it let's get 'em!" and made their decision to resist. One may ask, "Why would anyone risk it all?" The rebels of the Mexican Revolution were driven by a purpose whose relevance still persists: a fight for the right of Mexico's indigenous and farmer populations to live peacefully on their ancestral lands without the threat of exploitation and



THE CHAINS OF “THE FREE”

Regeneración, October 22, 1910

Capital, according to political economics, is accumulated work. The machinery, buildings, docks, railways are accumulated labor, that is, the work of intellectual and manual laborers in all of the ages up to the present day, and, therefore, there's no reason that this work should belong to a few individuals. Capital, in effect, is simply the laborious work of generations who contributed their science, art or simply their manual labor to form it. Modern machinery is no more than the perfection brought to a head by generations of inventors, workers, artisans, each one of whom played their part in producing the complicated mechanisms that we admire today, and that should be the property of all, because they are the result of a collective work; but they belong—so declares the law, the law made by the rich—to only a few individuals.

If capital is the work of generations of laboring human beings, as is indisputable, it can't belong to a small number of individuals, but rather it belongs to everyone who is disposed to follow the path of members of previous generations who exerted themselves in increasing the amount of capital with their individual work. This is what logic and justice counsels; but the law, to which logic and justice

are bothersome obstacles, orders the contrary. It's because of this that the proletariat must put itself at the orders of a boss to be able to live, permitting that the product of its labors pass almost entirely into the pockets of those who hold the social wealth.

All rights are guaranteed, except the right to live. The right to live is the basis of all rights, and consists of the right that all human beings have to take full advantage, simply by the fact of being alive, of all that exists, with no other obligation than that of allowing all other human beings to do the same, with all dedicated to the conservation and increase of the social wealth.

Understand, proletarians, that you have the right to something more than the handout that you are given for your labor under the name of "wages." You have the right to receive the full product of your labor, because capital belongs to all, men and women, old and young. A wage, therefore, is an outrage: it's the chain of the "free"—the chain that it's necessary to break in order that the word "citizen" ceases to be an affront, that it ceases to describe slaves. If this is done, we'll have achieved economic liberty.

“When we reflect that all who suffer the same evils have the same interest, an interest common to all of the oppressed, and we decide to be in solidarity with each other, then we’ll be capable of transforming the circumstances that produce our misfortunes into those that are favorable to our liberty and well-being. The remedy is in our hands: that all who suffer the same evils unite, certain that before our solidarity the abuses of those who base their strength in our separation and indifference will crumble.”

SPEECH IN EL MONTE, CA 1917

Pictured: Emiliano Zapata, his brother Eufemio, and the leading commanders of the Liberation Army of the South from Morelos -- in 1914, they were over 25,000 deep and liberated their territory from governmental and capitalist control.

violence from Mexican and transnational elites. The legacies of colonization—from displacement and exploitation, to the torture and disappearance of those who stand up to cruelty—are issues that all Mexicans and Latin Americans continue to face to this day. Nothing’s changed.

How do you fight back?

The Magónistas sought to dethrone the brutal dictatorship through the most effective process: a libertarian revolution based on “*Tierra y Libertad*” (“Land and Freedom”). Although the slogan is often attributed to the legendary Nahuatl guerilla, Emiliano Zapata, it was originally penned by the Magónistas. This struggle was not a “revolution” for a change in government, but a revolution whose aim was the destruction of capitalism and government. They sought a reconstruction of Mexico based on the timeless blueprint of indigenous autonomy and self-determination.

The Magón brothers were raised in a Mazatec Oaxacan community, which was key in shaping the vision of Magónismo. Their indigenous roots affirmed the need to defend autonomy and solidarity with others, practices which still exist in the Sierra Mazateca and in countless Mexican indigenous communities. Self-sufficiency was and continues to be an ancestral form of freedom that the Magón brothers saw clearly.

So how exactly could the people accomplish what was thought to be unimaginable, to take down a 30 year-long tyranny?



The Magónistas were the most active opposition at the time, and made an effort to be present in worker's and farmer's spaces of daily life. They successfully agitated with their rebel words through their *Regeneración* newspaper. Their movement spread rapidly due to its anti-leader, anti-authority approach, which resonated with the existing sentiments of Mexicans. They facilitated and participated in worker strikes in both Mexico and the US, made possible through their efforts at building an international network. At the peak of their power, the Magónistas were able to pull off uprisings and attacks in all corners of Mexico and the Americas using the strategy of decentralization. Their goals were to directly seize stolen lands and the means of sustenance. Instead of waiting for orders from new political leaders or reforms, the Magónistas showed the world our untold power when we fight our oppressors through collective direct action.

Victories & Legacy

Despite the assassination of Ricardo Flores Magón by the hands of American authorities, his dreams of freedom live on. Although he would dismiss all attempts at making him into a leader or icon, Magón's legacy undoubtedly lives on today in the minds, hearts, and actions of countless people throughout



MANIFESTO OF THE MEXICAN LIBERAL PARTY

Regeneración

Expropriation must be carried out through blood and fire during the course of this great movement, as is being done by our brothers, the inhabitants of Morelos, Southern Puebla, Michoacán, Guerrero, Veracruz, Northern Tamaulipas, Durango, Sonora, Sinaloa, Jalisco, Chihuahua, Oaxaca, Yucatan, Quintana Roo and regions of other states, as even the Mexican bourgeois press has to confess, in which the proletarians have taken possession of the lands without waiting for some paternal government to decree that they're worthy of happiness, conscious that they cannot expect anything good 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 by the smile of success; but it's not necessary to limit oneself to taking possession of the lands and agricultural implements; it's necessary that the workers themselves determinedly take possession of all the industries, ensuring in this manner that the lands, mines, factories, workshops, foundries, cars, railways, ships, warehouses of all kinds, and the houses remain in the power of each and every one of the

inhabitants of Mexico, without sexual discrimination.

Mexicans: if you want to be free, do not fight for any cause other than that of the Partido Liberal Mexicano. Everyone offers you political liberty *after* the triumph: the liberals invite you to take the lands, the machinery, the means of transport, and the houses *immediately*, without waiting for anyone to give you all this, without waiting for some law to decree these things, because the laws are not made by the poor, but rather by the frock-coated bosses who guard well against making laws to the disadvantage of their own caste.

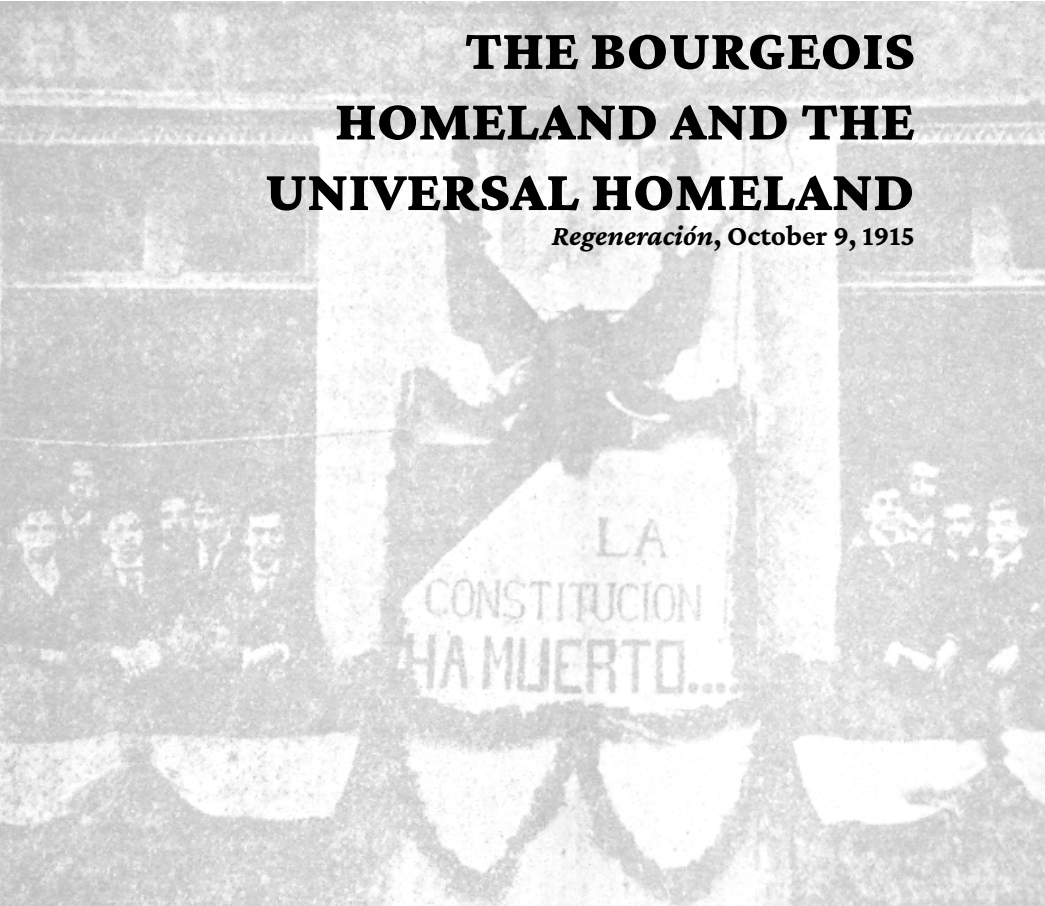
Liberty and well-being are within the reach of our hands. The cost is the same in effort and sacrifice to elevate a ruler, that is, a tyrant, as it is to expropriate the wealth held by the rich. It is for you, then, to choose. Either a new ruler—that is to say, a new yoke—or life-giving, redemptive expropriation and the abolition of all imposition, be that imposition religious, political or of any other kind.

LAND AND LIBERTY! *Signed in the city of Los Angeles, State of California, United States of America, on the 23rd day of the month September 1911.*

“It is a lie that ‘*La Patria*’ [the homeland] belongs to all of us who were born in it. It belongs to a very small minority of hoarders of the land. It belongs to the landlords, big businessmen and bankers. If the homeland were like a loving mother who gives shelter and sustenance to her children, if they were given land and tools to sow, no one would leave their homeland to go beg for bread in other countries where they are despised and humiliated. I love a universal homeland, a homeland without limits and without borders; a common homeland whose interests belong to all its inhabitants, just as the air, the light and the heat of the sun are shared by us all.”

THE BOURGEOIS HOMELAND AND THE UNIVERSAL HOMELAND

Regeneración, October 9, 1915



Magonistas with the banner drop, “The Constitution is Dead...”

the generations. Magónismo has had a profound impact on popular Latino consciousness. Its widespread influence exists in the present: from the Chicano Movement to the anarchist cultures among Mexican and Latino organizations. Now, the torch of “Tierra y Libertad” has been taken up by the might and bravery of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) of Chiapas in Southern Mexico, shining a light of hope for all peoples on Earth who continue to fight for their right to life.

Notable Magonista Accomplishments:

- Toppled the Diaz regime through armed uprisings, some of which overtook entire cities, including Emiliano Zapata’s and Pancho Villa’s land expropriations
- Permanently shaped the Mexican Constitution of 1917, which took its most original features from the Program of the Magónistas
- Influenced revolutionary anarchist organizations and presses across all of Latin America and the world
- Reinforced and influenced early 20th century US Latino radical efforts against white supremacy, culminating in explosion of the Chicano Movement in the 1960s
- the EZLN: One of the first and largest municipal rebellions in Chiapas took the name of Ricardo Flores Magón (see picture below). In this rebel municipality, the Tzeltals rule themselves without depending on the Mexican government. They have their own systems of justice, health, education, and production.



Further Reading

- » *Dreams of Freedom: A Ricardo Flores Magon Reader* edited by AK Press (2005) – all quotes and excerpts in this zine are from this book

- » *Bad Mexicans: Race, Empire, and Revolution in the Borderlands* by Kelly Lytle Hernández (2022) – **highly recommended!**

Videos

- » “Variedades: The Ballad of Ricardo Flores Magón” – A variety show performance recorded in Los Angeles, California
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wBF1jMoJXy4>
- » “Bad Mexicans on Democracy Now!” – Book interview with Kelly Lytle Hernández
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=azgecj2-xrs>
- » “El Magonismo” – Presentation on Magonismo in Spanish
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fFw6dOwJjkg>

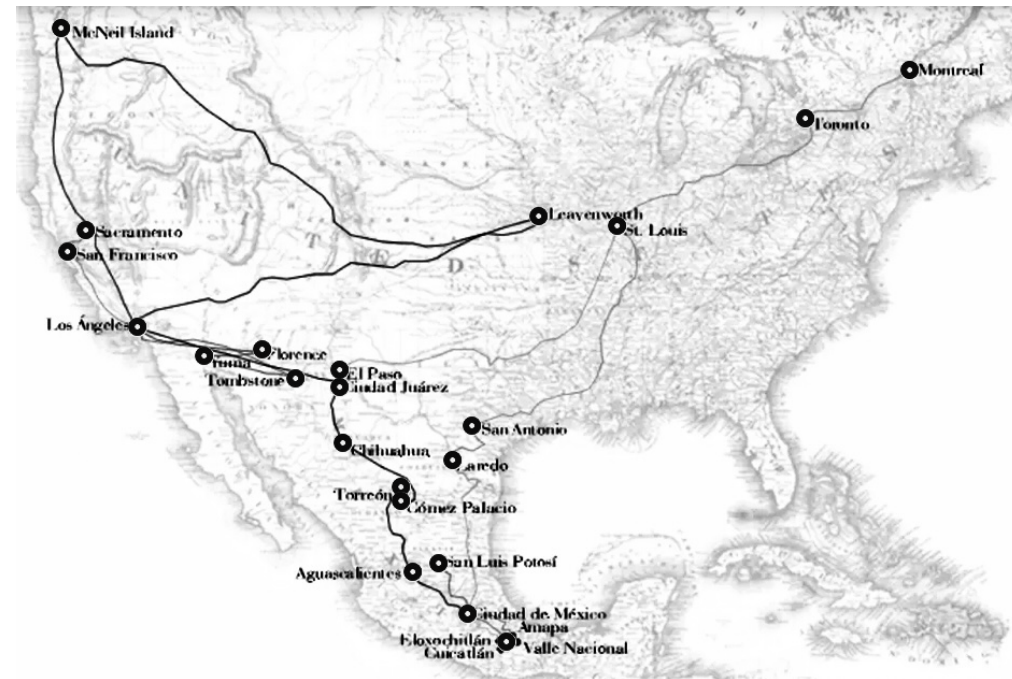
Archives (in Spanish)

- » <https://archivomagon.net/>
- » Catálogo de Ediciones Antorcha – <https://www.antorcha.net/>



Magónistas, led an attack upon and captured the town of Janos, Chihuahua; but he died in this assault (at the age of 28) and became one of the movement's martyrs.

- January 29, 1911: a multi-racial contingent of Magónistas controlled Tijuana and Mexicali for about six months, beginning with the liberation of Mexicali: they opened the jail, occupied the barracks and confiscated government office funds.
- April: Mexican authorities reported a “sheaf of revolts” made up of approximately 400 men who were active in the Mexicali Valley, and in the last days of April, 126 Magónistas took over Tecate.
- May 8th and 9th: Magónista forces seized Tijuana and also occupied San Quintín, Santo Tomás, San Elmo and Santa Catarina in the eastern part of the peninsula.
- By mid-June, at the occupation of Baja, the Magónistas were defeated by federal troops (now under the control of the reformist leader Madero). Magónista soldiers were apprehended and unjustly executed at a “rate of six per day.”



Pictured: the international route of the Magonista movements. Over eighteen years, the PLM and Ricardo Flores Magón built a substantial following amongst Mexican-American workers, and formed comradely associations with radical organizations north of the border. According to Chicano historian Carlos Larralde: “By [1904], Chicanos along the American border were already following Magónista beliefs... [and] many Chicanos carried his philosophy throughout the southwest, especially in Arizona, California, and Texas. Other Chicanos with the Magónista gospel followed the ‘Wobblies’ to Washington, Idaho, and other regions.”

(Akers Chacón, Issue #101)



Guerrilla Activities of the Magónista Movements

1905

A strike wave began in Mexico in 1905 and spread in 1906 and 1907, extending all the way to 1909. Through the pages of *Regeneración*, the PLM raised the demand of “equal pay for equal work” in response to an unequal two-tier system in the foreign-dominated industries. As a result of the steady reporting and incisive analysis of the specific issues facing workers at the Mexican town of Cananea in Sonora, PLM-aligned activist workers in the mining camps found a receptive audience amongst their co-workers, and were able to distribute the newspaper widely throughout the camps.

The organizing efforts were still in an early stage when thousands of miners walked out on strike in June 1906. While the strike originated from the miners themselves, the influence of activists aligned with the PLM has led historians Ramon Ruiz and Ward Albro to declare it as part of a wider Magónista movement. It took a combined multi-national force of Mexican rural police, infantry, Arizona Rangers, company guards, and a detachment of armed Anglo volunteers from Bisbee, Arizona to bloodily suppress the strike. However, the Magónistas bounced back: in the aftermath of Cananea, strikes spread through textile industries and the railroads, beginning a wave of revolt that ultimately toppled the Díaz dictatorship.

1906

The flurry of uprisings began in the later months of 1906, shortly after the release of the PLM’s Program and after their participation in labor strikes.

- September 26th: a group of guerillas successfully seized Jiménez, Coahuila.
- September 30th: three hundred Magónistas attacked the town of Acayucan in the southern state of Veracruz.
- October 4th: in the mountain range of Sotepan, approximately 350 largely indigenous Magónistas from the region waged a fierce battle against federal troops, upon whom they inflicted great losses.

1908

After a short period of reflection and reorganization, the Magónistas launched a new insurrectionary wave from the cities of Los Angeles, El Paso, and Austin.

- June 24th: an uprising occurred in Viesca, Coahuila. Twenty rebels killed the police commander and three of his staff, attacked the house of the municipal president, took money found in public offices as well as arms and other items from stores. After a battle, the guerrillas cut the telegraph line and tore up railroad tracks while fleeing and, two days later, killed a member of an advance team sent to search for them. The rebels were defeated only when confronted by a force of approximately 500 men.
- June 28th: fifty Magónistas attacked the town of Las Vacas and a customs building on the border of Texas and Mexico. The offices of the Mexican officials and a troop barracks were both set on fire.
- June 30th: Magónistas threw two bombs at a customs office in Palomas.

1911

Small, independent nuclei of Magónistas carried out important interventions in the final months of 1910 and the beginning of 1911.

- December 30th 1910: Práxedes Guerrero, one of the most active and talented

“The dreamer is the designer of tomorrow. The practical man, the sensible, cold head, can laugh at the dreamer; they do not know that he, the dreamer, is the true dynamic force that pushes the world forward. Suppress the dreamer, and the world will deteriorate toward barbarism. Despised, impoverished, the dreamer opens the way for his people, sowing, sowing, sowing the seeds which will be harvested, not by him, but by the practical men, the sensible, cold heads of tomorrow, who will laugh at the sight of another indefatigable dreamer seeding, seeding, seeding.” – *Dreamers*, R.F.M. (June 28, 1921)

“There’s no virtue in being servile. In this bitter epoch of injustice and oppression, it’s necessary to raise one’s gaze to the shining heights, to the free minds, to the combative souls. It doesn’t matter if we perish in the hazardous battle we gained noblest satisfaction in life: the satisfaction that in our name history will speak to the man of tomorrow, emancipated through our efforts.” – *Clarion Call to Arms, Revolución* (June 1, 1907)



Regeneración.

Semanal revolucionario

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¡VIVA LA REVOLUCION SOCIAL!



"Our battle is epic; we have our chains as weapons, which we will break over the heads of despots. We have laid out the dilemma in this way—life or death: life for us is triumph, and death is the only force that can block our path. We stand upright, and will never kneel to any power. We will face the enemy; we will not turn our back to any danger."

BOXER – Revolución (December 14, 1907)

Los Angeles Daily Times

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 19, 1907.

MURDER-PLOTTING LETTERS FOUND ON THE MEXICAN REVOLUTIONISTS.

Killing of Two Presidents Part of Expressed Plan of Gang Now in Prison Here, and Los Angeles Woman Is Named as Expert Assassin.

TERRIFIC abuse, spread around the world, against President Roosevelt. Evidence tending to show that Roosevelt was to share the fate in store for Diaz.

Support of the American labor unions in the terrible plots of the Mexican revolutionists.

The existence in Los Angeles of a brilliant and bold woman anarchist who dared more than any of the men.

Written statements of prominent revolutionists showing that the attacks upon Cananea, Douglas and Juarez were all planned by the gang recently arrested in Los Angeles.

Plot to collect money in Spain by working on the hatred supposed to exist there toward the hero of San Juan Hill.

All these things have been found in letters confiscated by the Mexican government from the effects of Ricardo Flores Magon, Villareal and Rivera, arrested after a fierce struggle recently in a house on Pico street.

Hidden somewhere in Los Angeles is a dare-devil Spanish woman who should be standing with the Mexican revolutionists when they are arraigned here in the United States Court.

Letters recently confiscated show that she was the most daring and reckless anarchist of all the band. Her name is Maria Talavera. She is said to be a beautiful and attractive woman. Her friends and even her husband regarded her as a quiet housewife, intent on cooking frijoles. But in her fry pans she was seeing men fighting; hearing in the sizzle of the grease the crash of arms, the pound of horses' feet and the din and commotion of a nation's government overthrown.

She was the go-between and fiery inspiration of the plotters who had their headquarters in Los Angeles. Some of the terrible letters that have been seized show that she was recently entrusted with some dreadful secret mission into Chihuahua—probably the assassination of some high Mexican official.

Magon, in his letters, speaks of arms having been sent and says that Maria never asks whether she will be in danger of death when sent on a mission. If assigned to kill a tyrant, he says, she will do so or will make all the necessary arrangements.

Some of the confiscated documents indicate that certain Los Angeles newspapers might find a better use for their sentimental tears. The halos of martyrdom for these revolutionists—Magon and his pals—do not fit well.



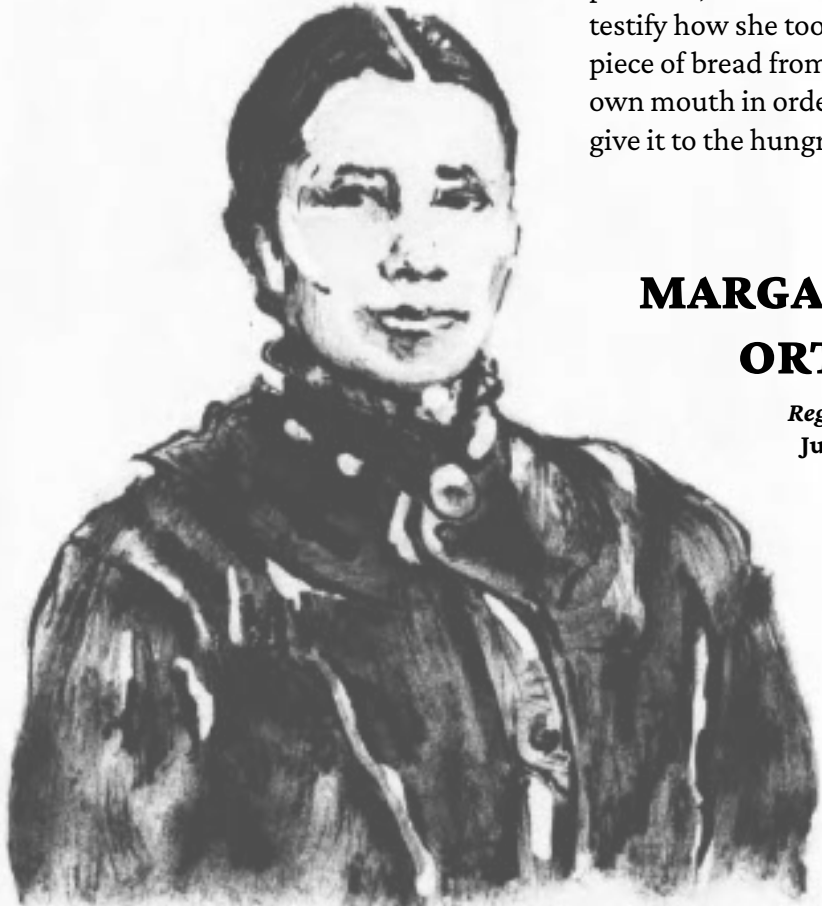
Above is an excerpt of a 1907 LA Times article about the people who stormed the courts during one of Ricardo Flores Magon's criminal trials. The LA Times authors were clearly intimidated by the internationalist power of the Magonistas, and hone in their fear on María Talavera, "... the most daring and reckless anarchist of all the band..." Originally from Zacatecas, she was a writer, speaker, organizer and propagandist for the PLM. She established clubs, and participated in multiple mobilizations in favor of the political prisoners of the PLM. To learn more about the contributions of feminists and women in the movement, look up: "Revoltosas: La Presencia Femenina en el PLM y en el Magonismo (1900-1911)"

This extraordinary woman was a member of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, whose anarcho-communist ideals she propagated through word and action. In 1911, Margarita was the link between the combat forces of the Partido liberal Mexicano in Baja California. An able horsewoman and an expert in the use of firearms, Margarita crossed the enemy lines and smuggled arms, munitions, dynamite, whatever was needed, to the comrades on the field of action. More than once her boldness and coolness saved her from falling into the clutches of the forces of tyranny. Margarita Ortega had a great heart: from her horse, or from behind a rock, she could shoot down a government soldier, and a little later one could see her caring for the wounded, feeding the convalescents, or providing words of consolation to widows and orphans. Apostle, warrior, nurse -- this exceptional woman was all of these simultaneously. She could never stand to see anyone suffer in her

presence, and many will testify how she took a piece of bread from her own mouth in order to give it to the hungry.

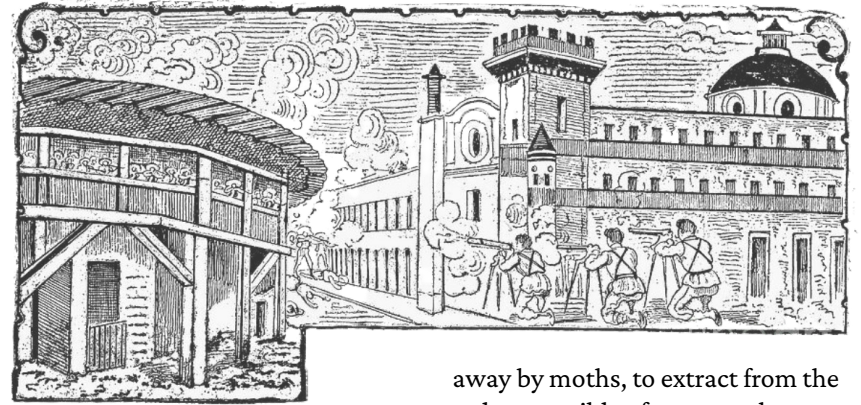
MARGARITA ORTEGA

Regeneración,
June 13, 1914



THE PURPOSE OF REVOLUTION

Regeneración, September 17, 1910



For a majority of people, revolution and war have the same meaning: this is an error that in light of mistaken criteria makes the last resort of the oppressed appear to be barbarism. War has the invariable characteristics of hatred and national or personal ambitions; from it comes a relative benefit for a given individual or group who is paid with the blood and sacrifice of the masses. The Revolution is an abrupt shaking-off, the human tendency toward improvement, when a more or less numerous proportion of humanity is subjected by violence to a state that is incompatible with its necessities and aspirations. Against humanity wars are waged, but never revolutions; the former destroy, perpetuating injustices, while the latter mix, agitate, confuse, disrupt, and melt in the purifying fire of new ideas the old elements poisoned by prejudice and eaten

away by moths, to extract from the ardent crucible of catastrophe a more benign environment for the development and expansion of all species. The Revolution is the torrent that sweeps over the dryness of the dead countryside, spreading the silt of life that transforms the wasteland of forced peace, where only reptiles reside, into fertile lands suitable for the splendid flowering of superior species. Tyrants do not emerge from the people by a self-generating phenomenon. The universal law of determinism raises them onto the backs of the people. The same law, manifesting itself in powerful revolutionary transformation, will make them fall forever, asphyxiated like the fish that is deprived of its liquid abode.

The Revolution is a fully conscious act, not the spasm of a primitive bestiality. There is no inconsistency between the idea that guides and the action that is imposed.



THE MEXICAN PEOPLE ARE SUITED TO COMMUNISM

Regeneración, September 2, 1911

The inhabitants of the state of Morelos, like those of Puebla, Michoacán, Durango, Jalisco, Yucatán and other states, in which vast areas have been invaded by proletarians who have immediately dedicated themselves to cultivating the lands, have shown the entire world, with their acts, that one doesn't need a society of savants to solve the problem of hunger.

To arrive at this result they took possession of the earth and the instruments of production in Mexico. They didn't need "leaders," nor "friends of the working class," nor "paternal decrees," nor "wise laws" — they didn't need any of this. Their actions did it all and continue doing it all. Mexico is marching toward communism more quickly than the most extreme

revolutionaries had hoped for, and the government and the bourgeoisie now find themselves not knowing what to do in the presence of acts they believed were very far from being carried out.

Facts have shown that we members of the PLM are not under illusions, and that we fight convinced that our actions and propaganda respond to the necessities and to the manner of thinking of Mexico's poor.

The Mexican people hate, by instinct, authority and the bourgeoisie. Everyone who has lived in Mexico can assure us that there is no one more cordially hated than the policeman, that the word "government" fills the simple people with uneasiness, that the

this step essential to opening the doors to the effective emancipation of the Mexican people.

Now then, another party also finds itself with arms in hand: the Anti-Reelection Party, whose leader, Francisco I. Madero, is a millionaire who has seen his vast fortune grow through the sweat and tears of the peons on his haciendas. This party fights to make "effective" the right to vote, and to found, in sum, a bourgeois republic such as that in the United States. This party, overall political, is, naturally, the enemy of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, because it sees in the activities of the liberals a danger to the survival of the bourgeois republic which guarantees to the politicians, to the job seekers, to the rich, to all of the ambitious, to those who want to live at the cost of the suffering and the slavery of the proletariat -- it sees a danger to the continuation of social inequality, to the sustenance of the capitalist, to the division of the human family into two classes: exploiters and exploited.

The dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz is about to fall. But the revolution will not end because of this sole fact; upon the grave of this infamous dictatorship will remain standing, face to face, with arms in hand, these two social classes: that of the well

fed and that of the hungry, the first of these intending the preservation of its class interests, and the second the abolition of these privileges by means of the installation of a system that guarantees to all human beings bread, land, and liberty.

This formidable struggle of the two social classes in Mexico is the first act in the great universal cataclysm which very soon will break upon the scene all over the planet, and whose final act will be the triumph of the magnanimous formula of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity which the bourgeois political revolutions have not been able to translate into physical reality, because these revolutions have not dared to break to pieces the dorsal spine of tyranny: capitalism and authoritarianism.

Comrades of the entire world: the solution of the social problem is in the hands of the disinherited of the entire Earth, because it only requires the practice of a great virtue: solidarity. Your Mexican brothers have had the courage to hold high the red flag; but they haven't made a display of it in puerile demonstrations in the streets and plazas, which almost always end with the arrest and the smashing of the heads of the demonstrators by the cossacks employed by the tyrants. Rather, they've firmly held the red flag on the battlefields in gallant challenge to the old society, as an attempt to plant in solid ground the new just and loving society.



MANIFESTO TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Regeneración, April 3, 1911

It's a little more than four months since the red flag of the proletariat erupted onto the battlefields of Mexico, carried by emancipated workers whose aspirations can be understood from this sublime war cry: Land and Liberty!

The people of Mexico find themselves in these moments in open rebellion against their oppressors, and, taking part in the general insurrection are those who sustain modern ideas: those convinced of the fallacy of political remedies as a means of redeeming the proletariat from economic slavery; those who do not believe in the goodness of paternalistic governments nor in the impartiality of the laws worked out by the bourgeoisie; those who know that the emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves; those convinced of

the need for direct action; those who do not recognize the "sacred right of private property; " those who have not taken up arms to elevate any boss, but rather to destroy wage slavery. These revolutionaries are represented by the Organizing Junta of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (519 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, California), whose official organ, *Regeneración*, clearly explains their tendencies.

The Partido Liberal Mexicano does not fight to overthrow the dictator Porfirio Diaz in order to put a new tyrant in his place. The Partido Liberal Mexicano is taking part in the present insurrection with the firm and deliberate purpose of expropriating the land and the means of production to deliver them to the people, that is, to each and every one of the inhabitants of Mexico, without sexual discrimination. We consider

soldier, admired and applauded in all other places, is seen with antipathy and contempt, and that anyone who doesn't make his living with his hands is hated.

This in itself is enough for a social revolution which is economic in nature and anti-authoritarian, but there is more. Four million Indians live in Mexico who, until twenty or twenty-five years ago, lived in communities possessing the lands, the waters, and the forests in common. Mutual aid was the rule in these communities, in which authority was felt only when the tax collector appeared periodically or when "recruiters" showed up in search of men to force into the army. In these communities there were no judges, mayors, jailers, in fact no bothersome people at all of this type. Everyone had the right to the land, to the water to irrigate it, to the forests for firewood, and to the wood from the forests for the construction of small houses. The plows passed from hand to hand, as did yokes of oxen. Each family worked as much land as they thought was sufficient to produce what was necessary, and the work of weeding and harvesting was done in common by the entire community — today, Pedro's harvest, tomorrow Juan's, and so on. Everyone in the community put their hands to work when a house was to be raised.

These simple customs lasted until authority grew strong enough to

pacify the country, until it was strong enough to guarantee the bourgeoisie the success of its businesses. The generals of the political revolts received large grants of land; the *hacendados* [plantation owners] increased the size of their fiefdoms; the most vile politicians received vast tracts of "barren" lands; and foreign adventurers obtained concessions of lands, forests, rivers, of, in sum, everything, leaving our Indian brothers without a clod of dirt, without the right to take from the forests even the smallest branch of a tree; they were left in the most abject misery, dispossessed of everything that had been theirs.

We see, then, that the Mexican people are suited for communism, because they've practiced it, at least in part, for many centuries; and this explains why, even when the majority are illiterate, they comprehend that rather than take part in electoral farces that elect thugs, it's better to take possession of the lands — and this taking is what scandalizes the thieving bourgeoisie.

All that's left to be done is that the workers take possession of the factory, the workshop, the mine, the foundry, the railroad, the ship, in a word, everything — that they recognize no bosses of any type. And this will be the culmination of the present movement. Forward comrades!

OUTLAWS

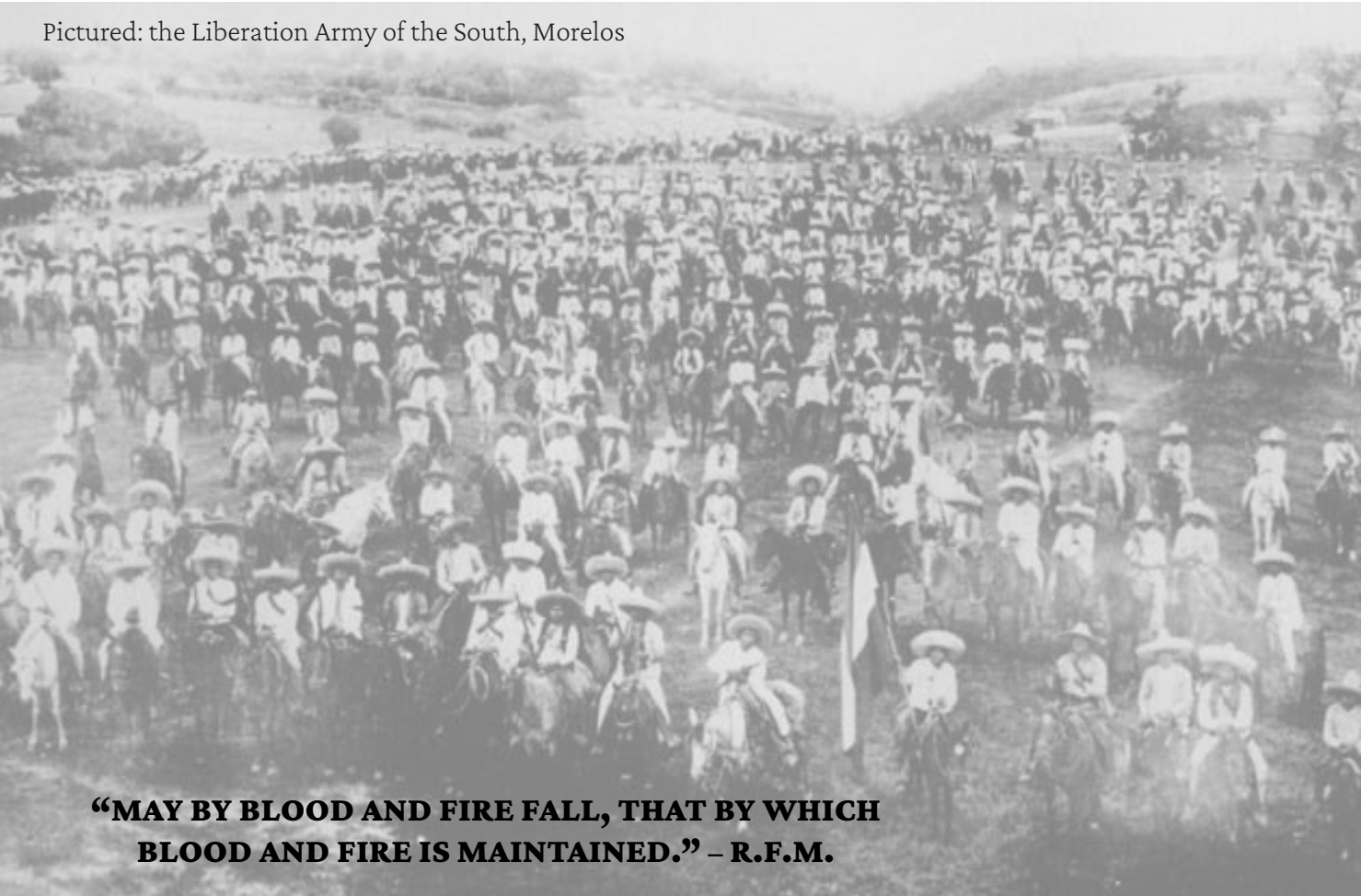
Regeneración, September 3, 1910

The true revolutionary is an outlaw par excellence. The law conserves; the revolution renews. For the same reason, if one must renew, one must begin by breaking the Law. Throughout history, the liberties conquered by the human species have been the work of outlaws who took the law into their own hands and tore it to pieces. The tyrant dies from stab wounds, not from articles of the legal code. Expropriation is achieved through trampling over the law, not by lifting it to the heavens. For this reason, revolutionaries must necessarily be outlaws. We must

abandon the well-worn road of conventionality and open up with our whiplashes upon the old flesh new paths out of the established channels.

We are here, with the torch of the revolution in one hand and the program of the *Partido Liberal* in the other, announcing war. Our electoral ballots will be the bullets our guns fire. From today onwards, the swords wielded by the mercenaries of Caesar will encounter not the defenseless breast of the citizen who exercises their civic functions, but the bayonets of the rebels ready to repay blow with blow. It would be senseless to respond through the law to someone who does not respect the law; it would be absurd to open statute books to defend ourselves from an attack with a bayonet or from being shot down as a fugitive.

Pictured: the Liberation Army of the South, Morelos



**“MAY BY BLOOD AND FIRE FALL, THAT BY WHICH
BLOOD AND FIRE IS MAINTAINED.” – R.F.M.**

On the horizon, the splendid aurora of the new day is shining; to our ears comes the sound of the storm of salvation of a humanity about to unshackle itself: it is the ferment of the revolutionary spirit; it is that the entire country is a volcano on the verge of angrily spitting out the fire buried in its core. “No more peace!” is the shout of the valiant; better death than a shameful peace. The flowing hair of the future heroes floats on the air blown by the first gusts of the coming cataclysm. The apostle will proclaim from one ear to the next how and when the cataclysm will begin, and rifles are impatiently awaiting the moment when they may emerge from the hiding places where they lie, in order to shine proudly under the sun of combat. Mexicans: to war!