

TIEMPO MUERTO

Number 5a | Year 2018



MAIZE AND ANARCHISM – A CORRELATION OF THOUGHT, ORDER AND LIBERTY ON THE EXTENSION

3
EDITOR'S NOTE TO TIEMPO MUERTO 5

Juan Pablo Macías

5
CHICOMEXOCHITL & THE ORIGIN OF CORN IN THE NAHUA ORAL TRADITION OF THE HUASTECA

Anuschka van't Hooft (2008)

9
THE PEOPLE OF LA HUASTECA DO NOT CONCEIVE LIFE AWAY FROM THE MILPA

Alfredo Zepeda (2012)

11
MAIZE & COMMUNALITY

Kiado Cruz (2014)

15
COMMUNITY & COMMUNALITY

Floriberto Díaz Gómez (2004)

19
THE INDIAN & THE INDIGENOUS IN THE MAGÓNIST ANARCHISM

Benjamín Maldonado Alvarado (2000)

27
FERNANDO PALOMAREZ, MAYO INDIAN. LIBERTARIAN EPISTLES & OTHER TEXTS.

Alfonso Torúa Cienfuegos (2016)

31
MAGÓNISM & INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

Juan Carlos Beas and Manuel Ballesteros (1986)

43
THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

Voltaireine de Cleyre (1911)

TIEMPO MUERTO
#5a | 2015

Editor | Editorship
Juan Pablo Macías

Authors
Anuschka van't Hooft, Alfredo Zepeda, Kiado Cruz, Floriberto Díaz Gómez, Benjamín Maldonado Alvarado, Alfonso Torúa Cienfuegos, Juan Carlos Beas, Manuel Ballesteros, Plotino Rhodakanaty, Julio López Chávez, Emiliano Zapata, Voltairine de Cleyre

Translations
Rodrigo Villasmil, Yu Hsiao-hwei

Graphic project
Brice Delarue Zirkumflex
www.zirkumflex.com

Visual content
Juan Pablo Macías stills from "Museum pieces, a 6000 year-old corn fossil, two agronomists and a geneticist," 2018

Cover
Juan Pablo Macías "Teocintle, the transformation of matter involves sharing," 2018

Publisher
WORD+MOIST PRESS

Printed in May 2018, China

Produced by
Yinchuan Biennale

With the support of
Collezione La Gaia

Thanks to
Bruna e Matteo Viglietta, Eva Brioschi, Manuela Galliano, Marco Scottini, Andris Brinkmanis, Shuai Yin, Paolo Caffoni, Chen Jianxin, Liu Pei, Brice Delarue, Alessandra Poggianti, Rodrigo Villasmil, Yu Hsiao-hwei, Evelynne Jouanno, Hou Hanru, Pengpeng Wang, Alberto Paredes Sánchez, Abel Muñoz Orozco, Abel Gil-Muñoz, José Regalado, Kiado Cruz, Lucia Giardino e Chico Bacci.

Special thanks to my father Alfonso Macías Laylle

WORD+MOIST
PRESS

YIN CHUAN

VOCA 语川
YIN CHUAN 言水涯

关于“死亡时间” (TIEMPO MUERTO) 第五辑（玉米和 无政府主义—延 伸思想、秩序 与自由的相互关 系）的几点说明

EDITOR'S NOTE

MAIZE & ANARCHISM – A CORRELATION OF THOUGHT, ORDER AND LIBERTY ON THE EXTENSION

Juan Pablo Macías, 28 March 2018, Livorno, Italia

The endless variety in the world has not been created by law. It is not of the nature of uniformity to originate variation, nor of law to beget circumstance. When we gaze upon the multifariousness of nature we are looking straight into the face of a “living spontaneity”. A day's ramble in the country ought to bring that home to us.

Charles Sanders Peirce, Science and Immortality, 7 April 1887.

编者按 --

编者按—关于“死亡时间” (TIEMPO MUERTO) 第五辑（ 玉米和无政府主义—延伸思 想、秩序和自由的相互关 系）的一些说明

胡安·巴布罗·马西亚斯 (Juan Pablo Macías) , 2018
年3月28日，意大利里窝那 (Livorno)

我们从经验中学到，符合思想的直线或延伸并不存在。没有一条思想直线适用于所有民族，或符合假装的现实，正如当我们凝视大自然的多样性时没有直线一样。尽管如此，确实无疑地，直线已治理、统治、驯化、改变了阻碍其发展，或在利益的统治下，用来对齐、爬梳的任何思想的多样性和延伸。

查尔斯·桑德斯·皮尔斯(Charles Sanders Peirce), “科学与永生”, 1887年4月7日。

We've learned by experience that there are no straight lines in accordance with thought nor extension. There is no straight line of thought that applies justly to all peoples, nor that fits pretended realities, as there are no straight lines when we gaze upon the multifariousness of nature. Nonetheless, positively, they've governed, ruled, domesticated, transformed any multifariousness of thought and extension that blocked its way, or that was there to align, to plow, under the rule of profit.

Culture was the result of throw of dices. Universal laws conceivable to man's eyes only were never in operation. We are children of this “living spontaneity” that houses and nourishes us along unrecognized companions. Variation and circumstance, are agents of desire, and we are its offspring. We've broken this lineage. We've interrupted this process. Now its longing, but we don't know it. We are lost in a world of dead letters not knowing what lacks, pouring this drama into the vessels of psychoanalysis.

Under specific circumstances, we found ourselves with plant-seeds and learned to sow. We learned to sow as squirrels, wind, water or other big-small animals did. But there, where squirrels sow life, we saw profit. Thus, re-creation is held exclusively for the profit of a handful few. Nor men, nor the infinite agents of nature have a place to call home. It has been a general eviction from Earth by *the rule of law* which converted Earth in a real

estate market and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon knew this, his contemporary brothers knew this, the Yaqui, Mayo, Raramuri, Mixe and the Otomi brothers knew this. *Teocintle* (the primitive plant of maize) gave her seeds to men to nurture them in brotherhood. Men started selecting them, interchanging maize seeds among neighbors multiplying its varieties. Maize is a creation of social relations, as social relations are a creation of maize. That is why we call ourselves people of maize. There is no product in this, no merchandise, no numbers, no business, but a collective cycle of work, art, rituals that bound people things and places together. To embrace law, to follow only one straight line, is to condemn world and Earth all together. Diversity is what created life, what characterizes all living beings dwelling under this same roof as Étienne de La Boétie had already stated. This coupling of desire, of men with maize, is the one put at stake by the profit drives of capitalism. There was another coupling of desire when under specific circumstances the indigenous, the *campesinos* and *mestizos* of México, encountered the European anarchists, fifty years before the Mexican Revolution.

TIEMPO MUERTO#5a and #5b, redirects it's gaze to the face of this living spontaneity manifest in maize and libertarian seeds.

我们从经验中学到，符合思想的直线或延伸并不存在。没有一条思想直线适用于所有民族，或符合假装的现实，正如当我们凝视大自然的多样性时没有直线一样。尽管如此，确实无疑地，直线已治理、统治、驯化、改变了阻碍其发展，或在利益的统治下，用来对齐、爬梳的任何思想的多样性和延伸。

文化是掷骰子的结果。只在人眼里可想见的普遍法则从未能运作。我们是此一“生气勃勃的自发性”的孩子，它随着无法识别的同伴庇护和滋养我们。变化和情况，是欲望的代理人，我们是它的后代。我们已经打破这个谱系。我们已经中断这个过程。现在它的渴望，但我们不知道它。我们迷失在一个死字母的世界里，不知道究竟欠缺了什么，把这部戏倒到精神分析的容器之中。

在特定情况下，我们发现自己拿着植物种子并学会播种。我们学会像松鼠、风、水或其他大小动物一样播种。但在松鼠播种生命之处，我们看到的是利润。因此，再创造仅为极少数的利润而进行。不论人或大自然无穷的代理人都失去了可以称之为家的地方，被将土地变为房地产市场法治普遍驱逐出土地之外：皮耶-约瑟夫·蒲鲁东知道这一点，他同时代的兄弟们知道这一点，墨西哥雅基族

(Yaqui)、马约族(Mayo) 族、拉拉穆里族(Raramuri)、米黑族(Mixe)和欧托密族(Otomi)的兄弟们都知道这一点。Teocintle(玉米的原始草本植物)把它的种子给了人，在手足之情中养育他们。人开始进行筛选，在邻居之间交换玉米种子以增加品种。玉米是社会关系的产物，正如社会关系是玉米的产物一般。这就是为什么我们自称为玉米的子民。这其中没有产品，没有商品，没有数字，没有生意，而是一个关于劳动、艺术和仪式的集体性周期，将人、事、地结合在一起。

拥抱法律，只遵循一条直线，就是把世界和土地一起判了刑。正如艾蒂安·德拉波埃斯(Étienne de La Boétie)早已说过，多样性创造了生命，是住在同一屋檐下的所有生物的特征。

欲望、人与玉米的结合，是资本主义的利润驱动下的一场博弈。

还有另一个欲望的结合，发生在墨西哥革命发生前50年，当墨西哥原住民，农民(campesinos)和混血儿在特定情况下和欧洲无政府主义者相遇时。

TIEMPO MUERTO#5将聚焦于玉米和自由主义的种子中所展现生气勃勃的自发性。



CHICOMEXOCHITL & THE ORIGIN OF CORN IN THE NAHUA ORAL TRADITION OF THE HUASTECA

Anuschka van 't Hooff (2008)

For us, for all the people in this community, the most important thing is corn. Without corn there is no life. You can have beans. You can have tomatoes, chiles, everything. But if there is no corn, one does not eat. That is why corn is the most important thing.

对我们来说,对这个社群的所有人来说,最重要的东西是玉米。没有玉米就没有生命。你可以有豆子,可以吃西红柿、辣椒和一切食物。但如果没有玉米,就不算吃饭。这就是为什么玉米是最重要的东西。在大瓦斯特卡(Huasteca)地区,原住民纳瓦人相传一些关于玉米起源的故事。这些故事讲述了一名男孩以奇妙的方式诞生,他那邪恶的祖母想杀死他。经过多次尝试后,祖母终于达到目的:她扭断了孙子的脖子,把尸体埋在河边一处地方。在他身体被埋之处,长出了世界已知的第一株玉米。用身体长出玉米的男孩名叫Chikomexochitl,意思是“七朵花”。从他的名字已经看出他异于常人:Chikomexochitl是可追溯到西班牙人入侵墨西哥之前的日历名称。对当时的纳瓦人来说,“7”这个数字象征富饶、种子、中心、完美和献祭等概念。另一方面,花在当时—今天对许多人来说依然如此—是神的完美体现,衍生出智慧、创造、爱、美和自然美等意涵。因此,男孩代表了多重德性,最突出的是他的才智:人们都说,“他很聪明”。

In the greater area of the Huasteca, the indigenous Nahuas pass on stories about the origin of corn. These stories speak about a boy, of miraculous birth, and his evil grandmother who wants to kill him. After several attempts, the grandmother accomplishes her mission: she breaks the grandson's neck and buries his body in a place near the river. It is in that exact burial place where the first corn plant known to the world was born.

The boy who gives birth to corn with his body is called Chikomexochitl, “Seven Flower”. His name already shows he is an exceptional boy: Chikomexochitl refers to a calendrical name that dates back to pre-Hispanic times. For the Nahuas people who lived at that time, the number seven was a symbol of concepts such as; abundance, seed, center, perfection and that of the offering. On the other hand, the flower was—and still is for many people—the Good par excellence, entailing wisdom, creation, love, beauty and natural beauty. Accordingly, the boy personifies several qualities, the most outstanding being his intelligence. People say, “he is smart”.

In general, narrators of the Chikomexochitl story talk about him being a naughty boy who was always playing, dancing, playing music and singing. His grandmother—a *tsitsimitl* or evil old woman, associated with Bad Air—did not want him near since it is said that he “made a lot of fuss”. She came up with several plans to get rid of him. First, she sent him to distant places so that he would be out of her sight but Chikomexochitl always came back fast and grandma would get tired of having him around. It is then when she began to send him to dangerous places, where—

according to her—wild animals would eat him. Even so, the grandson carried out all the encomiendas (socioeconomic commissions) successfully and would not die. None of the dangerous tasks was difficult. It is said that Chikomexochitl tore out the tongue of a caiman who wanted to devour him, and that—while in the forest—he escaped from certain beasts that wanted to kill him. Moreover, due to his great intelligence, the boy becomes an inventor, making a rattle out of the pincers of the *acamaya* that was supposed to devour him and painting the shell of a helpful turtle. This is why turtles now have a decorated shell. In some versions of the story, Chikomexochitl is the grower who cleans the land, plants corn and makes the cornfield at extraordinary speed. In other versions, the boy creates lightning with the tongue of the caiman who wanted to swallow him. Nahuas oral stories also spoke about Chikomexochitl as being the inventor of writing.

When nothing and nobody could beat Chikomexochitl, the grandmother takes the initiative and kills him herself. One day, as the story says, she breaks his neck and gets rid of the boy. The old woman returns every once and again to the place where she had buried her grandson's body to spy on him and see what happened. After few weeks, she saw that a small corn seedling had sprung up, it was growing more and more, until it sprouted and large ears of corn came out. It is said that the corn plant had up to three ears of corn. This corn was Chikomexochitl. The fact that a boy creates the most important element of food in the communities makes this person someone very special. In fact, Chikomexochitl is an extraordinary character and this is known even before his birthday; the mother of Chikomexochitl becomes pregnant by swallowing a precious stone on a day when she went to the spring to bring water. This miracle showed that the baby born was not common. Some say that his mother was Earth, she is the mother soil from which the corn is born, her son. Others say that Chikomexochitl did have a flesh and bone mother but was also the son of the spirits that inhabit the Sacred Mount called *Postektitla*, one of the most important places inside the Nahua Cosmo vision in the Huastecan region.

When Chikomexochitl is reborn as corn, his grandmother collects the corn, grains it and makes *nixtamal* (corn dough) which she throws into the river to make sure there is no trace of her grandson. It is in the water where Chikomexochitl resuscitates in human form. His death and resurrection remembers the vital death cycle of the corn which is sown first to be born afterwards. In another occasion Chikomexochitl had demonstrated his capacity to engender life when he resuscitated his father, or as other narrators say, his grandfather that had died. Like corn, the boy is a life generator. Chikomexochitl appears as a hero. He created and taught dancing, singing, music, verbal language and writing, agricultural techniques and all the other expressions of wisdom and art. All these expressions are linked to *la costumbre*, the set of concepts and practices that rule the daily life of the Nahua communities. According to the Nahuas, Chikomexochitl is the one who taught *la costumbre*, that is to say how to live and—more importantly—the boy is the incarnation of corn. Without him, corn would not

exist today. Therefore, the narrative about Chikomexochitl can be understood as a reference to the transition of an era where people lived with no culture to a culture state which revolves around the existence and the relevance of agriculture as well as corn. In this tale, the evil grandmother is not free of punishment. Some people say that her grandson burned her in a *temazcal* (a type of sweat lodge that originated with pre-hispanic indigenous cultures throughout Mesoamerica) while making a bet. He entered the *temazcal* first and the grandmother tried to light the fire so much so that Chikomexochitl would suffocate. However, the boy walked out of the *temazcal* unharmed. When it was the grandmother's turn, Chikomexochitl lit such an intense fire that the old lady could not survive and burned into ashes. In other versions the grandmother also dies, but wild beasts and bad men eat her in the woods leaving only bones and ashes.

The grandmother's ashes should have been thrown into the ocean; the "corner of the world" as the Nahuas say. Only with her remainings placed in this far region would humanity be sheltered from her harmful acts. Unfortunately, the ashes never arrived to their destination. The person that was supposed to take the gourds and pots containing the ashes did not follow the instructions of keeping the containers sealed. When he opened the containers a swarm of insects escaped, an embodiment of the grandmother. Like that, Chikomexochitl grandmother's ashes took the form of a swarm of flies, bees and wasps that harassed people and spread disease among them. In almost all tales, the misbehaving character is a toad or a man that turns into a toad as punishment. Thanks to the multiple insect bites and stings, the amphibian has its back covered in pimples.

Nahuas say that Chikomexochitl is still a boy who roams the hills. Just as it's passed on in the stories, Chikomexochitl cannot die, for he is corn and there will always be seed. He is the one who controls the germination and the aging of the plant. People feel a lot of respect towards corn and this can be seen in the multiple rituals that are celebrated throughout the year to remember Chikomexochitl. Maybe the most striking one would be the annual communal party called the "dance of the corn", *elotlamanalistli* ("place an offering to the corn") or the celebration of Chikomexochitl. This celebration takes place in late September or early October when tender corn can be harvested. During these days, early in the morning, men go out to the field to bring the first baskets with corn. Upon returning home, the baskets are placed outside their homes and they eat the lunch that was prepared by their wives. After that, these men make arcs out of leafs from a bush called *tamalkuauitl*. They pass under the arch and into the house to deposit the corn. While the music from the violin and guitar plays the *xochipitsauak*, the ritual song that was invented by Chikomexochitl, men enter and dance with their baskets on their backs. Once the corn is deposited inside their house, women use the corn to prepare *xamitl* (corn tamales), *atole* (corn based beverage) and boiled corn. In the afternoon, people dress up some corn with miniature clothes as if they were boys, and decorate them with flowers. With these boys in their arms both men and women dance to the sound of the *xochipitsauak*. The dance takes place inside the church

and outside on the atrium. The priest comes to celebrate mass and bless the corn. Likewise, a healer from the community utters some words to the corn. After the mass, local authorities give away corn and *atole* and the dance continues until late at night.

Dancing is a religious expression that offers a way to contact the spirit of corn; to worship him, thank him, and to ask him for more support in the future. In this way, they renew the alliance between men and the spirit of corn; they reinforce and consolidate the constructive relationship between both. The physical effort, the sweat and fatigue generated by this dance are part of the elements in the offering as well as the incense, the flowers, the prayers and the food that is offered. Indeed dancing is one of the most substantial offerings, since through it, people offer their own body. The celebration is successful when people dance "until dawn", which shows that they have really given their best to thank Chikomexochitl.

Through this, the main purpose of the corn party is to leave offerings to the spirit of corn. The Nahuatl verb *tlamana* (put something on a surface, to offer) already carries on with this purpose. In the act that is performed they thank the corn spirit for another year of life. Just like one of the Nahuatl neighbors says:

Well it's a sign that, I mean that, well, is the tradition they make. Let's say that corn, corn when it's ready, well, it's our life, it's our strength. So that is why they make like a signal that corn is ready [...]. They are going to, well, take care of it during the year.

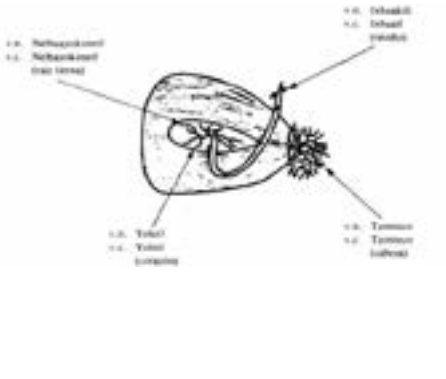
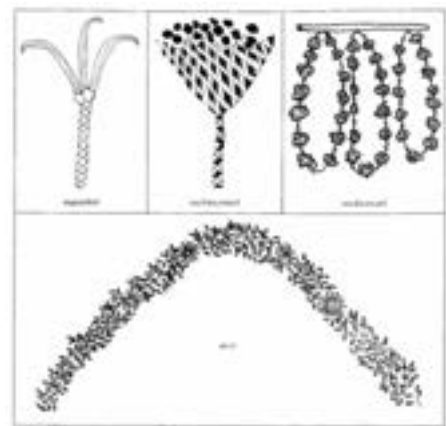
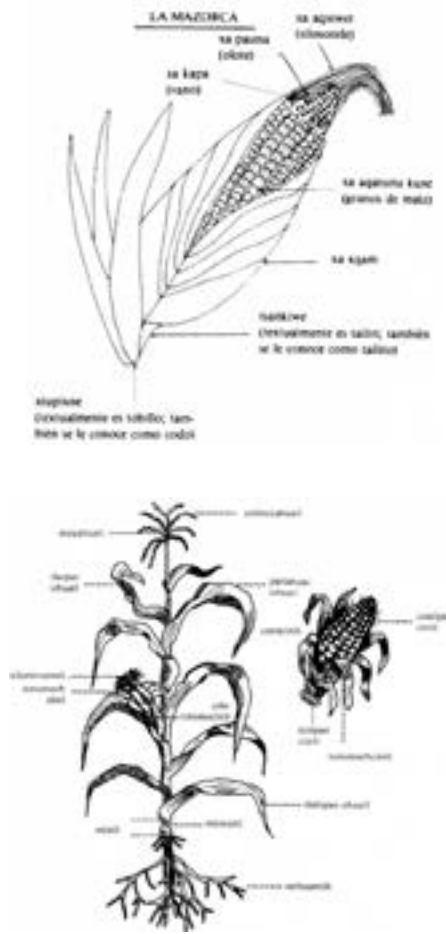
All of this is done so that Chikomexochitl "is happy and joyful and never leaves us". The party is essential for keeping Chikomexochitl happy, since a constructive as well as a destructive aspect is attributed to it. Although the boy is the corn and as such he never dies, if people do not work well, do not take care of the cornfield, and do not throw the party, Chikomexochitl may become distant from that community and there will be a bad harvest or even famine. Its beneficial aspect is expressed through abundant corn harvests. As soon as there is corn, people know that they will have something to eat during a whole year, "so we think it's necessary to thank him, because he is the one who makes everything [...] it is important to us because it is a sign of gratitude."

Chikomexochitl is the embodiment of corn, he is the cob, the grain. Its relevance to Nahuas is considerable, since their daily life—in almost all aspects—revolves around corn. The Nahuas of the Huasteca region grow the corn in their cornfields and sell it in the market. They eat corn in form of *tortillas*, *tamales*, *atole* and other types of meals. They also use corn grains in rituals to summon some luck in case they are trying to find the cause of some disease. In the same way, there are many more uses of leaves, corncobs, grain and corn. Therefore, it is understood that the oral tradition over the corn progenitor contains tales that are considered very important. By transmitting the tale of Chikomexochitl, people recreate and revalue the multiple topics, events, norms and values that are expressed through these tales, some of which constantly adapt to new circumstances occurring in the community.

The texts about Chikomexochitl are examples of a tale that narrates a change of great impact in society. Therefore, it is no surprising to see that the topic finds its origin in oral traditions in other multiple indigenous communities throughout Mexico, since the origin and existence of corn is vital for all the agricultural societies in this country. In some regions, tales very different to Chikomexochitl are orally narrated; however, there are other texts about the origin of corn that are very similar among neighboring indigenous communities such as the Tenek, Totonacos, Tepehuas and Otomies. We even find similar episodes about the origin of corn in distant communities like in the Zoques and Populucas from Oaxaca. The strength that the Chikomexochitl tales exert in the communities proves the vital role of corn as the pillar of life in the current indigenous life and it has a great impact in the subsistence of these communities.

The Nahuas call all the expressions of their narratives, *kuento*. The words *kamanaltlajotoli* (lit. spoken words) or *tlatempoualisticli* (lit. what lips say) are recognized as synonyms; nonetheless, the use of the Spanish language has been replacing the Nahuatl wording. The tales of the Nahuatl oral tradition in the Huasteca region are shared when there are events that favor its narration, for example when walking by a place where certain events that need to be remembered happened. They are transmitted without restrictions; at any moment of the day or the year and under any personal situation. However, the most common events occur when people gather together to work on their chores, when they are preparing a ritual or a celebration or when they gather at home with their families. On these occasions, a narrator—normally be an elder male of the community starts to speak about a certain event of the past—after being asked to. Based on their current interests, personal context, and other versions that were previously heard, this person recreates a new text according to the literary canon of the group. The canon consists of a series of composition rules, content units, and styles of tradition. The assistants listen to the version and simultaneously decorate it with comments, questions or surprise exclamations. In this way, the tale is reconstructed and relived among the people that are present. It is during these sessions that all the details about the representations can be appreciated.

In almost all Nahuatl-speaking homes, the tale of how Chikomexochitl was born and what he did so that we could have corn in this world can be heard from the fathers (heads of the family) or the grandfathers. However, each oral narrator passes on the tale in their own way; according to what they have heard and memorized and according to their narration style. Each narrative is a unique representation that cannot be repeated in its exact way, context or content. Thus the following text is just one of many versions that circulate in the Huasteca region. If this version does not reflect the exact tale as it is known, it is because the person narrating it might have heard different episodes and, at the time of narration, they remembered some events instead of others or because he wanted to speak about certain characteristics of Chikomexochitl and not others.



1. Tales in the oral traditions are better appreciated and enjoyed when read aloud (or better yet, by narrating them) to family and friends.

CHICOMEXOCHITL

Narrated by: Catalina Hernández, Adapted by: Anuschka van 't Hooft

There was a boy who was home. His grandmother did not want to see him, since that boy did many diverse things. It was said that he sang, he grabbed branches and orange tree leaves, pisto leaves, flower leaves. And he played and made a flute out of reed. He played and did things; he broke a stick and made his guitar or his violin.

And his grandmother did not want to see him. Her grandmother got mad, she sent him far away; to fetch wood, to go far, to go see animals, sheep, chickens ... whatever he went to see. Then he would go, but he would go quickly, towards that thing and when he returned he remained the same. When he got home he did many things, what he wanted to do; he danced, he sang, who knows what he was doing there. Then his grandmother got angry and said:

— *You bother too much, you're giving me a headache. I do not want to see you here anymore. Better go somewhere else, wherever you want.*

But the boy does not leave. Does not get angry, he just shuts up and laughs, laughs. And the grandmother is already very grandmother, she cannot walk anymore. Then she once told him and made an agreement with the acamaya. The old woman went to see him, she said:

— *Acamaya, I'm going to get of my grandchildren to come here. And here, when my grandson arrives, you will grab him and you will eat him. Do not let it go this time. Put him under that stone, she said.*

Then, the acamaya said yes to the old woman. When the old woman came back she told her grandson, she said: -Go, go see an acamaya, she said, Go and see where she is, she said.

Then he left, the boy left, went to see that there was a deep water abyss. There was deeply great water. How to cross water now that the abyss was here? And on the other side there were only stones. I did not know how to cross it. He went to call a turtle. He said:

— *Turtle, come!*

He said. Then the turtle emerged. Told him:

— *What do you want Chikomexochitl?*

Then he said, he answered:

— *My grandmother sends me to go and see the acamaya. But now, how will I get there? There too much of this water. Do you think I'll go above the water? I will not resist going through this water.*

— *Well, do not worry, I'll take you, he said.*

Then the turtle loaded him, Chikomexochitl sat on its back. And it took him, one day it took him above the water. Then, it arrived. Chikomexochitl asked him:
— *Where is the acamaya?*
There it is. If you want I'll show it to you, she said. The turtle went with him, she went to teach him where that acamaya was. Then the boy went to call him, he went to say:
— *Acamaya, where are you?*
He said. Here it comes, it came out. It has two pincers, very big it carries its pincers. She said:
— *Here I am.*

Now, Chikomexochitl is smart. He grabbed, when it brought the pincer, he grabbed one of its pincers. He grabbed it tightly, ripped one of his tongs. Then Chikomexochitl is happy because he had plucked one of its tongs. I was there two days. He came back and yelled at the turtle. He said:

— *Turtle, now take me where you brought me.* So, again he climbed on top of the turtle and went back. The turtle brought him to his house. There on the riverbank she left him.

Then Chikomexochitl went out, he went to where his grandmother was. He went, went to see her. The grandmother told him:

You did not go, she said. Did not you go where I sent you? And I want you to leave. I do not want you to be here, she said.
— *But I did go grandmother!* He said.

Then Chikomexochitl went to show her the pincer of the acamaya.

— *Here I bring the pincer of that acamaya if you do not believe that I went.*

So, he showed it to her.

— *And how did you do it? How did you do it? Why do you bring the pincer of the acamaya?*

And I had spoken to the acamaya, you were not to see her anymore. And now, what are you bringing her pincer for?

— *But since I already removed his pincer, now I bring it here.*

— *Well ... said the grandmother.*

And there he is, he dances, plays, what he does not do there. Her grandmother remains the same. He sends him away to take care of the animals, he sends him to take care of the bees. Far away she sends him, Chikomexochitl left but it did not take long, as he hurried. He left, but there he dances, many things he does. Then, he comes back. His grandmother tells him: — *Now go to this place, she says. Go, go to this place. There you go, there you go where there is a big stone and there you go to sit. And there you will see the dawn, she says. You will not come back. You will come back until tomorrow.* Then the boy was happy. He went where his grandmother had sent him. There, here arrived. It's getting dark. There was a tree, that tree was big. But the tree became small. And he really became small, not very big. Its getting dark and Chikomexochitl climbed up in the tree. Then the tree grows big again. And down came the bad men. Down they came. Chikomexochitl saw them. They come, they get together, they get together, and they want to eat the boy. But since Chikomexochitl is above, they cannot eat him. And they did not eat him. There he is.

It dawned, dawned and he is there. So when the sun rose the bad men left. Chikomexochitl came down; the tree became small again and Chikomexochitl came down. He went to see his grandmother, he said:
— *I am here, grandmother.*
— *You did not go where I sent you, and I told you to go, she said. But now you will go.*

Then the grandmother fed him, Chikomexochitl ate. It was four in the afternoon. Again she sent him, she said: — *Now go again. Now go with your grandfather*, she said. Then he left with his

grandfather. He followed his grandfather, who told him:
— *Lets go, your grandmother ordered we should both leave. She is a very angry person*, he said.

And so they left. Chikomexochitl followed his grandfather. Then, they arrived. Nightfall. Again the bad men came. Chikomexochitl climbed up the tree again. He left his grandfather on the stone, where there was a large stone.

— *You, sit here and I'm going up there, he said. I'm going to go upstairs, he said.*

And he went up, he went up. The tree became big. Chikomexochitl was looking at his grandfather where he was sitting. Then it started to get dark. Bad men started coming. When they saw his grandfather they started to eat him, they started eating their grandfather. They ate his grandfather, only ashes remained. Ashes and only two of his bones were lying. The sun rose and Chikomexochitl brought a bone and a bit of ashes.

So he went to see his grandmother. He said:
— *I came back, he said.*
— *And your grandfather?*
— *I do not know where he went. Here I bring one of his bones and a bit of ashes. My grandfather became ashes.*
— *And you, why did not you stay?*
— *I did not stay, just my grandfather stayed.*

His grandmother got angry. He ordered him to go far. He told him to fetch firewood. Chikomexochitl left, went to fetch firewood. He came back and started dancing, dancing inside the house. And he played, he sang the Xochipitsauak. Then his grandmother told him:

— *Now go again and go where I sent you.
You are not coming back.*

He left, but this time he took his grandmother. His grandmother stayed down where there was a stone. There she sat. Again, Chikomexochitl climbed up. Up the tree he was. Then they ate the grandmother. When the sun rose, his grandmother was not there. Only ashes remained and some bones. Chikomexochitl came down from the tree. He was happy and said:

— *My grandmother did not want to see me anymore. Now they ate her too. Now only her bones and her dress are lying down.*

And he brought the dress and the bones, he took them home. Then there he was. In his house. He arrived happy and prepared himself a meal. He ate. When he finished eating he began to play and dance. There he began to do many things, since nobody ordered him what to do. He ordered himself, whatever he wanted to do, he did. He danced, he made a reed flute, and the flute was beautiful. And so he did, he began to play and dance. And he made a hat. So he did. Then he was home.

But Chikomexochitl went out, he left. He was no longer in the *mount*. It is no longer inside the house. Just in the *mount* he walks, walks, walks, he who made the song Xochipitsauak. The end.

THE PEOPLES OF LA HUASTECA DO NOT CONCEIVE LIFEAWAY FROM THE MILPA¹

Alfredo Zepeda (2012)

“瓦斯特卡地区的原住民部族都知道，玉米不是一个物，而是一个人；它像风、太阳，像火、水和土。Bak Ma Toma to Oya yok, Yu ki li Ut'kan,我们要尊重所食之物，如特拉齐齐尔克(Tlachichilco)的原住民Tepehuas Masapijní人所言，就像一个人受到尊重一样。”

“因为一个人播了种，大家将永不“匮乏”。如果收成好，剩余的就可以与他人分享。如果大家都丰收，就会举行派对和喝玉米啤酒tesgüino。欢乐是人民保留的能量，它超越了所有苦难。在派对中，宇宙获得重建。”

“用污染的转基因和领土入侵来影响千年的米尔帕(Milpa)农业生产体系，是

对人民犯下的重大罪行。几个世纪以来，他们早已饱受土地被剥夺和非他们所造成的气候变化的煎熬；例如发生在托雷翁(Torreón)和萨尔蒂约(Salttillo)之间的沙漠，长达二十二个月的干旱，造成了百年来第一次玉米和豆类种子的损失。此一罪行是对文化和高贵的永续性的破坏：它可称为种族文化灭绝或低强度的战争，但这是毁灭。越是公开承认的罪行越可怕；本着经过证实的破坏性的现代化和只为销售者利益而设计的技术的名义。

“今天全球暴政的独特之处在于，它不具个人身份。”约翰·伯格(John Berger)告诉我们。它叫孟山都、安万特、黄金集团、弗里斯科。它叫墨西哥州和自由贸易协定。

One of the four hundred corn stories speaks of the time when the waters from the flood almost soared up to the sky, the rabbit jumped to the moon from the boat of those who were saved. So now, we see the rabbit in the face of the moon. The flood passed and the soil went dry. People had no other food than the meat of the drowned animals. Then appeared the Chikomexochitl, the corn child, left the cave of the hill where people's life, the water, the wind, all the seeds and fire itself were born. He introduced himself to a proud lady, she did not received him, but other persons made offerings and celebrated him. As he returned to the proud lady, she became mad, killed him with a machete and buried him in several pieces. The next day, she found out that corn plants sprouted in that burial spot. Angrily, he took her machete again and destroyed them. The next morning, the grown plants were there again.

Chikomexochitl spread everywhere, and mankind was able to live. The stories from the past are there to explain why things today happen as they do. That is why we know that maize has always had enemies: those who do not want humanity to have its own food. This is the parable of what is going on. The people from the indigenous communities of La Huasteca know that maize is not a thing, but a person; like the wind, the sun, like fire, water and earth. *Bak Ma Toma to Oya yok, Yu ki li Ut'kan*, let us respect what we eat, say the *Tepehuas Masapijní* of Tlachichilco, just as a person is respected.

They call it The Seven Flower, with its seven colors; the seven steps of its growth, and because of its many sizes. Biodiverse corn guards, as they grow in the Milpa, fifty six fruits, *quelites*, bean and broad bean, squashes, watermelons, coriander, chives, *tomatillos* and sesame, *pipianes* and *chiltepin*, grated and blackberry chiles, sweet potatoes, *yuca* and mint, papayas and orange trees, cane, *chayotes* and *chalahuites*, plums, avocados, black *zapote* and mamey. Each year, we see the miracle of the Milpa as it grows higher than three thousand meters or at sea level. Each place has its date for sowing and each plot its growth rhythm; in the cold lands, in the shadows, in the hillsides that look at the sunrise where they warm up mildly while they wait for the sunset.

At the top of Cerro Verde, you can contemplate and imagine all that Sierra territory and the Huasteca, coveted since colonial times. That is where the Milpa grew sheltered by the jungles where, according to the missionaries, the devil hid in the form of a snake, *Mahuauquite*. The devil turned out to be the resistance of the peoples—those whom no one sees on the slopes of the Vinazco River—so that their mountains and acahuales would not be deforested and the jungle would not turn out into a meadow. There are no peasants in the Sierra Madre Oriental, which opens like a delta in the range of the Huasteca, that conceive their lives away from the Milpa.

Because one sows so that there is never “a lack of”. And if the harvest is good, whatever is left over can be shared. And if everyone had a good harvest, there will be a party and *tesguino*. Joy is the reserved energy of the peoples, beyond all suffering. And with the party, the Universe is reconstructed. To affect the millenary systems of the Milpa with polluting transgenics as well as territorial invasions is a big crime against the peoples. They are already bordered by anguish over centuries of dispossession and non-inflicted climatic changes; such as the twenty-two-month drought, which—in the deserts between Torreón and Saltillo—caused the loss of the corn and bean seeds for the first time in a century.

The crime is the disruption of culture and of dignified sustainability: it can be called ethnocide or low-intensity war, but it is the undoing. Crime is more terrible the more it is confessed in public; in the name of a proven devastating modernization and a technology designed for the sole benefit of the profit maker.



“What makes today’s global tyranny different is that it is faceless” John Berger has just told us. It is called Monsanto, Aventis, Gold Group, Frisco. It is called the Mexican State and free trade agreements. In its relationship with the peoples in the country, the Mexican State has exercised abandonment, deregulation, privatization, institutional dismantling and aggression. For decades now, programs have arrived to replace orange trees with orange groves only to wait for the collapse of prices until the capital of this monoculture moved to Florida.

Now, The Gulf Tertiary Oil Assets project—formerly *Paleocanal de Chicontepec*—with Halliburton, Slumberger, and Whetherford under Pemex’s turned-into the “contractor company” letterhead, is advancing. A thousand wells of the 15 thousand yet to be constructed, opened to Article 27° with the key of “the change”, invade territories common land after common land. They are already there (in La Huasteca) with their Purchase or Rent Contracts renewable for thirty years. The assault of the miners, crazed by the gold rush, is causing the heated movement of communities and towns in; Morelos, Veracruz, San Luis Potosí, Chihuahua, Chiapas and Guerrero, on the verge of aggression.

A widespread consequence of the harassment of the communal ways of living is mass emigration to the north, when the vital base of the territory and the autonomy are under siege. Of the 9 thousand inhabitants from the Texcatepec *Otomí* municipality, more than a thousand are on the other side. And emigration is now repressed by the alliance of governments with the mafias that control the passage between Sonora and Arizona at the Altar desert. The thousands of disappeared and killed at the border and the imprisoned and deported, join the victims of the dirty war unleashed by the regime.

The young Otomies, Nahuas and Tepehuas, share work and days in the *carwash* with Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Ecuadorians, and Colombians, as well as the restaurants and the care of golf courses—from Manhattan to Massachusetts. Their body is in the Latin hustle and bustle of Roosevelt Avenue in Queens, but their nostalgia is in Boxitzá, the smallest of the Otomi communities. That set of situations is called resistance; being scattered but together, under criminal aggression and in unalienable joy.

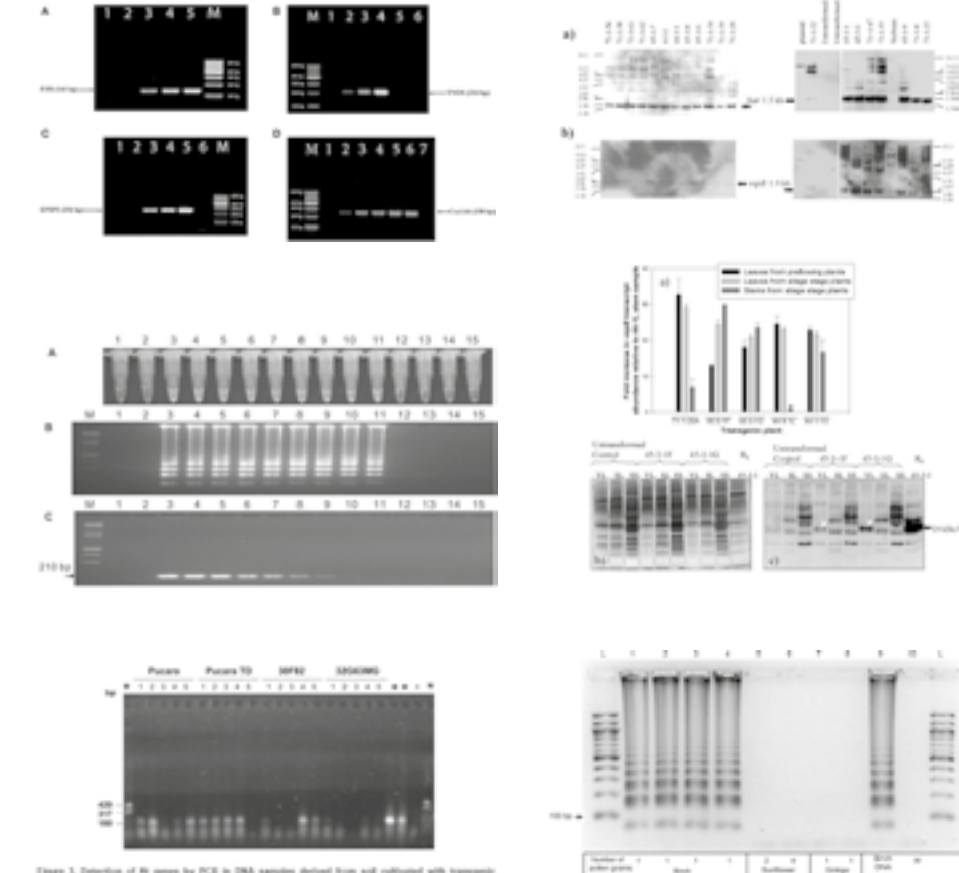
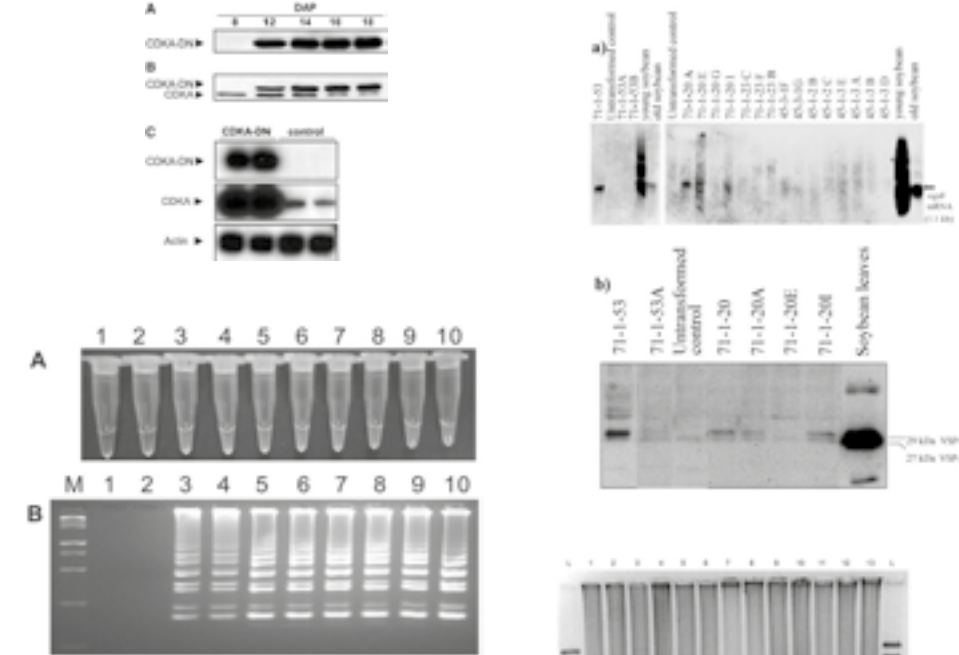
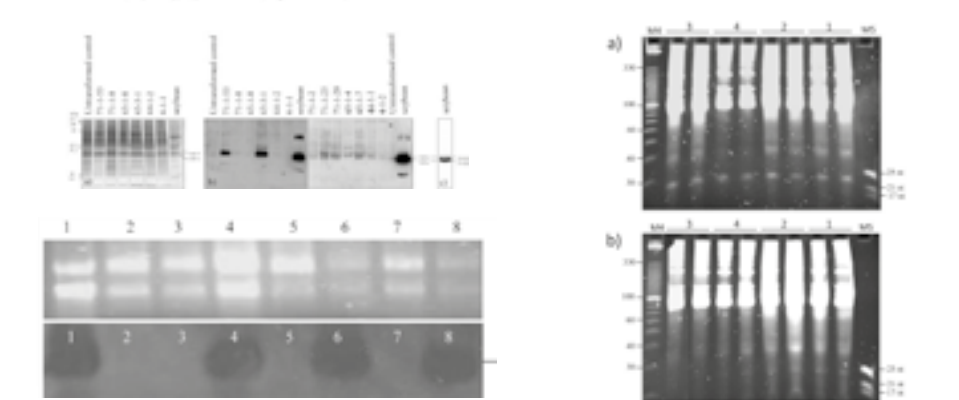
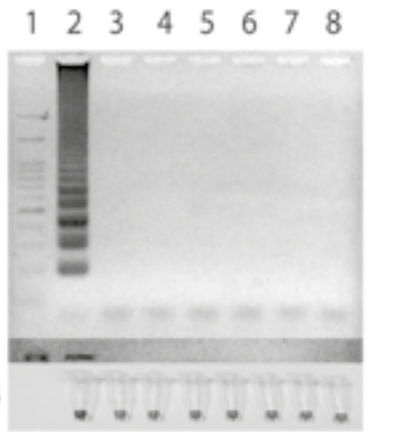
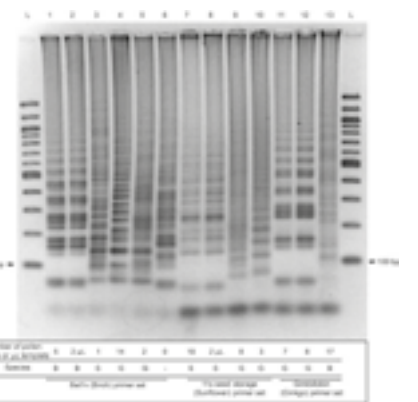
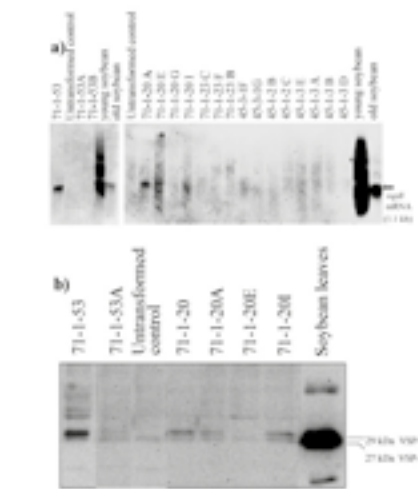
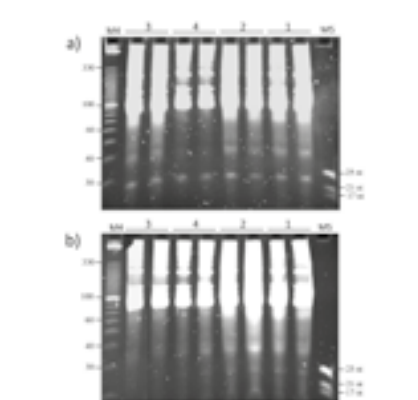


Figure 1. Southern blot analysis of 48 genes by PCR. In DNA samples derived from soil and cultivated with transgenic plants. The blots show bands of varying intensity, indicating the presence of specific genes.



1. A milpa is a field, usually but not always recently cleared, in which farmers plant a dozen crops at once including maize, avocados, multiple varieties of squash and bean, melon, tomatoes, chilis, sweet potato, jicama, amaranth, and mucuna.... Milpa crops are nutritionally and environmentally complementary. Maize lacks the amino acids lysine and tryptophan, which the body needs to make proteins and niacin;.... Beans have both lysine and tryptophan.... Squashes, for their part, provide an array of vitamins; avocados, fats. The milpa, in the estimation of H. Garrison Wilkes, a maize researcher at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, “is one of the most successful human inventions ever created.” — Charles C. Mann, 1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus.[3]



MAIZE & COMMUNALITY: A FUTURE OF OUR OWN

Kiado Cruz (2014)

我們的大地之母像我們的母親一樣照顧我們：她孕育了我們，并且抚养我們，亦即，她喂养我们，提供我们所需一切。她是我們的。单是她的名字Didzalyuu（生生不息的大自然）告訴了我們：我們全是一个家庭、一个扩展的很大的家庭的一部分。我們的土壤的存在，表明且意味著那将我们与所有之物连结起来的家庭關係的存在。因此，我們用不同的親屬關係來互相称呼。所以，我們对彼此負責。我們都是兄弟。那么，大地是我們的母親，它不代表任何商業價值。大地之母不能成為購買銷售商品。此一原則適用於Bëne Xhidza（我们萨波特克人）以及其他許多部族。此一断言容易理解。一個出賣自己的女人成了妓女。出賣他母親的兒子把她變成了一名妓女，並改變了自己的本性...

I belong to the community of Santa Cruz Yagavila, in the Sierra de Juárez. My navel is buried there and that of my grandparents. I live there. My family flourishes in there, next to the milpa we grow.

Maybe, I should say: I am the community. It is true that I belong to it and that it belongs to me. But, each of us is the community. The community is nothing other than ourselves, it only exists in the We that we are. We are a culturally specific collectivity, structured in a fabric of social relationships based on the principle of reciprocity. It is a collectivity that permanently occupies its own territory. The network of our relationships becomes even denser and complex through our participation in the tequios, the assemblies and the parties. It is an open but obligatory participation, which certifies us as members of the community. And so, we are community in a communal territory and we cyclically reaffirm we belong to it through participation in the collective, in the fulfillment of our responsibilities and obligations.



For some years now, the Zapotec communities of *Rincón de la Sierra*, Juárez, like other "Indian" communities, have been using the word communality to try to explain what we are to others. We use it as a symbol of both; our convivial way of living and of our communal being foundation. With that word we also want to show the difference between our way of being and the one prevailing in the rest of Mexican society. Our life unfolds mainly in the community, where we live communally, where communality flourishes. That is our place. The community is also the principal place of the maize. It has always been like this. Because "here, in this part of the world, maize was born. Our grandparents raised it. With it they themselves grew up, by forging one of history's greatest civilizations. The oldest house of maize is in our lands. From this place in the universe it went to other parts of the world."

Cultural, historical, old and particular roots have made maize and communality be the guiding principles of our life. From these roots we try to guide the life of our peoples towards being peoples. However, nowadays communality is a motive for discussion, agitation, and mobilization. We have not turned it into an ideology of combat, but it has become necessary to affirm ourselves in it in order to show what we are, because the communal being as a culturally specific form is being threatened, with the same warning that weighs on our maize. Our conception of life is expressed through our language and through a set of knowledge within ourselves and what surrounds us; it has trained us into the communal way of living among all natural and supernatural beings. Maize occupies a fundamental place in our life and the communal holds an elemental place in our maize culture. We are maize people. Grain is our brother, the foundation of our culture, a reality in our present. It is at the center of our daily life: It never fails to appear in our diet, we know that it is also present in a quarter of the products we buy in stores, it is the heart of rural life, and it is also an ingredient in urban life we cannot do without.

Maize and communality explain us; both determine our way of thinking, feeling, of being. We cannot comprehend ourselves without them.

A new plague has been settling among us, threatening maize and communality alike. It infects us without notice. It penetrates the deepest part of our communal being in the same way that it pollutes the maize ears in our cornfields. It is the virus of economy. It is not, in fact, a new plague; it came with the Spaniards, 500 years ago, but today it has a new form, more infectious than ever. During colonial times, we offered continuous resistance. This sickness arrived packed in a new religion and in new political institutions. For us, both its packaging and content were expressions of foreign and strange powers that tried to exercise their command over us. We grieved it for centuries and it occupied our territories in different ways. It came to dominate our bodies but not our hearts—if we call that our ways of being. We managed to continue being ourselves, even though we had to disguise what we were and pretend that we adopted all the imposed forms. This is how we did it. Even with religious beliefs, those which we seem to have adopted from the outside. Actually, we have managed to transform them to live them in our way.

With the now Independent Mexico, the plague took many different forms. In the 19th century, it had the form of the *haciendas*, which stripped us from our territories and wanted to turn us into the pawns of the *hacendados*. In the 20th century, it appeared as government constructions and as modernization. We fought economic aggressions again and again—in our way. Twenty-five years ago, for example, the plague set off a profound conflict within our region so we could recover our forests, which had been awarded through concessions to private companies and officials that were destroying them. We then rose against those forces that were killing us and we recovered them. The current form of the plague is more dangerous than all the previous ones, since it does not appear as something alien, external or imposed. The economic way of being of modern individuals is presented as if it were something natural and common to all. We are continually told that adopting an economic behavior; dancing to the music played by the economy and learning, for example, to be competitive in production and trade, is not only necessary to survive, but very convenient for our life. Therefore, that economic way of being is introduced into our communities in a subtle way—for which we have not built appropriate defenses.

What is happening now with maize acutely illustrates the gap that has been opening up between our way of being, which we want to take care of, and the dominant way of thinking. For several years, the government has the obsession to put an end to our maize. The officials are convinced that continuing to cultivate it does not make sense. They tell us, time and time again, that we cannot compete with United States' producers. They do not just say it. They act upon it. They have a policy that explicitly wants us to abandon the cultivation of our maize so that we become the market that North American producers need. It seems that our officials are more concerned with the interests of these producers than with ours.

It is not about theoretical arguments, but practices that affect us directly. In the *Sierra de Juárez*, the government sells maize brought from the north of the United States and sells it at half the price it runs locally. This practice discourages our production. It's true that the maize they sell us does not compare to ours. We know that the one over there is grown for pigs, not for people. *Tortillas* do not taste the same. We continue looking for our good Creole maize, but sometimes we do not do well in the harvest and we have to go buy some maize. We cannot afford it all the time and we fall into the need to buy those cheaper grains.

That is how contamination with transgenic maize came about and it has become a national and international scandal. We discovered that in here; in the global epicenter of maize, in this place of prodigious diversity, where we have thousands of own varieties and an immense genetic richness, our maize was contaminated by the transgenic one. A person who had bought it for consumption wanted to try some seeds, to see how it sprouted, and the contamination began. We are fighting against that; we serenely discuss it in the communities, we try to get all the possible information and we join with other groups interested in the same struggle. On the last March 10th, we announced to the world that, in Oaxaca, we will no longer allow transgenic maize. We will not let them in. We have been organizing to stop them, providing that government is still stubborn in wanting to bring them in.

The government's obsession is not about maize and market only. What we are, is uncomfortable for them too. 15 years ago, a Secretary of Agriculture stated that his obligation, in that office, was to get rid of ten million peasants. He had to get them out the rural sector in order to modernize agriculture. On December 6th, 2000, the new Secretary of Agriculture, who took office under President Fox, declared that the goal had been increased. He considered that he had to get rid of 20 million peasants. That only then could peasants themselves and the country prosper. We think that they cannot see with their eyes or feel with their hearts. We think that they use Economy glasses for everything and, for them, there is no other reality than the market. They want to reduce everything to their happy accounts, to the numbers of profit and loss. Maize is a simple commodity, just like any other. Everything must be governed by price, by the famous laws of supply and demand. For them, we ourselves are a commodity. We must sell ourselves to the highest bidder. Since they no longer buy from us

here, as farmers we must emigrate, to be hired somewhere else for a good salary, or we must dedicate ourselves to something else: leaving our cornfields and working, for example, in a *maquiladora* (produce in large amounts). How to explain what maize means to us? How to let them know that their way of thinking, feeling and acting constitutes an unbearable form of offense? Three years ago, during the celebration of our communal statute, the Community Property Commissioner said some words that I treasure dearly:

The ground that we walk represents Our Mother nature, which has picked us up and sustains us. When we work on it, we do not desecrate it, but rather we work as laborers in the context of the sacred. It is the maize through which Mother Nature feeds us. It is meat of our flesh, since we are people of maize. So, we must pick it up to show the respect we owe, both to our soil and our brother the maize (...)

Our Mother Earth takes care of us like our mothers do: she carries us and sustains us, that is, she feeds is and she provides us with things we need. She is ours. Her name alone Didzal yuu tells us that we are all part of a family, a much extended one. The presence of our soil signals and implies the existence of family ties that couples us with ours. Hence, we apply different kinship names to call upon each other. Therefore, we become responsible for one another. We are all brothers. Now, earth is our mother, it does not represent any commercial value. Mother Earth cannot become purchase sale merchandise. This principle applies for the Bène Xhidza as well as many other peoples. The affirmation is easy to understand. A woman that sells herself becomes a prostitute. The son that sells his mother turns her into a prostitute and denaturalizes himself...

"Where are the children who want to sell their mother? They are only those who forgot that Earth is their Mother. They despise it, they ruin it and thus forge their own destruction, that of their family and that of the mother who has picked us and who feeds us all. Not "imprisoning" a part of living Nature means not admitting our own imprisonment ".



Just a few days ago, I was going with my grandfather to the cornfield when he said these words: *The milpa is sad if we do not visit her. She expects us to live with her, just as we long to see her. It is the same desire that drives us and makes us accelerate our pace when we return to the hut, so we can look, salute and embrace our own.*

Maize does not represent only a marketable product. Nor is it just food to satisfy hunger. When we see the *milpa* day after day, when visiting it every day, the *Bène Xhidza* do not think of values of change or values of use, but of a vital relationship like that between brothers, companions or relatives. So to speak, we are in love with our *milpa*. We long to see her as the groom longs to see his beloved girlfriend. When we talk about love we do not deny that the *milpa* feeds us, but that is not all; it is more generous because it satisfies our sight and it fills our hearts with joy. She also does this by giving us food, but before eating the first tender corn cob we must: see the cornfield swaying in the wind, listen to the bushes that move, and observe the daily change of colors, height, bursting, the *jilotear*... When visiting the cornfield day after day we celebrate the encounters with life. For this reason, maize feeds our bodies and our hearts. Maize has a value much greater than its use. Its heart becomes sad like our hearts when we are far away from those we love. It has feelings that transcend its commercial value just like our relatives do not have a utilitarian value, without denying the fact that they are useful to us because we help each other.

In our community we live with the *milpa*, our sister and a subject like all of us. Ultimately, the dominant knowledge has become too blind to perceive the goodness of the earth that sustains it in body and heart. Through the hearts it maintains so many things in the world, so the ground is source of life for all of us who have hearts.

"That's the maize for us. We think about it, we feel it, we live it." I have given an example of how government actions affect our situation by selling subsidized maize in their stores. But the invasion is very broad and general, with other government actions that add to those of the market. Both are supported by the media, which bombs us continuously to teach us to want what others produce and to be like others are...

The plague has a virulent form. Everything contaminates it. Our comrades are forced to emigrate, and, on their return, they often bring the virus, which has already conquered their hearts. Others, without leaving the community, acquire it through contagion; from things coming from the outside, and from people. In the same way that transgenics polluted our maize without us realizing it, without being able to avoid it because we did not even know it was there, the virus of the economy infects us and penetrates our communities without us noticing. We do not even know it's there. Sometimes, we discover it when it's too late. Our healers do not have good remedies for this new disease.

Fortunately, we have been able to learn from someone else's mistakes. We have seen what has happened to other communities, how they have been torn apart and the economy dissolved. Many of those who have emigrated, to other cities in Mexico or to the United States, return well chastened. There is a clear account of what is lost in the economic society, although apparently there is prosperity coming from many goods and services. Those emigrants help us wake up and take good care of our own.

Thus, we are in a new fight, which has been associated with the word autonomy. Since communality is the structure of our organization, through it we have thrived, and new generations are raised. We are inspired to react by it.

Based on our experience and the conditions that surround us, we are giving shape to our own thoughts. We are rescuing our history, which still lives in the memories of our grandparents, to save us from what they say in schools and is still the version that the conquerors have written. We are reassessing what our people know about themselves. We appreciate our customs once again, by checking their vitality, their firmness, their advantages. In this exploration self-exploration, we have been breaking with the idea that they wanted to impose on us; Man is the center of the universe. We thus return its place to Mother Earth and establish ourselves again in the cosmic center. In the same movement, with the impulse that allows us to affirm ourselves, we strengthen the criticism of all forms of domination that governments and capital owners want to practice over us, eager to occupy and exploit our lands.

Those of us who were born, have learned and have worked in our Zapotec communities in the Rincón de la Sierra Juárez, have been reading what other people have written about us or about the world in general. But we have been quiet. Those who write about our people have the means of dissemination, the opportunity to publish all their stories and reflections, the ears of the public. We do not have those means. We are still seen as ignorant people, unable to think for ourselves. It is not only that there are few attentive ears to listen to what we have to say, but that we have condemned ourselves to silence. We have come to doubt everything about us. Devalued by everything and by all, we have come to devalue ourselves.

Now is the time to speak. The times demand it. We cannot and should not keep quiet. Every day it is more evident that we need to make ourselves felt, that it is important to make ourselves heard. Above all, we need to combat the versions of those who betray the voice of our people and use our name. We also need to be present in the actual confrontation of ideas and realities, which has been running against us. Every day that passes, the aggressions we receive are more sophisticated, they are no longer as brutal as in the time of the Colony, the Reform or the *Porfiriato*; today, its way of annihilating us is much subtler. Therefore, now more than ever, we must think that the more sophisticated their aggressions are, the more sophisticated our resistance should be.

The current struggle of the Indian peoples is oriented towards the construction of autonomous ways of life within the bust of the national society.

We affirm our right to self-determination, but we do not want to use that freedom to separate ourselves from other Mexicans and create an independent state. We want to continue being Mexicans. However, instead of the exclusionary form of social organization that has prevailed until now in the country and has continuously discriminated against us, we seek the many worlds that can coexist in harmony. As we affirmed in the motto of the National Indigenous Congress, "Never again a Mexico without us" we want to strengthen our own ways of being, clearly differentiated, in a new open, plural, and inclusive country.

The autonomy we defend is grounded in our historical experience of community organization. From the communality an autonomy is built with the same closeness to our being as our skin is close to our body. Autonomy is not such if it is separated from self-management, and it is precisely that communality that has generated solid self-management experiences in our lives, in the exercise of local power, in the regional economic articulation, in the procurement of justice, health, education...

If we understand autonomy and self-management as the social capacity to take charge of our things by ourselves, without the intervention of external agents, we can see without difficulty the extent to which our communities have practiced autonomy from immemorial times and they continue practicing it until now. The culture of maize is one of the most remarkable examples of that capacity. From the maize culture, in its bosom, we have had everything necessary to live, to flourish, to heal...



It has not been the State that has taken care of our health. Never. On the contrary, from the colonial State or with the independent Mexico came all kinds of diseases that decimated our peoples. With our own knowledge, with our own strength, appealing to tradition and autonomy, we were able to rebuild our lives and appease the aggressions of the environment. We learned in our own way, in freedom, and we gave historical continuity to our culture without the need of teachers, who arrived, on the contrary, to try to extinguish us. We resolved our own conflicts without having to resort to hostile and alien laws or hire lawyers...

All the time, however, we had to act against the dominant currents, fighting against everything and against everyone. As the new plague has spread, we have been losing some of our self-management capabilities. We have fallen into various forms of dependence on external agents to meet our needs and solve our problems. We now depend on the market or the State in many aspects of our daily life. An autonomic perspective can't ignore this. Nor does it suggest trying to isolate oneself. Much less implies the illusory attempt to return to the past, reversing the story. We have learned for centuries to incorporate what comes from outside wisely. We know how to transform it so that it incorporates healthily into what is ours and instead of dissolving it, it enriches it. The best example is, undoubtedly, that of the plow, which was brought by the Spaniards, but we have managed to turn it into something of our own, the seal of origin completely lost. We have done the same with many other ideas, things, practices, institutions. So, we need to continue doing it, through a new breath of cultural regeneration.

Firmly settled in our tradition and in our own way of being, we encourage hope when continuing to walk along our path, with maize and communality. We also think that both can inspire us to state out loud what we can contribute with, what we recommend to have a more just world, a decolonized world, a plural world, a democratic and respectful world of our own and of others.

Santa Cruz de Yagavilla, Rincón de la Sierra Juárez, Oaxaca.

COMMUNITY & COMMUNALITY

Floriberto Díaz Gómez (2004)

“对我们印第安人来说，社群 (community) 是什么？我必须直截了当地说：‘社群’不是墨西哥印第安人的词汇，但它最接近我们想表达的意思。与西方[线性]概念相反，原住民社群是一种几何的形状。它不是一个抽象定义；实际上，要理解这个词的含义，我们必须指出允许某个特殊共同体成立的本要素：

- 每个原住民社群都具有以下要素
- 根据占有有所划分和界定的领土。
- 通过口语传播、世世代代流传下来的共同历史。
- 社群的人使用一种语言变体，并以此作为界定我们共同的语言。
- 一个定义何谓政治、文化、社会、公民、经济和宗教的组织。
- 一个负责司法执行和管理的社群系统。“

“.....在一个社群中建立一套关系，首先是人与空间之间的关系，其次是人与人之间的关系。这些关系有其规则，以自然本身为起点作为诠释，并由世代相传的经验获得界定。对Tlahuitoltepecan 人来说，阿约克 (Ayuujk) 意为社群，它被描述为某种具体的东西，显然使用了nájx (土地)、kájp (村庄) 等字眼。其解读是：nájx (土地) 使kájp (村庄) 的存在成为可能，但村庄 (kájp) 赋予土地意义 (nájx)。以此为起点，我们可以理解到两个元素[人/地方和土地]之间的相互关联和相互依存。在这个意义上，社群的基本定义可以是：人们为重建和改造自然而采取行动的空间，而其中的主要关系是通过工作所产生的土地和人的关系。”

I wanted to express, in the following pages, what I think should be essential as we invite the Mixes and the foreigners to reflect upon our ideas and understandings, which have become a reality in our family and community life. I did not want to generalize, but to particularize this reflection from a community standpoint, from where I am doing this analysis.

From the outset, I have to assume that I argue with the thesis that postulates the multiethnic regional autonomy as the only autonomy one should speak about and the one that considers other forms of autonomy as cheap literature (such as Héctor Díaz-Polanco, Guadalajara, Jal., October 1994). The autonomist proposal that pretends to be The truth easily becomes dogmatic and narrow-minded; in one way or another transpires racism and arrogance, and in the case of Mexico, it ignores Indigenous realities. I believe (for mental hygiene) that the discussion about the autonomies cannot come only from theoretical dissertations but, above all, from reflecting on concrete realities in which certain autonomous practices are nuanced, preserved despite and even against the dominant nation-State.

So far, the regional autonomous experiences make sense only as political wedges; as pressure mechanisms to force the State to sit down and dialogue in order to find solutions to the expressed demands from communities framed in a certain region and to some matters of general

concern. Autonomies that originate from academic proposals have not been able to become a reality as a form of organization and of concrete life in a community or region. At least so far. However, to speak about autonomies as we have done here, not only brings rejection from the government-State, but also kills its existence possibilities as a way to improve the living conditions of communities or social areas in which it is intended to be introduced. On the other hand, we must not ignore the conflictive relationships that exist between the communities of a particular indigenous village and the different indigenous peoples at the border.

If the outcome of this exercise is, in fact, negative, we must bear in mind that it happens around a conflicted and circumstantial environment. And as long as a certain strength against the State can be maintained, it will be maintained; but, once the conflictive relationship has been resolved, what will be the force that will maintain the autonomy if the small problems reappear? Those, which can be forgotten in the face of common problems and common aspirations. It is important to enrich the discussion based on concrete regional experiences, which still exist due to the strength of the Indigenous communities and its peoples. In this sense, the autonomy debate would be maintained in the dynamic of a social process, not only *de facto*, but in its discourse and theoretical interpretation.

We could then speak about several levels of autonomy: community, municipal, intercommunity, intermunicipal; the set of communities of a single people, among other indigenous peoples and other social sectors. It is, therefore, fundamental to listen to the result of the reflections that develop from Indian practices, which militancy exists at the same communities and not from the entity's metropolis or from the country itself; an objective rejection that many times is manifested as paternalism or as condescending solidarity.

Thus, I do not rule out the value of the contributions that academic studies have done regarding autonomies; but, I support the need to enrich the discussion under a framework of complementary availability of ideas, under the motto that autonomy—in idea and practice—should be approached as a social and political process. From the perspective of community and intercommunity organizations, or even intermunicipal, we can speak about different experiences, when model communities exercise control over their internal decisions and their proper executions. Every group of people that has lived for several centuries develops a philosophy towards life and death; between the known and the unknown; as a group of human beings in front of the other beings that live and inhabit the Earth, like the Common Mother. It is not always easy for the same people to explain what

their philosophy consists of, or what its essential elements are. However, other entities actually intend to do it; but, in their attempt often enunciate the elements without getting to understand them in depth, because they are not part of their daily life, and if they know them it is reason instead that has found them though their own investigations. In this sense, its contribution becomes trustworthy; it constitutes a reflection that should motivate even greater reflection among the interested parties.

To that end, I suggest we seek an understanding of what has come to be called an Indigenous community. This search will allow us to have a clearer reference of what we are talking about, and to what extent the autonomic proposal can be positive, even for the ruling group itself: Instead of being manipulated as opposition to the nation-State, it can become a more elaborate form of the cellular-political organization of the Mexican State. We can use the same words as concepts, but it is very likely that we are symbolically understanding different things, even contradictory things. An example could be to study different dictionaries in order to illustrate the similarity or divergence in the meaning of community:

State of what is common: *the community of our interests. Religious society subject to a common rule: a community of clarissans.* (SINÓN. Congregation, order, brotherhood, V.tb. Corporation). - PL Ant. Popular uprisings: *las comunidades de Clarisas* (the communities of Castile). For. *Community of goods*, profit regime. ¹ (lat. *Communitas, -atis*) s.f. 1. Quality of common. 2. Set of inhabitants of a place. 3. Set of people who live together under certain rules. 4. Autonomous C. Region that, within the State, is constituted by a Government and powers to manage its own interests. 5. C. Of goods. Right of property that several people have on the same thing. 6. C. Of neighbors. Set of floor owners in a building, with the mission to solve common problems.² Attribution to several people of one or more rights or assets. The community constitutes the genre of which the co-ownership or condominium constitute the species.³ It is obvious that each dictionary writes things similarly, but there are details that make them different; they all give us an idea that is related to property. Ordinarily, for an academic or for a politician in Western culture, the community is a simple aggregate of individuals from their egocentric isolation. In this sense, this is how the definition of the whole can be understood; t is an arithmetic community. What is a community for us, the Indians? I have to say from the outset that it is a word that is not Indigenous, but it is the one that comes closest to what we want to say. The Indigenous community is geometric as opposed to the Western concept. It is not about a definition in the abstract, but to understand it I point out the foundational elements that allow the constitution of a concrete community.

Every indigenous community possesses the following elements:

- A territorial space delineated and defined by possession.
- A common history, circulating by oral tradition from one generation to another.

- A variant of the language, starting from what we identify as our common language.
- An organization that defines what is political, cultural, social, civil, economic and religious.
- A community system of enforcement and administration of justice.

Any anthropologist or sociologist knows that, considered from a wider perspective, these characteristics are similar to those of a Western nation-State.

That is, an Indigenous community is not to be understood solely as a set of houses with people. Instead it is about people with a history, a past, present and future, which cannot only be defined specifically, physically, but also spiritually and in relation to *la naturaleza toda* (the entire nature). What we are able to appreciate from the community is what is most visible, the tangible, the phenomenal. In a community, a set of relationships is established: First, between people and space. Second, between people. There are rules for these relationships, interpreted with nature itself as the starting point and defined by the experiences of generations. In the *Tlahuitoltepecana* variant of *Ayuijk*, community is described as something physical, apparently, using the words of *nájx* (earth), *kájp* (village). Interpreting: *nájx* (Earth) makes possible the existence of *kájp* (village), but the village (kájp) gives meaning to the Earth (nájx). From this starting point, we gain an understanding of the interrelationship and interdependence of both elements [people/place and earth]. In this sense, a basic definition of the community can be thought as; the space in which people take actions for recreating and transforming nature, while the primary relationship is that of the Earth with people and through work. The explanation of communal components takes us into the cerebral-spinal dimension of community, its immanence. We refer to its dynamics, to the underlying and active energy between and among human beings and of human beings with each and every one of the elements of nature. It means that when we speak of organization, rules, communal principles, we are not referring just to the physical space and material existence of human beings, but to their spiritual existence, to their ethical and ideological code and, therefore, to their political, social, legal, cultural, economic, and civil behavior.

The essence of the phenomenon is explained under the concept of communality, which for me defines the immanence of the community. To the extent that communality defines other key concepts in understanding indigenous reality; it should be understood not as something in opposition to, but as simply different from Western society. Coming to understand its elements requires taking into account certain notions: the communal, collective, complementarity and completeness. Unless we bear in mind the communal and completeness aspects of what we try to understand and explain, our knowledge will always be limited.According to what was mentioned above, we can understand the elements that define a community as:

The land as mother and territory. Free service as an authority exercise. Collective work as a recreational act. Rites and ceremonies as the expression of the communal gift.

The land is a mother to us, bringing us to life, feeding us and picking us up from her insides. We belong to her, and for that reason we are not the owners of any land. The relationship between a mother and her offspring is not a matter of propriety, but of mutual belonging. Our mother is sacred, thanks to her we also are. The land as a territory and an aspect of our understanding. Each natural element completes a necessary function with the whole and this completeness concept is present in other aspects of our life. It is not possible to separate the atmosphere from the ground nor this from the underground—it is the Earth, as a totalizing space. In this territory where we learn the meaning of equality because human beings are not more nor less in relation to the rest of living beings. That is, because life on Earth is like that. The difference, not the superiority, of people relies essentially in their ability to think and choose to order and rationally use that what exists. As human beings, we enter into a relationship with the land in two ways: through work, regarding the territory, and through the family and communal rites and ceremonies, regarding the mother. This relationship is not established separately from its forms. It is normally established in a single moment and space. Except when, for example, the communal adjacencies receive an offering. In this case, the relationship is simply ritualistic, because ownership through work is not established, even though the previous existence of this objective relationship is supposed to happen at a family level. In the sacred relationship, the concept of the *Mixetlahuitoltepecan* religiosity is also defined. Grandparents say that people cannot feed themselves if they do not honor the providing land with what they now possess. The relationship between people and land allows to define the concept of a life-giving creator; what is more, only through it the community's trinity concept is explained.

The trinity as a notion to explain the being and presence of the life-giving creator has two meanings: a horizontal one and a vertical one.

In the horizontal aspect, we have the following points:

1. "Where I sit and stand".
2. "In the portion of the land occupied by my community in order to be me.
3. The land as a mother of living beings.

má ntsééni má ntaniſ m"ts é npujx nkájp t'y'et nyájx) et naxw'ii'ny'it.

In the vertical aspect, the height is the reference people make to that of the hierophantic mountain.

3. The universe, *tsájp naxwii'nyit*
2. The mountain, *tunaaw kojpkáaw*
1. Where I sit and stand, *má ntsééni ma ntani*

"The catholic church believes that when the *Tlahuitoltepecans* throw three drops of any alcoholic beverage to the ground we do it in honor of the Christian trinity: father, son and Holy Spirit... the truth is that, our grandparents make old priests believe that!" But it is fair to say that the trinity is a universal religious concept, and not a Christian attribute only. It is evident that the trinity concept among *Tlahuitoltepecans* is not a religious elite secret, instead it refers to the quotidian with

a deep sense of respect for the land and all creation. The notion of God, as a life-giving creator, comes from the understanding of the immensity inside living beings that coexist with people. In the face of a Common Mother, the Mixe community feels like something else next to other living beings. They admit their lesser abilities and strength during the first days, weeks and months of life, but they also admit their superiority in regards to their sensibility and comprehension of other living beings. This is why they feel responsible to work as a labor of co-creation and recreation. To accept the notion of a life-giving creator, defining the supreme being, means not to harbor any doubt regarding their end and meaning after death, for *ayuij kjü'dy* there is no hell, but a common place of rest where everybody will eventually go, the place of our grandparents, where all will eventually meet.

People, that is to say human beings, relate with the life-giving creator through the land, it is the mediator, a hierophanic mother by definition, through which people look at themselves just like in a mirror. For that reason, God, the life-giving creator does not relate with the modern notion of Western nation-state. The consensus in assembly for decision making. Following the Harmony Principle among all living beings; people are looking for a way to make each inhabitant act in favor of the community; thinking about the others before thinking in oneself. From a modern perspective, in any judiciary system, it is pretty similar to the "common good" that defines rights and obligations.

While in each family there is a power principle embodied in the male-father, and even more after colonial indoctrination, in the community the authority principle is doubled, making each person father and mother. A power continuity exists between family and community, but as long as the father's authority is seen as something natural, the authorities within a community do not yield power for the same reason they are selected and accepted in communal assemblies.

A community is a set of families that require individuals to fulfill their paternal-maternal roles. Particularly, superior to that of the head of the families: the command qualities must be combined with comprehension and paternal orientation. And this is what the community looks for when choosing who must be their father-mother.

The general assembly, composed by all the communals with sons and daughters, has the faculty to bestow the power upon the appointed people so they can provide their annual service to their community.

It is important to analyze this subject area to see what has been the process in the community assemblies in *Thahuitoltepec*, particularly from the 70s onwards.

In the beginning, all the assistants participated in the assembly with their voice and approval. However, in reality there have been times and circumstances that haven't benefitted the popular expression, reducing their role to merely raising hands, just being a number for those in command.

One can say, with all certainty, that the impoverishment of the general assembly came from the outside, one of the most important instruments being the education system. In particular, when people with studies began to occupy positions of command within the community, they introduced rules they learned by observing and forced the rest to observe within the school classrooms with students: not to speak haphazardly, but one by one, raise your hand if you want to talk, do not make noise, and so on. This practice introduced in the early 70s, the adoption of decisions by majority vote, by counting raised arms, replacing whispering and consensus. In a gradual way, the communal-citizens started losing interest in participating at the assemblies, making the authorities and the students responsible for everything. What was lost with those Western modalities? When holding a general assembly, even in the sixties, the following rules could be clearly distinguished:

1. It was an obligation of the authorities to hold the assemblies that were necessary during their year of service, to inform, consult and adopt the most acceptable decisions for almost all communals-citizens of both sexes.

2. For communals-citizens it was an obligation to attend; otherwise, they were punished. Almost nobody missed the assembly.

3. All the authorities had the obligation to preside over the assemblies, nobody could be absent, nor be in a state of drunkenness, especially the heads and the holders. Not complying was taken as an evident lack of respect toward the authorities and a sanction was expected from the same assembly.

4. The authorities had to know how to speak with respect before the assembly, know how to address it well. That is, they had to demonstrate their gift of command and respect for the power and dignity of the community.

5. The authorities usually started by reporting everything they had been doing in relation to the decisions taken at the previous meeting, if any, or expressing their plans. When there were matters that deserved the discussion and approval of the assembly, they had to clearly state the issue: why, how, when, with what, where. Normally, when they finished, they asking humbly for a word with the assembly, pointing out their mistakes and how to correct them.

6. When things were not very clear, the elders asked for more explaining.

7. When all this was done, the whispering of the members began in spontaneous groups. The entire municipal courtyard became a space where one could think of the existence of thousands of bees or bumblebees.

8. Just as they began to whisper, the voices faded as well, leaving the elders with the task of passing the word, the message, to the authorities.

9. At this point the role of the authorities became the collectors of the opinions to be grouped, according to their similarities, because in the end they had to present them before the assembly to corroborate if they were right or not.

10. Finally, the authorities turned to the assembly and presented the proposals or answers that had coincided, looking for the way not to discard any of the lesser coincidences, but taking elements from them to enrich the former. Thus, none could feel rejected and decisions were made without major problem, although there could be some radical dissent.

11. The assemblies usually ended well, without desertions.

12. The authorities were grateful for the authorities' leadership and encouraged them to move forward.

13. The authorities in turn usually ended up thanking everyone and providing more general recommendations for the observance of good behaviors within the community.

If the foregoing constituted the fundamental characteristics of a community assembly, what follows next could characterize the period from the seventies onward, except for some occasions in which the twisted has been straightened out. To point them out is precisely to seek new ways to respond, before any other interest or style from the authorities themselves, to the demands for respect in the community.

1. Except for the first assembly of the year, in January, normally for the authorities to hold assemblies was an annoyance, they argued that people got tired. This means that the decisions were adopted without further consultation than those of the *Cabildo* and were refuted at the end of the year or when they were replaced by new authorities.

2. The communals-citizens know their obligation to attend the assemblies but they no longer occur, even if they are threatened with punishment. And it has come to pass that when someone thinks about questioning the authorities, they are imprisoned (1995). It is true that there are other causes for not attending the assemblies, such as the migration that has increased to the cities and other communities, but even before they fulfilled their responsibility.

3. It is common now that the head authorities no longer preside over the assemblies; although the council of elders criticizes these attitudes acutely, there are people who do not cause any blushing public attention calls and relapse, sometimes even with tricks. And there is some complicity between the same authorities.

4. Although, in general, the authorities are still respectful of the assembly, there are some who confront it when the decisions adopted do not attend to their wishes. It has reached the point of having some Assemblyman jailed as a warning when questioned. This means that the authorities can practice abuse of power easily.

5. Certain authorities manipulate the information and lead the assembly to support the proposals, previously prepared and only ask citizens to be defined by the proposal that best convinces them and raise their hands, without others influencing their decisions. That is to say, the whispering of the assembly is rejected and it is preferable to shorten time by counting raised arms.

6. Assemblies now end as they begin: people arrive little by little, and so they leave the place, so that they do not cover the last points in the agenda. People get bored or do not feel motivated to participate until the end.

PERSPECTIVES

In the communal administration corresponding to the triennium of 1994-1996 and in agreement with the municipal authorities of 1994, a process of community-assembly reconstruction was initiated. Due to having a very dispersed population throughout the communal territory, periodic assemblies of information and discussion were designed and agreed in seven places: in the Texas ranches, Santa Cruz, Guadalupe Victoria, Nejapa, Las Flores, the Bean and the Center. In addition, a Council of Elders and Principals, ending with the holding of a general assembly. Normally, the three axis around which the assemblies revolved were: agrarian affairs, municipal affairs and school committee matters of the *Ranchería* (in this specific case: of the "rancherías").

It was clear that during 1994 the participation of the communals gradually increased, both in number and in contribution to the discussion. Likewise, the participation of the people in the general assemblies was strengthened, reaching a maximum of a little more than 1300 persons, but not less than 800 during the whole year, against the 600 assistants in the assemblies that had become something already traditional in the last lustrums.

However, during 1995 participation in the general meetings fell substantially to almost the same level as in the previous years. Starting the year with more or less 800 people and going to less than 300 people in one of the calls. Despite of this situation, the *Rancherías* always had enough people, and it remained in almost the same amount of attendees.

The explanation given to this phenomenon varies, depending on the place where it occurred:

- People are tired of the same thing.
- People easily lose interest.
- When held at the ranches, people do not feel the need to go to the general assembly.
- The main authorities do not go to the Rancherías.
- There is not a clear understanding between the communal and municipal authorities.
- The municipal authorities are not interested in informing and consulting the population to make their decisions.
- Because if people question the authorities, they can be imprisoned (as in 1995).

The place where less people participate in the assembly that corresponds, is the

Center. Moreover, some people there began to disclose that the consultation assemblies were divisive actions by the authorities (it must be understood that these are the agrarian authorities). This caused that the agrarian authorities in the fourth and last route by the "rancherías "had to put under consultation of the own communals if in fact they felt the assemblies like an invitation to be divided, and so that those of the Center gave their point of view. There are certain indicators, not necessarily hierarchical, that encouraged us to proceed with the consultations:

1. Population growth in Tlahuitoltepec is permanent and high. More than 300 births are registered per year. The population that used to go through agricultural seasons to their ranches has been forming real ranches with populations of more than 100 people.

2. A large part of the ranching population of Tlahuitoltepec has no seat in the political-religious Center of the community, which means that—in most cases—they are neither aware of the actions taken by the authorities nor those taken by the "commissions" of the annual *tequio*.

This is best understood when one observes that most of the people who collaborate in the *tequio* work or live at the *Rancherías*; therefore, they have to travel from the ranch to the center and back. The currency of the mechanisms' used by the authorities as well as their control capacity, is decreasing:

- The communication between authorities and communals-citizens is increasingly difficult and impersonal
- The legitimacy of the authorities is seriously questioned and can be noticed when people do not obey the mandate of the authorities.
- Allowing all of the above to develop without any problem may incite a separatist movement from the ranchers.

From these considerations certain principles arise:

1. The authorities should look for people to communicate with, inform them and check with them what they do or intend to do.

2. They are the same authorities (with great command) who invite the people to participate in the assemblies, avoiding the commissions of communal works.

3. A better approach and attitude towards the *Rancherías* avoids any possible separatist irruption; since a more direct knowledge of the problems suffered by the population is structured.

The authorities are better known and can achieve the necessary consensus for their actions. It must be perfectly understood that consensus is not synonymous with unanimity. Free service, as an exercise of authority. Certainly, the previous.... (End of the manuscript)

^[1] Ramón García-Pelayo y Gross (ed.), Pequeño Larousse en Color, Barcelona, 1984.
^[2] Fundación Cultural Televisa (ed.), Diccionario Anaya de la Lengua, the reprint, Mexico, July 1981.
^[3] Rafael de Pina and Rafael de Pina Vara, Diccionario de Derecho, Porrúa, 15th ed., Mexico, 1988.



THE INDIAN & THE INDIGENOUS IN THE MAGÓNIST ANARCHISM¹

Benjamín Maldonado Alvarado (2000)

20世纪初，墨西哥人口约1200万人。绝大多数是居住在小农村和庄园的印第安人。这暗示着一场革命运动的基础应是那群数量庞大、被过度剥削的原住民。他们因此被认为是骚动的焦点，即便只是对被视作高端部分—比方说初期的无产阶级—的策略支持。然而，如果说印地安人今天几乎不具能见度，當時的情况更加糟糕。他们外型上的差异被认为是一个截然不同、显然较低劣的种族，与国家的命运格格不入。他们被消解在文盲大众的类别中……
……这个标准识别所隐含的目的并不是要描绘一个群体，而是显示他们不属于、也不想属于的那个族群的模样；亦即，是为了建立一个关于他者的负面身份性。一个例子是弗朗西斯科·马德罗（Francisco I. Madero）的“革命性”思想，他在1908年提出，即使在极度开明的国家，也不是由下层人民决定由谁掌控政

府。在很大程度上，民主社会的人民是由政党领袖所领导……墨西哥这儿也将发生同样情况，不会是文盲大众领导国家，而是知识份子……
……然而，有一个运动认真地看待了印第安人，那就是马贡主义（Magonism）。印第安人在各个层面参与了这个自由派/无政府主义的运动：领导人、战斗份子和支持者，他们的诉求和墨西哥自由党的主张相符。但最重要的是，马贡主义者在印第安人身上看到了某些正面积极的价值，并且捍卫这些价值；认为在争取土地和自由所发动的革命胜利后，印第安人的生活方式可作为重建国家的一个典范。因此，我们将从三个角度切入重探马贡主义中的印第安人：主要领导人弗洛雷斯·马贡（Flores Magón）兄弟是印第安人；墨西哥自由党中印第安人所具有的战斗性；马贡派无政府主义话语中的原住民元素……

At the beginning of the 20th century, Mexico had a population of about 12 million people. The majority were Indians living in small rural communities and in *haciendas*. This suggests that the foundation of a revolutionary movement should be that large over-exploited indigenous mass. That the agitation jobs would consider this population as its main objective, even if it was for strategic support in sectors considered to be high-end such as the incipient proletariat. But if Indians are currently barely visible, their situation was worse at that time. Their physical difference was perceived as a distinct race, obviously inferior, alien to the destinies of the country. They were being dissolved into the category of illiterate mass. Here I am referring to

the political thought of the time; the set of ideas that guided action groups. There were people like Abraham Castellanos or Francisco Belmar who thought otherwise about the Indians, but we are talking about intellectuals whose alternative approaches did not come to influence—decisively or massively—neither government nor the course of political events. The implicit goal of this standard identification was not to characterize a group, but to show to what kind of people one did not belong to nor wanted to belong to; that is, to establish a negative identity with respect to the other. One example is the “revolutionary” thought of Francisco I. Madero who argued--in 1908—that even in highly enlightened countries, it was not the people below that determined

who should take the reins of government. Largely, democratic peoples were led by party leaders... Here in Mexico the same thing will take place, and it would not be the illiterate mass the one that leads the country, but its intellectual element (Madero, The Presidential Succession in 1910, in: Maldonado, 1994: 43).

Sharing that racist vision, the Porfirian politicians did not acknowledged positive qualities in the Indian. For example, they argued that it was not necessary to create wise legislation in order to “remove the Indian from his desolation and metamorphose him into a citizen, a family man and a useful citizen to the community” (Enrique C.Ceal, in: Ibid: 42). Since the revolutionary and Porfirian intentions coincided, the use of the Indian to



transform the country or keep it under a dictatorship consisted in ignoring his right to be different and to look for ways to convert him into what it was believed to not be; literate, a citizen, a family man and a useful man. That is, use him as an indistinct mass to model the nation to the taste of the ruling class.

However, there was a movement¹ that took the Indians seriously and that was Magónism. In this liberal/anarchist movement Indians participated at all levels: leaders, militants, and sympathizers that matched their demands with the postulates of the Mexican Liberal Party. But above all, Magónism found and defended positive values in the Indians, based on their way of life; a model for the reconstruction of the country after the triumph of the revolution for (*Tierra y Libertad*). Therefore, we will revisit the Indian presence in Magónism in three areas: the Indian descent of its principal leaders, the Flores Magón brothers; the militancy of Indians in the PLM; the presence of the indigenous in the Magónist anarchism's discourse.

THE INDIAN ROOTS IN THE FLORES MAGÓN

Most historians of Magónism highlight the relevance and transcendence of Ricardo Flores Magón ethnic roots, and they are able to locate them not only because he was born in an Indian village but because of the communal characteristics of that people. These characteristics, these sources³ pointed out (especially the memories of his brother Enrique), were reinforced by his father—Don Teodoro—who spoke to them about the principles and importance of community life:

This collectivist experience in the young man (Ricardo) was strengthened by family discussions. His later vision of an anarcho-communist utopia was partly inspired by that indigenous reality and that historical heritage—he never denied his devotion to collective values (Gómez-Quiñones, 1977: 28)⁴. The problem is that there seems to be no compelling rationale for these statements. It is known that the Flores Magón did not live long in their place of origin, the Mazatec sierra, nor did they maintain close contact with it after leaving.⁵ The Mazatec sierra is located to the north of the state of Oaxaca, bordering with the state of Puebla; even today it is a multi-ethnic region where a great majority of Mazatecs live together

with two Nahua municipalities and one Mixtec. The region is surrounded by the Cuicatec, Chinantec, and Mixtec territories of Oaxaca and Nahuas from Puebla⁶. The Flores Magón family was a nomadic family, that is to say it had no fixed settlement; while the father—Don Teodoro—was originally from San Cristóbal Mazatlán (a Mazatec municipality with some Nahua presence) and his wife—Doña Margarita—was from Puebla⁷, the three brothers were born in different communities. Jesus in San Jerónimo Tecóatl ⁸ (Mazatec municipality), Ricardo in San Antonio Eloxochitlán (Mazatec municipality) and Enrique in Teotitlán del Camino (a *Mestizo*, Mazatec and Nahua municipality). This is important because it dodges the idea that they had rights and community roots in a particular town. In addition, if we remember that among the Indians the community is built through the communal participation and the establishment of kinship alliances; therefore, it is necessary to serve the community for several years and be an adult in it. However, the Flores Magón could not do so because the family moved to Mexico City when the three brothers were still children and never returned to the sierra ⁹. Still, they were born and lived at least several years in communities of strong ethnic culture. And while it is not likely that they had any strong community identity, this does not mean that their original communities did not identify them as belonging to them—in the memory of the population their memories are still present¹⁰—but rather that there is no known greater identity link between themselves and their communities of origin or with their ethnolinguistic group ¹¹.

There are few existing references to Don Teodoro and one would assume that he was a Mazatec, because he was born in Mazatlán; nevertheless, it seems that he was a Nahua ¹². Enrique Flores Magón himself affirms that his father told them that they were the Aztec descendants who populated the entry to the Mazatec sierra in pre-Hispanic times ¹³. This suggests that, in any case, the Flores Magón identified themselves as Nahuas, although I do not know references made by themselves to their ethnic origin. However, they prided themselves of having Indian blood while they also acknowledged their Spanish ancestry. Ricardo Flores Magón wrote in 1909: My Indian blood gave me, in that moment, the necessary calm required to listen while containing the rebellions of my other blood, the Spanish, which pushed me into spitting at my strange visitor (in: Hernández, 1984: 177). In the linguistic realm Ricardo himself, according to Librado Rivera (1978: 12), spoke various languages; among them Nahuatl and Caló but not Mazatec. Aside from Spanish and English—which he knew very well—he knew French, Italian and Portuguese. He also knew a lot of Latin and Greek, something of the Aztec language, whose pleasant pronunciation he remembered from memory—some poems that the famous Netzahualcóyotl left to History.

Not speaking Mazatec does not mechanically mean ceasing to be Mazatec. For ethnic self-identification and identification by others; language is still an essential element, but it is not the only one ¹⁴. In short, we did not find data nor elements to maintain that the Flores Magón were identified as members of a particular ethnolinguistic group, although it seems that Aztecs (Nahuas) were not born in any Nahua community; however, to this specific identity they practically did not recur to, but occasionally to the generic identification as Indians ¹⁵. The common thing is to find that they assumed themselves as proletarians, poor, exploited or dispossessed, and that both identities (ethnic and class) were synonymous. During his trial in Los Angeles in 1916, Enrique Flores Magón declared:

Ricardo and me, we are Indians, proletarians. Born and raised among the poor, we are witnesses of great unfairness, of tyranny, and of the exploitation of the masses. That is why we are communist anarchists (Kaplan/Flores Magón, 1986 T. II:185-186). This does not mean that the memory of his origins and the insistence on virtues in the form of organization of the Indian people were a fantasy about something alien to them. Having known the indigenous communal practice of their native peoples more by stories than by practice, may have led to some idealization of Indian reality, but in no way to an absolute fantasy of something unreal, as argued by Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán (1980). The Indians existed as such at that time as now, and this was seen and appreciated by the Magónists better than many academics of yesterday and today. Their generic identity led them to look for the characteristics not of a particular ethnic group but of the Indian people in general, and those characteristics placed them in different facets of Indian communality ¹⁶. Thus, the Magón family, always conscious of having been born in Indian villages ¹⁷, identified themselves as forever confronted with the privileged; sharing the world of the subjugated but addicted to the communal practices exercised by the Indian people, a form of identity fully valid at that time as well as now. They never felt as or named themselves leaders, representatives or interpreters of the Nahua or Mazatec people nor of the Indians in general; they simply knew how to foresee that inside those Indian villages lied a potential construction of the future.

THE INDIANS IN MAGÓNISM

Indians are a fundamental part of Magónism; both in terms of participation in the project promoted by the organization board of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) as well as in the promotion of their own projects –some supported by the PLM too.

MAYOS, TARAHUMARAS AND YAUQUIS, IN THE NORTH

There were Indians who were leaders that showed great trust and loyalty to the Junta, such as the Yaqui Javier Huitimea¹⁸. Undoubtedly, the most prominent was the Indian Mayo 19 Fernando Palomarez, an activist in Cananea who joined the

strike (Hernández, 1984: 48, Duffy, 1984: 92) and performed various agitation tasks of the greatest importance in 1908 at Sonora and Sinaloa, ²⁰ and in 1911 at Baja California ²¹. Palomarez was a tireless organizer and a fighter. He is known to have been close to killing Porfirio Díaz by shooting him the night of *El Grito* on September 15, 1908—leaving the dictator unharmed (Duffy, 1984: 158). Palomarez was always faithful to the Board, with a loyalty of the highest conviction and ethics: Already old, long after Ricardo was dead, he said: "I am still under Ricardo's command, I have never been discharged" (Ibid: 169).

There was also an important presence of the Magónists in the north of the country among the Tarahumaras. (Bernal, 1982: 53-55). This showed a very interesting continuity, since a veteran of the Tomanchic messianic rebellion of 1892, Santana Pérez, would later become a Magónist leader in Chihuahua ²². There was also a Magónist influence in rural movements that were not clearly Indian. Such was the case of the *hacienda* expropriating movement carried out by Higinio Tanguma between 1910 and 1912 in the south of Tamaulipas (González, 1987: 65-80), Ricardo Flores Magón (1982: 11 and 66) would later claim that Tanguma was one of the real martyrs of the movement. Without a question, the most important link between Magónism and some Indian groups in the north, were the Yaquis, a warlike group who fought and struggled for their autonomy against Porfirio Díaz. Presumably, since 1908 and before, there was already a relationship between them which took shape during the same year in which Enrique Flores Magón claims to have made a pact:

With the Yaquis now commanded by the cacique Sibalaume, I made an alliance pact. These fierce warriors were eager to avenge the death of their brothers who had resisted the seizure of their lands and exile ... in the Yucatecan henequen fields and in the tobacco plantations at Valle Nacional. The Yaquis were fiercely happy to enlist under the Liberal Party's flag, like the Tarahumara, commanded by their boss Santana Pérez (Kaplan/Flores Magón, 1986, T. I: 163).

Afterwards, in September 1911, Ricardo Flores Magón (1980: 184-185) suggests that the Yaquis should ignore the attempts at an agreement with the Maderistas and dictated instructions on how to manufacture the *Regeneration* arrows with dynamite. Then, he called upon the revolutionaries to follow the example of the 500 Yaqui brothers who took the Federalists' fort by storm as well as that of the Maderistas in Pitahaya on August 31st and raised The red flag with the inscription *Tierra y Libertad*—according to a dispatch published in El Imparcial on the 2nd of the same month.

Just when Magónism was supposed to be defeated, the Yaquis remained in rebellion thanks to the support of the Magónists. According to Ricardo's articles in *Regeneración* from February 1914, in some Yaqui regions the Indians had already taken control of the land and were "in the middle of a period of social reconstruction ... with the rifle attached to their backs, fertilizing the earth with their honest and free work... They have provisions in abundance, taken from all around ... " (Ricardo Flores Magón, 1982: 27-28). Soon after, in June, Flores Magón informs that in Sonora, Juan F. Montero was channeling

the movement towards the Yaqui region, where the insurrected inhabitants were in possession of Bámuc, Pótam, Cócorit, Tórin, and other towns that had the *Tierra y Libertad* flag flying high above. By now, they have taken possession of the lands between the Yaqui and Mayo rivers. The number of armed rebels in this region is more than 6 thousand (Ibid: 67).

In August of the same year, Magón reproduces a letter from the "headquarters of the tribe in Torocopobampo", 5 Yaqui leaders and Montero and Montero leaders thanked the members of the board for their support and invited them to look at their achievements (Ibid: 104-106). Finally, in 1916 Magón affirms there must be "no less than 12 thousand men"; armed rebels (Ricardo Flores Magón, 1988: 79) in that region.

POPOLUCAS, NAHUAS AND MAYAS, IN THE SOUTH

Another way in which collaboration between Yaquis and Magónists was established, was by liberating the enslaved Yaquis, or en route to slavery, in the southeast (Duffy, 1984: 156). This was done through the main southern Magónist movement. That is, the movement in Veracruz. Even when 60 Yaquis were freed in that region, the Magónist leader Santana Rodríguez "Santanón" was located and killed (Azaola, 1982: 184, Duffy, 1984: 209-210, Hernández, 1950: 86-93). That collaboration with Magónism in Veracruz was important; Elena Azaola (1982: 184, n.26) while studying this particular movement, points out that the offer from the Yaquis to collaborate with the movement was not circumstantial nor subjected to obtaining their liberation. There are antecedents about their links with the PLM in the state of Sonora, as well as the Tarahumara and the Mayos. This implies that, at least at certain times, various indigenous groups saw the party as a group that could represent their interests; as a mean to an end which was always linked to the recovery of their lands.

This political movement originated in Veracruz, took place in September and October of 1906 at the Popoluca zone of Sotepaan and Acayucan. This mobilization found in Hilario Carlos Salas Rivera, one of its most outstanding leaders. Salas was born in Santiago Chazumba, a Mixtec community from Oaxaca located near the land limits with Puebla. This leader, of Indian descent, learned Popoluca in order to carry out his political work (Azaola, 1982: 144) and most of the groups he organized were Indians²³. Some Popolucas, such as Daniel P. Gavilla in Ixhuatlán, commanded groups among the Magónist forces (Ibid: 161).

Similarly, the Magónists maintained relations in the south of the country with the broadest Indian movement nationwide: Zapatismo. The testimonies of Magónists indicate that Magónism influenced Zapata positively; mainly because its content dealt with the fight for Earth and Liberty which stimulated the Magónists. They also indicate that this relationship was established between 1912 and 1914. Still, it seems that the dealings were tried since 1911; before Zapata became independent from Madero



and during the declaration of El Plan de Ayala in November. One of the multiple traitors of Magónism, Carlos Steinman—appointed delegate in August 1911 by the Junta—states that he was instructed to loot the place (*El Oro ore*) and then march south to join Enrique Novoa and Emiliano Zapata who were ready to start the war by seizing all the capitalists' properties and distributing them among the Indians and the peons (in: Fabela, 1966: 333-334). The course of these actions suggests that there was already an intention of linking both movements and that it was entrusted to one of the veterans from the Magónist struggles in Veracruz, Novoa. Another government report that came from the infiltrations within Magónism, indicated in February 1912 that "... Emilio Filisola, Zapata's special agent, lives in the Rinconada de San Diego No.24 in Mexico D.F. and is in correspondence with Ricardo Flores Magón. " (Ibid: 453). Further south, in Yucatan, the Magónist rebellion arose at Valladolid in 1910, with three of its Mayan leaders being repressed and killed; Maximiliano Ramirez Bonilla, Atilano Albertos and José Expectación Kantún (Beas, Ballesteros and Maldonado, 1998: 56-57). Moreover, in various regions around the country, for example Michoacán, Magónism had an indirect influence on the Indian movement.

Primo Tapia, a Purépecha leader who led an important struggle against the landowners from the lake area of Zacapu between 1921 and 1926, worked directly with the Magónists in Los Angeles during 1910 and 1911. Apparently, Primo lived at home with them as a bodyguard; it was there where he became a fervent supporter of agrarian anarchism. The Flores Magón helped him attend night school, providing instruction in English. Ricardo facilitated the historic role of Primo as a mediator between the Tarascan of *Naranja* people and the revolutionary ideology of agrarian anarchism (Friedrich, 1984: 87 and 89).

These undertakings are just some examples—the best known and studied—of the wide Indian presence in the Magónist ranks and of Magónism inside the Indian movement. However, it was not only their participation in a revolutionary organization, but also a presence within the ideological definition of the expropriation struggle for a total revolution; an economic one.

THE INDIGENOUS IN MAGÓNISM

We will find four moments in which the expressions of the indigenous gain strength in the center of Magónistic discourse. This analysis is not about one evolution of thought, but about four moments of which only the last one is circumstantial and the first three meant fundamental definitions.

1. THE PLM PROGRAM (1906)

If we agree with the assertion by Armando Bartra (1977:13) that Magónism is born as such until three elements come together: A combat newspaper (*Regeneración*), an ideology (Magónist liberalism), and an organization (the Mexican Liberal Party or PLM). The phenomenon that Barta foresaw occurred in 1905 and only then can we find out that the first definition regarding the natives and their fight must be searched in the document that founded the PLM; the July 1906 Programme, a document that was created after several months of discussions among party militants (see Lopez and Cortes, 1985).

The programme not only included the reinstatement of lands, which were previously taken away from indigenous communities (such as the Yaquis and Mayans) ²⁴, but also "protection of the indigenous race" through its own education and the promotion of their dignity so it could contribute "powerfully to the strengthening of our nationality"²⁵. The double appearance of "the indigenous" shows on the one side, the acknowledgement of these communities' situation and their principal mandate; land, incorporated to the revolutionary program in order to get their participation in their movement. And on the other side, the conception of a new post-dictatorial nation in which Indians would contribute with their capacities so as to enrich and recreate that same nation. Education and promotion of race dignity do not seem to pretend to erase the ethnic differences in the quest for building the national unilaterally, but rather to express a will to stop the exploitation and denigration of Indigenous peoples by giving them the possibility of ruling themselves and by offering them access to the satisfactions of modernity. This eagerness, which appears outlined in the programme, was hardened by inner

reflections on the act of fighting and by the actual experience of it. Hence, we believe there was a continuity in this Magónist concern and position; from 1906 until the death of Ricardo Flores Magón and even after²⁶. Now, the methods start to change; from protecting the race to the Indian expropriation of the means of production. But these do not change in its core, which is the acknowledgement of the Indian contribution in reconstructing the country. Therefore, even when considering only the approaches of this liberal programme, which is not radical, a huge distance is perceived between the Magónists and the approaches that would be made by "revolutionaries" like Madero years later.

The Magónists would formulate their richest and most solid definitions about Indians between 1910 and 1913.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR TIERRA Y LIBERTED (1910)

In October 1910, before the Madero revolt, a year before Zapata and he parted ways, and the *Plan de Ayala* (Ayala's Plan) enactment, the Magónist movement redirected its objectives to the ideological tendency that prevailed in the PLM: anarchism. This change was clearly seen between 1906 and 1910 in their fighting slogans which offered Reform, Liberty, and Justice; starting in 1910 and until the end when it would be shortened to *Tierra y Libertad*.²⁷

The change that this new slogan articulates, of clear anarchist affiliation, suggests a new fight plan; it is not about installing a truly democratic government by overthrowing the dictator, but about ending any type of government. The fight strategy now was that the groups affiliated to the PLM would rise in arms, liberate peoples and communities by redistributing private property and by inviting the population to take ownership (collectively) of the means of production. In addition to taking the existing goods and organizing themselves to consume them under ethical criteria, the strategy also included cultivating the land cooperatively ²⁸. Zapata is commonly linked to the slogan *Tierra y Libertad*, which ended up being the purpose of his fight. However, that was not the slogan with which he would sign his documents unlike Magónism that did sign them that way. We have seen that, way before Zapata, Magónism started to fight for *Tierra y Libertad*; there are multiple testimonies both Magón-influenced and Zapata-influenced, about the linkage between both movements and it came about between 1912 and 1913 when the Magón-influenced envoys took the slogan to Zapata (see Maldonado, 1994:48-55). Even as we noticed before, this relationship could activated prior to November 1911. The impact of Magónism in the Zapatista movement is valued by Cockcroft in these terms:



The PLM had anticipated the agrarian revolution of Zapata through more perceptions than just their slogan, *Tierra y Libertad*. The party also served as a division between Zapata and Madero, by previously experiencing the same military treason that Zapata undertook and by insisting in the fight for socio-economical goals in the field. However, it should be noted that the PLM movement was consistently more aggressive in its policies and actions than the movement lead by Zapata; since the beginning the PLM put pressure on other revolutionary groups to assume a stronger left-wing position in favor of the workers and countrymen. Thanks to its ideological and revolutionary attitudes, the party served as a relentless force to radicalize events, that is, to direct the revolution towards the left. In many other cases in the revolution, the events tended to radicalize the revolutionary leaders and not the other way around, which suggests the effect of the origin of the revolt from below.

For example, although Zapata's movement later served to radicalize events and force other revolutionary groups to favor the left, at the beginning it did not go further in its ideology than paragraph 3 of article 3rd of the Plan de San Luis Potosí created by Madero. Only occasionally, and never prior to 1913, the Zapatistas signed their documents with the slogan, *Tierra y Libertad*. It was until the period after 1913 that the Zapatistas ideas became more radicalized, this is explained by the pattern established years before by the PLM, its revolutionary program, and its slogan. It can be said, therefore, that the events prior to 1913 served to change many Mexican revolutionaries, including Zapata, but only the PLM, even when facing internal divisions... served as a consistent medium that radicalized actions (Cockcroft, 1976: 173-174).

For the matter that concerns us herein, what is interesting in all this change in Magónism, besides its connection and influence in the Zapata movement, is that the Magónist proposal to reconstruct the liberated towns under anarchist ways, uses as an example the historically constructed experiences created by the indigenous communities. This is essential because: although they may have an idyllic vision of these communities, they are based on three aspects that are still relevant today. Two of them, recorded profusely by ethnographic research: the common property of the land, the mutual help, and the hate towards authority. The first two are part of what we call *communality*.

3. COMMUNALITY AND MAGÓNISM (1911-1913)

The contemporary ethnography in Oaxaca gives an account of the existence among Indigenous peoples of an attitude towards life that defines the Indian being; it is about their communal character—their collectivist vocation. By communal I do not refer to the local sphere but the collective being; because although belonging to a community is basic, it is not about any type of belonging. To be Indian, speaking the language is not the only requirement nor being born in an Indigenous village, but rather to express their willingness to be part of the community through participation in communal activities. Some of them are work, celebration and an internal government.

Communality, backbone of the Indian being, is composed of four central elements: the communal territory (the use and defense of the collective space), the communal work (inter-familiar with mutual and communal help through the *tequio*, which is free work for social programs), the communal power (participation in the assembly and the performance of the diverse civic and religious positions that constitute their system of government) and the communal enjoyment (participation in celebrations and their patronage). With the involvement of men and women in these four areas, the responsible belonging to a collective is demonstrated and that collective recognizes those who excel in their service; thus, generating prestige. For the Indians, it is not enough to be from the community. It is crucial to be the community and express it.

You can lose your native language, abandon the traditional garments, or migrate to some city. You can even stop sharing your entire mythological corpus as an explanation of the functioning and reasoning of all things; but the individual who continues to participate in the communal can still feel Indian and will continue to be recognized as a member of an Indian community by its people. By contrast, when someone becomes individualistic, the community rejects him because that individual refuses—with his attitude—to be part of that which is communal.

This old Indian attitude was considered by Ricardo Flores Magón and other Magónists (William C. Owen and Voltairine de Cleyre) as the historical proof that it is possible to live in anti-authoritarian collectivist societies. Flores Magón validates his proposal in various texts as of March 1911. The most complete formulation appearing in his article "Mexican people are suitable for communism" (*Regeneracion*, September 2, 1911)²⁹. In those texts, the characteristics that he is interested in emphasizing about the Indian sociopolitical organization are three:

- the communal property of land and free access for all its inhabitants to natural resources (forests, water and deposits);
- teamwork, referring to both; the collective cultivation of land and to the types of mutual interfamilial help; and
- the hatred towards authority and why it (authority) is unnecessary.

The knowledge that Flores Magón possesses about the Indian communities is not only the result of experience, but surely, of the discussion with Indian Magónists and the consideration of their positions. As he observes, the common property of the land included free access to its cultivation, which means that communal lands that were currently idle could be cultivated and abandoned after a few years of working them. This was a condition for someone who wished to occupy another plot freely. One is able to watch such system, which were applied at the beginning of the century, about ten years ago in the chatino villages of Oaxaca. It presents mutual support as the means of production and distribution of consumer goods and surpluses, making the coin less than necessary for these relationships, and the way to face individual requirements such as the construction of a house. This mutual aid, recorded in the great majority of contemporary ethnographic works, continues to be used for; construction and improvement of houses, agricultural cleaning or harvesting, construction or washing of wells, or as support in the sponsorship of celebrations. The aid is given as follows: someone invites several relatives and neighbors to help him in a job, gives them food and drink and makes a commitment to act accordingly when any of them calls him.

The two elements of communality perceived by Flores Magón are still fundamental in being a Mazateco (A Mexican Indigenous tribe that inhabits the northern region of Oaxaca):

In the notion of belonging to the community or *Nashinanda*, two factors intervene: one of them is birth, but the most important is the principle of participation, a requirement through which community affiliation is established. In this sense, there is a complex system of reciprocal exchanges in which each individual is inserted into a social network. By far, the areas in which one can participate with the community are: mutual aid, chores or tequios, and the system of positions. These shared solidarity assignments, with which there is an intense and long-lasting participation in political, economic, and social terms, contribute to reinforce an ideological representation of collective life in which each individual is conceived as a member of a collective. For example, they explain that "the chore is social work, called *xabasen*, which is work for the community or also translated as, ‘what we give among all’ " (Quintanar and Maldonado, 1999: 15-16).

Regarding the hatred towards authority and why it (authority) is unnecessary, he surely refers to the supra-local authority, to the State that subdues the Indians and their authorities through police forces, prosecutors and political leaders. It is impossible that someone with such vast knowledge of the Indian communities was referring to the traditional authorities (lineage chiefs, party butlers, music band capitals, and Elder Councils) or the municipal authorities proper to each community, elected in assembly according to the system of positions and which are the representatives of the community before the government, but not the representatives of the government in the community. In that sense, the abolition of the State and oppressive authority is understood as the exercise

of the autonomous will of communal organization. One element that shows the great clarity possessed by Ricardo Flores Magón is found in his mentioning of *Mestizos* (a mixed race), as he assures that they too are organized around the same communal principle; the communism practiced by the majority of the Mexican population would facilitate a revolution that should rebuild a society based on the communal. The practice of communality in the *Mestizo* peoples is still being documented by anthropology.

These concepts were adopted and developed by other Magónists. In September of 1911, Voltairine de Cleyre finds, in the Yaquis of Sonora, enough arguments to affirm that communality was the driving force behind the resistance against capitalist expansion (Torres Pares, 1990: 158-162). He also maintains that the objective of civilizing Mexico was to dismantle Indian societies. It is important to point out that both, Flores Magón as much as de Cleyre, assert that Indian communities became disorganized with the development of the capitalism promoted by the Porfirato (period in which Porfirio Díaz ruled Mexico), since both agree that Indian communism existed in Mexico "until about 25 years ago." That is, at the beginning of Porfiriato³⁰. As for William C. Owen, he states in October 1911 that the cause of the revolution is the Mexican's rejection towards the capitalist modernizing penetration which started from an anarcho-communist past in rural life (Ibid: 164-165). Thus, for the Magónists, it is from the communal that Indian resistance against imperial aggression arises³¹.

The objective of the Magónist analysis is highly political: it do not try to make an idle ethnography nor to be applied to the exercise of government, but rather put at the service of revolutionary thinking and propaganda. Since it is not an Indian movement, Magónism does not suggest Indian society as a model but rather discovers its essence, communality, as a communist experience and finds it among the *Mestizo* communities, which most likely only lost their language but not their communality-based identity.



4. IN DEFENSE OF THE INDIANS (1916)

The fact that Mexico was predominantly an indigenous country at the beginning of the century, forced a need to understand the Indian reality so as to pinpoint its participation or attitudes toward the revolution. Many—like Madero—used as basis the deprecation of the Indians, whom they knew because they exploited them at their *haciendas*. Others, like Flores Magón, knew them as much by origin as by working politically with them, as well as foreigners like William C. Owen and Voltairine de Cleyre. But there were foreigners who, despite calling themselves anarchists and being interested in the revolution, had a primitive and irresponsible vision of the Indians. Such is the case of José Spagnoli, who based on a certain A. Dolero publishes an article in the Voluntad New York newspaper on December 28, 1915. The written piece incites a violent reaction on the part of Ricardo Flores Magón, since he pretends to disqualify the efforts of the Magónists and Mexican revolutionaries (in general) by ridiculing the capacity of the Indigenous people to rise up in arms.

In a series of articles published in *Regeneración* in late 1915 and early 1916 under the title "Stop there!" Flores Magón "addresses three important points:

- the defense of the Mexican revolutionary movement against its detractors
- the defense of the PLM's position in the face of the revolutionary movement in Mexico
- the defense of the work developed by *Regeneración*" (López and Cortés in: Ricardo Flores Magón, 1988:7). In these allegations against articles in foreign newspapers, he makes a characterization of the Indian worthy of consideration. We will highlight three characteristics of the regretfully Eurocentric text by Spagnoli as well as Ricardo's reaction toward this piece.

1. The Indian as a nomadic race of wild instincts. Spagnoli doubts that those who create the revolution in Mexico are really rebels since they are Indians: That "rebels" label does not refer to anarchists or men who think far away from what we think; it says, just as A. Dolero writes, Indians happy to give themselves to the primal instincts of their race, to the nomadic life and to the plunder. The label also refers to people who fight with the hope for a reward if the revolution triumphs (in: R. Flores Magón, 1988:74).

The Flores Magón answer to Spagnoli's idea is an angry one. In it, he argues the sedentary character of the Indians since pre-Hispanic times by recalling the great civilizational works "that the European barbarie destroyed, as it destroyed many other monuments, the work hard-working peoples that is far above his little detractors " (Ibid:76). Under this perspective, he affirms that the Indian rises up in arms not for savagery per se but to recover his civilizatory dynamic, that is, the right to live and economic independence, which must be based on "free access to land" (Ibidem).

2. The conformist Indian in the south of the country. Spagnoli reproduces the old myth of the Mexican Indian wrapped in his blanket and who is poor because he is lazy. So, from the revolution, he only wants a boot as opposed to land for work.

Spagnoli does not lose the opportunity to denigrate the Mexican Indian and again quotes what his "authority" says. Let's see it: "The aforementioned A. Dolero, in sculptural phrases (anything is sculptural for poor Spagnoli) paints the lives of those who live in various states south of Mexico and that description in many cases could be attributed to those who live in the north. Let us listen to him: The Indians there, as in all parts of Mexico, are satisfied with their social status; they live happily in their huts, hunt, fish and stay out of their houses with their legs crossed ... " (Ibid:86-87).

In response, Ricardo asks why, if that is true, are the Indians from the south the most radical in the revolution, thinking—above everything—about the Zapatistas: "The Indian from the south, when rising up in arms, has given proof that he knows why he fights by burning the titles of territorial property, by breaking boundaries and by surrendering to the free work of the land, without having a master to exploit him. In doing such thing, the Indian of the south has shown that he was not satisfied with his social status " (Ibid: 87). Perhaps Flores Magón exaggerates the achievements of the Zapatistas, but they exist. By contrast, Spagnoli shows a deep lack of knowledge of the Indian reality and, based on that ignorance impregnated with racism, creates an anti-Magónism discourse from a position that is arguably, anarchist.
3. The Indians of the north. As already seen, the biased description of Spagnoli and Dolero tries to be largely applicable to all the Indian peoples that live in Mexico. The reaction of Flores Magón was: ...that is another lie. In the state of Nuevo León we do not find other Indigenous population than that of the town of Bustamante, and the Indians in Bustamante are justly admired by all as industrious, intelligent, and clean. They do not live off hunting nor fishing, as Dolero and Spagnoli paint them, but of agriculture and industry, nor do they spend dead hours at the doors of their houses, with their legs crossed. That is the Indigenous population of Nuevo León!

The Indigenous colony of the Kikapú resides at Coahuila, in the district of Múzquiz. Like the previous ones, these Indians do not live off hunting and fishing. They raise cattle and they work the land. This is the Indigenous population of Coahuila! We have cited the states of Nuevo León and Coahuila because they are the ones that Spagnoli knows better. His lie is strong and it shows that Spagnoli cordially hates the Mexican Indian and he hates the revolution. (Ibid: 88)

We will highlight two elements from these allegations: one is that Ricardo Flores Magón shows broad ethnographic knowledge and the second one is the link he establishes between Indian and revolution. Although he does not states it explicitly, he argues that whoever hates the Indian cannot love the revolution, and even more, he who does not understand the Indian cannot understand the revolution. Moreover, the isolated reading of some of the texts of this Magónist argument gives a more or less demagogic or simplistic image of the Indian people. Therefore, it is important to situate them in the context of the discourse about the Indians, which appear with their different facets in *Regeneración*. Maybe Magón sees more than what really exists, but he does not refuse, like most of them, to see beyond the negative prejudices, typical of the positivist evolutionism that prevailed at that time.

FINAL COMMENT: MAGÓNIST ANARCHISM AND INDIAN AUTONOMY

For many reasons, to Ricardo Flores Magón, the revolution and the Indian were intimately linked; either for being the exploited majority, for being militants against it, or because they have the historical experience of applying the concept of mutual aid and they continue to do so too. The Indigenous peoples have in Magónism, a revolutionary proposal that demands profound knowledge of the Indigenous reality; they are not interested in Indians as cannon fodder or in using them as an image to be manipulated, but rather interested in them as communities and towns with inhabitants that carry transcendental historical experience. It is about a way of thinking in which one can read political history from an Indian perspective, and also about an ethical lesson in honesty and in an iron will. Moreover, it is also a lesson in careless acts that should not be repeated.

Today the Indian struggle in Mexico is for autonomy, and autonomy cannot be understood without self-management. This is why anarchism—as a current of thought and as historical experiences—has much to contribute to the enlightenment of the New Mexican society. The most consistent anarchist current in Mexico, Magónism, can be a form of identity capable of collecting experiences as a function of new plans. The Magónist definition of anarchy as, "order based on mutual support" (Ricardo Flores Magón, 1980:96) synthesizes the contribution of Kropotkin with the historical characteristic of organization in the Indigenous peoples. This definition also opens a perspective of discussion about these societies, which are not a paradise but have made an effort and have organized themselves to try and be it. Thus, if in Mexico you do not turn to see the Indian, you will not have an adequate and sound perspective on the future so as to approach it successfully.

To conclude, the clarity with which Librado Rivera (1980: 114) analyzed in 1927 the treatment given by the government (both dictatorial and "revolutionary") to the Yaquis as well as the possibilities of real autonomy, bring an enormous validation to the military relationship between the Mexican government and the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas:

It is not with barracks nor with dynamite bombs that the Yaquis can be pacified, being neither the most appropriate methods to convince these peoples and erase from their hearts that—refocused and natural—hatred towards the *Yorí* (a mordant nickname that was applied to the so-called civilized Mexicans). The ideal method instead would be leaving them alone so that they can govern themselves as they please; only after reinstating those homes and lands that have been taken by force. The Yaquis would not only cease to be a threat against the government and the *Yorí*, but a race of human beings that would contribute with their intelligence and their work to the progress and well-being of everyone.

LITERATURE CITED

AGEE, D.M. (Comp.)

1988 Reseña histórica de mi pueblo. H. Ayuntamiento Constitucional de San Jerónimo Tecóatl, Teotitlán, Oaxaca: Bilingual edition (*Mazatec-Spanish*).

AGUIRRE BELTRÁN, Gonzalo

1980 Ricardo Flores Magón. Anthology. Mexico: UNAM, Library of the University Student 93, 3rd Ed.

AMEZCUA, Jenaro

1979 "Biografía de Enrique Flores Magón", in: Historia Obrera No.17, September, p.23-25, Mexico.

ANAYA IBARRA, Pedro

1955 Precursores de la revolución mexicana. Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

AURRECOECHEA, Juan Manuel y Jacinto BARRERA B.

1985 "Las jornadas insurreccionales", in: Así fue la revolución mexicana, Volume 1, La crisis del Porfirismo, E.Florescano (Coord.), pp.99-108. Mexico: Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo.

AZAOA, Elena

1982 Rebelión y derrota del Magónismo agrario. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, Col SEP/80 No.17.

BARRERA, Florencio

1973 Ricardo Flores Magón, el apóstol cautivo. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana.

BARTRA, Armando

1977 *Regeneración* 1910-1918. Mexico: Era, Col. Problemas de Mexico.

BEAS, Juan Carlos, Manuel BALLESTEROS y Benjamín MALDONADO

1998 Magónismo y movimiento indígena en Mexico. Mexico: CE-ÁCATL / UCIZONI / Eloxochitlán City Council / AMPO / Centre for Libertarian Studies "Ricardo Flores Magón".

BERNAL, Nicolás T.

1982 Memories. Mexico: Centro de Estudios Históricos Sobre el Movimiento Obrero (José Esteves, Comp.).

CANO RUIZ, Benjamín

1976 Ricardo Flores Magón, su vida, su obra y 42 cartas en facsimil. Mexico: Editores Mexicanos Unidos.

CASTRO, José Alberto

1994 "Tómochic: rebelión, resistencia o fanatismo? Entrevista a Jesús Vargas", in: News, October 13, p.5c, Oaxaca.

COCKCROFT, James D.

1976 Precursores intelectuales de la revolución mexicana. Mexico: Siglo XXI Books.

CÓRDOVA, Arnaldo

1973 La ideología de la revolución mexicana. Mexico: Era.

CORTÉS, Omar y Chantal LÓPEZ (Comps.)

1986 El Partido Liberal Mexicano (1906-1908). Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

DUFFEY TURNER, Ethel

1984 Ricardo Flores Magón y el Partido Liberal Mexicano. Mexico: Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Revolucionario Institucional.

FABELA, Josefina F. de

1966 Documentos históricos de la revolución mexicana, Volume X. Actividades políticas y revolucionarias de los hermanos Flores Magón. Mexico: Ed. Jus.

FLORES MAGÓN, Ricardo

1980 Artículos Políticos 1911. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

1981 Artículos Políticos 1912. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

1982 Artículos Políticos 1914. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

1988 En defensa de la revolución. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

FRIEDRICH, Paul

1984 Revuelta agraria en una aldea mexicana. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

GÓMEZ-QUINONES, Juan

1977 Las ideas políticas de Ricardo Flores Magón. Mexico: Era, Popular series 47.

GONZÁLEZ H., Carlos y Alejandro PINET P.

1988 "Notas sobre la rebelión de *Tómochic*", in: Cuicuilco No.20, January-March, pp.39-45, ENAH, Mexico.

GONZÁLEZ RAMÍREZ, Manuel (Ed.)

1984 Ricardo Flores Magón. Epistolario y Textos. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica/CREA, Col. Young Library 16.

GONZÁLEZ SALAS, Carlos

1987 Acercamiento a la historia del movimiento obrero en Tampico (1887-1983). Mexico: Ed. Jus / Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas.

HERNÁNDEZ, Teodoro

1950 La historia de la revolución debe hacerse. Mexico: S/p.

HERNÁNDEZ PADILLA, Salvador

1984 El Magónismo, historia de una pasión libertaria 1900-1922. Mexico: Era.

KAPLAN, Samuel/Enrique FLORES MAGÓN

1986 Peleamos contra la injusticia, 2 Volumes. Sinaloa: Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Col. XX Century Testimonials.

LÓPEZ, Chantal y Omar CORTÉS

1985 El Programa del Partido Liberal Mexicano de 1906 y sus antecedentes. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

1998 El eslabón. Un acercamiento a Ricardo Flores Magón. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

MALDONADO, Benjamín

1994 La utopía de Ricardo Flores Magón. Revolución, anarquía y comunalidad India. Oaxaca: Universidad Autónoma "Benito Juárez" de Oaxaca.

MARTÍNEZ NÚÑEZ, Eugenio

1968 Los mártires de San Juan de Ulúa. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos sobre la Revolución Mexicana.

QUINTANAR, María Cristina y Benjamín MALDONADO

1999 "La gente de nuestra palabra. El grupo etnolingüístico Chjota étna (Mazateco)", in: Configuraciones étnicas en Oaxaca, M. Bartolomé and A. Barabas (Coords.), T.II. Mexico: INAH-INI.

RIVERA, Librado

1978 "Foreword" a Ricardo Flores Magón, el apóstol de la revolución social mexicana, from Diego Abad de Santillán. Mexico: Centro de Estudios Históricos Sobre el Movimiento Obrero, Cuadernos Obreros 18.

1980 Viva Tierra y Libertad. Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha.

TORRES PARÉS, Javier

1990 La revolución sin fronteras. Mexico: UNAM. UNIÓN DE CHAZUMBENOS EN EL D.F. -No card-. General Hilario C. Salas. Primer Centenario de su natalicio. Typewritten. VALADÉS, José C.

1983 El Joven Ricardo Flores Magón. Mexico: Extemporáneos/Información Obrera.

NOTES

1. This text was published in Cuadernos del Sur Año 6, Núm.15, June 2000, Oaxaca. It is also found in the library of the Ediciones Antorcha website: <http://www.antorcha.net>.
2. The *Zapatismo* is clearly an Indian movement, but its ethnic discourse is not as elaborate as the Magónist one.
3. See B. Cano (1976:28-43), Ethel Duffy (1984:15-16) y Kaplan/ Flores Magón (1986, T.I).
4. Acknowledging the strength of the Indian roots in the Magón's, Nicolás T. Bernal (1982:103) asserted that Ricardo "was an anarchist long before he knew it openly and consciously"; at the same time, Jenaro Amescua (1979:24) argued that those traditions "contained the principles of a native Libertarian Socialism."
5. Because of narrow contact, I understand the current relationship between immigrants and their communities. The connection is strengthened by immigrants sending contributions and by their presence in some popular parties; besides making them feel part of the community even when far apart, it makes the community still recognize all their immigrant rights since they meet their obligations—as far as they can.
6. The Mazatec territory consists of 21 municipalities, from which 17 are located in the sierra and 4 in the lowlands that lead to Veracruz. Between both zones there are no constant relationships. The Mazatecs are the third most numerous ethnolinguistic group in Oaxaca, with 151, 066 speakers—according to the 1995 Census -and it's among the most solid groups in the linguistic and cultural areas. The *Nahuas* from Oaxaca, although less in comparison (9,158 in the state and just 6,896 at the Mazatec sierra), adjoin with the Nahuas of the Black Sierra in Puebla, which are 399,324 and they keep in touch frequently. The relationships between the sierra Mazatecs with Cuítecs and Chinantecs are very scarce.
7. Some sources affirm that she was *Mestiza*, "descendant of native tribes, with the exception of a grandfather that came from Cartagena, Spain"
8. Although all the known biographical sources point out that Jesús was born in San Simón, none points out to the municipality which the community belonged to. Plus, in the Civil Registry at San Jerónimo, there is a copy of the birth certificate pertaining to "Gaspar Jesús Melchor" Flores Magón, stating he was born there, in Tecóatl, January 6, 1871 (Agee, 1988:6).
9. Enrique Flores Magón remembers that they left when he was a child in arms, which one guesses was at the end of the 1870's decade. Ricardo being about 7 years old or less. In this respect, Benjamin Cano Ruiz (1976:28) points out 1878 as his arrival date to the country's capital. Aside from that, Chantal López and Omar Cortés (1998:57) deduce that this happened around 1884; hence, Ricardo would be 11 years old. In any case, it is a very young age.
10. In 1994, I had the opportunity to attend a Magónist day in Eloxochitlán. One of its activities was a painting contest for children under the aforementioned theme, being most of them reproductions of photos and engravings. But there were two that caught my attention, especially one in which there was a Mazatec with a donkey that carried two baskets and inside each basket a child. When I asked what did the image had to do with Magónism, the young author told me that his grandparents said that it was the way the Flores Magón brothers travelled to Teotitlán. Moreover, there are people in Mazatlan that tell stories about Don Teodoro, who is said to be his descendant.

11. As we will see later, we can't state to which ethnic group they belonged to; it is true that they were born in Mazatec communities, but they did not grow up in them nor did they learn their language. Plus, it seems they identify themselves more as Nahuas than as Mazatecs.
12. Valadés (1983:10), Florencio Barrera (1973:17) is confused and states he was a Mixtec. At the same time, Pedro Anaya (1955:12) states he was Mazatec.
13. "You must know, sons, we descend from a member of an Aztec military force. He was sent by the Aztec emperor to receive the tributes from the subjugated tribes of Oaxaca. This was centuries before Cortés arrived in Mexico. Our ancestors were outsiders, but we are *Oaxaqueños* because we were born there." (Kaplan/Flores Magón, 1986 T.I:10).
14. For example. The *Chocoltecas* from the Mixteca, they almost stop using their language but they recognize themselves as *Chocos* because they were born in communities that have historically been so. Moreover, the immigrants that do not speak the language but maintain a narrow relationship with the community, are recognized as part of it.
15. Even, in his letters to Ellen White, Ricardo categorizes himself as "savage, son of nature", "tropical plant", or "son of the mountains", but he does not talk about his ethnic origin (Cano, 1976).
16. As we will see later, the will to be part of the community is expressed in the communal, that is, participate in the defense and care of the communal territory, in the assembly and in the system of civil-religious charges. In the *tequio* (free work for community projects) and in mutual aid (free work between families for the construction of houses, wells, sow, etc.) and in the organization and enjoyment of the parties (see Maldonado, 1994).
17. Even though it is not known to which group they belonged to, it is important to remember that the Mazatecos (That identify themselves as *Chjota étna*, people of our word) are still one of the most solid ethnic groups in Oaxaca and that the Nahuas, self-named Mexicans, are the most numerous group in the country, being—most of them—in Puebla.
18. Yaqui or *Yoreme* that was a member of Magónism and was commissioned to Sonora and Chihuahua, being imprisoned at San Juan de Ulúa (Martínez, 1968:109; González, 1984:11).
19. Some authors find Palomares as a Yaqui. He clarifies this particular issue (his origin) in a letter to Ricardo Flores Magón in 1908: "... tomorrow morning I leave to the Sierra de Bacatete, as soon as I can I will join the campaign with fellow members: the Mayo Indians and the neighboring Yaqui Indians. Yours until the triumph of the Revolution or death, signs Mayo Indian (in: Cortés y López, 1986:45-46).
20. "Liberty and Work was a liberal weekly journal founded in may 1908, which purpose was to relay the *Junta* message to the Mexican people. It was edited in Los Angeles and the director in charge was Fernando Palomares... it stopped publishing after June 6 and we well know why; Fernando Palomares left immediately, under orders by the *Junta*, to notify the Sonora and Sinaloa groups. He had been made in the socialist community of Mayocoba...he knew the area very well and its inhabitants, as well as the Mayo and Yaqui tribes" (Duffy, 1984:151 y 158).

21. "By the end of the 1910's, Fernando Palomares y Pedro Ramírez Caule, both veterans from Cananea, were sent to the Mexicali region to confer with Camilo Jiménez, who was a Tarahumara. The three of them prepared maps of the area and organized indigenous groups for the cause" (Duffy, 1984:222).
22. In 1982, *Tómochic*, a *serrano* community of 300 inhabitants, half of the *tarahumaras*, rebelled against the government under the Santa de Cabora flag, Teresita Urrea. Santana Peres was an authority in Tómochic in 1887 and after the repressed rebellion, he was persecuted. Years later, in June 1908 various liberals were detained at Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. These members were organizing an uprising, among them Santana Pérez (González and Pinet, 1988:44; Aurrecochea y Barrera, 1985:105-106; Castro, 1994:5). However, Paul Vanderwood (personal communication, 1999) asserts that Santana Pérez was indeed a Magónist, however neither Pérez nor the *Tomochitecos* were *Tarahumaras* but *Mestizos*.
23. "In October 4th, 1906 at the Sierra de Sotepan a group of approximately 350 libertarians—made of in its great majority by Indigenous peoples from the region—frees itself from a harsh combat against federal forces" (Hernández, 1984:93).
24. Article 50^o of the Programme says: "When the Liberal party triumphs, all the of assets belonging to government officials that became rich under the current dictatorship and whatever is produced will be in compliance with the Land Chapter—to be restored to the Yaquis, Mayas, and other tribes, communities or the individuals, the lands they were taken away from—and to the service of the national debt's write off" (in: Córdova, 1973:422).
25. In the Programme's Explanatory Statements, one reads: "The protection of the Indigenous race that, educated and dignified, contributes powerfully to the strengthening of our nationality, is an indisputable point of necessity" (in: Córdova, 1973:417). Article 48^o of the Programme states plainly: "Protection to the Indigenous Race".
26. See Librado Rivera's quote at the end of the text.
27. The two key documents in the Magónist history are defined and signed with these titles: the 1906 Programme and the 1911 September's Manifiesto.
28. The texts from *Regeneración* (1910-1912) account for these changes.
29. Other articles, published in *Regeneración*, are: "El derecho de propiedad" (March 18th, 1911), "La cuestión social en Mexico" (February 10th, 1912), "Sin gobierno" (February 24th, 1912) y "Sin jefes" (March 21st, 1914.)



FERNANDO PALOMAREZ, MAYO INDIAN

LIBERTARIAN EPISTLES & OTHER TEXTS

Alfonso Torúa Cienfuegos (2016)

1886年，在美国工程师阿尔伯特·K·欧文（Albert K. Owen）的指挥下，一群非常特殊的开拓者来到锡那罗亚（Sinaloa）的佛提谷（Valle del Fuerte）。欧文深受查尔斯·傅立叶的乌托邦社会主义思想所影响，希望建立一个社会主义的殖民地。欧文必须构建华雷斯城到墨西哥城之间的铁路支线，他是墨西哥总统曼纽尔·贡萨雷斯（Manuel González）和美国总统威廉·塔夫脱（William Taft）的私人朋友。这些关系让他轻易获得了开展其殖民项目的许可。欧文提出要在肥沃的山谷发展农业，开放托普罗班波（Topolobampo）港口，并规划一条穿越奇瓦瓦山脉、连接锡那罗亚与美国东部的铁路线，即今天我们熟悉的El Chepe 铁路。

墨西哥的La Logia（小屋，译注：位于托波罗万波湾的乌托邦殖民地）远远优于在佛提河岸开垦的殖民地。居民中有许多具有出色艺术和智力技能的专业人士。费尔南多·帕洛马雷斯（Fernando Palomarez）就是在那样的环境长大；随着岁月的流逝，他成为马贡主义运动的最一致和坚定的战士之一。帕罗马雷斯于1887年出生在索诺拉州的布埃纳维斯塔，后来在阿拉莫斯受洗。他是一位梅奥族印第安人和一位葡萄牙冒险家的儿子，这位葡萄牙冒险家从未对孩子或母亲负起过责任。他出生几年



后，母亲死于饥饿，费尔南多被教父收养，后者曾为The Lodge的美国殖民者工作。当时仅7岁的费尔南多帮助实地工作：他牧牛、从小溪取水、捡柴和各种农场

畜牧工作。

费尔南多待在La Logia的期间，和他叔叔拉扎罗·加斯特伦（Lázaro Gastélum）睡同一张床铺，叔叔教会了他用西班牙语读写。在学校里，除了英语之外，他还有一位俄语老师和一位德语老师，为未来几年对他有用的许多行业提供了重要根基。和许多原住民及墨西哥小孩一样，帕洛马雷斯参加了开拓者为他们自己的孩子，在La Logia成立的学校。在那些年当中，当时他还很年轻—14或15岁—他看到几期的一份报纸；El Hijo del Ahuizote（译注：Ahuizote是阿兹特克一位暴君的名字，后用来形容残暴之人，如墨西哥革命反抗的独裁者迪亚兹；报纸标题意思是Ahuizote的儿子）是记者丹尼尔·卡佩拉（Daniel Cabrera）在墨西哥城编辑的一份反连任的讽刺出版物。之后，他读了第一期的“再生”（Regeneración），并且听说其编辑被关、所有工作材料被没收。费尔南多成为这些出版物和—比方说，阿尔方索·卡维托（Alfonso Cravioto）在伊达尔戈州帕丘卡编辑的El Desfanatizador等—其他出版物的记者和经销商。

In 1886, a very singular group of settlers arrived to *Valle del Fuerte* in Sinaloa. It was commanded by Albert K. Owen, an American engineer who, infused with the ideas of the Utopian socialism of Charles Fourier, wanted to establish a socialist colony. Albert K. Owen, who had to trace and build the *Ciudad Juárez-Mexico* railroad branch, was a personal friend of Mexican President Manuel González and his North American counterpart, William Taft. This relationship facilitated the granting of permission to carry out his colonization project. Owen offered to develop agriculture in the fertile valley, open the Topolobampo port and draw a railway line that would connect Sinaloa with the East of the United States, crossing the mountains of Chihuahua; what we know today as *El Chepe*.

By the year 1887, there were close to 138 settlers distributed in different parts of the area; but they were periodically concentrating in the vicinity of the town of *Ahome* in a community that they called *La Logia* (The Lodge). In it, they soon began to organize agricultural production as a first step for future activities. Vegetables were grown, fruit trees were planted, and corn was developed as well as wheat and sugarcane. The production became enough to cover domestic demand and to sell some products at the local market. Besides agriculture, colonists raised draft and saddle animals, essential for work and communications. They developed handcraft activities such as; construction, repairing agricultural implements, shoe making, earthenware, porcelain, carpentry, blacksmithing and other trades. They were very careful in improving irrigation techniques by installing pumps to irrigate the upper parts of the valley.

Sergio Ortega describes the site where *La Logia* was situated: *it was one of the most beautiful and pleasant places in the region, with large leafy trees that mitigated the hardships of the Sinaloan summers. It was settled in the rich bank of the Río Fuerte, which provided them with enough water for domestic and agricultural use. The colony was, as aforementioned, next the town of 'Ahome' and 'Higuera de Zaragoza'*.

Due to its cultural level as well as its scientific and technological preparation, *La Logia* was far superior to the Mexican colonies settled on the *Río Fuerte* bank. Among its inhabitants, there were many professionals with strong artistic and intellectual skills. This place had a library with more than 300 books and they also published a biweekly newspaper. Moreover, this colony had a meteorological observatory, a theater club (with plays by Shakespeare), musical and literary culture, and pomology associations that helped with the development of fruit in the valley, among many other tasks. One of the settlers' worries of was the opening of elementary and middle schools. These schools played an important educational role among the Mexicans of the surroundings, for the cultural diffusion and close relationships they promoted between the *Hacendados* and the settlers [Ortega, 1978, p. 37-50].



'La Logia' was far superior to the Mexican colonies settled on the Río 'Fuerte' bank. Among its inhabitants, there were many professionals with outstanding artistic and intellectual skills. That is the environment in which Fernando Palomarez grew up; as years went by he would become one of the most consistent and determined fighters that the Magónist movement ever produced. Palomarez was born in 1887 in Buena Vista, Sonora, and was later baptized in Álamos. He was the son of a Mayo Indian and a Portuguese adventurer who never answered for either the child or the mother. A few years after being born, his mother died of starvation and Fernando was adopted by his godfather, who worked for the American colonists of The Lodge. Fernando, who was only seven years old, helped with field work: he took the cows to graze, brought water from creeks, picked up wood, and other jobs proper to agriculture and farming.

During his stay at *La Logia*, Fernando shared the bed with his uncle Lázaro Gastélum, who taught him how to read and write in Spanish. Palomarez, like many indigenous and Mexican kids, attended those schools founded in The Lodge by the settlers for their children. In school he had a Russian teacher and a German teacher, in addition to English, fundamentals for various trades that would later serve him in the years to come.

Fernando remained in the colony until it was dissolved due to different evils; mainly, overpopulation. The plan, designed for nearly two hundred people, was soon overtaken by hundreds of people from different parts of the United States and Europe. Hence the supply and space problems. When the project ended, Palomarez went to *Los Mochis*, where he was employed by the *Aguila Sugar Refining* Company. After that, he worked with Lázaro Castro; millionaire son of Serapia Ochoa, a woman who had a lot of power. During this time, he worked at the *tienda de raya* as a timekeeper and as an interpreter thanks to his knowledge of English and Spanish.

Palomarez, like many indigenous and Mexican children, attended the schools that the settlers founded in 'La Logia' for their own children. In those years and still very young—14 or 15 years old—he saw some copies of a newspaper; 'El Hijo del Ahuizote', a satirical anti-reelection publication edited in Mexico City by journalist Daniel Cabrera. Then he had to read the first issue of 'Regeneración' and learned about the imprisonment of its editors and the seizure of all its work materials. Fernando became a correspondent and distributor for those publications and others such as 'El Desfanatizador', which was edited by Alfonso Cravioto in Pachuca, Hidalgo.

When Camilo Arriaga summoned a liberal congress at San Luis Potosí in early 1901, Fernando was elected as a delegate of the group from Sinaloa, but could not attend due to lack of funds. Nevertheless, he helped Dr. Jesús María Elizondo to assemble other liberal groups in that part of the country; by invitation from Elizondo himself he was introduced to Freemasonry. At that time, there was a Governor election in Sinaloa and Fernando participated by endorsing Estanislao Buelna, who ran against the everlasting governor Francisco Cañedo. The governor had been perpetuated in power during the mandate of Porfirio Díaz. Buelna won the elections, but Díaz intervened to call for a fraud, threatened the opposition candidate with death, and he also sent him a telegram urging him to leave the country. Furthermore, the illegitimate governor Cañedo undertook a campaign against the opponents and Fernando fled to Cananea, Sonora. If he had been apprehended, Palomarez would have been submitted to the cam system; that is, the forced entrance to the army in order to fight those Yaqui who were in war against the Mexican government.

In Cananea, Fernando first worked with a pick and a shovel and then he worked at the post office. At the same time, he continued to be in contact with the Flores Magón brothers and other members of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) who were self-exiled in the United States in order to organize an armed uprising scheduled for September 1906. Fernando followed them at the beginning of 1905 commissioned by the Organizing Board of the PLM as Special Delegate to work in Sonora. Before reaching that state, along with Juan Olivares they edited the newspaper *El Defensor del Pueblo* (The Defender of the People) in Tucson, Arizona. They used the same workshops where *The Border* was published by socialists Ethel Dufy Turner, John Murray and Elizabeth Trowbridge. *El Defensor del Pueblo* was closed down by the government and its editors dedicated themselves to fulfill other revolutionary missions; the distribution of another newspaper *Regeneración* (Regeneration) and win supporters for their cause.

At the beginning of 1906, Fernando Palomarez returned to Cananea with the purpose of doing propaganda work and recruiting combatants. He worked among members of the Masonic lodges and was knighted by Lodge No. 6 of that mineral (a Masonic Emblem). Thanks to his knowledge of English and Accounting, Fernando got a job in a *tienda de raya* (shop located next to the factories and farms where workers had the obligation to buy their provisions and goods in exchange for their work with some type of credit system) where he was surprised by the strike of June 1906, since many workers died and a repression was unleashed that led the police to make arrests and searches of which that resulted with the revolutionary plot coming to light. Fernando's name appeared on the lists and was summoned by the governor, Luis E. Torres, who sent several urgent telegrams to Cananea requesting Fernando's immediate apprehension: "Stop and carefully search a 19-year-old young Indian named Fernando Palomarez who works at the *tienda de raya*", one of the telegrams read.

But Fernando had friends who warned him of his potential arrest: Asunción Barras, head of the post office where Fernando had worked, gave him notice of Governor Torres' order of apprehension against him. Many years later, Fernando Palomarez told Ethel Duffy Turner that aside from the head of the post office, it was also the municipal president himself, Filiberto Barroso, who helped him with assistance to get him out of Cananea before he was arrested. Both, the support of the head of the post office and that of the municipal president were backed by his Masonic affiliation. Once warned by his friends, Fernando had to leave Cananea immediately without his belongings, without any clothes or money. Additionally, he had to leave a young girl with whom he was engaged to and whom he never saw again. Fernando hid in the ranch *La Escondida* first, which was owned by some of his comrades. After that, he went to the United States of America. However, during the worker's strike, there were many Magónists involved; Fernando Palomarez, Pedro Ramírez de Caule, José María Leyva, Antonio de P. Araujo, Plácido Ríos and Gabriel Rubio, among others.

When Fernando lived in the United States, specifically at the border city of Douglas in Arizona, he secretly traveled by freight train to Saint Louis, Missouri. This was the place where he hoped to meet with Ricardo Flores Magón. However, he only found Manuel Sarabia and Librado Rivera, since Ricardo was actually in Canada fleeing from police persecution by the governments of the US and Mexico.



In May 1908 at Los Angeles, California, Fernando and his old friend Juan Olivares edited the liberal weekly journal *Libertad y Trabajo* (Freedom and Labor), whose objective was to spread the message of the *Junta* to the Mexican people. *Libertad y Trabajo* appeared after the successive shut downs of the *Regeneración* and the *Revolución* (Revolution) newspapers. Most of the texts were written by Ricardo Flores Magón, who managed to get his articles out from prison in Los Angeles and into the pages of the weekly journal along with other publications. Flores Magón's articles were published in the libertarian press with the signature of different people; María Talavera (companion) and his daughter Lucía Norman, Enrique Flores Magón, or under different names from the many combatants who had fallen while fighting against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz ³. During his tenure as director of Libertad y Trabajo, Palomarez had to develop other tasks such as gathering witnesses that were in favor of the Liberals, but were now detained in the United States, Palomarez also distributed propaganda in several border cities. With instructions from Ricardo, he travelled to Denver, Colorado to meet with the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners and to help John Kenneth Turner, who was writing his book *Mexico Bárbaro* (Barbarian Mexico) ⁴.

Libertad y Trabajo had an ephemeral existence; it stopped publication in June of 1908 when Fernando had to leave immediately for Mexico and warn the groups at Sonora and Sinaloa of a forthcoming armed uprising. Palomarez was a proven specialist in the region and he had the sympathy of both, the Yaqui and the Mayo Indians ⁵.

As soon as he arrived to Sonora, the North American police spotted him; thus, he became fiercely persecuted in that state and in Sinaloa too. Alerted by an old acquaintance from Cananea, whom he met on a street in Guaymas, he left and went to Ahome—both in Sinaloa. Soon after, he had to move to the country's capital without having the opportunity to cultivate his work.

By 1910, Fernando Palomarez and Pedro Ramírez de Caule were the agents of the PLM responsible for preparing the insurrection in Baja California. During those tasks they received helped by a *Tarahumaran* Indian named Camilo Jiménez. Even though they were on a very risky situation, they toured the entire territory and gathered information about roads, water supplies, supply points and drew maps that the revolutionary forces would require ⁶.

On January 29th, 1911 a group of 17 revolutionaries attacked and occupied Mexicali, Baja California. Fernando Palomarez, Caule and Jiménez led the military operations, since they were the ones who knew the grounds better. Besides, the three leaders had the power to appoint special delegates for the PLM in that region. Liberals advanced over Tecate and Tijuana; they remained in the state of Baja California for 6 months approximately until they were defeated by *Maderista* forces led by Celso Vega.

During the autumn of 1911, Ricardo Flores Magón sent Palomarez to Chihuahua to organize a revolutionary army and helped to prepare the division known as *Abanderados Rojos* (Red Flags) in Casas Grandes—these men would later join Pascual Orozco. The "Red Flags" were organized at the home of Professor Efrén Franco in El Paso, Texas. On December 2nd, 1911, the house was surrounded by the Texas mounted police. Captain J. H. Rodgers, senior officer in the United States Army and Abraham Molina, head of the secret service of Francisco I. Madero in El Paso, entered the house and arrested its owner and other people who were with him. Palomarez was arrested at another address and was taken, with an iron ball attached to one of his legs, to the prison at El Paso. In the course of his process, he gave a speech about Justice in the *Tierra de la Libertad* (Land of Freedom); the United States of America. He was sentenced to serve a one-year one-day term at Leavenworth prison. Fernando Palomarez recovered his freedom in February 1913 and married Professor Efrén Franco's daughter; Basilisa, whose infamous nickname was *La Coronela* (The Female Colonel) and who—for many years—had helped Palomarez in organizing worker groups in Los Angeles and other towns in Baja California ⁷.

In 1913, Palomarez and his wife went back to El Paso to help Jesús María Rangel to organize PLM guerrilla groups with the purpose of going back to the armed front, but when they were discovered by the Texas police many of them were killed and others arrested when they attempted to run away. These PLM groups would later be known as “The Texas Martyrs” ⁸. Palomarez, who was able to elude the police this time, travelled to Los Angeles where he collaborated with organizations such as the *Partido Socialista de Obreros* (Worker Socialist Party) the *Club de Ciencias Sociales* (Social Sciences Club) and the Socialist Party. Around those days, the Liberals' working conditions were very precarious since they were constantly penalized and persecuted.

By 1919, Flores Magón continued writing for some publications. At the same time, he held correspondence with revolutionaries from around the world—Lenin was one of them. At that time, Palomarez—now living in El Paso—served as an emissary between Ricardo and his co-religionists. "The letters he sent to Lenin followed a long and fascinating itinerary: First, they were sent to Palomarez who delivered them to a railroad worker at Ciudad Juárez. From there, the letters were transported to Mexico City, where they were picked up by a trusted member who took them to Veracruz and delivered them to a sailor. Then, the sailor transported the letters to Buenos Aires in Argentina, and from this city to Russia (the destination)" ⁹.

In 1922, the year in which Ricardo Flores Magón died, Fernando was at a hospital in Los Angeles, healing from an old wound in his leg. During this stay, he was notified of Ricardo's death and the desire that Enrique Flores Magón had to incinerate the corpse and then deliver the ashes to the North American liberals so they could be scattered in the sea. Despite his physical complaints, Fernando left the hospital to meet with María Talavera, Ricardo's partner, in order to try to prevent the remains from being incinerated and let the body to be buried in Mexican territory. Thanks to colleagues from different organizations and to the help from Kateleen Gertz, the rich heiress from Chicago, Palomarez raised 800 dollars to buy a bronze coffin and proceed with the paperwork needed to relocate Ricardo's body to Mexico ¹⁰. This last passage in the life of Fernando Palomarez gives us an idea of the appreciation he had towards Ricardo Flores Magón; he was one of his most faithful colleagues and was always willing to obey his orders. No sacrifice was really an obstacle to carry out an ideal that twinned them; an anarchist society in which misery and social inequalities would not exist. Palomarez used to assert, long after Ricardo died, that he was still under Ricardo's command and that he had never left the libertarian army. Fernando was not a prominent theorist, but he was loyal, brave, and an enshrined liberal [Ibid, p. 169] who stood among fighters such as Práxedis G. Guerrero and Jesús María Rangel.

According to Librado Rivera [the PLM's moral authority after Ricardo F. Magón's passing], with the defeat of Magónism, Palomarez became the historical memory of the liberal movement and, therefore, was asked by old Magónists such as Blas Lara, Nicolás T. Bernal, Ethel Duffy Turner and John K. Turner, to provide information about the movement, which they were historically rebuilding ¹¹.

During his last years and still a widower for a long period, Fernando worked in a job he had known since his early years as a revolutionary: selling magazines, newspapers, and books in a street stand in Los Angeles. In 1949, he was hit by a car and suffered a serious injury ¹². This accident made it virtually impossible for him to earn a living and his life only lasted a few years more. Fernando Palomarez died in December 10th, 1951.

Fernando had several opportunities to live a comfortable life; the education he received at the schools of the socialist community in Sinaloa—where he was raised—made him a highly trained person in different arts and sciences. Similarly, he had domain over different languages: In addition to the Yaqui and Mayo languages, he also knew Spanish and English, and was also a skillful dancer and excellent singer. Fernando Palomarez revealed to Ethel Duffy Turner that in 1912, when Madero sent Juan Sarabia and Jesús Flores Magón to talk to Ricardo and try to convince him to accept a high position in Madero's administration in exchange for stopping the fight, Sarabia had also offered him a position as long as he left Ricardo and his revolutionary ideas.

Fernando Palomarez remained firm to his convictions as evidenced by the correspondence he maintained with his former co-religionists until his death. In the letters, we can appreciate that the revolutionary eagerness did not diminish in spite of many a strong adversities. The epistles herein presented, stand for how serious Fernando's confidence was in historical memory; for it would not forget or hide those glorious episodes in Mexican history.

1. Duffy-Turner, 1960, p. 92.

2. Turner, 1981, p. 2.

3. Turner, 1960, p. 161.

4. Turner, 1981, p. 50.

5. Ibid., p. 50.

6. Torres-Pares, 1990, p. 93; Duffy-Turner, 1981, p. 2.

7. Duffy-Turner, 1960, pp. 287-288.

8. Hernández, 1984, p. 196; 1933, p. 123.

9. Hernández, 1984, p. 201.

10. Duffy-Turner, 1960, p. 341.

11. Alcayaga, photocopies of an unpublished work.

12. It was not the only case of these type of "accidents". Other Magónists like Librado Rivera, Esteban Méndez and Jesús María Rangel also lived them. ALCAYAGA, Aurora Mónica, work cited in the previous note.



MAGÓNISM & THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN MEXICO

Juan Carlos Beas and Manuel Ballesteros (1997)

自古以来就住在今天墨西哥的领土上的原住民族群, 直接参与了撼动这个国家巨大的社会运动。自第一次伊比利亚征服者以及十字架、血液和火药踏上我们的土地以来, 大多数原住民坚定立场, 强烈抵制侵略, 希望收复或维护他们的土地、森林, 他们的传统, 甚至他们的生活。这仍然是一场持续不断的战斗, 他们到目前为止不仅对抗了西班牙、法国或北美的侵略者, 还包括独立后的墨西哥的保守派或自由派政府, 以及因所谓的“墨西哥革命”挫败而掌权的集团。正如圣安娜曾经做过的; 来自瓦哈卡的嗜血的“和平主义者”波费里奥·迪亚兹 (Porfirio Díaz), 把我们的资源和土地给了外来的侵略者。他还展开了一个建立在剥夺土地和自然资源、以及对早已消弱的原住民族群使用暴力之上的资本主义现代化进程。对此, 印第安人的回应是在不同时期—不论是在迪亚兹独裁统

治期间, 或是多年的武装斗争中—组织一系列反抗运动, 旨在收复从他们身上夺走的东西, 并防止当权者实现对他们生活的绝对控制。同时, 日常的战斗旨在是让 Costumbre, 即他们的生活方式和世界观, 继续传承下去。在他们顽固的抵制下, 仍然盛行的 Costumbre 提供了人们相互之间以及和大自然之间某些形式的财产和集体性; 这些 Costumbre 全都被视为资本主义扩张过程的障碍。集体性作为原住民和农民的一种习俗, 表明了社会财产、直接和聚集形式的代表, 以及将排除商品概念地有效使用工作和资源。这个系统也构成了一种方式, 去理解: 世界作为人和超自然力量集体干预的直接结果, 它是如何运作的。因此, 对波费里奥·迪亚兹和他的密友们所倡导的“民族主义国家”和资本主义现代化计划来说, Costumbre 代表了一个障碍。

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the present text was written by Juan Carlos Beas and Manuel Ballesteros and introduced as a lecture in the seminary “Ricardo Flores Magón”, organized by the Center for Research and Documentation on Oaxacan Topics and Authors (CIDSTAO for its initials in Spanish) from June 25th to the 27th in 1986. The text was also published by *Ediciones Antorcha* that same year in Mexico City. Two years later, an edition appeared in Los Angeles, California and was later re-edited by the Oaxacan magazine *El Medio Milenio*.

It has been over eleven years since the first edition of this text was published. Yet, it still speaks to us; rather, now, towards the end of 1997, at a time when the Mexican people have intensified their actions by calling for an answer to their historical demands. Now, that the Mexican indigenous populations have propelled a heroic fight for Freedom, Justice and Dignity, the ideas and tireless activities of Ricardo Flores Magón take on a new and grand meaning. Ricardo Flores Magón, son of a principal from San Cristobal Mazatlán, offers us—more than anything else—a touching compatibility between life and thought, politics and ethics. Since January 1997, the Votan Zapata figure rides his horse once again, claiming the rights of the

downtrodden. We carry on with his legacy and the memory of the Magónist struggle, many of whom lost their freedom, if not their lives, for daring to nourish the rights of the poorest in Mexican soil and having the audacity to yearn for their prosperity.

That is why, in 1997, seventy five years after Ricardo Flores Magón was murdered in a dark and cold American jail, we have prepared the current version of this text, which includes a fragment of the Editorial Note in the first edition as well as contributions by our colleague, Benjamin Maldonado, a tireless Magónism scholar, who promoted the ideas of the Customary people. Now that those in power insist upon murdering the memory

of our peoples, now that oblivion has been turned into an enemy to our fights, we strive to keep the memory of the Magónist effort alive, which to an extent, is also the effort of the indigenous people: it is the unending struggle of the downtrodden who want to build a country where there is space for many worlds.

EDITORIAL NOTE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Our interest in editing this lecture comes from the rarely discussed subject it addresses: the relationships between the Mexican Liberal Party and the Indigenous communities. The beginning of such relationships goes back to the year 1906 and is intimately linked to the military work developed by the Mexican Liberal Party. In a document issued by the Organizing Board of the Mexican Liberal Party and signed by Ricardo Flores Magón and Antonio I. Villarreal, Javier Gutíenea is commissioned “to be seen with the head or heads of the Yaqui tribe, in the state of Sonora, Mexico and, in the name of the Junta, comes to agreements with the Yaqui leader or leaders to carry out an armed uprising against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz.”

The relationships between the Mexican Liberal Party and the Yaqui tribe were indeed fruitful as evidenced by the release sent to the members of the Mexican Liberal Party by the Yaqui tribe, on July 15th, 1914, which read:

“To the members of the Mexican Liberal Party: I salute you. May these lines help manifest our sympathy for the efforts you are making in order to help us shake off the yoke from our oppressors, against whom we have been fighting an unequal war for more than forty years.”

With hope in our hearts, we invite you to come to this camp, you will be received with open arms by our brothers of misery. We have no words to express our gratitude for the sacrifices you make for us, and we hope that you will always be willing to lend us a hand until capitalism has disappeared from this Yankee region and the red flag of *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Freedom) no longer has enemies to fight. Receive greetings from the entire Yaqui tribe and a fraternal hug from your companions, for *Tierra y Libertad*.” On behalf of the Yaqui tribe, Luis Espinoza, Juan José Sibalaume, Luis Matus, Juan José Gómez, Ignacio Mori, and the representative from the Organizing Board of the Mexican Liberal Party in the Yaqui region: Juan F. Montero. Headquarters of the tribe in *Torocopabampo*, Río Yaqui, Sonora. July 15, 1914.

On November 19th, 1927 Librado Rivera published a beautiful article in the pages of the American newspaper *Cultura Proletaria* titled, “The Taming of The Yaqui”. He wrote: “It is not with barracks or dynamite bombs that the Yaqui will be pacified... but by leaving them alone so they can govern themselves as they please and it will also be pacified by reinstating their homes and lands, which were taken from them by force. The Yaquis would not only stop being a threat to the government and to the *Yori* (foreigner), but the tribe would be seen as a race of human beings who would contribute, with their intelligence and work, to the



progress and welfare of all.” In regards to the political and social ideology of Ricardo Flores Magón, many of his writings directly referenced indigenous communities, either to shed a light on their various problems or to validate—by example—the anarchic conceptions he advocated for.

The influence of the indigenous community life on Ricardo Flores Magón's reasoning is evident. In his article, “The Mexican people are fit for communism” he pointed out:

“There are about four million Indians living in Mexico who, until twenty or twenty-five years ago, lived in communities; sharing land, water and the forests too.” Mutual aid was the guiding principle for these communities, and authority was only felt when the landlord made its periodic appearance or when men were violently “drafted” into the army. There were no judges, no mayors or even jailers in these communities. Moreover, everyone had the right to own land, to use water for irrigation, to firewood from the forest and to wood for building huts. The plows passed from hand to hand, as well as oxen yoke. Each family worked the extension of land that was calculated as sufficient to produce what was necessary, and the work of weeding and raising the crops was done communally. Today, to pick up Pedro's harvest. Tomorrow, to pick up Juan's and so on. To build a *jacal* (a hut), all the members of the community were willing to help.

These simple customs lasted until the strength of the authority secured the prosperity of businesses owned by the bourgeoisie. The generals working at political revolts received large extensions of land; the landowner enlarged the boundaries of their estate, the vilest politicians obtained vast territories as vacant lots, and the foreign adventurers obtained concessions of lands, forests, and water bodies—everything was theirs to take. In short, these strangers left our Indian brothers without a handful of land, without the right to take the smallest branch of a tree from the forest, Indians now lived in the most abject misery and stripped of all that was theirs.”

Juan Carlos Beas and Manuel Ballesteros achieve, in the words herein, a sound balance between the serious and the pleasant. Their text is received with ease and a deep interest that will surely awaken a series of concerns and reasoning that will prompt the reader to participate, within their own limits, and try to end with “the crazy times.”

—Chantal López and Omar Cortés



I. A LONG RESISTANCE AGAINST WESTERN BARBARIE

The indigenous nations that since ancient times inhabit the current Mexican territory have been direct participants in the great social movements that have shaken the country. From the moment since the first Iberian conqueror set foot on our land, along with the cross, blood and gunpowder, most indigenous people stood their ground and violently resisted hostilities on the hopes to either recover or maintain their lands, forests, their traditions, or even their lives.

This is still an ongoing fight that, up until now, has not only confronted the Spanish, French or North American invader, but also the conservative or liberal governments of independent Mexico, and the group that inherited power as a result of the defeat in the so-called “Mexican Revolution”.

Just as Santa Anna once did; Porfirio Díaz, the bloodthirsty “pacifist” from Oaxaca, gave away our resources and land to the foreign invader. He also developed a process of capitalist modernization based on the dispossession of land and natural resources and the use of violence against the already much diminished indigenous nations. In response, the Indian peoples organized at different times, either during Díaz's dictatorship or during years of armed struggle, a series of revolts whose purpose was to regain what was once taken from them and to prevent those in power from achieving absolute control over their lives. At the same time, the daily battle was aimed at keeping *La Costumbre* alive, that is, their way of life and their view of the world.

The *Costumbre*, that still prevails as a consequence of stubbornness and resistance, offers certain forms of property and communality with one another and with nature itself; all considered to be an obstacle for the processes of capitalist expansion. Communality, as a custom of the indigenous and peasant peoples, proposes social property, direct and assembled forms of representation, as well as the efficient use of work and resources where the notion of merchandise is excluded. This system also constitutes a way of understanding how the world functions as a direct result of the collective intervention of men and supernatural forces. Thus, *La Costumbre* presented

an obstacle to the project of “nationalist State” and capitalist modernization promoted by Porfirio Díaz and his cronies.

In a mostly rural country, as Mexico certainly was at the beginning of the 20th century, the Magónist movement directed some of their actions to the peasant and indigenous sector. Magónism, through many of its actions, statements, articles, programs, rebellions and assemblies, appears as a movement linked to the traditional struggle and resistance of the Indian peoples. This link between indigenous resistance and Magónism is also a part of a socialist tradition that is determined by the communality of the Indian peoples. Magónism is but an expression of what we will call socialism. Both concepts have raised as some of their main claims; the restitution of communal lands back to the people, and Respect towards the difference that the Indian peoples embody in an increasingly *mestizo* and western context.

Therefore, Magónism is fundamentally nurtured by three different currents: Mexican liberalism, European anarchism and Indigenous communalism. In this paper we intend to point out the profound link that existed between the indigenous resistance and the Magónists at the beginning of the century. This shared resistance is the story of a struggle that has not ended: the “losers” continue to fight, be it in their own neighborhoods, the surrounding mountains or within the jungle. Magónist ideals have not died, on the contrary, they have germinated and are now part of our memories; of the living history of a people that refuses to lose hope or die despite the wishes and efforts of the ruling technocracies.

II. THE SAME OLD ENEMIES

ON HOW A BOY BROKE HIS BROTHER'S NOSE.

Long before a boy named Porfirio burned the nose of his brother Felix, the same one who later in life came to be known as “chato” Díaz, the communities at viejo *Anáhuac* were already engaged in a violent fight against the assaults they were subjected to. Some communities did not endure the epidemics or the extermination wars, such as the *Cazcanes* and the *Acaxes*; like many others, they disappeared after an all-out fight against the invaders. During the viceroyalty there were numerous indigenous rebellions, most demanded the vindication of their land, their autonomy, and their “old” tradition. The Indian factor played an active role during the independence war. The so-called heroes of this battle were closely related to the lives of indigenous peoples; Miguel Hidalgo spoke *Otomí*, Morelos was formed in Purépecha villages, and an army of Indians and blacks stood behind Vicente Guerrero.

Half into the war for independence, *Un ciudadano de Xalisco* (a citizen from Xalisco) edited the *Contratos de Asociación para la República de los Estados Unidos Del Anáhuac* (Association Agreements for the Republic of the United States of the Anahuac), which constitute the first projects for federal political organization. These agreements re-vindicated the significance of communal property in the Indian peoples.



Given that the liberal and conservative parties were both equally harmful to the indigenous communities, the rebellions never really ceased: The Zacapoaxtlas, the Nahuatl, the Mixtec and the Zapotec militias stood out during the wars against the French and North American invaders.

In 1876, that kid that hurt his brother's nose was already a general and in agreement with the Tuxtepec Plan, he stood in arms. Thus, the tyranny that would last longer than 30 years had just started. The dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz—an intimate ally of great capitalist foreigners—would promote a capitalist modernization process that would set off a perennial confrontation with the interests of the indigenous communities.

WAR AGAINST FOREIGNERS

Throughout the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, Indians fought constantly; the re-vindication of their communities is one of the rebel demands that the dictatorship feared the most. A great number of revolts continued the war that had been kept alive for many years, in a confrontation between capitalist foreigners and Indians.

The *Tantoyuca-Huastecos* Indians’ plan stated: “*Declaramos guerra a muerte a la propiedad*” (We declare a War till-death to property). Twenty one years later, Juan de la Mata Rivera, editor of *El Socialista*, ended his article stating: “No more tithe to the priests! Down with the *tlacualtomini*! Take the usurped lands from the plantations using law and justice!”

In the Tuxtepec Plan, Don Porfirio promised to attend to the requests for the restitution of lands made by Indian communities, when the promise was not met, different Indian communities started to rebel: In 1877, *Otomí* peasants take possession of *haciendas* in different places across the State of Hidalgo, causing a scandal in which the rich wondered if the event was related to communism or to savage tribes.

The so-called Farming Communities fought against the *haciendas* and “their unnatural laws” by using expropriation. Also in 1877, the war in the *Sierra Gorda* mountain range is revived; here the Indians claim for power to the armed peoples. This revolt shook up the states in the center-north of the country, managing to dominate this large area for more than ten years. Juan Santiago, commanding an Indian army, takes over *Tamazunchale* with the war cry, “Death to anybody who wear pants!” In 1882, *Ciudad Del Maíz* (City of Corn) is taken and the “communist war” forces the government to restitute communal lands. Then comes a “peace” insured by two federal divisions.

In 1882, the *Istmo Zapotecs* rebelled once again, now under the command of Ignacio Nicolás: the *Juchitecos* and *Sanblaseños* kept a deaf resistance against the state and federal government impositions, led by the Díaz brothers; years before, Benito Juárez—also a Zapotec—had ordered the burning of Juchitán in two separate occasions. While he was governor, Juárez also built a primary school under the idea that “only the enlightenment can remove the vices from those communities and the immorality that takes over them, moving them to create disturbances that the government has been bound to repress with the force of weapons.”

“Chato Díaz” would die in Oaxaca while campaigning against the so-called *Tecos*, the *dixha zaá*. Don Porfirio never forgave them, but his well-known affairs with the witch and head of *Tehuantepec*, Juana Cata Romero, kept him close to the *Istmo de Tehuantepec*.

Just as other indigenous nations, the one from the Istmo fought to defend its resources and autonomy in a long fight that still goes on vigorously nowadays.

THE YAQUIS SACRED WAR

On the other hand, at the north of the country, the Yaquis communities had restarted their struggle against the *Yori* in 1875. Yaqui General Captain, *Cajeme*, led a “Confederation of all Indians from Sonora to take back lost lands”: In this permanent war, the *Porfirismo* almost exterminates them.

The *Temastianes* or *Agoreros* call for war, at parties people dance *pascol*, mocking white people: it is time to take back what had been stripped away from them. The federal army attacked the *Buatachive* Yaqui fortress, where a red flag was set. It was 1886 and the Indians had been defeated.

Persecutions and diseases affect the Yaquis secluded in the *El Medano* hills. A ship, “*El Demócrata*”, persecutes and captures the Indians in islands and throws them to a sea full of sharks. *Cajeme* was executed in 1887.

The Eight Towns’ Assembly decides to continue the Saint War by land, the elders appoint Tetabiate as chief. He follows Anayuleti's legacy; the first Yaqui chief that confronted the Spaniards.

Yaquis do not stop their attacks against *Yoris*, and through guerrillas they stop the efforts of the Federal Government through the *Comisión de Fomento* (Foment Commission): the channels, those wounds inflicted on the land, could not be allowed.

Porfirio Díaz' generals, in response to the Yaquis' retaliation, declared that the only mean that could tame the beast was death. After the Baacum, Nogales and Mazocoba battles, Tetabiate died in 1901 and thousands of Yaquis were murdered, while a thousand others were led to faraway lands, finding their death at tobacco *haciendas* in the Valle Nacional (National Valley) or the henequen *haciendas* at Yucatan.

For Don Porfirio and his partners, the only way to take over the rich lands at the Mayo and Yaqui valleys consisted in the extermination of the Indian communities. But these same communities had not forgotten how to say “*biba atoha!*” (rebel).

A few years after Tetabiate's death, the Yaquis would restart the fight, now under the command of Sibalaume, who would ally with the Magónist rebels.

THE SAINT OF CARBORA'S INVITATION TO THE REBELLION.

Between 1893 and 1894, the Sierra Tarahumara in the State of Chihuahua would be set on fire by the rebellion.

This revolt was inspired by the rebel saint, Teresa Urrea, also known as “The Duchess of Carbora”. This were the times when the communities of Tomóchi and Temósachic defied the federal army under the command of an eighteen year old girl, from Ocoroni, who had been “brought back to life” and performed miraculous healings. The fame of the young leader spread among the Indians, originating the cult known as *Teresismo*. Pilgrims from various towns came to visit and when they returned to their communities, people listened to them in awe and shock due to the thorough tales about the strength of the saint.

The Duchess of Carbora traveled throughout towns preaching that all government and clerical acts were wrong. The virgin spread a passionate message about justice and the liberty of heaven: divinity was an invitation to social combat. Rich farmers lied about the town of Tomóchic to take away whatever it had; Governor Lauro Carrillo did his part: He ordered the execution of Tomóchic inhabitants, but they managed to defeat the federal police.

While in 1892 the Flores Magón family began their political activities with combative fervor in the center of the country, at the Sierra Tarahumara, the flames of *fanatismo* (fanaticism) were burning. Teresa Urrea was incarcerated and exiled to the United States. Newspapers at the time referred to the *Tomoches* as a “groups of fanatics that have gone mad”.

Out of five thousand people that were incited to fight by the Saint of Carbora, more than three thousand were Indians. Tomóchic and Temósachic were blasted with Bang artillery, which also killed hundreds of rebels. The Saint of Carbora died in 1906 at the age of 33—same age as Christ. She promoted social re-vindication and combative ideas through a newspaper called *El Independiente*. The message of a Saint War for liberty had already taken the Magónist orientation from the publication.

THE DEED OF THE CRUZOOB'S

The Earth will burn. White circles will appear in the sky, on the day that is to arrive... It's coming! The words will be slaves, the trees will be slaves, slaves the stones, slaves the men, when they come!

Book of the Vaticano Of The Thirteen Katunes

When Don Porfirio took power in 1876, a big portion of land in the Yucatan peninsula is “liberated” region and is controlled by the Mayans; survivors of the Caste War while led by the chiefs Cecilio Chi, Jacinto Pat, Florentino Chan, Bonifacio Novelo and Venancio Pec. The Mayans were able to keep an important portion of land and make *Chan Santa Cruz* the capital of the resistance and the place where the Talking Cross invites to independence.

Thousands of free Mayans represented a challenge for the *Porfirista* dictatorship; together with the Yaquis they kept fifteen percent of the federal army busy. For years, Don Porfirio ordered military campaigns against the rebels at the very heart of the Talking Cross kingdom: in the current jungles of Quintana Roo.

In 1901, the federal troops enter Chan Santa Cruz and find a desolated population, thirst forces them to take water from the *cenote*—it was poisoned by the *insumisos*: dozens of soldiers died. Thus, the troops could no longer persecute the rebels, who had taken shelter at Dzula, a place located hundreds of kilometers away—one hundred kilometers of jungle. The damned race, as the Indians called the priests, *hacendados* and politicians, resisted in the south, while thousands of Mayans and Yaquis coexisted in similar circumstances; slavery and vexations at the henequen haciendas in the north of the peninsula. Years later, Tepich, rebellious capital during the Caste War, would be shaken by Magónist bombings. These crazy times needed to end.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

A year before the Magónists protests were present at different parts of the Mexican territory, the rebellion persisted in the Sierra Gorda. Vicente Cedillo took up arms in Minas Viejas, San Luis Potosí, in 1905.

At this time, the Magónists constituted the Organizing Board of the Mexican Liberal Party. They met and analyzed the different proposals and positions of the liberals to create the PLM Program, which would be announced in July 1906, one month after the public opinion would be shaken to know that the strike of the miners of Cananea, Sonora, in demand for labor improvements and against the mistreatment and discrimination of the Mexican worker, were repressed by the Mexican government with the support of US troops who had violated the national sovereignty by penetrating to Mexican territory. The complicity of the North American government in the fight against Magónism already had a few years of history and would continue for almost two decades.

2117-9

YAQUI INDIANS LYNCHED BY MEXICANS



IIII THE FIRST BATTLES

I am a savage, a son of nature ... I resent any attack on my freedom. My soul is still enlivened by the breath of the mountains that witnessed my advent to life, a healthy breath, a pure breath. This is why I love justice and beauty. -
Ricardo Flores Magón.

1. - It is likely that that night in March 1892, the news of what had happened just a few hours earlier at the Zocalo of the big city sounded like cannon shots in the precincts of the dictator's palace. It is possible that some decorations made show-stopping noises; but surely the heart was not even startled: the frightful and daily suffering of millions and millions of Mexicans, indigenous and peasants mainly, did not move the dictator. Would a simple street demonstration of a few thousand hungry and exalted do it? That night in March, the dictator's eyes tracked the numbers of the dead and wounded, and he would not stop at the Flores Magón surnames, which doubled on the list of detainees. Why would he? Nothing altered the rigidity of the face of the most powerful man in the Mexican Republic, owner of lives, lands, laws and institutions. Little meant for him those outbursts of the plebs; as a child he had ears and nose accustomed to the noise and the smell of gunpowder. Through the window he saw with indifference the employees who repaired the destruction, the traces of the demonstration. Drunk with power, he recalled that only two years before Congress had approved, almost unanimously, the constitutional reforms necessary for him to be reelected indefinitely. Big business was brewing in his thinking. That night, before the tired eyes of the bloodthirsty old man, the first effects went unnoticed, those first tangible signs of what would later become his mortal enemy: Magónism.

2. - *Escuela de Minería* (School of Mining). Central courtyard. 1892.

We could not stand for the assassin to be enthroned forever. The voice of that young Oaxacan student, son of Teodoro and Margarita, echoed in the ears of his classmates: *We must suppress this farce that is a tragedy for Mexico.* Distress was visible in the faces of the hundreds of boys: Let's go through the city; *Let us tell the people that they have rights, that they no longer allow the dictator to trample them.* The young Flores Magón needed to shout louder to liberate out of his chest the rage that threatened to drown him: *We are going to give people courage to end up with so much infamy. How? Preventing the old man from being re-elected! Manifesting publicly our repudiation of the regime! Marching to the national palace if necessary!* United by the same idea and moved by the same courage, the students won the street and went to spread the word, to face their youthful ardor, their desire for justice, their ingenuity, and the repressive bodies of the old murderer.



Plaza Del Zocalo. A Side of the Cathedral. March-afternoon. 1892.

- *Friends: The president has betrayed you and all of Mexico!* The young man shouted: *He has violated our traditions, he has destroyed the laws of the Reform. He has sided with the Church.* The fist of that young man pointed towards the old construction, while his voice shook the consciences of the parishioners who left the Cathedral.

Across, the shadows of the ash trees, agitated by the wind, still drew shapes on the lawn of the Plaza Magna. The son of Margarita and Teodoro continued: *Who sells our country to the French, English and North American industrialists? Who is to blame for us being slaves of the Church and foreigners? Who?* And the answer was materialized in that crowd of Indians, porters, workers, butchers, shoemakers, children and boys; and as a discharge of musketry was heard: *Porfirio Díaz!* Soon the afternoon would be dressed in violet to witness the first confrontation between the dictator and Magónism. Then the mounted police appeared and advanced between a storm of stones, with the unsheathed sword. There before the generalization of the brawl, they were able to hear the boy's cries: *We will not let the murderer re-elect! Die Díaz! Long live freedom!* And then there were the blows, the moans, the chasings, the dead, the wounded. And it was the enraged crowd that finally rose to fight for their dignity. That rebellion that discontent began to have a name: Magónism.

3. That night in March 1892, Teodoro Flores would have smiled with worry and pride if he could have seen how Margarita, his wife, crying in silence, applied hot and cold compresses on the bruised back of her youngest son, who from time to time stopped narrating the events of the story too stifle a scream. But Teodoro Flores, a Oaxacan Indian of Mexican blood, could not hear the laconic "you did well" that his wife pronounced when the son finished narrating the events at the Zocalo; Teodoro could not smile at what was happening

in that cold, damp room because he was in the pantheon, dead since last year, victim of a pneumonia that he had caught because of the rain that poured while he was doing his job.

Nonetheless, when those two words were heard, mother and son thought the same thing. Perhaps for that reason, at that moment the face of one of those who talked among the tombs, under the light of the moon, lit up, flashed: Someone from outside is thinking about you, they told Teodoro, some who had been there longer that him.

THE FAMILY OF TEODORO FLORES, MEXICAN INDIAN.

Many things had had to happen so that in1892 the Magónism began to walk on the streets (and in jails). Among them, Teodoro, that brave and haughty Indian patriot who fought against the French in Puebla, met Margarita during the shrapnel of one of the sixty-four days that this siege lasted. The bravery of that *mestizo* girl attracted him powerfully. Because of it, and as a prisoner on his way to Veracruz, he understood that he had to run away, defeat the enemy and return some day for a certain young population from Puebla.

He went to his former village looking for shelter. Memories fluttered in his head like multicolored butterflies, through his memory faces, dates, and events paraded: years ago, the conservatives had killed their relatives, including his wife. That is why he had been alone while receiving the following message: "Comrade Teodoro Flores, I urgently need your right arm and that of your courageous companions, come immediately, I beg you."

It was Porfirio Díaz, who unsuccessfully attacked the conservatives in Puebla. He had no doubt while he walked, along with three hundred men, through mountain ranges and valleys for thirty days. It would be seven o'clock on the morning in April 1867 when we arrived at The *Rompope* City, the sweet potatoes and the churches. He

quickly found out about the situation. Then, without wasting time on breakfasts and those sort of trivialities, he led his people and took the trench of the Barrio de San Juan; some of them even chanted, who chanted, "What Oaxaca wants, Oaxaca gets!"

Two months later Maximiliano is shot in Querétaro. In the meantime at Puebla, Teodoro asks for the hand of Margarita Magón. They get married and live in the Oaxacan mountains of the Sierra Mazateca, under a radiant sun, among orchards of orange trees, *mameyes* and *chicozapotes*.

Margarita had already given birth to three boys when Teodoro again stood up in arms to support the Tuxtepec uprising. Months later, when the Porfirian army entered Mexico City victoriously, Teodoro is one of the officers who had contributed most to the elevation of his countrymen. Between applause and cheers, Teodoro walked immersed in his own mind. He does not imagine that the man who leads the way would soon plunge the Mexican people into terror and misery, and he too would be a relentless persecutor of his children.

At *Teotitlán* Del Camino, Dona Margarita decides to undertake an adventure that will be transcendental for the history of Magónism. Without money for the train ticket, she goes with her children to the big city; she trusts that her courage and her wit will guide her towards her goal. In that adventure, the town plays a very important role: a train inspector found the little Flores Magón traveling hidden in a basket, and indignantly, he took them off the train. However, the passengers decided to help and pay for the children's ticket. Margarita sighed full of relief.

An inhospitable city welcomes them; the Oaxacan family opened their eyes trying to embrace the new world that appeared before them. The situation was difficult from the beginning, desperate at times. However, Enrique recalls that Teodoro never stopped talking to his children: "How different is life in Teotitlán and its surroundings, to the life in this poor Mexico. There, everything is held communally, except for women. All that land that surrounds our villages belongs to the entire community. In the mornings, we go out to work the land, everyone except the sick, the disabled, the elders, women and children. And each one does it with joy, because it gives them strength to know that all that work will be for the common good. So, when the time comes to pick up the harvest and divide it among the members of the tribe, each one receives his share according to his needs, so there are no rich or poor among us, neither thieves nor beggars." And the three little boys opened their eyes and their imagination flew towards the land that had seen them since birth.

"People say that I was the one who ruled over several towns, because I was the *Tata*. It's true, I was the boss, but until the moment I left Teotitlán, I did not give orders, I never exercised a coercive authority. I was just a counsel and an arbitrator, because we do not have to impose an authority, because we know how to live in peace with each other, treating each other as friends and brothers ". And in that voice there was nostalgia and longing.

"And how different it is in other places. Here in Mexico, look at the worker: he works twelve hours a day and only gets twenty-five cents. In the field, the laborers are worse off: they work from sunrise to sunset, many times after sunset too and they only receive twelve cents, a little corn, and a fist of beans a day, and a good whiplash if they do not work as fast as the foreman wants." Without missing a word, the children saw twinkling glances from their father's dark eyes. Then, they saw Doña Margarita, who with her serene expression supported Teodoro's words.

How would one guess—at the time—that seven years later the dictator would send judges, politicians, and soldiers to distribute the communal lands of the Mazatec region among their favorites? Among them (lands) were those of Huautla, where a girl named María Sabina was now one year old.

5. - Shortly before death took him to the cemetery, Teodoro would apologize to his wife for keeping her in poverty: I could have given you a nice house and good clothes and everything money could buy. But, I could not do otherwise without ceasing to be a man, he would say in a weak and hoarse voice. Then he would look at his children and ask them to shed no tears: "Do not let the tyrant steal your manhood. Always remember that you are children of the man who served Benito Juárez with honor in the sacred cause of the people's freedom. Remember!" He would say with his last breaths.

And the Flores Magón children would not forget those words, just as they would not do with the last gesture that Margarita would have, ten years later, when on her deathbed she received an emissary from the dictator: *Tell your children to stop attacking the president, and your excellence is committed to let them out of jail, so you can say goodbye to them.* She answered: *Tell President Díaz that I choose to die without seeing my children. Tell them that I prefer to see them hanging from a tree or in a club, than to repent or take back anything they have done or said.*

6. - 1892. Year of crisis. In San Luis Potosí, between drought, hunger, the typhus epidemic and the drastic collapse of the price of silver, businessmen cried out to the state government for political changes. The voracious octopus of the Guggenheim soon arrived in response. Camilo Arriaga started an opposition movement against Díaz. Librado Rivera teaches at *El Montecillo*, a school he also directs. In Guanajuato, the Guerrero Hurtado family celebrates the tenth anniversary of Práxedis Gilberto, the sixth of the children.

During the same year, Panchito Madero was accepted into Berkeley to study new agricultural technologies. The brutal dispossession of the lands belonging to the Indians would continue with greater effort.

The dictator was re-elected. And in the brains and hearts of the overwhelmed Mexicans, the ideas of struggle, justice and freedom began to stir. Magónism began its long march.

IV. MAGÓNISM, RADICAL SCHOOL OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

STORM WINDS.

Magónism was a political movement independent of the State, which took its name from the Oaxacan revolutionary Flores Magón brothers.

In terms of struggle, this movement emerged in 1892 as a spontaneous and vigorous cry. Later, it will be closely linked to other revolutionary processes, a link that will merge Magónism with them, imprinting a recognizable stamp. Men and women from different regions of the country, of different occupations and races, participated in the Magónist movement: from the master Librado Rivera, the Flores Magón journalists, small merchants like Carrillo Puerto, Indians like Fernando Palomarez or Ignacio Gutiérrez to; women like Modesta Abscal, Conchita Rivera and Trinidad Saucedo, workers and employees like Hilario C. Salas, Cándido Donato Padua or Esteban Baca Calderón; military men like Manuel M. Diéguez, *Juchitecos* like Adolfo C. Gurrión, the *Chihuahuenses* Prisciliano Silva and Manuel Chao, or the guerrilla poet from Guanajuato: Práxedis G. Guerrero.

Many died in jail or in violent confrontations with federal troops; others came to govern their states, or became deputies; some affiliated themselves with the Zapatista movement, while many others died old and poor.

The Magónist movement, like many other popular schools, was defeated. The revolution died when it was turned into a government. The group that capitalized on this great social movement was forced to adopt some programmatic postulates of Magónism, to give a revolutionary character to that stillborn document: the political constitution of 1917. Without a doubt, Magónism constitutes the main force of opposition to the Porfirian tyranny, but it failed in making its advanced social project triumph.

Some scholars of the Magónist phenomenon have insisted on coining it only as a precursor, a journalistic and predominantly, urban movement. Such is the case of James D. Cockcroft. Others, like Armando Bartra, have placed emphasis on the search for similes with *iskrista* models; an interpretation that does not consider the living tradition of a communalist and agrarian socialism. For other scholars, Magónism imports the approaches of European anarchism mechanically.

In a similar manner, some scholars were co-opted by the post-revolutionary governments, who even insisted on the stupid notion that Magónism was the culminating expression of Mexican liberalism, and that their expositions were wisely interpreted by the executioners of the revolution and embodied in the Magna Carta, which supposedly governs the social life of its inhabitants. From our point of view, none of these interpretations considers native popular roots—an important and proper element of Magónism.

Notice that the revolution sought by the Magónists was total, radical, and very different from what has been called the "Mexican revolution". Therefore, Magónism is not its predecessor, because they did not fight for the same thing, nor did the life of Magónism lost strength before 1910: Magónism was a rival of the Porfiriato but also of *Maderismo*, of *Carrancismo*, of *Obreгонismo*.



THE CONSTITUTION IS DEAD.

On the vexations of tyranny, on the intrigue of the clergy, on the absorption of capital and militarism, the grandiose edifice of national fraternity, democracy and development arises.

Reforma, Unión y Libertad. February 1907. Liberal manifesto.

The revolutionaries gathered in the Mexican Liberal Party acknowledged the great influence that the reforming, anti-clerical and anti-imperialist spirit of the liberals of the Reform movement had left on them. This influence is clearly seen in its constant criticism of the role played by the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the alienating character of the religious discourse. From 1892 to 1903, Magónism made an open defense on the validity of the February 5, 1857Constitution; liberals denounced the violations of the mentioned legal system, steadily carried out by judges, bureaucrats and other clerks.

Although in most of the liberal clubs fundamentally anti-clerical ideas are expressed, Ricardo Flores Magón, at the risk of his life, intervenes in the First Liberal Congress, held in February 1901 in San Luis Potosí, denouncing the Porfirian tyranny; the brave stance of this twenty-three-year-old Oaxacan youth imprinted an anti-Porfirian turn to liberal discourse.

During the first years, the liberals devoted a great amount of energy to the creation of numerous publications, which played a fundamental role, since they became the main instruments of denunciation, criticism, agitation and transmission of ideas and information. Liberal newspapers were scourge to the members of the ruling group, who were not only denounced, but also ironized to the point of mockery.

The use that liberals made of the newspaper goes back to an old tradition that was not unfamiliar to Francisco Severo Maldonado or Rafael de Zayas Enríquez. The latter wrote, "There are times when we wish our word to be the incandescent lava of a volcano that ran over everything in its path, devouring even the last vestiges of retrograde ideas, to build the society on more humanitarian bases, under the foot of true equality."

This tradition of journalistic struggle acknowledges Francisco Zarco and Guillermo Prieto as two of its promoters. Both of them attacked the clergy and the supporters of imperial courts vehemently. Liberals under the Porfirian dictatorship also use the podium as an important means of agitation. At civic parties, the speakers referred to May 5, February 5 or 1810, and took advantage of these events to denounce the atrocities of political leaders and foremen. The anti-imperialist tradition of the liberals during the era of the "Intervention Wars", fed the vision of the liberals of the early XX century. Through different means, they criticized and denounced the narrow links between the dictator and foreign plunderers.

ANARCHY TRAVELS TO MEXICO.

The ideas of social re-vindication declared by European socialism found fertile ground in Mexico around the nineteenth century. They directly influenced some popular movements, from the School of Reason and Socialism, in the convulsive Chalco, to the mutualist unions of artisans, European socialism left its mark on equality. While in Europe anarchists and Marxists faced each other in the First International, Zalacosta, Santa Fe, José María González, Julio Chávez López and Juan de la Mata Rivera spread in the egalitarian ideal of European socialism through Mexico by using the podium, the newspaper, or peasant revolts. Of the European socialist currents, it was anarchism that exerted the greatest influence over the members of the Organizing Board of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM). The anti-Statism, the atheism, and the egalitarianism, as well as the anarchic contempt for electoral mechanisms attracted a sector of the PLM. All of these currents, as well as persecution, jail and exile, had created an atmosphere so that people could envision radical revolt as the only exit against the *Porfirista* despotism.

Librado Rivera, a Potosino teacher, recalled that already in 1900 works by Jean Grave, Malatesta, Piotr Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus, Tárrida de Mármol and others were frequently read in liberal circles, "God and the State" by Mikhail Bakunin was a popular text sought by the Mexican liberals.

The Organizing Board of the Mexican Liberal Party did not print an openly anarchist stance after 1906; nevertheless, since 1904 the board had been promoting the creation of armed groups in more than twelve states across the Mexican Republic.

The predominant anarchist conception in the coordinating group of the *Junta* is clearly expressed in the letter sent by Ricardo Flores Magón to his brother Enrique and Práxedis G. Guerrero, on June 13, 1908. The anti-government conception determined: On one side, the alliance and deep relationship with anarchists from different countries—with the *wooblies* of the North American I.W.W. On the other side, the division in a significant number of liberals who will go to the *Maderista* side.

Juan Sarabia, final editor of the PLM Program of July 1, 1906, moderated the anarchist and communalist tendencies that were expressed in him, giving this programmatic document a reformist underlining. However, in the weeks following the publication of the program, the *Junta* sent several circulars to its "co-religionists" with instructions to rise up in arms against the dictatorship, which they had to do from one moment to the next, as soon as it was known that there was an armed uprising in Cananea. This event strongly suggests that the repression of the strike had not ended the movement in that border mineral - or any other special instruction.

Later, in the manifestos of 1911, the anarchist nucleus of the Mexican Liberal Party directed its darts towards the cursed trinity: capital, authority and clergy, inciting rebellion and expropriation, as well as the formation of armed militias.

The last Magónist Manifesto was published In March 1918. It is an exhortation to the anarchists of the world so that at the edge of that abyss of barbarism that was the First World War, they too could join the revolt. The manifesto ends with the cry of *¡Viva Tierra y Libertad!* Like many writings of the Mexican Liberal Party since 1910, slogan of struggle spread years before by Práxedis G. Guerrero, who had taken them from the Russian populists. This manifesto would cost Ricardo Flores Magón his 9th incarceration, where he finally met his end.



V. THE COMMUNALIST TRADITION IN MAGÓNISM

We can see, then, that Mexican people are able to live in communism, because they have practiced it, at least in part, for centuries.

Ricardo Flores Magón

The struggle that the Indian communities had been promoting for centuries, their tenacious resistance, as well as the tradition of communality, has an undoubtedly strong presence in Magónist thought and action. At the same time, when *Porfirismo* was shaken and overthrown, the indigenous peoples contributed decisively.

At the beginning of this century, the last rank in the scale of exploitation of the Mexican worker was occupied by the Indian population: Indians were the laborers on the *haciendas*: there were also many Indians in mines or in the construction of railroad tracks. The Magónists, many of them indigenous or closely linked to the indigenous peoples, demanded the restitution of the communal territory and fought for the reinstatement of lands through expropriation and revolt.

Numerous actions by the Mexican Liberal Party are intimately linked to the thought and fighting strategies of Indian peoples. In declarations, circulars, articles, programs, and mobilizations, the indigenous demand is present, as well as the vindication of the communal way of life as an organizational possibility for the New Mexican society. The socialist ideal identified assembly representation, community work, and the enjoyment of common land as ancient methods, typical of indigenous peoples, but also as examples of revolutionary alternatives.

The Magón brothers were very influenced not only by Don Teodoro, a communal representative of Indians within the District of *Teotitlán del Camino*; but also, by Palomarez Kantún, Donaciano Pérez,

Ricardo Flores Magón identifies the Indigenous custom with his proposed libertarian society, alternative to the *Porfirista* collapse. For him, the revolution had to guarantee the people the right to live, and only the social revolution could put in the hands of all, men and women, the land, source of life. Welfare and freedom would only be achieved by suppressing all types of masters. "The most urgent social need in Mexico is the dignifying of the race ..."

In his writings from 1911-1914, Ricardo points out that the Indigenous Mexicans, by taking the land from the *haciendas*, with the rifle in hand and working in common, are making a great social and economic transformation. Contrary to what the doctrinal socialists affirmed, Flores Magón points out that the "bandits", who frightened the bourgeoisie so much, did not need to read Kropotkin or Marx to have a social revolution. In *Regeneración*, Ricardo writes: "We have spread the word to our brothers of the different indigenous tribes who had been stripped of their lands, so that they take immediate possession of them, our forces will support them in their claiming work ..."

Mexican people are fit for libertarian communism, because they live it and have lived it; the *calpullis*, the communal lands, the *tequios* and *faenas*, the mechanisms of representation of the tribes, of the communities, and the iron native resistance impose their seal in the Magónists discourse and action. From 1910 his anarchist definition is clear and in it plays a fundamental role in the adoption of a new slogan: *¡Viva Tierra y Libertad!* Which would immediately identify the Magónist movement. However, the meaning of the slogan cannot be understood as detached from the struggle to achieve it, expressed in fundamental documents such as the September 1911 manifesto: it was already about ending authority, capital, and the clergy through arms, inviting the population to organize themselves, to take towns, to abolish private property, to appropriate the means of production and merchandise, to start common production again, to organize the equitable distribution of stored products and to defend themselves with the weapons from counterrevolutionary attempts by its owners, the capitalists and the government. That was fighting for *Tierra y Libertad*, and in this fight for communism the Mexican people were considered fit because of their cultural experience; the Indian peoples were a sign that anarchist autonomy was viable, historically possible. Therefore, when Zapata became interested in *Tierra y Libertad* around 1912, it is not only because of a slogan that had been among the Magónists for years, but also because of its concept of "struggle".

and many others who carried Indian blood; they made Magónism part of the tradition in Mexican communalist socialism. In addition to these important militants of Magónism, there were other Indians linked to the movement who would play a significant role in fighting even after Magónism became extinct with the death of Ricardo Flores Magón; such is the case of the *Purépecha* leader Primo Tapia, who lived with the Flores Magón in Los Angeles—according to his bodyguard in 1910-1911 due to his strength, courage and cheerful character—He was initiated into anarchism as soon as he worked for them. Later, he became a *wooblie* for some time. Finally, he returned to Michoacán and led an important regional movement against landowners in the lagoon area of *Zacapu* between 1921 and 1926.

In the 1906 written program by the Mexican Liberal Party, two of the most important claims made by the Indian peoples are: The reinstatement of lands and respect for their autonomy. It will be years later, coinciding with the anarchist radicalization of the movement, that the appreciation of the Indian ways of organizing life will appear continuously in the texts of the movement. Before and after the publication of the PLM Program, Magónists denounce plunder and persecution, join meetings, conspiratorial meetings, and armed groups are linked to the indigenous revolt.

The position of Indian societies in the libertarian horizon to transform Mexico was not exclusive to those with a Mazatec origin, such as the Flores Magón, but it was shared even by North American anarchists such as Voltairine de Cleyre and William C. Owen. Furthermore, the communalist tradition defended by Ricardo Flores Magón, was also alive among the peasant population, which was proof of its viability: "As for the *Mestizo* population, which makes up for most of the inhabitants in the Mexican republic, it also had free communal lands, forests and

water, as well as an Indigenous population. Mutual aid was also a rule; the houses were manufactured in common, currency was almost unnecessary, because there was an exchange of products. However, peace was made, the authority was strengthened, and the bandits of politics and money shamelessly stole the lands, the forests, everything ... we see, then, that the Mexican people are apt to experience communism, because they have practiced it, at least in part, for centuries, and that explains why, even though they are mostly illiterate, they understand that rather than taking part in Electoral farces to raise executioners it is preferable to take possession of the land, and is being seen as a great scandal by the thievary bourgeoisie".

In sharp contrast, we must remember that Panchito Madero argued—since 1908—that Mexican people are fit for democracy, because: "the ignorant people will not take a direct part in determining who the candidates for public posts are... Even in the most enlightened countries, it is not the people at the bottom who determine who is to take the reins of the government. Democratic peoples are generally led by party leaders, who are reduced to a small number of intellectuals."

Thus, while for the "apostle of democracy" the Mexican people are apt to achieve it because they will not participate in it (communism), for Flores Magón, Mexico is fit for communism because that "ignorant" people, whom Madero despises, have experienced it despite the domination. In this context, the words of the Yucatecan socialist Felipe Carrillo Puerto are not lost: "We are taking these communal lands from the properties of the landowners ... these lands are not given to any individual. The Mayans are community people with a great sense of responsibility: Lands are common and belong to the community. "

Magónism, closely linked to the struggles of the Mayan peoples, Yaquis, Zoque-Popolucas, Zapotecs, Nahúas, Purépechas and the Indians of Baja California, is inserted in an old socialist tradition, which often manifests through memory. This is an oral question that reflects the spirit of Indigenous communality, which undoubtedly presents itself as a grand obstacle to the development of an exploitative capitalist model for all types of wealth, imposing, centralist and western.

The cry of *¡Viva Tierra y Libertad!* (Long live Land and Freedom!) that moved different regions in the Mexican territory; also caused tremors in *caciques*, *hacendados* and political leaders, who—under the protection of Don Porfirio—had enclosed entire villages, looted their wood and fattened their bank accounts with the blood, sweat and the tears of Indian workers.

The connection between Magónism and the Indian struggle creates—in large part—the conditions for indigenous peasants to recover land or avoid the dispossession of land through armed fights.

VII MAGÓNISTS AND INDIGENOUS TOGETHER IN THE ARMED REVOLT

Certain people called Otomies and Zapotecos have already in these times began to go to Milpa Alta...

When Zapatistas walked...different languages were heard.
Doña Luz Jiménez.

The delegates of the Organizing Board of the Mexican Liberal Party toured the entire country, carrying agreements and information, while the group that remained in the United States established contact with Liberals through correspondence. In many parts of the country, the resistance was kept alive. Many months before the 1906 uprisings, the *Junta* had already established strong ties with the Indigenous struggles.

The Mexican Liberal Party militarily divided the country into five zones; *Regeneración*, the combat newspaper of which more than thirty thousand copies were published, circulated in many regions of the country. Some traveler remembers the attention paid by one-hundred Tarahumaran Indians as they listened to the reading of a copy of *Regeneración*. Hilario C. Salas, originally from the Mixtec village of Santiago Chazumba, while in Popoluca invited the inhabitants of the *Sierra de Soteapan*, Veracruz to rebellion. In Yucatan, the Magónists groups pushed the war into the Mayan towns. Abelardo Beave went through the mountains of Oaxaca talking to the Indians about the revolt that was being developed, and other Magónists did the same with the Chontales of Tabasco and the Yaquis of Sonora.

When Ricardo Flores Magón pointed out that the south had never tolerated tyrants, he could only refer to the great community tradition that had characterized the indigenous peoples in that Mexican region. Magón not only referred to the Custom but also to his tenacious and centuries-old resistance. In Morelos, a *Calpuleque* of Anenecuilco agreed with the elders that the time of the rebellion had come, thus beginning the Zapatista effort. The Magónists—with deep sympathy—established strategic links: many of them, like Abelardo Beave or Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, melted into the fights of the southern hosts, to the *Combate de los Calzonudos* (The Underwear Combat) that had come down from the Sierra to do justice. The Indians from Mexico contributed decisively to the radicalization of the revolution and the Magónists constantly promoted the alliance with the indigenous movements, which saw in the revolt the only way to defend their rights. Thus, perhaps ignoring it, they prepared the ground for the great storm that was coming: the social revolution.



MAGÓNIST WINDS IN THE NORTH OF THE ISTMO.

In the northwest portion of the Istmo de *Tehuantepec*, we can locate the regions of *Acayucan*, *Minatitlán*, and *Los Tuxtlas*, in the state of Veracruz, and the canton of *Huimanguillo*, in the *Chontalpa* of Tabasco. There, the Magónist movement and the traditional indigenous struggle merged to give rise to one of the most radical and profound anti-Porfirian revolt processes. This region has been inhabited since ancient times by communities of the Popoluca, Nahua and *Chontal* nations, which are owners of lands and forests rich in tropical woods.

These Indians already faced the plundering and arbitrariness for many years; before Hilario Carlos Salas Rivera was born in 1871 in a village of the Oaxacan Mixtec. Hilario, a Magónist who would be one of the main instigators of the revolt in 1906, did not validate the "social peace" declared by the Porfirian technocrats. After numerous projects, Porfirianism facilitated the old capitalist dream of communicating through railroad the Pacific Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico. The development of this project was awarded to the English company Pearson and Son Ltd., whose owner had a very good relationship with *Dictador* Díaz.

The progress in the ports of Salina Cruz and Mexico (Coatzacoalcos), as well as the construction of the Tehuantepec National Railway, sharply increased the dispossession of lands and forests in the communities of this region. Pearson himself (from P&S Ltd.) got at least 42 thousand hectares in the *Ex-cantón de Minatitlan*, and other foreigners acted accordingly with hundreds of thousands of hectares. The North American delimiting company, Mexican Land and Co. stood out among these desirous capitalists; suddenly the jungles, old communal patrimony of the indigenous towns in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, were measured, marked and registered as property of foreign

interests or nationals who were closely tied to the dictatorship. Such would be the case of more than one hundred and thirty thousand hectares that Romero Rubio, Porfirio Díaz's father-in-law, sold to Pearson. The tropical woods forests close to the rivers, to the roads or to the sea, were materially destroyed; in just a few years, *monterías* were installed where mahogany and cedar were extracted; the forests provided sleepers to the railroad, this looting did not benefit the owners and caretakers of the resource. This process also covered a large portion of the historic territories of the Mixe peoples of Mazatlán and Guichicovi, as well as the Zoques from Los Chimalapas, in the State of Oaxaca.

Thus, the indigenous people not only suffered the dispossession of their resources and the imposition of slave labor, but also the burden of authorities and repressive measures: those who protested were sent to the jungles of Quintana Roo, the nearby National Valley or were murdered by the *Rurales* (Francisco Cárdenas, murderer of Madero and Pino Suárez, arose from the *Rurales* of southern Veracruz). The situation of dispossession and violence against the indigenous population had created the conditions of discontent that would allow the development of a massive and violent response to what the Porfirian dictatorship represented. In 1904 when the Mexican Liberal Party delegate from Veracruz appeared in the region, the indigenous people took legal steps to recover what had been taken from them. In the oral tradition of the *Zoque-Popoluca* peoples, the memory of the re-vindicating movements at the beginning of the century is still alive. Santiago Martínez Hernández, a Popoluca from Loma Larga, Veracruz, recalled one of his memories to the teachers Rufino and Emilio Pascual (speakers of the same language):

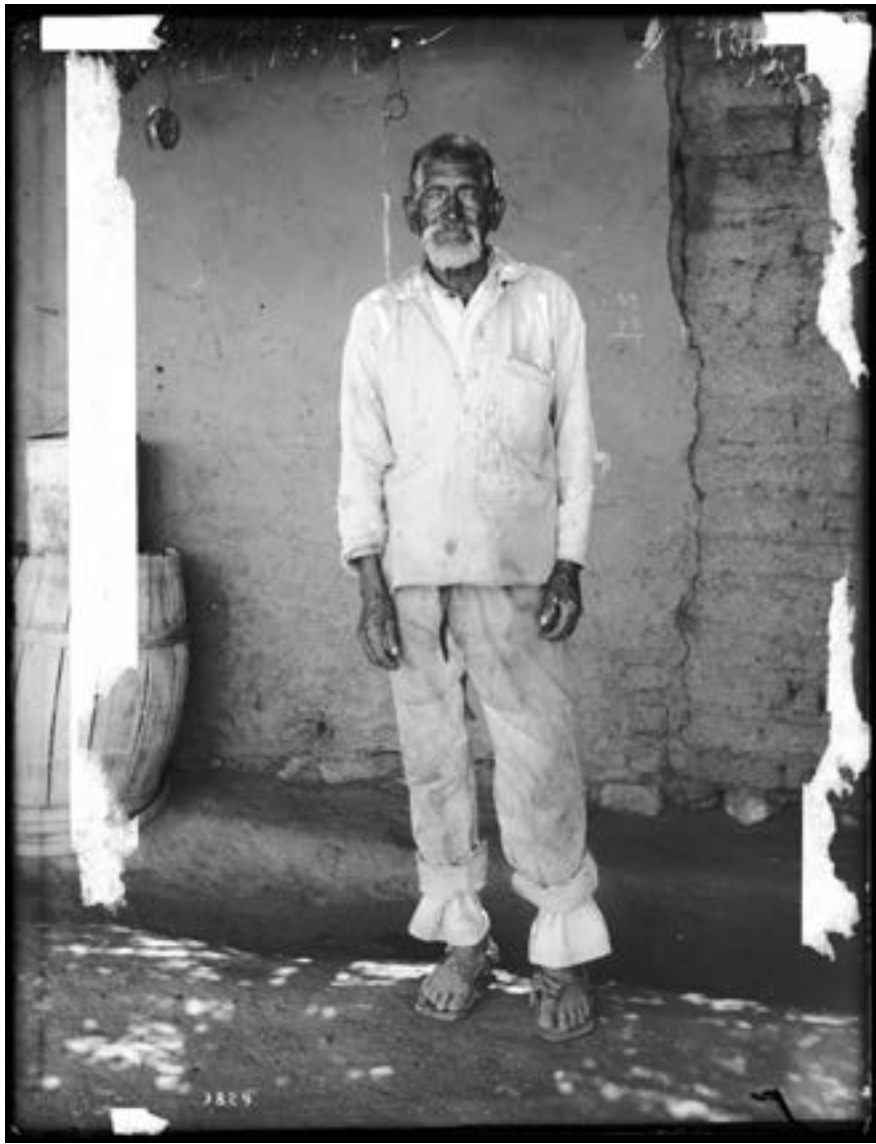
"At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of this century, the neighboring communities of the Sierra de San Pedro Soteapan promoted efforts to define their territorial limits and recover the seized lands, during these negotiations the propaganda and organization of the great Mexican Liberal Party was declared by the Flores Magón brothers and other co-religionists ".

Don Santiago also relates that "when Don Hilario C. Salas arrived to San Pedro Soteapan, the indigenous people of the Sierra were very indignant because they had been stripped of their land."

Because of the Magónists' efforts, in the years 1904 and 1905, liberal clubs in Chinameca and Puerto Mexico are founded. The clubs were formed mainly by workers of the National Railroad of Tehuantepec. The liberal club Vicente Guerrero, in Chinameca, would come from Cándido Donato Padua and Enrique Novoa, who—as Magónists—would play an important role in subsequent events. During 1905 and 1906, Magónists developed an intense propaganda work with representatives and indigenous communities: "Don Hilario C. Salas was a delegate of the Organizing Board of the great Mexican Liberal Party in the State of Veracruz. In the last days of 1905, he traveled throughout the region of the Sierra de San Pedro Soteapan", recalls Mr. Santiago Martínez Hernández. With the increasing expansion of the Pearson properties and the Veracruz Land and Cattle Co., who in a short time took over more than 175 thousand communal hectares, the Indians, already tired of legal issues, increased their enthusiasm for the liberal cause. This heightened fervor explains why when the *Proclama a la Nación* (the Proclamation to the Nation) circulated in September 1906—where the Mexican Liberal Party calls for an armed struggle—Albino R. Valencia, Rosendo A. Zapata, Donato Pascual, Cayetano Francisco, Hilario C. Gutiérrez, Donaciano Pérez and hundreds of other indigenous people immediately prepare their weapons to seize Puerto México, Acayucan, Minatitlan, Pajapan; Ixhuatlán, Soteapan and Mecayapan. The Indians knew that the time had come for resorting to revolt and stop the process of expansion and dispossession from the *hacendados*.

On September 28, they occupy Soteapan, Mecayapan and Pajapan. On September 30, in Acayucan, they are defeated and retreat to the mountains. On October 4, the federals are defeated even with the reinforcements received from Juchitán.

Throughout the region there were revolts that lasted a few days before being suffocated. People from Acayucan, Soteapan, Loma Larga, Oluta, Hueyapan, Ixjuapan, San Juan Evangelista, Cuilona, Ocosotepec, Comoapan, Tecamichapan, Coacotla, Coapiloloya, Ixhuatlan and several other communities also joined the revolts. The September-October 1906 uprising did not prosper. More than four hundred insurgents are sent to the prison at San Juan de Ulúa, and their villages burned down. Others remained hidden or some stood in arms in small groups; the communities continued their legal procedures and in Ixhuatlán the struggle continued against the cacique Nicasio L. Rosaldo, headed by Daniel P. Gavilla.



Sylvario_Nolasquez_father_of_the_Chief_of_the_Agua_Caliente_Indians_Captain_Salvador_ca.1900

Salas and Padua remain in the region working with great discretion, sometimes fleeing from the harassment of repressive peoples; but despite the siege, they manage to impulse the fight. Hilario C. Salas leaves the region in 1906, carrying the warning of rebellion to the States of Tlaxcala, Puebla and Oaxaca. During this endeavor, he makes friends with textile workers and indigenous peasants; one of them is Domingo Arenas, a Nahuua who years later would be a *Zapatista* chief in the region of the volcanoes. On the other hand, Enrique Novoa, collaborator of *Regeneración*, claimed the stealing of communal lands.

Meanwhile, Cándido Donato Padua intensifies his involvement with the rebellion at the Sierra de Soteapan by consolidating his contact with the *Chontal* rebel Ignacio Gutiérrez. Both are later named "colonels of the Mexican army" by the insurgents. In August of 1910, the famous social bandit Santana Rodríguez Palafox, accepts his designation as special delegate and military commander of the Mexican Liberal Party. In October 1910, Padua rescues sixty Yaquis; Santanón and his people, on the other hand, challenge the rural people in Amamaloaya, Veracruz, where he died on October 17. In January 1911 Padua attacks the station of Chinameca, then he goes towards Tabasco and joins the group of Ignacio Gutiérrez, who had been preparing the armed fight for several years.

In February 1911, Salas was imprisoned in Mexico City by orders from Francisco I. Madero: Complying with the provisions of the "revolutionary" *Maderista* government, the hacienda of Corral Nuevo expanded on communal lands, a situation that kept indigenous from the south of Veracruz in revolt several years after Don Hilario was assassinated in 1914.

Oaxaca will occupy the fourth place at a national level in terms of foreign investment. The despotism of governors and the terrible corruption shown by the political leaders will create the fertile ground for Oaxaca, a major indigenous State, so as to watch the Magónists flags rise. The first liberal club was founded in 1900, driven by Don Retumbo Odriozola in the town of Cuicatlán. New liberal groups would soon emerge throughout the state.

The young Magónists Adolfo C. Gurrión, of Juchitán, and the Tehuano Plutarco Gallegos, founded the newspaper *La Semecracia* in 1906, they will direct severe criticisms and denunciations against the rulers and their injustices.

Also, in contact with the Mexican Liberal Party is Miguel Maraver Aguilar, a *Miahuayeco* who participated in the uprising of Juquila, in 1896; the *Ojiteco* Sebastián Ortiz, who will rise up in arms in January 1911; and the engineer Angel Barrios - whose name was Abelardo Beave -, a fierce fighter who met Ricardo Flores Magón and over the years would become a Zapatista general.

The Magón Flores brothers did not lose contact with Oaxaca and in the pages of *Regeneración* there are constant denunciations of arbitrariness, as well as news of the activities of the clubs. Even Ricardo Flores Magón was imprisoned in 1901 and in 1905 because of denunciations he published against the political leaders of Huajuapán and Pochutla, respectively.

Padua participated in several clashes in the State of Tabasco, he was seriously injured in one of them. The demands of the indigenous peoples of southern Veracruz were defeated with the failure of the revolution; The 40's and 50's would have to arrive for the demands to be restored, via the endowment of common lands and communal lands. Most of the participants died in poverty. Cándido Donato Padua was one of the founders of the *Federación Anarquista* de México (Anarchist Federation of Mexico) in the 40s and died spreading a message of radical struggle.

Recently, in 1985, twenty thousand Nahua Indians of Pajapan managed to stop, after imprisonment and confrontation, the policy of dispossession that the Mexican government establishes, in this case through the state-owned PEMEX. The Magónist fight is still in the memory of the indigenous people in southern Veracruz, it is also the struggle of the indigenous peoples of the Isthmus, where megaprojects remain a threat to the economy, culture and environment as well as a loss of National Sovereignty in our country.

THE INDIGENOUS OAXACA RISES.

In the state of Oaxaca, the impact of capitalist modernization is exacerbated by the construction of the National Railroads of Tehuantepec and the Mexican South. Numerous indigenous communities faced the dispossession of foreign demarcation companies during the Porfiriato; back then, mining receives an important boom.

Oaxaca will occupy the fourth place at a national level in terms of foreign investment. The despotism of governors and the terrible corruption shown by the political leaders will create the fertile ground for Oaxaca, a major indigenous State, so as to watch the Magónists flags rise. The first liberal club was founded in 1900, driven by Don Retumbo Odriozola in the town of Cuicatlán. New liberal groups would soon emerge throughout the state.

The young Magónists Adolfo C. Gurrión, of Juchitán, and the Tehuano Plutarco Gallegos, founded the newspaper *La Semecracia* in 1906, they will direct severe criticisms and denunciations against the rulers and their injustices.

Also, in contact with the Mexican Liberal Party is Miguel Maraver Aguilar, a *Miahuayeco* who participated in the uprising of Juquila, in 1896; the *Ojiteco* Sebastián Ortiz, who will rise up in arms in January 1911; and the engineer Angel Barrios - whose name was Abelardo Beave -, a fierce fighter who met Ricardo Flores Magón and over the years would become a Zapatista general.

The Magón Flores brothers did not lose contact with Oaxaca and in the pages of *Regeneración* there are constant denunciations of arbitrariness, as well as news of the activities of the clubs. Even Ricardo Flores Magón was imprisoned in 1901 and in 1905 because of denunciations he published against the political leaders of Huajuapán and Pochutla, respectively.

Soon the Magónist precursors in Oaxaca will be persecuted, and many of them imprisoned in the dungeons of San Juan de Ulúa. Faustino G. Olivera, from Etla, will continue to denounce in 1907 and 1908 through *La Voz de la Justicia* the Porfirian excesses. Adolfo C. Gurrión will leave the State in 1907, before returning to his native Isthmus of Tehuantepec, where he will negotiate the amnesty of five hundred Zapotec Indians. They had participated in the revolt for community self-determination that Che Gómez led in 1911. Adolfo will be assassinated in August 1913 by military henchmen somewhere in Tehuantepec, accused of rebelling.

From 1910, in different regions of the state, the indigenous people rise to recover land and throw political leaders. For their part, the Zapatistas operate extensively in Oaxaca, especially in the Mixtec region; some Magónists will have to join the Zapatistas in carrying the cry ¡*Viva Tierra y Libertad!*

THE YAQUIS WAVE THE RED FLAG.

After the execution of chief Tetabiabe in July 1901, the Yaquis, in the midst of a war of extermination, listen to the word of the *Temastión* Tascachola; that sad and indignant voice encourages them to continue the holy war for the land.

It is now up to Yaquis Opodepe and Sibalaume to lead the guerrilla. In 1908, the delegate of the Mexican Liberal Party in the states of Baja California and Sonora, the Indian Fernando Palomarez established a natural alliance with Chief Sibalaume and that same year the Mexican Liberal Party also makes alliances with the insurgent Tarahumaras led by Santa Pérez. On August 31, 1911, five hundred Yaquis stormed the federal barracks in

Pitahaya, Sonora. The red flag had two words inscribed: *Tierra y Libertad*. Ricardo Flores Magón reports in *Regeneración* the success of the arrow used by the Yaquis: On a red arrow, right on the Canute of the tip, dynamite or nitroglycerin was put with a simple mining detonator: the havoc it caused among the federals was serious. The Yaqui war will officially end in1929; more than fifty continuous years of war almost succeeded in realizing the old dream of the Porfirian military: exterminate the "fierce" .

THE MAGÓNISTS TERRIFY THE DIVINE BREED.

In northern Yucatan, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was slavery, the American journalist John Kenneth Turner - a Magónist sympathizer who toured the country with Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara, a Cananea veteran, and who recounts his journey in the influential book *México Bárbaro*- describes that inhuman situation based on the control of the exploitation of henequen (Ki).The rebellious Maya still had as their capital the old *Xbatub*, in the heart of the kingdom of the Talking Cross to the south of the peninsula.

Liberal groups distributed the 1906 Program in northern Yucatan and were preparing for the armed revolt; they carry out a great campaign of agitation, which includes the bomb explosions in Tepich, Acanceh and other Mayan towns; in 1910 they rise up in arms in Valladolid. This movement is defeated and dozens of Magónists will suffer jail, three of its leaders were executed: Maximiliano Ramírez Bonilla, José Expectación Kantún and Atilano Albertos.

Already in the armed period, two members would stand out; Rafael Gamboa, (a) "El Ravachol", and Felipe Carrillo Puerto, (a) "Yaax Ich", who would found the *Partido Socialista del Sureste* (Socialist Party of the Southeast). Felipe Carrillo Puerto, of *Motuleño* origin and an old reader of *Regeneración*, translated the Constitution of 1857 into Maya and intervened in support of Mayan communities, such as Kaxatah and Dzununcan; Felipe Carrillo Puerto is a railroad worker and small merchant, after working in the liberated zone of Morelos, he returns to Yucatan and when he is elected governor, he will support the work of José de la Luz Mena, who promotes the Modern School, in Mayan communities, a process that is still alive. In 1918, Carrillo Puerto will promote the great process of re-communalization. This process will cost him his life.

For Carrillo Puerto socialism was based on the Mayan communalist past, because he considered that: "Nobody is the exclusive owner of the land, as nobody is of the light or the air." He also points out: "Yucatan is Mayan ... Our people have a long history, a rich tradition, a tenacious memory ..." This passionate fighter will love beyond his death his *Peregrina* and the Mayan people.For the Socialist Party of the Southeast, the first goal was to redistribute the communal lands, or ejidos, to the indigenous people. The appropriation of the land by the indigenous communities was the main contribution of the old liberals to the revolution.

THE PEASANTS SHOUT, ENOUGH! AND THEY ACT ON IT.

“*¡ Nemi Zapata! ¡ Nemi Zapata! Nian ca namotata, ayemo miqui. ¡ Nemi Zapata! "*

(Zapata still lives! Vive Zapata! Your father is here, he is not dead.) Long Live Zapata! Starting June 1910, the revolutionary uprisings begin and in 1911, they would mark the fall of Porfirio Díaz. The war situation that prevails in Mexican lands prevents communication among Magónists, many are isolated and integrated into peasant armies.

After the capture of Guadalupe, Chihuahua, by the libertarian army led by Prisciliano Silva, the Magónists will have as their main enemy the *Maderismo*. This fact would deeply divide, once again, the Mexican Liberal Party. The Magónists managed to control a large area of Baja California Norte for five months in the first half of 1911; for more than two years they kept armed groups operating in the northern states of the country. On the other hand, between 1910 and 1912, Higinio Tanguma, despised by the rich because he had been a pawn, heads the indigenous peasant struggle against the landowners in the south of Tamaulipas, carrying a large red flag with the slogan "*Tierra y Libertad*".

In 1913, the Magónist Antonio de P. Araujo began negotiations with Zapata who suggested that *Regeneración* be published in Morelos, a liberated zone. The Magónists: Barrios, Rangel, Díaz Soto, and Gama among many others, actively participate in the Zapatista armies composed mainly by Nahuas, Mixtecs, Amuzgos, Otomi Indians, etc. The presence of the Magónists imprinted its mark on the *Zapatismo*. Ricardo Flores Magón, through articles published in *Regeneración*, mainly in the years of 1914 and 1915, constantly launched himself in the defense of Zapatismo, in which he saw, unlike *Villismo*, the materialization of the revolutionary ideal. To the north of the country, the Magónist militias had joined the peasant armies led by Lucio Blanco and the Arrieta brothers, who were the first to take the lands of the *haciendas* and distribute them among the laborers.

The disturbances in the communication between the Magónist nucleus that resided in the north and the revolutionaries of Mexico, were sharpened with the constant persecution and imprisonment of many of the Magónists.

The Organizing Committee of the Mexican Liberal Party will disseminate through its publications denunciations against the governments of Madero, Huerta and Carranza, it will request the US government - as did the *Porfiriato* - to persecute the “Magónist bandits ”.

In a context of world war and a generalized rise in the demands of peoples of the world, the core of the Mexican Liberal Party in the United States will call for world revolution and openly express its support for the rebels who in Texas, Oklahoma, Montana and other states of the American Union have manifested themselves against their governments.

According to Ricardo Flores Magón the triumph of the Mexican revolution was necessarily linked to the world revolt, including the American Revolution. I knew that the great capitalists of the United States and their army would never allow their southern neighbor to consolidate a revolutionary process.

Ricardo Flores Magón, was murdered in an American prison. Some surviving Magónists, such as Librado Rivera and Nicolás T. Bernal, persisted in their struggle until death took away their last breath of life, congruent with that 1914 proclamation: "*Ahora a trabajar con el mismo brío de antes, hasta morir o vencer. ¡Viva Tierra y Libertad!*" (Now, to work with the same verve as before, until death or victory; ¡Long live Land and Liberty!)

VII. SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Magónism was the most radical movement in the process called "Mexican Revolution"; its libertarian project was founded with the re-communalizing project of the Indian peoples.

History, when written by the victorious, is generally distorted, so much so that for historians there is no Indigenous presence in the events of this century.

Since Tlacaelêl*, we know that the destruction and manipulation of popular memory is an indispensable task for permanence in power. In our times, the dominant group uses different means to achieve this goal. The powerful know well that people without memory are weak and susceptible, that is why they have made—out of Magónism—streets, or excuses for their demagogic speeches.

We know well that Magónism has not died, that the Magónist way of thinking has continued permeating regions in our country and encouraging them to fight for the Mexican people. When the young band from the colonies and marginalized neighborhoods of Mexico City declare "the government does not want us because we are Magónists"; when the drivers of Chiapas and Oaxaca stand frontally against Charro syndicalism, which tries to destroy its Flores Magón National Union. In a city besieged by thousands of soldiers, on the main door of the University a blanket reads: "The tyrants seem great to us, because we are on our knees, let's stand up." When from the mountains of the Mexican southeast, the voice of indigenous dignity rises again, when this happens, we know that Magónism has not died and will not die, because important members of the Mexican people have decided to continue fighting. In a Mexico of injustice, where more than a million dead were used for the so-called "revolutionary family" to rise from positions of power and in alliance with foreign sectors, have free reign to an intense process of capitalist development. This reign represents nothing more than the destruction of the Mexican country, we know that in such a Mexico, Magónism will be present to end crazy times.





墨西哥革命是这场遍及全世界的经济反叛最显著的表现之一。它对当前经济机构的破坏和重组可能占有重要地位,正如法国大革命在18世纪运动中的重要性一样。它并非始于可憎的迪亚兹政府,也不是以他的倒台告终,正如法国革命并非始于路易十六的加冕,也不因他的斩首告终。它始于农民悲苦和愤怒的心灵,他们几代人在一个现成的、外来并强加在他们身上的剥削制度下饱受折磨,他们失去了家园,被迫成为那些抢夺他们的佃农奴隶;在迪亚兹政权领导下,若反抗就会被驱逐到遥远的省份,在恶劣的气候下进行苦力劳动。只有当土地拥有制度发生巨大改变,或直到人民被强大的军事力量—不论是本国或外来的势力--完全粉碎,以至屈服称臣时,它才会结束……

...让我们理解为什么。墨西哥由二十七个州、两个领地和一个关于首都的联邦区组成。其人口总数约1500万。其中有400万是纯印第安血统,与西南诸州的人民性格上有些相似,他们在很久以前以农业为主,许多社会风俗中具有共产主义特征,并且就像所有印第安人一样,憎恨权威、无法征服。这些印第安人散布在墨西哥各个乡村,其中一个特别知名并且很受人津

津乐道的部落—亚基族(Yaquis),家乡在位于墨西哥北部的索诺拉州,一个以农业为主、经济富饶的地区。

印第安人口 - 尤其是雅基族和摩基族 - 从早期西班牙征服到现在,一直在对抗入侵者政府的非法夺权,而且他们肯定会继续与之对抗,只要还有一个印第安人活着,或直到使用孕育他们的土地的权利受到认可,而不需做任何形式的进贡为止。

这些人具共产主义特点的风俗习惯非常有趣,也深富启发性。尽管外来文明嫁接到了墨西哥(这个词的所有含义都被嫁接了),他们数百年来仍旧继续维持这些风俗习惯。直到四十年前(实际上,最糟糕的情况是二十五年前),因为政府不断增强的力量才摧毁了人们这种古老的生活习俗……

印度人喜欢生活;喜欢做自己的主人;喜欢高兴工作就工作,高兴停就停。他并不渴望很多东西,但渴望享受所拥有的东西。他比白人更觉得自己属于大自然的一部分。印第安人的所有传说都是关于与大自然的游荡,关于森林、田野、溪流、植物、动物。他想和大地上的其他孩子一样享有同样的自由。他的工作理念是,工作是为了生活无忧。这不是懒惰;这对有这种性格的人来说是有意义的。

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

A lecture delivered in Chicago October 29, 1911¹. by Voltairine de Cleyre

THAT a nation of people considering themselves enlightened, informed, alert to the interests of the hour, should be so generally and so profoundly ignorant of a revolution taking place in their backyard, so to speak, as the people of the United States are ignorant of the present revolution in Mexico, can be due only to profoundly and generally acting causes. That people of revolutionary principles and sympathies should be so, is inexcusable. It is as one of such principles and sympathies that I address you, as one interested in every move the people make to throw off their chains, no matter where, no matter how, though naturally my interest is greatest where the move is such as appears to me to be most in consonance with the general course of

progress, where the tyranny attacked is what appears to me the most fundamental, where the method followed is to my thinking most direct and unmistakable. And I add that those of you who have such principles and sympathies are in the logic of your own being bound, first, to inform yourselves concerning so great a matter as the revolt of millions of people what they are struggling for, what they are struggling against, and how the struggle stands from day to day, if possible; if not, from week to week, or month to month, as best you can; and second, to spread this knowledge among others, and endeavor to do what little you can to awaken the consciousness and sympathy of others.

One of the great reasons why the mass of the American people know nothing of the Revolution in Mexico, is, that they have altogether a wrong conception of what “revolution” means. Thus ninety-nine out of a hundred persons to whom you broach the subject will say, “Why, I thought that ended long ago. That ended last May”; and this week the press, even the Daily Socialist, reports, “A new revolution in Mexico.” It isn't a new revolution at all; it is the same revolution, which did not begin with the

1. Voltairine de Cleyre, “The Mexican Revolution,” *Mother Earth* 6 no. 10 (December 1911): 301-306; 6 no. 11 (January 1912): 335-341; 6 no. 12 (February 1912): 374-380.

armed rebellion of last May, which has been going on steadily ever since then, and before then, and is bound to go on for a long time to come, if the other nations keep their hands off and the Mexican people are allowed to work out their own destiny. What is a revolution? and what is this revolution? A revolution means some great and subversive change in the social institutions of a people, whether sexual, religious, political, or economic. The movement of the Reformation was a great religious revolution; a profound alteration in human thought a refashioning of the human mind. The general movement towards political change in Europe and America about the close of the eighteenth century, was a revolution. The American and the French revolutions were only prominent individual incidents in it, culminations of the teachings of the Rights of Man.

The present unrest of the world in its economic relations, as manifested from day to day in the opposing combinations of men and money, in strikes and bread-riots, in literature and movements of all kinds demanding a readjustment of the whole or of parts of our wealth-owning and wealth-distributing system, this unrest is the revolution of our time, the economic revolution, which is seeking social change, and will go on until it is accomplished. We are in it; at any moment of our lives it may invade our own homes with its stern demand for self-sacrifice and suffering. Its more violent manifestations are in Liverpool and London to-day, in Barcelona and Vienna to-morrow, in New York and Chicago the day after. Humanity is a seething, heaving mass of unease, tumbling like surge over a slipping, sliding, shifting bottom; and there will never be any ease until a rock bottom of economic justice is reached. The Mexican revolution is one of the prominent manifestations of this world-wide economic revolt. It possibly holds as important a place in the present disruption and reconstruction of economic institutions, as the great revolution of France held in the eighteenth century movement. It did not begin with the odious government of Díaz nor end with his downfall, any more than the revolution in France began with the coronation of Louis XVI, or ended with his beheading. It began in the bitter and outraged hearts of the peasants, who for generations have suffered under a ready-made system of exploitation, imported and foisted upon them, by which they have been dispossessed of their homes, compelled to become slave-tenants of those who robbed them; and under Díaz, in case of rebellion to be deported to a distant province, a killing climate, and hellish labor. It will end only when that bitterness is assuaged by very great alteration in the land-holding system, or until the people have been absolutely crushed into subjection by a strong military power, whether that power be a native or a foreign one.

Now the political overthrow of last May, which was followed by the substitution of one political manager for another, did not at all touch the economic situation. It promised, of course; politicians always promise. It promised to consider measures for altering conditions; in the meantime, proprietors are assured that the new government intends to respect the rights of landlords and capitalists, and exhorts the workers to be patient and—*frugal!* Frugal! Yes, that was the exhortation in

Madero's paper to men who, when they are able to get work, make twenty-five cents a day. A man owning 5,000,000 acres of land exhorts the disinherited workers of Mexico to be frugal!

The idea that such a condition can be dealt with by the immemorial remedy offered by tyrants to slaves, is like the idea of sweeping out the sea with a broom. And unless that frugality, or in other words, starvation, is forced upon the people by more bayonets and more strategy than appear to be at the government's command, the Mexican revolution will go on to the solution of Mexico's land question with a rapidity and directness of purpose not witnessed in any previous upheaval. For it must be understood that the main revolt is a revolt against the system of land tenure. The industrial revolution of the cities, while it is far from being silent, is not to compare with the agrarian revolt. Let us understand why. Mexico consists of twenty-seven states, two territories and a federal district about the capital city. Its population totals about 15,000,000. Of these, 4,000,000 are of unmixed Indian descent, people somewhat similar in character to the Pueblos of our own southwestern states, primitively agricultural for an immemorial period, communistic in many of their social customs, and like all Indians, invincible haters of authority. These Indians are scattered throughout the rural districts of Mexico, one particularly well-known and much talked of tribe, the Yaquis, having had its fatherland in the rich northern state of Sonora, a very valuable agricultural country.

The Indian population—especially the Yaquis and the Moquis—have always disputed the usurpations of the invaders' government, from the days of the early conquest until now, and will undoubtedly continue to dispute them as long as there is an Indian left, or until their right to use the soil out of which they sprang *without paying tribute in any shape* is freely recognized.

The communistic customs of these people are very interesting, and very instructive too; they have gone on practising them all these hundreds of years, in spite of the foreign civilization that was being grafted upon Mexico (grafted in all senses of the word); and it was not until forty years ago (indeed the worst of it not till twenty-five years ago), that the increasing power of the government made it possible to destroy this ancient life of the people. By them, the woods, the waters, and the lands were held in common. Any one might cut wood from the forest to build his cabin, make use of the rivers to irrigate his field or garden patch (and this is a right whose acknowledgment none but those who know the aridity of the southwest can fully appreciate the imperative necessity for). Tillable lands were allotted by mutual agreement before sowing, and reverted to the tribe after harvesting, for realloiment. Pasturage, the right to collect fuel, were for all. The habits of mutual aid which always arise among sparsely settled communities were instinctive with them. Neighbor assisted neighbor to build his cabin, to plough his ground, to gather and store this crop.

No legal machinery existed—no tax-gatherer, no justice, no jailer. All that they had to do with the hated foreign civilization was to pay the periodical rent-collector, and to get out of the way of the recruiting officer when he came around. Those two personages they regarded with spite and dread; but as the major portion of their lives was not in immediate contact with them, they could still keep on in their old way of life in the main. With the development of the Díaz regime, which came into power in 1876 (and when I say the Díaz regime I do not especially mean the man Díaz, for I think he has been both overcursed and overpraised, but the whole force which has steadily developed centralized power from then on, and the whole policy of “civilizing Mexico,” which was the Díaz boast), with its development, I say, this Indian life has been broken up, violated with as ruthless a hand as ever tore up a people by the roots and cast them out as weeds to wither in the sun. Historians relate with horror the iron deeds of William the Conqueror, who in the eleventh century created the New Forest by laying waste the farms of England, de- stroying the homes of the people to make room for the deer. But his edicts were mercy compared with the action of the Mexican government toward the Indians. In order to introduce “progressive civilization” the Díaz regime granted away immense concessions of land, to native and foreign capitalists—chiefly foreign, indeed, though there were enough of native sharks as well. Mostly these concessions were granted to capitalistic combinations, which were to build railroads (and in some cases did so in a most uncalled for and uneconomic way), “develop” mineral resources, or establish “modern industries.”

The government took no note of the ancient tribal rights or customs, and those who received the concessions proceeded to enforce their property rights. They introduced the unheard of crime of “trespass.” They forbade the cutting of a tree, the breaking of a branch, the gathering of the fallen wood in the forests. They claimed the watercourses, forbidding their free use to the people; and it was as if one had forbidden to us the rains of heaven. The unoccupied land was theirs; no hand might drive a plow into the soil without first obtaining permission from a distant master—a permission granted on the condition that the product be the landlord's, a small, pitifully small, wage, the worker's.

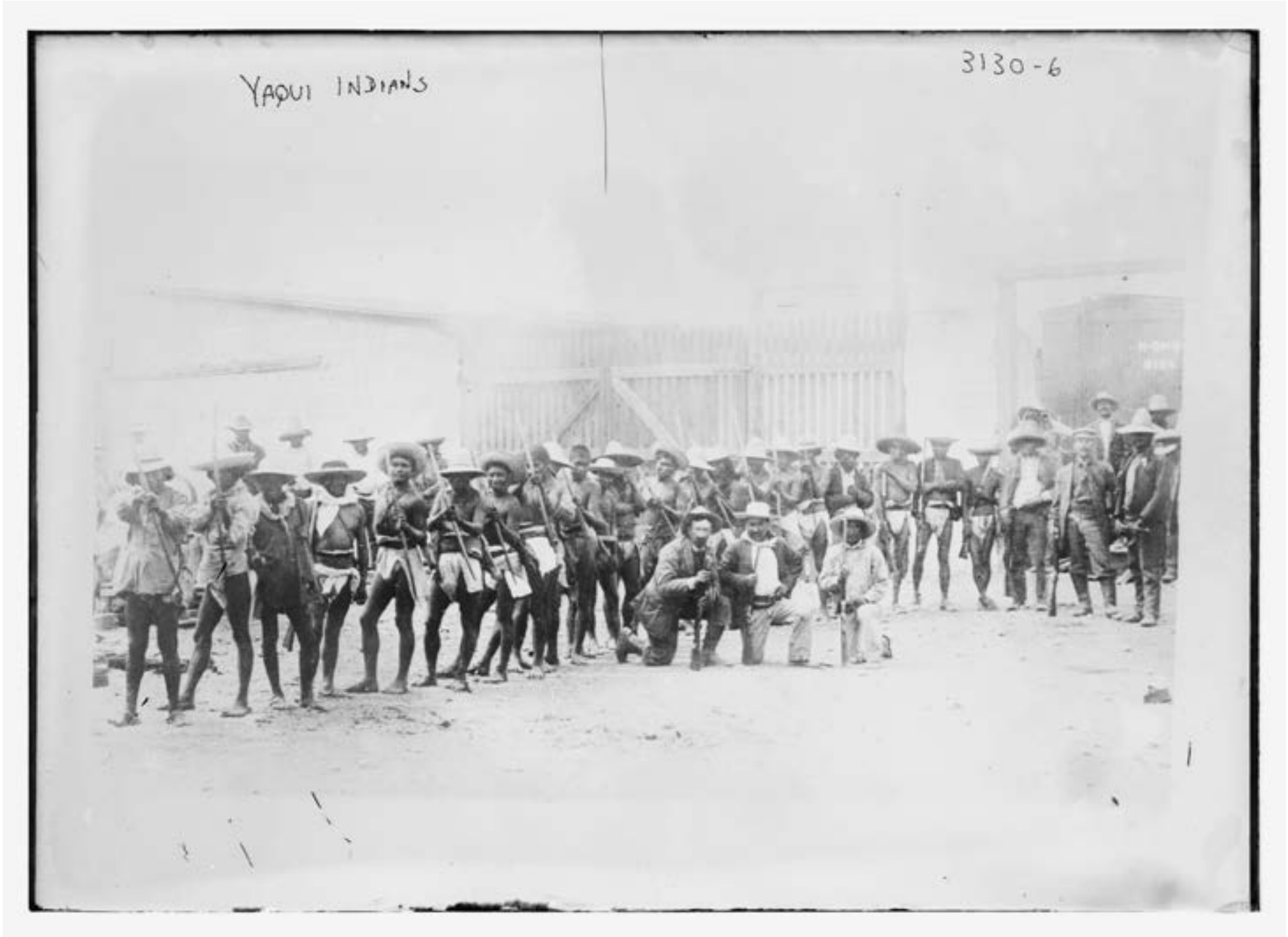
Nor was this enough: in 1894 was passed “The Law of Unappropriated Lands.” By that law, not only were the great stretches of vacant, in the old time common, land appropriated, but the occupied lands themselves to which the occupants could not show a legal title were to be “denounced”; that is, the educated and the powerful, who were able to keep up with the doings of the government, went to the courts and said that there was no legal title to such and such land, and put in a claim for it. And the usual hocus-pocus of legality being complied with (the actual occupant of the land being all the time blissfully unconscious of the law, in the innocence of his barbarism supposing that the working of the ground by his generations of forbears was title all-sufficient) one fine day the sheriff comes upon this hapless dweller on the heath and drives him from his ancient habitat to wander an outcast.

Such are the blessings of education. Mankind invents a written sign to aid its intercommunication; and forthwith all manner of miracles are wrought with the sign. Even such a miracle as that a part of the solid earth passes under the mastery of an impotent sheet of paper; and a distant bit of animated flesh which never even saw the ground, acquires the power to expel hundreds, thousands, of like bits of flesh, though they grew upon that ground as the trees grow, labored it with their hands, and fertilized it with their bones for a thousand years.

“This law of unappropriated lands,” says William Archer, “has covered the country with Naboth's Vineyards.” I think it would require a Biblical prophet to describe the “abomination of desolation” it has made. It was to become lords of this desolation that the men who play the game landlords who are at the same time governors and magistrates, enterprising capitalists seeking investments connived at the iniquities of the Díaz regime; I will go further and say devised them. The Madero family alone owns some 8,000 square miles of territory; more than the entire state of New Jersey. The Terrazas family, in the state of Chihuahua, owns 25,000 square miles; rather more than the entire state of West Virginia, nearly one-half the size of Illinois. What was the plantation owning of our southern states in chattel slavery days, compared with this? And the peon's share for his toil upon these great estates is hardly more than was the chattel slave's wretched housing, wretched food, and wretched clothing. It is to slaves like these that Madero appeals to be “frugal.”

It is of men who have thus been disinherited that our complacent fellow-citizens of Anglo-Saxon origin, say: “Mexicans! What do you know about Mexicans? Their whole idea of life is to lean up against a fence and smoke cigarettes.” And pray, what idea of life should a people have whose means of life in their own way have been taken from them? Should they be so mighty anxious to convert their strength into wealth for some other man to loll in?

It reminds me very much of the answer given by a negro employee on the works at Fortress Monroe to a companion of mine who questioned him good-humoredly on his easy idleness when the foreman's back was turned. “Ah ain't goin' to do no white man's work, fo' Ah don' get no white man's pay.” But for the Yaquis, there was worse than this. Not only were their lands seized, but they were ordered, a few years since, to be deported to Yucatan. Now Sonora, as I said, is a northern state, and Yucatan one of the southernmost. Yucatan hemp is famous, and so is Yucatan fever, and Yucatan slavery on the hemp plantations. It was to that fever and that slavery that the Yaquis were deported, in droves of hundreds at a time, men, women and children droves like cattle droves, driven and beaten like cattle. They died there, like flies, as it was meant they should. Sonora was desolated of her rebellious people, and the land became “pacific” in the hands of the new landowners. Too pacific in spots. They had not left people enough to reap the harvests.



Then the government suspended the deportation act, but with the provision that for every crime committed by a Yaqui, five hundred of his people be deported. This statement is made in Madero's own book. Now what in all conscience would any one with decent human feeling expect a Yaqui to do? Fight! As long as there was powder and bullet to be begged, borrowed, or stolen; as long as there is a garden to plunder, or a hole in the hills to hide in! When the revolution burst out, the Yaquis and other Indian peoples, said to the revolutionists: “Promise us our lands back, and we will fight with you.” And they are keeping their word, magnificently. All during the summer they have kept up the warfare. Early in September, the Chihuahua papers reported a band of 1,000 Yaquis in Sonora about to attack El Anil; a week later 500 Yaquis had seized the former quarters of the federal troops at Pitahaya. This week it is reported that federal troops are dispatched to Ponoitlan, a town in Jalisco, to quell the Indians who have risen in revolt again because their delusion that the Maderist government was to re- store their land has been dispelled. “Like reports from Sinaloa. In the terrible state of Yucatan, the Mayas are in active rebellion; the reports say that “the authorities and leading citizens of various towns have been seized by the malcontents and put in prison.” What is more interesting is, that the peons have seized not only “the leading citizens,” but still more to the purpose have seized the plantations, parceled them, and are already gathering the crops for themselves.

Of course, it is not the pure Indians alone who form the peon class of Mexico. Rather more than double the number of Indians are mixed breeds; that is, about 8,000,000, leaving less than 3,000,000 of pure white stock. The mestiza, or mixed breed population, have followed the communistic instincts and customs of their Indian forbears; while from the Latin side of their make-up, they have certain tendencies which work well together with their Indian hatred of authority. The mestiza, as well as the Indians, are mostly ignorant in book-knowledge, only about sixteen per cent, of the whole population of Mexico being able to read and write. It was not within the program of the “civilizing” regime to spend money in putting the weapon of learning in the people's hands. But to conclude that people are necessarily unintelligent because they are illiterate, is in itself a rather unintelligent proceeding. Moreover, a people habituated to the communal customs of an ancient agricultural life do not need books or papers to tell them that the soil is the source of wealth, and they must “get back to the land,” even if their intelligence is limited.

Accordingly, they have got back to the land. In the state of Morelos, which is a small, south-central state, but a very important one being next to the Federal District, and by consequence to the city of Mexico there has been a remarkable land revolution. General Zapata, whose name has figured elusively in newspaper reports now as having made peace with Madero, then as breaking faith, next wounded and killed, and again resurrected and in hiding, then anew on the warpath and proclaimed by the provisional government the arch-rebel who must surrender unconditionally and be tried by court-martial; who has seized the strategic points on both the railroads running through Morelos, and who just a few days ago broke into the federal district, sacked a town, fought successfully at two or three points, with the federals, blew out two railroad bridges and so frightened the deputies in Mexico City that they are clamoring for all kinds of action; this Zapata, the fires of whose military camps are springing up now in Guerrero, Oaxaca and Puebla as well, is an Indian with a long score to pay, and all an Indian's satisfaction in paying it. He appears to be a fighter of the style of our revolutionary Marion and Sumter; the country in which he is operating is mountainous, and guerilla bands are exceedingly difficult of capture; even when they are defeated, they have usually succeeded in inflicting more damage than they have received, and they always get away.

Zapata has divided up the great estates of Morelos from end to end, telling the peasants to take possession. They have done so. They are in possession, and have already harvested their crops. Morelos has a population of some 212,000. In Puebla reports in September told us that eighty leading citizens had waited on the governor to protest against the taking possession of the land by the peasantry. The troops were deserting, taking horses and arms with them. It is they no doubt who are now fighting with Zapata. In Chihuahua, one of the largest states, prisons have been thrown open and the prisoners recruited as rebels; a great hacienda was attacked and the horses run off, whereupon the peons rose and joined the attacking party. In Sinaloa, a rich northern state famous in the southwestern United States some years ago as the field of a great co-operative experiment in which Mr. C. B. Hoffman, one of the former editors of The Chicago Daily Socialist, was a leading spirit this week's paper reports that the former revolutionary general, Juan Banderas, is heading an insurrection second in importance only to that led by Zapata.

In the southern border state of Chiapas, the taxes in many places could not be collected. Last week news items said that the present government had sent General Paz there, with federal troops, to remedy that state of affairs. In Tabasco, the peons refused to harvest the crops for their masters; let us hope they have imitated their brothers in Morelos and gathered them for them- selves. The Maderists have announced that a stiff repressive campaign will be inaugurated at once; if we are to believe the papers, we are to believe Madero guilty of the imbecility of saying, “Five days after my inauguration the rebellion will be crushed.” Just why the crushing has to wait till five days after the inauguration does not appear. I conceive there must have been some snickering among the reactionary deputies if such an announcement was really made; and some astonished query among his followers. What are we to conclude from all these reports? That the Mexican people are satisfied? That it’s all good and settled? What should we think if we read that the people, not of Lower but of Upper, California had turned out the ranch owners, had started to gather in the field products for themselves and that the Secretary of War had sent United States troops to attack some thousands of armed men (Zapata has had 3,000 under arms the whole summer and that force is now greatly increased) who were defending that expropriation? if we read that in the state of Illinois the farmers had driven off the tax collector? that the coast states were talking of secession and forming an independent combination? that in Pennsylvania a division of the federal army was to be dispatched to overpower a rebel force of fifteen hundred armed men doing guerilla work from the mountains? that the prison doors of Maryland, within hailing distance of Washington City, were being thrown open by armed revoltees? Should we call it a condition of peace? Regard it a proof that the people were appeased? We would not: we would say that revolution was in full swing. And the reason you have thought it was all over in Mexico, from last May till now, is that the Chicago press, like the eastern, northern, and central press in general, has said nothing about this steady march of revolt. Even The Socialist has been silent. Now that the flame has shot up more spectacularly for the moment, they call it “a new revolution.”

That the papers pursue this course is partly due to the generally acting causes that produce our northern indifference, which I shall presently try to explain, and partly to the settled policy of capitalized interest in controlling its mouthpieces in such a manner as to give their present henchmen, the Maderists, a chance to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. They invested some \$10,000,000 in this bunch, in the hope that they may be able to accomplish the double feat of keeping capitalist possessions intact and at the same time pacifying the people with specious promises. They want to lend them all the countenance they can, till the experiment is well tried; so they deliberately suppress revolutionary news. Among the later items of interest reported by the Los Angeles Times are those which announce an influx of ex-officials and many-millioned landlords of Mexico, who are hereafter to be residents of Los Angeles. What is the meaning of it? Simply that life in Mexico is not such a safe and comfortable proposition as it was, and

that for the present they prefer to get such income as their agents can collect without themselves running the risk of actual residence.

Of course it is understood that some of this notable efflux (the supporters of Reyes, for example, who have their own little rebellions in Tabasco and San Luis Potosi this week) are political reactionists, scheming to get back the political loaves and fishes into their own hands. But most are simply those who know that their property right is safe enough to be respected by the Maderist government, but that the said government is not strong enough to put down the innumerable manifestations of popular hatred which are likely to terminate fatally to themselves if they remain there.

Nor is all of this fighting revolutionary; not by any means. Some is reactionary, some probably the satisfaction of personal grudge, much, no doubt, the expression of general turbulency of a very unconscious nature. But granting all that may be thrown in the balance, the main thing, the mighty thing, the regenerative revolution is the reappropriation of the land by the peasants. Thousands upon thousands of them are doing it.

Ignorant peasants: peasants who know nothing about the jargon of land reformers or of Socialists. Yes: that’s just the glory of it! Just the fact that it is done by ignorant people; that is, people ignorant of book theories; but not ignorant, not so ignorant by half, of life on the land, as the theory-spinners of the cities. Their minds are simple and direct; they act accordingly. For them, there is one way to “get back to the land”; i. e., to ignore the machinery of paper land-holding (in many instances they have burned the records of the title-deeds) and proceed to plough the ground, to sow and plant and gather, and keep the product themselves.

Economists, of course, will say that these ignorant people, with their primitive institutions and methods, will not develop the agricultural resources of Mexico, and that they must give way before those who will so develop its resources; that such is the law of human development.

In the first place, the abominable political combination, which gave away, as recklessly as a handful of soap-bubbles, the agricultural resources of Mexico gave them away to the millionaire speculators who were to develop the country were the educated men of Mexico. And this is what they saw fit to do with their higher intelligence and education. So the ignorant may well distrust the good intentions of educated men who talk about improvements in land development. In the second place, capitalistic land-ownership, so far from developing the land in such a manner as to support a denser population, has depopulated whole districts, immense districts. In the third place, what the economists do not say is, that the only justification for intense cultivation of the land is, that the product of such cultivation may build up the bodies of men (by consequence their souls) to richer and fuller manhood. It is not merely to pile up figures of so many million bushels of wheat and corn produced in a season; but that this wheat and corn shall first go into the stomachs of those who planted it and in abundance;

to build up the brawn and sinew of the arms that work the ground, not meanly maintaining them in a half-starved condition. And second, to build up the strength of the rest of the nation who are willing to give needed labor in exchange. But never to increase the fortunes of idlers who dissipate it. This is the purpose, and the only purpose, of tilling soil; and the working of it for any other purpose is waste, waste both of land and of men. In the fourth place, no change ever was, or ever can be, worked out in any society, except by the mass of the people. Theories may be propounded by educated people, and set down in books, and discussed in libraries, sitting-rooms and lecture-halls; but they will remain barren, unless the people in mass work them out. If the change proposed is such that it is not adaptable to the minds of the people for whose ills it is supposed to be a remedy, then it will remain what it was, a barren theory.

Now the conditions in Mexico have been and are so desperate that some change is imperative. The action of the peasants proves it. Even if a strong military dictator shall arise, he will have to allow some provision going towards peasant proprietorship. These unlettered, but determined, people must be dealt with now; there is no such thing as “waiting till they are educated up to it.” Therefore the wisdom of the economists is wisdom out of place rather, relative unwisdom. The people never can be educated, if their conditions are to remain what they were under the Díaz regime. Bodies and minds are both too impoverished to be able to profit by a spread of theoretical education, even if it did not require unavailable money and indefinite time to prepare such a spread. Whatever economic change is wrought, then, must be such as the people in their present state of comprehension can understand and make use of. And we see by the reports what they understand. They understand they have a right upon the soil, a right to use it for themselves, a right to drive off the invader who has robbed them, to destroy landmarks and title-deeds, to ignore the tax-gatherer and his demands.

And however primitive their agricultural methods may be, one thing is sure; that they are more economical than any system which heaps up fortunes by destroying men. Moreover, who is to say how they may develop their methods once they have a free opportunity to do so? It is a common belief of the Anglo-Saxon that the Indian is essentially lazy. The reasons for his thinking so are two: under the various tyrannies and robberies which white men in general, and Anglo-Saxons in particular (they have even gone beyond the Spaniard) have inflicted upon Indians, there is no possible reason why an Indian should want to work, save the idiotic one that work in itself is a virtuous and exalted thing, even if by it the worker increases the power of his tyrant. As William Archer says: “If there are men, and this is not denied, who work for no reward, and with no prospect or hope of any wage, it would be curious to know by what motive other than the lash or the fear of the lash, they are induced to go forth to their labor in the morning.” The second reason is, that an Indian really has a different idea of what he is alive for than an Anglo-Saxon has. And so have the Latin peoples. This different idea is what I meant when I said that the mestiza have certain

tendencies inherited from the Latin side of their make-up which work well together with their Indian hatred of authority. The Indian likes to live; to be his own master; to work when he pleases and stop when he pleases. He does not crave many things, but he craves the enjoyment of the things that he has. He feels himself more a part of nature than a white man does. All his legends are of wanderings with nature, of forests, fields, streams, plants, animals. He wants to live with the same liberty as the other children of earth. His philosophy of work is, Work so as to live care-free. This is not laziness; this is sense to the person who has that sort of make-up.

Your Latin, on the other hand, also wants to live; and having artistic impulses in him, his idea of living is very much in gratifying them. He likes music and song and dance, picture-making, carving, and decorating. He doesn’t like to be forced to create his fancies in a hurry; he likes to fashion them, and admire them, and improve and refashion them, and admire again; and all for the fun of it. If he is ordered to create a certain design or a number of objects at a fixed price in a given time, he loses his inspiration; the play becomes work, and hateful work. So he, too, does not want to work, except what is requisite to maintain himself in a position to do those things that he likes better.

Your Anglo-Saxon’s idea of life, however, is to create the useful and the profitable whether he has any use or profit out of it or not and to keep busy, busy; to bestir himself “like the Devil in a holy water font.” Like all other people, he makes a special virtue of his own natural tendencies, and wants all the world to “get busy”; it doesn’t so much matter to what end this business is to be conducted, provided the individual scrabbles. Whenever a true Anglo-Saxon seeks to enjoy himself, he makes work out of that too, after the manner of a certain venerable English shopkeeper who in company with his son visited the Louvre. Being tired out with walking from room to room, consulting his catalogue, and reading artists’ names, he dropped down to rest; but after a few moments rose resolutely and faced the next room, saying, “Well, Alfred, we’d better be getting through our work.”

There is much question as to the origin of the various instincts. Most people have the impression that the chief source of variation lies in the difference in the amount of sunlight received in the native countries inhabited of the various races. Whatever the origin is, these are the broadly marked tendencies of the people. And “Business” seems bent not only upon fulfilling its own fore- ordained destiny, but upon making all the others fulfill it too. Which is both unjust and stupid. There is room enough in the world for the races to try out their several tendencies and make their independent contributions to the achievements of humanity, without imposing them on those who revolt at them.

Granting that the population of Mexico, if freed from this foreign “busy” idea which the government imported from the north and imposed on them with such severity in the last forty years, would not immediately adopt improved methods of cultivation, even when they should have free opportunity to do so, still we have no reason to conclude that they would



A family of escaped Yaqui Indians in Arizona, ca.1910

not adopt so much of it as would fit their idea of what a man is alive for; and if that actually proved good, it would introduce still further development. So that there would be a natural, and therefore solid, economic growth which would stick; while a forced development of it through the devastation of the people is no true growth. The only way to make it go, is to kill out the Indians altogether, and transport the “busy” crowd there, and then keep on transporting for several generations, to fill up the ravages the climate will make on such an imported population.

The Indian population of our states was in fact dealt with in this murderous manner. I do not know how grateful the reflection may be to those who materially profited by its extermination; but no one who looks forward to the final unification and liberation of man, to the incorporation of the several goodnesses of the various races in the one universal race, can ever read those pages of our history without burning shame and fathomless regret. I have spoken of the meaning of revolution in general; of the meaning of the Mexican revolution chiefly an agrarian one; of its present condition. I think it should be apparent to you that in spite of the electoral victory of the now ruling power, it has not put an end even to the armed rebellion, and cannot, until it proposes some plan of land restoration; and that it not only has no inward disposition to do, but probably would not dare to do, in view of the fact that immense capital financed it into power.

As to what amount of popular sentiment was actually voiced in the election, it is impossible to say. The dailies informed us that in the Federal District where there are 1,000,000 voters, the actual vote was less than 450,000. They offered no explanation. It is impossible to explain it on the ground that we explain a light vote in our own communities, that the people are indifferent to public questions; for the people of Mexico are not now indifferent, whatever else they may be. Two explanations are possible: the first, and most probable, that of govern- mental intimidation; the second, that the people are convinced of the uselessness of voting as a means of settling their troubles. In the less thickly populated agricultural states, this is very largely the case; they are relying upon direct revolutionary action. But although there was guerrilla warfare in the Federal District, even before the election, I find it unlikely that more than half the voting population there abstained from voting out of conviction, though I should be glad to be able to believe they did. However, Madero and his aids are in, as was expected; the question is, how will they stay in? As Díaz did, and in no other way if they succeed in developing Díaz’s sometime ability; which so far they are wide from having done, though they are resorting to the most vindictive and spiteful tactics in their persecution of the genuine revolutionists, wherever such come near their clutch.

To this whole turbulent situation three outcomes are possible:

1. A military dictator must arise, with sense enough to make some substantial concessions, and ability enough to pursue the crushing policy ably; or
2. The United States must intervene in the interests of American capitalists and landholders, in case the peasant revolt is not put down by the Maderist power. And that will be the worst thing that can possibly happen, and against which every worker in the United States should protest with all his might; or
3. The Mexican peasantry will be successful, and freedom in land become an actual fact. And that means the death-knell of great landholding in this country also, for what people is going to see its neighbor enjoy so great a triumph, and sit on tamely itself under landlordism? Whatever the outcome be, one thing is certain: it is a great movement, which all the people of the world should be eagerly watching. Yet as I said at the beginning, the majority of our population know no more about it than of a revolt on the planet Jupiter. First because they are so, so, busy; they scarcely have time to look over the baseball score and the wrestling match; how could they read up on a revolution! Second, they are supremely egotistic and concerned in their own big country with its big deeds such as divorce scandals, vice-grafting, and auto races. Third, they do not read Spanish, and they have an

ancient hostility to all that smells Spanish. Fourth, from our cradles we were told that whatever happened in Mexico was a joke. Revolutions, or rather rebellions, came and went, about like April showers, and they never meant anything serious. And in this indeed there was only too much truth it was usually an excuse for one place-hunter to get another one’s scalp. And lastly, as I have said, the majority of our people do not know that a revolution means a fundamental change in social life, and not a spectacular display of armies. It is not much a few can do to remove this mountain of indifference; but to me it seems that every reformer, of whatever school, should wish to watch this movement with the most intense interest, as a practical manifestation of a wakening of the land-workers themselves to the recognition of what all schools of revolutionary economics admit to be the primal necessity the social repossession of the land. And whether they be victorious or defeated, I, for one, bow my head to those heroic strugglers, no matter how ignorant they are, who have raised the cry Land and Liberty, and planted the blood-red banner on the burning soil of Mexico.



subtitles from the video

Museum pieces, a 6000 year-old corn fossil,
two agronomists
and a geneticist
27:40 min
April, 2018

视频字幕

博物馆藏品，一颗六千年前的玉米化石

两位农学家和一位遗传学家
2018年4月



he countryside would be your fate
if you had stayed in your town
walking the same paths
sowing the same fields and going after the wine
sowing our ancient land
with the sadness of long ago

if one day you ask yourself
for that science you did not inherit
if one day you ask yourself
for that inheritance you did not take

from our old grandparents
binnigula'sa' from long ago
that are still hoping
that one day you'll come back (song "Dá
Guuya Xpínnu" by Ángel Toledo Matus)

this is limestone

two important aspects are combined
here: production and transformation

I think this is something that, even
if not completely conscious,

people connected these processes of production,
transformation and commercialization

and there is an important division

in terms of production, men are the ones
in charge of sowing and growing

for all the effort and labour implied
- do they do it communally?

Well, the community conserves its materials

乡间會是你的命运
如果你留在村子里
走在同樣的小路上
在同樣的田里播种，找酒喝
在我们古老的土地上播种
懷着久遠的悲伤

如果有一天你自問
关于那个你没有继承的科学
如果有一天你自问
关于那份你没有得到的遗产

来自我们老祖父母
很久以前的萨波特克人
他们仍旧希望
有朝一日你会回来

《歌曲“Dá Guuya Xpínnu”（回來看你
的族人）- Ángel Toledo Matus）

这是石灰石

在此结合了两大要项：

生产和转化

我认为

人们尽管没有完全意识到，

但他们将生产、转化和商业化联系了起来

一个重要的分工

是生产

and when neighbors run out of seeds

they can ask others

the community makes seeds available for them
so they can continue sowing

and before, for an example,

when corn is in elote state (tender)

there is a process of transformation and
it becomes atole (a corn beverage)

and I observed that when a family
has its corn in that state

they share the product with their neighbors

thankful for having a harvest

and you share this with the community,
with family and friends

of course there are some practices being lost

like the manovuelta (hand turn over)

this is a practice you don't see that often
- what is manovuelta?

manovuelta is when I help you
and then you help me

We were in all the communities of
Tlaxcala asking for some corn seeds

I went to some small villages in La
Malinche mountain near San Pablo

I remember that in one of those villages

I explained to them that the corn we
asked for was for some studies

and they asked me what we were
going to do with these studies?

- well, if everything comes out ok,
probably we can improve these corns

I told them we could give their
corn back improved

and a woman asked me: listen, if I give you my
daughter, will you return her to me improved?

This story narrated by Dr. Macías,

is historic, because the actual
trend grows strong here

I didn't have a budget

and when I presented the project

the head of the department

said that I was crazy

- give him back his project, but
don't repeat what I said.

he didn't approve it

so the only thing left for me to do,

was to go to the dinning room of Chapingo and
invite people from Tlaxcala and Puebla to gather

and you gathered with me in front
of the tree of agreements

I proposed you my idea, and
you said: Oh! fantastic...

- my causin has a truck! I am
going to ask him for it
- and my uncle another one!

the three of you asked for a lunch at the dinning

then saturdays and sundays we
went to collect seeds
- Yes, I remember we were collecting

so we collected all Tlaxcala

and we collected all that part near
Puebla, from Serdan to Perote

男人负责播种和种植

以及其中包含的一切努力和劳动

- 是否整个村社共同参与？

嗯，村社保存材料

当有邻居耗尽了种子

可以跟其他人索取

村社让大家有种子可用

人们因此可以继续播种

以前，比方说，

当玉米处于elote (柔嫩) 状态时

经过转化成為atole (一种玉米饮料)

我注意到当某个家庭的玉米处在那个状态时

他们会和邻居分享产物

对收成充满感谢

因此和村社、家人及朋友分享这一切

当然一些做法已经消失

像manovuelta (回报)

你不常看到人们这么做

- manovuelta是什么？

manovuelta就是我帮你，然后你帮我

我们去了特拉斯卡拉州所有村社索取玉米种子

我去了圣巴勃罗附近恶人山的一些小村庄

我记得在其中一个村庄

我向村民解释说，我们索取玉米是用来做研究

他们问我这些研究的用途是什么？

- 如果一切顺利，我们或许可以改良这些玉米

我告诉他们，玉米改良后可以还给他们

一名女人问我：听着，如果我把女儿给
你，你会把她改良后还给我吗？

马西亚斯博士讲的这个故事，

具有历史意义，因为改良种子目前有走强趋势

我当时没有预算

当我提出这个项目时

系主任

说我疯了

- 把他的项目退回去，但別跟他說我說過的話。

他沒有批准，

就是去查宾戈大学餐厅，把来自特拉斯
卡拉州和普埃布拉州的人召集起来

你们和我一起聚在协议树前

我跟你们提出我的想法，你们说：哦！太棒了...

- 我表兄弟有一辆卡车！我去向他借。

- 我叔叔也有一辆卡车！

你们三人要求在餐厅吃一顿午饭

接着星期六日，我们就去收集种子

so, it was an incredible collect	- 是的, 我记得我们去收集	how was this possible?	如果他们告诉我的是混种玉米更优异!	and that this was the most antique use that our ancestors discovered	后来才有了爆米花	and she said: read the books	
and you were asking the producers to lend a small piece of land	我们去了整个特拉斯卡拉州	if they told me that the hybrid one was better!	我到底哪儿出错了?	before popcorn	但那是它的第一种形式, 你仍然可以在牛粪里头看到很多Teocintle的种子	I took out the first volume	接着是一页空白页
and they said: but of course! it's so good you come here to reality!	也去了普埃布拉州附近, 从塞尔丹到佩罗特	so where was my mistake?	我重新检视, 我的数据没问题	afterwards popcorn arrived	像石子一样, 没有被胃消化	I turned the hard cover	然后我读到以下内容:
and then we ran up with another interesting phenomenon	收集了很多种子!	I started reviewing and my data was ok	我问自己可能会有多少个这样的错误?	but its first form was that one, because you can still find cows' dung full of Teocintle seeds	通过粪便排出	then a blank page	播种者
when I was with the group,	你们问农夫借一小块土地	I asked myself how many of these mistakes could have occurred?	因为帕拉西奥斯的书整理的井然有序,	being stony, its not digested by the stomach	但在粪便里头, 种子已经过酸化的过程	then I read the following:	布兰科·贝尔蒙特著
the campesinos would identify me as the professor or engineer or whatever	他们说:那当然!你们来这儿接触现实, 真是太好了!	and as Palacios had his books very organized,	我开始查阅他的藏书, 发现	so it goes out through the excrement	然后会发芽	The Sower	从沐浴在充满我们凯旋天空的太阳那闪烁光芒的角落;
and you were identified as students	我们还遇到另一个有趣的现象	I started reviewing his books and discovered that	只有当混种玉米表现超越本土品种时, 他们才会写报告	but in the excrement, the seed has passed through a process of acidification	我有照片	by Blanco Belmonte	从繁花盛开的土地, 在花朵之间我甜美宁静的幼年渗入,
and they always showed more sympathy towards students than me	当我和大家在一起时,	only when the hybrid would outperform the native corn, they would fill a report	我这时明白我的数据是正确的	and afterwards it germinates	你可以看到牛粪里有许多发芽的Teocintle种子		包裹在过往的回忆之中
so at the end, I didn't say I was an engineer, but a student!	农夫认定我是教授或工程师或什么的	then I realized that my data was correct	我开始把这个信息散播出去	so I have photographs	69年前		在遥远的地平线上变得膨胀;
none of our improved varieties of corn has been successful	认为你们是学生	and I started spreading this information	即土生玉米表现胜过混种玉米	where you can see cows dung with the bunch of Teocintle seeds germinating	1949年1月24日		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
not even in our century	而他们总是对学生比对我更友善	that the native corn would outperform the hybrids	系主任知道了这件事, 想把我甩掉	69 years ago	我进了农业应用学校		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
why? because they do not have the resistance	因此到最后, 我不说自己是工程师, 而是学生!	and the head of the department knew about this and wanted to get rid of me	我们现在想尝试黄玉米	the 24th of January of 1949	在 Guaracha Michoacán , 靠近Jiquilpan		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
for those climatic factors	科学家改良的玉米品种没有一个成功	now we want to try the yellow corn	因为它是墨西哥第二重要的玉米, 仅次于白玉米	I entered the practical school of agriculture	这所学校由前总统拉扎罗·卡德纳斯推动成立		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
I mean, in an experimental field like Chapingo University,	过去一整个世纪都没有	because it's the second most important corn in Mexico after the white one	而且我们尚未建立一套扎实的改良方案	in Guaracha Michoacán, near Jiquilpan	我进这所寄宿学校时		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
experiments are realized in a good soil with irrigation	为什么? 因为那些品种对气候没有抵抗力	and we haven't structured a solid program to improve it	我们所需的黄玉米90% 都靠进口	this was a school impulsed by the former president Lázaro Cárdenas	它在一座牧场庄园的老房子里, 有一条走廊		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
and at a favorable altitude	我的意思是在查宾戈大学的实验农田里	and we are importing around the 90% of the yellow corn we need	而那却是我们第二广泛和重要的种质品质	so, when I entered this boarding school	通向一个大院子		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
so what we select here, doesn't work for them	实验是在灌溉良好的土壤中进行	when we have that it's the second most extended and important variety of our germplasm	我记得在Libres市附近曾经有人给我看过一个品种	it was in an old manor house of an hacienda, that had a corridor	走廊里有一间办公室		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
there are extraordinary things	和一个合适的海拔高度	I remember a variety they showed me once near Libres	我那时在那儿做田野调查, 那玉米叫arrocillo	that led to a big courtyard	我后来知道, 那是校长办公室		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
there is another of the campesinos' experiments	因此我们选的品种, 对农夫没用有很多令人惊奇的故事	when I was doing a field trip, which they called arrocillo	天! 这玉米真小, 看起来像米粒	but there was an office in this corridor	我那时熟悉了这所寄宿学校		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
that when they bring down from the mountain one of their native corns	有另外一个农民实验的故事	man! this corn was small and looked like rice	一个装满普通白玉米的袋子重100公斤, 若装这种玉米则重约120公斤	then I realized it was the director's office	也不再那么害羞		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
and intercalate furrows in the plain	当他们从山上带下来一个土生的玉米品种	a 100kg bulk of normal white corn filled with this one would weight around 120kg	我记不得那玉米是不是该地区的一般品种	when I became familiar with this boarding school	终于可以仔细查看校长办公室的情况了		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
they would increase their performance	种在平原的犁沟时	I don't remember if this variety was normal in that zone, but a man showed me this corn, and he called it arrocillo	一名男子给我看这个玉米, 说它叫 arrocillo	loosing my shyness	我发现了一个这么小的玻璃柜		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
this means that a hybrid would form, an inter-varietal hybrid	提高了玉米的产量	I remember it was like glass, very hard	我记得它像玻璃, 很硬	then I could finally scrutinize how the director's office was	小玻璃柜里有		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
and many of them were doing this	这意味形成一个混种品种, 一个不同品种之间的混种	these are related with palomero corn	这些品种和palomero玉米有关	and I found myself with a vitrine this small	一些这么厚的书		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
that part I didn't have time to document it, to prove it	很多人都这么做	which is very hard	它也很硬	and inside this small vitrine	我对这些厚书的内容很好奇		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
to see from where these varieties were coming, to detassel the corn ourselves	我当时没有时间去记录和证明那部分	one that was used as popcorn	通常用来做爆米花	there were some books this thick	一天, 我克服了害羞		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
but the campesinos were doing this experiment from their own initiative	看这些品种是从哪儿来的,	they think that when men lived in caves	他们认为当地人住在山洞时	then I got very curious about what these big books might contain	走进办公室, 问秘书是否可以看看那些书		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
this gives me to understand	摘掉玉米的穗状雄花来进行杂交	a seed of Teocintle fell into the fire	一颗 Teocintle (墨西哥类蜀) 的种子掉入火中	and one day overcoming my shyness	我难过地离开, 因为没有达到目的		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
that these people have coexisted with corn	但农民们自己主动做了这个实验	and the little stone that wraps up the Teocintle popped and liberated a popcorn	包裹着Teocintle的小石头突然爆裂, 释放出爆米花	I went inside the office and asked the secretary if I could see the books	不知过了几天、几周或几个月		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
they already think in a better way than we do	这让我明白	and then they realized after selecting and selecting these seeds	他们在筛选种子之后明白了这点	and she said: No kid, they are locked	一天早上		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
because we ignore their background	这些人玉米共生共存	they started to differentiate corn from Teocintle, and it would also pop	开始区别玉米和Teocintle, 它也会爆开	I went away feeling sad because I had not achieved my goal	我经过走廊		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
and they are the continuation of their parents, grandparents and great grandparents	他们早已用比我们更好的方式在思考	this was the criteria, supposedly spreading around in those times	所有古时候的品种都会	I don't know if days, weeks or months had passed by	秘书出来说:		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
so it's a knowledge of an extraordinary depth	因为我们忽略了他们的背景	when they realized that Teocintle, in its center, had a small ball that would pop and that was edible	这是那时候的标准, 当时应该传播开来	but one morning	嘿小子!		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
that's why their reasoning involves decisional elements that we don't possess	他们是他们的父母、祖父母和曾祖父母的延续	so all the antique varieties pop	他们意识到Teocintle的核心有一个小球会爆裂开来, 而且可以食用	I was passing by the corridor	不是你想看书吗?		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
we can acquire them	所以拥有深厚的知识	they started realizing that inside deer's excrement	今天, 我们更加完善了这个理论	and the secretary came out and said:	没错! 是我		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
but it depends if we worry for going out to work with them or not	这是为什么他们的思维逻辑涉及我们没有的决策因素	Teocintle seeds would appear	Teocintle谷粒经过演化	Hey kid!	哦! 进来吧!		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
if we don't worry for going out to work with them	我们可以获得农民的这些知识	This made them realize that the deer ate Teocintle	失去了它石头般的外壳	wasn't it you that wanted to see the books?	我问过校长, 他说这是我们的图书馆!		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
we will never relate to them	但得看我们要不要走出实验农田和他们一起工作	they thought that if the deer eats Teocintle,	人们开始意识到鹿的粪便里头有Teocintle的种子	Yes! it was me	我觉得图书馆用锁锁住, 这似乎很奇怪		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
we will be two separate worlds	如果我们不走出去和他们工作	so will we when we are starving	这让人明白, 鹿会吃 Teocintle	Oh! so come in!	但重要的是她去了校长办公桌		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
this was in consequence that I started reviewing some experiments that we did with the campesinos	永远不会和他们发生联系		他们认为, 如果鹿吃Teocintle,	I've talked with the director, he says this is our library!	拿出一些钥匙		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
then I realized that often, the native corn would outperform the hybrid ones	我们仍是两个完全隔离的世界		那么我们饥饿时也能吃	it seemed strange to me that a library would be kept under lock	打开了玻璃柜		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
	因此我开始重新检视和农民进行的一些实验		这是在爆米花出现之前	but the important thing is that she went to the director's desk	她说: 你看书吧		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
	我发现土生玉米的表现胜于混种玉米		我们祖先发现的最古老的用法	she took out some keys	我拿出第一本		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中
	这怎么可能?			she opened the vitrine	翻开硬皮封面		我甜美宁静的幼年渗入, 包裹在过往的回忆之中

