

San Diego, Calif.,  
April 23' 1936.

To whom it may concern:-

I hereby grant permission to William G. Cayce,  
of San Diego, California, to write an article under my  
name dealing with true conditions in Mexico. I wish not  
give similar article to anyone else until released by  
William G. Cayce.-----

(Signed)

*P. E. ...*  
*William G. Cayce*

FAPECT

From:

William G. Cayce,  
2710 Teresita Drive,  
San Diego,  
California.

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Submitted for use  
at current rates.  
Enclosed find self-  
addressed and stamp-  
ed envelope.

MEXICO --- COMMUNISM OR CALLES ?

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( Suggestion for editor's note precede):

Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself hath said,  
This is my own, my native land!

... Sir Walter Scott.

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Once President of Mexico, now an expatriate, ban-  
ished from home and country!

This is the position today of General Plutarco Elias  
Calles, former "iron man" of Mexico, who, with three of his best  
friends, was expelled from Mexico on April 10, 1936, by personal  
order of President Lazaro Cardenas.

General Calles was forced to come to the United States  
and is now living a quiet life at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Fer-  
nando Torreblanca, in San Diego, California.

For 11 years General Calles was a leader in Mexican politics, four years as President of the Republic and for the remaining seven years under different Presidents, General Calles was the leader in commanding politics. His rise to power was a long and hard struggle. He was born of poor parents, educated himself and became a school teacher and newspaper editor. The revolution led him to enter the Mexican military service, and politics finally led him to the presidency.

Now, in his fifty-sixth year, General Calles has been stripped of all of his political power and is in exile. This has not, however, broken his faith in Mexico or himself. He feels that sooner or later he will return to his beloved country. His answer to the question of whether he ever will return is : "Quien Sabe" --- Who knows?

In this article General Calles recites the true story of actual conditions in Mexico today --- conditions "under the surface" and the contemporary situation in the Southern Republic.

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(Suggestion for Editor's note)

Once President of Mexico, now virtually a man from whom his country they want to strip off.

That is the position today in which General Plutarco Elias Calles, former "iron man" of Mexico, who on April 10, 1936, under personal orders from President Lazaro Cardenas, was expelled from his country together with three of his best friends, finds himself.

General Calles was forced to come to the United States and now is living a quiet life at the San Diego, California, home of his daughter, Mrs. Fernando Torreblanca.

For eleven years General Calles led politics in Mexico, four years as President of the country and <sup>for</sup> seven years, although different men governed her, he was the leader of commanding politics. His rise to power was a long and hard struggle. He was born of poor parents, educated himself and became school teacher and newspaper editor when he still was very young. Later the revolution made him enter the Mexican military service and politics led him to the Mexican Presidency, thus conquering fame all over the world.

Now, in his 56th. year, General Calles has been stripped of his political power and is in exile. It has not, however, broken his faith in Mexico or himself. He feels that sooner or later he will return to Mexico. His answer to the question of whether he ever will return to Mexico is: "Quien sabe" -- Who knows?

In this article General Calles tells the true story of actual conditions in Mexico—conditions "under surface" and the contemporary situation in the Southern Republic.

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By General Plutarco Elias Calles  
~~Exiled~~ former President of Mexico  
as told to  
William G. Cayce.

*W.G. Cayce*

By GENERAL PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES

Former President of Mexico

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As told to

WILLIAM G. CAYCE

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"I do not agree with the government of my country, which is presided over by General Lazaro Cardenas, because it is trying to establish Communism in Mexico, through a policy of radicalism, using methods of agitation and demagogism, loosening the popular discipline and driving the laborers to misery," said General Plutarco Elias Calles, former President of the Southern Republic, as we sat in his peaceful residence in San Diego, California.

"Precisely because I do not agree with such a policy," he continued, "and because I frankly have stated so to my friends, and to all other persons who have asked my opinion, I am forced to live away from Mexico, my native land, which I love. MY country! There is no other reason! As if my absence from Mexico would cause to disappear the social and political motives which are producing the present crisis! A fruitless determination!"

"Very well, General," I replied, "please tell me in an orderly way and in your own words, how your last adventure and experience was initiated and developed."

"I will tell you gladly," said the Mexican statesman with a broad smile and in a calm and easy voice, "of all my impressions and uncover to you all of my thoughts."

*Mexico — Communism or Calles?*

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Former President of Mexico

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As told to

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Then General Calles said:

I was apprehended in my home on the ranch of Santa Barbara, which is situated about thirty kilometers from the City of Mexico, where I was occupied in agricultural work in company with my son Rodolfo. Through my ranch winds the highway to Puebla, to a point where it withdraws from the Valley of Mexico. In the foreground rises a mountainous slope covered with pine trees, which climb to the majestic mass of volcanoes, eternally covered with snow. Through the valleys and on the hillsides are spread the small farms where a quiet people are engaged in work. This is the same historical road over which the subjugating forces of Cortez arrived at the Great Tenoxtitlan, the Aztec capital.

It was amid this scene of peace and tranquillity where I went to live, after my return to Mexico last December, away from the agitation of politics. Certainly, I was visited by my friends, and it is true that in our conversations I frankly expressed my disagreement with the communistic tendency of the government and its demagogic methods. But I was doing this within the rights conferred by the law to all citizens of my country and of any other civilized country. I do not think a man who criticizes his government's methods of procedure should be considered a criminal. However, the government of my country does not agree with me and as soon as a pretext could be contrived, it ordered my arrest and forced me to leave in company with three friends.

The night of April ninth, 1936, I was lying in bed, ill with influenza. The ranch house was silent and dark and there

were only two aides with me. About 11 p.m., General Rafael Navarro Cortina, Military Commandar of Mexico City, followed by numerous automobiles carrying officers, soldiers and secret service men, arrived at my home. The military chief entered the hall.

General Navarro demanded of one of my aides to speak with me. I gave orders to admit him to my room, where a brief, but pointed conversation followed.

"General," he said, "I come to communicate to you, <sup>in</sup> the name of the President of the Republic, that you must leave the country immediately."

"May I know the reason?" I asked, while getting out of bed.

"General," replied the military man, visibly grieved at the sad mission which he was performing, "I have been told that the conditions prevailing in the country are the reasons which compel the government to take this extreme measure."

"The conditions reigning in the country.....!" I said in a whisper, as if I were talking to myself. Then in a louder voice I said:

"General Navarro, the government is solely culpable for the state of agitation, unrest and anarchy which disturbs Mexico today! It is absurd to believe that I, personally, have produced it. It is the government itself, not I, that has led the people to this situation in which social discipline has been destroyed and protection given to communistic leaders, thus losing respect for authority and disregard to all governmental control. Tell THAT to General Cardenas, with MY compliments!"

"I will tell him, General. Meanwhile, I will leave a guard around your house," replied the Military Commandar.

"Yes, sir, I understand. Do your duty for after all I made you," I said in a low voice. "I am your prisoner. I have no forces with which to protect myself or offer resistance. I do not need it! The only force I possess is the moral force of justice which is of no avail to me under these conditions! You can take me before a firing squad; you can force me to leave the country; you can dispose of me in whatever manner you wish. I am at your mercy. You see, General Navarro, how dangerous it is to entrust force and authority in the hands of a man who does not know how, or when, to use it!"

General Navarro remained silent, staring at me in astonishment, as if he were doubting the stark reality of such an unjust and unlawful action as he was forced to take against me. After making the military salute he left. He returned an hour and a half later. I knew he had conferred with the President. More decided in manner than during his first visit, he said courteously:

"The President says that you must leave the country in a plane that will be waiting to take you to the American border. It will leave the Central airport at Mexico City, at 7 a.m. today. I personally will escort you, General."

"It's all right; I am ready," I told him. Some members of my family, who had learned what had happened, came to the house to keep me company. Hastily, I gathered some light luggage and made ready for my departure.

As the hour for my departure approached I stood at my bedroom window, looking out into the thin dawn. My heart ached, not for myself but for Mexico. As I looked out <sup>of</sup> the window I tried in my mind to say goodbye to my beloved estate. My house was surrounded by

troops and policemen, who had invaded my gardens. Others were scattered along the highway, giving the aspect of an improvised barrack or a revolutionary encampment. I was informed General Navarro was ready and we started for the airport.

The automobile in which rode General Navarro and his aides led the procession. I followed next in my car with some members of my family and behind us there were seven machines filled with officers and police. Within a short time we reached the airport. There I was met by my friends, Luis N. Morones, Luis L. Leon and Melchor Ortega, who were to be exiles from Mexico with me. They had been apprehended the day before and incarcerated during the night in three filthy cells in the Main police station in Mexico City. The cells did not have seats and my friends had neither slept nor tasted a bite of food, even being refused a glass of water. But all three remained<sup>a</sup> steadfastly unbroken and calm, energetically protesting the offense committed against them.

Before we boarded the plane we were greeted by another group of friends, who had learned of our forced departure. We took off~~mm~~ in a Ford tri-motored plane and for a while flew through a dense fog.

As the plane sped over the beautiful Valley of Mexico, there was sadness in our hearts as we bade farewell to our homes, our friends and to our country. But we were NOT bidding farewell to our ideals and our principles --- these principles and ideals which the government is endeavoring to take away from millions of Mexicans! Because we honestly acknowledged such principles and ideals, made them public, defended them, and refused to abdicate them, we were

flying over the Sierra Madre Oriental, lost among the clouds, headed for exile!

Suddenly the bed of clouds was swept away and we could see the wide canyons of the Sierra de Hidalgo, a spectacle that touched us greatly, and confirmed our sincere belief that the genuine ideals of the Mexican revolution still remained deeply rooted in the country in spite of our enforced absence; that these ideals lived in the hearts of our people and no one could destroy them, even though attacked with extreme passion and stubbornness.

Far from above we looked down on the 'ejido,' a portion of communal land of a small town, which the laws of the revolution bestowed upon individual peasants for cultivation, in severalty. The landscape which we were viewing from the air showed that the agricultural lands were subdivided in parcels; that each man had his own plot which he individually cultivated, thus seeking the way to freedom and independence through his own efforts.

Through my mind passed the thought that here is the agrarian regime for which I struggled so many years while president of Mexico. I established the subdivision of the 'ejido' and issued the law of the 'patrimonio ejidal,' (homestead law) which prevents the farmer from selling the land granted him by the government after the revolution, or having it taken from him. All this, though right to me, is, however, contrary to the ideas of the men in public power in Mexico today, as they officially are fighting those original principles of the agrarian revolution of Mexico.

General Cardenas and his friends want to 'collect-  
 ize' the exploitations of the land; they do NOT want the men to  
 own their own parcels of land and cultivate them individually, for,  
 they claim, in that way they convert themselves into little bourg-  
 eoisies. They demand that the land be owned by the community, keeping  
 it undivided and 'collectively' exploited. In other words, they want  
 to implant agrarian communism, a grave error in a country in which  
 the peasant is highly individualistic and anxiously desires to possess  
 directly and positively his own land.

Therefore, no one ever should hallucinate the individual  
 with a theoretical communistic law.

The swift plane soon left behind the little town of the  
 Sierra which had inspired in me these thoughts. We crossed a fog bank,  
 which had rolled in from the Gulf of Mexico, and descended at Tampico.  
 But in my mind the vision of the agrarian ideas and ideals had remained  
 entwined with the land over which I had passed. I knew there were  
 seven thousand 'ejidos' like these scattered throughout the country  
 which would fight for the free use of the land and would flatly  
 reject any communistic tendency. Otherwise, they would be compelled  
 to cunningly deceive the government in order to avoid the reprisals  
 of the official ire. I have faith and trust that the real Mexican  
 facts will, in the near future, prevail over the torpid and exotic  
 tendency.

From Tampico, flying over the waves, the ship was  
 headed for Brownsville, Texas. Beneath us stretched the low and hot  
 lands of the coast of Tamaulipas, the last piece of Mexican soil  
 which I might ever view! Internally, I was saying goodbye to my

country, the more beloved by me the more she is agitated and compromised!

Why was I so unjustly expelled? Only because I have dared to say aloud to everyone who would listen to me, what the enormous majority of the people are saying in a veiled voice. And that is , the Mexican government, blindfolded with party passion, and prejudice, is abandoning the path of the law to arbitrarily impose its caprice by means of tyrannical force. The government's protection to communistic leaders and the impunity which they enjoy has provoked this agitation which is rapidly leading Mexico to anarchy!

This is why the government has created so many dissatisfied people and has aggravated the difficult problems it cannot solve. It is only natural that a man with the exaggerated self-esteem as that of General Cardenas, prefers to persist in his error of stubbornness, worthy of a better cause, than to rectify his mistaken methods of government.

Under these circumstances, the easiest procedure for the government, is to charge me and my friends with all of the nation's wrongs and to propose as a remedy for the ailments of Mexico the persecution of citizens who frankly point out its mistakes, its failures and its fallacies --- the sad obsessions of a mistaken man who has lost the serenity so essential to all Rulers of nations!

The offense committed against me and my friends has no particular significance because it refers to us, but it is a symptom which points out the great degree of violence the situation has reached.

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Unfortunately, this is not a question of men, as men are mere accidents in the lives of nations, but it is a vital question in the lives and futures of the Mexican people, who are debating in the land south of the United States.

Official Communism is stupidly assailing the institutions given my country by the revolutionary movement. Such is the drama of Mexico today! This is what I was thinking as the plane crossed the Rio Grande and descended at Brownsville.

With no hatred, nor animosity, toward anyone, I feel only intense sadness for the pitiful conditions of my country. How deplorable it is to lose this precious time in painful extremist experiments, which already have failed in other countries, instead of organizing for national economy to better the conditions of the laborer, to realize our institutions and faithfully observe the provisions of our advanced constitution of 1917.

My friends and myself alighted from the plane and stepped onto American soil. We arrived as many others have arrived, exiles, persecuted by tyranny, searching for hospitality in this land of freedom. Local and federal authorities at Brownsville received us with exquisite courtesy and we have been told that we may live as political refugees in the American Union. Also we have received innumerable proofs of the friendly feeling that the American people have toward our cause.

Like ship-wrecked persons driven by an impetuous storm to the coast of salvation, once out of the storm we put our

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garments to dry under the sun. And the sun that is drying our clothes and throwing light upon our path of exile is the sun of American Liberty.

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( NOTE TO EDITOR: It is suggested that at this point that General Calles' story be broken into two installments. The second installment follows herewith.)

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In a peaceful home of Spanish-California architecture, General Plutarco Elias Calles, former President of Mexico, now resides in San Diego, California. In an extended exclusive interview he gave me this interesting and dramatic story regarding his country's affairs and many details of his agitated and strife-torn life.

Quietly he looked out over the peaceful hills, once trampled by the clumsy boots of Cabrillo and Vizcaino and under the winged feet of the aborigines, but now dotted with beautiful dwellings and gardens, by virtue of the courageous efforts of the American people. General Calles talked plainly and frankly of the drama now brooding south of the American border. There was a note of sincerity in every word he said.

It is General Calles, a man seasoned in the political and social struggles of Mexico; a statesman who has ruled it directly and indirectly for many years <sup>and</sup> who is familiar with the people and the problems of his country, who unfolds these facts and explanations.

The Mexican statesman talked to me very slowly, with the self-possession born by the influence of the information and the

serenity of his judgement.

Is there uneasiness and agitation in Mexico? Is the government of General Cardenas really a government of communistic tendencies? The answers to these questions deeply interest<sup>s</sup> the American nation, since they refer to the vicissitudes of a neighboring nation, separated from the United States, in part , by the Rio Grande, a ribbon of water, and, at other points, by an imaginary geographical line.

Smoking American-made cigarets, General Calles said:

Everyone knows that the Mexican revolution was initiated 25 years ago under the dictatorial regime of Porfirio Diaz; to destroy the feudalism of the 'latifundists,' or owners of vast extensions of uncultivated or poorly cultivated lands, and to oppose the absorption of the country's wealth by financial oligarchy. Coincident with the struggle, the nation was organizing in politics under democratic institutions and observing the orientation of prudent 'intervention of the State' in social and economic fields. This~~d~~ is balanced, with the sense of equitableness, <sup>for</sup> the interests of the people who contribute to production, limiting, on the one hand, the power of the capitalist, and on the other extending the rights of the laborers. These aspirations are set forth in our advanced constitution of 1917.

With the purpose of preventing the peasants and the 'peons' (farm hands) of the 'haciendas' (plantations) from becoming abused by the owners of extensive lands, the agrarian laws were issued permitting the government to take possession of, and bestow agricultural land upon its people.

However, both the constitution and the agrarian laws now in force absolutely establish and respect the rights of 'small property' owners. But at present that is a dead letter, since the government, in its eagerness to get into the good graces of the peasants and under the pretext of intensifying the distribution of the land, has confiscated many small properties. It can be practically asserted that the rural property no longer has any legal opportunity of defense under the present administration. Moreover, the agrarian authorities and the government's politicians have been unfairly promoting a campaign of agitation, converting the 'struggle of classes' into an actual war of 'hatred of classes,' which is producing the sad results which we read everyday in the newspapers --- assaults and murders committed in many parts of Mexico.

Sometimes the peasants murder the owners of the land and their administrators; in other instances the land owners' men slay the peasants, while in still other instances the 'agraristas' kill each other while disputing the possession of the land. Arbitrariness and violence which have officially been made public, rule the country and not withstanding the prevailing conditions, President Cardenas is giving arms to the peasants so they may defend themselves from their enemies.

One does not need to be a prophet to predict that lawlessness will increase; --- that assaults, murder and vengeance will be the order of the day. While such a passionate party conflict for the possession of the land is being waged and while one of the contending groups is being armed with the idea of exterminating its opponent, peace will never be reached. Order can be established only

through the entergetic intervention of an impartial force representing the governmental authorities under the law. By that I mean the army and the police.

The constitution and laws of Mexico have, in advanced form, acknowledged the rights of the laborers. They also have limited the interests of owners of various enterprises and of the capitalist. In a country of such incipient industries as Mexico, the redemption of the laborers' rights should be directed in a prudent manner. All moves should be made carefully according to economical realities, in order not to destroy, in a thoughtless fit of radicalism, the sources of production and the centers of work.

An under developed and financially weak organization in the 'equilibrating state' has to fight against the selfishness of the employers in order to make them share, each time more, their increased earnings among their laborers. Extreme precaution should be taken in assisting toward the betterment of the wage-earners' standards of living and not 'kill the goose that lays the golden egg.' That is, in synthesis, or the combination of parts, the proposition laid down by the Constitution of Mexico, which President Cardenas systematically has violated by favoring and protecting a determined group of laborers.

President Cardenas wholeheartedly supports these groups even in cases wherein their demands are absolutely unjustified, planning conflicts and strikes inspired by claims that, in many instances, do not agree with the possibilities of the defendants. He is thereby creating an extremely difficult situation for industry and most assuredly paving the way to its bankruptcy. Such is the path of failure.

In this conflict between capitalistic industry and private economy the radicals are known as the 'left wing.' Through their direct agitation of the masses and their theorizing they are trying to lead us to Communism. By means of strikes and disturbances which they themselves are provoking, they incite the people to seize the industries of the country as the sole means of solving this crisis or disagreement and agitation.

Do not tell me that I am exaggerating. President Cardenas and a group of his principal assistants, among whom are General Francisco J. Mujica, Secretary of Communications; Gonzalo Vazquez Vela, Secretary of Public Education, and the heads of the Agrarian and Labor departments, are the most enthusiastic supporters of such ideas, which I judge absurd as far as their practical application in Mexico is concerned. The tendencies of these men are openly communistic as they lecture and act to transform our constitutional regime. As a matter of fact, they are the ones who conspire in their official capacities against our institutions. Their dissatisfaction with the institutions confirms this.

General Mujica, in his official position, has declared in public acts 'that the factories should be delivered to the laborers and the land to the peasants' without limitations. By that is meant without respecting the small rural property, which expressly is guaranteed by our laws.

President Cardenas never rectified that statement by General Mujica. On the contrary, he threatened to deliver the factories of the industries of Monterrey to the government or to the laborers 'if they were tired' of the many conflicts which the agitators continually have provoked among the laborers. That statement was

made publically and officially by General Cardenas. Everyone knows it!

The Secretary of Public Education has, likewise, stated that the teaching of 'scientific socialism', or Communism, should be imparted in all of our Mexican schools. Professor Lucio, Undersecretary of Education, has succeeded in imposing his book, 'Simiente' (Seed) for use in the thousands of rural schools of Mexico. This book is nothing more than a source of agrarian Communism adapted for the children. The members of the Superior Board of National Education, an institution especially created by the present government to lead the culture of the country, recently approved a bill which creates 'faculties of science' and technical schools, similar to those of the universities, but they are exclusively for the laborers and their children.

In these schools a unilateral education will be imparted, preaching hatred and passion to the 'struggle of classes,' and, according to official reports, pursuing as an aim, the preparation of the men who will govern the State and its economy in the proletarian regime that is to come.

The governmental institutions, which handle the agricultural credit and finance the peasants, are fighting with determination to implant the exploitations which they call 'collective' and which in truth are nothing more than the communistic --- the Russian system. They also are opposed to our national tendency which makes for the cultivation of the land in severalty. Ample credit is granted to the 'collective' exploitations, while others have great difficulty in obtaining it.

It can very plainly be seen that the idea is to disregard the principle of private property, consecrated in our laws, and to continue the seizure of factories, 'collectivize' the agricultural work and supplant a 'society without classes', according to the reading of the motto of the syndicalistic organization that enjoys official protection. They want to get rid of our democratic institutions, making the State the master and arbiter of our citizens. What they want is Communism!

It also is their idea to follow the path that the Russians have shown --- the dictatorial road, which unfairly imposes the opinions of the government officials for those of the people. As can be seen, President Cardenas has engaged in a terrific fight against the syndicalistic freedom. He stubbornly is resorting to every means within his reach to have all workers who are organized in syndicates, federations and confederations absorbed by the recently created organization called the Confederation of Workers of Mexico, which is led by well known communists such as Vincent Lombardo Toledano, Valentin Campa and Herman Laborde, upon whom all communistic groups depend.

Old labor organizations with a clean record in the struggle for proletarian redemption and social justice, such as the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, (Regional Labor Confederation of Mexico, or C.R.O.M., and a member of the American Federation of Labor), with 25 years of rude and continuous struggle; the Confederacion General de Trabajadores, (General Confederation of Workers, or C.G.T.), which is of old radical standing; the Confederation de Sindicatos del Distrito Federal, (Confederation of Syndicates of

the Federal District), and some others, flatly have refused to be incorporated into the 'Central' of remarkable communistic tendencies which are decidedly backed by President Cardenas.

It does not mean that their leaders do not sustain advanced and radical ideas and that they do not aspire to the maximum of well-being for their labor members, nor that they are alarmed with the social transformations that are beneficial to the producing masses, but they firmly are convinced that all labor organizations must operate without governmental interference.

They also realize how dangerous it is to place those organizations in the hands of one political group, and they must act in strict accordance with our economic possibilities and the Revolutionary tendency, inspired by a sensible nationalism, free from the absurd stubbornness of irresponsible theorists. They believe, likewise, that the Mexican social problems should be solved by the Mexican workers alone, without outside interference. That is why they reject the communistic system, whether or not confessed by its promoters in Mexico, because its purpose is to subdue the working people to the Third Internationale of Moscow.

This is the method by which the government is trying to convert itself into the leadership of all economic sectors in Mexico. In the agricultural field it is destroying the fundamental active power of our workers by means of ~~whenever~~ violations of the law and the small rural property. In the industrial field it is skipping the established rules of law to impose passioned ~~party~~ party decisions upon industrialists and the groups of laborers which do not enjoy the

protection of the government, on the grounds of an equally arbitrary criterion which it labels 'revolutionary interpretation of the law.'

The government also has tried to impose its ideology upon the proletariat by forcibly pretending to form the 'Central,' to be directed, of course, by communistic elements. This attitude has caused many social organizations, which do not agree with the government's policy, to resolutely defend themselves to prevent their extermination. As a consequence, an intense and bloody strife has broken out causing irreparable loss of the lives of many workers, the collapse of economics, and uncertainty and distrust in all centers of life. For all these reasons Mexico is crumbling into a state of general anarchy!

This explains why many sections of Mexico are overcrowded, because of the loosening of social discipline, respect for the authorities is abandoned, driving everyone to violent, bloody and antisocial deeds --- a tragic crop produced by anarchy which has been profusely sown for more than a year!

The government makes my friends and me responsible for all this, solely because we have the courage to point out and disapprove such erroneous governmental methods. No one can believe these accusations. Even the government officials themselves cannot believe them, for they are deliberately making these charges as an excuse for our expulsion from Mexico.

At another time I will give my opinion with regard to the social and political programs my country should follow to pull it out of the state of anarchy in which it is debating today. I will

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plainly state the difference in ideology and tactics which separates me from the government of General Cardenas.

--- THE END ---

FAPREF

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"No estoy de acuerdo con el Gobierno que preside en mi país el Señor General Lázaro Cárdenas, porque con su política radical intenta establecer el comunismo en México, siguiendo métodos de agitación y demagogia, que están desorganizando la economía nacional, relajando las disciplinas populares y llevando a los trabajadores a la miseria". Así nos declaró enfáticamente el Señor General Plutarco Elías Calles, ex-Presidente de la vecina República, en su apacible residencia de San Diego, California.

"Precisamente porque no estoy de acuerdo con esa política, prosiguió diciéndonos y porque así se los he manifestado francamente a mis amigos y a quienes han solicitado mi opinión, por eso se me obliga a residir fuera de la tierra que me vio nacer. No hay otra razón". Después añadió serenamente: "¡ Inútil empeño! Es infantil creer que con mi ausencia van a desaparecer las causas sociales y políticas que están produciendo la crisis actual".

"Muy bien, General" le contestamos nosotros. "Mas queremos pedirle que nos hable ordenadamente de la forma en que se inició y se desarrolló su última aventura".

"Yo les proporcionaré, con todo gusto - nos dijo el estadista mexicano - todas mis impresiones y les desnudaré todos mis pensamientos".

El General Calles nos habló así:

Fuí aprehendido en la casa de mi rancho de "Santa Bárbara", a treinta kilómetros de la ciudad de México, en donde me encontraba dedicado a los trabajos agrícolas en unión de mi hijo

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Rodolfo. Por allí trepa la carretera de Puebla hasta el puerto por donde se aleja del Valle de México. Al frente se eleva la rampa montañosa cubierta de pinares que asciende hasta la masa majestuosa de los volcanes, eternamente cubiertos de nieve. Por las laderas y por los valles se extienden las granjas donde una población tranquila se dedica al trabajo del campo. Es la ruta histórica por donde llegaron a la Gran Tenochtitlán, la vieja Capital Azteca, las huestes conquistadoras de Hernán Cortés.

En este escenario de paz y sosiego fui a residir poco después de mi regreso a México, en diciembre último, alejado de la política y de la agitación. Ciertamente que mis amigos me visitaban y es verdad que les expresé con toda franqueza en nuestras conversaciones mi desacuerdo con la tendencia comunista del gobierno y con sus métodos demagógicos; pero lo hacía dentro de los derechos que la ley confiere a todos los ciudadanos en Méxi-co y en todo el mundo civilizado; y no creo que pueda considerar se criminal a quien critica los procedimientos gubernamentales. Sin embargo, el gobierno de mi país no opinó así, y en cuanto pudo urdir un pretexto, ordenó mi detención y me obligó a abandonar mi patria en unión de algunos amigos míos.

La noche del nueve de ~~agosto~~ abril me encontraba en cama por estar enfermo de influenza. La casa del rancho estaba silenciosa y oscura y sólo me acompañaban dos ayudantes. A eso de las once de la noche llegó el señor General Rafael Navarro Cortina, Comandante Militar de la Plaza de México, seguido por numerosos automóviles que conducían soldados y oficiales, así como acompañado por agentes de la policía. Rodearon mi residencia campestre y el jefe militar penetró hasta el "hall" pidiendo a uno de mis ayudan-

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tes me anunciara que deseaba hablarme. Ordené que pasara en seguida y sostuve con él breve conversación.

"Mi General -me dijo- vengo a comunicarle de parte del Señor Presidente de la República que debe usted abandonar el país lo antes posible".

"¿Se pueden saber las razones?", pregunté levantándome.

"Mi General, según se me ha dicho, son las condiciones que prevalecen en el país las que obligan al Gobierno a tomar esa medida", respondió el militar visiblemente apenado por la triste comisión que desempeñaba.

"¿Las condiciones que reinan en el país.....?" Hablé como si me preguntara a mí mismo. Y luego, en voz más alta, dije al General Navarro: "Es el gobierno el único culpable de la agitación y la anarquía que conmueven a México. Es absurdo creer que yo las haya producido. Es el mismo gobierno, protegiendo las actividades de los líderes comunistas, el que nos ha llevado a esta situación en que se han roto las disciplinas sociales, se ha perdido el respeto a la autoridad y se desconoce toda jerarquía. Dígaselo así al señor Presidente Cárdenas".

"Así se lo dire, Señor General. Mientras tanto, voy a dejar una guardia vigilando la casa", respondió el Comandante Militar de la Plaza de México.

"Si señor, ya lo entiendo; cumpla usted con su deber", añadí con calma. "Soy su prisionero. No tengo fuerza con que hacer resistencia; ni la necesito. La única fuerza que poseo es la fuerza moral de la razón que me asiste; y con eso me basta. Pueden ustedes llevarme frente al pelotón de ejecución, pueden obligarme a salir del país, pueden hacer de mí lo que quieran. Estoy

a merced de ustedes. Ya vé usted, General Navarro, qué peligrosa es la fuerza en manos de quien no sabe usarla".

Navarro permanecía silencioso, mirándome con sus ojos a sombrados, como si él mismo dudara de que fuera realidad aquél procedimiento tan injusto y atentatorio que se le obligaba a seguir conmigo. Se retiró en seguida haciendo el saludo militar. Regresó hora y media más tarde, después de haber conferenciado con el Presidente de México. Ya más calmado que en su primera visita, me dijo cortésmente:

"Dice el Señor Presidente que debe usted salir del país en un avión que estará listo para llevarlo a la frontera a las seis de la mañana, en el Puerto Aéreo Central. Yo vendré para conducirlo hasta allá, mi General".

"Está bien; estoy listo", contesté. Y en unión de algunos familiares que al tener noticia de los acontecimientos habían llegado para hacerme compañía, alisté rápidamente un ligero equipaje para excursión tan inesperada.

A la hora de la salida llegó el General Navarro por mí. La casa estaba rodeada de oficiales, soldados y policías que, invadieron el jardín y las calzadas, acampando allí durante la noche, hasta dar el aspecto de cuartel improvisado o de un campamento revolucionario.

Abrió la marcha un automóvil conduciendo al señor General Navarro y sus ayudantes, después marché en mi coche con algunos familiares, detrás me escoltaron siete carros abarrotados de oficiales y policías. Llegamos al Puerto Aéreo Central. Allí estaban, rodeados de policías y oficiales, incomunicados, sin permitírseles hablar siquiera con sus familias, los tres amigos míos

que fueron expulsados de México en mi compañía: Luis N. Morones, Luis L. León y Melchor Ortega. Los tres habían sido aprehendidos desde la víspera con lujo de fuerza y encerrados durante la noche en inmundos "separos" de la Inspección General de Policía, donde no había un asiento para descansar. No habían dormido, ni siquiera probado bocado, ni se les proporcionó siquiera un vaso de agua; pero los tres permanecían enteros y serenos, protestando energicamente por el atentado que con ellos se cometía.

Abordamos el avión. Despedidos por un pequeño grupo de amigos, los pocos que tuvieron conocimiento de nuestra expulsión, nos elevamos en un trimotor "Ford" esa mañana de niebla. Balanceándonos sobre el hermoso Valle de México, dijimos adiós a nuestros hogares, a nuestros amigos, a nuestro país; nunca a nuestros ideales, ni a nuestros principios, esos ideales y esos principios que se pretende arrebatarse a millones de mexicanos. Por confesarlos, por declararlos públicamente, por defenderlos, por no abdicar de ellos, volamos ya sobre la Sierra Madre Oriental, perdidos en las nubes, con rumbo al exilio.

Repentinamente, al desgarrarse el banco de nubes sobre el que se desliza el aeroplano, vemos alla abajo, entre las cañadas de la Sierra de Hidalgo, un espectáculo que nos conmueve porque viene a confirmarnos que nuestros ideales, los genuinos ideales de la revolución mexicana, quedan profundamente arraigados en la tierra de la patria. A pesar de nuestro alejamiento, viven en el corazón del pueblo y nadie podrá destruirlos no obstante la pasión y la terquedad con que se les combate.

Efectivamente, contemplamos desde lo alto un "ejido", es decir, un pueblecillo al que las leyes de la revolución dotaron

de tierras de cultivo para que los campesinos busquen su vida. Y el paisaje que examinamos a dos mil pies de altura, nos demuestra que las tierras agrícolas están divididas en parcelas, que cada hombre tiene su lote y lo siembra individualmente, buscando así la forma de ser libre. Es el régimen agrario por el que hemos luchado tantos años, desde que siendo Presidente de México establecí el parcelamiento del "ejido" y expedí la Ley del "patrimonio ejidal", que no es otra cosa que el establecimiento del "homestead" para que el labriego no pueda vender el pedazo de tierra que le entrega el Gobierno, ni nadie pueda arrebatárselo. Todo esto que a nosotros nos parece bueno, es, sin embargo, contrario a lo que piensan los hombres que ahora están en el poder y que vienen combatiendo oficialmente estos principios originales de la revolución agraria de México. El General Cárdenas y sus amigos quieren "colectivizar" la explotación de la tierra; no quieren que cada hombre posea su parcela y la siembra individualmente, porque dicen que en esta forma se vuelve conservador y se hace "pequeño burgués". Luchan y se afanan porque la tierra sea de la comunidad, permanezca indivisa y se explote "colectivamente"; es decir, quieren implantar el comunismo agrario. ¡Grave error en un país donde los campesinos son profundamente individualistas! La experiencia nos demuestra que el hombre del campo anhela poseer positiva y directamente su propia tierra, y nunca lograrán ilusionarlo con un teórico derecho comunal.

El avión deja atrás el pueblito de la sierra que nos inspira tales pensamientos. Atravesamos rápidamente las brumas que vienen del Golfo de México y descendemos sobre Tampico. Pero la visión del ideal agrario que queda prendido al terruño no nos

abandona, ya que sabemos que hay siete mil "ejidos" como ese a través del país, que defenderán su derecho a usar la tierra libremente, de acuerdo con su propia idiosincracia, rechazando la tendencia comunista; o, en último caso, se verán obligados a engañar astutamente al Gobierno para no exponerse a las represalias que dicte la ira oficial. Mas no hay que dudarlo: La realidad mexicana se impondrá en un futuro no muy lejano a la torpe tendencia exótica.

De Tampico, volando sobre las olas, nos dirigimos a Brownsville, Texas. El último girón de suelo mexicano que podemos contemplar, lo constituyen las tierras bajas y cálidas de la costa de Tamaulipas. Interiormente me voy despidiendo de mi patria, tanto más querida cuanto más comprometida y agitada se encuentra.

¿Por qué se nos expulsa tan injustamente? Sólo porque hemos dicho en alta voz, a todo el que ha querido oírnos, lo que la enorme mayoría de la nación dice en voz baja: Que el Gobierno cegado por la pasión sectaria, abandona los caminos de la ley para lanzarse a la arbitrariedad y para imponer su capricho con procedimientos dictatoriales; que su protección a los líderes comunistas y la impunidad que les concede, han provocado toda esa agitación que está llevando a México rápidamente a la anarquía. Es así como la misma Administración cardenista ha creado tantos descontentos y agravado los difíciles problemas que no puede resolver. Naturalmente un hombre de un amor propio tan exagerado como el Presidente Cárdenas, prefiere perseverar en el error, con terquedad digna de otra causa, antes que rectificar los equivocados métodos de su política.

En esta situación, el camino que les ha parecido más fá-

cil a los hombres del Gobierno, es arrojar la responsabilidad de todo lo malo que ocurre a Calles y sus amigos y proponer, como remedio a los males de México, atropellar a los ciudadanos que señalan con franqueza los errores y los fracasos. Triste obcecación de un hombre equivocado que ha perdido la serenidad indispensable a todo gobernante!

Mas por desgracia no se trata solamente de los hombres, efímeros accidentes en la vida de las naciones, sino que es la existencia y el futuro del pueblo mexicano lo que se está debatiendo en las tierras que se extienden al sur de los Estados Unidos. El atentado de que fuimos objeto, no tiene valor precisamente por tratarse de nosotros, sino como síntoma revelador de la situación a que se ha llegado. Un comunismo oficial asaltando torpemente las instituciones que le dio nuestro movimiento revolucionario al país, tal es el drama de mi patria. Eso pensaba con tristeza cuando el avión en que fuimos expedidos al exilio, cruzando por encima del Río Bravo, descendía en Brownsville, tocando tierra americana.

Ni odios, ni rencores para nadie. Sólo una profunda tristeza por la angustiosa situación en que dejé a mi país. Y qué lamentable que se este perdiendo este tiempo tan precioso en dolorosas experiencias extremistas, ya fracasadas en otras partes! La hora actual debería encontrarnos organizando la economía nacional y mejorando las condiciones de vida de los trabajadores, para lo que bastaría realizar nuestras instituciones, de acuerdo con las disposiciones de nuestra avanzada Constitución de 1917.

Abandonamos el avión y pisamos tierra de la Unión Americana. Llegamos como han llegado, a través de siglos, tantos perseguidos por la tiranía, a buscar hospitalidad en este país de liber

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tades; y desde luego se nos concede. Las autoridades locales, al igual que las federales, nos reciben con exquisita cortesía y se nos comunica que podemos vivir como refugiados políticos en el territorio de la Unión. Recibimos, igualmente, innumerables pruebas de la simpatía que el pueblo americano tiene por nuestra causa.

Como naufragos arrojados por recio temporal a las costas salvadoras, apenas salidos de la tormenta, colgamos nuestros trapos a secar al sol. Y es consolador comprobar que el sol que orea nuestras ropas de proscritos e ilumina nuestro camino en el exilio, es el sol de la libertad!

X

X

X

El estadista mexicano suspende su amena charla por breves momentos. Muy cortesmente me indica que ha llegado la hora de su diario ejercicio y me invita a acompañarlo en su paseo.

Abandonamos la casa de estilo "español-californiano" que habita y caminamos al azar. Paseando sin prisa por las colinas que en otro tiempo trillaran los férreos zapatos de Cabrillo y Vizcaino o la planta alada de los indios autóctonos, y que ahora el esfuerzo de los ciudadanos americanos han convertido en barrio residencial y jardines, hablamos con claridad y franqueza del drama que a estas horas se está incubando al sur de la frontera.

¿ Hay inquietud y agitación en Mexico ? ¿ Es realmente

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un gobierno de tendencias comunistas el del señor General Lázaro Cárdenas ? La contestación a estas preguntas interesa vivamente a la nación americana, ya que se trata de las vicisitudes de un pueblo vecino, del que sólo nos separa, en parte, un río muchísimo más angosto que el Mississippi, y en otra buena porción, tan sólo una línea geográfica imaginaria. Y es nada menos que Calles, un hombre envejecido en las luchas políticas y sociales de México, un estadista que ha dirigido su país por muchos años, conocedor profundo del pueblo y de los problemas de su patria, quien va a resolvernos esa incógnita, presentándonos la seriedad de sus opiniones. El político mexicano nos habla lentamente, con el reposo que dan la seguridad que se tiene en la información y la serenidad con que se emiten <sup>los</sup> juicios.

Como todo el mundo sabe - principia diciéndonos el General Calles - la revolución mexicana se inició hace 25 años para derribar el régimen dictatorial de Porfirio Díaz, destruir el feudalismo de los grandes latifundistas y oponerse a la absorción de las riquezas del país por una oligarquía financiera. A través de nuestras luchas, la nación se ha ido organizando en política, bajo instituciones democráticas, y en materia económica y social, orientándose hacia un prudente "intervencionismo de Estado", para equilibrar, dentro de un sentido de equidad, a los factores que concurren a la producción: limitando, por un lado, los intereses de los capitalistas, y señalando, por el otro, los derechos de los trabajadores. Esas aspiraciones quedaron expresadas como mandatos imperativos de la ley en nuestra Constitución de 1917.

Con el objeto de liberar a los campesinos y "peones" de las "haciendas" de la explotación de que eran víctimas por parte de los grandes terratenientes, se dictaron las leyes agrarias que permiten al gobierno, cuando se llenan determinados requisitos, afectar la propiedad privada para dotar a los pueblos de tierras agrícolas. Sin embargo, tanto la Constitución como el Código Agrario actualmente en vigor, establecen el respeto absoluto a la "pequeña propiedad". Todo esto es letra muerta al presente, pues en el afán de congraciarse con los campesinos, y con el pretexto de intensificar el reparto de tierras, muchas pequeñas propiedades han sido confiscadas y puede decirse que, en la práctica y bajo la actual Administración, ya no tiene defensa legal alguna la propiedad rural en México. Además, se ha venido desarrollando, tanto por las autoridades agrarias como por los políticos gobiernistas, una campaña apasionadísima y de agitación, hasta convertir la lucha de terratenientes y campesinos en guerra <sup>a muerte</sup> de "odio de clases", que está produciendo los tristes resultados que podemos comprobar en las noticias que publican todos los días los periódicos de México, describiéndonos asaltos y asesinatos en el campo. Unas veces asesinan los campesinos a los propietarios de las tierras, otras, a los empleados de los primeros; en algunos casos, son los hombres del terrateniente los que dan muerte a campesinos, o son "agraristas" quienes por disputas de tierras se matan unos con otros. La arbitrariedad y la violencia reinan en la campiña. Y a pesar de esta situación, el señor Presidente Cárdenas está repartiendo armas a los campesinos para que se defiendan de sus enemigos, según declara oficialmente. No se necesita ser profeta para anunciar que los desórdenes aumentaran y los asaltos, asesinatos y venganzas,

estaran a la orden del día. Cuando se establece un conflicto tan apasionado y violento como esa lucha por la posesión de la tierra, no se puede alcanzar la paz armando a uno de los grupos interesados para que extermine a sus contrarios. El orden solo puede conseguirlo la enérgica intervención, de conformidad con la ley, de una fuerza imparcial, representativa de la autoridad: el ejército o la policía.

La Constitución y las leyes de México, prosiguiendo diciéndonos el General Calles, han reconocido en forma avanzada los derechos de los trabajadores y limitando los intereses de empresarios y capitalistas. En un país de industria tan incipiente como el mío, la acción reivindicativa de los derechos obreros debe dirigirse con cordura, obrando de acuerdo con las realidades económicas, para no ir a destruir, en un arrebató irreflexivo de radicalismo, las fuentes de producción y los centros de trabajo. Frente a una organización industrial tan poco desarrollada y tan débil desde el punto de vista financiero, el "Estado equilibrador" debe luchar contra el egoísmo de los patrones, para hacerles compartir cada vez más la "plus valia" con sus obreros y obligarlos a cooperar en el mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida de los asalariados, pero obrando siempre con prudencia para no ir a matar la "gallina de los huevos de oro". Esa es, en síntesis, la tesis de la Constitución de México con la que ha roto el gobierno del General Cárdenas, apoyando sistemáticamente las pretensiones de determinado grupo obrero, aún en los casos en que son notoriamente injustificadas, planteando conflictos y huelgas inspiradas en reclamaciones que muchas veces no se compadecen con las posibilidades económicas, por lo que se está creando una difícil si-

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tuación para la industria, que, de continuarse, puede llevarla a la bancarrota. Es por este camino del fracaso provocado de la - industria capitalista y de la economía privada, por donde nuestros radicales llamados de "ala izquierda" - los que actúan agitando directamente las masas, lo mismo que los que se ocupan en teorizar desde los altos puestos del Gobierno - nos quieren llevar al comunismo, presentando al pueblo como medida necesaria la incautación de los establecimientos industriales para poder solucionar una crisis llamada de inconformidad y "acomodamiento", de agitación, de huelgas y de desórdenes, que ellos mismos están provocando.

Y no se me diga que exagero, añadio el ex-gobernante mexicano, hablando con voz reposada: El señor Presidente Cárdenas y un grupo de sus principales colaboradores, entre los que se destacan los Secretarios de Comunicaciones, señor General Francisco J. Mújica, el de Educación Pública, señor licenciado Gonzalo Vázquez Vela, y los jefes de los Departamentos Agrario y del Trabajo, son los mas entusiastas propagandistas de esas ideas, que juzgo extraviadas por lo que se refiere a su aplicación en México. Sus tendencias son francamente comunistas y predicán y actúan para transformar nuestro régimen constitucional. De hecho son ellos quienes conspiran, desde el poder, contra nuestras instituciones. Su inconformidad con estas últimas es manifiesta. El señor General Mújica ha declarado en actos públicos, llevando la representación oficial, y sin que el Presidente lo haya rectificado hasta el presente, "que las fábricas deben ser entregadas a los obreros y las tierras a los campesinos", sin limitaciones; es decir, sin respetar la pequeña propiedad rural que garantizan nuestras leyes.

Por su parte, el señor Presidente Cárdenas conminó a los industriales de Monterrey para que, "si se encontraban fatigados" por tantos conflictos como los agitadores les vienen provocando constantemente con los obreros, "entregaran sus factorías al Gobierno o a los mismos trabajadores". La declaración fué pública y oficial; todo el mundo la conoce. Igualmente, la Secretaría de Educación Pública ha declarado que la enseñanza del "socialismo científico" es decir, del comunismo, será la que se imparta en todas las escuelas. El señor Profesor Lucio, Subsecretario de Educación, ha logrado que se imponga como libro de texto, en los millares de escuelas rurales, su obra "Simiente", que no es otra cosa que un curso de comunismo agrario adaptado a la niñez. Los miembros del Consejo Superior de Educación Nacional, institución creada expresamente por el actual gobierno para orientar la cultura del país, acaban de aprobar un proyecto de ley que crea "Facultades de Ciencias" y "Escuelas Técnicas", semejantes a las universitarias, pero dedicadas exclusivamente a los obreros y a sus hijos; y serán estas escuelas donde, según se ha declarado oficialmente, se impartirá una enseñanza unilateral, predicando con odio y pasión la "lucha de clases", y persiguiendo el objetivo de preparar a los hombres que manejan el Estado y la economía en el régimen proletario por venir. Las instituciones del gobierno que <sup>se encargan del</sup> ~~manejan el~~ crédito agrícola y que refaccionan a los campesinos, están luchando empeñosamente por implantar las explotaciones que llaman "colectivas", y que no son otra cosa que comunistas a la usanza rusa, combatiendo la tendencia profundamente nacional de los hombres de nuestros campos de explotar individualmente su lote de tierra. A las explotaciones "colectivas" se les concede crédito ampliamente;

a las otras se les dificulta conseguirlo.

Claramente se está demostrando que se trata de desconocer el principio de propiedad privada que consagran nuestras leyes, de llegar a la incautación de las fábricas y a la "colectivización" del trabajo de los campos; de constituir, como dice el lema de la organización sindical que goza de las simpatías oficiales, "una sociedad sin clases". Se quieren destruir nuestras instituciones democráticas, convirtiendo al Estado en árbitro y dueño del destino de los ciudadanos. En una palabra, se pretende ir al comunismo.

Y se quiere ir por el camino que nos han enseñado los ru sos, por el camino dictatorial, imponiendo apasionadamente la opinión de los hombres del gobierno a todos los ciudadanos. Así, por ejemplo, el señor Presidente Cárdenas se ha empeñado en una lucha terrible en contra de la libertad sindical. Obstinadamente ha puesto todo su esfuerzo y recurrido a cuanto medio está a su alcan ce para que todos los trabajadores, los cuales desde hace muchos años están organizados en Sindicatos, Federaciones y Confederaciones, se sumen a una sola organización recientemente creada: la "Confederación de Trabajadores de México", organismo dirigido por connotados comunistas, como Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Valentín Campa y Hernán Laborde, y a la cual pertenecen todos los grupos comunistas de México.

Viejas organizaciones obreras, con limpio historial en la lucha en pro de las reivindicaciones proletarias y de la justicia social, como la Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana ("C.R.O.M.") miembro de la "Pan American Federation of Labor", con más de veinticinco años de incesante batallar, la Confederación General de Trabajadores ("C.G.T."), de antigua actuación radical,

la Confederación de Sindicatos del Distrito Federal y algunas otras, no han querido sumarse a la Central de tintes marcadamente comunistas que apoya el General Cárdenas. No es que no sean radicales y avanzados sus dirigentes y no aspiren a buscar las mayores conquistas y el máximo de bienestar para los proletarios que representan, ni mucho menos porque se asusten por transformaciones sociales que beneficien a las masas productoras, sino porque tienen la firme convicción de que la organización obrera de México debe actuar libre de toda ingerencia gubernativa; que es peligroso entregarla completamente en manos de un grupo político; y que debe orientarse de acuerdo con nuestras posibilidades económicas, sin pretender desbordar los límites de nuestras realidades, a tono con la tendencia de la revolución mexicana, que se inspira en un nacionalismo sensato, y sin las intransigencias absurdas de teóricos irresponsables. Igualmente juzgan que los problemas mexicanos deben resolverlos los mismos trabajadores mexicanos, sin permitir intromisión extraña en nuestra organización social, por lo que rechazan la tendencia comunista que, confesado o no por sus parciales, trata siempre de someter los pueblos al duro yugo de la Tercera Internacional de Moscú.

En esta forma se ha querido el Gobierno constituir en el director de todos los sectores económicos de México. En el campo de la agricultura, sus actividades irrespetuosas de la ley y sus atropellos a la pequeña propiedad, están desorganizando esa actividad fundamental de nuestro pueblo. En la industria, se pasa sobre las normas <sup>legales</sup> establecidas para imponer fallos a los industriales o a los grupos obreros que no gozan de la simpatía oficial, fundándose en un criterio igualmente arbitrario que se lla-

ma "interpretación revolucionaria de la ley". Por lo que se refiere a la masa proletaria, el Gobierno ha tratado de imponerle una ideología, forzando la situación y pretendiendo formar una sola Central, manejada por los comunistas. Como consecuencia de esta actuación oficial, las organizaciones que no están de acuerdo con esta política, ni se conforman con que se les destruya, se están defendiendo con toda valentía y se ha provocado una lucha intergremial intensa, sangrienta y apasionada, que está costando muchas vidas de trabajadores, la ruína de la economía y sembrando por todas partes la duda y la desconfianza. Por todas esas múltiples causas, la situación va cayendo rápidamente a un estado de anarquía general.

Todo lo anterior explica por qué abundan en México los descontentos en muchos sectores de población; porque la disciplina social se encuentra relajada, se está perdiendo el respeto al principio de autoridad y se cometen a diario hechos de violencia, sangrientos y antisociales. / Trágica cosecha de la anarquía que se ha venido sembrando profusamente durante mas de un año ! / Y de estos acontecimientos, producidos por causas sociológicas bien conocidas, se pretende hacernos responsables a mí y a mis amigos, tan solo por haber tenido el valor de condenar tan equivocados métodos de gobierno ! / Por lo demás, estamos tranquilos, porque nadie puede creer en estas acusaciones, ni siquiera los mismos elementos oficiales que nos las hacen únicamente para disculpar el atentado que significa nuestra expulsión del país.

Otro día daré a conocer cuáles son mis opiniones sobre el programa político y social que debe desarrollarse en mi patria para arrancarla a la anarquía y orientarla a un progreso sólido y efectivo. Y lo mismo declararé, con toda claridad, en qué consis-

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ten las diferencias de ideología y de táctica que me separan del gobierno del General Cárdenas.