

Calles Ordenó las Ejecuciones

EL UNIVERSAL.

VIERNES 12 DE NOV. 1933

DECLARÓ EL GENERAL FOX

Al margen de un telegrama, el entonces Presidente de la República, escribió la tremenda consigna y entregó el documento al general Fox

Cumplida la comisión, Calles pidió al general Fox le devolviera el documento y al recibirlo, lo hizo pedazos y lo tiró a una escupidera

El ex general de Brigada Claudio Fox, se presentó ayer por la mañana de manera espontánea ante el general auxiliar y licenciado Felipe Armenta Ruiz, Agente del Ministerio Público, adscrito al Juzgado Segundo Militar, para rendir declaraciones que se relacionan con las investigaciones previas que se están practicando, para señalar responsabilidades, con motivo de la demanda que presentaron los familiares del general de División Francisco R. Serrano y de trece amigos suyos, muertos sin formación de causa la tarde del día 3 de octubre de 1927 en la carretera que une esta ciudad con la de Cuernavaca.

Ya es sabido que se señala al señor Fox, entonces prominente miembro del Ejército Nacional, como el principal responsable de la "Carnicería de Huitzilac" y ahora que se efectúan diligencias para señalar cargos, había expectación por conocer los datos que proporcionara. Este afirma que cumplió con sus deberes de soldado; que la orden le fué dada personalmente por el general Plutarco Elías Calles, que era en 1927 Presidente de la República y que participó en el trámite de procedimientos que habrían de llevarse a la práctica para segar catorce vidas, el divisionario Joaquín Amaro. Lanzó cargos graves el declarante en contra del general Nazario Medina que fué Jefe de la Guarnición de la Plaza, Jefe del Estado Mayor del ex Presidente, ingeniero Pascual Ortiz Rubio y actualmente se encuentra en disponibilidad con residencia en Morelia. La orden de ejecución del general Serrano y de sus amigos, firmada por el general Calles, le fué pedida por el ex Jefe Máximo de la Revolución: éste la destrozó y la arrojó a una escupidera. Allí quedó

este documento valiosísimo para la historia. El exponente dijo cuáles fueron las frases escritas de puño y letra del general Calles al margen de la copia de un telegrama enviado al aprehensor, Brigadier Enrique Díaz, para que los rusiamientos fueran consumados. 1933

CARTA ACLARATORIA DEL LIC. PORTES GIL

Está completamente alejado de la política y no piensa constituir ningún partido

El señor licenciado Emilio Portes Gil nos envía la siguiente carta:

"México, 21 de enero de 1938.
Señor licenciado don Miguel Lanz Duret, Director Gerente de EL UNIVERSAL.—Ciudad.

Muy estimado y fino amigo:

De algún tiempo a esta parte, un periódico de la tarde ha venido publicando diversas notas en las que insistentemente se alude a mi persona. Se me hace aparecer en compañía de varias personas organizando un Partido Político; se dice que próximamente saldré para Europa, en comisión del Gobierno de México, en viaje de negocios o de recreo; y, finalmente, en el número correspondiente al jueves último, se asienta que representaré a la Confederación Campesina Mexicana en la Asamblea Nacional que se verificará el día 30 de marzo próximo, para dar al Partido Nacional Revolucionario la nueva organización, de acuerdo con los lineamientos marcados por el señor Presidente de la República.

Como ninguna de tales informaciones es exacta, ruego a usted encarecidamente sea servido de hacer en ese diario a su merecida dirección, la aclaración correspondiente en el sentido de que no he pensado unirme a ninguna persona para formar Partido Político, ni tengo intención de salir del país, ni tampoco se me conferirá representación alguna para asistir a la referida Asamblea; y si debo hacer hincapié, para conocimiento público y por lo que a mis amigos pudiese interesar, que desde el mes de agosto de 1936, en que renuncié a la Presidencia del C. E. N. del Partido Nacional Revolucionario, estoy completamente alejado de toda actividad política, y que desde esa fecha tomé la determinación inquebrantable de no volver jamás a tomar participación en la política de mi país.

Con mi agradecimiento por su atención sobre el particular, lo saludo con todo afecto y me repito su atento amigo y S. S.

E. PORTES GIL."

DECLARA EL EX GENERAL FOX

En forma tranquila hizo el relato que revivió los trágicos sucesos que se comentan aún a pesar de haber transcurrido dos lustros, el ex jefe militar a quien se señala como el ejecutor de la matanza. Después de dar los datos relativos a su edad, lugar de su nacimiento, etc., etc., expuso el general Fox que el año de 1927 era Jefe de las Operaciones Militares en el Estado de Guerrero, y vino a México el 3 de septiembre de ese mismo año cuando la situación política del país era en extremo agitada. Permaneció en la Metrópoli durante un mes y al saber el día 2 de octubre que se habían registrado sublevaciones, cumpliendo con sus deberes se presentó en la Secretaría de Guerra para poner de manifiesto su lealtad, pero el general Joaquín Amaro no se encontraba en sus oficinas sino en el Castillo de Chapultepec.

"Estoy presente—dijo a sus superiores—para demostrar mi lealtad de soldado y recibir las órdenes que se me den".

El general Amaro fué a conferenciar con el entonces Presidente de la República y regresó a decir al ex general Fox, que por acuerdo presidencial se le iba a encomendar el mando de una brigada para atacar a los rebeldes. "Estaban—agrega—con el general Calles, si mal no recuerdo, el general Alvaro Obregón, el doctor José Manuel Puig Casauranc, don Fernando Torreblanca y don Luis Montes de Oca, cuando se me indicó que pasara a recibir instrucciones.

"Estoy a sus órdenes, señor Presidente, señor Secretario de Guerra".

Y luego sigue la relación acerca de la forma en que recibió las órdenes para ir a cumplir la comisión que se le encomendaba.

"Aquí tiene usted—dijo el general Calles—copia del mensaje enviado al brigadier Enrique Díaz, cuyo texto decía: "Sírvase usted marchar con los prisioneros rumbo a la Capital y al encontrar en la carretera al general Claudio Fox, hágale entrega de ellos". Allí aparecían los nombres de los generales Francisco R. Serrano, Carlos A. Vidor, Miguel Peralta y hermano, licenciado Martínez Esobar, Alonso Capetillo, licenciado Otilio González, capitán Eugenio Méndez, mayor Octavio Almada, Gustavo Villa Arce, general Ariza, en suma todos los nombres de los que allí perecieron. Han sido juzgados en Consejo de Guerra. Yo entonces pedí al señor Presidente que escribiera en la copia del mensaje que me entregaba la orden de ejecución y el señor general Calles escribió estas palabras: "Los que integran la presente lista serán ejecutados en el camino y traídos sus cuerpos a esta Capital". Agregó que el general Nazario Medina ya tenía instrucciones precisas para proceder y terció el general Amaro.

"Medina cubrirá el pago de los automóviles y tiene órdenes precisas para que se cumpla la sentencia".

Sigue diciendo el ex general Fox que el ex Secretario de Guerra le facilitó su automóvil "Lincoln" que vio entre los jefes y oficiales que lo habrían de acompañar a elementos del Estado Mayor de la Presidencia y de la Secretaría de Guerra. Todavía el general Amaro le dijo al salir de Chapultepec:

"Estos muchachos comisionados con usted, son de confianza..."

UN CONVOY LARGO DE AUTOMOVILES

Al llegar a San Antonio Abad el declarante encontró un convoy compuesto por catorce o más automóviles, a las órdenes del hoy general de Brigada Nazario Medina. Allí estaban el entonces teniente coronel Carlos S. Valdés, el mayor Pacheco y otros cuyos nombres no recuerda. Abordó el "Lincoln" el coronel Hilario Marroquín. La partida rumbo a la Capital de Morelos se hizo a las 12.30 horas. Se caminó lentamente y a las 14.30 horas encontraron al general Díaz, quien traía a los prisioneros. La fuerza era escasa y las infanterías caminaban pie a tierra, claro está, lentamente.

El coronel Nazario Medina dispuso que para la ejecución, por la carencia de fuerza, tres soldados y un oficial se encargaran del fusilamiento de "cada uno de los prisioneros".

"No recuerdo quiénes fueron—agrega—pero esto podrá decirlo el general Nazario Medina... El general Díaz me pidió un recibo para

hacer entrega de los prisioneros y le manifesté que no había caso desde el momento en que le mostraba copia del mensaje que le había enviado el Presidente de la República.

Sigue diciendo el ex general Fox que el general Medina se dirigió a los encargados de la ejecución y les dijo:

"Repita las instrucciones que tiene... Aquí lo espero. No sé quiénes fueron".

Hace el relato ya conocido de que regresó a más de un kilómetro de distancia del sitio de la carnicería, acompañado de Nazario Medina y que entonces, cuando caminaba, llegó un automóvil procedente de México a bordo del cual iba el mayor Romero, cuyo nombre bautismal ignora, quien manifestó que era de la Policía Judicial Federal. Lo hizo retroceder. Se encontraba con el general Medina (entonces coronel) y escuchó tiros aislados. Creyó que se trataba de algún encuentro, pero supo más tarde que no; que Gustavo Villa Arce trató de huir, había sido cazado por los soldados.

Niega el declarante haber hablado con el general Serrano. Agregó que impidió que se consumaran robos.

EL REGRESO A CHAPULTEPEC

La comisión había sido cumplida. Se emprendió el regreso al Castillo de Chapultepec. Los coches que conducían los cadáveres estaban en la Calzada de las Palmas. Subió el ex general Fox y cuadrándose militarmente al general Calles que se encontraba con los divisionarios Alvaro Obregón, Joaquín Amaro, don Luis Montes de Oca, general José Alvarez y Alvarez, doctor y general Enrique C. Osornio, dió cuenta de que su comisión había sido cumplida.

"Abajo—agregó—están los cadáveres..."

Entonces el general Calles ordenó al doctor Osornio que los cuerpos inermes de las víctimas de Huitzilacarpetera al general Claudio Fox, fueran llevados al Hospital Militar de Instrucción.

"Ya estábamos con preocupación porque nos dijeron que se había desprendido un grupo de facciosos de Texcoco a atacar a usted".

Después tomaron todos los presentes una taza de café.

El general Calles pidió al ex general Fox la orden que le había dado para la ejecución. Dijo que no tenía objeto que existiera. La destruyó y arrojó los pedazos de aquel valioso documento a una escomidera.

Finalmente manifestó el declarante que no le consta, como asegura el general Osornio, que los bolsillos de los trajes que vestían las víctimas, estuvieran invertidos y no niega que si compró o mandó comprar cuerdas gruesas, para evitar que los prisioneros sufrieran, ya que venían de Cuernavaca con cordeles delgados. Nada sabe acerca de si se efectuó o no Consejo de Guerra para llevar a cabo las ejecuciones, como se dió a conocer al público de manera oficial y así se le dijo. Insiste en que cumplió con sus deberes de soldado.

194
Mexico, enero 29 de 1938

Sábado 29 de enero de 1938.

LA PRENSA

**P. ELIAS CALLES SE CASARA EN SAN DIEGO, CAL.
CON UNA DAMA DIVORCIADA, MUY CONOCIDA**

SAN DIEGO, California, enero 28.—Se sabe en esta ciudad que el señor general Plutarco Elías Calles, ha recibido autorización para volver a su país, como consecuencia de la ley de amnistía decretada por el señor Presidente Cárdenas.

Por otra parte corren insistentes rumores de que el señor general Calles contraerá matrimonio con una dama divorciada, de apellido Padilla, perteneciente a una de las más conocidas familias de este puerto.—(ANTA)

Padilla

FUE EL GENERAL CALLES QUIEN ORDENO LA EJECUCION DE SERRANO Y SUS COMPAÑEROS

Sensacional Declaración del General Alvarez, que Arroja luz a la Matanza

SE REVELO LA EXISTENCIA DE VASTO COMLOT

Durante una Fiesta Militar Pretendi6se Matar a los Sres. Obreg6n y Calles

GRAVE DENUNCIA
El Gral. Eugenio Mart6nez Denunci6 la Maniobra al Entonces Presidente

Ante el Agente del Ministerio P6blico adscrito al Juzgado Segundo de Instrucci6n Militar, licenciado y general F. Armenta Ruiz, rindi6 ayer, a las 11 horas, declaraci6n en las averiguaciones previas que se llevan a cabo para deslindar responsabilidades en la San Bartolom6 de Huitzilac, Mor., el brigadier Jos6 Alvarez de la Cadena.

Y si antes fu6 parco, ahora mostr6se deseoso de hablar extensamente sobre la ejecuci6n del general Serrano y trece partidarios de 6ste, como se ver6 por las declaraciones que reproducimos en esta misma p6gina, hasta ahora las m6s significativas en ese proceso.

El general Alvarez, al contestar las preguntas que le hizo el licenciado Armenta Ruiz, respecto a la afirmaci6n del ex general Fox de haber aqu6l presenciado cuando el Presidente Calles orden6 a 6ste la translocaci6n de los reos y le entreg6 una orden a la que aqu6l debia matarlos en el camino de Cuernavaca, dijo:

"Para que se defina perfectamente la declaraci6n que voy a hacer, deseo que se agregue al expediente ya escrito, a reserva de responder

Sigue en la 6ltima plana

El Declarante Acept6 la Responsabilidad Colectiva que le Resulte por Haber Estado al Lado del Gral. Calles

Una de las m6s sensacionales declaraciones, y quiz6 de las m6s 6tiles para arrojar luz en la todav6a obscura y siempre despavorizante matanza de las proximidades de Huitzilac, sobre el camino de Cuernavaca, donde fueron acibillados a tiros el candidato presidencial, divisionario Francisco R. Serrano, y trece de sus m6s adictos simpatizadores; fu6 rendida ayer, ante el juez que instruye el proceso respectivo, por el general Jos6 Alvarez de la Cadena, en aqu6l entonces jefe de estado mayor del Presidente de la Rep6blica, general Plutarco El6as Calles.

De la diligencia, damos reseña en otra columna de esta misma plana; pero lo depuesto por el general Alvarez, lo transcribimos aqu6 en toda su integridad, pues el dicho de 6ste, es tan extenso como sensacional; ya que, sin ambages, acepta la responsabilidad colectiva que le resulta en todos los actos de la administraci6n callista y afirma, adem6s, categorico, que aplaude, como aplaudi6 entonces, lo mismo que otros muchos, la forma dura y en6rgica, pero en su concepto indispensable en aqu6l medio y circunstancias, con que fu6 sofocada la rebeli6n encabezada por los generales Serrano, G6mez etc.

La reproducci6n textual, de los conceptos del examinado, va en seguida:

He protestado en6rgicamente contra la imputaci6n calumniosa y desvergonzada (por falta de pruebas o siquiera de l6gica en su hip6tesis) que se me lanz6, al asegurar que yo hab6a falsificado las 6rdenes de captura dadas, seg6n se dice, por el se6or Presidente Calles, agregando en ellas de manera subrepticia y de acuerdo con 6rdenes que se asegur6 recib6 del se6or general Obreg6n para que los se6ores generales y civiles que con Serrano se lanzaron a una aventura

Sigue en la p6gina 2, 1a. columna

HOY SERA EL ULTIMO DIA DE EXHIBICION DE "NOCHES DE GLORIA" EN EL CINE ALAMEDA



UNA Suntuosa Escena Teatral de "Noches de Gloria".

Hoy se efectuar6 en el Teatro Alameda la 6ltima exhibici6n de la magn6fica pel6cula nacional "Noches de Gloria", la 6nica cinta cinematogr6fica que ha merecido ser aplaudida en el curso de su proyecci6n y con lo que el p6blico ha patentizado de una manera evidente que es 6sta una obra f6lmica superior a cuanto ha salido hasta hoy de los estudios mexicanos.

Compromisos ineludibles respecto a fechas sealadas de antemano con otros exhibidores, han impedido a la empresa del Teatro Alameda poder prorrogar por una semana m6s la exhibici6n de "Noches de Gloria", la magna producci6n de don Jos6 Luis Bueno sobre la que tantos y tan favorables comentarios se han hecho. Hoy, viernes, ser6 el 6ltimo dia que figure en los programas del Alameda y, por lo tanto, la 6ltima ocasi6n de ver la c6lebre pel6cula en un local apropiado con la mejor proyecci6n y el mejor sonido.

Elogios muy justificados han

Sigue en la 6ltima plana

FABRICANTES MUEBLES
Abonos y Contado
CUBA 43. ALTOS 1.

RADIOS \$29
FABRICA DE RADIOS "VECLA"
4, 5, 7 y 9 tubos a \$29.00, \$39.00, \$54.95, \$69.95, \$89.00, \$125.00 y \$135.00. MEJORES QUE LOS IMPORTADOS.
8 de Mayo, 52. Mexico, D. F.

ANTIACIDA, DIGESTIVA, DIURETICA Y REFRESCANTE.
ES, EL LAXANTE QUE SIEMPRE SE ANTOJA:
LA ESPUMOSA, SABROSA Y FAMOSA
"SOSA LAXANTE DE ARROJOA"
REG. 2112. D. S. F. PROP. 8917.

EXHORTOS PARA QUE DETENGAN A DON SATURNINO

QUERETARO, Qro., febrero 17.—El juez de Distrito de esta ciudad se excus6 de conocer del proceso que se ha instruido en contra del ex gobernador Saturnino Osorio, por el proditorio asesinato del industrial espa6ol Enrique Rio Conde y, en tal virtud, el asunto pas6 al Juzgado de Distrito de Guanajuato, que ha librado exhortos a las autoridades de Zatecas para que procedan a la detenci6n de aqu6l.

Saturnino Osorio, seg6n se sabe, est6 refugiado en la hacienda "Viboras", de Zatecas.

EL ASESINO DE ALVAREZ, HABLO

Pero fu6 Para Arrojar la Responsabilidad del Crimen Sobre 2 C6mplices

ESTAN PROFUGOS

Asegura que 6l no Hizo m6s que Dirigir el Auto Teatro del Crimen

En nuestra edici6n anterior dimos cuenta de la captura de uno de los autores del homicidio del se6or Jos6 Alvarez, gerente de la agencia de autom6viles "Hupmobile", quien fu6 asesinado la noche del 24 de noviembre del 6ltimo, y cuyo cad6ver fu6 recogido, al dia siguiente de la ma6ana, cerca de la calzada de Insurgentes, casi a la altura del kil6metro 8 y a corta distancia tambi6n, del sitio en donde apareci6 el cad6ver del agente aduanal Miguel M. Miravete.

El asesino, Federico Gasca Pifa, fu6 enviado por la Jefatura de Polic6a, que fu6 la que llev6 a cabo la aprehensi6n a la Penitenciaria del Distrito Federal, a disposici6n del licenciado Carlos Ram6rez Arronte, juez und6cimo de la cuarta Corte Penal.

En la declaraci6n que ayer rindi6 el torvo homicida, 6ste modific6 el relato de los hechos y aunque trata de esquivar toda responsabilidad y arrojarla sobre los coautores a6un no detenidos, se sabe que aqu6l fu6 el que apun6al6 al se6or Alvarez, y que un c6mplice, "El Indio", era quien manejaba el coche de que los malhechores se sirvieron para su crimen.

Ratific6 Gasca Pifa su declaraci6n, rendida en la Jefatura de Polic6a, pero explic6 que en el garage que en la calle de Arcos de Bel6n n6mero 10, posee su padrastror, Manuel Cavada, fu6 donde conoci6 a Manuel Garc6a Samaniego, "El Japon6s" o "El Granoso", en tanto que con Antonio Reyes, "El Indio", hizo amistad en las Islas Mar6as, donde ambos se encontraban y de donde regresaron juntos.

Conviene en que con "El Japon6s" perpetr6 varios delitos, pero siempre en calidad de "chorla", es decir, como "aguador" o espi6; en tanto que el otro jugaba el papel de bravu6n.

Continu6 diciendo, el asesino, que en la ma6ana del 24 de noviembre del a6o pasado, estaba 6l en el ga-

Sigue en la 6ltima plana

DIOSE MUERTE, EN TIJUANA, A JUAN MORALES

Con la Ejecuci6n se Aplac6 la Turbulencia de la Muchedumbre y Volvi6 la Tranquilidad

CASTILLO MORALES FLAQUEO AL MORIR

Las Autoridades Militares Dijeron que se le Hab6a Hecho un R6pido Consejo de Guerra

TIJUANA, B. Cal., febrero 17.—(AP). Un pelot6n de ejecuci6n aplic6 r6pidamente hoy la pena de muerte a un hombre que atac6 y asesin6 a una ni6a de ocho a6os, y gracias a esta ejecuci6n se aplac6 la turbulencia de las muchedumbres que, por espacio de 72 horas, predomin6 en Tijuana, al mismo tiempo que se hizo a un lado el principio que prohibe la pena de muerte.

Treinta soldados se presentaron repentinamente hoy, poco antes del amanecer, en la c6rcel de Tijuana, y se hicieron cargo de Juan Castillo Morales, de 24 a6os de edad, y camarada de ellos, de quien se dice que confes6 haber atacado y dado muerte a la ni6a Olga Consuelo Camacho, hija de un cantinero. Luego lo llevaron a un cementerio y lo mataron a tiros.

Las autoridades militares dijeron que un consejo de guerra, que deliber6 durante la noche, decret6 la pena de muerte.

Acerca de la ejecuci6n hubo dos versiones: una fu6 que Morales se desmay6 cuando le apuntaron con los rifles, y que luego fu6 muerto cuando yac6a en el suelo; la otra indica que ech6 a correr y que entonces se le aplic6 la ley fuga.

Sigue en la 6ltima plana

Solicitamos Taqu6grafa de experiencia. In6til presentarse sin buenas referencias.
BAHIA DE SANTA BARBARA, No. 49, Colonia Ver6nica.

ALBERCA Templada ARAGON
Av. Insurgentes No. 1458.
(Frente a MEXCOTEC)
BAÑOS RUROS, REGADERAS TIBIAS Y DE PRESION para DAMAS y CABALLEROS.
CLASES DIARIAS DE NATACION por el Prof. MANZANO.
LA UNICA ALBERCA TEMPLADA QUE CAMBIA EL AGUA DIARIAMENTE.
ESPERAMOS SU VISITA.

Bush 
PALACIO LEGISLATIVO No. 37
POR 30 DIAS
GASOLINA GRATIS...
es la ATENCION PERSONAL, de Bush, para los compradores de un autom6vil semi-nuevo, renovado y garantizado, durante el mes de Febrero. Adem6s todos los coches de Bush, llevan un certificado de garant6a, que asegura satisfacci6n o devoluci6n del dinero. Apres6rese a comprar su coche en Bush, S. A. y aproveche el regalo de 300 litros de gasolina - oferta buena 6nicamente durante el mes de Febrero.

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER
Trademark Registered U. S. Patent OfficeEntered as 2d class matter Nov. 21, 1919, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y.,
under the act of March 3, 1879. Telephone MUrray Hill 2-1234Published daily except Sunday by News Syndicate Co., Inc., 220 E. 42d St., Borough of Manhattan, New York,
N. Y. Daily mail subscription rates U. S., \$8.00; Canada, \$12.00 a year. For the Daily and Sunday News, U. S.,
\$10.50 per year; Canada, \$16.00. President, J. M. Patterson; treasurer, R. R. McCormick; second vice president
and general manager, Roy C. Holliss; secretary, John W. Barnhart, all of 220 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news
dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news
published herein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

NEIGHBOR CARDENAS

President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico on Monday told his side of the Mexican grab of American, British and Dutch oil properties, in an interview with Anita Brenner, released yesterday by the North American Newspaper Alliance.



President
Lazaro Cardenas,
Mexico

Mr. Cardenas' side of the story is, briefly, that the foreigners brought it on themselves by playing politics . . . that Cardenas is bringing in oil experts from Germany, Austria and Spain to direct operation of the expropriated properties . . . that he may have to sell oil to Japan, expects to sell it to Germany, and is grieved because the United States has not yet consented to help him sell oil taken from United States nationals . . . that the expropriation brought on an economic crisis in Mexico, but Mexico will pull through . . . that the only methods of payment he can consider are (1) payment in oil from the expropriated properties, or (2) payment in Mexican bonds—which (editor's note) are next to no good.

That is Cardenas' story. As we get it from other sources (including American oil company sources, for which fact we don't apologize), the Mexican situation is a good deal worse than that.

Mexico in 'A Bad Way'

The cost of living has gone up some 35% since March 18, date of the grab. Mexican oil exports have shrunk badly.

Mexico is suffering a flight of capital, meaning Mexicans in large numbers are exchanging their pesos for dollars or pounds. Cardenas is strongly rumored to be shipping Mexican gold reserves out to American banks. The business and employment paralysis is spreading to other industries. Mexico's foreign trade is going down.

In short, this side of the story indicates that poor old Mexico, never a nation of shrewd or businesslike people though it has had some strong leaders, is now cutting its own throat at the instigation of Neighbor Cardenas.

Striking a balance between the two stories, we reach the view that our State Department has been just a bit weak-kneed in this affair. It told Mexico at the start that

Overworking Good Neighbor Policy

any government has the right to take property within its borders from foreigners, provided it pays them for it. But it hasn't hammered that point home hard enough, so far as we can make out. It could be more firm, without coming within shouting distance of war or threat of war.

We have no overpowering love for oil companies. But we do have considerable love for American prestige around the world, and we esteem the Monroe Doctrine. The State Department's super-good-neighborliness in this controversy has set various other Central and South American politicians wondering whether they, too, couldn't get away with kicks to Uncle Sam's pants, shins or elsewhere.

As President Roosevelt remarked, the good neighbor policy is not a one-way policy. For the sake of American prestige and dignity all over the Western Hemisphere, and incidentally for the sake of the Mexicans now tightening their belts as the peso's bread-buying power evaporates, we believe the State Department would do well to stiffen its attitude rather emphatically toward Neighbor Cardenas.



Traducción de un editorial del
DAILY NEWS

VECINO CÁRDENAS

El Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas de México el día lunes dió su versión de la confiscación mexicana de las propiedades petroleras americanas, inglesas y holandesas, en una entrevista con Anita Brenner, dada á la publicidad ayer por la Alianza de Periódicos Norte Americanos.

La versión de la historia de Mr. Cárdenas es, en breve, que los extranjeros fueron los culpables de lo que les pasó por haberse metido á la política... que Cárdenas está trayendo expertos petroleros de Alemania, Austria y España para dirigir las operaciones de las propiedades expropiadas...que él tal vez tenga que vender petróleo al Japón, espera venderlo á Alemania, y está sentido porque los Estados Unidos todavía no ha consentido á ayudarlo á vender petróleo tomado de los nacionales de Estados Unidos...que la expropiación trajo como consecuencia la crisis económica en México, pero México saldrá de ella..... que los únicos métodos de pago que él puede tomar en consideración son (1) pago en petróleo de las propiedades expropiadas, ó (2) pago con bonos mexicanos - que (nota del editor) casi no sirven para nada.

Esa es la historia de Cárdenas. Pero la de otras fuentes (inclusive la de las compañías petroleras americanas, por cuyo hecho no damos ninguna satisfacción), pinta la situación mexicana mucho peor que aquella.

MEXICO EN MALAS CONDICIONES

El costo de vida ha subido un 35 % desde Marzo 18, fecha de la confiscación. Las exportaciones mexicanas de petróleo se han encojido grandemente.

México está sufriendo una fuga de capitales, lo que quiere decir que mexicanos en grandes números están cambiando su dinero por dollars ó libras. Se rumora con insistencia que Cárdenas está mandando oro de las reservas á bancos americanos. El parálisis de los negocios y de los empleos está cundiendo en otras industrias. El comercio exterior de México está disminuyendo.

En pocas palabras, la historia de este lado indica que el pobre y viejo México, que nunca ha sido una nación de hombre astutos ó de gente de negocios á pesar de haber tenido algunos líderes fuertes, está ahora cortándose su propio pescuezo por instigaciones del Vecino Cárdenas.

ABUSANDO DE LA POLITICA DEL
BUEN VECINO

Tomando un promedio de las dos historias, llegamos á la conclusión de que el Departamento de Estado ha estado un poco débil de las corbas en este asunto. Este le dijo á México en un principio que cualquier gobierno tiene el derecho de tomar propiedades de extranjeros dentro de sus fronteras, siempre que pague por ellas. Pero no ha insistido lo suficiente sobre ese punto, por lo que nosotros podemos deducir. Su actitud podía ser más firme, sin llegar á los límites de los gritos guerreros ó amenaza de guerra.

Nosotros no tenemos un amor invensible para las compañías petroleras. Pero si tenemos un amor considerable por el prestigio americano en ~~xxxx~~ ~~xx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ todas partes del mundo, y nosotros estimamos la Doctrina Monroe. La super-buena-vecindad ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ del Departamento de Estado en esta controversia ~~x~~ ha puesto á pensar á otros varios políticos ~~xx~~ Centro y Sud Americanos si ellos, tambien, no podrían patear al tío Sam en los pantalones, en las espinillas ó en otros lugares, con

VECINO CARDENAS

LA misma impunidad.

Como declaró el Presidente Roosevelt, la política del buen vecino no es una política unilateral. Por piedad al prestigio y dignidad americana en todo el Emisferio Oxidental, é incidentalmente por piedad á los mexicanos que ahora se están apretando los cinturones con motivo de la evaporación del poder adquisitivo del peso para la compra del pan, nosotros creemos que el Departamento de Estado haría bien mostrándose enfáticamente más duro en su actitud hacia el Vecino Cárdenas.

Julio 14 de 1938
New York.

Traducción de un editorial del
DAILY NEWS

V E C I N O C A R D E N A S

El Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas de México el día lunes dió su versión de la confiscación mexicana de las propiedades petroleras americanas, inglesas y holandesas, en una entrevista con Anita Brenner, dada á la publicidad ayer por la Alianza de Periodicos Norte Americanos.

La versión de la historia de Mr. Cárdenas es, en breve, que los extranjeros fueron los culpables de lo que les pasó por haberse metido á la política... que Cárdenas está trayendo expertos petroleros de Alemania, Austria y España para dirigir las operaciones de las propiedades expropiadas...que él tal vez tenga que vender petroleo al Japón, espera venderlo á Alemania, y está sentido porque los Estados Unidos todavia no ha consentido á ayudarlo á vender petroleo tomado de los nacionales de Estados Unidos...que la expropiación trajo como consecuencia la crisis económica en México, pero México saldrá de ella..... que los únicos métodos de pago que él puede tomar en consideración son (1) pago en petróleo de las propiedades expropiadas, ó (2) pago con bonos mexicanos - que (nota del editor) casi no sirven para nada.

Esa es la historia de Cárdenas. Pero la de otras fuentes (inclusive la de las compañías petroleras americanas, por cuyo hecho no damos ninguna satisfacción), pinta la situación mexicana mucho peor que aquella.

MEXICO EN MALAS CONDICIONES

El costo de vida ha subido un 35 % desde Marzo 18, fecha de la confiscación. Las exportaciones mexicanas de petroleo se han encojido grandemente.

México está sufriendo una fuga de capitales, lo que quiere decir que mexicanos en grandes números están cambiando su dinero por dollars ó libras. Se rumora con insistencia que Cárdenas está mandando oro de las reservas á bancos americanos. El parálisis de los negocios y de los empleos está cundiendo en otras industrias. El comercio exterior de México está disminuyendo.

En pocas palabras, la historia de este lado indica que el pobre y viejo México, que nunca ha sido una nación de hombres astutos ó de gente de negocios á pesar de haber tenido algunos líderes fuertes, está ahora cortándose su propio pescueso por instigaciones del Vecino Cárdenas.

ABUSANDO DE LA POLITICA DEL
BUEN VECINO

Tomando un promedio de las dos historias, llegamos á la conclusión de que el Departamento de Estado ha estado un poco débil de las corbas en este asunto. Este le dijo á México en un principio que cualquier gobierno tiene el derecho de tomar propiedades de extranjeros dentro de sus fronteras, siempre que pague por ellas. Pero no ha insistido lo suficiente sobre ese punto, por lo que nosotros podemos deducir. Su actitud podia ser más firme, sin llegar á los límites de los gritos guerreros ó amenaza de guerra.

Nosotros no tenemos un amor invencible para las compañías petroleras. Pero si tenemos un amor considerable por el prestigio americano en ~~todas~~ ~~en~~ ~~en~~ todas partes del mundo, y nosotros estimamos la Doctrina Monroe. La super-buena-vecindad ~~en~~ ~~en~~ del Departamento de Estado en esta controversia á ha puesto á pensar á otros varios políticos ~~en~~ Centro y Sud Americanos si ellos, tambien, no podrían patear al tío Sam en los pantalones, en las espinillas ó en otros lugares, con

VECINO CARDENAS

LA misma impunidad.

Como declaró el Presidente Roosevelt, la política del buen vecino no es una política unilateral. Por piedad al prestigio y dignidad americana en todo el Emisferio Oxidental, é incidentalmente por piedad á los mexicanos que ahora se están apretando los cinturones con motivo de la evaporación del poder adquisitivo del peso para la compra del pan, nosotros creemos que el Departamento de Estado haría bien mostrándose enfáticamente más duro en su actitud hacia el Vecino Cárdenas.

Julio 14 de 1938
New York.

GRANDES ALMACENES DE CALZADO
JOSE BORDON
 "The Beautiful Shoe"
 BORDON prepara para usted
 UNA SORPRESA
¡ESTÉ PENDIENTE!
 4a. Calle de Trench No. 17.—Aptado Postal 1981.
 MEXICO, D. F.

EL UNIVERSAL

EL GRAN DIARIO DE MEXICO

MAS
 afeitadas y
MEJORES
 afeitadas con
 las hojas
GILLETTE-AZUL

AÑO XXII-TOMO LXXXVII

Registrado como artículo de segunda
 clase el 13 de noviembre de 1916, en la
 Administración de Correos de Méx.

Presidente y Gerente:
LIC. MIGUEL LANZ DURET

MEXICO, D. F., VIERNES 22 DE JULIO DE 1938

Director:
JOSE GOMEZ UGARTE

NUMERO 7,895

NOTA DE WASHINGTON A MEXICO

El Pago de Tierras Expropiadas

Se Propone el Arbitraje

La nota fué puesta en manos del Embajador Castillo Najera por el Departamento de Estado, y ayer mismo fué transmitida a la Secretaría de Relaciones

La Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores dió a conocer anoche el siguiente documento:
 "La siguiente es la comunicación que nuestro Embajador en Washington envió a la Secretaría de Relaciones, inscribiéndola la nota del Departamento de Estado del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos:

Rec. Méx. julio 21, 1938.
 MXLARI WASHINGTON, GOB. MEX. 2123 21 JULIO 2370 150 SUJETO A CORRUPCION RELACIONES CIUDAD MEXICO.
 340 Secretario Hull entregóme el siguiente nota que será dada prensa esta noche: "Durante estos últimos años el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos en repetidas ocasiones ha hecho representaciones ante el Gobierno de México con respecto a las continuadas expropiaciones por el Gobierno de nuestra Excmo. de propiedades agrarias pertenecientes a ciudadanos norteamericanos sin pagarles indemnización adecuada, efectiva y pronta por ellas. Como representante de su proceder el Gobierno Mexicano tanto en su correspondencia oficial como en sus declaraciones hechas públicamente ha señalado el hecho de que intenta con ahínco llevar adelante un programa de bienestar social de las masas de su pueblo. Los objetos de dicho programa, por convenientes que sean, no tienen nada que ver con la verdadera cuestión a debate entre nuestros dos gobiernos, y son enteramente ajenos a ella. La cuestión no es la de si México debe seguir una política social y económica destinada a mejorar el nivel de vida de su pueblo. La cuestión es la de si al seguir dicha política puede el Gobierno Mexicano tomar las propiedades de nacionales norteamericanos sin pagar previamente la justa indemnización a sus dueños de acuerdo con las reglas universalmente reconocidas de derecho y de equidad.

El gobierno con frecuencia ha sostenido el derecho que tienen todas las naciones de resolver libremente sus propios problemas sociales, económicos e industriales. En este derecho está incluido el derecho soberano de todo gobierno para expropiar la propiedad privada dentro de sus fronteras en bien de la utilidad pública. El gobierno de los mismos Estados Unidos ha estado siguiendo muy activamente un programa de mejoramiento social. Por ejemplo, se ha comprometido a aumentar la participación del agricultor en los ingresos nacionales, a proporcionar alojamientos de mejor calidad, el uso más extendido de la fuerza eléctrica a precios razonables y seguros contra la vejez y la falta de trabajo, ampliar el comercio exterior por medio de la reducción de las barreras que lo obstruyen, a impedir la explotación de los trabajadores por horas excesivas y sueldos insuficientes, a proteger a los desahuciados contra la acción opresiva, y a frenar los monopolios; en breve, está llevando a cabo el programa más trascendental para el mejoramiento del nivel general de vida que este país jamás haya visto. Conforme a

NOTA DE WASHINGTON A MEXICO

(Viene de la primera plana)

este programa ha expropiado tanto a extranjeros como a sus propios connacionales, bienes de diversas clases, tales como tierras submarginales y desgastadas por la erosión que se habrán de retirar a la agricultura. Barrios bajos que se destruirán para llevar a cabo proyectos de alojamiento, tierras para levantar presas, energía eléctrica y tierras cuyos recursos se habrán de conservar para uso del gobierno. En todos y cada uno de estos casos el gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha observado escrupulosamente el principio universalmente reconocido de dar indemnización y ha reembolsado sin demora y en efectivo a los dueños de propiedades expropiadas.

Puesto que el derecho a la indemnización es indiscutible conforme al Derecho Internacional, no se puede concebir que la insistencia por este Gobierno en él haya de menoscabar de modo alguno la cordial amistad que existe entre el Gobierno de México y el nuestro y entre el pueblo mexicano y nuestro pueblo. Esto es especialmente un hecho porque nosotros efectivamente hemos seguido un programa cada vez más amplio de cooperación financiera, económica y moral. Nos hemos ayudado mutuamente y este Gobierno, de conformidad con la política del Buen Vecino que ha estado desarrollando durante los últimos cinco años, ardientemente desea seguir cooperando con el Gobierno Mexicano en todas las formas que sean recíprocamente deseables y convenientes.

Uno de los mayores servicios que nosotros podemos prestar es el de seguir, y de instar a otros a que sigan una política de trato justo y juego limpio, basada en la Ley y en la justicia. Precisamente como dentro de nuestras propias fronteras nos esforzamos por evitar la explotación de los deudores a manos de acreedores poderosos y por proteger al hombre de las masas para que pueda ganarse la vida honradamente, así también obramos justificadamente conforme al Derecho Internacional reconocido al esforzarnos por impedir tratamiento injusto u opresivo de nuestros propios nacionales en otros países. Es la experiencia adquirida en este Hemisferio, y este Gobierno está convencido de que solamente por estos medios será posible mejorar sólida y permanentemente, la condición del pueblo en todos los países. Ciertamente la destrucción de los principios fundamentales de la Ley y de la equidad no conducen a tal mejoramiento.

En sus negociaciones con el Gobierno Mexicano para obtener indemnización por las tierras de ciudadanos norteamericanos que han sido expropiadas, mi Gobierno ha sostenido consistentemente el principio de la indemnización. El hecho de que no se ha prestado a un uso injusto o poco razonable de la doctrina, lo demuestra la siguiente relación: las expropiaciones agrarias se iniciaron en México en 1915. Hasta el 30 de agosto de 1927 se habían tomado 161 propiedades de tamaño mediano de ciudadanos norteamericanos. Las reclamaciones originadas con este motivo, después de muchas discusiones, fueron turnadas a la Comisión General de Reclamaciones establecida mediante convenio entre los dos Gobiernos. Procede señalar, sin embargo, que hasta la fecha y cualquiera que sea el motivo, no ha quedado ajustada ni una sola reclamación y ninguna ha sido pagada.

Los dueños de estas propiedades, no obstante las repetidas solicitudes de este Gobierno de que se liquiden, han perdido sus propiedades, su uso y frutos en un período de tiempo que fluctúa entre 11 y 20 años y aun buscan satisfacción.

Con posterioridad a 1927 han sido expropiadas por el Gobierno Mexicano otras propiedades, principalmente fincas de extensión moderada, con un valor, según sus propietarios, de Dls. 10.132,388. Esta cifra no incluye las grandes concesiones de tierras a las que frecuentemente hace alusión la prensa. Se refiere a las propiedades de extensión moderada que sólo rendían una forma modesta de vivir. Ninguna de ellas ha sido pagada aún.

Teniendo en cuenta que la expropiación fué un acto libre del Gobierno Mexicano y que éste ha contraído voluntariamente la responsabilidad, ciertamente sobre la base de los hechos arriba expuestos, al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos no se les puede acusar de obrar poco razonablemente o con impaciencia. Este último grupo de casos en años recientes ha sido materia de frecuentes representaciones por parte de mi Gobierno. El 27 de marzo del corriente año preguntó a Vuestro Gobierno qué medidas completas se tenían en proyecto respecto al pago. El 19 de abril el Gobierno Mexicano contestó expresando su conformidad en entregar una pequeña

SIGUE y cantidad mensual en pago de un reducido número de reclamaciones agrarias de nacionales norteamericanos en un solo lugar de México. En contestación a una solicitud de informes adicionales, el 26 de mayo próximo pasado usted reiteró a este Departamento substancialmente lo que el Gobierno de México ya había manifestado.

El 29 de junio se le dirigió una comunicación detallada en la que se expuso el monto de las reclamaciones presentadas pidiendo indemnización a favor de nacionales norteamericanos a cambio de propiedades agrarias expropiadas; dicha nota contiene sugerencias acerca del modo de determinar, en forma satisfactoria para ambos Gobiernos, el valor de dichas propiedades y ruega que se empiecen a hacer los pagos mientras tanto se determina el valor total.

El 15 de julio Vuestra Excelencia envió una nueva comunicación a este Gobierno en la que no se hizo ninguna referencia a las sugerencias ofrecidas con respecto al modo de determinar las cantidades adeudadas por concepto de indemnización, lo cual no indica de modo alguno que el Gobierno esté dispuesto a hacer tales pagos mientras se determina el monto de los valores de las propiedades expropiadas; se agrega que el Gobierno de México, "no ha pensado cubrir en su totalidad durante el actual período presidencial el monto de las propiedades expropiadas. Y mucho menos se ha comprometido, ni puede comprometerse a proceder en tal forma".

El resultado es que los propietarios norteamericanos, cuyas propiedades han sido tomadas se quedan no sólo sin el pago en la actualidad, sino que también carecen de la seguridad de que se haga el pago

dentro de plazo previsible alguno.

La toma de bienes sin indemnización no es expropiación, es confiscación. No deja de ser confiscación sólo porque exista la intención expresada de pagar en alguna fecha futura. Si fuera permisible que los Gobiernos tomaran las propiedades privadas de los ciudadanos de otros países para pagarlas a medida y en las fechas en que a juicio del propio Gobierno sus circunstancias económicas y su legislación local quizás lo permitan, resultarían ilusorias las garantías que las constituciones de casi todos los países y el Derecho Internacional establecido han intentado otorgar. Los Gobiernos podrían tomar libremente propiedades que excederían en mucho de sus posibilidades o deseos de pagar, y los dueños de las mismas quedarían sin recurso alguno que hacer valer. Nosotros no podemos negar el derecho de un Gobierno extranjero de tratar a sus propios nacionales de este modo si así lo desea.

Este es asunto de orden interior, pero no podemos admitir que un Gobierno tome los bienes de nacionales norteamericanos con desconocimiento de la regla relativa a la indemnización conforme al Derecho Internacional. Ni tampoco podemos admitir que Gobierno alguno, unilateralmente y por medio de su legislación interna, como en este caso nulifique este principio universalmente aceptado del Derecho Internacional, basado como lo está en la razón, la equidad y la justicia. Las representaciones que este Gobierno ha hecho ante el Gobierno mexicano, las ha emprendido en un espíritu de absoluta amistad y buena voluntad, y el Gobierno mexicano ha reconocido este hecho. Nosotros vemos con toda simpatía los deseos que abriga el Gobierno mexicano de mejoramiento social para su pueblo.

Sin embargo, nosotros no podemos aceptar la idea de que sea posible llevar a cabo estos proyectos a expensas de nuestros nacionales, ni más ni menos que nosotros no nos sentiríamos justificados en llevar a cabo proyectos para nuestro propio mejoramiento social, a expensas de los ciudadanos mexicanos.

La política del Buen Vecino sólo se puede basar en el respeto mutuo, por parte de ambos Gobiernos, de los derechos de cada uno de ellos y de los derechos de los ciudadanos de cada nación.

El Presidente Roosevelt no pudo haber dicho una verdad más grande de que cuando dijo recientemente que la política del Buen Vecino es "una política que no puede ser jamás unilateral solamente". Al hacer hincapié en esto, tengo la seguridad de que las Repúblicas Americanas reconocen que es unilateral y multilateral y que el trato justo que implica exige la reciprocidad". El Gobierno Mexicano, desde el punto de vista del futuro y del progreso sólido del pueblo mexicano, debe tener precisamente el mismo interés en sostener la integridad de la política del Buen Vecino que cualquier otro país.

El camino más seguro para echar por tierra la política del "Buen Vecino" sería el de permitir la impresión de que consiente en el desconocimiento de los justos derechos de los nacionales de un país que posean propiedades en otro.

Juntamente con los ciudadanos de otras repúblicas americanas, los ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos poseen propiedades no sólo en México, sino prácticamente en todos los países. Lo mismo podría decirse de los ciudadanos de la gran mayoría de las naciones del mundo. La estructura entera del intercambio y del comercio amistoso entre las naciones, así como muchas otras relaciones que son vitales y mutuamente convenientes, entre los nacionales y que son indispensables para su progreso, descansan sobre los solos y hasta ahora sólidos cimientos del respeto, por parte de los Gobiernos y de los pueblos, de los derechos de unos y de otros, de acuerdo con la justicia internacional.

El derecho a la pronta y justa indemnización por las propiedades expropiadas forma parte de esta estructura. Es un principio que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos y la mayoría de los Gobiernos del mundo enfáticamente han adoptado, y que han puesto en práctica y debe sostenerse. No se trata de un principio que fije inalterablemente el "status quo" y que niegue todo cambio en los derechos de propiedad, sino de un principio que permite a cualquier país expropiar la propiedad privada dentro de sus fronteras por motivos de utilidad pública. Permite el cambio ordenado sin violar los intereses legítimamente adquiridos por los ciudadanos de otros países. El Gobierno de México ha externado su apoyo de este principio legal. Empero, es la opinión madura del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos que el Gobierno de México no le ha dado cumplimiento en el caso de los varios centenares de propiedades agrícolas que se han tomado a los ciudadanos norteamericanos.

Aparentemente esta opinión no la reconoce Vuestro Gobierno. Por consiguiente, el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos propone que se someta a arbitraje la cuestión de si ha habido cumplimiento por parte del Gobierno de México de la regla relativa a la indemnización, tal como la prescribe el Derecho Internacional, en el caso de los ciudadanos norteamericanos cuyas propiedades agrícolas situadas en México han sido expropiadas por el Gobierno Mexicano desde el 30 de agosto de 1937, y de no ser así, que se resuelva cuál sea el monto de la indemnización que deba pagar el Gobierno de México, así como las condiciones en que deberá hacerlo. Mi Gobierno propone que el arbitraje se lleve a cabo de conformidad con las disposiciones del Tratado General de Arbitraje firmado en Washington, el 5 de enero de 1929, en el que son partes ambos países".

Embajador Castillo Nájera.

El próximo sábado ofrecerá un té en el Roof Garden del Hotel Reforma, un grupo de alumnas de la escuela inglesa 'Helen Herlily Hall' que dará principio a las 17 horas amenizado por una de nuestras mejores orquestas de jazz. Promete resultar muy lucido, pues las invitaciones han circularo ampliamente entre las personas mencionadas con las alumnas del mencionado establecimiento educativo.

LEA UD. "EL OPORTUNO"

THE WEATHER
Today: Mostly cloudy with occasional showers, little change in temperature
Tomorrow: Mostly cloudy with occasional showers, temperature unchanged
Temperatures yesterday: Max., 79; Min., 68
Detailed Report on Page 27
Vol. XXVIII No. 33,486

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune



LATE CITY EDITION

FRIDAY, JULY 22, 1938

THREE CENTS
Within 200 Miles
FOUR CENTS
Elsewhere

Hull Demands Arbitration of Mexico Land Seizure Cases

Strongly Worded Note Calls Taking of Farm Property Without Just Payment 'Confiscation'

'29 Treaty Invoked As Settlement Basis

Small Holders' Claims Put First; Move of U. S. Seen as Aimed at Other Latin-American States

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
WASHINGTON, July 21.—Acting primarily in the interest of Americans of moderate means whose chief resources have been invested in Mexico, the Administration today brought to a virtual showdown its long diplomatic duel with the Cardenas government over the latter's land expropriation policies.

In a sharply worded note handed to Francisco Castillo Najera, the Mexican Ambassador here, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, reminded the Mexican government that the taking of property without compensation "is not expropriation but confiscation," and demanded that American claims be submitted to international arbitration.

Invoking the provisions of the Inter-American arbitration treaty, signed in 1929 and finally ratified and proclaimed in 1935, the Secretary bluntly expressed disagreement with the Cardenas government's attitude with respect, particularly, to action for compensation of American owners of several hundred farm or agrarian properties taken from them.

Law Violation Hinted

Using exceptionally strong language for a diplomatic communication, he expressed the "considered judgment" that the Mexican government, despite its professed support of the principles of international law, had failed to comply with them in these cases. Since the Cardenas government apparently held a different view, he proposed that the arbitration machinery be set in motion to settle the issue. The task of the arbitrators, he suggested, would be first to determine whether the Mexican government had complied with the rule of compensation prescribed by international law with respect to American-owned farm and agrarian properties expropriated since August 30, 1927.

If the arbitrators should sustain the American viewpoint that the Mexican government has not done so, he proposed, the arbitrators then should be empowered to determine the amounts to be paid to the American claimants and the terms of payment.

Firmer Stand Indicated

Although the note dealt specifically with effects of the Mexican agrarian policy, developed slowly since 1915, on the claims of American owners of moderate-sized properties, it was viewed in some quarters here as indicating a firmer attitude toward Mexico, which might influence developments in the recent expropriation of American oil properties along with those of other nations, which led to the breaking of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Great Britain.

The Administration is known to be inclined to view American interests in Mexico as falling roughly into three categories. One—the one for which it has the greatest solicitude in obtaining prompt and adequate compensation—is that of the American of small or moderate means who has gone to Mexico, invested all or virtually all of his fortune in property there, and has been left stranded by the shift in policy which has taken his holdings, his means of livelihood, from him.

Another category is that of the more wealthy American individuals and groups that have ventured considerable sums in the acquisition and development of properties in Mexico; those in this category, in the view of the Administration, which does not question the right of Mexico to determine its own domestic policies with respect to ownership of property, are entitled to compensation to the extent of their actual investment-interest.

Unfavorable Category

Individuals and groups that have acquired title to large properties in Mexico at relatively little cost through the bribing of Mexican legislators and similar means are grouped in still another category in the Administration viewpoint, which, if it prevails, offers them little scope to back efforts for their claims.

In any event, it is clear that the Administration philosophy is not sympathetic toward claims based on values and increments expected to accrue at some future date from speculative investments. The "prudent investment" theory which underlies major phases of the Administration's domestic power policy has appeared to prevail in the discussions hitherto conducted with the Cardenas government.

No figures on the amount of American-owned land expropriated

"All the News That's
Fit to Print."

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

Mostly cloudy, with occasional
showers today and tomorrow;
little change in temperature.
Temperatures Yesterday—Max. 79; Min. 68

VOL. LXXXVII...No. 29,899.

Entered as Second-Class Matter,
Postoffice at New York, N. Y.

Copyright, 1938, by The New York Times Company.
NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 22, 1938.

P. P.

THREE CENTS NEW YORK CITY
and vicinity | FOUR CENTS Elsewhere Except
in 10th and 11th Postal Zones.

U. S. DEMANDS ARBITRATION OF MEXICAN LAND SEIZURES; 'NEIGHBOR' POLICY AT STAKE

NOTE ENDS TALKS

Hull Cites Patience of
Our Government in
Request for Action

OIL PRECEDENT IS SEEN

Secretary Held to Be Laying a
Foundation for Later Move
on Such Expropriation

Text of the United States note
to Mexico is on Page 4.

By HESTHAM D. HULEN

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 21.—Arbitration of the agrarian land controversy, involving the expropriation of American-owned lands in Mexico over more than a decade, was proposed by the United States in a strong note delivered by Secretary of State Cordell Hull today to Francisco Castillo Najera, the Mexican Ambassador. While dealing specifically with the agrarian question, the note by clear implication extended also to the oil disputes.

The proceedings would be under the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Arbitration of 1929. The arbitration would determine "whether there has been compliance by the Government of Mexico with the rule of compensation as prescribed by international law in the case of the American citizens whose farms and agrarian properties in Mexico have been expropriated by the Mexican Government since Aug. 20, 1927, and, if not, the amount of, and terms under which, compensation should be made by the Government of Mexico."

The value claimed by the owners for the seized properties was placed at \$10,122,388. Those properties are chiefly farms of moderate size. The total value does not include large land grants. Prior to 1927 and extending back to 1915 there were 161 moderate-sized properties of American citizens taken. These were referred to the General Claims Commission of the United States and Mexico, but no claims have been paid on their account.

Marks Breakdown of Talks

The arbitration proposal has the widest significance. Not only did the note assert a strong position in behalf of "adequate, effective and prompt compensation" for expropriated property but it marked the breakdown of diplomatic conversations and negotiations of the past four months for devising a method of compensation by Mexico for the lands. Moreover, it points to a course that will probably be followed later with reference to the expropriation of American-owned oil properties in Mexico.

No doubt was left of the breakdown of the negotiations, for the note, after reciting the efforts at an adjustment, quoted the Mexican Government as saying in a communication on July 15 that it "has not contemplated covering entirely, during the present Presidential term, the amount of the properties expropriated; much less has it undertaken, nor can it undertake, to proceed in such manner."

The note means that Mexico is now confronted flatly with the question of consenting to proceedings that will establish her responsibility under international law for the seizures and determine the amount she should pay in compensation.

Any question of the position of the Roosevelt Administration on this issue was definitely removed both for the lands and the oil properties. The Mexican claim that the land seizures were for social purposes was declared to be beside the point.

The United States, the note said, was pursuing a social betterment program and had seized foreign-owned property in that connection but had paid proper compensation promptly.

Stresses Compensation Right

The right of compensation, the note declared, "is unquestioned under international law" and "we are justified in accordance with recognized international law in striving to prevent unfair or oppressive treatment of our own people in other countries."

"The taking of property without compensation is no less confiscation because there may be an expressed intent to pay at some time in the

ARBITRATION ASKED ON MEXICAN ACTS

Continued From Page One

note said a part of the structure of friendly intercourse among nations was "the right of prompt and just compensation for expropriated property."

"It is a principle," the note added, "to which the Government of the United States and most governments of the world have emphatically subscribed and which they have practiced and which must be maintained."

This principle, it was pointed out, had been professed by Mexico but not complied with, even though the latter was not admitted by the Cardenas Government.

Daniels Acts in Mexico

Delivery of the note coincided with a visit that Josephus Daniels, United States Ambassador to Mexico, made to the Foreign Office in Mexico City today. While it appeared Mr. Daniels had an explanation of the statement Tuesday night by President Lazaro Cardenas that the United States note of protest had been received in connection with the oil expropriations, officials declined to discuss the call.

They apparently considered that the public record was clear from the fact that the United States had protested vigorously. This was done, it was said, not only through a prompt note to the Foreign Office but by Secretary Hull through a statement issued at the time; in protracted conversations by Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, with Ambassador Castillo Najera, and by Ambassador Daniels in many conversations at the Mexican Foreign Office.

The several developments today signify that the issue of expropriating American-owned property has been definitely crystallized. Diplomatic conversations over the agrarian question have been terminated except as they may concern Mexico's reaction to the proposal for arbitration.

The oil question remains but will be taken up more definitely later, presumably after the oil companies have exhausted their legal remedies in Mexico. At present the issue is joined in a case awaiting disposition by the Supreme Court of Mexico. The expectation in informed circles is that the companies will lose. Then the State Department will be in a position to press the issue.

Reasons for This Step

For other reasons the department had also preferred to move first with reference to the agrarian seizures. Those cases were clear cut, contained no complicating collateral circumstances, and presented the

same principle as the oil expropriations.

The hope was that an understanding would be reached on principles and the application both to the land and oil question. Consequently, diplomatic treatment of the oil problem was put aside temporarily by the State Department. In the meantime the Mexican Government conferred with representatives of the oil companies and suggested payment in oil over a period of years. The companies rejected these proposals, so that those negotiations have come to nothing.

Secretary Hull had given Mexico what observers consider more than a reasonable time in which to make good on the promise President Cardenas promptly made after seizing the oil properties to make compensation. Even now it is considered by these same observers that Secretary Hull is moving with proper consideration by proposing arbitration under a treaty to which the United States and Mexico are parties, rather than resorting to diplomatic and economic pressure to force compensation.

That the Secretary could do no less is agreed in view of the responsibility of the government for protecting American interests abroad and the encouragement that might be given through a policy of leniency to a wave of expropriations of United States properties in other countries. This was recognized in the note.

Cites International Law

"We cannot admit," it said, "that a foreign government may take the property of American nationals in disregard of the rule of compensation under international law. Nor can we admit that any government unilaterally and through its municipal legislation can, as in this instant case, nullify this universally accepted principle of international law, based as it is on reason, equity and justice."

A little later the note added significantly that "citizens of the United States own properties not only in Mexico, but in practically all countries."

There is also the issue of the Good Neighbor policy. For weeks it has been tacitly admitted here that it was being subjected to a severe test by Mexico. The administration hopes to preserve it and is confident that Latin America appreciates and sympathizes with the administration's position. However, should misunderstandings arise that would lead to modification or virtual abandonment of the policy, that would be considered a regrettable but unavoidable consequence of the protection of legitimate American interests abroad.

The note dealt with this aspect of the situation and quoted President Roosevelt in his New York World's Fair speech as warning that the Good Neighbor policy was bilateral.

Professing that the United States was approaching Mexico in the friendliest spirit and was desirous of preserving the policy, the note

said that, nevertheless, the policy "can only be based on mutual respect by both governments of the rights of each and of the rights of citizens of each."

Says Policy Could End

"The surest way of breaking up the Good Neighbor policy," the note added, "would be to allow the impression that it permits the disregard of the just rights of the nationals of one country owning property in another country."

The inter-American treaty under which arbitration is proposed was drafted by Charles Evans Hughes as chairman of the United States delegation to the Pan-American Conference at Havana in 1928. It provides for arbitration of juridical questions that do not yield to diplomatic adjustment. It is applicable to questions of international law, facts that constitute a breach of an international obligation, and the nature and extent of reparation for a breach of international obligation.

Each party to the dispute nominates two arbitrators, one a national and the other a non-national. These arbitrators name a fifth member who will be president of the court. If they are unable to agree on the fifth member, the two governments will each designate a non-American member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague to select the fifth member.

If the parties are unable to agree upon procedure within three months, the court will formulate it. The award of the court will be definitive and without appeal. If differences arise over interpretation or execution of the award, the court will decide.

NOTE A SHOCK TO MEXICO

Strong Attitude by U. S. Had Not Been Expected

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, July 21.—Secretary of State Cordell Hull's note came as a distinct and unexpected shock to the Mexican Government, which had been led to believe by statements attributed to President Roosevelt at Warm Springs, Ga., at the time of the oil properties expropriation that a strong attitude would under no conditions be adopted by the United States.

In many quarters where the economic pinch following the taking over of the oil properties has been severely felt, the United States note was received with joy.

It is felt that President Lazaro Cardenas must now either take a less intransigent attitude and one more favorable to United States trade and investment interests or face serious opposition within the ranks of his own followers as well as in other quarters.

The newspapers on receiving the note immediately inquired at the Press Department to see whether

they would be permitted to publish it.

At the time of Secretary Hull's original public statement immediately following the expropriation the Mexican press was so excited by the view that the United States would not contest Mexico's right to expropriate that the further remark that Mexico must pay for the properties was placed in a secondary position.

As President Cardenas's remarks Tuesday indicated, Mexico at large has believed it will be permitted by Washington to pay on its own terms and valuations and on its own time limits.

Eight oil tankers have thus far left Mexican ports during July and two are now loading, authoritative reports today indicated. Six tanker loads have left Tampico, with two currently being taken on there, and two have left Minatitlán.

Text of United States Note to Mexico on Lands

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, July 21.—Following is the text of the note delivered by Secretary of State Cordell Hull today on the agrarian controversy with Mexico to Francisco Castillo Najera, the Mexican Ambassador to the United States:

July 21, 1938.

His Excellency
Señor Dr. Don Francisco Castillo
Najera,
Mexican Ambassador.

Excellency:

During recent years the Government of the United States has upon repeated occasions made representations to the Government of Mexico with regard to the continuing expropriation by Your Excellency's government of agrarian properties owned by American citizens, without adequate, effective and prompt compensation being made therefor.

In extenuation of such action, the Mexican Government both in its official correspondence and in its public pronouncements has adverted to the fact that it is earnestly endeavoring to carry forward a program for the social betterment of the masses of its people.

The purposes of this program, however desirable they may be, are entirely unrelated to and apart from the real issue under discussion between our two governments. The issue is not whether Mexico should pursue social and economic policies designed to improve the standard of living of its people. The issue is whether in pursuing them the property of American nationals may be taken by the Mexican Government without making prompt payment of just compensation to the owner in accordance with the universally recognized rules of law and equity.

U. S. Social Policy Cited

My government has frequently asserted the right of all countries freely to determine their own social, agrarian and industrial problems. This right includes the sovereign right of any government to expropriate private property within its borders in furtherance of public purposes. The Government of the United States has itself been very actively pursuing a program of social betterment.

For example, it has undertaken to improve the share of the farmer in the national income, to provide better housing, the wider use of electric power at reasonable rates, and security against old age and unemployment, to expand foreign trade through reduction of trade barriers, to prevent exploitation of labor through excessive hours and inadequate pay, to protect debtors from oppression, to curb monopolies; in short, it is carrying out the most far-reaching program for the improvement of the general standard of living that this country has ever seen.

Under this program it has expropriated from foreigners as well as its own citizens properties of various kinds, such as submarginal and eroded lands to be retired from farming, slums to be cleared for housing projects, land for power dams, lands containing resources to be preserved for government use. In each and every case the government of the United States has scrupulously observed the universally recognized principle of compensation and has reimbursed promptly and in cash the owners of the properties that have been expropriated.

Since the right of compensation is unquestioned under international law, it cannot be conceived that insistence on it by this government should impair

in any way the warm friendship which exists between the Government of Mexico and our own, and between the people of Mexico and our own. This is particularly true because we have, in fact, pursued a constantly expanding program of financial, economic and moral cooperation.

We have been mutually helpful to each other and this government is most desirous, in keeping with the good neighbor policy which it has been carrying forward during the last five years, to continue to cooperate with the Mexican Government in every mutually desirable and advantageous way.

Asks Policy of Fair Play

One of the greatest services we can render is to pursue, and to urge others to pursue, a policy of fair dealing and fair play based on law and justice. Just as within our own borders we strive to prevent exploitation of debtors by powerful creditors and to protect the common man in making an honest living, so we are justified in accordance with recognized international law in striving to prevent unfair or oppressive treatment of our own people in other countries.

It is the experience of this hemisphere, and this government is convinced, that only by these means can the conditions of the peoples in all countries be soundly and permanently improved. Certainly the destruction of underlying principles of law and equity does not conduce to such improvement.

In its negotiations with the Mexican Government for compensation for the lands of American citizens that have been expropriated, my government has consistently maintained the principle of compensation. That it has been no party to an unjust or unreasonable use of the doctrine is demonstrated by the following record:

Agrarian expropriations began in Mexico in 1915. Up to Aug. 30, 1927, 161 moderate-sized properties of American citizens had been taken. The claims arising therefrom were after much discussion referred to the general claims commission established by agreement between the two governments. It is appropriate to point out, however, that, as yet, and for whatever the reasons may be, not a single claim has been adjusted and none has been paid. The owners of these properties, notwithstanding the repeated requests of this government for settlement, lost their property, its use and proceeds, from eleven years to more than twenty years ago, and are still seeking redress.

Farm Seizures Noted

Subsequent to 1927, additional properties, chiefly farms of a moderate size, with a value claimed by their owners of \$10,132,388, have been expropriated by the Mexican Government. This figure does not include the large land grants frequently mentioned in the press. It refers to the moderate-sized holdings which rendered only a modest living. None of them as yet has been paid for.

Considering that expropriation was the free act of the Mexican Government and the liability was voluntarily incurred by it, certainly on the basis of the record above stated, the United States Government cannot be accused of being unreasonable or impatient.

This latter group of cases has been in the past few years the subject of frequent representations by my government. On March 27 of this year it inquired of your government what specific action with respect to payment was contemplated. On April 19 the Mexican Government responded, expressing its willing-

ness to make a small monthly payment as settlement for a small number of agrarian claims of American nationals in one locality in Mexico.

In response to an inquiry for further information you reiterated to this department, on May 26 last, substantially what the Government of Mexico had already stated. On June 29 a detailed communication was addressed to you setting forth the amount of the claims advanced for compensation to American nationals for agrarian properties expropriated, containing suggestions as to how the value of these properties might be determined in a manner satisfactory to both governments, and requesting that payments be commenced while the determination of value was being reached.

On July 15 Your Excellency sent a further communication to this government in which no reference whatever was made to the suggestions advanced as to the method of determining the amounts owing for compensation, offering no indication that the Government of Mexico is prepared to make payments while the amount of the value of the properties expropriated is being determined, and stating that the Government of Mexico "has not contemplated covering entirely, during the present Presidential term, the amount of the properties expropriated; much less has it undertaken, nor can it undertake, to proceed in such manner."

In result, the American owners whose properties have been taken are left not only without present payment, but without assurance that payment will be made within any foreseeable time.

Declared Confiscation

The taking of property without compensation is not expropriation. It is confiscation. It is no less confiscation because there may be an expressed intent to pay at some time in the future.

If it were permissible for a government to take the private property of the citizens of other countries and pay for it as and when, in the judgment of that government, its economic circumstances and its local legislation may perhaps permit, the safeguards which the constitutions of most countries and established international law have sought to provide would be illusory.

Governments would be free to take property far beyond their ability or willingness to pay, and the owners thereof would be without recourse. We cannot question the right of a foreign government to treat its own nationals in this fashion if it so desires. This is a matter of domestic concern. But we cannot admit that a foreign government may take the property of American nationals in disregard of the rule of compensation under international law.

Nor can we admit that any government unilaterally and through its municipal legislation can, as in this instant case, nullify this universally accepted principle of international law, based as it is on reason, equity and justice.

The representations which this government has made to the Government of Mexico have been undertaken with entire friendliness and good-will, and the Mexican Government has recognized that fact. We are entirely sympathetic to the desires of the Mexican Government for the social betterment of its people. We cannot accept the idea, however, that these plans can be carried forward at the expense of our citizens, any more than we would feel justified in carrying forward our plans for our own social betterment at the expense of citizens of Mexico.

The good-neighbor policy can only be based on mutual respect by both governments of the rights of each and of the rights of the citizens of each. President Roosevelt could not have spoken more truly than when he recently stated that the good-neighbor policy is:

"A policy which can never be merely unilateral. In stressing it the American republics appreciate, I am confident, that it is bilateral and multilateral and that the fair dealing which it implies must be reciprocated."

The Government of Mexico, from the standpoint of the long run and healthy progress of the Mexican people, should be just as vitally interested in maintaining the integrity of the good-neighbor policy as any other country. The surest way of breaking up the good-neighbor policy would be to allow the impression that it permits the disregard of the just rights of the nationals of one country owning property in another country.

In company with the citizens of the other American republics citizens of the United States own properties not only in Mexico, but in practically all countries. The same may be said of the citizens of the great majority of the nations of the world.

The whole structure of friendly intercourse, of international trade and commerce, and many other vital and mutually desirable relations between nations indispensable to their progress rest upon the single and hitherto solid foundation of respect on the part of governments and of peoples for each other's rights under international justice.

Enables Orderly Change

The right of prompt and just compensation for expropriated property is a part of this structure. It is a principle to which the Government of the United States and most governments of the world have emphatically subscribed and which they have practiced and which must be maintained. It is not a principle which freezes the status quo and denies change in property rights but a principle that permits any country to expropriate private property within its borders in furtherance of public purposes. It enables orderly change without violating the legitimately acquired interests of citizens of other countries.

The Government of Mexico has professed its support of this principle of law. It is the considered judgment, however, of the Government of the United States that the Government of Mexico has not complied therewith in the case of several hundred separate farm or agrarian properties taken from American citizens. This judgment is apparently not admitted by your government.

The Government of the United States, therefore, proposes that there be submitted to arbitration the question whether there has been compliance by the Government of Mexico with the rule of compensation as prescribed by international law in the case of the American citizens whose farms and agrarian properties in Mexico have been expropriated by the Mexican Government since Aug. 30, 1927, and if not, the amount of, and terms under which, compensation should be made by the Government of Mexico.

My government proposes that this arbitration be carried out pursuant to the provisions of the General Treaty of Arbitration signed at Washington Jan. 5, 1929, to which both our countries are parties.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

CORDELL HULL.

man's Planes

Clerk Hates Handle

Quezon Delays

Pittman Warns

Gallacher Sums It Up:

Loyalists Break U. S.-Argentina

Mexico of U. S. Trade Penalties

Senator Asserts Refusal
to Arbitrate on Land
Seizure Would Mean End
of All American Help

WASHINGTON, July 22 (AP).—A blunt warning that Mexico would be subject to economic penalties if she refused to arbitrate the issue arising from her seizure of American-owned farm lands was issued today by Senator Key Pittman, Democrat, of Nevada, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. A refusal, Pittman said, would "destroy the good neighbor policy so far as the United States and Mexico are concerned."

"Mexico," he continued, "then would forfeit all the financial and other voluntary aid we have given her through our spirit of friendship and desire for peace, prosperity and upbuilding of that country." This recalled that the United States is the most important purchaser of Mexican silver, and that silver sales are an important factor in the Mexican economy.

Pittman's statement attracted attention, especially since he often reflects Administration views on foreign affairs. It was a follow-up to Secretary of State Cordell Hull's note to Mexico yesterday, protesting Mexico's failure to pay for American-owned farm lands seized over a period of years and asking that the question be submitted to arbitration.

Though the note did not mention the expropriation of the property of American oil companies, Pittman took the view that the statement meant the United States would insist on compensation for any seized property of its nationals.

Publication of the Hull note, Pittman said, was a repudiation of assertions made in Mexico that the United States government "was in sympathy with the policy being carried out by the Cardenas government in its expropriation of property, not only agrarian, but mineral also."

"The oil incident, although involving some different factors, was but a continuation of similar acts committed against American farmers under the agrarian act," the Senator added.

Note Surprises Mexico

MEXICO CITY, July 22 (AP).—Informed sources said today the demand of Secretary Hull that expropriation of American-owned farm lands in Mexico be submitted to arbitration had taken the Mexican government by surprise. There was no official comment.

President Lazaro Cardenas today instructed the Ministers of Finance and National Economy at once to start evaluating the seventeen foreign-owned oil companies expropriated March 18. The President said earlier this week payments probably would begin in two months, the companies to be reimbursed for their property in oil over a ten-year period. Company estimates have placed a \$400,000,000 valuation on their investments in Mexico.

Hull's Demands Test Cardenas On Land Seizures

Chooses Ground For Arbitration Of Expropriations

Gardner Harding, student of foreign affairs, herein discusses the issues raised by the note of Secretary of State Hull insisting that the Mexican government arbitrate and pay the claims of United States citizens for expropriated lands.

By GARDNER HARDING.

Written for Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.

WASHINGTON, July 25.—Secretary Hull's ability to choose his ground for a battle has been demonstrated again.

Present reactions in Washington are that he has placed the United States in an incontestable position by his demand that small American owners of land be reimbursed for expropriated lands, worth not more than ten million dollars, a sum Mexico can pay.

Without Redress.

The seizures have gone years without redress. Mr. Hull can justly claim that the United States has shown patience. And, in offering arbitration under a method Mexico herself agreed to in 1929, he makes a concession to susceptibilities.

Yet the news from Mexico is that his note has caused "surprise and disappointment."

President Cardenas, himself not a Communist, has nevertheless permitted 18,000 oil workers to seize the foreign oil industry in the name of Mexico's "one big union." Last year he seized the railways and imposed enormous freight rates and crippling labor demands on the mining and smelting industry.

His policy tends toward complete expropriation of foreign properties valued up to a billion dollars.

Reason to Hesitate.

But he has reason to hesitate. His social program is popular with the country and has won support from the United States.

Yet since January 1 the peso has dropped from 28 cents to 21. The cost of living is said to have risen 35 per cent. And purchases from the United States dropped from \$8,000,000 a month to \$4,000,000 between January and April this year and are close to \$3,000,000 today.

Mexican finances and trade are demoralized, and for the first time in many years Mexico, a rich agricultural country, is importing food.

The truth is, Mexico is broke.

These facts are likely to force a change of tactics which will at least abate any more expropriation of foreign property without the money to pay for it.

The question is, therefore, can Cardenas turn back and still remain master of Mexico?

TEXTO INTEGRAL DE LA NOTA:-

El día de ayer, 3 de agosto de 1938, el señor Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, general e ingeniero Eduardo Hay, a las 9 horas, entregó en la Secretaría de Relaciones al Excelentísimo señor Embajador de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, Josephus Daniels, la nota de México que contesta a la de los Estados Unidos, entregada en Washington el día 21 de julio de este año a nuestro Embajador, doctor Francisco Castillo Nájera.

Esta nota de respuesta dice lo siguiente:

"México, 3 de agosto de 1938.

Señor Embajador:

Tengo el honor de hacer referencia a la nota de vuestro Gobierno, entregada el día 21 de julio último al Embajador de México en los Estados Unidos de Norte América, señor doctor D. Francisco Castillo Nájera.

En la referida nota, vuestro Gobierno acepta el derecho para expropiar que asiste a México, así como la justicia social en que está inspirada su reforma agraria, causa de las expropiaciones a los terratenientes norteamericanos, pero insiste en el pago inmediato a los ciudadanos estadounidenses por las tierras que les han sido afectadas, con independencia de lo que nuestro país haga con respecto a sus propios nacionales. Además, vuestro Gobierno lamenta que hasta ahora no hayan obtenido compensación adecuada los terratenientes norteamericanos, cuyas reclamaciones se incluyeron dentro de la jurisdicción de la Comisión General de Reclamaciones creada el año de 1923, y agrega que el ahínco con que el Gobierno Mexicano intenta realizar su programa de mejoramiento social, nada tiene que ver con la cuestión a debate y es ajeno a la misma.

Vuestro Gobierno exige al de México el pago inmediato de una compensación adecuada para los terratenientes norteamericanos afectados por la reforma agraria después del 30 de agosto de 1927, alegando que, de no hacerlo, mi país viola una regla universalmente reconocida del Derecho Internacional que se basa en la razón, la equidad y la justicia.

NO HAY REGLA SOBRE EL PARTICULAR (1)

Mi Gobierno sostiene, por el contrario, que no hay en Derecho Internacional ninguna regla universalmente aceptada en teoría, ni realizada en la práctica, que obligue al pago de una compensación inmediata, ni siquiera diferida, por expropiaciones de carácter general o impersonal, como las que México ha realizado para procurar la redistribución de la tierra.

Las expropiaciones efectuadas en el proceso de nuestra reforma agraria tienen, en efecto, este doble carácter que debe ser tomado muy en cuenta para entender la posición de México y justipreciar la aparente falta de cumplimiento de sus obligaciones.

Sin pretender refutar el punto de vista del Gobierno norteamericano, deseo llamar, de manera muy especial, su atención, hacia el hecho de que la reforma agraria no es solamente uno de los aspectos de un programa de mejoramiento social intentado por un Gobierno o un grupo político para experimentar nuevas doctrinas, sino que constituye el cumplimiento de la más trascendental de las demandas del pueblo mexicano que sacrificó, para lograrla, en la lucha revolucionaria, la vida misma de sus hijos. La estabilidad política, social y económica, y la paz de México, dependen de que la tierra sea puesta nuevamente en manos de los campesinos que la trabajan; por lo tanto, su distribución, que venía a implicar la transformación del país, es decir, el futuro de la nación, no podía detenerse ante la imposibilidad de pagar inmediatamente el valor de las propiedades pertenecientes a un reducido número de extranjeros que solamente persiguen un fin lucrativo.

Por una parte, se aprecian las reivindicaciones de justicia y me-

(1) Todos los subtítulos fueron puestos por la Redacción.

(Sigue en la 8a. Pág. 3a. Col.)

joramiento de todo un pueblo y, por la otra, los intereses puramente pecuniarios de algunos individuos. La posición de México en desigual dilema no podía ser otra que la asumida, y no se afirma esto como un atenuante de su proceder, sino como una verdadera justificación del mismo.

La enumeración que vuestro Gobierno hace, en la nota aludida, reformas sociales realizadas recientemente en los Estados Unidos de Norte América, demuestra hasta qué punto la hora presente demanda un reajuste fundamental en los métodos de gobierno, pues hace muy pocos años dichas reformas no habrían sido aplaudidas y, quizás, ni siquiera toleradas. Si vuestro Gobierno ha estado en condiciones de poder hacer desde luego el pago de las compensaciones, esto sólo indica que sus condiciones económicas lo han permitido, mas seguramente no habría podido posponer o abandonar esas reformas, aun en el caso de que tales condiciones no hubieran sido bonancibles.

Como antes he dicho, no existe en el Derecho Internacional ningún principio universalmente aceptado por los países, ni por los tratadistas en esta materia, que obligue a dar compensación adecuada por expropiaciones de carácter general e impersonal. Sin embargo, México admite, en obediencia a sus propias leyes, que si está obligado a indemnizar en forma adecuada; pero la doctrina que sustenta al respecto, que está apoyada en las más autorizadas opiniones de tratadistas de Derecho Internacional, es que el momento y la forma de hacer dicho pago deben ser determinados por sus propias leyes.

Consecuente con lo ordenado por el Artículo 27 de su Constitución vigente, el Gobierno Mexicano expidió una ley autorizando la emisión de bonos agrarios para compensar a los terratenientes afectados. Pero, desde un principio, la dificultad de establecer hasta qué punto las variadas reclamaciones de índole agraria de ciudadanos norteamericanos, merecía o no, cada una individualmente, el pago de una compensación fue, tanto para el Gobierno Norteamericano como para el de México, obstáculo para determinar el derecho del reclamante y la cantidad que debía pagarsele, pues mi Gobierno no podía comprometerse a cubrir reclamaciones que no estuvieran debidamente discriminadas.

LOS DETALLES DE RECLAMACIONES

Hay, en efecto, un grupo de reclamaciones que se basan en grandes concesiones otorgadas en otras épocas y por otros Gobiernos, que han sido canceladas en vista de falta de cumplimiento por los concesionarios, de las obligaciones que contrajeron; otro grupo tiene por base la existencia de grandes latifundios que se adquirieron prácticamente sin haber pagado por ellos; hay otro sector de reclamaciones en que los propietarios obtuvieron sus títulos de compañías fraccionadoras, sin haber cumplido con los compromisos contraídos. La restitución de tierras a pueblos que habían sido despojados de ellas por medios ilegales, constituye otro grupo, en el que el poseedor tenía un título viciado inicialmente. Otras afectaciones se originaron por dotaciones ejidales, de acuerdo con las leyes agrarias mexicanas y, en estos casos, México ha reconocido su obligación de indemnizar. Y, por último, existe cierto número de reclamaciones de pequeños y medianos propietarios que, aunque sujetos a disposiciones agrarias, por no llenar sus propiedades los requisitos que estas señalan para la pequeña propiedad inafectable, sin embargo, habiéndolas obtenido de fraccionamientos hechos por compañías que actualmente son propiedad del Estado Mexicano, por razones de orden moral y de equidad, mi Gobierno convino en conceder a los afectados una compensación inmediata, mediante un procedimiento de excepción.

RECLAMACIONES DE DUDOSO Y DISCUTIBLE DERECHO

Así pues, existen reclamaciones en que es dudoso y discutible el derecho aducido por los reclamantes; en cambio, en otras, no existe propiamente debate jurídico, pues por haberse originado en actos claramente expropiatorios del Gobierno de México, este solo objeto su monto. En estas últimas, el problema consiste, sustancialmente, en reducirlos a sus justos términos, ya que la mayoría contiene demandas exageradas, porque el valor atribuido a las propiedades es muy otro de aquel que los mismos reclamantes declararon para el pago de sus obligaciones fiscales. Un arreglo que no tuviera en cuenta esa situación, aprobaría, en contra de México, el engaño al Fisco, hecho por los interesados.

Mi Gobierno desea hacer constar que cuando decidió suspender el pago de su deuda agraria en el año de 1930, la medida afectó por igual a mexicanos y extranjeros. Si México hubiera pagado solamente a aquellos, sin duda habría violado una regla de equidad; si hubiera pagado únicamente a éstos con exclusión de los nacionales, habría cometido una irregularidad semejante.

Las Repúblicas de nuestro Continente han dejado oír su voz desde la Primera Conferencia Panamericana, manteniendo vigorosamente el principio de igualdad entre nacionales y extranjeros, considerando que el extranjero que voluntariamente se traslada a un país que no es el suyo, en busca de un beneficio personal, admite de antemano con las ventajas que va a disfrutar, los riesgos a que puede hallarse expuesto. Sería injusto que aspirase a una situación privilegiada al margen de todo peligro, aprovechando si, en cambio el esfuerzo de los nacionales que debe ser en bien de la colectividad.

NO HAY DERECHOS DIFERENCIALES

Como una coronación del anhelo sostenido por los Estados de este Continente en contra de la idea de un estatuto especial para los extranjeros en la Segunda Conferencia Panamericana, celebrada en México en 1902, se aprobó una fórmula que fue ampliada y reforzada por el Artículo 30. de la Convención suscrita en la Séptima Conferencia Panamericana, que dice: "La jurisdicción de los Estados en los límites del territorio nacional, se aplica a todos los habitantes. Los nacionales y los extranjeros se hallan bajo la misma protección de la legislación y de las autoridades nacionales; los extranjeros no podrán pretender derechos diferentes ni más extensos que los nacionales".

La demanda de un tratamiento desigual está implícitamente comprendida en la nota de vuestro Gobierno, pues si bien es cierto que no lo expresa claramente, si exige el pago a sus nacionales, con independencia de lo que México decida hacer respecto de sus propios ciudadanos, y como vuestro Gobierno no ignora que el nuestro se encuentra imposibilitado para pagar inmediatamente la indemnización a todos los afectados con la reforma agraria, al insistir en el pago a los terratenientes norteamericanos, demanda, realmente, un tratamiento especial privilegiado que nadie está recibiendo en México.

En la nota a que hago mérito, se expresa que las reclamaciones de índole agraria, anteriores a 1927, fueron sometidas a la jurisdicción de la Comisión General de Reclamaciones, establecida mediante Convenio entre los dos Gobiernos y que, hasta la fecha, cualquiera que sea el motivo, no ha quedado ajustada ni una sola reclamación y ninguna ha sido pagada.

El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, no puede ignorar, y así parece admitirlo en la nota a que me he venido refiriendo, las causas por las cuales la Comisión General de Reclamaciones no ha llegado, hasta ahora, a resolver las de orden agrario; causas debidas a dificultades técnicas que no fueron previstas al establecer las disposiciones normativas del arbitraje, y que no pueden ser atribuidas a actos voluntarios de ninguno de los dos países. Además, es del conocimiento del Gobierno de Vuestra Excelencia, que México está dispuesto a iniciar las negociaciones necesarias para llegar a un arreglo global que supere esos obstáculos técnicos y que resuelva, definitivamente, esas reclamaciones.

Es oportuno recordar que el Gobierno de mi país viene puntualmente pagando, desde el año de 1935, las anualidades que se comprometió a cubrir por un arreglo semejante, que dio fin a la Comisión Especial de Reclamaciones, no obstante que, para éstas, no existía en su contra, una responsabilidad que le fuera imputable, según los preceptos más indiscutibles del Derecho Internacional, sino que se trataba de una aceptación ex-gratia de dicha responsabilidad.

LA DECISION DEL ARBITRAJE

En la parte final de la nota a que doy respuesta, el Gobierno de Vuestra Excelencia propone que sean sometidos a la decisión de árbitros, en los términos del Tratado General de Arbitraje, firmado en Washington el 5 de enero de 1929, los siguientes puntos:

1o.—La cuestión de si ha habido cumplimiento, por parte del Gobierno de México, de la regla relativa a la indemnización, tal como lo prescribe el Derecho Internacional, en casos de los ciudadanos norteamericanos, cuyas propiedades agrarias, situadas en México, han sido expropiadas por el Gobierno Mexicano, desde el 30 de agosto de 1927.

2o.—Que de no ser así, se resuelva cuál es el monto de la indemnización que deberá pagar el Gobierno de México.

3o.—Que se establezcan las condiciones en que deberá hacerse dicho pago; y

4o.—Que el arbitraje a que antes se ha hecho referencia, se lleve a cabo de conformidad con las disposiciones del Tratado General de Arbitraje Interamericano, firmado en Washington el 5 de enero de 1929.

México nunca se ha rehusado a someter sus discrepancias internacionales ante la jurisdicción de un tribunal que juzgue en derecho sus actos o sus actitudes, frente a los extraños, ni ha objetado los fallos que le han sido desfavorables. Ello no obstante, considera que el arbitraje debe ser reservado, como el mismo Tratado de Washington lo establece, para casos de disidencia irreductible, en los que el principio jurídico a discusión o el hecho que da origen al arbitraje son de tal naturaleza, que los dos pueblos en conflicto no encuentren forma más obvia de llegar a un acuerdo. No es ese el caso presente, pues si bien es cierto que México no considera que es regla invariable y universal de Derecho Internacional el pago de una indemnización por los bienes que el Estado expropia por causa de utilidad pública, también lo es que el Artículo 27 de su Constitución, ordena el pago en tales casos y, por lo mismo, el Gobierno Mexicano jamás ha negado esa obligación. Carece, pues, de materia, el arbitraje pretendido.

EL ARBITRAJE SERIA IMPROCEDENTE

Con relación a las condiciones en que deberá hacerse dicho pago, también es innecesario el arbitraje y sería, además, improcedente, en los términos del Tratado de Washington, pues los procedimientos de ejecución para el cumplimiento de las obligaciones ya reconocidas por México, no pueden ser materia de arbitraje y habrán de establecerse de acuerdo con sus condiciones económicas, las cuales no pueden dejar de ser tenidas en cuenta por un pueblo amigo, ni pueden ser objeto de decisión de un tribunal internacional, el cual, al pretender imponer determinada organización económica a México, heriría de muerte su derecho a organizarse autónomamente, base misma de su soberanía.

En tal virtud, me permito invitar al Gobierno de Vuestra Excelencia a que nombre un representante para que, en unión del que designe mi Gobierno, fijen, en un breve plazo, el valor de las propiedades afectadas y las modalidades de su pago, que mi Gobierno considera como la ejecución en parte de un plan de conjunto para el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones a este respecto, tanto en favor de los nacionales como de los extranjeros. El Gobierno de México está ansioso para discutir, desde luego, los términos de este arreglo.

CONTESTACION A LA NOTA DE EE. UU. — El secretario Relaciones Exteriores, ingeniero Eduardo Hay, después de entregar Embajador de los Estados Unidos, Mr. Daniels, la respuesta de nuestro Gobierno

Creo que en esta forma, como una demostración del espíritu de amistad y cooperación que animan al Gobierno y al Pueblo de México, hacia el Gobierno y el Pueblo de los Estados Unidos, quedaría satisfecha la fición de indemnizar a los ciudadanos norteamericanos, por las tierras que, en cumplimiento de la legislación agraria, les han sido afectadas con posterioridad al 30 de agosto de 1927.

Aprovecho esta oportunidad para renovar a Vuestra Excelencia el testimonio de mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

EDUARDO HAY

Text of Mexican Note Rejecting Hull's Demands 211

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
MEXICO CITY, Aug. 3.—Following is a translation of the text of the Mexican reply to the United States note of July 21 asking international arbitration of the question of immediate payment of indemnity upon nationalized American agrarian properties as handed today to Ambassador Josephus Daniels:

Mr. Ambassador:

I have the honor to refer to your government's note delivered on July 21 last to the Mexican Ambassador to the United States, Señor Dr. Don Francisco Castillo Najera.

In the note under reference your government admits Mexico's right to expropriate, as well as the social justice which inspires Mexico's agrarian reform resulting in expropriations from American landowners; but insists upon prompt payment to American citizens for their lands that have been affected, regardless of what our country may do with respect to its nationals.

Moreover, your government deplores the fact that to date American landowners, whose claims were included under the jurisdiction of the General Claims Commission 1923 have not received adequate compensation, and adds that the zeal of the Mexican Government to realize its program of social betterment has nothing to do with the question under discussion and is irrelevant to it.

Takes Issue With U. S.

Your government demands of Mexico the immediate payment of adequate compensation for American landowners affected by the agrarian reform since Aug. 30, 1927, alleging that otherwise my country will violate a universally recognized principle of international law based on reason, equity and justice.

My government maintains, on the contrary, that no principle, universally accepted in theory nor realized in practice, is found in international law which makes obligatory the payment of immediate compensation, nor even deferred compensation, for expropriations of a general and impersonal character, such as those

which Mexico has carried out in effecting the redistribution of land.

The expropriations made in the course of our agrarian reforms do, in fact, have this double character, which should be very much taken into account in order to understand Mexico's position and (rightly) appraise her apparent failure to meet her obligations.

Agrarian Reform Necessary

Without attempting to refute the point of view of the American Government, I wish to draw your attention, very especially, to the fact that agrarian reform is not only one aspect of a program of social betterment embarked upon by a government or a political group in order to try out new doctrines, but is also the most important fulfillment of the demands of the Mexican people who sacrificed the very lives of their sons in the revolution in order to achieve this end. The political, social and economic stability and the peace of Mexico depend upon the lands being placed anew in the hands of the peasants who work it; therefore, its distribution, which came to imply the transformation—that is to say, the future—of the nation, could not be halted by the impossibility of immediate payment of the value of the properties belonging to a small number of foreigners who seek only lucrative ends.

Unequal Dilemma Noted

On the one hand, are weighed the conquests of justice and the uplift of an entire people, and on the other hand, the purely pecuniary interests of certain individuals. The position of Mexico in this unequal dilemma could not be other than the one she has assumed, and this is not stated as an excuse for her actions but as a true justification thereof.

The enumeration made by your government in the note under reference of the social reforms realized recently in the United States shows the extent of present day demands for a fundamental readjustment in methods of government, for a few years ago such reforms would not have been approved nor even, per-

haps, tolerated. If your government has been in a position to pay compensation forthwith, this merely indicates that its economic situation permitted it; but it certainly could not have postponed or abandoned those reforms even had its economic situation not been good.

Legality of U. S. Demand Denied

As previously stated, there does not exist in international law any principle universally accepted by nations, nor by writers on the subject, which makes obligatory the giving of adequate compensation for expropriations of a general and impersonal character. Nevertheless, Mexico admits, in obedience to her own laws, that she is bound to make adequate indemnification; but the doctrine Mexico maintains in the premises, upheld by the most authoritative opinions of writers on international law, is that the time and manner of such payment should be determined by her own laws.

Pursuant to the provisions of Article XXVII of the present Constitution, the Mexican Government enacted a law authorizing the issuance of agrarian bonds for compensation of affected landowners. But from the beginning the difficulty of deciding the extent to which the various claims of an agrarian nature filed by American citizens, considered individually, merited compensation or not, was for both governments an obstacle in determining the right of the him—for my government could not bind itself to pay claims which had not been duly appraised.

Old Concessions Canceled

There is, in fact, a group of claims based on large concessions granted in other times by other governments, which concessions have been canceled in view of the failure of the concessionaries to comply with their undertakings; another group is based upon the existence of vast landed estates acquired practically without payment; there is another type of claim in which the owners obtained titles for land—promotion companies, without having fulfilled the obligations undertaken. The restitution of lands to peoples who had been dispossessed of

them by illegal means, constitutes another group in which the owner held a false title initially. The other affectations originated by ejidal donations, in accordance with the Mexican agrarian laws and, in these cases, Mexico has recognized her obligation to compensate. And, finally, there exist a certain number of claims of small and moderate landowners who, although subject to agrarian dispositions, because their proportions had not filled out the requisites which these (properties) point out for the ineffectable small property, nevertheless, having obtained them from fractionings made by companies which are actually property of the Mexican State, by reasons of moral order and equity, my government agreed to grant to the affected persons an immediate compensation, through an exception procedure (plea in defense denying cause for action).

Thus it is, then, that there exist claims in which the right adduced by the claimants in doubtful and disputable; on the other hand, in others, there does not exactly exist juridical altercation, since having originated in acts clearly expropriatory of the government of Mexico, the latter solely opposes their amount (sum) in those later (claims), the problem consists substantially in reducing them to their just terms, since the majority contain exaggerated claims (demands), because the value attributed to the properties is quite different from that which the same claimants declared for the payment of their fiscal obligations. An arrangement that would not take into account that situation, would approve, against Mexico, the fraud against the Treasury, conducted by the interested parties.

My government desires to make it clear that when it decided to suspend the payment of its agrarian debt in the year 1930, the measure affected equally Mexicans and foreigners. If Mexico had paid only the former, she would have without doubt violated a rule of equity; if she had paid only the latter, to the exclusion of the nationals, she would have committed a similar irregularity.

The text of this note will be printed in later editions.

U. S. REPLY SETS TWO A

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION OR MONTHLY PAYMENTS WHILE COMMITTEE SETS VALUATION

Calls Upon Mexico to Cease Further Expropriations of American Owned Properties Without Adequate Prompt and Effective Payment to the Owners

According to the Associated Press the second note from the United States to Mexico calls upon this country to cease further expropriations of American lands without "adequate, prompt and effective payment."

At the same time the American Government laid before Mexico two alternatives for solution of the controversy over seizure by Mexico of American-owned farm properties.

The State Department at Washington made public last night the text of the note to Mexico proposing:

1—International arbitration.

2—Monthly installment payments to be made while a two-man American-Mexican committee established the value of the properties expropriated. The sums would be deposited in an escrow account.

It made an "appeal most earnestly to the Mexican Government to refrain from persisting in a policy and example which, if generally pursued, will seriously jeopardize the interests of all peoples throughout the world."

Hull accused the Mexican government of proposing "to replace the rule of just compensation by the rule of confiscation," and added:

"Adoption by the nations of any such theory as that would result in the immediate breakdown of confidence and trust between nations, and in such progressive deterioration of international economic and commercial relations as would imperil the very foundations of modern civilization. Human progress would be fatally set back."

The note emphatically challenged Mexico's principal arguments and said that her "subsidiary questions" need not be considered until "the principle of just compensation has been recognized."

Mexico's contention that America was seeking unequal treatment for Americans, in view of the fact that Mexicans whose lands were expropriated were also receiving nothing, came in for special criticism from Hull.

"It is contended, in a word," he said, "that it is wholly justifiable to deprive an individual of his rights if all other persons are equally deprived, and if no victim is allowed to escape."

The Secretary added:

"When aliens are admitted into a country the country is obligated to accord them that degree of protection of life and property consistent with the standards of justice recognized by the law of nations. It is far from legitimate for the Mexican government to attempt to justify a policy which in essence constitutes bald confiscation by raising the issue of the wholly inapplicable doctrine of equality."

Hull said this government has received "not only with surprise but with profound regret" the contention of Mexico that "there does not exist in international law any principle universally accepted by countries that would render obligatory the giving of adequate compensation for expropriations of a general and impersonal character."

"I do not hesitate," he declared, "to maintain that this is the first occasion in the history of the Western Hemisphere that such a theory has been seriously advanced."

Hull pictured anarchy following adoption of such a principle.

"If such a policy were to be generally followed, what citizen of one republic making his living in any of the other 20 republics of the Western Hemisphere could have any assurance from one day to the next that he and his family would not be evicted from their home and bereft of all means of livelihood? Under such conditions, what guarantees or security could be offered which would induce the nationals of one country to invest savings in another country, or even to do ordinary business with the nationals of another country?"

Secretary Hull rejected Mexico's contention that "it may expropriate property and pay therefor, in so far as its economic circumstances and legislation do not make possible the payment of compensation if it can still take the property."

If this were true, he said, "Governments would be free to take pri-

vate property far beyond or regardless of their ability or willingness to pay, and the owners thereof would be without recourse. This, of course, would be unadulterated confiscation."

Hull said he found it "necessary emphatically to state that, after many years of patient endeavor on the part of this government to obtain just satisfaction for these claims without success the government of the United States has regretfully reached the conclusion that it is impossible to adjust them by diplomacy."

He therefore reiterated his proposal of July 21 that the question should be arbitrated by an inter-American commission.

Nevertheless, Mexico having proposed a two-man committee to evaluate the properties, he accepted the suggestion as an alternative, although, he said, "we have held conversations with regard to payment for many years without result."

He proposed that "the government of Mexico should set aside monthly in escrow in some agreed upon depository a definite amount for the exclusive purpose of making compensation for expropriated property as and when definite determinations of value have been arrived at in each case; and that should the determination of compensation show a reduction from the amounts now claimed, the monthly deposits would be scaled down accordingly."

Either in case of arbitration or in case of direct negotiation, he said, "my government feels justified in requesting that the Mexican government should agree that no further taking of the properties of American nationals should take place unless accompanied by arrangements for adequate, prompt and effective payment."

He concluded by saying that "this government has on repeated occasions made manifest its most sincere desire to pursue a policy of intimate and friendly cooperation with the government of Mexico because of its conviction that the interests of the two nations, as well as the interests of inter-American friendship and solidarity would thereby be advanced."

He requested that Mexico "speedily indicate" its willingness to accept one of the two alternatives proposed.

Full text released for publication yesterday after document arrives in city one day late. U. S. officials hopeful

Reiterates United States stand and asks Mexico to reconsider original proposal for arbitration of land question

The latest note which the United States Government sent to Mexico arrived here yesterday at 1 p. m. by airplane via Brownsville. The document was one day late since it should have been received the day before yesterday. The Ministry of Foreign Relations immediately proceeded to translate the note and the official text in Spanish was delivered for publication through the Autonomous Department of Press and Publicity. Due to the lateness of the hour, it is impossible to give the text in this section.

By **HARRY FRANTZ**

United Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, August 25.—Although Secretary of State Hull's note to Mexico is one of the strongest worded in recent years, officials appeared to be still hopeful for a favorable turn which insures progress towards a settlement prior to the Pan American Conference at Lima. Mr. Hull's lengthy references in regard to the relation of the dispute with the entire Western Hemisphere and also the fact that he cited two Pan American treaties as instrumentalities under which it might be settled are regarded as an indication of a keen desire to prevent a development which might reflect an unfavorable future for Americanism. The note is considered an ardent statement of the United States viewpoint that according to the concepts of international law, there must be just compensation for expropriation. This, in turn, is considered consonant with good neighborism as applied to Pan-Americanism, based on international law and respect for treaties.

The opinion is expressed that the United States took issue in regard to farm lands rather than the oil expropriation in order to establish clearly principles and to fix precedents. The note's firmness corresponds closely to the apparent majority of editorial opinion in the last three months demonstrating considerable disillusionment because it was thought that the United States had laid in the background on account of friendly negotiations in such Inter-American disputes. Since the oil expropriation good neighborism has been considerably criticized by business and industrial communities. However, officialdom

still is hopeful that Mexico will find some means of meeting the United States wishes.

United Press

WASHINGTON, August 25.—The State Department at 5 p. m. this afternoon released the text of the note delivered Monday to Ambassador of Mexico, Doctor Castillo Najera, in answer to the Mexican note of August 3.

The United States requests that Mexico expropriate no further properties, unless they are promptly paid for.

Taking note of Mexico's rejection of the original United States proposal for arbitration of the agrarian land question, the State Department asks that Mexico reconsider this matter. In the event that Mexico should again refuse to accept arbitration, Secretary Hull then proposed that the question of compensation for the lands seized be determined by agreement between the United States and Mexican commissioners, as suggested in suggested in General Hay's note of August 3.

In case of a disagreement between the commissioners as to the amount to be paid, the United States proposes that an arbitrator be appointed by the permanent commission that sits in Washington under the terms of the "Gondra Treaty," who will then render the final decision.

The American note said that the Mexican doctrine of expropriation is not only opposed to international law, but to the law of every American Republic. "It seems alien to the history and spirit of the ideals of democracy," said Mr. Hull. "If the Mexican doctrine were generally followed, what citizen of any Republic making his living in any other of the twenty Republics of the hemisphere would have any assurance that from one day to the next he and his family would not be evicted from their homes, and bereft of all means of livelihood?"

The note said that a refusal to arbitrate the dispute over expropriation constituted of a violation of international law "since Mexico challenged the doctrine of just compensation and proposes a substitute therefor, to all intents and purposes a theory of confiscation the merits of this fundamental issue must be determined before others can be considered."

Press Comment on Hull's Note

Latin American diplomats in Washington surprised. Oil com- panies examine document

United Press

WASHINGTON, Aug. 26.—Latin American diplomatic reaction to the United States note to Mexico is marked by surprise and in some places by shock at the severity of its tone but it is felt that the severity is related to the Mexican interpretation of international law and foreign policy. It is believed that the sections asking for a reconsideration of arbitration and outlining alternative procedures are relatively milder.

United Press

NEW YORK, Aug. 26.—The first editorial comment on Secretary Hull's note link the Mexican controversy with the whole good neighbor policy.

The conservative New York Sun says: "We shall see what good neighbor policy amounts to in practice."

The World Telegram says that back of Mr. Hull's fight for principle "lies the question whether the peoples of this hemisphere can continue to carry on with each other ordinary business, borrowing, lending, buying and selling. In short, can we continue to be good neighbors?"

The Herald Tribune interprets Mr. Hull as saying in effect: "To carry out reforms to do not have to confiscate. You can achieve social ends and still conform with law. Do not change the rules because you have special circumstances."

By BERNARD TAVES

United Press Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK, Aug. 26.—The oil companies are examining in detail, studying and analyzing Secretary Hull's note and made no official comment but persons in the industry's inner council expressed the opinion that Mr. Hull has opened the way for even stronger representations in regard to the oil expropriations should need arise. While the oil men have always hoped that Washington would make formal demands for the return of the properties, they today said that they regarded the note as factual outspoken statement of international law, closer to their viewpoint than Washington's previous published pronouncements and they indicated that they have only two general criticisms, firstly, the length of the note may lead to further prolonged interchanges delaying a settlement, and secondly the references to the "astonishing theory" in regard to equal treatment of citizens and foreigners which failed to anticipate the possible counter-argu-

ment that some believe that such equal treatment actually does satisfy the requirements of international law.

Regarding the equality of treatment angle, oil men professed to feel that they are in a better position than agrarian interests because they contend that the petroleum expropriation has not affected nationals, but only foreigners. They also repeat the argument that the oil expropriation was contrary to Mexican as well as international law. They complain that further continued sales of expropriated oil has made the situation worse, and also that the continued unskilled operation of the properties is likely to injure them irreparably. They conclude that Mr. Hull, by stating that expropriation can only be valid if promptly compensated has to reach the same position as the British.

The legal experts of the oil men suggested that the note is definitely intended to exert pressure on Mexico to reconsider her attitude in regard to oil by a forceful stand on the general principles which the United States contends should govern any expropriations without openly demanding the return of the properties.

U. S.-Mexico Relations

New Deal Policy Wanting in Wisdom and Understanding

To the New York Herald Tribune:

In former critical periods in the relations between Mexico and the United States, when I had an official capacity as Mexican Commercial Agent, Educational Attaché, Publicity Commissioner, head of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce of the United States, etc., I promptly took issue against unwarranted attacks or misrepresentations detrimental to my country or to the harmonious relations between the Mexican and the American peoples, which I devoted nearly my whole life to improve. After a long period of silence in the American press, I ask for the hospitality of the New York Herald Tribune.

I have witnessed graver situations than the present one in so far as diplomatic relations between Washington and Mexico City are concerned; but I have never seen the relations between the two peoples in a more dangerous condition than at the present time. The feelings of the Mexican people have been so seriously hurt by the business interests and the political leaders of the United States that years of effort and patience will have to elapse to restore the confidence the Mexicans previously had in the American government. And the saddest thing is that this situation about which the American government and the American press are so bitterly complaining is practically their own creation. Never before have I seen greater lack of understanding and of sympathetic interest.

* * *

Expropriation of agricultural land has been going on in Mexico since 1915. Notwithstanding, the so-called imperialistic Republican administrations of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover never made a life and death issue of it. It was necessary for a Democratic government to be in power, for a New Deal to be flourishing and for a self-appointed "good neighbor" to be the Executive of the nation in order that this old and unimportant issue should be inflated unto such proportions that it has become a major problem in Mexican-American relations.

Everybody suspects that it is not the ten million dollars' worth of land that is at stake, but the expulsion of the oil companies, which had never found a better friend in their troubles in Mexico than the present chief of the United States Department of State.

President Cardenas would have never decreed the expropriation of the oil industry, even perhaps the Supreme Court decision could have been avoided, if the United States Department of State would have warned the oil companies, firmly and intelligently, that their rebellion was going to mean serious trouble. Conciliation at the time was utterly wanting.

If there had been more co-operation and personal friendliness between the United States Department of State and the Mexican Embassy in Washington, the obnoxious and explosive second note that Mr. Hull sent to Mexico should never have been delivered. This affinity does not seem to exist and the harm has been done already.

One last word about your own paper, the as a rule well balanced Herald Tribune, particularly about the Allen articles you are publishing. In the first place, Henry J. Allen has all the appearances of a biased politician; he does not speak a word of Spanish, and he seems to be utterly ignorant of Mexico's history, geography, economics, sociology and psychology. He spends a few

days in Mexico; has no contact at all with the people; his relations are with the American colony and the English-speaking débris of the outworn Mexican aristocracy, and he returns to Kansas claiming to know more about Mexico than Jimmy Farley about the Democratic party.

In Mr. Allen's opinion, for instance, Yucatan was prosperous and the sisal industry was thriving, until six months ago, when President Cardenas established Communism (?) in the state. As a matter of fact, Yucatan has been sinking for the last ten years, due mainly to exploitation by absentee ownership. Slavery was actually prevailing there. The sisal industry had been dwindling to oblivion. There being no other cultivation in the state, its inhabitants were either deserting it or starving. Yucatan at the present moment is far from being healthy, but it is on its way to recovery. The limited fertile soil was not being properly cultivated. It is now, and the state is practically self-supporting, and the sisal industry is being revived for the benefit of the Yucatecos, much to the chagrin of the former sisal barons who were weeping on Mr. Allen's bosom.

What is actually happening is that the United States is killing the Mexican goose that laid the golden eggs. From the economic, cultural and political points of view, Mexico had been progressing and improving by leaps and bounds during recent years. Now it is in a state of stagnation.

Mexico was in 1937 the fifth best customer the United States had in the whole world, and its best customer in Latin America. Mexico's purchases here have now dropped 60 per cent.

The item for the education of the masses was the second largest in the federal budget. The Indian's incorporation into civilization is practically accomplished. There is no village, no matter how small, where a school is not functioning. Will the government be able to continue supporting its army of 65,000 teachers?

* * *

Perfect tranquillity was prevailing in the political atmosphere. Cardenas was the most popular President Mexico ever had. However, the fear that Washington will fight him is already causing the less faithful to constrain, and to take a passive, expectant, attitude for the time being.

And what is most important, the Mexican people's friendship toward the United States is gravely menaced by the Mexican policy of the New Deal, so wanting in wisdom and understanding.

I do not think President Cardenas is very religiously inclined, but I would not be surprised if, on waking up in the morning, he prays: "Save me, God, from my good neighbors: from the bad ones I can save myself."

JOSE MIGUEL BEJARANO.

Lynbrook, N. Y., Aug. 29, 1938.

Facts Wanted

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Could some one please explain Representative Dies's comment to the effect that, "Of course, we have no authority to investigate government officials as such"?

If adherents of Communism are to be found in high or low government circles, why shouldn't that fact be made known? In fact, many of us for whom Communism has been the only answer to the unmistakably un-American and left turn this Administration has taken it would be refreshing, to say the least, to have the searchlight turned upon those who are responsible for this trend, be they high or low.

L. G. CARDIN.

New York, Aug. 16, 1938.

Mexico Ignores Its Open Spaces, Seizes Land Owners Developed

Henry J. Allen Reports as an Example Communal Laguna District, Where Workers Squander Gains of Many Years by Private Capital

Following is another in a series of articles by Henry J. Allen, editor of "The Topeka (Kan.) State Journal," on conditions in Mexico as he found them on a recent visit to the country.

By Henry J. Allen

Torreón, a center of the Laguna district, looks like a modern American town that has suffered a relapse. Originally well built, it is beginning to look shabby, because nobody makes repairs. It was the center of the most productive agricultural district in Mexico; now it is the center of a government experiment.

Once Torreón had a fashionable German club, a well equipped Spanish club, a comfortable social place for Americans and British who were interested in the cotton plantations. The German club has reduced its operations to a billiard room and a bar, the Spanish club has become a restaurant and the other clubs are closed.

All over the city, which originally had a population of 75,000 persons men are sitting about, are standing in groups and most of them are talking about the unhappy outcome of the government operations in the cotton plantations and the wheat fields. They have somewhat the look of W. P. A. workers.

I met a number of Americans whose plantations had been confiscated, but they weren't talking. Before any of them would express themselves to me they required a promise that I would not use their names. They were afraid of reprisals. While they retain only 20 per cent of their original holdings they are trying to make a living and wait hopefully for the full development of the Washington policy touching the spoliation of American farmers in Mexico. There are still a good many things the government could do to them in Mexico.

A Story of Elysia

I had already seen a book printed in the de luxe style, carrying the title "The Yaguna Awakening." It presented the valley of the Nazas River as a land of infamous exploitation under the old ownership which had suddenly been transformed into a paradise through expropriation and communal cultivation. As in all books of this kind, human happiness began on a fixed date.

In Laguna the day on which they were lifted from strife to Elysian bliss was October 6, 1936, when President Lazaro Cardenas ordered that the plantations of the region should pass from their former owners to the 37,000 peasants who had been employed as laborers on those cotton fields.

Pictures before expropriation belie the present situation. All the attractive pictures in the book, I discovered, were of the good looking plantations as they existed before confiscation. It was a book of ballyhoo, pretending to show what had happened since confiscation. It proved its case by exhibiting pictures of the progress that had been made before confiscation, and redating the history. I saw with my own eyes the past and the present separated by more than eighteen months and it wasn't difficult to understand.

Taken From Desert

The Laguna district, of nearly a thousand square miles, was all reclaimed from the desert. It wasn't taken from the Indians. Three generations ago a ruined Spaniard paid his debt to a friend by deeding him this great area of raw desert land. His friend accepted it because it was the only thing the Spaniard had left with which to pay. It had been a family inheritance coming from the Spanish land grants through which the generous Spanish sovereigns rewarded ancient servitors from the arid geography of Mexico.

The able Mexican who thus collected his debt was a student of soils and discovered that these acres could be developed into cotton growing.

A good sized river ran through the area which supplied water with the irregularity common to desert streams. It was felt, however, that by a system of irrigation canals, dams, some supplementary wells and a careful husbanding of the water, cotton could be produced. The work of creation by hard and persistent

labor was begun and an important district grew out of the desert through intelligent effort.

Production Succeeded

The Laguna district had never been in difficulties about its capital. The cultivation of cotton, which is the main industry, although there is a good production of wheat, has been rather uniformly successful. There is enough water to make the procession of seasons secure. A good crop ran to 250,000 bales. All the engineering problems were well worked out, millions of dollars had been expended in irrigation ditches, pumping plants and dams. The wells which were dug to protect the planters from the fickleness of the Nazas River cost approximately 16,000,000 pesos. There are now 800 of them and they called for an original expenditure of at least 20,000 pesos each. It was a major project and you couldn't inspect it today in its demoralized state without getting a comprehension of the intelligent effort and the great sums of money which had been expended in creating this cotton area.

Many rich areas capable of cotton production remain unreclaimed. In some of the neighborhoods preliminary work and leveling the land, cleaning it of stones, and even starting irrigation ditches was in progress when the decree of expropriation was uttered. These unfinished works were not taken over. They remain silent testimonial of the utter disregard of the government of its opportunity to do original developing.

Only Good Land Taken

Cardenas has confiscated millions of acres throughout Mexico, but not an acre from the vast area of unimproved land ever has been confiscated. The idea of turning the energies of the people loose upon reclamation projects in a nation where unimproved lands are limitless, has not occurred to him. Before he confiscates the land it must have been made worth taking by the capital and energies of the owners.

The confiscating of the cotton area, of course, held a multitude of perplexities. The Communal Bank became the economic manager and dictator. It had to establish a ginning process, become responsible for the machinery, work animals of the plantations and other property both confiscated, and taken over to be held in trusteeship for the owner.

While they did not expropriate outright the gins, homes and equipment of the plantation owners, they made them serve the common good. Whenever they felt like it, they told the owner he would be paid for this personal property. None has been paid.

It amounted to a colossal task to transfer a great community of well equipped plantations from their owners who had cherished them through the years, to the peasants who didn't more than half understand how it had come about.

Owners Kept 20%

Under the Agrarian Act something like 20 per cent of the land reverted to the owners. That was their share of their own lands when the general division occurred.

The operation of 20 per cent of the lands by former owners has produced revealing statistics. The peons who control 80 per cent of the Laguna land, gathered for their first year less than 80,000 bales of cotton. The former owners cultivating their 20 per cent of the acres gathered from 35,000 to 40,000 bales.

You do not have to ask as you drive through the Laguna district which are the workers' crops and where the acres of the former owners lie. Without exception the acres of the former owners are in first-class shape; water carefully distributed cotton plants properly cultivated and every item of scientific growing looked after, by the only cotton labor in the district which is still sure of its pay.

The land of the workers, with here and there an exception, is shabbily cultivated, and the water wastefully handled. I saw numerous fields where production had been destroyed by flooding in a land where water is more precious than jewels.

I didn't find a single fact to support the President's statement that the communal project on Laguna had increased production.

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

Trademark Registered U. S. Patent Office

Entered as 2d class matter Nov. 21, 1919, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Telephone MUrray Hill 2-1234

Published daily except Sunday by News Syndicate Co., Inc., 220 E. 42d St., Borough of Manhattan, New York, N. Y. Daily mail subscription rates U. S., \$8.00; Canada, \$12.00 a year. For the Daily and Sunday News, U. S., \$10.50 per year; Canada, \$16.00. President, J. M. Patterson; treasurer, R. R. McCormick; second vice president and general manager, Roy C. Holliss; secretary, F. M. Flynn, all of 220 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

OUR NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH

President Roosevelt last week voiced a policy to which, for a change, only a handful of even his bitterest enemies took any exception.

Extension of the Monroe Doctrine

Speaking at Kingston, Ont., the President said that in case any foreign power should try any funny business with Canada, the United States would not stand idly by. The plain import of that language is that the United States, potentially the greatest military and naval power in the world, would fight to keep Canada safe for the Canadians.

That is only sensible, because if Canada should be taken over by some foreign power the United States would be less safe than it is now for the people of the United States. This Good Neighbor policy, with teeth in it, toward Canada is good business for us, quite aside from the fact that the Canadians for generations have been good neighbors, good customers and good friends of ours.

* * *

It is too bad that things are not as serene on our southern exposure as on our northern. When we turn to have a look at—

OUR NEIGHBOR TO THE SOUTH

—the view is anything but pleasant.

President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, tutored, we suspect, by Leon (Stormy Petrel) Trotsky, goes on being the problem child among statesmen of the Western Hemisphere.

Larcenous Cardenas When Cardenas last March grabbed off all the American, British and Dutch oil properties in Mexico, he lighted a fuse which is still sputtering toward some kind of powder magazine. What kind, events may show, unless our State Department is able to pinch out the fuse by timely and decisive action.

As we get it, the situation in Mexico at present shapes up about as follows:

Mexico Hits The Skids Mexican oil production, normally about 130,000 bbls. a day, has been cut to about 65,000, or 50%. Mexican oil is being laboriously exported to Germany, Italy and Japan. There never was any United States market to speak of for Mexican oil. A little Texas oil outfit has contracted to buy some oil from Cardenas—about 100,000 bbls., or \$250,000 worth, according to rumor. Some Mexican oil is being transshipped through Louisiana to foreign countries.

Otherwise, no Mexican oil is coming into this country. Communistic Cardenas is doing his oil business thus far with Fascist Germany and Italy and imperialist Japan—while United States radicals cheer.

As for the people of Mexico, they are twirling down the vicious spiral of depression which we came to know so much about in 1929-33. Liquid capital fled Mexico in huge amounts when Cardenas grabbed the oil properties. Consequently, the peso went down, meaning real costs of living went up. Mexico's entire industrial setup, weak at best, has been badly jolted.

The worst of it is that our State Department's recent note protesting seizures of American-owned farms in Mexico has been represented by the Cardenas Government

Strong, Friendly Action Is Needed to mean that our Government is really in sympathy with Cardenas. So the stable elements in Mexico—the people who want to

keep Mexico in world trade and gradually raise average Mexican standards of living—are afraid to put the screws on Cardenas. If the screws aren't put on Cardenas, he bids fair to ruin the country he thinks he is helping.

The history of similar Mexican crises has been that a strong, unmistakable though friendly word from Washington has stopped many a Mexican President's well meant but misguided attempts to hurry up the evolution of his country. We hope such a word will be uttered in Secretary of State Hull's next note to Cardenas.

There is no thought in all this of going to war with Mexico. You don't kick a problem child's teeth down his throat and batter the little walloper's head against a brick

No War Wanted wall. You try, patiently and firmly, to teach him a few things about getting along in a world of normal people.

But in today's world, and what with the Fascist and imperialist powers inching into Mexican Government and business circles, we do need to keep our defense forces up to scratch. For any emergencies, we need to have the strongest navy in the world—a steel wall behind which, if need be, we can expand our efficient skeleton Army into as powerful a land fighting force as there is in the world.

Mexico Tightens Labor 'Laws,' So Foreign Industry Must Quit

Henry J. Allen Says Deliberate Interference in Mines Is Intended to Force Owners Out, Instead of More Obvious Confiscation

By Henry J. Allen

Following is another in a series of articles by Henry J. Allen, editor of "The Topeka (Kan.) State Journal," on conditions in Mexico as he found them on a recent visit to the country.

One cannot read the labor contracts through which President Lazaro Cardenas expects to absorb the mining properties without realizing the cunning of the new trick which has become known as "the labor squeeze."

The process has grown in its refinements. Two years ago the mine labor contracts contained about 300 qualifications; this year some of them contain 500 specified inhibitions. The net closes around the industry until it becomes just as inevitable a process of confiscation as that of a Presidential decree and much more alarming. The foreign company which loses its property by forced abandonment to labor has no international recourse. Technically, it went into bankruptcy because it couldn't meet perfectly legal labor demands.

This seems to be the deliberate course planned for the labor absorption of the mines, which contain the largest investment of foreign capital in Mexico.

In discussing the theory that a conflict exists between the employing capital and the workers, President Cardenas said recently: "The workers need our help now more than capital does." In this spirit he has given them a cinch.

Experts' Entry Limited

The immigration laws of Mexico have made it impossible for the mining industry to bring into Mexico any foreign technical men with the exception of a few special technicians who are given permission to perform temporary duties with the understanding that they must have a Mexican understudy to whom they will impart their knowledge and experience within a period of six months or a year. At the end of that time the Mexican understudy will carry on the work with the same salary as had been paid the foreigner. They expect to teach a Mexican understudy in six months what it required the American engineer four years to gain in a technological school.

The Mexican technical schools do not graduate sufficient men to fill the technical positions available. Most of the mining graduates prefer "white-collar" jobs in government offices to work the mines. They refuse to undergo the hard training required to make a successful operator. Those who condescend to come with the industry wish to start at the top.

Their Days Numbered

The law defines "confidential employees" as those discharging positions of unusual trust, not members of the union nor subject to the terms of the collective labor contract. The government does not guarantee that a sufficient number of educated Mexicans will be available to meet the technical demands. The number of confidential employees, exempt from labor regulations, never representing more than 3 per cent of the total, becomes a collective bargaining point. The mining companies realize that they must have in any mine or metallurgical plant a minimum assistance of technical intelligence that cannot be surrendered to labor domination. For several years labor management has steadily forced a reduction of the positions held by the companies. They have recently insisted, with a degree of success, on inserting in collective contracts clauses whereby at their request the management must either discharge or discipline "confidential employees." This has created a strain upon the comparatively few confidential employees left in the mining industry and brought it to a ragged edge. I didn't meet a mining superintendent who was not waiting for the ax to fall. They know they cannot continue to operate under the increasing squeezes. They had given a quarter century or more to their companies in Mexico. They have never experienced any trouble with their common labor, except that which had come under the new leadership. They had introduced into their administration the humane laws familiar to us, which included safety devices and hospitalization.

Seniority Law Inflexible

Now they are confronted by new demands which break down their safeguards and paralyze their provisions for protection. One mine superintendent was sweating agony because he could not get rid of some drunken men in charge of the hoists, where the very lives of those underground were involved. The entire attempt of the new contracts is to encroach upon the domain of management. The labor law and practically all the contracts call for apprentices for each trade. Very little incentive exists, because it takes four years to complete the apprenticeship; then the youngster

starts in at the bottom of the seniority line, maybe as a sweeper. The seniority law, by its rigidity, defeats the Mexican nationalistic policy by robbing the youngsters of incentive.

Since Lombardo Toledano has taken over the labor situation a program of definite sabotage has made its appearance. Recent cases have occurred in which labor leaders have instructed workers to slow down and to commit acts of sabotage to render operations unprofitable.

A recent development is to refuse to work overtime, so as to get back into operation important units of a plant which has been shut down for emergency repairs. It has not been possible to satisfy the labor courts with sufficient proof to secure a correction of this evil.

Interference the Idea

The growing reactions of these new contracts all lead in one direction, namely the interference with management to a point where successful operation of the mine becomes impossible.

With the growing restrictions upon the technical and administrative supervision, it isn't difficult for the labor leaders to convert a profit-making mine into a substantial loser. When these unsupportable losses begin to occur, mine owners ask the government for permission to suspend operations as provided in Article 116 of the labor laws, without responsibility on the part of the owners. The owner sets up that the business has become "notoriously and manifestly unprofitable."

The government delays its permission until the owner's resources are exhausted; then his only alternative is to turn the property over to the workmen.

The rules adopted by labor leaders for the "labor squeeze" follow an established course.

The "Squeeze" Routine

As the result of resistance to labor demands there is:

First—A strike.

Second—Declaration by Labor Board that strike is imputable to employer.

Third—Payment of strike wages, regardless of duration of the strike.

The workmen have already taken over a number of the smaller mines. In every instance, the medical and hospital services were the first to be abolished.

A typical case of a "squeeze-out" relates to a mine on the board of which Herbert Hoover was chairman before the World War. A few months ago it formally petitioned the Mexican government for permission to reduce the number of employees. The request was occasioned by the fact that the ore veins were pinching out so rapidly that it no longer could operate the mine profitably with the force then on the pay roll.

The Mexican government sent some of its mine experts to inspect the property. They officially reported that the mine could still be operated profitably with the large force then engaged.

The manager, knowing this not to be the case, sent his staff of technicians out of the country one by one, either on leaves of absence or vacations, until he alone stood on the burning deck. One day an airplane appeared at the property and he boarded it and returned to the United States. By this act, he turned the mine and all its machinery, equipment and stores over to the Mexican government, to do with as it saw fit.

Large Investment Lost

His company had invested something like \$5,000,000 in machinery and equipment during the period of its operation. He accepted this loss philosophically — what really "burned him up" was that he had been forced to leave something like \$300,000 worth of store supplies.

During the life of the mine, the company which owned it had recovered something like \$40,000,000 worth of ore from the property. If it had not been interfered with, the company would have prospected and eventually might have opened up another property equally as valuable, if not even more valuable.

This would have meant employment of hundreds of thousands of men for labor, additional taxes to the Mexican government, additional permanent employment to Mexico and better and more profitable markets for Mexican produce. It was into these things that the owners of the mine put the far greater part of their return from the \$40,000,000 worth of ore that they had recovered.

In a few notable instances the workers who had taken over mines exhausted its ore bodies and then invaded a neighboring mine operated by United States capital and developed ore bodies which they continued to work in spite of the protests of the owners of the invaded mines.

Copyright, 1938, New York Tribune Inc.

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

Copyright, 1938,
New York Tribune Inc.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1938

Mexico to Tell Hull It Won't Halt Seizures

(Continued from page one)

000, was necessitated by their "rebellious attitude" and "pressure on the government," Cardenas asserted.

He said Mexican law gave Mexico all mineral products below the surface of the earth and the government therefore "does not feel obligated to pay them anything but the bare amount of their investments, less depreciation."

A bill will be presented to Congress to prevent long-term concessions in the future to prevent another situation like that involving the oil companies, Cardenas said.

The President told Congress he broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain because the latter demanded special privileges to its nationals and immediate payment for the Agulla Oil Company, one of those expropriated. He said that, after all, Agulla—a Royal Dutch Shell subsidiary, owned chiefly by English and Dutch stockholders—was a Mexican company, incorporated under Mexican law.

The President asserted that present financial conditions "guarantee a prompt return to normalcy." He said the government proposed to pay off its deficit before he leaves office in December, 1940. He reported that the Bank of Mexico's reserves were 129,000,000 pesos and

deposits, 95,000,000 pesos. These, he said, backed an issue of 210,000,000 pesos in notes. (The peso is currently quoted at 19.6 cents.)

U. S. Sales to Mexico Drop

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1 (AP).—Commerce Department statistics showed today that United States exports to Mexico continued to decrease sharply during July. The shipments for the month were valued at \$3,606,000, compared with \$11,008,000 in July, 1937. For the first seven months of this year they totaled \$37,875,000, against \$64,779,000.

Imports from Mexico in July were \$4,606,000, compared with \$4,457,000 in July, 1937; and for the seven-month period, \$32,278,000, against \$39,832,000 for the same part of 1937.

Another article by Henry J. Allen, discussing conditions in Mexico, appears on Page 17.

OPEN
All Day
SATURDAY

Lane Bryant

New York • 1 West 39th Street
Brooklyn • 15 Hanover Place

Cardenas Is a Better Communist Than Russians, Trotsky Declares

Allen Talks to Revolutionary and Finds Mexicans Acutely Conscious of His Presence; Lives With Shabby Retinue in Part of Rivera's Home

Following is another in a series of articles by Henry J. Allen, editor of "The Topeka (Kan.) State Journal," on conditions in Mexico as he found them on a recent visit to the country:

By Henry J. Allen

Wherever I went in Mexico some one brought up the name of Trotsky, of whose presence everybody seems acutely conscious in this critical hour.

Surrounded by plain-clothes men and uniformed policemen, he lives with rather a shabby retinue in part of the home of Diego Rivera, in a suburb of Mexico City.

I had the interesting experience to visit him there. It was raining as I got out of my car in the clouded darkness of the falling sky and darted for a dim opening which looked like a shelter.

I was halted abruptly until I could be looked over by a half dozen armed men; then I was identified by Trotsky's private secretary, and signed a book in what apparently was an improvised room in a corner of a good sized courtyard. It was boarded up with rough pine lumber and answered the purpose as a public reception room. The place was comfortless. Outside you heard the dreary falling of the rain; inside, under the scant lighting of the mean room, the faces looked pallid and cheerless.

If Mexico was trying to give Trotsky a setting that would suggest the Russia of the revolution, she had succeeded with the realism of a perfect host.

I had been invited to visit the former Russian commander in chief at the same time an American seminar, under the guidance of Dr. Hubert Herbig, was to be received. Mr. Trotsky was kind enough to suggest that I could sit through the seminar, before whom he was to discuss the principles of Communism; afterward I could remain for any added questions, if I wished.

It was the usual American seminar—traveling with mixed emotions on long coupon tickets, and going to school to any teacher who would spend time in lecturing to them.

An armed guide took me across a partly flooded courtyard to another improvised room in which the seminar was seated on benches, strangely resembling a class of middle-aged novitiates seeking from this gray exponent of world revolution the quickest answer to economic happiness.

The teacher sat by a plain home-made table; Mrs. Trotsky rested on a bench alongside the unpainted pine paneling of the improvised room. Diego Rivera, the artist, looking more revolutionary than Trotsky, stood throughout the whole evening backed against the wall.

The seminarists had written out for Trotsky a dozen questions, through which he waded with pedagogical gravity. Most of them involved the hair splitting definitions of the Marx doctrines; none touched upon Mexico.

After Trotsky had gone through the discussions with the seminarists, I asked the question I had come there to propound, thus: "Mr. Trotsky, how do you compare the new Communist leader, President Cardenas, with the Communist leaders of Russia?" Trotsky answered, "He is really more advanced than any of them." He followed with a virulent attack upon Stalin, who, he declared, had become a creature of capitalism.

I left the room and splashed out across the pools of water in the unlighted court with a feeling that I was in Russia.

I was reminded frequently, as I looked at parades of workers and listened to labor leaders in the Mexico of Cardenas, of things I had witnessed in the Russia of Trotsky.

This country fairly crackles with revolution. Those circles which have taken their revolutions rather as a matter of course for so many years are now gasping, and asking, "How far will it go?"

Many fear that President Cardenas, with the fervor of a new convert to Communism, might cast the whole die and go to the nationalism of all private property over night. This would produce a resistance on the part of property, army and church that might bring on a par-

allel to the picture in Spain. Of all the possibilities that loom this is the most frightening.

It is natural, of course, that the Communists and Fascists of Europe should, at this hour, be watchful of the developments in Mexico. The rapid advance of the Communistic tendency under Cardenas has stirred the Fascists and delighted the Communists. More than 90 per cent of all the unmixed white people in Mexico, as well as the mestizos, are of Spanish descent. Their minds are filled with the horror of the picture in Spain.

A long time resident of Mexico said to me: "Isn't it easy to visualize the Fascist and Communist nations of Europe making Mexico the next proving ground in their titanic struggle for world domination? For their own part the people of Mexico are so dissimilar to the people of Spain that they would neither initiate nor carry on any such horrible struggle by themselves. But the nations seeking to advance themselves are certainly not above using Mexicans as pawns to further their program. A victory for either European Fascists or Communists south of the Rio Grande would give them a foothold on the American continent for trade and propaganda, for which Mexico would be a most fertile ground."

His question reminded me that I hadn't heard the Monroe Doctrine mentioned for a long time. Through the years of its disuse maybe they have forgotten it.

The United States has never encountered a challenge like this in Mexico before. An entirely new element has entered the picture. A new labor leader, Lombardo Toledano, who regards himself as a brother-under-the-skin to John L. Lewis, has undertaken to organize the Mexican laborer. He is making steady progress.

The new labor law surpasses the Wagner act in the power it gives labor to dominate industry. Toledano talks a great deal about John L. Lewis and exhibits correspondence with which he has been inspired by the American leader. He is now gleeful over the fact that Lewis is coming to visit his Mexican confrere in September.

Among the sensational things Toledano has accomplished through his co-operation with the President has been a program to arm labor and give it military training. Through an "exclusion clause" in the labor contracts which gives the labor leader the power to demand the discharge of any worker who has been expelled from the union, the labor leader has laid a firm grip upon the control of his men. The "exclusion clause" provides that if a worker has been expelled from any union he is black-listed for all time and thereafter unable to obtain employment in Mexico.

Some delay has occurred in the military training of the workers through the silent opposition of the army, which has withheld its co-operation and when ordered to arm and train the workers has given such reluctant obedience as to have called the full success of the movement into question. Nevertheless something over 100,000 of Toledano's workers have already been armed, and drill periodically. A rumor is in circulation that a small group of army generals is threatened by a purge to get rid of those not in full sympathy.

The whole situation, so far as it affects life and property, is stiff with uncertainty. The day I visited the Chamber of Deputies the place bristled with arms. Practically every member of the Chamber wears a pistol. I asked a general of the army, with whom I lunched clandestinely, about this and he said: "I could take a lieutenant and two soldiers and disarm them in half an hour." I asked: "How about these 100,000 armed workers?" He said: "I might have to have three men."

Toledano spent some time in Russia and is a follower of Trotsky.

Copyright, 1938, New York Tribune Inc.

Mexican Oil Workers Distrust Government as Their Employer

Allen Says Majority Disapproves of Confiscation, Fearing Uncertainty of Political Upheavals; Upholds Wages of Private Ownership

Following is another in a series of articles by Henry J. Allen, editor of "The Topeka (Kan.) State Journal," on conditions in Mexico as he found them on a recent visit to the country.

By Henry J. Allen

The Mexican oil workers are not united in the feeling that the confiscation of the industry was good for them, in whose behalf it was alleged to be desirable.

The older and more thoughtful workers would like to see the properties turned back to the owners. They feel they would be safer as employees of the oil companies than they will be as employees of the Mexican government with all the uncertainties of political administration.

They had no grievances against the companies. The more intelligent realize that confiscation was not due to any actual labor troubles but to a deliberate intention on the part of the government to create a situation which could appear to justify the seizure of the properties.

A member of the Board of Labor Conciliation was anxious that I should believe that the confiscation was not due to the oil workers and that they did not approve it. He arranged secretly for me to meet a number of the workers and to talk with each separately in confidence.

Government Failed to Plan

The first man interviewed held a job with the Shell company, for which he had worked twenty-two years, and occupied a place of some trust. He discussed with common sense the multiplying difficulties.

"In the first place," said he, "the government didn't do any planning before taking over the plants and we now find ourselves short on nearly everything needed to operate the industry. We lack spare parts of every kind. We have no materials left. Our mechanics are gone and we have no way to make replacements which the owners always brought in from their general depots. We are even out of tank car wheels. Our foreign chemists are gone and there is no one left to teach the workers. The government has found that putting untrained politicians in experts' positions and multiplying their pay doesn't make experts of them.

"We can't get outside help. The government sent representatives recently to the oil show in Oklahoma, but they were not able to buy anything from the established supply houses. Our cracking plants are breaking down and people are complaining about the quality of the gasoline. There isn't a gallon of gasoline fit for airplanes. If the present situation continues the government operation will not last beyond next December."

Gasoline Called Poor

An echo of discontent came from a member of the taxicab drivers' union. "The gasoline made by the government isn't good; it lacks octane content," he said. "The quantity of gas which once ran my taxi a whole day now gives out in three hours." Every one is complaining; the private-car owners are protesting at the gas stations.

This drivers' union, affiliated with the C. T. M., includes bus drivers and numbers over 9,000 members in Mexico City alone.

One worker was hopeful in a degree. Said he: "Our leader Lombardo Toledano tells us not to worry, because he had assurances from John L. Lewis that he can send us all the experts, spare parts and even refineries we shall need." This worker admitted that he would like to see the old companies back on the job. From them he was getting 400 pesos a month; now his government pay is 500 pesos, but he isn't receiving it regularly. They are taking a lot of it for labor assessments. He stands a 15 per cent check-off to the Toledano union. He has lost the medical service which both he and his family enjoyed under the company management. Now, any medicine costing over 12 pesos is paid for by the worker, who no longer gets paid for sick leave and holidays.

Saving Fund Taken

"When I count it all up I get less than I did. My saving fund, built up under the oil companies, has been taken over by the government. I may never be able to collect it and" this worker added, growing really worried, "some day the government may send some deputy to take my job over for himself."

He touched upon a growing concern. The most highly paid administration places are being given to political favorites, often entirely inexperienced in the oil industry. Now they are getting down to the better jobs held by men grown useful by long service.

This worker's reference to his uncertainty over being able to collect his saving fund recalls the fact that when the decree of confiscation was put in force the government took over all company property including houses, offices, tools, pipe lines. The government likewise took over the bank balances, including the savings and hospital funds held in the interest of the employees. It was an unprecedented act, as these properties were not mentioned in the expropriation decree.

A revealing viewpoint came from a smart young man who had a good job in the sales department of the Shell company in Mexico City.

He began by grumbling about the government's "awkward method" of confiscation. "Then you are not for expropriation," I remarked.

"Sure, I was for it," he replied, "but I'm against the way the government pulled it off. Here we are needing every kind of supply; if the government had waited only a few days we would have received a large shipment costing 800,000 pesos. It had been ordered, but because the government didn't watch its chances the company had time to countermand the order before the government could get its hands on these needed supplies. And that isn't all," he said with growing bitterness. "In a short time the companies would have paid in 4,500,000 pesos for their taxes. These were coming due in a few days, and the companies had the money ready. The government lost it by not having sense enough to know what was going on."

The young patriot also found fault with the government for not giving

to the workers the 26,000,000 pesos wage increase for which they were striking as a part of the pre-confiscation set-up. "Instead of giving us 26,000,000 pesos to which the government said we were entitled, it gave us only 400,000 pesos, and then took away most of this by extra assessments, loss of sick benefits and vacation pay," he added.

Wages were not at the bottom of the so-called oil disputes. They constituted only a talking point in the plan to confiscate.

The oil industry was paying the highest wages in Mexico.

Wage Scale Raised

The annual review of the Mexican Department of Labor gives statistics to that effect. Moreover, since the period of these figures, which represent the industry for 1935, the entire wage scale in the petroleum industry was raised approximately 26 per cent for 1936 and 1937, making the oil workers of Mexico the most fortunate perhaps in all Latin America. This wage scale presents only a part of the picture. In addition to the basic wages, the oil companies, as well as other large industries of foreign capital, furnished many necessities free.

Included were medical and hospital care for the entire family of the worker or cash allowance in lieu thereof, fuel and light, education, transportation, recreation facilities and other benefits such as company contributions to savings funds, as well as wage payments covering Sundays, holidays and other rest periods when no work was done.

When the labor syndicates presented their impossible demands in 1937 the companies offered to raise wages and increase benefits by 20,000,000 pesos a year over labor costs in 1936. When the labor leaders turned this down and called a strike on May 28, 1937, public sympathy turned against the oil workers so strongly that the labor leaders called off the strike and shifted their tactics by instituting an economic suit.

Companies' Plea Refused

The oil companies did not object to the suit. They knew that a full examination of their records would knock out the contention of "fantastic profits" played up by the labor syndicate orators and that an impartial examination would reveal the net earnings during ten years, 1927-'36, averaged slightly over 4 per cent on the basis of depreciated capital.

The companies asked for a hearing before the entire board. The Mexican labor law expressly guaranteed them this. The law reads: "Any industry engaged in commerce in more than one state shall have its disputes heard before the full labor board."

The government refused this and provided instead a carefully picked tribunal. Over the objection of the oil companies they then supplanted the regular chairman of the board by a special selection.

This hand-picked labor board merely set the stage and raised the curtain on the theater of malice which was to end in confiscation.

Cardenas Picked Board

President Lazaro Cardenas picked a commission of three to find the facts of the oil industry. Two were assistant secretaries of government executive departments. The real work was done by Professor Silva Herzog, the third member, an avowed Communist. His report was full of hostility not only to the oil companies but to the entire capitalist system.

A fair sample of judicial quality is contained in a statement of the special chairman of the Labor Board. In refusing the oil companies the privilege to ask questions touching Herzog's pretended findings, the chairman said "the government authorities cannot be questioned."

These kangaroo court tactics created just what Cardenas was playing for in the strike which he had abandoned. It gave him the verdict in an economic suit as provided by law. This created for him a pretense upon which his decree of expropriation, in itself an obvious violation of the Mexican Constitution, might be given public support by a befuddled public.

The Supreme Court is Cardenas-made. It would hold with him in whatever direction he wishes to go.

Hull's Stand on Issue

Secretary of State Cordell Hull has said in a strong utterance that he will stand for the strict fulfillment of the international law between nations. The fulfillment of the international law and the treaties between the United States and Mexico would mean that Mexico must either pay for the stolen oil wells, refineries, pipe lines and all physical properties or give them back to the owner with proper compensation for damages.

If Mr. Hull convinces Mexico that he intends to fight by every wise means the establishment in Mexico and Latin America of the get-rich-quick scheme of confiscation, he might find the Supreme Court of Mexico finally responsive. It might step in and save the Cardenas face by holding the confiscation illegal.

The situation cannot stand still. Mexico's immediate days will be full of growing demoralization, which might easily lead to a Communistic blow-off and the attempted nationalization of all private property. It might be quietly adjusted by the Supreme Court decision, or might pass out, as so often it has before, in a palace revolution which would change the leadership, but not the form of the government.

Copyright, 1938, New York Tribune Inc.

Hull Gets Mexican Reply To Protest on Seizures

Secretary Is Silent Pending Publication Tomorrow

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2 (UP).—Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, today received the Mexican reply to his second protest over the expropriation of American-owned farm lands, but declined to discuss it pending translation and study.

The note, which will be made public Sunday night by agreement with Mexico, was given to American Ambassador Josephus Daniels at Mexico City and transmitted to the State Department.

ish Says Hull Is 3 Years Late in Protest to Mexico

Asserts Secretary Is to Blame for Present Predicament

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3.—Failure of the Roosevelt administration to register protest three years ago when President Cardenas first began the seizure of American holdings in Mexico, Representative Hamilton Fish jr., Republican, of New York said today, is responsible for the present predicament of Cordell Hull, Secretary of State.

"I am truly sorry for Secretary Hull, who very properly asked the Mexican government to pay for confiscated lands and ranches of American citizens but instead is rebuked by the emphatic statement of President Cardenas that the seizures would be continued regardless of payment," said Representative Fish.

"The Administration at Washington is largely to blame for not protesting vigorously three years ago. The delay was unfortunate and gave color to the claim that the New Deal at Washington was sympathetic to the plans for a socialized state in Mexico.

"It is safe to say that Secretary Hull will not stay rebuked for long, but will follow up his demands for indemnification of American property in a more forceful manner, in which he will have the support of the Republican party. If Mexican communism is permitted to seize the properties of American citizens with impunity the practice will spread like wildfire to Cuba, Chili and all over Latin America and our trade relations with South and Central America, the natural market for our goods, will be smashed."

Mexico's Cheap Confiscated Oil Finds Only Tokio-Berlin Market

Henry J. Allen Says Independents Spurn Supply Taken From Their Big Competitors, a Shock to Officials Who Foresaw Quick Sales

Following is another in a series of articles by Henry J. Allen, editor of "The Topeka (Kan.) State Journal," on conditions in Mexico as he found them on a recent visit to the country.

By Henry J. Allen

The self-righteous exaltation of the Mexican government over the oil seizure received its first shock when it was discovered there was no market for the oil.

The Mexican officials had supposed the independents would grab the chance to buy at a special price the confiscated product of the foreign oil companies involved in the Mexican operation.

The rebuff "We do not buy stolen oil," must have struck President Lazaro Cardenas like the judgment of an unknown world. His Communist advisers had praised him so unstintedly for his progressive piracy that he may have forgotten there are still some moral prejudices in well ordered society against the violation of the Eighth Commandment. It is possible that the oil companies themselves were a little surprised at the unanimity with which their independent competitors had joined in the boycott of stolen oil.

It is forgotten that the United States oil investors are on a stronger international basis in Mexico than most of the foreign capital. Even a casual examination of the record shows that originally they went into Mexico at repeated and urgent invitation of the Mexican government. They had, moreover, the most important official backing at home.

The Democratic platform in 1920 recognized "the importance of the acquisition by Americans of additional sources of supply of petroleum and other minerals" and declared that such acquisition both at home and abroad should be fostered and encouraged.

The United States Geological Survey urged the American pioneer spirit to lead American capital and American engineering to seek new sources of petroleum supplies in foreign fields for the benefit of the "America of tomorrow." This was in February, 1920.

The same year the Federal Trade Commission in a report to Congress urged that "American oil companies be given all diplomatic support in obtaining and operating producing property" in Mexico.

The United States Fuel Administration recommended that "the State Department of the United States government should exert every effort to protect its citizens in securing petroleum wells and concessions for petroleum development in foreign countries and in working these properties and concessions after they had secured them."

Coolidge Gave Warning

The State Department instructed its diplomatic and consular offices to carry out this recommendation.

The Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Oil Conservation Board in 1920 again urged the need of "protecting our future supply of petroleum by developing, under American capital, the promising fields in Mexico and South America."

In 1927 President Calvin Coolidge called attention to the growing need of vast quantities of oil and gasoline for automobiles, "gas" engines and oil-burning furnaces. Said he, "if these products are to be kept within reasonable price, which is important to a great body of our citizens, our people who go abroad to develop new fields ought to have the support and encouragement of our government. The person and property of a citizen are a part of the general domain of the nation, even when abroad. There is a distinct and binding obligation on the part of self-respecting governments to afford protection to the persons and properties of these citizens wherever they may be." In 1934 Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes said: "American oil companies operating in foreign countries should receive such consideration as is compatible with the interest of domestic producers."

Therefore, the American curbstone commentators who say "the oil companies took their chances in Mexico in return for the profits" have missed an established body of official opinion and the assurance of government protection which grew up with it.

The apparent abandonment of this policy "even for the time being" brings a sense of tragedy to any observer who looks today at the stricken port of Tampico and the neighboring scene of an oil activity that once gave strength to the industrial life of Mexico, labor to many thousands of its citizens, taxes by the millions of dollars to its government and sent the useful product of these great wells into the world's activities.

It is now a badly managed, rapidly declining property. It is not being maintained; no new explorations are being made. In a year under the swift deterioration of incapable ad-

ministration it will not be worth stealing.

Visitors are not allowed on the properties. The former owners are barred from the premises and men look at it from a distance with about the same emotions as those aroused by a great physical catastrophe like flood or fire.

The harbor, once a busy scene, haunted by ships of the world, is now a place of ghosts. Mexican workers putter about in an atmosphere that feels like a perpetual vacation. Two or three tankers, one from Germany, two from Japan, all loading oil, which they have bought on a cash-and-trade basis. Germany is trading road machinery and other supplies for 60 per cent of the account and paying the balance in cash. Japan has a similar contract on cash-and-consumers' goods.

A trader named Davis, with a damaged character in the courts of the United States and Europe, is acting as a sales agent for the stolen oil. Outside the trades with Japan and Germany, he has met with little success.

No One Wants Business

The world for the moment is amply supplied with oil from new explorations and no one wishes to do business with Mexico. Reputable institutions have not learned how to deal in safety with Communists. The Mexican oil will remain on the international blacklist just as has the Soviet production of the Caspian fields in Russia.

Meanwhile, Mexico's international trade is drying up. The life that made a stirring picture at Vera Cruz is sinking into tropical somnolence.

Germans and Japanese in increasing numbers are drifting into Mexico City to look over the possibilities of supplanting American activities.

Meanwhile, the effect of the unchecked confiscation of American property is jeopardizing all American trade and investments throughout Latin America.

Under the blanket expropriation law of 1936, which could be interpreted to cover the seizure of practically anything in Mexico, Cardenas has been carrying on a gradual program of confiscating foreign capital. The oil companies were not the first foreign institutions to be seized; they were merely the most valuable. In 1937, when Cardenas confiscated the Mexican National Railways and turned them over to the workers, the shock was absorbed by the fact that the American owners who had invested \$240,000,000 in the properties, and were \$258,000,000 in arrears of interest, had become so accustomed to bad luck in Mexico that they were immune from the excitement of further disaster. They observed the ruin of their railway properties under the incompetence of workers' administration with a hopeless feeling that nothing in the way of United States protection is going to be done about it. The State Department hasn't even written a note about the railways, so far as the public knows.

Meanwhile the first nervous apprehension with which the Mexican officials reviewed the seizure of the oil is passing. In the first days of the excitement they were voluble in their assurances that they would pay for the confiscated properties. They began a drive to raise a people's fund for liquidation. The President's wife and other ladies of the Cabinet melted their silverware, contributed their jewelry and headed parades urging all to contribute that Mexico might "live to be free."

Finally, as no danger seemed to threaten from Washington, the parades ceased. The harvest of finger rings and cheap trinkets going into the oil drive dropped off. The drive was abandoned. Less than one million pesos was realized, or less than 1 per cent of the total sought. However, it was not tendered to the oil companies as an earnest of good intention. Everything seemed so calm at Washington that the Mexican officials withheld the million pesos and announced that it would be wiser to spend the money on highway construction.

Copyright, 1938, New York Tribune Inc.

U. S., MEXICO NEAR BREAK AFTER DEFI

By International News Service

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5.—Diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico were nearer rupture today than at any time in the past 15 years. Mexico's bold and defiant rejection of American demands that its citizens be recompensed for lands seized from them was the cause.

The United States, it was understood, will refuse unequivocally to accept Mexico's position on its asserted right to confiscate American-owned properties without provision being made for prompt payment.

The United States probably will find it necessary to resort to heavy economic penalties against the Cardenas government unless it changes its position to one considered satisfactory to Washington.

DEFI HURLED TO U. S.

In its note to the United States last night, the Mexican government hurled a defi on two major American demands. These were:

1. Refusal to meet the American demand that a fund be set up in escrow pending settlement through international arbitration of the claims of some 200 small American agricultural land owners whose property has been confiscated since 1927.
2. The outright rejection of American demands that further expropriation of American properties cease until assurance is given that prompt, just and adequate payment will be made for lands taken by Mexico.

In the light of these two points, there was no doubt in informed circles here that the United States would reject the Mexican note in its entirety.

STATE DEPT. SILENT

Mexico's defiance, in the view of the United States' long efforts to reach a reasonable settlement through arbitration, left the relations of the two countries in an uncertain and chaotic condition. The State Department received the note with official silence.

Mexico's domestic prosperity is based almost wholly on foreign sale of oil and silver. It has virtually no other exports of importance. In the past the United States has been its chief market for these two commodities. In an effort to be a good neighbor the United States last December agreed to make huge monthly purchases of silver bullion at a price well above the market to keep the weak Mexican peso from tottering and plunging the whole country into an economic morass with the certain result of a much lowered scale of living.

ECONOMIC CLUB

Should the Cardenas government continue to decline to show a reasonable attitude toward what the United States considers lenient and just demands for payment of property seized from its nationals further purchases of the two major exports by this country will probably cease.

The United States does not, it was learned, feel that the Mexican attitude threatens to wreck the "good neighbor" policy in relations to the other 19 Latin-American republics.

If worse comes to worse and economic retaliation becomes the only method of replying to Mexican defiance, the Cardenas government, in Washington's eyes, will become an "outlaw" and relations with the other Latin-American countries will continue on the same cordial terms as hitherto without this government making any reversal of the policy of the "good neighbor."

Soviet Mexico on Stalin's Model Pictured as Cardenas Objective

Allen Says Communism, Not Merely Confiscation of Property, Is Issue Below Border and Asks How U. S. Will Like Such a 'Good Neighbor'

Following is the last in a series of articles by Henry J. Allen, editor of "The Topeka (Kan.) State Journal," on conditions in Mexico as he found them on a recent visit to the country.

By Henry J. Allen

The Mexican question is something more than the deliberate stealing of the mines, ranches, plantations and oil wells of Americans. It deals, finally, with the character of the neighborhood we are to suffer south of our border, under the "good neighbor" policy.

Forty years ago we went to war with Spain for the wholly sentimental cause of the Cuban reconcentrados. No property confiscations were involved. The sacred rights of no American had been trampled upon. Our emotions were stirred by the starving misery which the Spanish general, "Butcher" Weyler, was forcing upon the native population.

A United States Senator (Thurston, of Nebraska) visited Cuba with his beautiful and social-minded wife. She was deeply moved by the horrors, contracted a fever as the result of her work amongst the sick natives, and came home to die.

A few days later her poignant husband arose in the Senate and said, "I speak by command of silent lips." He drew a haunting picture of the perishing reconcentrados and the cause of liberty for which they were dying, almost within sight of our shores.

Peon the Innocent Bystander

We went sobbing into war to clean up our front door yard in the Caribbean. We were concerned about the desirability of a worthy neighborhood. It was a moving of those senses which make the words "good neighbor" internationally comprehensible. We just didn't happen to have a phrase maker in office at that time.

Today there is in Mexico something of the same indifference to the Indian peon, who constitutes 80 per cent of the population, as characterized the feeling of the Spaniards toward the Cubans. He is expected to live under any economic emergencies which are created by political cabals. No revolutions are called for him. He is always the innocent bystander, the submerged eight-tenths of the people, living in confused expectation of another palace shake-up in Mexico City. Out of the last fifteen presidents of Mexico, only two have served out their terms in peace.

For the first time, however, something political emerges that is new in Mexico. A stoical Indian is president. With no particular background of preparation, he came into the situation from the army. President Calles had made him the presidential protege. Calles, who was right about a great many things, guessed wrong on Cardenas and pays the penalty today as an exile, gazing unhappily over the border from southern California at the revolution which hourly grows more realistic.

Looks and Acts the Indian

Cardenas looks the Indian. He is the stillest man I've ever seen. They tell me he can sit hours without moving a muscle. Those who know him say that he has been sold these Communistic ideals and methods. He would not have thought of them himself. During the four years some one has been systematically busy establishing the Russian picture, which has entranced him.

After I had talked to him about his program at Yucatan and La Laguna, I was convinced that they belonged somewhat to the realm of pseudo spiritual emotions, under the spell of which imperfectly educated economists often fall in the political world. After I had investigated these and other projects I was convinced that President Cardenas could not possibly realize how completely they have failed in every result.

Whoever is responsible for his planning has done a thorough job of copying Russia in many respects. Their six-year plan will not pan out even as well as did Russia's five-year plan.

The so-called educational program is particularly revealing. Every Mexican schoolteacher must sign a contract agreeing "to teach socialistic education and to spread, without any mental reservation, the principles of Socialism, for which the

national government stands." The teacher also must affirm that he is not a member of any religious sect. In some of the twenty-eight states the determination to liquidate religion is even more drastic. They provide that the teacher shall declare himself an atheist.

The Minister of Education has said: "We shall install a socialistic education to prepare for the final abolition of the capitalistic system and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Church Schools Seized

Most of the school buildings were confiscated from the Church, as they were in Russia.

I was struck by the resemblance of the school texts to those adopted in Russia. One of the elementary readers has a chapter on "How to Foment a Strike."

All through Latin America in the last few weeks Cardenas has sent emissaries preaching the rewards of confiscation.

In July, on an anniversary, he boasted that he had sent money to aid the Communist government in Spain.

Since most of the Latin Americans have great sums of foreign capital invested, confiscation is an appealing doctrine when presented by an earnest man who sanctifies it as a social program.

It is easy to guess who taught him in this—Trotsky. The world revolutionist under Lenin was invited by Cardenas to make his asylum in Mexico. Diego Rivera, the artist, who marches at the head of the revolutionary parades in Mexico City, shares his house with Trotsky.

Lombardo Toledano, who went to Russia to study the Soviet system, and who is a follower of Trotsky, has taken over the labor situation. By the aid of Cardenas he has created the labor front and is in complete domination of the workers. He can say who shall be employed in every industry and occupation. He can blacklist any worker. The contracts now being presented in industry give him complete authority over the hiring and the firing, outside a very limited list of experts, known as "confidential employees" in the places calling for technical assistance. This list he is constantly cutting down by providing that Mexican "understudies" shall take the place of foreign experts and be under his command.

Workers Being Armed

He is the unchallenged labor dictator, gradually arming the workers, putting on revolutionary demonstrations, and speeding toward the day.

Other Mexican presidents have taken sketchy forays into the domain of confiscation. There are probably a thousand notes from our State Department protesting abuses of American capital; but Cardenas has gone at confiscation with a sweep which indicates his complete conversion to a fixed purpose. He intends to proceed just as rapidly as his "good neighbor" north of the border can absorb the shocks.

Meanwhile we do not need to worry about the response of the Mexican peons. Their attitude is not important. Cardenas is playing for the response of the Communists of the world, with emphasis on Latin America. He is dreaming of a Soviet union in the Western Hemisphere. He hopes for a gradual accomplishment, taking advantage of our absence, of a foreign policy on the subject, and adjusting Mexico to the nationalization of property as rapidly as possible.

He doesn't really fear us. He actually believes he has the sympathy of President Roosevelt. He uses many of the same words and draws parallels. He has said repeatedly that he is doing in Mexico what Roosevelt is trying to do in the United States.

This all casts the problem into a different mold. We are not dealing with confiscation of American property! We are dealing with Communism, and the determination of our foreign policy must be upon what we are going to do about a Soviet government in Mexico.

We can feel sure that every radical in western Europe and Russia is looking to Mexico and wondering if there is anything in the foreign policy of the United States that would interfere with a new proletarian heaven below the border.

9/6/38

TUESDAY

LOS ANGELES EVENING BL

SEEK U. S. STAND ON MEX. LAND GRAB

226

By International News Service

WASHINGTON, Sept. 6.—The Mexican government today endeavored to determine officially what action the United States will take in reply to its bold rejection of American demands that immediate payment be made for property seized from American landowners.

Mexican Ambassador Francisco Castillo Najera called on Secretary of State Hull and conferred with him for nearly an hour. Afterward Najera said that conversations will continue in a few days. Hull did not hand him a new note, he said, nor was there an official indication that a formal reply will be forthcoming.

In its latest note Mexico refused the American demands that funds be set up in escrow pending arbitration to determine the value of the seized lands, declined flatly to guarantee payment and rejected this government's request that further expropriation of land cease pending guarantee of payment.

The State Department received the Mexican note in silence and has declined official comment. However, in authoritative circles it was indicated the note is unsatisfactory in its entirety and that unless Mexico accedes to the American demands economic reprisals will be exacted, with even the possibility of severance of diplomatic relations.

New York World-Telegram

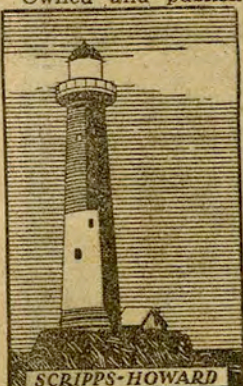
AND THE EVENING MAIL

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER.

ROY W. HOWARD, President and Editor; LEE B. WOOD, Executive Editor, MERLIN H. AYLESWORTH, Publisher; N. S. MACNEISH, Business Manager

Phone BARclay 7-3211.

Owned and published daily (except Sunday) by New York World-Telegram Corporation. Main office, 125 Barclay Street. Branch office, 147 West 42nd Street, corner Broadway (Room 204).



"Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way."

Member of United Press, Associated Press, Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, NEA Service, Inc.; Newspaper Information Service, which organizations retain exclusive rights to all news and features credited to them. Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations. The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper.

Subscription rate by mail for New York World-Telegram in the United States (outside of New York City), one year, \$12.00.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1938.

Whither Mexico?

The abortive rebellion of a small group of so-called Nazis in Chile seems to have been put down without much difficulty. But it should not be dismissed as something without importance. Not so long ago there was a Brazilian coup d'etat in which rightists and leftists were liquidated, at least for the moment. These events, plus others of a similar nature, indicate that the cyclonic disturbances which clashing ideologies have produced in Europe are not without effect in the Western Hemisphere.

For that reason the growing friction between the United States and Mexico has more than the usual significance. Ever since President Lazaro Cardenas sent ex-President Calles into exile a couple of years ago because the latter was not taking over foreign holdings fast enough to suit him Mexico has been trending more and more leftward.

Today, apparently taking a leaf out of Soviet Russia's 1917 notebook, the Cardenas government seems determined to go the limit in confiscation of foreign property. Anyhow, it is very difficult to escape that impression after reading the reply to Secretary Hull's note asking payment for American-owned farm lands.

The United States has never questioned Mexico's right to expropriate any American property within her borders. It has merely demanded effective compensation for the properties taken, indicating a willingness to accept arbitration by an inter-American agency. In all the history of international relations it would be difficult to find a fairer or more neighborly proposition.

To the American proposals, however, Mexico replied, in effect, that she was now unable to pay. Whereupon Secretary Hull quite naturally suggested the postponement of further expropriations. Meanwhile, he also proposed, she might set aside funds with which to assure payment of whatever sum might eventually be agreed upon. Mexico accepts arbitration, but makes it clear that expropriations will continue and seems entirely to disregard the principle of "effective compensation."

* * *

For the past two years President Cardenas has been promising the Mexican masses Elysium by turning over to them the national wealth. Now he must make good or he will be in trouble.

Thus in the dispute between the United States and Mexico things are not entirely what they seem. This was recently made pretty clear by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of Mexico's leftist labor organization, of which President Cardenas is, in a sense, an instrument. He admitted that just before the seizure of the British and American oil properties the companies' final offer to the workers "would have been a victory for labor over capital within the Mexican oil industry. But by refusing the offer (and seizing the property) it was a great victory of the Mexican people against foreign imperialism."

The issue thus raised is of immense importance to the United States. Not only is this country's good-neighbor policy involved but also the Monroe Doctrine. For, should Mexico confiscate foreign property and the idea spread to other Latin-American countries, strong powers across the Atlantic might not take it lying down.

Today, says a United Press dispatch, Mexico "is in the throes of the worst depression it has ever known in modern peace-time."

... Foreign trade has fallen off 30 to 50 per cent. ... Thousands are unemployed. ...

Many who have jobs are having a hard time trying to make ends meet. ... Many concerns

people make no attempt to meet their business financial obligations." And so on.

The United States, when younger, had to

depend largely upon foreign capital to get started. Mexico ditto. One of these days the poor Mexican masses may wake up to find that they have been exploited and betrayed less by "foreign imperialism"—disgraceful as that has been at times—than by their own short-sighted leaders.

TRADUCCION DEL NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM

Sept. 7 de 1938

HASTA DONDE MEXICO?

La abortiva rebelión de un pequeño grupo de llamados Nazis en Chile parece haber sido aplacada sin mucha dificultad. Pero este hecho no debe descartarse como algo sin importancia. No hace mucho hubo un golpe de estado en el que derechistas e izquierdistas fueron liquidados, cuando menos por el momento. Estos acontecimientos, más otros de igual naturaleza, los disturbios siclónicos que las ideologías encontradas han producido en Europa no dejan de tener efecto en el Emisferio Occidental.

Por esa razón la creciente fricción entre los Estados Unidos y México tiene más significación de la usual. Desde que el Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas mandó al ex-Presidente Calles al exilio hace dos años porque éste no estaba quitando propiedades extranjeras con la suficiente rapidez para satisfacerlo, México ha estado inclinándose más y más hacia la izquierda.

Hoy, aparentemente habiendo arrancado una oja del libro de apuntes de la Rusia Soviet de 1917, el Gobierno de Cárdenas parece estar determinado de ir hasta el límite en las expropiaciones de propiedades extranjeras. De todas maneras, es muy difícil de pasar desapercibida esa impresión después de leer la contestación a la nota del Secretario Hull en la que pide el pago de las tierras agrícolas pertenecientes a americanos.

Los Estados Unidos nunca ha puesto en tela de duda el derecho que asiste a México para expropiar cualquier propiedad americana dentro de sus fronteras. Simplemente ha exigido compensación efectiva por las propiedades tomadas, indicando estar dispuesto a aceptar el arbitraje por una agencia inter-americana. En toda la historia de relaciones internacionales, sería difícil encontrar una proposición más justa o más urbana.

A las proposiciones americanas, no obstante, México contestó, en efecto, que por ahora no podía pagar. Por lo que, el Secretario Hull, como era natural sugirió que se pospusieran las expropiaciones en lo futuro. Mientras tanto, él también propuso, que México separara fondos con qué asegurar el pago de la suma que eventualmente y de común acuerdo se fijara. México acepta el arbitraje, pero dice claramente que las expropiaciones continuarán y parece desdenar enteramente el principio de "compensación efectiva".

En los últimos dos años el Presidente Cárdenas ha estado ofreciendo el Paraíso a las masas mexicanas entregando por medio de la entrega a ellos de la riqueza nacional. Ahora él tiene que cumplir ó tendrá dificultades.

Así pues, en la disputa entre los Estados Unidos y México las cosas no están enteramente como lo aparentan. Este hecho fué aclarado recientemente por Vicente Lombardo Toledano, jefe de la organización izquierdista de trabajadores de México, de la cual el Pre-

2.

sidente Cárdenas es, en cierto modo, un instrumento. El admitió que poco antes de la expropiación de las propiedades Británicas y Americanas la oferta final de las compañías petroleras a los trabajadores "hubiera sido una victoria para los trabajadores sobre el capital dentro de la industria petrolera de México". "Pero reusando la oferta (y apoderandose de las propiedades) esta fué una gran victoria del pueblo mexicano en contra del imperialismo extranjero".

La cuestion creada en esta forma es de inmensa importancia para los Estados Unidos. No solamente se afecta la política del buen vecino sino que tambien la Doctrina Monroe. Pues, si -- México confisca propiedades extrajeras y la idea cunde en otros paises de la America Latina, las fuertes potencias del otro lado del Atlantico, quizá no ~~temen~~ acepten esto con los brazos cruzados.

El dia de hoy, dice un despacho de la Prensa Unida, México "está en la agonía de la peor depresión que haya conocido en los tiempos modernos de paz... El comercio con el extranjero ha bajado de un 30 a un 50 por ciento... Millares de personas se encuentran sin empleo... Muchos de los que están empleados tienen dificultades para hacer que les alcance lo que ganan... Muchas negociaciones y gentes han dejado de tratar de hacer frente a sus diversas obligaciones". Y etc. etc.

menos/ Los Estados Unidos cuando era más nuevo, tuvo qué depender en gran parte del capital extranjero para comensar. México igualmente. Uno de estos dias las pobres masas mexicanas pueden despertar y descubrir que ellos han sido/explotados y traisionados ~~****~~ por el "imperialismo extranjero" que a veces esto fué vergonzoso, que por sus propios líderes sin visión.

TRADUCCION DEL NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM
Sept. 7 de 1938

HASTA DONDE MEXICO?

La abortiva rebelión de un pequeño grupo de llamados Nazis en Chile parece haber sido aplacada sin mucha dificultad. Pero este hecho no debe descartarse como algo sin importancia. No hace mucho hubo un golpe de estado en el que derechistas e izquierdistas fueron liquidados, cuando menos por el momento. Estos acontecimientos, más otros de igual naturaleza, los disturbios ciclónicos que las ideologías encontradas han producido en Europa no dejan de tener efecto en el Emisferio Occidental.

Por esa razón la creciente fricción entre los Estados Unidos y México tiene más significación de la usual. Desde que el Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas mandó al ex-Presidente Calles al exilio hace dos años porque éste no estaba quitando propiedades extranjeras con la suficiente rapidez para satisfacerlo, México ha estado inclinándose más y más hacia la izquierda.

Hoy, aparentemente habiendo arrancado una oja del libro de apuntes de la Rusia Soviet de 1917, el Gobierno de Cárdenas parece estar determinado de ir hasta el límite en las expropiaciones de propiedades extranjeras. De todas maneras, es muy difícil de pasar desapercibida esa impresión después de leer la contestación a la nota del Secretario Hull en la que pide el pago de las tierras agrícolas pertenecientes a americanos.

Los Estados Unidos nunca ha puesto en tela de duda el derecho que asiste a México para expropiar cualquier propiedad americana dentro de sus fronteras. Simplemente ha exigido compensación efectiva por las propiedades tomadas, indicando estar dispuesto a aceptar el arbitraje por una agencia inter-americana. En toda la historia de relaciones internacionales, sería difícil encontrar una proposición más justa o más urbana.

A las proposiciones americanas, no obstante, México contestó, en efecto, que por ahora no podía pagar. Por lo que, el Secretario Hull, como era natural sugirió que se pospusieran las expropiaciones en lo futuro. Mientras tanto, él también propuso, que México separara fondos con qué asegurar el pago de la suma que eventualmente y de común acuerdo se fijara. México acepta el arbitraje, pero dice claramente que las expropiaciones continuarán y parece desdenar enteramente el principio de "compensación efectiva".

En los últimos dos años el Presidente Cárdenas ha estado ofreciendo el Paraíso a las masas mexicanas entregando por medio de la entrega a ellos de la riqueza nacional. Ahora él tiene que cumplir o tendrá dificultades.

Así pues, en la disputa entre los Estados Unidos y México las cosas no están enteramente como lo aparentan. Este hecho fué aclarado recientemente por Vicente Lombardo Toledano, jefe de la organización izquierdista de trabajadores de México, de la cual el Pre-

2.

sidente Cárdenas es, en cierto modo, un instrumento. El admitió que poco antes de la expropiación de las propiedades Británicas y Americanas la oferta final de las compañías petroleras a los trabajadores "hubiera sido una victoria para los trabajadores sobre el capital dentro de la industria petrolera de México". "Pero reusando la oferta (y apoderandose de las propiedades) esta fué una gran victoria del pueblo mexicano en contra del imperialismo extranjero".

La cuestion creada en esta forma es de inmensa importancia para los Estados Unidos. No solamente se afecta la política del buen vecino sino que tambien la Doctrina Monroe. Pues, si -- México confisca propiedades extrajeras y la idea cunde en otros paises de la America Latina, las fuertes potencias del otro lado del Atlantico, quizá no ~~temen~~ acepten esto con los brazos cruzados.

El dia de hoy, dice un despacho de la Prensa Unida, México "está en la agonía de la peor depresión que haya conocido en los tiempos modernos de paz... El comercio con el extranjero ha bajado de un 30 a un 50 por ciento... Millares de personas se encuentran sin empleo... Muchos de los que están empleados tienen dificultades para hacer que les alcance lo que ganan... Muchas negociaciones y gentes han dejado de tratar de hacer frente a sus diversas obligaciones". Y etc. etc.

menos/ Los Estados Unidos cuando era más nuevo, tuvo qué depender en gran parte del capital extranjero para comensar. México igualmente. Uno de estos dias las pobres masas mexicanas pueden despertar y descubrir que ellos han sido/explotados y traisionados ~~por~~ por el "imperialismo extranjero" que a veces esto fué vergonzoso, que por sus propios líderes sin visión.

Mexico—a Problem By Hugh S. Johnson

N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAPH

SEPT 12, 1938

BETHANY BEACH, Del., Sept. 12.—What are we going to do about Mexico? President Cardenas has burned his last bridge behind him so far as any retreat toward the position of our State Department is concerned. He insists on the right to take any foreign-owned property in Mexico. He admits no duty to pay for it. If ever a protesting nation was told to go and jump in the lake, he told us that in his speech last Saturday.



Few of our people want to rush into war to protect any American's dollars invested in another country, but Senor Cardenas has raised a much longer question than that. If his government can seize Americans' property at will, then so can any other government. If Mexico can take a farm or an oil well, then Argentina can take a ship in the harbor of Buenos Aires. Russia confiscated foreign-owned property and never paid for it. Hitler didn't take it, but he won't let any profits from foreign-owned property move out of Germany. These are all challenges to that part of international law which makes possible commerce among the nations. If property outside our borders can be grabbed at will, who will venture his property abroad? If the answer is "Nobody," then there could be no foreign trade.

* * *

Dependent on Each Other.

The nations are so dependent on each other that some, like England, simply could not exist in such a world. This country might be able to do so. But we can never forget that the United States was developed largely by foreign capital. Whole regions here, like the cotton South, depend on foreign trade. We could not permit its destruction without grievous suffering. England could not permit it at all.

Mexico, standing alone, is not a great factor in our economy. But if we permit such seizures in any

country we open the door everywhere for the trade destruction just discussed.

That is exactly what Senor Cardenas proposes. His speech invited all Latin America to do likewise, and to some of these republics it must be a tempting bait.

Our State Department is in a tough spot. Its first note to Mexico used many words to tell Cardenas how "liberal," if not pink, is our own government—how much more we are concerned with human rights than property rights. That was talking not "to" Cardenas but "at" our own radicals who are now so strong in government. He promptly seized it to wisecrack back something to this effect:—"Yes, with such policies, if you didn't have the money to pay you would confiscate wealth, too. You did confiscate gold."

* * *

Hitting Too Close for Comfort.

That was hitting too close for comfort. In the government of the third New Deal Mr. Hull has no free hand in protecting anybody's property rights—notwithstanding that, in the case of our South, for instance, they are also human rights.

Then there is the absolute necessity of maintaining our trade and new good will with all Latin America—always hitherto suspicious of the old "dollar diplomacy" of what they call the "Colossus of the North" and not yet fully convinced of any change of heart.

But this is gangsterism, the same kind of international hijacking that Hitler does and dares to do because he gambles that no nation will punish him. If a nation goes gangster there is no policeman, no court, no jail; there is no restraint except a sock in the jaw by the nations which are being hijacked.

This sock doesn't necessarily have to be with air bombs and machine guns. It might be by economic pressure. Mexico is getting plenty of that now by the automatic effect of this very action. Maybe that will be enough. If it isn't we will have to do something more. We can't let Mr. Cardenas get away with this one.

Las Finalidades del Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano

Universal 72/9/38
Banquete a la Directiva de dicha organización.
Discurso pronunciado por el general y
diputado Ramón F. Iturbe 233'

En los salones de la casa número 21 de la calle de Dinamarca, fué ofrecida ayer una comida a los señores diputados general Ramón Iturbe y coronel Bolívar Sierra, así como a los demás miembros de la directiva del Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano, a la cual asistieron representantes de organizaciones de militares, obreros, femeniles y estudiantiles.

El Comité Organizador del ágape estuvo constituido por los señores general Francisco Coss, como presidente; general y doctor Luis G. Hernández, tesorero, y licenciado Enel García, secretario.

Al final de la comida, el diputado Iturbe pronunció el siguiente discurso, según versión taquigráfica que se nos proporcionó:

"Hemos aquí agrupados, no alrededor de un hombre, sino alrededor de un programa de principios que encarnan un ideal nacional y humano, dispuestos a trabajar con todas nuestras energías por su realización, y, si es necesario, a sacrificar nuestras vidas en aras de él; pues si no lo hiciéramos así, poco o nada lograríamos.

Los principios a que he aludido, están consignados en los tres puntos esenciales de nuestro programa:

- 1o.—Constitucionalismo democrático;
- 2o.—Antifascismo, y
- 3o.—Anticomunismo.

Yo creo que es ésta una brillante oportunidad para hacer una breve explicación sobre este programa, así como dar una idea de la forma en que nos proponemos desarrollarlo.

La Constitución mexicana es el documento en el cual se han resumido los anhelos populares, a impulso de nuestra Revolución; y aunque no la consideramos, ni podemos considerarla como su última palabra, sino por el contrario, como el espejo en que deben reflejarse los anhelos populares, y, por lo tanto, sufrir las modificaciones que le impriman las necesidades del pueblo, la Revolución no habrá conseguido nada, si los preceptos de esta Constitución, no son plena e íntegramente aplicados.

Si nosotros tuviéramos la conciencia de que nuestros preceptos constitucionales constituyeran la médula de nuestra vida política, seguramente que no habría habido lugar para la formación del Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano, ni éste hubiera atraído hacia sí la atención de toda la Nación, las adhesiones de múltiples organismos y de ciudadanos y el apoyo de la opinión pública, ni menos aun la inquina de los enemigos de la Constitución y de la Democracia. Por tanto, debemos dejar sentado que es el anhelo nacional el de que los principios inscritos en la Constitución, como fruto de la labor revolucionaria de cerca de tres décadas, sean puestos en práctica, rotunda y definitivamente. Porque el pueblo se da cuenta de que de nada sirve estar hablando de revolucionarismo ni de nuevas conquistas si las ya obtenidas, sólo constan en el papel.

Con nuestro constitucionalismo se hallan inseparablemente ligados, los principios de la democracia, como la forma de gobierno que la Nación plugo adoptar a raíz de nuestra independencia; y en este sentido, tengo que repetir lo que ya el Frente ha expresado, que entendemos por democracia: no sólo la forma de gobierno del pueblo, para el pueblo y por el pueblo, sino "un sistema de convivencia humana, basado en el esfuerzo de todos y cada uno para alcanzar la igualdad de oportunidades, obligaciones y derechos políticos, económicos y sociales, dentro de un régimen de libertad constitucional". Esto quiere decir que el Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano, no limita sus actividades al sostenimiento del régimen político, sino que pugna por la extensión de los principios democráticos a todas las actividades de la vida nacional, especialmente a las económicas.

Examinado brevemente el primer punto del programa del Frente: sostener los principios democráticos inscritos por la Revolución en nuestra Constitución, paso al segundo y tercero: antifascismo, anticomunismo, que tocaré conjuntamente por presentar caracteres muy similares.

Hasta cierto punto, parece una redundancia que a un programa constitucional-democrático se le añadan, como puntos distintos y separados, los de la lucha contra los dos fanatismos que están convirtiendo al mundo en una hoguera, porque es lógico que al propugnar las tendencias democráticas haya de lucharse contra la dictadura en todos sus aspectos; y todos sabemos que fascismo y comunismo, por igual, persiguen la implantación de dictaduras personales o de camarilla. Pero es tan grave el peligro que para México encierran la propaganda y los trabajos que se están llevando a cabo en pro de esas dos tendencias, que consideramos indispensable atraer la atención nacional hacia esos dos aspectos de la lucha revolucionaria por la Constitución y las instituciones democráticas.

No es este el momento apropiado para disertar sobre los peligros a que me he referido, tanto más cuanto que en la conciencia de todos nosotros está la extensión de esos peligros y el conocimiento de los males que ya han causado a la Nación la propaganda y las actividades fascistas y comunistas, por lo cual paso a ocuparme del segundo capítulo antes señalado y que se refiere a cómo vamos a laborar; cómo va el Frente Constitucional Democrático a trabajar para llevar a cabo su programa.

Esto me conduce, en primer término, a explicar los objetivos prácticos y en segundo la organización de que nos valdremos para alcanzarlos.

Desde luego, habremos de considerar que el Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano no constituye un partido político, puesto que sus fines no son los de intervenir directamente en la política electoral del país, sino que constituye un organismo de carácter y tendencias socio-económicas, cuyas finalidades inmediatas son:

- 1a.—Despertar la conciencia nacional a la más amplia comprensión de

los derechos y deberes constitucionales de los ciudadanos y de los habitantes en general del país, a fin de imbuirlos el valor civil necesario para la ilimitada defensa de sus derechos legales;

2a.—Hacer que el cumplimiento de los preceptos de nuestra Carta Magna sirvan de norma a la conducta nacional;

3a.—Defender colectiva e individualmente, dentro de las mismas normas constitucionales, los derechos arriba aludidos, cuando estos sean vulnerados en cualquier forma;

4a.—Hacer que las obligaciones que impone la ley, sean cumplidas estrictamente por quienes tengan el deber de hacerlos;

5a.—Combatir por todos los medios a nuestro alcance, a los mistificadores, a los logreros, a los fariseos de la Revolución, que atropellando la moral y la ley, y aun los principios mismos de nuestra Revolución, se han dedicado, al amparo de ésta, a enriquecerse y a usar del Poder y de los puestos públicos con fines exclusivos de lucro personal, olvidándose de las necesidades del pueblo;

6a.—Combatir en igual forma a quienes valiéndose de múltiples estratagemas y engaños al pueblo, y en muchas ocasiones a sus directores y representantes, han venido y siguen haciendo insana propaganda en contra de las instituciones democráticas, de la ley y del orden, para imponer doctrinas disolventes con el fin de adueñarse del poder político y la fuerza económica del país, en beneficio propio. En una palabra: a cuantos propugnan las tendencias fascistas y comunistas.

7a.—Cimentar las bases de una democracia económica, dentro de la cual sea efectivo el derecho de cada uno al trabajo honesto y a la satisfacción de sus necesidades con su fruto, acabando con la odiosa división de explotadores y explotados, por medio de la aplicación efectiva de los principios cooperativistas.

Expresadas así, concretamente, las finalidades prácticas que nuestro programa establece, veamos la forma en que habremos de organizarnos para llevarlos a la práctica.

Como ustedes saben, de acuerdo con lo expuesto en el "Llamamiento a la Nación", lanzado el 10 de julio retro-proximo, fué constituido un Comité Organizador del Frente, con el exclusivo fin de llevar a cabo la organización de éste. El citado Comité, teniendo en cuenta las necesidades propias de nuestra Organización, constituirá con los ciudadanos, dentro de cada localidad, que no estén ya organizados política, social o económicamente y que se adhieran al Frente en su carácter individual, Clubes Locales dentro de los cuales puedan congregarse para organizar su acción tendiente al desarrollo de nuestro programa común. Estos clubes locales del Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano, así como cada uno de los organismos que se hayan adherido al Frente en la propia localidad, por medio de sus representantes, constituirán los Clubes Municipales del mismo. Los representantes de estos Clubes Municipales, constituirán los Clubes Estatales, Territoriales y del Distrito Federal, y los representantes de estos últimos formarán el Club Central del Frente Constitucional Democrático Mexicano.

Nuestros Clubes, dentro de los cuales cada ciudadano y cada organismo ejercerá su acción propia y prestará coordinadamente su contingente para el desarrollo del programa del Frente, disfrutarán de la más amplia libertad para regular su acción y funcionamiento interno, y para designar a sus comités directivos.

A fin de llevar a cabo esta labor, el Comité Organizador designará, para cada uno de los Estados y Territorios

de la República, un delegado con facultades amplias para que, a su vez, nombre los subdelegados que juzgue conveniente dentro de su respectiva jurisdicción. En tal forma, la organización del Frente tendrá un carácter absolutamente democrático y representativo, sobre la base de que cada uno de sus miembros disfrutará de un voto.

Ahora bien, compañeros; cuanto les he manifestado, descansa única y exclusivamente en el apoyo que ustedes, el pueblo de esta República, den a las ideas que he dejado expresadas. No se trata de su cooperación, como en el caso de un partido político, con fines exclusivamente electorales para la designación o apoyo de determinadas candidaturas; se trata de que su apoyo se exprese en todas las formas posibles dentro de la vida diaria: necesitamos que al mismo tiempo que sean propagandistas de nuestros comunes ideales, que al mismo tiempo que concurren a las reuniones de los Clubes para discutir procedimientos y líneas de acción, que celebren mítines públicos para explicar al pueblo los fines que se persiguen; que colaboren con sus escritos en la prensa y en el órgano del Frente que próximamente aparecerá; que ejerciten sus derechos constitucionales y legales en toda su amplitud; que defiendan individual y colectivamente esos derechos contra cualquier conculcación o atropello; que combatan en iguales formas al comunismo y al fascismo; contribuyan, en la medida de su capacidad, con recursos económicos para que esta labor se lleve a cabo.

El Frente no ha surgido a la vida en medio de circunstancias fáciles, muy por el contrario, sus enemigos son fuertes y poderosos, lo cual hará que los timoratos se alejen de nosotros; pero esto no debe preocuparnos porque, en cambio, nos atraerá a los hombres de lucha. Nunca los pueblos fueron conducidos a la grandeza por

(Sigue en la Página Diez, Columna Tercera)

RELOJES DE TODAS MARCAS

"LA PRINCESA"

16 de Septiembre y 5 de Febrero.

EL ARREGLO CON ESTADOS UNIDOS

SE CONSIDERA QUE ESTA HOY MUY PROXIMO

Pagará nuestro país las tierras expropiadas en un término de veinte años, en exhibiciones anuales

Falta únicamente fijar el monto de las sumas que deben ser entregadas.—
Ambiente de optimismo

Por LOUIS JAY HEATH,
Corresponsal de la United Press
WASHINGTON, octubre 31.—Las negociaciones que han estado desarrollándose entre los Estados Unidos y México, sin las formalidades habituales en esa clase de gestiones internacionales, y que se relacionan con el problema de las tierras de americanos, expropiadas para el desarrollo de la política agraria del vecino país, han llegado a una etapa en la que, según se ha indicado en el Departamento de Estado, puede esperarse un entendimiento amistoso que posiblemente se anunciará dentro de las próximas dos semanas.

En el mismo Departamento se ha anunciado que sólo diferencias muy ligeras impiden por ahora y momentáneamente a los dos gobiernos, llegar a ese acuerdo, refiriéndose principalmente al importe de los pagos que México deba hacer anualmente por concepto de indemnización por dichas tierras, durante un período de veinte años.

Se asegura que para obviar esas dificultades, el Gobierno de México ha llegado a manifestar que está dispuesto a aumentar esos pagos, de la suma de quinientos mil dólares por año, con respecto a la que con anterioridad se había manifestado conforme, a setecientos cincuenta mil o un millón o cualquiera suma intermedia, y en fuentes dignas de crédito se ha insistido en que las versiones que han circulado sobre el particular son en el fondo correctas.

Son ciertamente las sumas indicadas todavía inferiores, al parecer, a las que el gobierno de Washington considera como apropiadas; pero de todas maneras se toma en cuenta

El Arreglo con..

(Viene de la primera plana)

ta que representan ya una concepción y esto desde luego es la base que se ha tomado para las esperanzas que hay de que se llegue tal vez muy pronto a un arreglo conciliador.

En los círculos oficiales se sigue guardando máxima reserva en lo que ve a todos los detalles y fases de las actuales negociaciones; pero nada se ha indicado en contra de las versiones que también han circulado con insistencia en el sentido de que el gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha mantenido su actitud en lo que respecta a sus propósitos de lograr que el acuerdo que se espera incluya disposiciones concretas que establezcan que no será expropiada ninguna otra propiedad sin efectuarse el pago debido al ser expropiada.

Un alto funcionario del Departamento de Estado ha indicado aun que el Secretario Mr. Cordell Hull está solamente en espera de una resolución del Gobierno de México, que según es de creerse, permitirá antes de que termine la semana hacer una declaración oficial sobre la situación alentadora en que se encuentra este delicado problema internacional.

En los círculos mexicanos en esta capital se ha mantenido desde el regreso del doctor Castillo Nájera de la capital mexicana hace más de dos semanas, una actitud de marcado optimismo habiéndose expresado repetidas veces la esperanza de un próximo arreglo satisfactorio para los dos gobiernos.

México ya no Expropiará más Tierras de Americanos

NADA SE HARA MIENTRAS SE NEGOCIA UN ARREGLO

Nuestro País Ofrece Pagar por lo Expropiado, Mayores Abonos

NUEVA YORK, noviembre 10.—El "New York Times" publica un mensaje exclusivo fechado en México, en el cual afirma "que el Presidente Cárdenas prometió al Gobierno de Wáshington no lanzar nuevos decretos expropiando tierras agrícolas de los americanos, mientras duren las actuales negociaciones entre México y los Estados Unidos, para el arreglo de la deuda agraria con los ciudadanos de este país, y que se hacen montar a más de diez millones de dólares. Esta es la primera vez en que ha sido posible obtener un arreglo oficial sobre la cuestión.

"La anterior información"—sigue diciendo el "Times"—fué revelada por funcionarios mexicanos, quienes aseguraron que el Departamento de Estado se había quejado de que las nuevas expropiaciones estaban creando obstáculos a las negociaciones.

Si Wáshington amenazó con romper dichas negociaciones, es cosa que se ignora, pero se tiene entendido que la incautación de casi siete millas cuadradas de tierras pertenecientes al representante William Lemke, que ocurrió poco después de la incautación de otras setenta millas cuadradas en la penúltima semana de octubre, provocó la queja del Departamento de Estado e hizo posible un arreglo temporal.

"El Presidente Cárdenas también convino en aumentar los pagos anuales, de medio millón, a una cifra entre tres cuartos y un millón de dólares. Se sabe que Wáshington no estaba satisfecho con la cifra de medio millón, pues habría sido necesario un período de veinte años para cubrir el total, sin pagar intereses. Se hizo notar que México recibe seis millones de dólares anuales por impuestos a los minerales y que éstos se exportan a Estados Unidos debido a la ley que autoriza las compras de plata mexicana.

"La disposición del Presidente Cárdenas deteniendo la incautación de las vastas propiedades de la United States Sugar Company, de Sinaloa, será efectiva únicamente por un mes. Los funcionarios mexicanos han declarado en lo privado, que una vez que se llegue a un acuerdo con Estados Unidos, todas las tierras expropiadas provisionalmente lo serán en definitiva; mientras que Wáshington ha sostenido que todas las expropiaciones del futuro deberán ser pagadas inmediatamente y en efectivo".

U. S.-Mexico Land Notes

Mexico Agrees to Pay One Million Dollars Per Year, as Claims Determine

The United States and Mexico have exchanged their third note on American claims for agrarian expropriations. Two hundred and fifty-three American claims are pending, representing a claimed total of ten million dollars.

An examination of the notes shows that Mexico is willing to pay, and has acknowledged her liabilities, and pledged definite commitments.

No mention is made in the notes, whether future agrarian expropriations will be discontinued. Informed persons yesterday asserted that it was unlikely that Mexico would continue expropriations unless on a cash payment basis.

The American Note

The following is the American note, in its entirety as delivered: Department of State, Washington, November 9, 1938.

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Francisco Castillo Nájera, Ambassador of Mexico, Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed by your Government on September 1 to Ambassador Daniels.

Careful examination of that note discloses no grounds that would justify this Government in modifying the position set forth at length in my notes to you dated July 21 and August 22, 1938. My Government must insist that the recognized rules of law and equity require that prompt payment of just compensation for property that may be expropriated. Therefore, inasmuch as my Government remains convinced of the basic soundness of its position, buttressed as it is by law and justice, and in view of the scope and content of our recent conversations, in the course of which you informed me of the policy of your Government and of the desire of the Government of Mexico, which is similar to the desire of the Government of the United States, to settle all difficulties which may arise between the two Governments in a spirit of friendship and of equity, further discussion of the note under reference seems unnecessary.

My Government has a particular desire to safeguard friendship with Mexico not only because Mexico is one of its nearest neighbors but on account of the many ways in which ever improving relations, in the fullest sense, between the two countries could be complementary and mutual beneficial. It has, therefore, spared no effort to arrive at prompt, friendly and satisfactory solutions of problems as they arose. It was in this spirit that last November my Government urged, in accordance with the principle of just compensation, the desirability of a comprehensive agreement providing for the compensation of the American citizens whose properties had been seized by the Mexican Government. It is in that same spirit that I have given every attention to the proposals of your Government which you recently communicated to me. Based upon them, my Government would be willing to agree to the plan proposed here after which, if acceptable to your Government, would resolve at once the present controversy, in so far as it relates to compensation for American-owned agrarian properties seized since August 30, 1927, that if continued must seriously impair the friendly relations between the two countries. It is also in this same spirit that I earnestly commend it to the favorable consideration of your Government.

One: Both our Governments are in accord that the values of the American-owned agrarian properties expropriated since August 30, 1927, be determined by a Commission composed of one representative of each of our Governments, and in case of disagreement, by a third person selected by the Permanent Commission with seat at Washington, as established by the so-called Gandra Treaty.

Two: My Government proposes (a) that the two commissioners be appointed by their respective Governments at once; (b) that they hold their first meeting in the City of Mexico on the first day of December 1938; (c) that each Government bear the entire expense of the salaries, maintenance, transportation, and incidentals of its commissioner and his staff and that any expense incurred jointly, as for instance in connection with airplane travel, be shared equally.

Three: My Government believes it important, and understands that your Government is in accord in this regard, that a time limit be established for the completion of the work of the commissioners. It is therefore proposed that the commissioners be instructed that they must complete the determination of value by not later than May 31, 1939. If during the course of the deliberations of the two commissioners they are unable to reach a common finding upon the matters submitted to them for their joint determination, my Government proposes that the Permanent Commission at Washington be requested to appoint immediately the third commissioner in order that he may resolve the matters upon which the two Governments' commissioners are unable to agree. It is further

proposed that in case of disagreement in any particular case, the representative appointed by the Permanent Commission be requested to render his award within not more than two months from the time the case is submitted to him. The salaries and expenses of the third commissioner will be defrayed in equal proportions by the two Governments.

Four: The adequate and effective measure of compensation to be paid in each case shall be determined in the usual manner by taking into consideration, among other pertinent factors, the establishment of the nationality of the claimant, the legitimacy of his title, the just value of the property expropriated, the fair return from the property of which claimant has been deprived between the time of expropriation and the time of receiving compensation, as well as such other facts as in the opinion of the commissioners should be taken into account in reaching a determination as to compensation.

Five: It is my understanding that the Mexican Government will pay the sum of \$1,000,000 United States currency as first payment of the indemnities to be determined by the Commission to which this note refers, and that this payment will be made to the Government of the United States on or before May 31, 1939.

It is my further understanding that immediately subsequent to the determination by the Commission of the final valuation, in accordance with the procedure indicated in numbered paragraph Four of this note, the American-owned agrarian properties, as defined in numbered paragraph One, the two Governments will reach an agreement as to the amounts to be paid to the Government of the United States by the Government of Mexico annually for the account of such claims in the year subsequent to the year 1939. As the basis for such agreement there will be taken into consideration such statement of its ability to pay as may be demonstrated by the Government of Mexico. I understand, agrees that the annual payments to be made the year 1939 for the account of these claims will in no event be less than \$1,000,000 United States currency, and that such payments will be made on June 30 of the corresponding year.

In view of our recent conversations I have every confidence that the foregoing proposals will prove acceptable to Your Excellency's Government. I shall await with interest Your Excellency's response to the suggestions made.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my higher consideration.

(Signed:) CORDELL HULL.

The Mexican Reply

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—United Mexican States.—Mexico.

Mexico, November 12, 1938.

Mr. Ambassador:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the note dated November 9, 1938, addressed to the Mexican Ambassador by His Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull, your country's Secretary of State, in which Your Excellency's Government, while maintaining its opinion that the recognized principles of law and equity require the immediate payment of just compensation for expropriated properties, makes known its readiness to agree to a plan which, based on the proposals of my Government, may apply to the consideration and payment of agrarian expropriations (afectaciones) subsequent to 1927.

The Government of Mexico, in its turn, while reaffirming its conviction that it has not acted contrary to the rules and principles of International Law, of justice and equity, by the enactment and application of its Agrarian Legislation, is in agreement with the plan presented and takes pleasure in recognizing that the sentiments of cordial friendship which unite our two countries have in the end prevailed over differences of a technical and juridical order.

As was proposed in my note to your Government of August 3rd of the current year, my Government agrees that the value of the expropriated lands shall be established by a commission consisting of a representative of each Government, also that cases of disagreement between these representatives shall be decided by a third person designated by the Permanent Commission, established by the Gandra Pact, which has its seat in Washington, in spite of the fact that, in this instance, it is not a matter of an investigating commission, an express function attributed in the said pact to the commission referred to.

My Government agrees, likewise in conformity with its original intention, that the representatives of both countries shall be immediately designated and that their first meeting shall take place in the City of Mexico on the first day of December of the present year. Outlays for emoluments, travel and other expenditures, both of the representatives and of the persons assisting them in their work, shall be defrayed by the respective Government. The two Governments shall each pay one half of the expenses incurred jointly.

Likewise, the emoluments which are to be paid to the third person referred to shall be shared equally, as proposed by your Government, by Mexico and the United States.

My Government expressly manifests its agreement that the representatives designated by instructed to the effect that their work of evaluation be concluded in May 1939, and that the cases of disagreement be submitted to the consideration of

the third person, who must likewise be requested to render his decision within a term of not more than two months, counting from the date on which his intervention has been requested.

The Government of Mexico understands that the commissioners, in proceeding to make the respective evaluation, shall take into account, among other pertinent facts, the establishment of the nationality of the claimant, the legality of his title to enter a claim and the last fiscal valuation prior to the expropriation.

Respecting the manner of payment of the corresponding indemnifications, my Government will pay the amount of one million dollars in the month of May 1939.

My Government is agreed that, once the representatives fix the amount of the indemnifications, the Governments shall agree upon the annual amount which the Government of Mexico must pay to that of the United States, in the years subsequent to 1939, on the claims in question. For the fixing of the said annual payments, the economic possibilities of Mexico shall be taken into account. My Government agrees, forthwith, that the annual amounts which must be paid to the United States Government shall not be less than one million dollars, United States currency, and, lastly, my Government is in agreement that the payments be made on the 30th day of June of each year.

The Government of Mexico deems necessary to have it understood that the decisions reached by the representatives designated, shall in no case extend beyond evaluation of the lands expropriated and the modalities of payment to the amount determined; that they shall not constitute a precedent, in any case nor for any reason; neither shall they decide the juridical principles maintained by the two Governments and applicable to the matter in question.

The Government of Mexico is pleased to recognize that, in formalizing this arrangement, it has been able, on the one hand, to show, as was expressed by Your Excellency's Government in the note to which I reply, its especial desire to safeguard its friendship with the United States, because of the mutual benefits which this reciprocal sentiment represents for both countries, and to carry out, on the other hand, the mandates of the Agrarian Legislation, an expression of our traditional policy which, on being interpreted by the President of the Republic, was supported formally, by the National Representative Body, in the reply given to the message from the Executive Power by the President of the Congress of the Union, at the opening of the period of sessions on September 1, 1938.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

EDUARDO HAY

His Excellency Mr. Josephus Daniels, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

REVALECE EN LOS SENTIMIENTOS DE AMISTAD EN LOS ARREGLOS DE MEXICO Y WASHINGTON

ENTREGAS ANUALES DE UN MILLON DE DOLARES PARA PAGO DE EXPROPIACIONES

Lawrence W. Lawson, por Estados Unidos, y Gustavo P. Serrano, por México, Forman la Comisión Mixta Valuadora

NO SE ESTABLECE PRECEDENTE

En Caso Necesario Será Elegido un Tercer Miembro de la Comisión, de Acuerdo con el Tratado Gendra y Será Ciudadano de un País Neutral

Ayer, a las once horas, ocurrió a la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores el señor Josephus Daniels, Embajador de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica en esta ciudad, quien recibió del señor general Eduardo Hay, titular del ramo, la respuesta de México a la nota que con fecha 9 del actual, fué entregada en Washington a nuestro Embajador, doctor Francisco Castillo Nájera.

Por medio de dichas notas se conviene en encomendar a representantes de ambos Gobiernos —en la forma que con toda precisión se establezca— el conocimiento de los casos agrarios a que se refieren dichos documentos.

El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha designado como su representante al señor ingeniero Florence Lawson, actualmente Comisionado Norteamericano de Aguas y Límites y, por su parte, el Gobierno de México ha nombrado al señor ingeniero Gustavo P. Serrano, Comisionado de Aguas Internacionales, quien, con anterioridad, fué Embajador de México en Guatemala y Secretario de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas.

TEXTO DE LA NOTA DEL GOBIERNO AMERICANO (1)

La siguiente es la traducción de la nota del Secretario de Estado del Gobierno Norteamericano:

“Washington, 9 de noviembre de 1938.

“Excelentísimo señor doctor don Francisco Castillo Nájera, Embajador de México, Washington, D. C.

“Excelencia:

“Tengo el honor de acusarle recibo de la nota dirigida por su Gobierno al Embajador Daniels, el primero de septiembre.

“Un examen cuidadoso de dicha nota no revela motivos que pudieran justificar que este Gobierno modificase la posición asentada, en detalle, en mis notas a usted, fechadas el 21 de julio y el 22 de agosto de 1938. Mi Gobierno tiene que insistir en que los principios reconocidos de derecho y equidad exigen el pago inmediato de justa com-

pensación por bienes que sean expropiados. Por lo tanto, puesto que mi Gobierno sigue convencido de la solidez fundamental de su actitud, reforzada como lo está por la Justicia y la Ley, y en vista del alcance x del contenido de nuestras recientes conversaciones, durante el curso de las cuales usted me dió a conocer la política de su Gobierno y el deseo del Gobierno Mexicano, igual al deseo del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, de arreglar todas las dificultades que puedan surgir entre los dos Gobiernos en un espíritu de amistad y de equidad, parece innecesario proseguir la discusión de la nota a que se hace referencia.

“Mi Gobierno tiene especial deseo de mantener a salvo la amistad con México, no solamente porque México es uno de sus vecinos más próximos, sino por las muchas formas en que las relaciones entre los dos países, cada vez mejores, en el sen-

(1) Esta y las demás sustitutas fueron puestas por la redacción de EXCELSIOR.

URO HOMBRES
PROCEDIMIENTO UNICO Y
ULTIMO DE LA
A GLANDULAR
LA CURACION DE LA

PREVALECE EN LOS SENTIMIENTOS DE AMISTAD EN LOS ARREGLOS DE MEXICO Y WASHINGTON

Sigue de la primera página

tido más amplio, podrían ser complementadas y de beneficio mutuo. Por lo tanto, mi Gobierno no ha escatimado ningún esfuerzo para llegar a inmediatas, amistosas y satisfactorias soluciones de los problemas a medida que han ido presentándose. Fué con este espíritu con el que mi Gobierno urgió, en noviembre pasado, de conformidad con el principio de justa compensación, la conveniencia de un arreglo amplio, que estableciera la compensación a ciudadanos norteamericanos cuyos bienes habían sido tomados por el Gobierno de México. Es con ese mismo espíritu con el que yo he prestado toda atención a las proposiciones de su Gobierno las que me comunicó usted últimamente. Basándose en ellas mi Gobierno estaría dispuesto a convenir en el plan que se propone más adelante, el cual, si es aceptable para su Gobierno, resolvería en seguida la presente controversia, por cuanto hace a compensaciones por propiedades agrarias, pertenecientes a norteamericanos, que fueron tomadas a contar del 30 de agosto de 1927; controversia que, de seguir tiene que perjudicar seriamente las amistosas relaciones entre los dos países. Es también con este mismo espíritu con el que yo, encarecidamente, recomiendo dicho plan a la favorable consideración de su Gobierno.

NOMBRAMIENTO DE DOS COMISIONADOS

"Primero.—Nuestros dos Gobiernos están de acuerdo en que los valores de los bienes agrarios, propiedad de norteamericanos, expropia-

ANGUSTIOSO MENSAJE AL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE

Las Confederaciones Patronal de la República Mexicana y de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio e Industria dirigieron ayer al señor Presidente de la República sendos mensajes, cuyo texto transcribimos a continuación:

"Permitimonos suplicarle respetuosamente la inmediata intervención de usted para poner término a la situación caótica que prevalece en cinco Estados de la República, a causa de la huelga de electricistas.

"Gravísimos perjuicios se ocasionan, no sólo a los industriales, sino a millares de obreros que trabajan en fábricas movidas por electricidad.

"Confiamos que la decisiva influencia de usted podrá zanjar las dificultades montadas por exigencias que se ejercitan, en los momentos en que el Gobierno se esfuerza en intensificar la producción industrial y normalizar las actividades obreras, dentro del imperio de la ley. Respetuosamente.—Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana.—Leonardo H. Palazuelos, presidente."

El otro telegrama expresa:

"Las Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio e Industria de los Estados de Jalisco, Guanajuato y Michoacán, especialmente de poblaciones industriales como León, Guadalajara, etc., nos suplican ocurrir ante usted a efecto de solicitar su valiosa y eficaz intervención para que dése fin a la huelga de electricistas que comenzó en las primeras horas de hoy.

"La industria, la agricultura y el comercio de aquellas regiones, así como el público en general, están sufriendo serios e irreversibles perjuicios, siendo ajenos totalmente a los motivos de la huelga. Esta institución se une a esa solicitud de la intervención de usted para que cesen dichos movimientos, por lo que anticipámonos expresivos agra-

dos desde el 30 de agosto de 1927, sean determinados por una comisión compuesta de un representante de cada uno de nuestros Gobiernos; y en caso de desacuerdo, de una tercera persona escogida por la Comisión Permanente con sede en Washington, tal como lo establece el llamado Tratado Gondra.

"Segundo.—Mi Gobierno propone, (a) que los dos comisionados sean nombrados por sus respectivos Gobiernos, en seguida; (b) que celebren su primera reunión en la ciudad de México el primero de diciembre de 1938; (c) que cada Gobierno sufrague los gastos totales de sueldo, sostenimiento, transporte y gastos imprevistos de su Comisionado y del personal de éste, y que cualquier gasto erogado conjuntamente, como por ejemplo los hechos por viajes en avión, sean divididos por partes iguales.

LIMITE DE TIEMPO PARA LA VALUACION

"Tercero.—Mi Gobierno estima importante, y entiendo que su Gobierno está de acuerdo a este respecto, que se establezca un límite de tiempo para concluir el trabajo de la Comisión. Propongo, por tanto, que los comisionados reciban instrucciones de que deben terminar las valorizaciones a más tardar el 31 de mayo de 1939. Si durante el curso de sus deliberaciones los dos comisionados no logran alcanzar un común acuerdo sobre los asuntos sometidos a su consideración conjunta, mi Gobierno propone que la Comisión Permanente de Washington sea requerida para nombrar inmediatamente el tercer comisionado a fin de que éste resuelva los asuntos sobre los que no se haya conseguido el acuerdo de los dos comisionados de los respectivos Gobiernos. Se propone, además, que en el supuesto de desacuerdo en un caso particular, el representante nombrado por la Comisión Permanente sea requerido para que pronuncie su fallo en un plazo no mayor de dos meses, a contar de la fecha en que se le someta el caso. Los sueldos y gastos del tercer comisionado serían sufragados en proporciones iguales por los dos Gobiernos.

"Cuarto: El monto adecuado y efectivo de la compensación que deba ser pagada en cada caso, deberá determinarse en la forma acostumbrada, tomando en consideración, entre otros factores pertinentes, la comprobación de la nacionalidad del reclamante la legitimidad de su título, el valor justo de la propiedad expropiada, la renta razonable de la propiedad de que ha sido privado el reclamante, en el tiempo transcurrido entre la expropiación y el momento de recibir la indemnización, así como también los otros factores que en opinión de los comisionados deban tomarse en cuenta para llegar a determinar la compensación.

UN MILLON DE DOLARES COMO PAGO INICIAL

"Quinto: Entiendo que el Gobierno de México pagará la suma de un millón de dólares, moneda de los Estados Unidos, como primer pago de las indemnizaciones que deberán ser determinadas por la Comisión a que esta nota se refiere, y que ese pago se hará al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos a más tardar el 31 de mayo de 1939.

"Entiendo, además, que inmediatamente después de que la Comisión determine el avalúo definitivo, de acuerdo con el procedimiento indicado en el párrafo cuarto de esta nota de los bienes agrarios, propiedad de norteamericanos, que se definen en el primer

párrafo, los dos Gobiernos llegarán a un arreglo con respecto a las sumas que habrá de pagar anualmente al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos el Gobierno de México, a cuenta de dichas reclamaciones, en los años subsecuentes al de 1939. Como base de tal arreglo se tomará en consideración la declaración de la facultad de pago que pueda ser demostrada por el Gobierno de México. Entiendo que el Gobierno de México conviene en que los pagos anuales que hará al de Estados, después del año de 1939, a cuenta de estas reclamaciones, no serán en ningún caso inferiores a un millón de dólares, moneda de los Estados Unidos, y que esos pagos se efectuarán al 30 de junio de cada año.

"En vista de nuestras recientes conversaciones tengo toda confianza en que las anteriores proposiciones resultarán aceptables para su Gobierno. Espero con interés su respuesta a las sugerencias hechas.

"Acepte, Excelencia, las reiteradas seguridades de mi más alta consideración. Firmado: Cordell Hull".

LA ACEPTACION DEL GOBIERNO MEXICANO

Texto de la contestación del Gobierno de México:

"Excelentísimo señor Josephus Daniels, Embajador Extraordinario y Plenipotenciario de los Estados Unidos de Norte América. Presente:

"México, 12 de noviembre de 1938.

"Señor Embajador: Tengo el honor de acusar recibo de la nota que, con fecha 9 del presente mes, el Excelentísimo señor Cordell Hull, Secretario de Estado de vuestro país, dirigió al Embajador de México en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, doctor Francisco Castillo Nájera, por la que el Gobierno de Vuestra Excelencia al insistir en su opinión de que los principios reconocidos de derecho y equidad exigen el pago inmediato de justa compensación por bienes que sean expropiados, manifiesta su disposición para convenir en un plan que, basándose en las proposiciones de mi Gobierno, se aplique a la consideración y pago de las afectaciones agrarias posteriores a 1927.

"El Gobierno de México, a su vez, al reafirmar su convicción de no haber procedido en contra de las normas y principios del Derecho Internacional, de la justicia y la equidad, con la expedición y aplicación de su Legislación Agraria, está de acuerdo con el plan presentado y se complace en reconocer que los sentimientos de cordial amistad que ligán a nuestros dos países, hayan prevalecido a la postre sobre discrepancias de orden técnico y jurídico."

"Como fué propuesto en mi nota a vuestro Gobierno, el 3 de agosto del año en curso, mi Gobierno conviene en que el valor de las tierras expropiadas sea establecido por una comisión integrada por un representante de cada Gobierno, así como que los casos de desacuerdo, entre estos representantes, sean decididos por una tercera persona, designada por la Comisión Permanente, establecida por el Pacto Gondra y que tiene su sede en Washington, a pesar de que no se trata en el presente caso, de una comisión investigadora, función expresa señalada en dicho Pacto a la citada Comisión.

"Mi Gobierno está de acuerdo, también con su intención original, en el sentido de que los representantes de ambos países; sean, desde luego, designados y que su primera reunión se efectúe en la ciudad de México, el primero de diciembre del año actual. Las erogaciones por concepto de emolumentos, pasajes

y otros gastos, tanto de los representantes como de las personas que los secunden en sus trabajos, serán sufragados por cuenta del Gobierno respectivo. Los dos gobiernos cubrirán, por mitad, los gastos originados conjuntamente.

"Asimismo, los emolumentos que hayan de pagarse a la mencionada tercera persona, se cubrirán, como lo propone Vuestro Gobierno, por mitad, entre México y los Estados Unidos.

"Mi Gobierno expresamente manifiesta estar de acuerdo en que los representantes designados sean instruidos en el sentido de que sus trabajos de avalúo concluyan en mayo de 1939, y en que los casos de desacuerdo sean sometidos a la consideración del Tercero, quien deberá ser requerido, igualmente, para que rinda sus decisiones en un plazo no mayor de dos meses, a partir de la fecha en que haya sido solicitada su intervención.

"El Gobierno de México entiende que al actuar los comisionados, para hacer el avalúo respectivo, deberán tomar en cuenta, entre otros hechos pertinentes, el establecimiento de la nacionalidad del reclamante, la legalidad de su título para reclamar y el valor fiscal último, previo a la afectación.

"En cuanto a la forma de pago de las indemnizaciones correspondientes, mi Gobierno cubrirá en el mes de mayo del año de 1939, la suma de un millón de dólares.

POSIBILIDADES ECONOMICAS

"Mi Gobierno está de acuerdo en que una vez que los representantes fijen el monto de las indemnizaciones, los gobiernos concierten la suma anual que el Gobierno de México debe pagar al de los Estados Unidos, en los años subsecuentes al de 1939, por concepto de las reclamaciones de que se trata. Para la fijación de dichos pagos anuales, se tomarán en cuenta las posibilidades económicas de México. Mi Gobierno conviene, desde ahora, en que las sumas anuales, que deberán pagarse al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, no serán inferiores a un millón de dólares, moneda de los Estados Unidos y, por último, mi Gobierno está de acuerdo en que los pagos se cubran el día 30 de junio de cada año.

NO SE CONSTITUYE NINGUN PRECEDENTE

"El Gobierno de México estima necesario dejar establecido que las resoluciones a que lleguen los representantes designados, en ningún caso se extenderán más allá del avalúo de las tierras afectadas y de las modalidades de pago de la cantidad que se fije; que no constituirán precedente, ni ningún caso ni por motivo alguno; tampoco decidirán sobre los principios jurídicos sostenidos por ambos Gobiernos y aplicables a la materia de que se trata.

"El Gobierno de México se complace en reconocer que, al formalizar este arreglo, ha podido, por una parte, demostrar, al igual que lo expresado por el de Vuestra Excelencia en la nota que contesto, el deseo especial de mantener a salvo su amistad con los Estados Unidos, por los mutuos beneficios que este sentimiento recíproco representa para los dos países y cumplir, por la otra, con los mandatos de la Legislación Agraria, expresión de nuestra política tradicional que, al ser interpretada por el C. Presidente de la República, fué apoyada, en forma solemne, por la Representación Nacional, en la respuesta dada al mensaje del Poder Ejecutivo por el C. Presidente del Congreso de la Unión, en la inauguración del período de sesiones del primero de septiembre último.

"Aprovecho esta oportunidad para renovar a Vuestra Excelencia las seguridades de mi más alta y distinguida consideración. Firmado.—EDUARDO HAY".

AYER, HOY Y MAÑANA

239

La voz de México.	Efemérides.
Tres millones y "Loba".	¡Palmetazo!
Censura en el aire.	Aclaración justa.
Todavía el Gral. Huerta.	Antaño y hogaño.

"Excelior" 17/12/38.

La delegación de México en Lima "pidió que las repúblicas panamericanas concedan a sus trabajadores las libertades de asociación y de expresión", pues se creyó que estábamos obligados a dar la nota del obrerismo internacional, y, quizá, quizá, a tenderles la mano a los apristas del Perú, quienes, por pertenecer a un partido (APRA) que depende del comunista de la URSS, no tienen allí derecho de votar en las elecciones.

Por lo demás, estamos seguros de que en toda América, desde los Estados Unidos hasta la Patagonia, los trabajadores pueden asociarse y hablar o escribir libremente, de acuerdo con las constituciones políticas de sus respectivos pueblos.

El plan yanqui de la alianza panamericana se ha venido por tierra, según parece, y es que Mr. Hull no ha logrado demostrar que existe un enemigo aparcibido para una invasión armada en cualquier parte de este Hemisferio... Nadie abriga temores en ese particular, y sólo se distingue la competencia de intereses comerciales entre los Estados Unidos y las naciones llamadas "totalitarias", que venden sus artículos a precios reducidos.

Y, para eso, que trae beneficios a las repúblicas hispano-americanas, el pacto propuesto por Mr. Hull e ideado por Roosevelt, resulta impertinente, cuando no perjudicial.

Dícese que el Gobierno de la Federación aumentará el subsidio que da a la Universidad Autónoma, en un millón de pesos. En este año se le concedieron dos millones y en el entrante serán tres... si el tiempo lo permite, como en las corridas de toros.

Como quiera que ello sea, el propósito es laudable, y mejor parecería si se llevasen a cabo algunas "mejoras", como la supresión del *Armatoste* y otras en Educación Pública, que cuestan mucho y rinden poco. Verbi gratia, los atentados que siguen cometándose contra los asilos de niños huérfanos, sostenidos por particulares. Y lo decimos por el muy reciente contra un numeroso grupo de párvulos, denunciado por la Loba, espécimen infame del género femenino que se dedica, por paga, a ejecutar tan oprobiosas tropelías.

No pudo la CGT radiar su magna asamblea del jueves, debido a la censura impuesta a las transmisiones aéreas, por otra central que domina los hilos de cierta compañía telefónica.

Esto se halla en abierta pugna con la ley y las prácticas democráticas, y no es verdad que sean los obreros quienes han adoptado aquella actitud, sino sus directores.

El contrato de trabajo se rompe cuando el trabajador se niega a desempeñar sus labores sin causa justificada, y no lo es la que se refiere a asuntos políticos o personales del líder de la organización. Pero como la ley, la equidad y el amor a los principios están de capa caída en este país, seguirá la previa censura, o la censura a secas, con el disimulo o la complacencia de las autoridades. Y así, son inútiles las declaraciones del Primer Magistrado en pro de la libertad.

El Bloque de la Cámara de Diputados aprobó una adición a la Ley del Estatuto Jurídico de los empleados públicos, en el sentido de excluir "de los beneficios de esta ley a las personas que hayan prestado servicios o combatido a la Revolución a las órdenes de Victoriano Huerta".

Si se aplica rigurosamente la nueva medida sectaria, van a caer de sus puestos muchos empleados, algunos hasta de elevada categoría; pero lo más notable del caso es que la intención de los diputados del Bloque va enderezada contra no pocos militares que, por disciplina, sirvieron en las filas del general Huerta, y después, por su inteligencia y conocimientos, se les admitió en el Ejército de la Revolución.

Existen en el país mil problemas, muchísimo por construir, numerosas leyes que esperan el dictamen y la votación de las Cámaras, y, no obstante eso, lo que preocupa a los legisladores es... el huertismo. ¡Una cosa muerta y enterrada profundamente desde hace veinticuatro años! ¡Eso sí se llama volver atrás, como la mujer de Loth!

Entre las efemérides (*Tal Día Como Hoy*) que publicó ayer EXCELSIOR, hay una de gran actualidad, aun cuando se refiere a un hecho que aconteció el 16 de diciembre de 1773, y dice a la letra: "En Boston es destruido un cargamento de té, afirmando los rebeldes que no se puede crear un nuevo impuesto sin permiso del contribuyente. Ese suceso ocasionó la Guerra de Independencia de los Estados Unidos".

En México, muchísimos impuestos se decretan contra la voluntad expresa de los contribuyentes, manifestada sin lugar a dudas, y, no obstante eso, el impuesto se cobra. Tal sucedió hace pocos días en Cuernavaca, y sucede en todo el país. Y naturalmente no nos referimos a la insensatez de los que se oponen a todo pago fiscal, sino a los casos en que se demuestra la improcedencia de la contribución.

Lo cual quiere decir que no estamos en Boston, ni en 1773, sino en la antigua Tenochtitlán, año de gracia de 1938, por fortuna agonizante.

Apenas se salió el dómine de su *jurisdicción*, y... erre que erre. Véase cómo fué el desvarío:

"Tengo un pecado venial en la conciencia", dijo muy orondo. "Venial, porque nadie me lo ha echado en cara". Y sigue contando el deslíz.

Pero no está bien la definición del dómine: ¡ojalá que lo estuviera! Si son veniales los pecados que "no nos echan en cara", cómo se reduciría el volumen de los que cargamos en la conciencia. Pero es que nuestro ilustre amigo ya olvidó lo que al respecto dice el gran Ripalda. "Pecado venial es el que no mata el alma, pero la enferma", y eso está muy bien, como cuanto escribió el sabio confesor de Santa Teresa.

Y váyase esta lección de teología moral, por otra, que nos debe, de gramática, y será recibida con beneplácito.

Nos escribe el jefe de la policía de Querétaro, teniente coronel José Pérez Tejada G., rectificando los informes que envió a EXCELSIOR el Dr. Atl, acerca de la aprehensión del señor Manuel Olvera, agente de periódicos y no "corresponsal".

El señor Pérez Tejada demuestra plenamente que no proce-

Ayer, Hoy y Mañana

Exclusivo Sigue de la página cinco 77/72/38. 240

dió a la captura del señor Olvera, por cuenta propia, sino por orden del juez Unico Municipal, Miguel G. Herrera, quien pidió la aprehensión del presunto reo al inspector, de acuerdo con una instancia del Ministerio Público. Original nos envía el oficio del juez.

No hubo, pues, arbitrariedad ni abuso de parte del teniente coronel Tejada y nos complacemos en reconocerlo. Pero también debe recordarse que nosotros nos fundamos en las informaciones del Dr. Atl, persona digna de crédito.

* * *

Pocas veces copiamos versos; pero ahora leímos unos, que valen un Potosí, no tanto desde el punto de vista literario, sino del político. Helos aquí. Se intitulan *Señor dicen...* y aparecen publicados en la revista *Isis*, de Chignahuapan, Pue., el 15 de noviembre de 1924, al pie de la estampa dolorida de un Santo Cristo:

*Señor... Dicen que curas los males de la vida
con ocultos designios y de distintos modos...
que tienes un remedio para cada alma herida;
pero el mal que padezco, Señor, no es como todos.*

*Cristo, Señor, escucha: Te diré por qué peno,
te mostraré mi herida sin el menor engaño...
No hallarás en mi sangre ni rastro de veneno...
¡Dicen que eres tan grande! ¡Dicen que eres tan bueno!
Tal vez, Señor, te apiades de mi alma tan extraña... (sic)*

*Fué a través de la noche de mi vida; en la obscura
paz de mi pobre vida, sin una nota bella.
Fué a través de la noche densa de mi amargura;
vió surgir, en la sombra, una divina estrella.*

*Y aquel astro lejano, lejano, tan lejano,
ha cegado mis ojos: deja mi vida trunca...
Y así voy, cual fantasma (camino del Arcano),
que aprisionar intenta con temblorosa mano
el fulgor de esa estrella que no tocaré nunca.*

*¡Ese es mi mal! Cristo: Yo no quiero la palma
del martirio. No puedo resistir mi dolor.
Yo te doy mi paraíso, pero dame tu amor (sic).
Esa estrella imposible es la amada de mi alma...
A cambio de mi gloria futura, dame calma.*

¿Y de quién creen los lectores que son esos versos? Pues nada menos que del oficial mayor de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, señor Arnulfo Pérez H., enemigo personal de Dios... Ya en 1924, fecha de la composición copiada, mostraba tendencias a la apostasía, como lo demuestran los últimos renglones de aquélla. Pero aún creía en Jesucristo como Dios y le rezaba en tono gemebundo. Después, se operó el cambio político (¡como tantos y tantos otros!); fué con Garrido Canabal; dióse a la tarea de tragafralles, y, en premio a tanta fazaña, helo ahí en un encumbrado puesto de Educación Pública.

Como el señor Pérez H., hay otros, que cambiaron la primogenitura por un plato de lentejas, a imitación de Esaú.

CALLES Luchará Contra CARDENAS

Secundado por Abelardo, Amaro y Pérez Treviño

Estamos en condiciones de dar a conocer a nuestros lectores y a todo aquel que tenga un positivo interés en el presente y en el futuro de nuestro país, cuál es la verdadera situación de México, especialmente en el orden político, en relación con la agitación que con motivo de la próxima contienda electoral se está ya produciendo y que se intensificará en los meses primeros del año entrante hasta culminar en términos hasta ahora imprevisibles. Las afirmaciones que ahora vamos a hacer, fundadas en datos de extraordinaria importancia, rigurosamente fidedignos, causarán, estamos seguros, una honda impresión no sólo en los mentideros políticos, sino en todas nuestras clases sociales.

LA SITUACION DE "AHORA"

Hasta hoy, el futurismo político, con relación a la campaña presidencial en puerta, gira en derredor de noticias de aparente o relativa importancia, que hasta ahora han salido a la superficie de la chismografía. Unos veces son los mítines y discursos de los representantes y portavoces de los intereses oficiales, las acometidas de estos testafierros contra todo lo que es legalidad o representa intereses morales o materiales legítimos, otras, son los atentados de que se valen para asegurar triunfos electorales para sus corifeos, medidas precautorias para hacerse de la maquinaria electoral hasta el último de sus engranes. Y de este cúmulo de pequeñas y mezquinas cosas, surgen los hasta ahora conocidos precandidatos, el general Avila Camacho, Múgica y Sánchez Tapia. Como marco de la escena, la miseria nacional y el inmenso descontento de toda la familia mexicana.

Pero, allá en el fondo, en esas profundidades misteriosas y oscuras donde se plasman todos los acontecimientos importantes de nuestra historia, es donde puede encontrarse la verdad de lo que hay y de lo que habrá, los prolegómenos del ya vecino conflicto nacional, el choque violento no sólo de los intereses de nuestros grandes personajes políticos y de sus camarillas, sino el de dos grandes corrientes de opinión y del que ha de salir el México definitivo del mañana.

AGRUPAMIENTO PROVISIONAL DE BANDERIAS

Someramente hablemos un poco de los tres candidatos visibles hoy y de las fuerzas con que cuenta cada uno de ellos. El general Avila Camacho es el único, ahora, que tiene en su favor elementos de importancia. La carencia de caudillos militares, hace ya años desaparecidos, hace que el ejército se haya fijado en él para que lo represente en los próximos comicios. Su carácter conciliador y cortés, su manifiesta habilidad diplomática y su tacto para no asumir esas actitudes arrogantes, altaneras y esos desplantes demagógicos a que son tan afectos otros personajes nuestros, lo han hecho popular no sólo en las filas militares sino en las políticas y aun en los mismos sectores de industriales y hombres de trabajo, que ven en Avila Camacho un probable rectificador de las medidas propias de un gobierno como el actual, violentas, inflexivas y peligrosas. Es, pues, este precandidato, un representante del revolucionario moderado.

A Múgica, los observadores sagaces no le dan mucho tiempo de vida como candidato. Su apoyo está fincado, en primero y casi único lugar, en el que pudiera prestarle el gene-

ral Cárdenas, pues no habría que contar con los elementos radicales de carácter comunista—para quien este general sería el candidato ideal por lo extremado de sus ideas de gobierno—por su misma insignificancia, pues si algún poder tienen ahora es sólo el que les da el ser amigos y correligionarios de nuestro actual presidente. Múgica, ahora, tiene el varimiento que le da su investidura de secretario del gabinete, y el que ha puesto a sus órdenes el secretario Vázquez Vela, quien ha convertido la Secretaría de Educación, prácticamente, en auxiliar mugiquista.

El general Sánchez Tapia ha surgido también como precandidato por uno de esos milagros que en México se producen y que no tienen ninguna explicación lógica. Siendo un general "del montón", sus antecedentes como funcionario público están muy lejos de ser brillantes. Algunos generales amigos personales, y otros elementos que guardan alguna gratitud por lo que este milite hizo por ellos a su paso por alguna Secretaría de Estado, son apenas las bases en que puede fincar sus espe-

ranzas para el futuro. Sánchez Tapia no crecerá un milímetro como candidato de cuidado, sino, que antes bien, los meses venideros se encargarán de desinflarlo totalmente.

OTROS CANDIDATOS

Al lado de los tres ya citados, se mencionan aún algunos otros nombres más, pero estos no tienen la más mínima importancia. Se habla en algunos corrillos del coronel Tejeda, ahora embajador de México en Barcelona, de Lombardo Toledano y de Marte Gómez, gobernador de Tamaulipas. Del primero hablaremos en los párrafos que seguirán después, pues su actuación podría hacerse de importancia, siempre que algunas circunstancias especiales se realizaran. De los otros dos, no gastaremos el tiempo en hablar de ellos, pues el jefe de la C. T. M. está absolutamente desprestigiado aun entre sus mismos dirigidos y es ya a estas horas un hombre por el que siente repugnancia la Nación ente-

ra, y en cuanto a las posibilidades de que Marte Gómez pudiera subir algunos peldaños en la escala de los candidatos, dependería de que su director espiritual, don Emilio Portes Gil, estuviera en condiciones de maniobrar con su característica habilidad en el mar proceloso de nuestra política. "Hasta hoy", Portes Gil tiene en sus manos la adhesión de algunos amigos reverentes, como el diputado don León García y el profesor indigena don Graciano Sánchez, quienes a su vez, creen contar con la Confederación de Campesinos, que no es lo mismo que la clase campesina de México.

LA VERDADERA SITUACION DEL GENERAL CARDENAS

Hasta aquí, lo accesorio, lo eventual del problema. Para comenzar a hablar de lo que positivamente tiene trascendencia fundamental en los acontecimientos, debemos tocar uno de los puntos básicos de la cuestión, la que se refiere al general Cárdenas.

Quien conozca un poco a nuestro actual Presidente, a través de sus antecedentes políticos, militares y sociales, quien lo haya estudiado conjuntamente con la marcha general de su gobierno durante los cuatro años transcurridos de su período presidencial, se da cabal cuenta de que sus declaraciones en discursos y entrevistas, tan abundantes de promesas de abstenerse personalmente de tomar parte en la próxima contienda electoral, no pasan de meras frases oficiales con el mismo valer que las otras semejantes de todos sus antecesores. El general Cárdenas quiere y hará todo lo que pueda y esté en su mano para seguir siendo un elemento de primer orden en el gobierno del país, ya sea con algún carácter oficial, o semioficial (por ejemplo, el de secretario general de una Confederación "generalísima" de obreros y campesinos—no la C. T. M.—que lo pusiera en condiciones semejantes a las de Stalin en Rusia), o, simplemente, con su prestigio de líder más o menos comunista. Todo lo que declare en contrario, lo recibirá la Nación en su verdadero y justo valor: una declaración oficial, sin importancia mayor.

El general Cárdenas, si estuviera en condiciones de escoger para su sucesor a la persona que él quisiera, se fijaría, lógicamente, en alguno de sus más íntimos colaboradores, con afinidades bien marcadas con las de él. Por ejemplo, en don Adalberto Tejeda o en el general Múgica. Pero, a pesar de todo el optimismo que pudiera todavía tener el general Cárdenas sobre este particular, esto es absolutamente imposible, por dos razones: porque la Nación comprende que el radicalismo del gobierno es la principal causa de su miseria actual, y, por lo tanto, rechazará de plano a cualquier candidato que llegara con el más leve tinte de comunizante, y, segunda, porque el ejército no se lo permitiría, pese a todas las adhesiones que ahora le hacen los distintos generales y jefes de operaciones a sus órdenes. Por lo tanto la habilidad del general Cárdenas estriba en sacar la mayor parte de ventajas posibles al candidato que surja del ejército. Si éste al fin ha de ser Avila Camacho, tendrá que someterse más o menos lealmente, a sus exigencias, cambiando su apoyo por compensaciones de importancia para el futuro, que el candidato se apresurará a otorgar, con más o menos ganas de cumplir en el porvenir. Será un pacto, pues, con todas las reservas mentales apetecibles.

Aquí terminaría esta breve ojeada a la situación general de la política electoral, si no fuera porque aún hay otros elementos que son, con el general Cárdenas, de primerísima importancia en el problema. Si las circunstancias no fueran sino las que acabamos de revisar, no se necesitaría ser un lince para predecir con muchas probabilidades de éxito, descontando, naturalmente, todo aquello que es imprevisible, como son las catástrofes que podrían ser consecuencia de la miseria general que de acentuarse más y más en el transcurso del año de 39 y en el 40, cambiarían absolutamente el panorama general, y entonces podría producirse un colapso de duración, intensidad e importancia incalculables.

Ahora bien: México no es un pastel fácil de engullir; es algo mucho más complejo que el México que se han esforzado en ver los Rodríguez, los Lombardo y demás gente cilla que aún no conocen su propia insignificancia. Pese a todas las manifestaciones optimistas de nuestros

Los "Hermanos" del General Cárdenas

Una Hermandad Falsa

gobernantes de hoy, el horno no está para bollos. La situación internacional, que hasta ahora sólo se ha manifestado en un arreglo vergonzoso para México, muy probablemente asumirá otros caracteres que serán causa preponderante de lo que habrá de venir; las condiciones económicas de México son también algo que debe tenerse en cuenta y cuyo influjo se verá en la marcha del tiempo. Otro tercer elemento existe que aunque muchos no lo crean, de afuera, compuesto por más de un millón de gente muy enérgica, de mexicanos hechos a las grandes fatigas, a los sacrificios y que saben defender no sólo sus derechos sino sus aspiraciones para el futuro, y que se parecen poco a sus compatriotas del "México de adentro", pusilánime, convenenciero y egoísta.

Invitamos a nuestros lectores a echar una rápida ojeada, una vez que se haya dado cuenta de la importancia de este tercer factor—si es que el lector es hombre serio y no toma a chacota esto que es cosa muy seria—, sobre quien podría captar y canalizar esas fuerzas aparentemente dispersas y que podrían reunirse en un solo haz.

Ese hombre es el general Plutarco Elías Calles.

LOS ANTECEDENTES

La valorización de los elementos con que podrá contar el general Calles en un momento dado, será materia de otro artículo nuestro. Por eso necesitamos puntualizar las hondas diferencias que separan a los dos altos personajes de que nos venimos ocupando, el general Cárdenas y el general Calles, nacidas de los acontecimientos de hace pocos años y que todo el mundo conoce, y que por su carácter sentimental, político, de ambición personal, los colocan, por la misma fuerza de las circunstancias, frente a frente. En este choque de hombres se versarán no solamente los intereses de ambos, sino los de México, por un largo período de tiempo. Las tendencias que lucharán entre sí, ya se saben: una organización gubernamental siguiendo inspiraciones clásicas, es decir, las que en México siempre se han seguido, tal vez corregidas, alimentadas por la experiencia social de los últimos años, por una parte, y por la otra, la continuación de las normas de hoy, también atemperadas por la

calidad, idiosincrasia y tendencias del grupo que tiene raíces estrechas con el cardenismo, aunque también esta tendencia se verá un tanto menguada en su radicalismo, principalmente por que ello es un imperativo categórico de la Nación entera, para la que los factores económicos lo son todo: primero comer y luego todo lo demás.

PRINCIPIOS DE ORGANIZACION DEL OTRO BANDO

Las noticias que ahora damos al público no se reducen nada más a apuntar la existencia de la formación del otro bando, pues los detalles de la organización del partido que llamaremos "callista", por ser el más connotativo, han llegado a perfeccionarse en lo posible.

Desde hace varios meses, seis, tal vez más, el general Calles ha emprendido muy serios trabajos de propaganda en México, pero muchísimo más importantes más allá de nuestras fronteras del norte, de tal manera, que el factor internacional pueda dar frutos apetecibles para sus designios. Por su parte, el general Abelardo Rodríguez ya ha dado color suficientemente preciso para poner en duda sus afinidades con un partido anticardenista. Esto explica bien claro cuál fué el propósito suyo cuando escribió sus artículos de censura contra Rusia—que publicó un diario de la capital—, cuyas actuales condiciones de vida pintó con los más negros colores.

LA DESIGNACION DE CANDIDATO

Asistiendo personalmente o por medio de delegados debidamente acreditados, hace poco se celebró en San Diego, residencia habitual del

general Calles, una reunión que tuvo caracteres definitivos. Uno de los principales objetos de esta importante junta fué la de designar una personalidad que reuniera todas las condiciones excepcionales que se requieren para ser candidato de oposición, es decir, que a más de los méritos culturales y morales que se requieren para el objeto, goce de prestigio en el país y tenga los arrestos de "hombre" necesarios para llegar a cualquier parte que sea necesario.

Primero sonó en esa reunión el nombre del general Manuel Pérez Treviño, para ser después substituido con el del general Amaro, substitución que fué aceptada por el primeramente citado. Según nuestras informaciones, se tiene la seguridad casi absoluta de que será el divisionario Amaro quien asuma finalmente el papel de candidato presidencial.

Entretanto, los trabajos de propaganda siguen en toda su fuerza. Los agentes del nuevo partido siguen en gran actividad, sobre todo en todos aquellos lugares de los Estados Unidos, principalmente en la frontera, en que existen grandes conglomerados de mexicanos.

Y el gobierno del general Cárde-

nas, para quien seguramente estas noticias no ofrecen ninguna novedad, parece que se ha dado cuenta del peligro que puede entrañar para un feliz éxito en la campaña próxima electoral el acrecentamiento del poderío del naciente partido. A esta causa parece que obedece el deseo del general Cárdenas de festinar la repatriación de algunos centenares de miles de mexicanos expatriados, labor de romanos punto menos que impracticable, pero, por lo menos, aquellos compatriotas nuestros se darán cuenta del amor con que los trata nuestro actual Presidente y con eso se habrá alcanzado algún resultado práctico.

En suma, México se verá envuelto en una terrible contienda electoral en que tirios y troyanos le ofrecerán el oro y el moro, pero, sea quien sea el que se lleve al fin el galardón de la victoria, no será, es seguro, la entrada al paraíso lo que consigamos.

Nuestras informaciones sobre este palpitante asunto, son completas y extensísimas, que por falta de espacio no damos a conocer en el presente número. En nuestra próxima edición seguiremos ocupándonos de esta importante cuestión.

Recortes de Prensa.

ORDER CATALOG NO. 50418R

With binder this comes
in a convenient box and
is a good gift for
anyone who likes to
keep things in order.

Perinon Rand

THE LEXINGTON BOOK CO.