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MEXICO CITY, FEB. 1--(UP)--PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES, EXILED FORMER PRESIDENT OF MEXIC, "CAN RETURN TO MEXICO WHENVER HE FEELS LIKE IT," PRESIDENT LAZARO CARDENAS SAID TODAY IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN THE NEWSPAPER LA PRENSA.

CALLES HAS BEEN LIVING IN SAN DIEGO, CALIF., FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

"GEN. CALLES CAN RETURN TO MEXICO WHENEVER HE FEELS LIKE IT," THE NEWSPAPER QUOTED CARDENAS AS SAYING. "THE AMNESTY LAW INCLUDES ALL EXILED PERSONS AND THERE IS NO REASON TO IMPEDE GEN. CALLES' RETURN WHENEVER HE LIKES.

"THE DOORS OF MEXICO ARE OPEN."

UNDER THE AMNESTLY LAW NUMEROUS FORMER POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAVE RETUNRED TO MEXICO. INCLUDED IN THIS GROUP ARE ARCHBISHOP RUIZ Y. FLORES AND FORMER SECRETARY OF EDUCATION JOSE VASCONCELOS.

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Gen. Calles Welcome In Mexico; President Cardenas Says So

Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles, who rode through Mexico's "bloody years" to establish a reign of peace, only later to be exiled, now can return to his native country. S.D. Sun
2-1-39
(245)

FRANCE MAY SEND 50,000 TO BORDER

PERPIGNAN, French - Spanish Frontier. — Albert Sarraut, minister of interior, and Marc Rucart, minister of public health, ended an inspection of the French border opposite Catalonia today and considered whether to recommend immediate enforcement of French security plan No. 1, which would involve mobilization of 50,000 active troops on the frontier.

The ministers came to the border from Paris to take charge of the care of Spanish Loyalist refugees.

Reports that the security plan might be invoked were circulated, however, because simultaneously with their arrival there were rumors that Italian troops, removed from the Barcelona area, had been sent to the frontier, and that Italy intended to land a contingent of men on the Loyalist sea-coast near France.

MISSING MAN HUNTED

Missing from his home since Saturday, Fred L. Simpson, 55, of 924 Eighth-av, was sought by police today. He is 5 feet 11 inches tall, has gray eyes, and weighs 175 pounds, and was wearing a brown coat, blue shirt, gray cap, and dark trousers when last seen.

enor ————— ???????



President L a z a r o Cardenas, the United Press reported from Mexico City, said today the former president of Mexico, who now resides in San Diego, "may return to Mexico whenever he feels like it."

Gen. Calles came to San Diego in April of 1936, a few hours after he was forced by President Cardenas' order to leave his beloved Mexico. After a few hours in Los Angeles, the general brought his family here. The family lived at 4320 Middlesex-dr for a time, then moved to the present Calles residence, 1212 Upas-st.

DOORS OPEN

"The amnesty law includes all exiled persons, and there is no reason to impede Gen. Calles' return whenever he likes," President Cardenas was quoted as saying. "The doors of Mexico are open."

Under the Mexican amnesty law, numerous former political and religious leaders have returned to Mexico. Included in this group are Archbishop Ruiz y Flores and former Secretary of Education Jose Vasconcelos.

Gen. Calles could not be reached for a statement today, but it was believed he has decided to make his permanent home here.

Once one of Mexico's "iron men," master in a land that knew Emiliano Zapata, Pancho Villa and the soldier of fortune, Huerta, the general was in poor health when he came here nearly three years ago. He has led a quiet, sequestered life since that fateful April, and now is in good health again, his close friends say.

POWER DISPUTED

After his exile, which came on the heels of his political differences with the then new President Cardenas, the general made this statement

"I belong in the United States, since I am no longer wanted in Mexico. There is nothing in the Mexican constitution that speaks of the president having power to exile. But I will not even bother to bring this up publicly. If that is what the government wants, I must be satisfied."

In the past two and a half years, however, Gen. Calles may have had a change of heart. Now, with the way clear, he may wish to at least return to his native land for a visit.

BOMBER OFF TO TEST STRATO EQUIPMENT

MARCH FIELD, RIVERSIDE—An Army bomber took off here today en route to Dayton, Ohio, to test newly-developed equipment for flying in the sub-stratosphere at altitudes beyond range of present anti-aircraft guns.

The plane flew here yesterday non-stop from the Boeing Aircraft plant at Seattle.

Gen. Plutarco Calles Spurs Cardenas Amnesty Offer; Claims Conditions In Mexico 'Worse'

Ex-President Silent
On Expropriations

Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles, former president and "strong man" of Mexico, said today he had "no thought" of accepting President Lazaro Cardenas' invitation to return to Mexico.

Speaking through his interpreter-secretary, George Castellanos, Gen. Calles said he would refuse the amnesty granted him and all other exiles "because I have committed no act, broken no law, nor done anything that should cause the administration to grant me amnesty."

The former president spoke from the home of his daughter, Mrs. Hortensia Torreblanca, 1212 Upast. He has lived with his daughter since April 11, 1936, when President Cardenas bundled him into an airplane and had him shipped out of the country "for reasons of public health."

DOORS OPEN

President Cardenas, in an interview published in the Mexico City newspaper La Prensa, was quoted as saying that Gen. Calles "can return to Mexico whenever he feels like it. The doors of Mexico are open."

There was a note of bitterness in the general's voice when he said:

"The present administration is trying to rectify their unjustifiable act of expulsion by offering to allow me to return to my homeland."

The hale and hearty-looking ex-president explained that his feelings toward the Cardenas government were "absolutely the same"



PRESIDENT CARDENAS . . .
"The door to Mexico is open."

as when he was exiled. At that time he openly expressed dissatisfaction with the leftist movement in Mexico.

SILENT ON POLICY

Regarding the confiscation of American and British properties in Mexico, Senor Calles was non-committal.

"At present I have nothing to say for publication regarding the expropriation by the government of foreign properties," said, frowning deeply. "However, I may make a statement later regarding my position on this question."

The ex-president paused a long time before he ruefully cited his opinion that conditions in Mexico were "much worse" than when he was exiled nearly three years ago.

"The immediate future is very disquieting," Gen. Calles said. "The Mexican people, however, will not tolerate for long the abridgement of their constitutional powers, and they will do everything under these constitutional powers to restore Mexico to a state of normalcy."

The general was particularly



GEN. CALLES . . . "But I don't want to enter."

emphatic about the use of the "constitutional" powers of the Mexican people.

When questioned as to his own future, Senor Calles smiled, shrugged his shoulders and answered, "Quien sabe"—who knows—"I am happy here with my family and I'm enjoying your American hospitality."

Would he ever go back to Mexico?

Again the general smiled, shrugged his shoulders and, with a wistful look, replied:

"Quien sabe?"

GOODWILL REVEALS \$37,789 PAYROLL

Goodwill Industries of San Diego announced today that its 1938 payroll amounted to \$37,789.75 paid to the aged and handicapped.

The figure was less than the 1937 payroll, due to the decline in prices paid for old newspapers and other salvage material.

Expropiación de los Bienes de la Compañía Azucarera del Mante

Expropiación de los Bienes...

La Secretaría de la Economía Nacional tomará
posesión y levantará los inventarios

(Viene de la primera plana)

El Presidente de la República expidió ayer el siguiente acuerdo:

"Lázaro Cárdenas, Presidente Constitucional de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, con fundamento en la fracción novena del artículo primero y demás relativos de la Ley de Expropiación de veintitrés de noviembre de mil novecientos treinta y seis, y en el inciso A. del Artículo tercero de la Ley de treinta de diciembre último, que crea el Impuesto adicional sobre el azúcar; y

CONSIDERANDO que las instituciones nacionales de crédito han sido establecidas para alcanzar propósitos de beneficio colectivo y sólo la realización de estas finalidades justifica el apoyo financiero que el Estado y el público les prestan;

CONSIDERANDO que los cargos públicos deben ser desempeñados lealmente y no aprovecharse para propósitos de interés particular, criterio éste que el Ejecutivo de mi cargo ha expuesto en la iniciativa de Ley de Responsabilidades de los Funcionarios Públicos enviada al H. Congreso de la Unión, en la que se sanciona a los que hagan uso indebido de su posición oficial, asegurando por este medio los intereses morales y económicos de la Nación;

CONSIDERANDO que la inversión por las Instituciones Nacionales de Crédito de capitales pertenecientes al Estado o al público, mediante operaciones logradas por influencias de carácter político y pa-

ra llenar propósitos predominantemente de interés particular, debe calificarse como una notoria y censurable desviación del objeto que justifica la existencia de dichas instituciones y es preciso, para que esa desviación no prevalezca, tomar medidas que corrijan los efectos inconvenientes de tales operaciones y procuren que la inversión no continúe destinada a explotarse para beneficio individual, sino que se convierta en una fuente económica de provecho social;

CONSIDERANDO que la negociación agrícola industrial pertene-

(Sigue en la Página Trece)

Huelga de Electricistas en el Estado de Aguascalientes

Unicamente para EL UNIVERSAL

AGUASCALIENTES, Ags., febrero 17 de 1939.—Sigue en pie el emplazamiento de huelga de los electricistas contra la empresa que proporciona en esta ciudad el servicio de luz y fuerza, y es de temerse que el movimiento estalle el próximo día 23, a pesar de que las partes están celebrando pláticas de avenencia en Conciliación.

La empresa alega que ya ha accedido a la mayor parte de las peticiones de los trabajadores, pero que no está en condiciones de elevar los salarios en la proporción de setenta y cinco por ciento que exigen, pues de ser así operaría con pérdidas cuantiosas.

EL CORRESPONSAL.

ciente a la Compañía Azucarera del Mante, S. A., fue establecida por un grupo de personas que emplearon para ello fondos obtenidos del Banco de México, valiéndose de la influencia de que disfrutaban gracias a su posición privilegiada y a los puestos públicos que servían;

CONSIDERANDO que los cuantiosos préstamos obtenidos del Banco de México por los organizadores de la referida empresa no fueron para fines de beneficio general, ni se concedieron dentro de las funciones para las cuales el Banco Central se estableció; carecieron además de garantía suficiente y se otorgaron cuando algunos de los fundadores de la Compañía desempeñaban funciones directivas en el Banco, habiendo logrado un aumento del préstamo inicial hasta cerca de once millones de pesos y ampliación de los datos relativos a un límite total de diecisiete años, así como sucesivas reducciones del tipo de interés originalmente pactado, en forma de que actualmente el saldo del adeudo asciende todavía a más de nueve millones de pesos incluyendo los intereses;

CONSIDERANDO que el Ejecutivo de mi cargo estima que en casos concretos como el de que se trata existe causa de utilidad pública bien justificada para decretar la expropiación de los bienes adquiridos en tales condiciones con fondos provenientes de una institución nacional de crédito, pues es indispensable que la empresa creada con dinero de esa procedencia opere en provecho de los obreros y campesinos que en ella prestan sus servicios y deje así de tener finalidades de lucro particular para convertirse en fuente económica que aproveche a núcleos sociales de importancia, colocándose al ingenio de El Mante en condiciones similares a las del ingenio "Emiliano Zapata" que el gobierno federal ha establecido en Zatepec, Morelos, y en el que las utilidades se destinan para beneficio directo de los campesinos y obreros del propio ingenio.

Por lo expuesto, he tenido a bien expedir el siguiente

ACUERDO:

PRIMERO.—Se expropián por causa de utilidad pública, en beneficio de la Nación, los bienes pertenecientes a la Compañía Azucarera de El Mante, S. A., que constituyen la negociación agrícola-industrial, destinada a la producción de azúcar y de alcohol.

SEGUNDO.—La Secretaría de la Economía Nacional, con intervención de la de Hacienda y Crédito Público, tomará posesión de los bienes expropiados, levantándose los inventarios correspondientes.

TERCERO.—Para los efectos del presente acuerdo el valor de los bienes expropiados se fijará en los términos del artículo 10 de la Ley de Expropiación.

CUARTO.—Los bienes expropiados se pondrán en su oportunidad a disposición del Banco Nacional Obrero de Fomento Industrial, a fin de que los conceda en explotación a la Cooperativa de Participación Estatal que al efecto se organice con los obreros y campesinos actualmente interesados en el funcionamiento de la negociación, conforme a las bases que el Ejecutivo Federal establezca de acuerdo con las Ley General de Sociedades Cooperativas y Constitutiva del Banco Obrero.

QUINTO.—Publíquese este acuerdo en el Diario Oficial de la Federación y notifíquese a la Compañía afectada en los términos del artículo 40. de la Ley de Expropiación.

Dado en la residencia del Poder Ejecutivo Federal, en la ciudad de México, Distrito Federal, a los dieciocho días del mes de febrero del año de mil novecientos treinta y nueve.

El Presidente de la República,
LAZARO CARDENAS.—El Secretario de Hacienda y Crédito Público,
Lic. EDUARDO SUAREZ.—El Secretario de la Economía Nacional,
EFRAIN BUENROSTRO."

Expropiación de los Bienes de la *Expropiación* Compañía Azucarera del Mante *de los Bienes...*

(Viene de la primera plana)

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CUANTIOSOS NEGOCIOS DEL CALLISMO, EN AVERIGUACION

La Prensa 27/2/39.
**En la Procuraduría de la República se está ahondando
sobre los despilfarros que se cometieron
durante aquel régimen**

Sucios negocios de favorecidos del callismo, entre los que se mencionan el azucarero de "El Mante" y la compraventa de ciertos aeroplanos son los que, según sabemos extraoficialmente, trata de averiguar la Procuraduría General de la República y por lo cual citó a declarar la semana pasada a los señores Fernando Torreblanca y Enrique Schondube.

Sin embargo, los dos connotados callistas no se presentaron en la Procuraduría y por ello ésta ordenó ya a su Policía Judicial que los invite para que lo hagan inmediatamente, pues se quiere terminar la investigación lo más pronto posible.

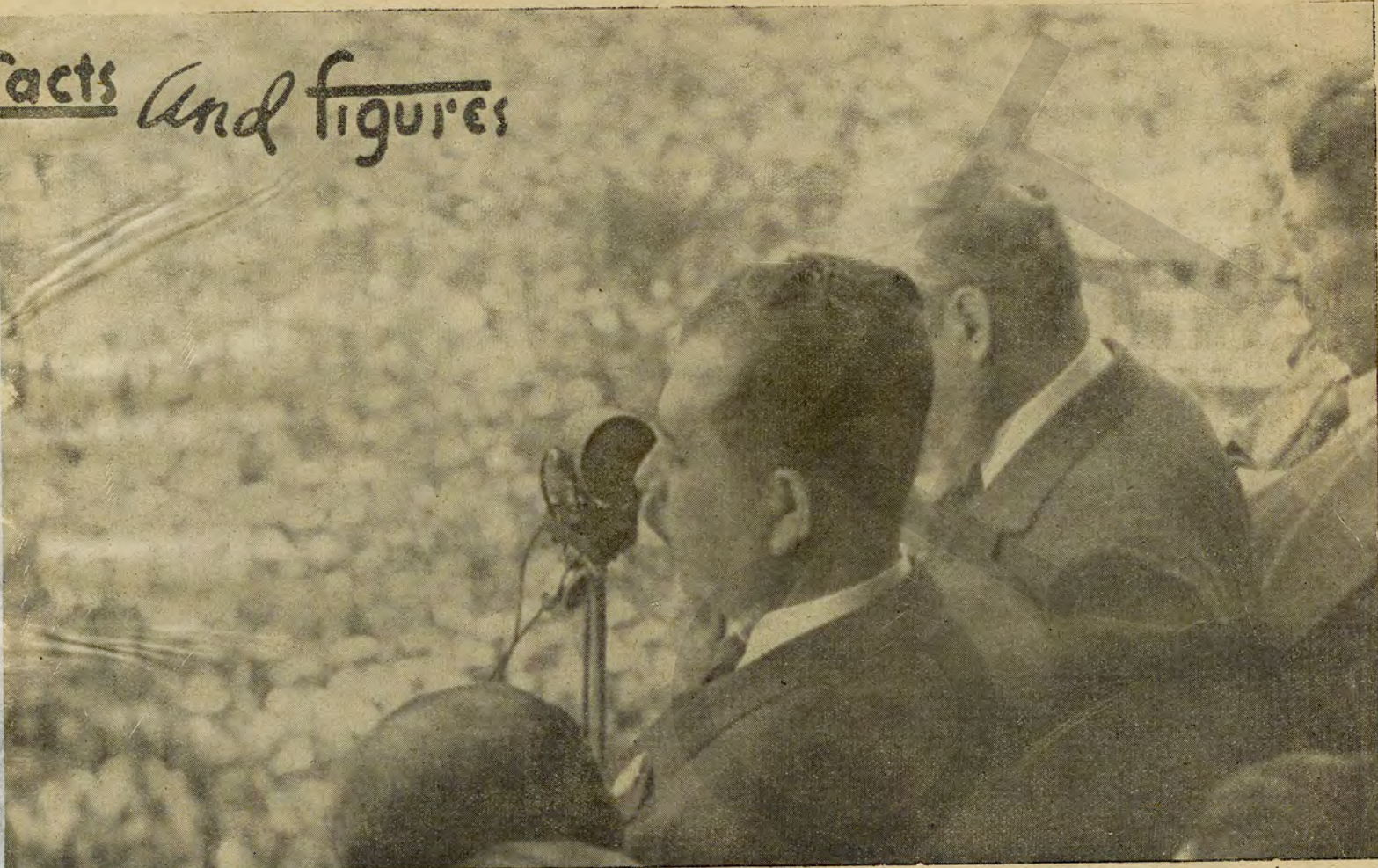
La Procuraduría General se ha mostrado silenciosa a los periodistas y por ello no hay aún ningún informe oficial que diga claramente cuál de todos los turbios negocios de la dictadura callista es el que se investiga.

Por esto en los corrillos políticos y de la Procuraduría se afirma que el negocio de "El Mante" y el de una venta de aviones que Torreblanca y Schondube hicieron al Gobierno, cuando imperaba aún Calles, son los que se van a desmenuzar, pues hubo especialmente en el segundo un despilfarro de dineros escandalosísimo, y que los aviones se vendieron al cuádruplo de su real valor. Después de la averiguación, la Procuraduría dirá si hay responsabilidad para estas personas o sobre qué funcionarios del callismo, recaen; pues la Nación no puede por ningún motivo perder tanto dinero.

Pero lo más sensacional del asunto es que si es exacto que el ex general Calles llega a venir a México, como lo ha prometido, no sólo se le citará para que declare también en ciertos casos, sino que se dictará orden de aprehensión, pues así lo afirman varios diputados que están enterados del asunto que investiga la Procuraduría.

Agregan nuestros informantes, que si esta dependencia no procede en forma enérgica, ellos están dispuestos a exigirlo.

Facts and figures



Mexico Reviews Achievements, Celebrating First Anniversary of Oil Expropriation

General Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico, is shown here addressing the Mexican people on a nation-wide broadcast from the National Palace, Sunday March, 19th., 1939. His speech climaxed a two-day celebration of the first anniversary of his historic decree returning to the country the ownership of the oil industry, March, 18th., 1938.

THE historical "Zocalo", or main square of Mexico City surrounded by the Cathedral, the National Palace and the Municipal Hall, presented a magnificent aspect Sunday March 19th, when approximately 100,000 people, representing all government, labor and farm unions, met there to hear President Lazaro Cardenas' speech which climaxed a two-day celebration of the first anniversary of the expropriation of foreign oil properties.

After a parade through the principal streets of Mexico City, delegations entered the Zocalo simultaneously from different directions, and by eleven o'clock the square, as well as nearby streets, were jammed; people were even perched on light posts, or seated atop the Cathedral's twin towers, from which a huge banner hung, reading:

"The Party of the Mexican Revolution Greets Cardenas, Champion of our Economic Independence".

Reports from all important cities, towns and villages, described similar demonstrations of joy throughout the country, which would indicate that the whole Mexican people were in accordance with President Cardenas' action against the 17 American and British oil companies which refused to obey the Supreme Court's decision last year.

Most cordial item in the program to celebrate the first anniversary of the expropriation of oil properties, was a lunch served in the Mexico City Bull ring March 18th, in which President Lazaro Cardenas, as well as oil labor leaders, heard from Eng. Vicente Cortes Herrera, Manager of the Oil Ad-

TO THE READERS OF FACTS AND FIGURES:

This complete edition is dedicated to the first anniversary of the expropriation of the foreign oil companies operating in Mexico, by presidential decree on March 18th, 1938.

In the reading matter you will find important declarations by President Cardenas, who gives a summary of the situation; also a synthesis of speeches by prominent leaders: Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Luis I. Rodriguez.

The celebration of the first anniversary coincided with the conferences between Presidente Cardenas and Mr. Donald Richberg, who represents the foreign oil companies and came to Mexico attempting to reach an amicable solution of the problems resulting from the expropriation. Mr. Richberg's statements are also included, as well as the official announcements.

With this issue we begin installments of a very interesting and comprehensive study of the entire oil situation in Mexico.

ministration, of achievements during his 12-month-old assignment.

"We have conquered a great number of obstacles created by the oil companies and other powerful capitalists, and obtained restitution of embargoed vessels and products through the decisions of foreign tribunals, who thus recognized our national sovereignty and the lawfulness of our Government's acts," said Cortes Herrera.

"New markets were found", he announced, "in spite of the strong opposition of involved companies, who attempted by all means to blockade the Mexican oil."

In support of his statement that Mexican workers have equalled the efficiency of foreign experts, Cortes Herrera reported an output of 37,155,376 barrels from March 1938 to January 1939, and the refining of more than two million cubic meters of lubricating oils and gasoline for exportation and local consumption.

"Besides the S. S. Cuauhtemoc and 4 towboats, we have rented the S. S. Litiopa for service between Gulf ports," he informed President Cardenas. "We have also signed a contract for the construction of three 10,000 ton vessels."

"As regards to social service," he said, "we now have three times as many doctors as the companies had, as well as a number of new hospitals, schools, playgrounds and modern houses for field workers and their families."

He finished his report emphasizing the strategical value of the Mexican oil, in the face of "ever increasing war preparations in Old Europe."



This photo shows part of the 100,000 Mexican workers congregated in the wide Mexico City's main square —Plaza de la Constitución—, on Sunday March 19th., 1939, celebrating the first anniversary of the expropriation of the foreign-owned oil industry. Each labor, farm and government union carried banners in which were written slogans backing the Mexican administration. At the right may be seen a huge portrait of Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas.

The Oil Expropriation Assures the Economic and Political Stability of Mexico, Said President Cardenas

In a radio speech, heard by tens of thousands gathered in Mexico City's main plaza and nation-wide broadcast, President Cardenas, speaking from a balcony of the National Palace, outlined the oil controversy.

Following are extracts from his speech:

THE act which we commemorate today with the support of the nation and the enthusiasm of the Mexican youth and the labor unions, will have the historical transcendence of consolidating the economic and political stability of Mexico, thereby strengthening a Government of the People and for the People, since the expropriation meant the elimination of the old system of concessions and privileges that had taken away from our own nationals the control of their lands, forests, waters and subsoil wealth.

"Our territory, with unvaluable riches hidden under its surface, was made the objective of the penetration of foreign organizations that had adopted the custom of regarding Latin American countries as mere colonies of exploi-

tation, constituting themselves in economic forces superior to the sovereign power of the governments.

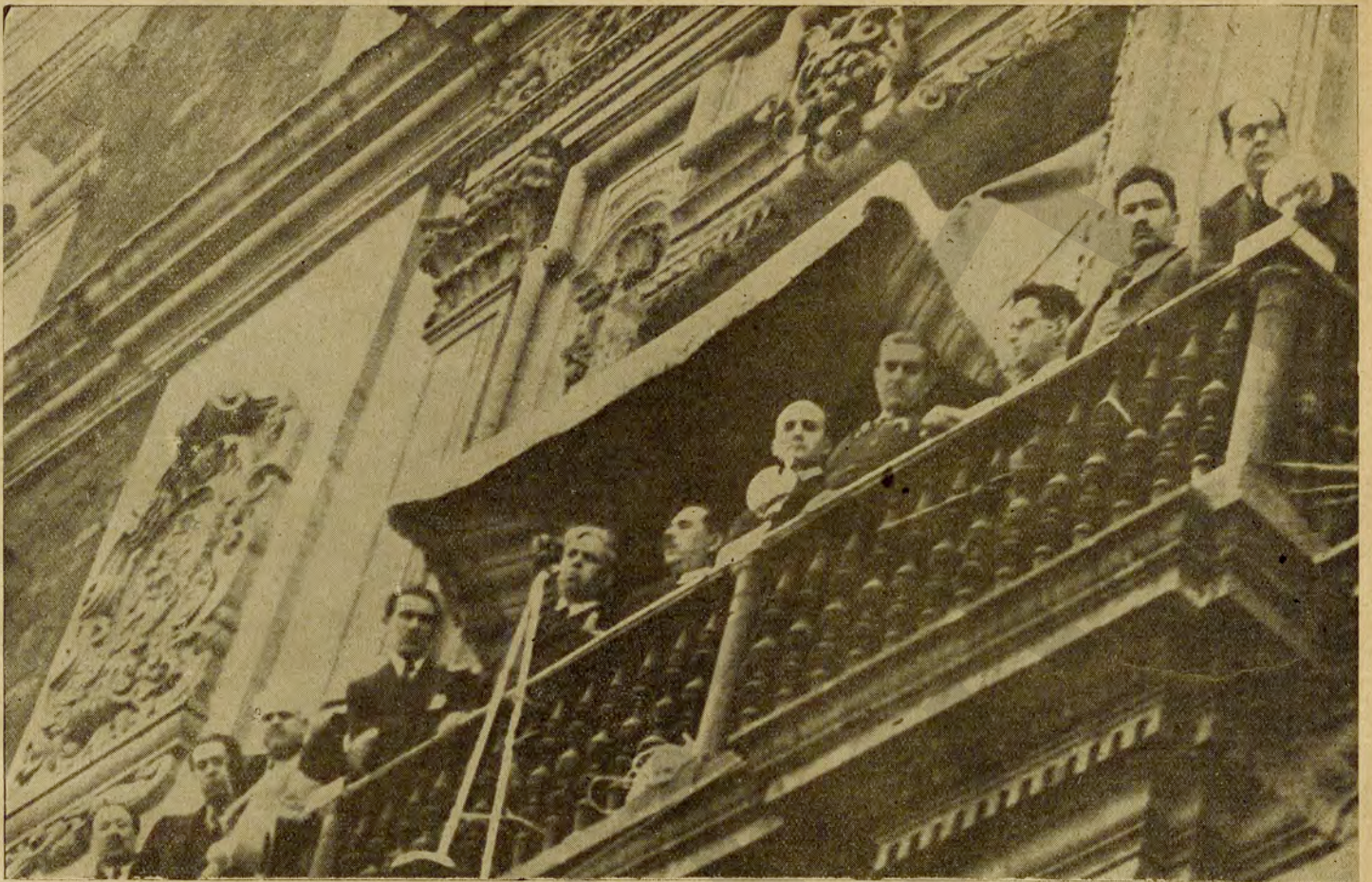
"In the face of this problem, the Revolutionary Government had to enforce the principles of the Constitution which in 1917 gave back to the Country the inalienable, direct control of the subsoil, and freed the Republic of the guardianship of elements anxious to see the rights of the Nation nullified, and who had made it a practice to obstruct the enforcement of the most fundamental laws by way of diplomatic coercion or mercenary revolts.

"On the present Administration fell the duty of enforcing the law to those oil companies who had rebelled against specific mandates of the highest tribunals of the Federal justice and in view of the attitude of the people, who gave their support to the defense of the national institutions when the expropriation was decreed, the companies launched a fiery campaign through the foreign press, in an endeavor to crack the domestic economy; but, fortunately, the Government averted the depression, reaffirmed its prestige, thus allowing the revolutionary principles to enroot

deeper in the heart of the Nation, and established a transcendental precedent which was climaxed by the recognition of the lawfulness of its cause, by foreign tribunals.

"So justified was Mexico's attitude, that it could not have been interpreted as a hostile measure against the industrial capital, but rather as an unavoidable step of self-defense against the rebellious stand of the employers, who inspired by an unlimited yearning to profit, had so far ignored the welfare of the workers. Most remarkable of the healthy results of this situation, is that a number of capitalists have since adopted a more comprehensive attitude towards the needs of the workers and our Country, without detriment to their reasonable gains.

"The reincorporation of the oil subsoil rights to the hands of the Nation, contributed to build up the territorial patrimony which all Mexicans are forced to defend, particularly these revolutionary elements who since 1917 pledged their honor to the faithful observance of the reivindicative principles, and above all the whole Mexican youth, who have now received in trust this



national patrimony for which the Nation has so much trouble, internal strife and unsatiable appetites.

"One year has elapsed since the expropriation of the petroleum industry, and during that time we have succeeded in improving the organization of the oil industry, in securing several world markets, making new installations and acquiring the means of transportation needed by the industry to export its products.

"Different activities have been centralized with satisfactory results and our principal concern is still focussed on the development of this vital industry which is surrounded by favorable conditions, such as the capacity of its workers and executives, the wealth of its oil reservoirs and the ever-increasing foreign demand.

"The conscious and disciplined attitude of the oil workers and the loyal cooperation of the executives and experts in charge of this industry, are the results of the nationalization dictated by the Mexican Government.

"On its part, the Department of National Economy is about to complete the valuation of the expropriated properties, which will be announced within the next few days.

"The controversy with the oil companies which arose of the expropriation of their interests, is reaching a definite solution through a plan of cooperation presented to the Government by the companies' representatives, where by those companies will contribute the value of the indemnization for their expropriated interests and new inversions in cash, to the fulfilment of the plan under which the Government will retain control of the oil administration.

"In view of the foregoing, I have thought it convenient to appeal once more to all Mexicans to give with optimism and good will, their personal efforts to simplify the development of the country. I also appeal to all labor unions, to whom I have always spoken as responsible and loyal friend, to discipline their ranks, increase their pro-

duction capacity, their technical efficiency and the responsibility of their leaders, in order to prove, in spite of temporary political crisis, that they deserved the support received from the Government to uphold the workmen's rights, and to administrate those services of public utility that had previously been handled from abroad, as well as to control sources of production long in the hands of money trusts.

"Finally, I will continue devoting my attention to see that the country complies strictly to the law, correcting those diversions that may tend to take us away from the social channels outlined by the Mexican Revolution; I will also persist in a firm defense of the program by means of fruitful labor enterprises, rather than by violent acts, since even the life of our oppositionists deserves respect, as only in this manner can we be authorized to assure that there is a real, individual liberty, so justly demanded by the Mexican people, in this Country."

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, leader of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, spoke at the mass meeting, praising President Cardenas for his action in companies' properties, scorning expropriating the foreign oil those who predicted the collapse of the administration, and lashing international Fascism.

Here is what Lombardo Toledano said:

"Just a year ago Mexico realized one of the important acts of her history; the expropriation of the Petroleum Industry. And the political regime did not collapse, nor was proletarian organization dissolved; the Mexican people go on living, and the Mexican Revolution continues its triumphal march. All the prophets, the pessimistic affirmations that Mexico would have to fail and that the government of Cardenas would have to fall with a crash were shown in

General Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico (before the microphone), in the main balcony of the National Palace, presiding over the big popular demonstration in the Constitution Square, in occasion of the first anniversary of the expropriation of the oil foreign companies. At his right may be seen Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador at Washington. The foto was taken on Sunday March, 19th., 1939.

their true light of simple cowardly affirmations, slanderers, anti-patriotic and counter-revolutionaries. Here we are, after one year, with the Government of Cardenas stronger than ever. The proletariat more consciencious and stronger than before. Here is Mexico with more international prestige than ever, after one year of the oil expropriation.

"This was made possible only because the expropriation was not a bureaucratic action but a simple administrative agreement dictated from above, without corresponding vibration from the soul and body of the people. Nor was it a tumultuous act of an unconcious people that the government planted to be resolved by the authorities. No, the expropriation was a perfect act of our democracy, a revolutionary act of the government, that was an echo of the feeling and desire of the masses, and a conscious attitude of the people, enthusiastic but intelligent and wise, backing the legitimate government of the country so that our national dignity was defended and protected in every way...

"It is necessary to affirm our position when we work with interest and enthusiasm, backing the government of Mexico in cementing the foundations of economic independence of the country. It is a necessity in our Continent that Fascism does not intervene in the



internal affairs of each other country, nor should it occupy a prominent place in continental politics because America is the only force capable of making Fascism fall back and to help old Occidental Europe in regaining the institutions that she has not been able to keep sound. For the first time in history, the people of the Americas, with the United States leading it, have a common duty to fulfill: the fight for the liberty of the Western Hemisphere; a fight that will necessarily result in benefit to many thousands of beings that are now victims of Fascist governments of Europe. For the first time in history we are placed on a plane of equality with the United States; we are the same as the United States as they are the same as we; we are the same, the twenty Ibero-American peoples and the great neighboring peoples; we all have the same mission to realize and the governments of these peoples have also a common goal to reach...

"We congratulate ourselves on having passed the first year after the expropriation in such a brilliant way. This triumph is a promise of new immediate victories; we are happy on having known how to fulfill our duties as Mexicans and our duty as a young democracy in a world troubled with grave threats..."

THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD SALUTE CARDENAS

"We salute Cardenas in the name of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America. In the name of the Proletariat of Cuba, of Columbia, Venezuela, Ecuador Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentine; in the name of thousands and thousands of men and women, old and young, that fight too, like Mexico, for the liberation of their countries. We salute the example of Cardenas as a stimulant, as another

Emphasizing the amicable atmosphere in which the oil conferences were held between President Cardenas and Mr. Donald R. Richberg, representing the American oil interests, was the luncheon offered by the Mexican Chief Executive at the famous Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City. From left to right can be identified Mr. Aguirre, First Secretary of the American Embassy; Eng. Eduardo Hay, Foreign Relations Secretary; Mr. Josephus Daniels, American Ambassador in Mexico; General Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico; Mr. Donald R. Richberg, Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador in Washington, and two President Cardenas' aides. Seated are: Mrs. Hay, Mrs. Daniels, Mrs. Cardenas, Mrs. Richberg and Mrs. Castillo Najera.

promise that the world can regain rapidly the privileges of humanity outraged by violence and barbarity."

Other speaker at the big demonstration was Luis I. Rodriguez, chairman of the Mexican Revolutionary Party. Following are the high-lights of his speech:

"Traditionally a foreigner in Mexico was a privileged person; the nation's laws, the courts' findings, the will of the people, were all skillfully eluded by the owners of the great (oil) industry. Simply because of the fact of having brought in capital from outside, they reputed themselves arbiters of the destiny of Mexico and in an effort to keep their properties they used the countless riches realized by the sweat of the workers; they also took advantage of their inequitable concessions.

"The Revolution wanted to clean up this intolerable state of things, not because of ignorance of the rights that are acknowledged to the contractors in the modern world, but for a categorical demand of equality before the law and respect of national dignity. But the chains that tie up any country that has not fully evolutionized economically, like Mexico, and subordinate it to the capitalistic metropolis of the

world, arrested for many years efficient action of the governments, who, perhaps, fearful of grave disorders, unsurmountable disturbances or rebellions provoked from outside, did not dare to enforce the laws and give ample guarantees to the workers.

CARDENAS AWAKENED MEXICAN PEOPLE

"It was necessary that during this far-reaching renovation of public life, which we are still going through without seeing it lose any of its power, that a man like Cardenas who embodies the historical will of the nation as no other has, would accept the challenge of those trying to gibe again at the decisions of Mexican jurisdiction.

"With clear revolutionary judgement, President Cardenas dealt with the petroleum industry as are really all mechanisms of production: — simply a medium of satisfying general necessities, a fountain of economic value whose usefulness should work for the community where it exists; not as a weapon or untouchable stronghold of companies used to rule countries to their will, under a slight appearance of autonomy. So he expropriated those properties that the companies wanted to use to paralyze the economic life of Mexico."

THE MEXICAN PETROLEUM

“Stolen property”?

By PAUL BORACRES

The figures indicated in Mexican pesos here are calculated at the rate prevalent at the time of the expropriation, (one dollar for 3.60 pesos Mexican.) To obtain the equivalent in French francs multiply the number of pesos by ten.

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FOREWORD

During thirty-seven years imperialistic petroleum trusts assumed an attitude toward Mexico as if it were a colonial possession or even less. Wasting of sub-soil wealth, a shameless exploitation of native labor and of native consumer, revolutions fomented to suit selfish convenience, foreign interventions all these are debts which Mexico owes in connection with the oil question. Mexico has suffered everything, and this has been her reward.

And these trusts also have had the impertinence to declare themselves in overt rebellion against the State, placing the very existence of the government itself in imminent danger, forcing President Cardenas by their attitude to apply a perfectly legal safeguard for the protection of the vital interests of the Nation; that is, expropriation for public benefit.

Immediately newspapers and other publications in the hire of the petroleum imperialists unchained in all the world a campaign of difamation of unheard of violence. What! A small nation had dared to insist that the all-powerful monopolies should respect the law? Expropriation for public benefit, a procedure well known in all civilized countries of the world, became automatically in this case “and act of brigandage” and the Mexican petroleum “stolen property”.

The trusts, with their accustomed audacity, made these charges. Was Mexican petroleum “stolen property”? It was indeed, for a long time but precisely on the 18th of March, 1938, “stolen property” was what it ceased to be.

The European public, whom the trusts attempted to deceive with their usual cynicism, will find in these pages irrefutable proofs which will enable it to form its own opinion in accordance with the truth.

MEXICAN PETROLEUM

is it “stolen property”?

FIRST CHAPTER

THE EXPLOITATION OF PETROLEUM IN MEXICO

1.—A new Eldorado.

Petroleum, etymologically “oil of stone”, hides a long history behind an appearance of modernism. It is mentioned in Genesis with reference to the Ark of Noah, and in mythology and other ancient literature. History tells us that the ancient peoples of Egypt, Palestine, of Arabia, of Mesopotamia and of Persia all knew and used petroleum. However the intense use of this product and its industrial development are of relatively recent date, the true petroleum industry having been born about the middle of the past century.

And also in Mexico, although the Indians knew petroleum and used it as an incense and as a medicine before the beginning of the Columbian period, the petroleum industry is of very recent date, not having really commenced until the beginning of the present century. Just at the end of the 19th Century, before the discovery of the rich oil gushers of this country, the powerful American trust, the Standard Oil Company, held Mexico as one of its most undisputable dominions and also one of the most profitable. Not having to fear competition of any kind the Company

cynically took abusive advantage of the situation. It imported crude petroleum from the American fields nearest to Mexico, this they refined in their Mexican refineries and sold in that country at a profit which varied between 500 and 600 percent.

It was in 1901 that the industrial development of Mexican fields began. The production of that year was very modest, reaching only 10,345 barrels. Production increased with rhythmic acceleration, especially since the year 1911 which marks the beginning of the prodigious increase which reached its highest point in 1921, a year in which Mexico produced 193,397,587 barrels, about a quarter of the production of the world. “It is Mexico today which will save the world”, then wrote a French specialist. “The United States, which leads in production, has not even enough oil for its own needs and is compelled to appeal to other countries to make up the deficit. Despite all its efforts the United States had only been able to increase its production 24 percent during the past three years while in this same period the oil production in Mexico has increased 140 percent. It is Mexico which today saves the world. Without this country the lack of petroleum would be felt universally”. (1)

Although Mexico held second place among the oil producing countries of the world between the years 1918 and 1926 the production in this country began to decrease in 1921, due in great part to the policies of the companies which restricted development and who used this restriction as an arm against the Government to prevent it from putting into effect its petroleum laws. Mexico, thanks to this policy of the companies, and in spite the fabulous wealth of its oil reserves, fell, by 1937, to seventh place among the producing countries of the world.

2.—Laughable Expenses, Fabulous Profits.

“It has been said to a degree which has become tiresome that the petroleum industry brought to this country great capital for its beginning and development. This is an exaggeration. The companies have enjoyed during many years, during the greatest part of their existence, extraordinary privileges destined to favor and aid their expansion; of freedom from customs duties; of tax exemptions and prerogatives beyond number. It was these privileges and allowances, coupled with the prodigious richness of the Mexican oil fields which were conceded to them, (in certain cases against the will and contrary to the benefit of the public), which composed almost the entire true capital of which so much has been said.

“The potential wealth of Mexico, poorly paid Indian labor, exemption from taxes, economic privileges and tolerances on the part of the government constitute the essential factors of the great prosperity of the petroleum industry in Mexico.”

The words pronounced by the President of México, General Lázaro Cárdenas, in his radio address March 18, explain perfectly the economic aspect of the exploitation of Mexican petroleum by foreign companies.

A.—Potential Wealth of Mexico.

We have spoken before of this wealth. Here we will refer to a few pertinent details.

The prodigious wealth of the Mexican sub-soil is well known to all of those who are interested in petroleum questions. Oil is found at an average depth of 1,950 feet. The oil flows from the wells with out the necessity of pumps which are needed habitually in the United States. The average life of a Mexican oil well is six years although there have been wells here which have remained producing over a period of twenty years and still are flowing. Certain Mexican oil wells hold the record of the world for production, such as “Cerro Azul No. 4” which reached a production of 261,000 barrels daily, which, as a barrel is 160 quarts, means more than forty-one and three quarter million quarts of oil each day from this one well. English specialists have calculated that

(1).—L'Espagnol de la Tramerie: “The World Struggle for Petroleum”. Paris, 1922, p.p. 40, 124.

the Naranjos field alone is capable of producing a "quantity of money equal to the public debt of England." (2).

The average daily production of Mexican wells is 105.2 barrels, in comparison to an average production of 8.1 barrels for wells in the United States. A few years ago certain experts arrived at the conclusion that "one Mexican well gives an average in oil equal to that of five hundred and twenty-seven wells in the United States." (3).

B.—Poorly Paid Indian Labor.

At the beginning of the oil exploitation of Mexico, the companies paid starvation salaries to Indian workers, following in this the policy, too well known, of imperialistic trusts in new countries which may fall under their dominion. The development of union labor movements permitted the workers to improve slightly their deplorable conditions. Labor legislation, one of the principal conquests of the Mexican Revolution, also aided in wresting from the monopolies certain recognition of worker's rights.

But in spite of everything the situation until 1938 had remained for the worker very inferior to that enjoyed by his fellow-worker in the petroleum industry in the United States. The average salary of the American workman in 1934 was 16.34 while that of the Mexican worker during the same year was only 4.68 Mexican pesos daily.

And, in 1937, because of the increase in cost of articles of primary necessity in centers of the oil industry in Mexico, these salaries were reduced from 16 to 22 percent, in so far as their real value is concerned.

C.—Squalid huts and princely palaces.

The huts in which Mexican workers were compelled to house themselves and their families in the oil fields were so squalid that it is hard to believe that such places could have been intended for the living quarters of human beings. The princely lodgings intended for the "confidential employees", all of whom foreigners, served to make more manifest by comparison the misery in which Indian workers were forced to live. The first inhabited comfortable houses, healthy and well ventilated, conditioned and designed to protect their dwellers from the hardships of unhealthy climates where generally oil field development was taking place. The second, to the contrary, abandoned to themselves were piled up in confusion and horrible promiscuity in miserable cabins of the cheapest construction in the midsts of unhealthy swamps and unhealthy jungles. They were easy prey to all sorts of epidemics. But what did this matter to the companies? They saw no reason why they should be bothered because of "half-breeds" and other Mexicans.

D.—After Us, the Deluge.

This seems to have been the motto of the oil companies. Mexico was to them a colony from which wealth was to be squeezed and nothing left in return, a thing to be thrown away after all the good had been taken from it. In other places, for example in the United States, the petroleum industry brought with it the creation of flowering urban centers. Highways, railways, works of public utility, hospitals and schools followed rapidly there the development of oil centers. None of this took place in Mexico. Nor even was potable water furnished to the workers in the majority of cases. The oil fields have been subjected to the most unbridled pillage without taking into consideration the waste of human lives and of millions of cubic yards of fuel gas—miserably thrown away. Some good day the well would only produce salt water, and then the companies would go away. There would be no trace of their passing—except men without lands, without homes, without wealth.

E.—Exemption from Taxes. Economic Privileges and Governmental Tolerance.

When the exploitation of Mexico's oil began in 1911 the Nation was under the dictatorship of General Porfirio Díaz. He, believing, perhaps, that he was serving the best interests of the Nation favored with every means at his command adventurers and capital from foreign lands who banded together for the conquest of the "black gold". Permits of exploration and exploitation were granted without discernment to whomever might apply for them. The importation of machinery for the development of the new industry was customs free. The capital invested in the oil industry was exempt from taxation as was the manufacture of all by-products of the industry. And so it was, that for eleven years, the companies were not required to pay one single cent of taxes notwithstanding the fabulous profits which were being gained.

It was not until 1912 when President Madero established the first tax, and this a small one, on the petroleum industry. A few years later, in 1917, President Carranza decreed the measure known as the "production tax" and in 1921 there was applied for the first time what was known as an "exportation tax."

A comparison of the taxes paid by the industry in Mexico and

in the United States will show that those in the latter country were four times higher than those in the former. In 1934, for example, combined taxes paid per barrel in the United States were, computed in Mexican currency, 4.10 pesos and only 1.20 pesos in Mexico.

F.—The Eloquence of Figures.

Statistics, for their part, better than any other thing, show the proportion which existed between the unimportant costs to which the companies were subjected and the unmeasurable profits which they obtained in Mexico.

The "Mexican Eagle" or *Compañía Mexicana de Petróleo "El Águila"*, which dominated in late years the greater part of Mexican production (a) was organized in 1917 with a capital of 30 million pesos. And now we present, according to the balances of this same "Mexican Eagle" company, a list of the profits which it has obtained, also in Mexican pesos, in only ten years of its existence, that is from 1911 to 1920: (5).

YEAR	GROSS PROFITS	NET PROFITS	AMORTIZATION AND RESERVE	DIVIDEND
1911	1,974,000	874,000	194,000	8%
1912	5,703,000	4,265,000	2,920,000	8%
1913	10,488,000	8,166,000	3,551,000	8%
1914	13,005,000	9,689,000	5,857,000	8%
1915	14,676,000	11,215,000	6,562,000	8%
1916	18,082,000	17,064,000	8,259,000	18%
1917	20,521,000	12,948,000	6,922,000	20%
1918	28,857,000	15,860,000	19,830,000	25%
1919	36,868,000	29,508,000	11,050,000	45%
1920	57,262,000	54,659,000	8,952,000	60%

The "Mexican Eagle", then, has received in this ten years net profits of 164,248,000 Mexican pesos. That means that it has cleared more than five times the capital of thirty million pesos which it had invested.

Besides this here are other recent statistics, which concern, in part, the ensemble of the foreign companies which were operating in Mexico and in part the total value of Mexican petroleum production.

Fixed capital of the expropriated companies as of Dec. 31, 1936 (6).	Total value of production of Mexican crude oil as of Dec. 31, 1936. (see note 7).
174,017,043 Mexican pesos.	3,546,129,423 Mexican pesos.

takes into consideration (7) the total value of Mexican production, permits the categoric affirmation that the expropriated companies had cleared long ago at least ten times their capital.

3.—The Petroleum, Property of the Nation.

Petroleum always has been in Mexico the property of the Nation.

Even in colonial times sub-soil rights were the inalienable property of the crown. The "Nueva Recopilación de Leyes de Indias" speaks of minerals and of all products of the sub-soil, including among them the "bitumens and juices of the earth" as being reserved for the king.

The "Royal Ordinances for the Control of Mining in New Spain" (8), promulgated in Aranjuez by the King Charles III, May 22, 1783, say textually in Articles One and Two, Title Five, "The mines are the property of my Royal Crown... Without separating them from my royal patrimony, I concede them to my vassals in property and possession." And Article 22, Title Six explicitly compares mines to the "bitumens and juices of the earth".

After Mexico became independent all its succeeding governments which came into power, (even that of the Emperor Maximilian imposed upon Mexico by the intervention of Napoleon III) strictly maintained the principle of national ownership of sub-soil rights. It was not until the long dictatorship of General Porfirio Díaz that these principles were violated by adventurers and powerful bankers.

After the triumph of the Revolution which ended the dictatorship of General Díaz the governments which successively came into power directed all their efforts toward the reestablishment of this traditional principle. The result of these efforts assumed concrete form in Paragraph 4, Article 27 of the Constitution of January 31, 1917 which was promulgated on Feb. 5th of the same year, a paragraph which says in these words:

"There shall belong to the Nation the direct dominion over all minerals or substances in veins, strata, lodes or layers constituting deposits whose is other than that of the components of the soil, such as... petroleum, and all hydrogen-carbides either in solid, liquid or gaseous form".

(4).—Investments in the petroleum industry in Mexico until Dec. 31, 1936 were divided as follows: North American capital, 51.7 percent; Anglo-Dutch capital, 41.6 percent; Mexican capital, 5.2 percent; all other capital, 1.5 percent. "Statistics from the Petroleum Bureau of the federal Department of National Economy."

(5).—La Tramerie, op. cit. p. 120.

(6).—Figures obtained from the revision of the books themselves of the companies.

(7).—This figure was taken from the statistics of the Petroleum Bureau of the Department of National Economy and is founded on the value of the production as officially declared by the companies. If one takes into account the innumerable artifices and tricks employed by the companies to defraud the fiscal, as has been proven a thousand times, as well as the value resulting from refining, it is not exaggerating in the least to say that to arrive at the true value of the petroleum production it would be necessary to multiply at least by two the figures which we have given here.

(8).—"New Spain" was the name of Mexico in the period of Spanish domination.

(2).—La Tramerie, op. cit. p. 117.

(3).—Camille Aymard, "The Conquest of Petroleum" Paris, 1930. p. 154.

This, it must be repeated again, only serves to confirm the principle which so many hundreds of times has been violated temporarily and illegally. The Mexican Constitution, far from attempting to destroy a right, on the contrary seeks to reestablish it. But even if this legal and historic background did not exist the provisions of the Mexican Constitution would not be unusual. There are at the present similar provisions establishing the ownership of the nation in all known oil fields written into the laws of practically every country. It is notably thus in Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador; Spain; France; Guatemala, Panamá, Paraguay, Peru, Rumania; El Salvador; U.R.S.S.; Yugoslavia. (9) This was that which caused the Director of the National Bureau of Liquid Combustibles of France, M. Louis Pineau, to say in 1929, "This tendency of nationalization of oil fields is to be seen more and more in all countries of the world and its explication is very simple for him who knows, even a little, of the power and ambitions of the great monopolies." (10)

It was precisely this power and these ambitions of the trusts, who have no scruples concerning how they may attain their ends without trouble to themselves against which Mexico had been struggling for so long a time.

4.—Mexican Petroleum, "stolen property"?

The petroleum, as well as all other products of the sub-soil, at all times have belonged to the Nation. The companies which operated in Mexico were not owners of the sub-soil nor did they have rights of property in it but were merely owners of concessions which permitted them to develop Mexican mineral deposits. The State had at all times the right to cancel or revoke these concessions as a punishment to the holder who may not have complied with his obligations. This is a principle of law universally admitted, even by the most individualistic among authorities. Any "damage to the natural progress of the development" or "failure to observe the laws of the country" are sufficient reason for such intervention and forfeiture. Such a forfeiture, said a French jurist, (who, by the way, is purely individualistic), in a very recent work, is nothing more than "the normal reaction of the sovereignty in all of those cases in which it is not properly acknowledged by the holder of a concession, that is, that the holder may have violated some one of the essential conditions of the contract or may not have subjected himself to the primary rules to which he became obligated by his act of installing himself within the territory of the country." (11)

Mexico did not expropriate the petroleum - which is national property on the 18th of last March. She could not expropriate that of which she is the owner. Because of their rebellion against Mexican laws the companies automatically forfeited the concessions which they enjoyed. The expropriation has affected only that property which was being used by the companies in the development of the petroleum industry. And thus the foreign trusts make play with words when they speak of "stolen property" in connection with Mexican petroleum.

Mexican petroleum a "stolen property"? Yes, certainly it was for a long time. But precisely on the 18th of March, 1938, is when it ceased to be "stolen property."

5.—Knavery, Theft, Murder.

These have been the methods employed by the imperialistic trusts in making themselves the owners of Mexican petroleum. There is nothing more repugnant than the policy which they have pursued in Mexico for the purpose of attaining their selfish ends.

The history of the beginning of the development of the oil bearing strata in Mexico is found interwoven with the names of men who arrived here without resources and who found themselves millionaires over-night: Weetman Pearson, whom England was to raise to the nobility under the name of Lord Cowdray, and Edward L. Doheny, the perfect type of adventurer and who was sent by his own country, the United States, to Sing Sing prison a few years later after a trial which permitted "a glimpse of a shocking abyss of venality and corruption". (1) And behind these two men there began to be seen, little by little, the profile of the two most powerful trusts which have divided the world among themselves, the Standard Oil, North American, and the Royal Dutch Shell, Anglo-Dutch.

And so Mexico was for many years the theatre of an implacable struggle which the imperialistic trusts began for the purpose of making themselves the owners of the rich mineral wealth of Mexico: In this struggle any method which brought results was a good one. To begin with, in order to obtain oil fields the companies resorted to fraud, to deceit, to corruption, to the internment of land owners in asylums for the insane, and even to overt aggression and assassination. And then to protect or to extend the concessions which had been secured there were created private hired armies, ready for all abuses and all depredations and campaigns of subversion in Mexico and of defamation against it in foreign countries.

6.—Mercenary Generals and Paid Revolutionists.

Finally they resorted to open call to rebellion and to the purchase of little chieftains of bands and to generals, traitors to their country, for the purpose of stirring up revolution each time that the Government had the extraordinary pretension to express a desire to limit the privileges of the monopolies or require them to respect the laws of Mexico.

Many documents are in existence and supporting testimony to the criminal maneuvers of the oil trusts in Mexico. The authors of the documents are of all nationalities and even the most diverse opinions which have been expressed on the subject surprise oneself with the unanimity which is shown concerning the general policies of the companies. We are reproducing herewith observations of various European specialists. M. Clementel, who during the World War was Minister of Commerce and Industry of France, made the following statement July 10, 1914: "While England follows in Persia her policy which we all know; while the troubles of Mexico are occasioned principally because of oil concessions, the government of France can not abandon her representation in Algiers nor from one day to another her representation in Morocco and authorize concessions to whomever desires them for the development of oil fields." (13)

M. l'Espagnol de la Tramerye wrote in 1921: "In no other country of the world has the struggle for petroleum between England and the United States been so violent as in Mexico. If during past years this country has been in continuous trouble it has been because of a struggle for petroleum concessions." (14)

M. Francis Delaisi wrote for his part in the same year as follows: "Manufactured generals and lawyers were placed with their followers on the pay rolls of the competitor companies, properly provided with gold and with cartridges, the ones on the interior and the others on the coast of the Gulf. Any little chieftain who had the good fortune to threaten Tampico was sure that he would find himself provided with arms and supplies from one side or the other. This was the time of "pronunciamentos" according to the Spanish style in which the gold of the British and North American monopolies took part with very little concealment." (15)

M. Charles Pomaret, present Minister of Labor in France said in 1922 concerning the reestablishment of the traditional principle of national ownership of sub-soil rights in Mexico: "This naturalization, with its following reduction in the number of foreigners in the country, will, above all things, make possible the stabilizing of policy of a nation whose government has changed at the caprice of the Standard Oil or the Royal Dutch Shell and the revolutions which they have fomented openly." (16)

In 1930, M. Camille Aymard wrote in a history of the Mexican petroleum question as follows: "In no other part of this great world has rivalry for petroleum between the United States and England been demonstrated so brutally, so cynically and for so long a time. If, after a quarter of a century, Mexico is the prey of constant revolutions, of perpetually recurring insurrections, of sudden revolts which never cease, it is because in this country the fight for petroleum concessions never ends and each group, English or North American does not hesitate to aid to the very last the party or the simple bandit in whom is placed some faith for the realization or their hopes." (17)

Finally, M. Antoine Zischka declared in 1933: "The shortest and most brutal warfare, and for this same reason the most humane, seems to be that which today is being waged by the magnates of petroleum. In no place is this more clearly demonstrated than in Mexico... Sincere patriots and bought generals, governments and bandits have fought. Everywhere blood has flowed, everywhere there are secret agents... It was necessary to take advantage of civil war so that crude oil might flow from the soil, while Mexicans, busy with killing each other, had no time to verify concessions, to verify the quantity of oil exported, to see that everything conformed with the laws of the Nation... Only Tampico is peaceful, as if it desired to demonstrate to the whole world the reason for these bloody revolutions; as if it were intended that the most blind should see that the Mexicans are massacring themselves so that the possession of their petroleum should be assured to Deterding or to the Standard Oil." (18)

7.—Foreign Intervention.

But the oil trusts were not content with flooding Mexico with blood and fire by means of the disorders which they themselves provoked. On repeated occasions they asked the intervention of their own governments, placing thus in danger the political independence and even the territorial integrity of the Mexican state as happened during the armed intervention, by forces of the United States in 1914. And these interventions for their own part, were not difficult to obtain. On one hand the economic power of the trusts permitted them to exercise economic control over their own governments by means more or less unexplainable: It is well known that during the period of President Harding the Standard Oil do-

(13).—Cited by La Tramerye, op. cit. p. 201.

(14).—La Tramerye, op. cit. p. 111.

(15).—Francis Delaisi, "Le Pétrole", Paris, 1921, p. 46.

(16).—Charles Pomaret, "La politique française des combustibles liquides". Paris, 1923, p. 92.

(17).—Op. cit. p. 152.

(18).—Antoine Zischka, "La Guerre secrète par le pétrole", Paris 1933, p.p. 50, 57, 60.

(9).—J. Fihol: "Legislation mondiale du pétrole". Paris, 1929. p.p. 75, 65, 83, 73, 45, 25, 53, 96, 31, 169, 23, 81, 59, 103, 29, 121 and 119.

(10).—Fihol, op. cit. p. VI.

(11).—Philippe Develle: "La Concession en droit international". Paris, 1937, p.p. 182, 183.

(12).—Essad Bey: "L'Epopée du Pétrole", Paris, 1934, p. 290.

minated as an absolute boss the government and the congress at Washington. "The Standard Oil Above All!" was the motto of Secretary of State Hughes who directed at that time the foreign policy of the United States.

On the other hand no one is ignorant of the importance which petroleum has in the world of our day. "The invisible history of the present, that which is being unfolded in the depths, under the surface of official life, is the history which is being written in petroleum", has written someone, and truly so. (19) It is known that in a famous cablegram sent by Clemenceau to President Wilson in December, 1917, this impressive phrase was found, "A drop of petroleum is worth a drop of blood." (20) "The Allies", said Lord Curzon at Lancaster House the day following the Armistice, "have been carried to victory on a wave of petroleum." (21)

And so it does not seem strange that the great imperialistic powers, desiring by any means to control the sources of petroleum of the world, always have been disposed to further the pretensions of the petroleum monopolies of their citizens or subjects, even though such aid may be contrary to the most elemental justice. It has been the misfortune of Mexico to learn the sad lesson of this policy of brute force by which weak nations are sacrificed to the appetites of the imperialistic powers. The history of the petroleum question in Mexico is woven with a web of abusive foreign intervention, both diplomatic and of other kinds, which began with the Century and did not end until 1938. (22)

LEGISLATION IN LEGITIMATE DEFENSE.

Governmental concessions, and more than any others petroleum concessions, so often lend themselves to imperialistic political action that certain peoples who on a great scale have authorized them, later do not hesitate to esteem them incompatible with the independence of the State. And so they explicitly confess that the concession is a recourse of imperialism which forces an economic domination over the political sovereignty to such an extent that the latter becomes emasculated or even controlled.

Mexico, like all other Latin-American countries, always has given proof of the amplitude of its views and of its great benevolence toward foreigners, it has not arrived at the point of desiring that these should not be holders of concessions for the development of the wealth of its sub-soil. But neither has it desired to become the victim of some of these foreigners, ready always to abuse the hospitality which has been accorded them.

And it is for this reason that the Constitution of 1917, at the same time when it reestablished the traditional principle of Mexico that sub-soil property is the property of the Nation, established certain conditions under which foreigners might be granted concessions for its development. In Article 27, Paragraph One, these conditions are stipulated, outlined in the following terms:

"Only native Mexicans or those who are Mexican citizens by naturalization and Mexican companies and corporations, may have the right to obtain control and domination over lands and waters and their appurtenances or to obtain concessions for the development of mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Mexican Republic. The State may concede this right to foreigners only when these appear before the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and declare that they consider themselves as nationals of this country with respect to the said properties and that they will not invoke, for this reason, the protection of their governments in any way concerning these properties and that in case this promise is violated they may lose, to the benefit of the Nation, the properties which they may have acquired by virtue of the same promise. Inside of a zone 100 kilometers wide (62.1/2 miles) along the frontiers and 50 kilometers wide along the coast, foreigners may not under any pretext nor by any reason acquire direct domain over lands or waters.

The provisions of this Constitutional article were confirmed and amplified by the petroleum laws of Dec. 31, 1925, by the organic law of the 1st paragraph of Article 27 of the Constitution, which just has been cited and by the Regulations under this law. The 2nd Article of this Regulation of March 22, 1926, is as follows:

"Civil registers, receivers, judges, consuls of Mexico in foreign lands and other officials whom this may concern, will take care that in every contract or writing constituting or creating a Mexican society or company, either civil or mercantile, that may have as its object the acquisition or direct dominion over lands, waters and their appurtenances outside of the prohibited zone or concessions for the development of mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Mexican Republic, it be explicitly expressed that any foreigner who during the time of the Constitution or at any later time obtains an interest or participation in such a society or company will be considered, because of that simple act, as a Mexican citizen and it is understood that he agrees not to invoke the protection of his government, under the penalty, in case he breaks

his agreement, that he shall lose his said interest or participation to the benefit of the Nation."

Laws similar to those of Mexico have been enacted in practically all of the countries of Latin-America where oil fields are to be found, as in the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, El Salvador. (23) This Mexican or Latin-American legislation may be considered the most liberal regarding foreigners which exists at the present concerning the petroleum industry. It is limited, in effect, to a requirement to aliens that they consider themselves as nationals with regard to the property concerned and that they will not invoke the protection of the governments for the protection of these properties. They concede, thus, to foreigners complete equality of right with nationals.

In other nations of the world there exists laws either restricting the rights of aliens in the development of mineral wealth or else an absolute exclusion of foreigners for the control of such development, and more than this, a complete prohibition to foreigners in prospecting for oil. This is the case notably in Great Britain, Australia, British India, British Honduras, Trinidad and Tabago, the Dutch East Indies, Spain, Rumania, Yugoslavia, France and its colonies and protectorates, Algiers, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, French possessions in Oceania, French Guiana, Indo-China, Madagascar, Nueva Caledonia and its dependencies. (24)

Thus it may be seen that the laws of Mexico constitute a legitimate defense. They limit themselves to the establishment only of those restrictions which are indispensable for the safeguarding of the sovereignty of Mexico and for the protection of Mexico against foreign imperialists. But in spite of the liberality of her laws, or perhaps because of it, as well as because of the extreme tolerance which the government of Mexico has shown in their enforcement, they only have served to increase the boldness of the petroleum monopolies to systematic law breaking and to the violation, with most irritating cynicism, of their most sacred promises.

It finally became necessary for the monopolies to declare themselves in frank rebellion against the Mexican government and by their culpable attitude threaten total paralysis of the economic life of the Nation before the Mexican government, with its patience exhausted, decided to apply a strictly legal method which all of the monopolies themselves had made indispensable by their maneuvers; expropriation for public benefit.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXPROPRIATION OF MARCH 18th, 1938.

1.—The Labor Conflict: The Workers Demand Their Place in the Sun.

The conflict which ended with the decree of March 18th, 1938, had its origin in a labor dispute. The lamentable situation of Mexican petroleum workers now has been seen; that they received salaries lower than those paid in any other place and that they were obliged to live in mud-holes and in infected hovels. Since 1934 various groups of workers had declared strikes demanding increases in wages and betterment of living conditions. The companies, as was their custom, attempted to tire out the workers, evade their petitions and used every sort of maneuvers to avoid complying with their just demands.

And so things went, without any decision being made, until the year 1936 when on July 20th there was held in Mexico the First Extraordinary Assembly of the Union of Petroleum Workers, a reunion of all the petroleum workers of Mexico, some 18,000 men.

(25) During the course of this meeting the terms were fixed of a proposed, collective labor contract for the entire industry. In spite of all efforts at conciliation, both by the workers and by governmental officials, the companies persisted in maintaining their stubborn attitude.

The consequences of this state of things was a general strike which began in May, 1937 and which was ended June 9, 1937, thanks to the intervention and conciliation of President Cardenas.

One of the conditions agreed to at the resumption of work was that the difficulty would be submitted as an economic conflict to the Federal Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, which is the name of the federal labor court of Mexico. This court then named a commission of three specialists of known competence in economic and petroleum matters for the purpose of determining whether or not the companies were in a position to withstand financially the demands of the workers. The three members of the commission had at their orders more than one hundred assistants and studied, in the most careful manner, the aspects of the question making their report August 5th, 1937. This report, which with its annexes included more than 900,000 words, is the most

(19).—Essad Bey, op. cit. p. 7.

(20).—Henry Beranger, "Le Petrole et la France". Paris, 1920, p. 60.

(21).—Delaisi, op. cit. p. 146.

(22).—As an example of the diplomatic pressure of the United States see, "Official correspondence exchanged between the governments of Mexico and the United States on the subject of the two laws regulating the first paragraph of Article 27 of the Constitution of Mexico". Paris, 1926, 2 vol. Also see: Trinidad Paredes, "El Problema del Petróleo en México", Mexico, 1933, p. 95 et suiv., p. 169 et suiv., For the most recent intervention by England see pl 38 et suiv.

(23).—Filhol, Op. cit. pp. 76, 65, 73, 46, 54, 32, 23, 60, 29.

(24).—Ibid. pp. 123, 136, 140, 147, 149, 159, 166, 176, 179, 185, 192, 197, 203, 208, 217.

(25).—For a complete and detailed explanation of the petroleum labor conflict and its consequences until the expropriation: Workers' University of Mexico, "The Petroleum Conflict in Mexico, 1937-1938", Mexico, 1938, F. Bach and M. de la Peña: "México y su Petróleo", Mexico, 1938.

competent and best documented study in existence concerning the truth of conditions in the oil industry in Mexico before the expropriation. Because of the impossibility of giving even a brief resumé of the report, because of its great extension, we will content ourselves with the reproduction here of a few of its most important findings:

- 1.—The principal oil companies of Mexico are part of great american or English corporations.
- 2.—These principal petroleum companies never have been united with the country. Their interests always have been foreign and at times opposed to the best interests of the Nation.
- 3.—They have left nothing in Mexico but salaries and taxes and never have cooperated in the social progress of the country.
- 4.—They have obtained profits of exploitation which have been very important, a total very difficult to calculate exactly, but it can be said that a majority of them have had returned in profits more than total of their invested capital longer than ten years ago.
- 5.—The great oil companies have influenced more than once both national and international political events.
- 6.—The petroleum production of Mexico began in 1901. It reached its highest point in 1921 and has decreased constantly since that time.
- 7.—From 1920 to 1924 the greatest part of the production was exported.
- 8.—In 1936 national consumption represented 16.86 percent of the heavy petroleum produced, 99.9 percent of the light crude and 43.5 percent of refined products.
- 9.—The curve of prices of petroleum and its products during the past few months is ascending, and this indicates prosperity for this industry, at least during the next few years.
- 10.—In petroleum production centers prices of articles of primary necessity for a family of five persons had risen, in June 1937, 88.96 percent in relation to the prices existing in 1934.
- 11.—The true salaries of a great majority of the workers is inferior to that of workers of the lower paid groups or of employees of the national railroads.
- 12.—The salaries of a great majority of petroleum workers actually are lower by 16 to 22 percent than what they were in 1934.
- 13.—The true salaries of petroleum workers in the United States are 7.84 percent higher than they were in 1934.
- 14.—The prices in which the oil companies sell their products in Mexico are much higher than the prices which they charge in other countries.
- 15.—The price in which the Aguila sold gas-oil in Mexico in 1934-1936 was 171.75 higher than the price for which this product was sold in other countries.
- 16.—The difference is 193.4 percent for gasoline, 341.18 percent for kerosene and 350.76 percent for lubricants.
- 17.—The price at which the oil companies sell their products in Mexico constitutes an obstacle for the economic development of the Nation.
- 18.—The average joint working capital of the petroleum companies affected by the union demands, with the exception of that of the Mexican Gulf Company which has not permitted the revision of its books, was, during the three years, 1934, 1935 and 1936, 164 million pesos.
- 19.—The reserves and excesses on hand of these companies was 79 millions.
- 20.—The percentage of profits with relation to the working capital was an average of 34.28.
- 21.—The percentage of profits with relation to the invested and not amortized capital was an average of 16.81.
- 22.—In the United States the profits of the principal oil companies were, in 1935, 6.13 percent based on their invested capital.
- 23.—In the United States the return on all working capital of oil companies in 1931 was 2.76 percent and 1.44 percent in 1935.

24.—In 1935 in Mexico an invested capital of 8.64 pesos was sufficient for the production of a barrel of crude oil while in this same year in the United States the required capital invested was the equivalent of 42.12 pesos.

25.—The oil companies, object of the demands of the workers, realized during the past three years, (1934-35-36) considerable profit. Their financial situation must be considered as being extraordinarily good and for this reason one may say that without any harmful change to the present situation, or that of the future, at least during the next few years, they are perfectly able to meet the demands of the Union of Petroleum Workers of the Mexican Republic to the extent of a sum of approximately 26 millions of pesos."

The labor court, taking into consideration the report of the commission and also the objections offered by both parties returned its decision Dec. 18, 1937, (26) This decision favored only in part the demands of the workers who had asked for increases of 65,474,840.00 Mexican pesos and who were accorded by the tribunal an increase of 26,332,756.00 Mexican pesos, of which 8,657,647.00 pesos was for increase in salaries and the balance, or 17,671,746.00 pesos for improvements in social conditions.

Not withstanding the moderation shown by the court in its finding the companies refused to accept the decision and asked an injunction against the sentence of the tribunal before the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico, Dec. 28th. The Supreme Court, after carefully studying the matter, returned its decision March 1, 1938 (27) against the companies ratifying the decision of the labor court in all its points. There remained no legal recourse to the companies other than to submit to the finding of the Supreme Court, whose decision could not be appealed. Nevertheless, acting as if they were in a conquered country, they refused, with their accustomed insolence, to submit to the court's decision.

2.—A Conflict of Public Order: The Law Scoffed at by the Companies.

This attitude changed completely the nature of the conflict between the companies and their workers. It no longer was a difference between employer and employees but a conflict against public peace and order. Now it remained to be seen if the Mexican government could permit foreigners to sneer at laws under which its own nationals were required to live, thus creating in Mexico a State within a State.

On the other hand as soon as the refusal of the companies became known the union of workers asked for and obtained from the labor court a cancellation of the collective labor contract between the companies and their employees as provided for by Section 21 of Article 23 of the Mexican Constitution which reads as follows:

"If the employer shall refuse to submit to arbitration or shall refuse to accept the finding of the board of conciliation and arbitration, the contract of labor between employer and employee shall be considered broken and the employer shall be obligated to indemnify the workers to the extent of three months' salary and also shall be held responsible for the result of the conflict. If the refusal is on the part of the workers the labor contract between them and their employer shall be considered ended."

3.—The Sole Issue - Expropriation.

Ordinary means provided by the law had been found insufficient to require the companies to obey the sentences which had been found against them. In the first place, for many months they had been busily withdrawing their funds from (Mexican) banks so that they might declare themselves insolvent when the opportune time came and also for the purpose of destroying the economic balance of the Nation, beginning, in this manner, a campaign of panic. On the other hand an efficient lien against the production of the plants of the companies would have caused complications almost insurmountable, even without taking into account the obstacles which they would have created by means of their usual maneuvers. It would have been, therefore, impossible to put an immediate end to a situation which was placing in danger the vital interests of the Nation. Finally, under the laws of all the countries of the world, a lien is considered only as a temporary act which may serve for what is called in judicial language, obligations of immediate execution, and which may not serve for "obligations of progressive execution", as that which had been imposed on the companies by the sentence of the labor court which ordered them to pay an increase in salary of 26,332,756 pesos each year.

Because of all these reasons the Mexican government had exhausted without effect every resource of conciliation which remained to it and found at last that it was confronted with the only solution which could safeguard both the sovereignty of the State and the interests of the Nation, whose economic life was threatened with total paralyzation, and this solution was: expropriation for public utility.

(26).—See the complete text of this decision in the "Revista del Trabajo", Mexico, Jan. 1938, pp. 9-374.

(27).—See the complete text of this decision in "Revista del Trabajo", Mexico, April, 1938, pp. 5-98.

This situation was very clearly explained in the radio address of Gen. Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico, to the people of the country, March 18, 1938. After having referred to the rebellious attitude of the companies and the total paralyzation of the petroleum industry which this was about to cause, the Chief of State expressed himself as follows:

"A total halt or even a limited production of petroleum would occasion after a short time a crisis which would endanger, not only our progress but also the peace of the Nation. Banks and commerce would be paralyzed, public works of general interest would find their completion impossible and the very existence of the Government would be gravely imperiled because when the State loses its economic power it loses also its political power, producing chaos.

"It is evident that the problem which the oil companies have placed before the Executive Power of the Nation by their refusal to obey the decree of the highest judicial tribunal, is not the simple one of the execution of a sentence but it is a definite situation which urgently demands a solution. It is the social interests of the laboring classes of all industries of the country which demands it. It is the public interest of Mexican and even of those aliens who live in the Republic and who need peace first and then petroleum with which to continue their productive activities. It is the sovereignty of the Nation which is thwarted through the maneuvers of foreign capitalists, who, forgetting that they have formed themselves into Mexican companies, now attempt to elude the mandates and avoid the obligations placed upon them by the authorities of this country."

4.—A Strictly Legal Decree.

To avoid these evils the Chief of the Mexican government promulgated the same day a decree expropriating for public utility the properties of the companies engaged in the production of petroleum. The three principal articles of the decree were published the following day, March 19, in the "Diario Oficial" and read as follows:

ARTICLE I.—"For cause of public utility and in favor of the Nation the expropriation is hereby declared of the machinery, installations, buildings, pipe lines, refineries, storage tanks, ways of communication, tank cars, distribution stations, and all other properties, movable and immovable, belonging to ... (there are named here the seventeen expropriated companies which are more or less dependent on the two trusts, the Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch Shell) ... in the measure which may be judged necessary by the Secretary of National Economy for the discovery, refining and distribution of the products of the petroleum industry.

ARTICLE II.—"The Secretary of National Economy with the intervention of the Secretary of Treasury, as administrator of the properties of the Nation, will proceed with the immediate occupation of the material properties of the expropriation and to the transmission of the necessary orders.

ARTICLE III.—"The Secretary of Treasury will pay the corresponding indemnity to the expropriated companies in conformity with Article 27 of the Constitution and of 10 and 20 of the Laws of Expropriation, in cash and within a period not to exceed ten years. The funds for this payment will be collected by the Secretary of Treasury from a percentage to be hereafter determined of the production of petroleum and its by products which are derived from the expropriated properties. The product of this percentage will be deposited, during the time of the necessary legal procedure, in the treasury of the federation."

The laws of Mexico which expressly authorize the Government to proceed with expropriation for public benefit and which President Cardenas invoked as justification of the expropriation decree, are as follows:

ARTICLE 27 OF THE CONSTITUTION, CLAUSE VI.— PARAGRAPH II:

"The laws of the Federation and of the States in their respective jurisdiction will decide in what cases public utility makes necessary the taking of private property for public benefit, and conforming to the laws, the administrative authorities will issue the necessary declarations. The price which will be fixed as indemnity for the expropriated property will be based on the tax valuation as given on the property in the tax assessment offices, whether this value has been declared by the proprietor or simply accepted by him as a base for the payment of taxes, and this sum being increased ten percent. The increase or decrease which the value of the property may have had because of improvements or changes since the property last was declared for taxation is the only question which may be a matter of expert opinion or of judicial decision. This same method will be observed concerning objects whose value is not a matter of record in the tax offices."

LAW OF EXPROPRIATION OF NOVEMBER 23, 1936.

The principal articles applicable to this law are as follows:

A.—The first article which names as a cause of expropriation "the provisioning of cities or centers of population with food or

other articles of necessary consumption." (Paragraph V), "the protection, conservation, development or use of natural elements subject to exploitation" (Paragraph VII), "the measures necessary to avoid the destruction of natural elements and damages which property may suffer to the injury of the collectivity." (Paragraph X).

B.—The 8th Article which is framed in the following terms: "In the cases to which Paragraphs V, VI and X of the 1st Article of this law may refer, the Federal Executive, after the making of the declaration, may order the occupation of the property which is the object of the expropriation, or its temporary occupation. It may also impose the immediate execution of the disposition of the limitation of domain without that the interposition of administrative recourse shall suspend the occupation of the property or properties concerned or the execution of the disposition of limitation of domain."

C.—Article 10 which indicates how the amount of indemnity shall be fixed, and which is written in terms almost identical to those of Paragraph VI of Article 27 of the Constitution, cited heretofore.

D. The Article 20 which prescribes: "The expropriating authority will fix terms and the time at which the indemnity is to be paid. This time never shall exceed a period of ten years."

The text of these laws is sufficiently explicit to demonstrate clearly that the Mexican Government in decreeing the expropriation of the properties of the oil companies (the properties only, we repeat, and not the oil which is the property of the Nation and could not be the property of the companies), in strict conformity with Mexican laws.

It also is in conformity with those great principles of the Rights of People, in that in making use of its Right of Sovereignty, the government only applied that other right, universally recognized as one of the fundamental rights of the State, the Right of Conservation. (28)

CHAPTER III

THE REACTION OF PUBLIC OPINION

1.—In Mexico, Delirious Enthusiasm.

In order to find in France an occasion similar to that produced in Mexico by the radio broadcast of President Cardenas announcing to the people of Mexico the expropriation of the oil companies, it would be necessary to go back twenty years to the time of the Armistice.

A wave of delirious enthusiasm swept over the entire country. The Nation, like one man, offered its support to the President. All differences in politics or in social affairs were effaced by an irresistible outburst of national unity. The ministers of State, the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, hurried to offer to the Chief Executive, publicly and without reserve, their complete support. The Governors of all the Federal States of the Republic came personally to the Capital to offer also their cooperation with all their forces, in the payment of the indemnity destined to the companies.

Nor was it only the political circles which offered thus certain proof of their support of the Government. The other sectors of the Mexican nation rivaled with each other in demonstrating in no uncertain terms that they were behind the President. The National University of Mexico on March 22nd organized a great parade of more than 20,000 students and university professors. "The University of Mexico", said on this occasion the Rector to the President, "offers you its solid support in this moment when the fatherland requires the unity of its sons. It comes to you to offer the youth of Mexico to be with you as you are with the honor of Mexico." (29)

The next day, March 23rd, answering the call of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, more than 200,000 people of every social walk of life staged a monster demonstration and parade. During six hours this immense multitude passed in compact files in front of the National Palace acclaiming without ceasing and with enthusiasm President Cardenas. When he presented himself on a balcony before them, the crowd became delirious, and a gigantic ovation mounted from this human flood in waves of "vivas". The great placards and banners, borne by the marchers explained explicitly the sentiments which animated the Mexican people. Among hundreds of inscriptions one read, "The Mexican people, are, without distinctions of class, solidly behind President Cardenas." "Seventy thousand railroad workers offer to support Cardenas at any moment." "The workers of Mexico give their complete support to the President in the petroleum question." "The people of Mexico no longer will tolerate the humiliations of insolent imperialism." "Against the arrogance of the imperialistic petroleum companies, the patriotism of the Mexican people." "They shall not scoff at Mexican laws". (30)

(28).—Carlos Calvo, "Le Droit International Theorique et Pratique", Paris, 1879-1881, T.I. p. 258 et suiv. Paul Fauchille: "Traité de Droit International Public", Paris 1922-1926, T.I. p. 408 et suiv.; Karl Strupp, "Elements de Droit International Public Universel Europeen et Americain", Paris, 1930, T.I., p. 343 et suiv.; Gilbert Gidel: "Droits et Devoirs des Nations", Recueil des Cours de l'Academie de Droit International de La Haye, vol. 10, 1925-V, p. 541 et suiv.; Louis Le Fur: "Precis de Droit International Public", Paris, 1933, p. 348, etc.

(29).—"El Universal", Mexico, March 23, 1938.

(30).—"El Universal", Mexico, March 24, 1938. "The New York Times", March 24, 1938. "New York Herald Tribune", Paris edition, same date.

The Catholic Church also raised its voice approving of the measures taken by the President. The Archbishop of Guadalajara had read from the pulpit on Sunday, April 3rd, a circular in which the faithful were advised as a "patriotic duty" to contribute to the national fund which was being raised for the payment of the indemnity. (31) The Episcopal Committee in union with all the archbishops and bishops of Mexico published in the press on May 3rd another circular exhorting Catholics, in more or less similar terms, to send their contributions to this fund. (32)

At the same time these eager testimonies of adhesion to the Executive were appearing, spontaneous contributions to the fund for the payment of the indemnity were flowing into the coffers of the "Committee for National Economic Redemption" which had just been formed. They came from all of the corners of the country and from colonies of Mexican workers living in the United States. For week after week the Mexican newspapers published complete pages of lists of names of donors, as well as thousands and thousands of letters, some extremely touching, which accompanied them. Even the unemployed offered their mite. And it was not only Mexicans who demonstrated thus their enthusiastic adhesion. The Ambassador of Cuba, the Ambassador of Spain, the Consul of Hungary took up collections among the personnel of their offices for the fund. (33) Many members of the foreign colonies in Mexico also cooperated. Here we have three examples taken at random from among hundreds of similar cases which can be cited:

M. Jean Bolch wrote April 3rd.: "As a resident of French nationality I consider it my duty to cooperate in the economic redemption of my second fatherland. At the same time, Mr. President, I wish to express to you my enthusiastic adhesion to the attitude which you have shown, not only in facing international problems but also in facing the social problems of Mexico. I enclose a check for 500 Mexican pesos on the Bank of Commerce, payable to the Government for national recuperation. I offer you, Mr. President, the expression of my most sincere admiration and respect." (34)

* * *

Mr. Hawthorne Winner, a North American, addressed the president, March 31st, in these terms: "At this moment when certain rapacious interests, among whom, unfortunately, there are to be found citizens of my own country, are attempting because of mercenary reasons to create difficulties between your people and mine, of desire to express to you my sincere friendship and tell you how much I appreciate the social and cultural progress which the people of Mexico have realized under the administration of the National Revolutionary Party. I am entirely opposed to the policy followed by our Secretary of Treasury who is in accord with these rapacious interests and have written in this sense to the Administration at Washington. Please accept, as a proof of my friendship, the enclosed check for the petroleum indemnity fund. It is small but it is given with all the heart and with the best wishes of an American." (35)

* * *

Mr. Cesar Ciceron, of Spanish nationality said, in a letter also addressed to the President, April 9th.: "I am absolutely in accord with the Mexican people. I feel and think as they do to such an extent that I consider myself forever enmeshed in their destiny. In this moment when the people of Mexico are struggling along with you to achieve their economic independence, with absolute respect for their laws, I can do no less than sincerely and spontaneously second your patriotic conduct in the petroleum conflict and join with enthusiasm in the national effort to solve this grave problem. Permit me to send you herewith a postoffice money order for 200.00 pesos with the request that you order this sum deposited with the funds for national recuperation as the modest contribution of a Spanish worker who is proud to love Mexico as the country of his adoption and where he has found a generosity and nobility without parallel." (36)

The women and children of Mexico desired to have part in this wave of patriotic generosity which enveloped the entire country. April 12th, which was dedicated to them, was a day of pathetic scenes. At the Palace of Fine Arts, (the Opera House of Mexico), the collection for this day was held. Little children came with broken savings banks to donate the contents. Trembling old women deposited rings which had not been removed from their fingers since their courtship days; farmer women came in with chickens, eggs and sacks of corn. (37)

In fact it may be said without exaggeration that in no other time has Mexico been so profoundly moved in its national soul. And this was the moment selected by the petroleum trusts, in accordance with their olden tactics, to attempt to provoke a revolution! The Mexican army has no occasion to fight. The attempted rebellion was crushed before it hatched by the unanimous reprobation of an indignant nation. Its principal author, General Saturnino Cedillo, suborned by the petroleum companies, was forced to

flee to the mountains, there to meditate on the inconveniences which are the reward of one who accepts financial advantages for crime and for treason.

2.—In Latin-American. Complete Solidarity.

All of Latin-America vibrated in unison with Mexico during the passing of these historic moments. As soon as the news of the expropriation of the oil companies was known there began to arrive in Mexico messages of congratulation coming from all of the sister nations of the continent. At the same time there were held in the territory of each these of public acts and assemblies for the purpose of demonstrating to the world that Latin-American solidarity is not a hollow word.

The Association of Attorneys in Panama sent a message to President Cardenas in which they congratulated him warmly for his attitude and in which they said specially, "the right of expropriation for public utility and with the payment of an indemnity is an attribute of the right of sovereignty which is recognized by all of the constitutions of America and of Europe... The good faith of the government of Mexico and the patriotism of its people are proverbial throughout the Continent. Your answer to the exigencies of the English government, in the politico-judicial form in which it is worded, may well serve as a text for the teaching of civics in the educational centers of the world." (38)

The Socialist Party, the Pro-Spain Committee and other organizations of Uruguay organized in June in Montevideo, manifestations of solidarity with Mexico. The Confederation of Unions of Workers of Bolivia addressed to the Mexican government a message of sympathy. The Socialist Party of Chile did the same declaring that the "attitude assumed by the executive power of the Mexican republic passed beyond the limits of a national situation in its very high importance for all of the countries of the Latin-American continent." (39)

On Sunday, May 12, more than 15,000 people assembled in Havana at the Polar Stadium in a meeting in which various orators, frantically applauded by the crowd, expressed in eloquent phraseology the complete solidarity of the Cuban nation with Mexico. (40)

On July 12 there was held in Montevideo a great reunion of the public organized by the Association of Intellectuals, Artists, Journalists and Writers of Uruguay, whose invitations, distributed profusely, declared the following statement: "The measures of the government presided over by General Cardenas tend to regain for the Mexican nation some of its basic wealth, the consequences which these measures have on democratic policy placed in evidence in international relations, the defense in Geneva of the highest principles of international right in the open aid given to the legitimate Spanish government, as well as its worthy attitude against the all-powerful actions of foreign capital, accustomed in our Continent to the perpetration of all kinds of abuses, merits the attention and the applause of the American countries which truly love independence and the democratic ideals of our peoples." (41)

During the first days of August the Association of Journalists of Honduras sent to the Mexican government a message in which it stigmatized the nefarious policy of the oil trusts in the countries of Latin-America and pledged to Mexico the complete adhesion of the people of Honduras in connection with the petroleum question. (42)

Examples of this solidarity could be multiplied infinitely and in the same way a too long a list could be made of the innumerable contributions which citizens of all the countries of Latin-America sent spontaneously to swell the fund destined for the payment of the indemnity to the expropriated companies. What we have offered, however, is sufficient to give an eloquent idea of the enthusiasm which was awakened in all Latin-America by the attitude of Mexico.

3.—In the United States: Official Recognition and the Support of the Masses.

The action provoked in the White House by the Mexican expropriation was of a complex nature. On one hand, that justice was on the side of Mexico in the expropriation decree, was evident. And at the same time the Government at Washington had occasion to witness within her own frontiers the malefic policy of the great trusts. President Roosevelt had stigmatized them publicly in various speeches referring to them as the "feudal lords of the 20th Century." And since the very beginning of his term of office the Chief Executive had consecrated all of his efforts in an attempt to substitute the imperialistic policy of forceful intervention which had been followed by all his predecessors in their affairs with Latin-American countries with a policy of confidence and continental solidarity: the policy of the "Good Neighbor." (43)

(It will be continue in the next issue.)

(31).—"El Universal", Mexico, April 5, 1938.

(32).—"El Universal", Mexico, May 3, 1938.

(33).—Bulletin of the DAPP, Mexico, June 9, 1938.

(34).—"El Nacional", Mexico, April 6, 1938.

(35).—"El Nacional", Mexico, April 1, 1938.

(36).—"El Nacional", April 10, 1938.

(37).—Bulletin of the DAPP, Mexico, May, 3, 1938.

(38).—Bulletin of the DAPP, May, 3, 1938.

(39).—Ibid. June 11, 1938.

(40).—"Noticiero del Lunes", Havana, June 13, 1938; "New York Times", same date.

(41).—Bulletin, DAPP, Mexico, July 14, 1938.

(42).—Bulletin, DAPP, Mexico, August 6, 1938.

(43).—See: A. Garcia Robles, "Le Panamericanisme et la Politique de Bon Voisinage", Paris, 1938, p. 29 et suiv.

A Settlement of the Oil Controversy Foreseen as Negotiations Started

It was significant that on the eve of the first anniversary of the expropriation, a representative of foreign oil companies, came to Mexico.

Mr. Donald Richberg, attorney for the Standard Oil Company and for the Royal Dutch Shell (British), arrived at Mexico City March 2nd to talk with President Cardenas. Previously Mr. Richberg discussed the oil dispute with officials of the Mexican Embassy in Washington.

On March 8th, Mr. Richberg held his first of a series of discussions with the Mexican Chief Executive in an effort to arrive at a solution of the problem.

Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador in Washington, was the only other person present at Cardenas-Richberg conferences.

Mr. Richberg expressed himself in agreement with the official communique released by the Federal Department of Press and Publicity, which stated:

"Mr. Richberg and the President were very satisfied with the interview and believe that they made effective progress which will aid greatly in reaching a swift accord."

The results of the day's conference, which lasted over an hour and a half, were released to the press by Mr. Richberg as follows:

"The initial discussion today with President Cardenas was entirely informal. We did not spend our time debating the merits of past or present controversies. We discussed the basic principles which would determine future relations between the Government of Mexico and citizens of other countries contributing money or services to the development of the business and resources of Mexico.

"The primary subjects of our exchange of views were:

"First, the fixed purpose of the Mexican Government and people to control their own destiny.

"Second, the essentials of co-operation with citizens of other countries in matters of domestic and international business which will advance the welfare of the Mexican People.

"It is my impression that President Cardenas is deeply interested in developing a distinctively Mexican program concerning the relations between Government Labor and Property, which should not be labelled as communism or fascism or capitalist, but which would be a natural product of Mexican needs and desires and conditions, which are, in many respects, different from those of any other country.

"The political economic problem which we are attempting to solve is a world-wide problem of great difficulty. The best hope of a solution acceptable as having permanent benefits to all concerned lies in maintaining such an atmosphere of goodwill, of mutual confidence and patient tolerance of differing opinions, as seemed to me

to characterize the discussion held today.

"The entire discussion was amicable and I endorse the official statement expressing the opinion of both President Cardenas and myself that effective progress was made.

"Further discussions with the immediate aim of reaching agreement upon basic principles, rather than details of an agreement, will be held tomorrow."

Mr. Richberg said he probably would return to Mexico during April. So it may be expected that the negotiations will continue and a solution will be found. He left March 22nd.

On March 17, the Mexican Government issued the following statement:

"The Mexican Government, ever since it made the Expropriation Decree taking the properties of the petroleum companies, announced its firm intention of justly giving the proper indemnizations for them. Later, it expressed its willingness to come to an agreement seeking a way to satisfy the interests of the companies, without damaging those of the nation.

"The companies recently named Mr. Donald Richberg as their representative in dealing with the Mexican Government. He proposed a plan to be carried out between the companies and the government, for the development of the petroleum industry, with the companies contributing both the amount they would be entitled to receive as indemnization for their properties expropriated and new sums which they are ready to invest.

"In the proposed plan the Government would have charge of the directive and administrative branch of the business, through its various dependencies, allowing the companies a representation in proportion to the amounts they may invest, which investments will be smaller than the share held by the Government itself.

"Though the government is in possession of the data for the fixing of an evaluation on the expropriated properties, it agrees to discuss the proposition which Mr. Richberg has made which consists fundamentally in that each party fix the amount of its properties and that later a study will be made of the amount which should be due to each of them.

"The terms of the plan for collaboration and the determination of the percentages of payment will be left to the study of those technicians which will be designated by the interested parties, once the companies have accepted the principles of this offer of the Mexican Government."

Before leaving for the United States to confer with the oil companies' executives and deal with some private matters, Mr. Richberg, on March 17, released the following statement:

"In order to help everyone understand what is going on and to correct erroneous reports, I want to make a brief statement of my personal viewpoint regarding some of the basic points taken into consideration in the oil negotiations. Those are:

"1.—The definite desire and purpose of the Mexican Government to control the development of natural resources and especially of the production and distribution of the petroleum and its byproducts. The opinion prevails that this control is necessary to foster and protect the social welfare.

"2.—The importance which the Mexican people attach to foreign money and help, for developing this industry.

"3.—A comprehension that the solution of the petroleum problem should be mutually convenient, completely satisfactory for both the Mexican Government and the Petroleum Companies; and should determine future relations, providing:

a). — An acceptable division of revenues resulting of sales of petroleum products, assuring adequate wages for the workers, government revenues and a reasonable compensation for past and future inversions and services.

b). — Withdrawal or refunding of invested capital during agreed-on times, and in such a way that on the expiration of the same period no interests or claims can be brought against the industry by those who contributed money or service for the development of same.

"I want to emphasize that during the course of the courteous discussions that have taken place so far, neither of the parties has committed itself to accept the terms expressed by the other, nor can it be assumed, or tacitly accepted, that they will agree to any given point until so stated by both parties."

FACTS and FIGURES

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Presidente y Gerente:
LIC. MIGUEL LANZ DURET

MEXICO, D. F., LUNES 20 DE MARZO DE 1939

Director:
JOSE GOMEZ UGARTE

NUMERO 8,134

LAS RIQUEZAS NATURALES DEL SUELO DE MEXICO, PARA MEXICO

Trascendentales Conceptos del Primer Magistrado

Expropiación de los bienes de las Empresas Petroleras.- Sacrificio del interés privado o partidista, en interés de la propia Patria

Actitud del Gobierno frente a sus opositores.- Se mantendrá en la misma línea de conducta que anunció al constituirse.- Estado del conflicto

Durante el mitin celebrado ayer por las organizaciones obreras, de que damos cuenta en otro lugar de esta edición, el señor Presidente de la República, desde el balcón central del Palacio Nacional, pronunció trascendental discurso que no solamente se refiere al aspecto petrolero, motivo de la conmemoración, sino que abarcó otros puntos importantes, tales como la ratificación pública de la línea de conducta del Gobierno frente a sus opositores, además de hacer un llamamiento a los trabajadores, particularmente a los que tienen en sus manos la industria petrolera, así como al pueblo en general, para que todos cooperen en pro del engrandecimiento de la Nación.

Las palabras del Primer Magistrado fueron interrumpidas en varios de sus periodos con aclamaciones de la muchedumbre que llenaba la Plaza de la Constitución, escuchándose al final una estruendosa ovación. Reproducimos en seguida los conceptos del señor Presidente:

DISCURSO DEL PRESIDENTE CARDENAS

El acto que conmemoramos hoy con el respaldo de la Nación y el entusiasmo de las juventudes y de las organizaciones de trabajadores, tiene la trascendencia histórica de afirmar la estabilidad económica y política de México fortaleciendo así a un Gobierno del pueblo y para el pueblo, por significar el decreto expropiatorio la eliminación del viejo sistema de concesiones y de privilegios, que privaron a los connacionales del dominio de sus tierras, de sus bosques, de sus aguas y de las riquezas del subsuelo.

Nuestro territorio, con valiosas riquezas en sus entrañas, fué objeto de la penetración de empresas que se habían acostumbrado a considerar a los países hispanoamericanos como simples colonias de explotación constituyéndose en fuerzas económicas superiores al poder soberano de los Estados.

Frente a este problema, el Gobierno de la Revolución acudió a la aplicación de la Carta Magna de 1917 que recuperó para la República, en forma inalienable, el dominio directo del subsuelo, librándola así de la tutela de elementos empeñados en que los derechos de la Nación fuesen letra muerta y ha-

bituados a obstaculizar la vigencia de las Leyes fundamentales mediante coacciones diplomáticas o revueltas mercenarias.

A la Administración actual tocó aplicar la Ley a las compañías petroleras al manifestarse en rebeldía contra mandatos expresos del más alto tribunal de la Justicia Federal, y ante la actitud del pueblo que se solidarizó con la defensa de las instituciones al decretarse la expropiación, acudieron a la agresión violenta de prensa extranjera o intentaron desquiciar la economía interior, más afortunadamente el Gobierno salvó el colapso financiero y com- lido su prestigio, logrando que los postulados revolucionarios arraiga- ran más en el alma de la Nación, sentando así un precedente trascen- dente que culminó en el reconoci- miento de la legitimidad de su cau- sa por tribunales extranjeros.

La actitud de México fué tan justificada, que no pudo interpretarse como agresiva al capital industrial, sino como medida ineludible de la legítima defensa contra la rebeldía de empresarios que despreciaban el bienestar social por su lucro desmedido. Entre los efectos saludables de esta situación, cabe señalar el de que numerosos inversionistas han adoptado una actitud más comprensiva de las necesidades de sus trabajadores y de las de nuestro país, sin perjuicio de sus razonables rendimientos.

TODO DEBE SACRIFICARSE A LA PATRIA (1)

La reincorporación de los derechos del subsuelo petrolífero al dominio de la Nación, contribuye a la integración del patrimonio territorial que todos los mexicanos están obligados a cuidar, muy particularmente los revolucionarios que a partir de 1917 han comprometido su honor en el cumplimiento leal de los principios reivindicadores y, sobre todo, las juventudes todas del país que reciben para su custodia este patrimonio nacional, por el que tantas inquietudes, luchas intestinas y apetitos insaciables han pesado sobre la República.

Sólo la inconsciencia ante las responsabilidades de la hora presente, la ofuscación política o el interés inconfesable, han llevado a olvidar a algunos mexicanos su obligación de sacrificar el interés privado o

(1) Este y los demás subtítulos fueron puestos por la Redacción.

(Sigue en la Página Once, Columna Sexta)

LAS RIQUEZAS NATURALES DEL SUELO...

(Viene de la primera plana)

partidista en defensa de la propia Patria. El desbordamiento de las pasiones políticas que se vienen exhibiendo a pretexto de la sucesión presidencial, carece de justificación y tal parece que quisieran debilitar la posición de México frente al extranjero. Es la hora en que debiéramos todos, principalmente el sector revolucionario, dar muestras de mayor cordura y de sincero interés por los problemas vitales que tiene enfrente la Nación y no colocarnos en actitudes negativas para la Revolución y para la Patria.

Cuando los enemigos atacan el programa social que desarrolla el Gobierno, deberían analizar su propia actitud de indisciplina y de prevaricación de los deberes para con su patria, amenazada en su dignidad y en sus recursos económicos, y responder a la obligación que tienen de salvarla de la voracidad del dominio imperialista.

Pretenden que el Gobierno viole las garantías que la Constitución otorga, restrinja el ejercicio del derecho de huelga, persiga a los líderes obreros y campesinos y detenga la repartición de tierras y el crédito al ejido, ignorando que no se eliminan los problemas del pueblo, ni puede haber paz social duradera, ahogando por la violencia o por el abandono sus derechos vitales, que defienden lealmente los trabajadores para satisfacer, siquiera en parte, sus más apremiantes necesidades.

MALA FE Y FALTA DE PATRIOTISMO

Pretenden hacer creer que el Gobierno no ha estado acertado al aplicar la Ley de Expropiación, porque, según dicen, se ha empleado para satisfacer exigencias sectarias o por no estar el país, según agregan, en condiciones económicas para cumplir los compromisos de la expropiación.

Hay mala fe y falta de patriotismo en estos argumentos. ¿Acaso no está en la conciencia nacional que la riqueza petrolera debía volver, como volvió, a manos del Estado para provecho de toda la nación?

El pueblo sabe que de la misma riqueza petrolera se cubrirá el importe de las inversiones que las compañías hicieron en el país y que no hayan alcanzado a recuperar en su explotación.

¿Acaso la expropiación de "El Mante" representa una nueva carga para el Gobierno, cuando se ha explicado en el mismo decreto que dicho ingenio fué instalado con fondos del Gobierno que aun están adeudando los mismos empresarios?

Como se ve, son dos casos que no representan una nueva carga para la nación, sino que se reintegra una riqueza que por derecho le corresponde al pueblo.

PRACTICA INQUEBRANTABLE DE SERENIDAD Y TOLERANCIA

Contrariando los propósitos de quienes se ostentan como opositores, a sabiendas de la inquebrantable actitud de serenidad de las autoridades, el Gobierno se mantendrá dentro de la misma línea de con-

ducta que anunció al constituirse, sin recurrir a severas sanciones ni a coacciones violentas, y seguirá dentro del mismo plano de serenidad y de tolerancia por considerar que esta actitud, que el Gobierno quiere ver reflejada en la conducta de todas las autoridades del país, servirá de estímulo a nuestro pueblo, que anhela ver imperar en todas partes una positiva y verdadera libertad democrática.

Un año ha transcurrido de haberse decretado la expropiación de la industria petrolera, y este tiempo se ha ganado en mejorar la organización de la explotación del petróleo, en buscarle consumo en los distintos mercados del mundo, en hacer nuevas instalaciones y en adquirir los transportes que la industria necesita para llevar a los mercados extranjeros los productos de exportación.

Distintas actividades se han centralizado con resultados satisfactorios, y sigue siendo motivo de principal preocupación el desarrollo de esta importante industria que cuenta con condiciones favorables por la capacidad de los trabajadores y de sus dirigentes, por la riqueza de sus yacimientos y por el mercado que día a día va abriéndose en el exterior.

SOLUCION DEFINITIVA DEL CONFLICTO

Una actitud consciente y disciplinada de los trabajadores petroleros y de franca colaboración de los directores y técnicos en el manejo de la industria, ha sido el resultado de la nacionalización llevada a cabo por el Gobierno de la República.

Por su parte, la Secretaría de la Economía Nacional está ya por terminar el avalúo de los bienes expropiados, que se dará a conocer al público dentro de breves días.

El mismo conflicto surgido con las compañías petroleras por la expropiación de sus intereses, va encontrando una solución definitiva mediante un plan de colaboración, que las propias compañías ofrecen al Gobierno, aportando, para un mayor desarrollo de la industria, el importe de las indemnizaciones por sus intereses expropiados y nuevas aportaciones que ofrecen en efectivo para el desarrollo del plan de colaboración, plan en el que el Gobierno tendrá que mantener el control de la administración de la industria petrolera.

LLAMAMIENTO A TODOS LOS MEXICANOS

Por todo lo anterior considero oportuno dirigirme a todos los mexicanos para que con optimismo y buena voluntad concurren con su personal esfuerzo a facilitar el engrandecimiento de la Nación, y me dirijo también a las organizaciones de trabajadores, a las que siempre he hablado como responsable y amigo leal, para que disciplinen sus filas, eleven su capacidad productiva, su eficiencia técnica y la responsabilidad de sus guías, para demostrar que, a pesar de las crisis políticas transitorias, no en vano la Revolución los ha respaldado en sus derechos y les ha entregado la administración de los servicios públicos, antes dirigidos desde el extranjero, o bien, el control de fuentes de producción detentadas por los monopolizadores de la riqueza.

Por último, seguiré atento a que en todo el país se actúe con estricto apego a la ley, corrigiendo las desviaciones que pretendan apartarnos del cauce social de la Revolución Mexicana, y continuaré firmemente defendiendo el programa con actividades fructíferas de trabajo, mas nunca con la violencia, pues la vida de los mismos opositores del Gobierno debe merecernos el más absoluto respeto, ya que sólo en esta forma nos sentiremos autorizados para asegurar que existe en el país una auténtica libertad ciudadana a que justamente aspira el pueblo de México.—Lázaro Cárdenas, Presidente de la República".

EN LOS SALONES DEL PALACIO NACIONAL

Desde antes de que comenzara el mitin, los salones del Palacio Nacional se vieron llenos de concurrencia. El señor Presidente de la República llegó a hora oportuna y

ocupó el balcón central acompañado del doctor Castillo Nájera, Embajador de México en Washington; de su Secretario Particular, licenciado Agustín Leñero; del Jefe de la Ayudantía de la Presidencia, coronel Armando Pareyón, y de numerosos funcionarios públicos, pues asistieron todos los Secretarios de Estado y Jefes de Departamentos Autónomos, así como altos jefes del Ejército.

Al terminar el mitin, después de que hubo hablado el licenciado Lombardo Toledano, el general Cárdenas fué aclamado por la multitud, y él contestó saludando con un pañuelo. Al retirarse del balcón recibió las felicitaciones de sus amigos y colaboradores, haciéndole entrega la Sección 1 del Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Petrolera, de un pergamino conmemorativo.

Tuvimos ocasión de cruzar algunas palabras con el Primer Magistrado en los momentos en que abandonaba el balcón central, y al preguntarle su opinión sobre el acto cívico de ayer, nos contestó: "Me siento satisfecho de que el pueblo de México haya respondido con entusiasmo a la celebración del primer aniversario de la expropiación petrolera, dándole con esta manifestación un amplio respaldo al Gobierno".

En cuanto a los arreglos celebrados con el representante de las compañías petroleras, Mr. Donald H. Richberg, añadió el general Cárdenas que tiene una impresión completamente optimista, porque van encaminados de manera que al llegar a una resolución definitiva, no se lesionarán los intereses de la Nación.

OPINIONES DE ALGUNOS FUNCIONARIOS

¿Sobre el tópico actual de la resolución del conflicto petrolero, recogimos algunas opiniones de funcionarios públicos. El Secretario de Comunicaciones, Ingeniero Melquiades Angulo, nos dijo: "Este es el suceso más trascendental en la historia de mi país, porque de nada nos serviría tener una bandera, una Constitución y demás cosas que suponen la existencia de un país libre, si dependemos económicamente y somos tributarios de otras naciones. La cuestión petrolera, como la ha resuelto el Gobierno, es una reivindicación de los derechos del pueblo. Desgraciadamente y debido a las condiciones que imperan en el mundo, ese mismo pueblo tiene que pagar lo que es suyo".

El licenciado Ignacio García Téllez, Secretario de Gobernación, se expresó así: "La expropiación del subsuelo petrolífero es el complemento de la vieja y tradicional política que consideraba estas riquezas dentro del patrimonio de la Corona y después de la República. Es la vitalización de los preceptos constitucionales vigentes y el proceso integrativo de nuestra nacionalidad que en la Independencia proclamó la autonomía política, en la Reforma la autonomía espiritual y en 1910 la recuperación de la tierra y de la riqueza del pueblo para el pueblo.

"Corresponde a las organizaciones de trabajadores cuidar con eficiencia y disciplina los bienes que la Patria les ha confiado".

El señor Efraín Buenrostro, Secretario de la Economía Nacional, nos dijo: "Aquellos que creen que con artículos de color y con pirotecnia verbal pueden desprestigiar a México en el extranjero, están en condiciones de ver que el pueblo de México es eficiente para llevar a cabo sus postulados".

El señor Agustín Arroyo Ch., Jefe del Departamento de Prensa y Publicidad, estima que en el pueblo de México está latente un sentido de justicia social, y la manifestación pública de ayer es una demostración de ello.

Después del acto público en la Plaza de la Constitución, el Primer Magistrado comió en San Angel Inn con un grupo íntimo de personas. Fueron los comensales los señores doctor Castillo Nájera, Embajador en Estados Unidos; licenciado Gabino Vázquez, Jefe del Departamento Agrario; licenciado Agustín Leñero, Secretario Particular de la Presidencia; licenciado Silvano Barba González, Gobernador de Jalisco; licenciado Enrique Calderón, abogado de la Presidencia, y general Francisco Martínez Montoya.

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 9, 1939

SECTION C

EUROPE FEARS WAR IN MEDITERRANEAN



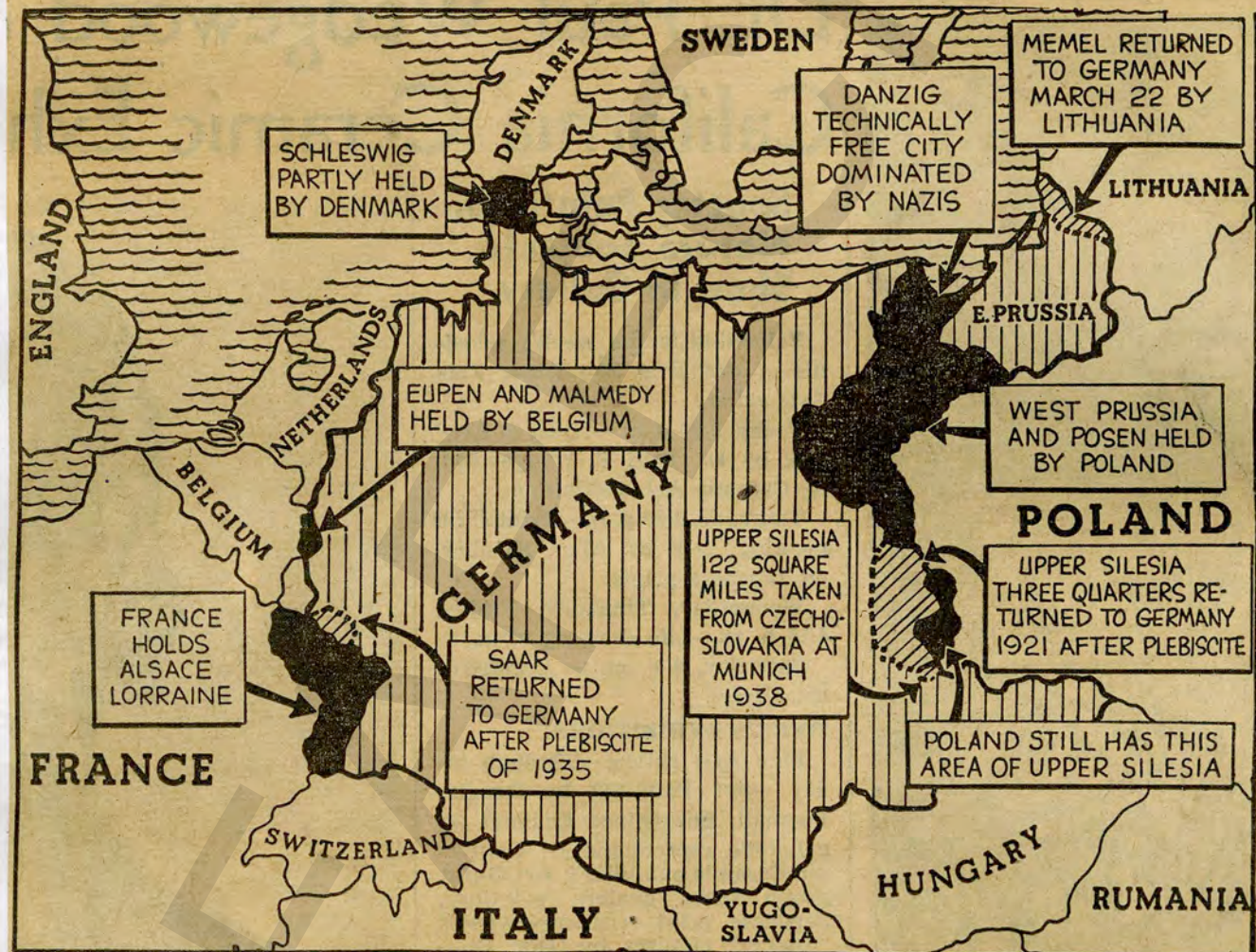
Japan's Bombers

The Mediterranean is the subject of anxious maneuverings among the European powers. This map shows why—it is the route to possessions in Africa, to oil fields in the Near East and to India. Britain controls that route at Suez. Her control at Gibraltar, hitherto complete, may be menaced by events in Spain. Italy has a strong position at the middle "gate." During war, Britain could route her shipping

around Africa—but she'd hate to, and France could use a rail-ocean route from north Africa to Atlantic points, but it wouldn't be very satisfactory. Garrisons in Tunisia and Libya have been reinforced recently and France has re-occupied a small section along the Red Sea that had been ceded to Italy. The map shows also how acquisition of Tunisia would bolster Italy's position.

British Control

Hitler' Campaign Increases European War, Asserts Writer



By plebiscite and by what Adolf Hitler on March 22 called a "unique process of reparation," Germany has recovered or partly recovered some of the areas taken away from her under the 1919 Versailles treaty. Continental Germany today is composed of the striped areas shown on the map. Areas striped diagonally have been recovered as shown in the legends. Black areas were surrendered under the treaty and have not been recovered. (Associated Press photo).

Últimas Noticias

EXCELSIOR

(260)

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Gerente General:
GILBERTO FIGUEROA.

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PERIFONEMAS

I—EL DISCURSO DEL GRAL. AVILA CAMACHO

Es indudable que al señor general Manuel Avila Camacho le negaron los dioses el don de la elocuencia. En su primer discurso después de ser precandidato, pronunció menos de un centenar de palabras; y en el segundo, que algunos oímos ayer y que tan profusamente se había anunciado al público, se limitó a leer, con voz opaca y sin ademanes tribunicios, unas declaraciones tan vagas que cada quien puede interpretarlas como le parezca. Ocurre pensar que fué al gran "mitin de masas" con el propósito deliberado de no disgustar a nadie. Si logró tal propósito, el tiempo nos lo dirá; mas ya es posible afirmar que no satisfizo a nadie. No de seguro a la CTM ni a la CNC ni al PRM, que fundadamente desearían declaraciones categóricas de solidaridad con sus programas; y menos aún a los partidos independientes, pues no se refirió en concreto a ninguno de los problemas que más preocupan a la mayoría de los mexicanos. Algo de enjundia dejó entrever cuando dijo que, aseguradas las conquistas revolucionarias, el capital gozará, si él llega a la Presidencia, de suficientes garantías, siempre que sea respetuoso de nuestras leyes. Después, y por lo que atañe a las libertades públicas, a la educación, a la justicia, a los derechos de la mujer, apenas esbozó esos temas, como quien los lee en un índice de motivos para futuras discusiones.

Sólo fué enfático —y en ello resulta consecuente con una antigua idea suya que varias veces hemos elogiado desde estas columnas— cuando dijo que el Ejército, como tal, no debe inmiscuirse para nada en las pugnas de la política. Y a esto el país entero le contestará: "¡Bravo, General!", aun cuando queden así en posición desairada ciertos milites.

El público, que esperaba el discurso con viva impaciencia y que ahora lo comenta con terrible sagacidad, piensa que lo más importante en el mitin de ayer no fué lo que se vió y lo que se dijo, sino precisamente lo que no se dijo y no se vió: que no se ostentaran al lado del precandidato determinadas personas y que no tomaran la palabra. Personas que —si no estamos fuera de la realidad— deben sentirse ahora profundamente defraudadas y con la incertidumbre de si la intención del divisionario haya sido precisamente la de no contraer ningún solemne compromiso con ellas y con los grupos que ellas representan.

II—EL MENSAJE DE ROOSEVELT

Como autógrafo de inapreciable valor para el museo del pacifismo universal, el mensaje que el Presidente Roosevelt envió a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Chamberlain, a Daladier y a todos los mandatarios de América y de Asia...

Desde Madrid

Ignominia y Crimen

Por RODOLFO REYES

¿A quién te han matado? ¿Qué te han robado? Esas son las tristes preguntas que oye el que llega a este Madrid mal herido, sucio, saqueado y lleno de tumbas y de inmundos recuerdos.

Por donde pasaba el caballo de Atila ni la hierba nacía, donde han pisado las alpargatas de estos bandidos sin ejemplo, todo se ha vuelto, según la frase de uno de sus aliados, "sangre, fango y lágrimas". ¿Qué destino tan espantoso el de esa causa extremista! Primero se alió con el republicanismo para matarlo, con la democracia para hundirla, después para luchar repartió a boleto las armas y abrió los presidios, porque creyó vencer así una rebeldía, que no era en su esencia sino inevitable reacción contra la falsificación de la República y de la democracia; y así por entre "fango, sangre y lágrimas" ha llegado a este término, que no es sólo derrota, que la derrota no deshonra, sino ignominia y asco, maldición y porquería.

¡Matar y robar! Esa fué la consigna, y cada amigo que encuentro contesta con triste respuesta a las tristes preguntas, uno llora a un ser querido que fué asesinado porque era culto, rico o creyente; otro se queja de un latrocinio. Todos los que llegan a Madrid buscan desaparecidos o persiguen patrimonios arrebatados. ¿Puede ser esto el rastro de una guerra por ideal? ¿Puede sustentarse sobre esta vergüenza una causa?

Y como los ejemplos aclaran realidades yo voy a dar mi triste respuesta, declarando por otra parte sin hipocresía que lo hago también porque tengo necesidad de un desahogo y obligación de presentar ante la opinión nacional de mi patria una acusación.

Yo debí mi propia vida y la de los míos, cuando fui cercado por las hienas, al amparo de mi bandera tremolada en las dignísimas manos del Embajador Don Manuel Pérez Treviño, con el que para defenderme hicieron causa común todas las representaciones Hispano-Americanas. Hubo en efecto monstruos capaces de azuzar a la jauría sangrienta contra mí, no por mis propios actos sino por la trascendencia de ideales de algunos míos y a no ser por mi nacionalidad y aquella defensa hubiera sido sacrificado cuando con todo el miedo que no tenemos rubor en confesar los que creemos que en vencerlo está el relativo valor del que somos capaces, yo contesté a la amenaza de los anarquistas que me detuvieron que si la causa por la que pretendían ultimarme era porque no delataba a seres para mí entrañablemente queridos, no perdieran el tiempo porque jamás ni ante peligro alguno los delataría.

Después debí la liberación de todos, poniendo frontera de por medio, también a nuestra representación nacional y dejé detrás una casa llena de esa acumulación de dulzuras hogareñas que logra reunir la virtud y la devoción de una santa mujer, de esas nuestras, que para nosotros los constantes luchadores representan la única paz de nuestras agitadas jornadas; dejé también varios miles de libros leídos y anotados, unidos al espíritu, muchas resmas de papel y de cuartillas llenas de mi letra, muchos originales, toda mi historia, todos mis expedientes personales, todos los profe-

sionales, los recuerdos de una generación de familiares, todo en fin lo que salvé de mi primera vida y lo que en la segunda había formado, toda la traducción material de mi alma y todo el herramental de mi trabajo.

Esa casa oficialmente había sido solicitada para habitación de funcionarios primero y para refugiados después, por nuestra Embajada, la entregué a su honor y a su servicio y la utilizó ampliamente cubriéndola con nuestra bandera; se retiró nuestro primer Embajador, me fui yo, y se ratificó aquella designación y aquel uso. Al irme y por ser abogado consultor de diez misiones diplomáticas, todas ellas me ofrecieron proteger mi domicilio: pero me pareció inútil y por otra parte, yo, impenitente adorador de ciertos pudores, a pesar de todo siento el de la unidad nacional, no quiero que jamás me vean lejos de ella, ni enseñar las grietas de un muro, que aun cuando para mi intimidad pueda ser a veces de lamentaciones, frente a los demás es un pedestal cuyo respeto exijo.

Un buen día policías de la más depurada y selecta rama del Ministerio de Gobernación, entraron a mi casa a detener a un refugiado nacido en Méjico, que junto con otros dos había alojado la Embajada y que habitaban la casa con dos de nuestras sirvientas. La Embajada supo de este allanamiento y calló; pero en fin, no gozaba de extraterritorialidad aquel recinto y hasta allí no había mucho que decir; pero los policías-ladrones vieron apetitosa mi morada, expulsaron a todos y por de pronto la sellaron. Se dió aviso de esto y del peligro inminente de un saqueo al señor Ministro Encargado de la Embajada y nada se hizo por su parte; a poco los bandoleros se instalaron con sus familias y amigos y el saqueo empezó; ya había llegado un nuevo señor Embajador, se le enteró, visitaron la casa un Secretario y un familiar de aquél, hablaron con los policías y seguramente éstos los convencieron de que era conveniente allanar y robar mi morada, pues nada se hizo.

Llegó en Francia el atentado a mis oídos, me dirigí a un segundo nuevo Embajador, que ya residía en Valencia y a los dos meses desde Barcelona me contestó oficialmente en una curiosa nota que se limita a transmitirme los informes oficiales que confirmaban textualmente mi queja; pero nada más, sin ofrecerme suspender el atentado y reclamar por él. Insistí una y dos veces, y ya no merecí respuesta.

Entre tanto, más de cien casas en Madrid solamente, de simples amigos de nuestros funcionarios o de españoles antiguos residentes en Méjico, y apenas una media docena propiedad de verdaderos mejicanos, fueron salvadas con una mínima indicación por parte de nuestra Diplomacia.

Yo tengo, pues, que acusar a nuestra Representación Diplomática de julio de 1937 a marzo de 1939, que con la enorme influencia de la que disfrutaban en la España roja, dejó que a un ciudadano mejicano se le robara absolutamente todo, por bandidos agentes del Ministerio de Gobernación de un gobierno su amigo y que se atropellara un local que propiamente constituía un

DESDE MADRID

(Viene de la Tercera Plana)

anexo de la misma Embajada, que se tuvo el impudor de usarlo como tal y luego no ampararlo.

¿Por qué esto? ¿Porque yo no pertenezco a algún partido político predominante en la situación política nacional? ¿Por qué alguno o algunos familiares míos son de tales o cuales ideas y han tenido el valor de defenderlas como hombres? De verdad me resisto a creer que sa haya podido pensar o alegar esto y no me atrevo a imputar semejante cobardía y miseria espiritual al que no la confiese.

Y así hoy entre las desnudas paredes de lo que fué mi hogar sentado en una silla y frente a una mesa que me ha prestado la caridad de mis vecinos, escribo estas líneas para pedir a la opinión de mi Patria que juzgue qué clase de gobierno fué ese rojo español que tenía tales "Agentes de información y policía del Ministerio de Gobernación" (así los designa en su comunicación nuestro Embajador señor Tejeda, que se dedicaron a estos robos, y qué representación defensiva de nuestros nacionales es ésta que ante semejante atentado se alza de hombros. Bien es verdad que para compensar tamaña vergüenza hay que hacer la justicia de recordar que el señor Embajador Pérez Treviño de modo espontáneo, sin que el interesado solicitara nada, mandó conmigo decir a un gran escritor, que es nuestro más alto representante intelectual en el extranjero y que no hacía tres meses que lo había atacado duramente, que "siendo mejicano y con ese título tenía el derecho de ser amplia y completamente protegido por nuestra bandera" ¡Todavía hay clases!

Así, pues, a las tristes preguntas que hoy recorren las ensangrentadas y sucias calles de este pobre Madrid, que huele a rojo, en medio de estos basureros materiales y morales, que ha dejado el marxismo español tras de sí, yo contesto: No me mataron a nadie las hienas marxistas, porque primero a todos nos salvó nuestra bandera dignamente sustentada y luego porque la suerte ayudó, frente a los que no eran cobardes asesinos de retaguardia, a los que juzgaron de su deber jugar-se la vida y que lo hicieron respondiendo a su origen y a su raza; pero en cambio, si me han robado todo los cerdos marxistas cuando otras manos que aquellas dignísimas sustentaron nuestra bandera y con otro criterio juzgaron probablemente que no era su deber ampararme, poniendo así al nivel de sus débiles espíritus sagradas entidades espirituales, como lo es la Unidad Patria, que a este pobre viejo que va a comenzar sobre las ruinas de su segunda vida una tercera, lo han hecho poner siempre, en todo caso y sin distingos, todo lo que puede y lo que sabe al servicio de esa Unidad, así sea a veces para él su Patria una madrastra mejor que una madre.

Por eso, al maldecir de una causa deshonorada por el crimen de las hienas y el robo de los cerdos humanos, creo más y más en mis ideales de siempre, respetuosos de todos los ajenos y al sentirme herido y arruinado por culpa de tanta miseria espiritual en los responsables por acción o por omisión, me siento muy rico de una riqueza que todos cuantos me han herido no disfrutan.

La hedionda representación del marxismo oficial, que saqué mi taller de trabajo, alimentó la calefacción de su cubil con mis originales, entre ellos los de una obra inacabada en la que trabajaba hacia ocho años, que quemó también documentos originales de Arriaga, de Vallarta, de Zamacona, de Pardo, de Méndez, que por casualidad, pa-

rentesco o cariño habían llegado a mí, minutas de nuestro Congreso constituyente del 56, notas del genial Fallares, memorias de mi padre sobre la Guerra de Intervención, documentos únicos para nuestra historia que yo arreglaba para legarlos a nuestro tesoro espiritual patrio, esos salvajes lo mismo en otros tiempos hubieran quemado los cedros del Templo de Salomón para calentarse; pero ¿cómo calificar a los que dejaron paso franco para que pisando nuestra bandera campeara por sus respetos la horda troglodita, cuando ellos no eran de su extracción salvaje y analfabeta? Esos respetables funcionarios si pudieron proteger y salvar alguna simpática acumulación de graciosas paisanas y amigas suyas en una casa que el ocioso ingenio de los refugiados llamaba por asonancia con el nombre de la calle y por la alegría que en ella reinaba "La Casa de la Troya"; pero no debieron ni pudieron proteger la de un honrado trabajador intelectual mejicano que alguna vez ha hecho sonar con respeto, con aplauso y con cariño el nombre de nuestra patria en el extranjero.

Por fortuna, ni es España esta monstruosidad, cuyas son estas huellas que hoy sufrimos, ni es Méjico, ESO que puede hacer víctimas como el que esto escribe, por móviles o impulsos que mejor es no analizar. ¿Qué culpa tiene una bandera de que sea débil o esté podrido el mástil en el que ha sido izada?

Dicen los ingleses, con legítimo orgullo, que a un súbdito inglés amparado por su bandera hasta los leones del desierto lo respetan por lo que se ve los mejicanos no podemos decir lo mismo, porque ya no los leones; pero ni las hienas ni los cerdos del marxismo español, han dejado de ultrajarnos y robarnos, bien es verdad que acaso únicamente nos pasa a los que no contamos con la buena gracia de esta clase de Representantes nuestros (excepcionales por fortuna) que se creen que es un favor cumplir con su deber y que sólo se lo deben a sus comilitones y amigos, sin saber que pasada nuestra frontera para ellos no puede haber partidos ni banderías, sino sólo Patria, y honra y obligación para ella al proteger en sus legítimos derechos a todos sus hijos.

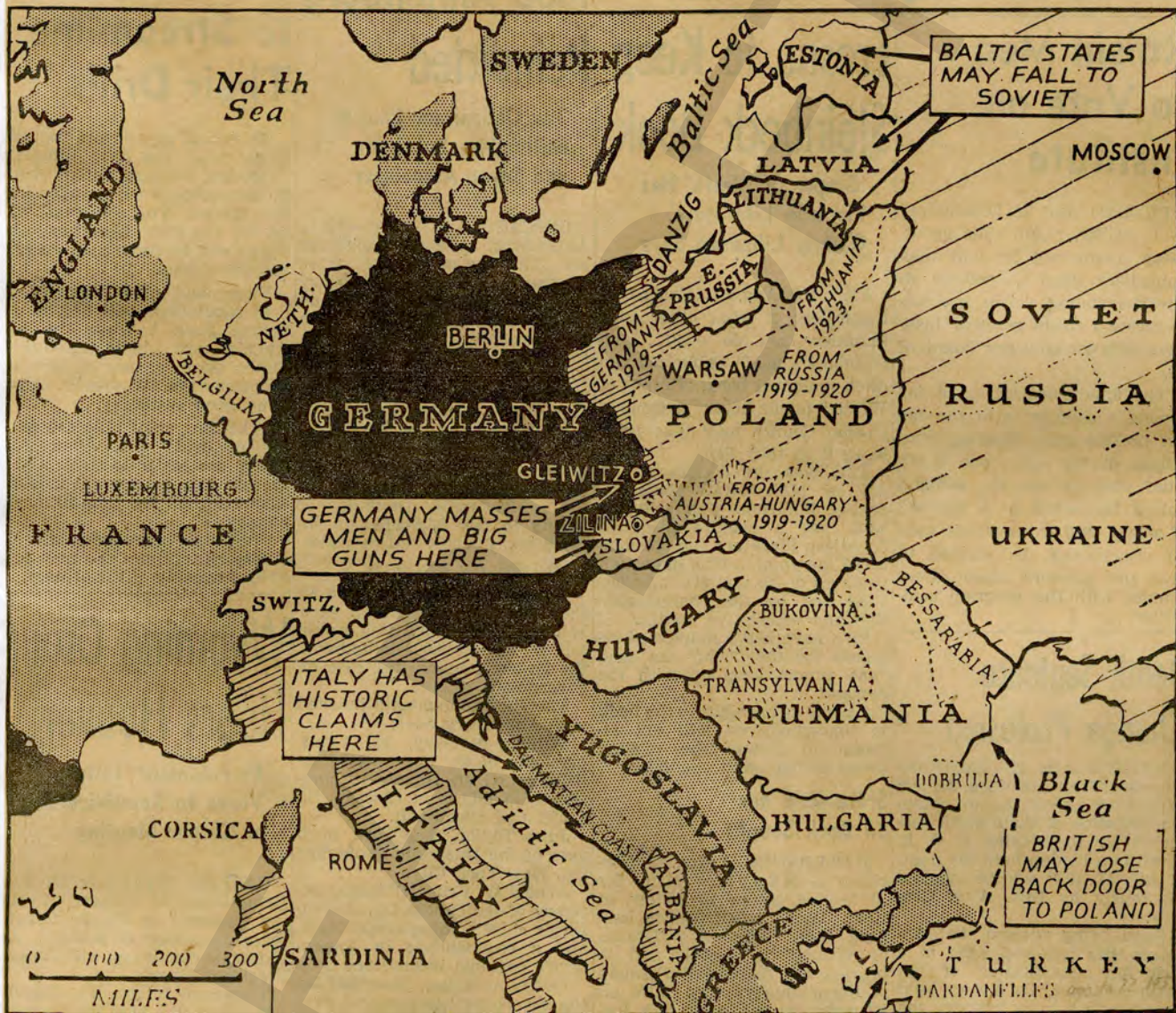
Yo pido a la opinión nacional que esta desgracia mía les sirva de algo y que en lo futuro los mejicanos sepan que de verdad tienen una patria que los ampara y los defiende en sus derechos dondequiera que estén y cualquiera que sea su ideología; la miseria y la desdicha de un hombre hecho a todas las luchas y conceder de todos los destinos, nada vale; pero la dignidad de una gran nación como la nuestra, si vale mucho; por eso he dado esta TRISTE RESPUESTA a las tristes preguntas que hacen coro hoy en las calles del luminoso y mal herido Madrid.

Madrid y Abril de 1939.

R. REYES

NAZI-SOVIET PACT CASTS SHADOW ON EUROPE

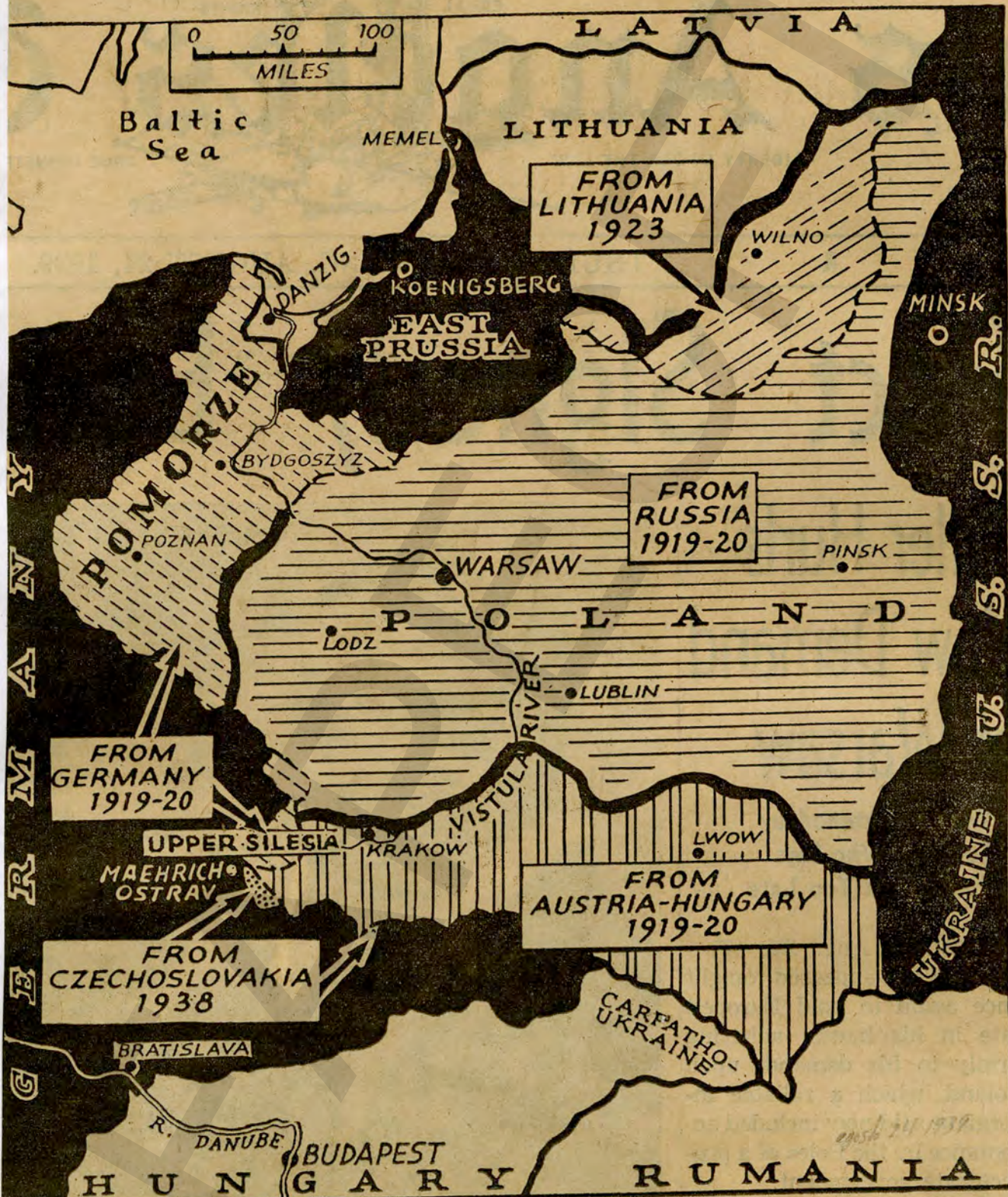
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SPOILS—Hitler-Stalin agreement presages possible partition of Poland. If consummated, it would be fourth division of Poland, territorial origins of which are shown on

map. Speculation is that Russia might take Bessarabia and Baltic States, Bulgaria get Dobruja, Hungary regain Transylvania, with Italy seeking Dalmatian coast.

(P) Wirephoto



PATCHWORK—Map shows how Poland was pieced together out of territories after World War, giving rise to Hitler's demand for lost German land and protectorate over rest.

¿CUANDO HA SIDO MEXICO UN PROCONSULADO?

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Por el Dr. LUIS LARA PARDO

EN el admirable sistema político creado por la Roma antigua en toda la cuenca del Mediterráneo, cada provincia estaba gobernada por un procónsul, funcionario experto, llegado a la más alta jerarquía por sus aptitudes probadas. Nombrábalo el Senado, autoridad suprema, y su mandato era temporal, a menos de prórroga del mismo origen. Bajo el imperio que acabó por desvirtuar todas las funciones, hubo provincias pretorianas gobernadas por un propector nombrado por el César. Procónsules y propetores tenían mando civil y militar, sobre todo este último, porque las provincias eran invariablemente resultado de la conquista.

Al aplicar José Vasconcelos el título "El Proconsulado" al fragmento de sus memorias que cubre el periodo de su desdichada campaña presidencial, quiere dar a entender, sin duda alguna, que en ese tiempo México fué provincia del imperio yanqui, gobernada por un procónsul. Lo primero que se preguntará quien vea, no la **chismografía** de que está plagado el volumen, sino el fondo de la cuestión, es ¿quién fué el procónsul? ¿Calles, que conservó el mando efectivo después de terminado su periodo, o Portes Gil, que ocupó nominalmente la Presidencia, o el embajador Dwight W. Morrow? El artículo determinativo que forma parte del título, sin ningún término restrictivo, significa que para el autor, ese fué el único periodo de nuestra Historia en que existió tal situación. De otra manera, habría añadido algo que lo distinguiera de los otros, sea por la fecha o por las personas.

Parece increíble que José Vasconcelos, testigo, cuando no actor, de la política mexicana durante un tercio de siglo, ignore que desde el primero hasta el último, todos los embajadores de los Estados Unidos han traído a México en su balija diplomática una aspiración proconsular, que han procurado realizar cada uno a su manera. La trajo Mr. Thompson, a que el embajador negociante que hizo gran fortuna en una sola operación de compraventa impuesta al Gobierno de Porfirio Díaz, y Powell Clayton, que se entrometió en tantos negocios de la incumbencia sola de México, y Henry Lane Wilson, que se manchó

de sangre las manos, y el jesuítico y perverso John Lind, instigador principal de la matanza de Veracruz. En realidad, Dwight W. Morrow fué el más suave y blando de todos.

Calles, cualesquiera que hayan sido sus taras y sus defectos, sus errores y sus faltas, estaba infinitamente menos dispuesto que Vasconcelos a ser simplemente el gobernador nominal de una provincia yanqui.

Antes de tomar posesión de la Presidencia, pasó Calles, de regreso de Europa, por Nueva York y Washington, e hizo visita casi oficial a la Casa Blanca. A recibir órdenes, murmuró la maledicencia. No es verdad. Era Calles hombre rudo, inculto, sin pulimento social. Los diplomáticos tenían que instruirle en todos los detalles de indumentaria y ceremonial y traducir mal que bien sus declaraciones y discursos, sin preocuparse de la exactitud. Yo lo vi de cerca entonces. Tuvo flagrantes faltas de tacto, incompatibles con una actitud de sumisión. Llegó a los Estados Unidos en plena campaña electoral. Había en la palestra tres partidos principales: los dos tradicionalistas, demócrata y republicano, y uno nuevo, enca-

bezado por La Follete, formado de la fusión de los antiguos progresistas de Teddy Roosevelt y los socialistas, además de otros grupos menores. La corrección más elemental requería de Calles una abstención completa en aquella cuestión electoral; pero él, desentendiéndose de la corrección, se presentó una noche en un mitin del Partido Progresosocialista, e hizo profesión de fe, con gran escándalo de la burocracia neoyorquina. Era, en realidad, una afrenta al Partido de Mr. Coolidge, Presidente en ejercicio candidato a la reelección.

Los banqueros de Nueva York, interesados en la reanudación del pago de la deuda y la protección de los derechos capitalistas adquiridos o por adquirir en México, dieron a Calles un gran banquete. Yo asistí, no en calidad de amigo de Calles ni de banquero, sino en la mesa de los periodistas. Oí el discurso que Calles dijo y Mascareñas tradujo, demasiado libremente. Comenzó dirigiéndose a la reunión con este apóstrofe inusitado: "Señores capitalistas"... No tuvo una palabra de agradecimiento, como es elemental, por la comida que se le ofrecía, ni de cortesía para el "toastmaster" que lo había saludado en términos amables. Todo su discurso fué para afirmar que el capital extranjero tendría protección sólo en tanto que respetara nuestras leyes y a ellas se sometiera.

Una vez en la Presidencia, Calles no se mostró dispuesto a acatar órdenes de Washington. Lejos de ello, siguió una política de contrariedad, a veces agresiva, una política que la llamé **de alfilerazos**, y que tuvo las relaciones entre los dos países en una tensión extraordinaria durante casi todo el cuatrienio. La situación llegó a un punto crítico en 1927. El 12 de enero, el decrépito Mr. Kellog, Ministro de Relaciones, envió al Senado un informe sensacional con cargos contra Calles. Hubo robos de documentos políticos y diplomáticos, publicación de documentos falsos. Coolidge acusó a Calles de fomentar la revolución en Nicaragua contra Díaz, favorito de la Casa Blanca. Hubo prohibición de vender aviones a México y Calles contestó prohibiendo a los

Sigue en la página 2. 2a. columna

Excelsior

México y de octubre

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E DE 1939.

E X C E

¿CUANDO HA SIDO MEXICO UN PROCONSULADO?

Sigue de la página cinco

funcionarios comprar mercancías americanas... El embajador James R. Sheffield renunció desesperado, y las cosas llegaron a tal extremo, que se produjo una reacción en el sentimiento público americano, pidiendo un cambio en la política de la Casa Blanca respecto a México. Kellog llegó hasta a amenazar directamente a Calles con fomentar una revolución que lo echara abajo.

Coolidge, al fin, pensó cambiar de política y envió a Dwight W. Morrow, hombre conciliador, amable, como buen financiero. Llegó este personaje a México el 23 de octubre de 1927, es decir, casi un año antes de terminar el cuatrienio de Calles. Y es bueno recordar que en esos momentos el Presidente mexicano, el "cocó" de Vasconcelos, no tenía la más remota idea de continuar ejerciendo el mando en México. Quien iba a sucederle era Obregón, que no había de supeditarse y seguiría una política personal propia. No tenían, pues, por qué prepararse una reconciliación final con Washington. Todavía en la conferencia panamericana de la Haba-

na fué patente la tirantez de relaciones entre los dos gobiernos.

* * *

Lo más curioso es que si alguien ha aceptado y aun solicitado un procónsul para México es José Vasconcelos. Una buena parte de su carrera política la hizo en Washington, pacientemente sentado a las puertas del "State Department" solicitando humildemente favores para aspirantes a la Presidencia de México. Tuvo allí actitudes lastimosas y contactos que manchan, en sus diversas "misiones confidenciales". Como no lo recibían ni el Presidente de los Estados Unidos ni el ministro de relaciones, tenía que tratar con "coyotes". Así se ligó íntimamente con el famoso capitán Hopkins, explotador profesional de las revoluciones hispanoamericanas, pescador en el río revuelto de nuestras guerras civiles, y con H. C. Pierce, el magnate petrolero y ferrocarrilero, que le pagó para que convenciera a Carranza de la conveniencia de entregarle las Líneas Nacionales, o, cuando menos, la parte septentrional, que dominaban él y Villa.

Así pasó los primeros años de su carrera política, representando "confidencialmente" a Madero, antes de su presidencia; a Carranza, cuando era Primer Jefe, y cuando vino la división en el Partido Constitucionalista, después de la inútil convención de Aguascalientes, regresó muy

ufano a Washington, representando a la Convención, que era sólo un fantasma de gobierno.

Allí lo encontró la bárbara ocupación de Veracruz, y Vasconcelos no hizo el más leve gesto de protesta. Antes y después de la toma, mantuvo relaciones estrechas con John Lind, el hombre que instigó a Wilson a cometer ese atentado.

En su libro, Vasconcelos relata a su manera una entrevista tenida con Dwight Morrow en aquella época de su malaventurada campaña presidencial. Morrow ha muerto y no podrá desmentir ninguno de los detalles. Pero yo pregunto, ¿es normal, es decoroso, que un candidato a la Presidencia de México vaya a solicitar la venia o el apoyo del embajador americano? ¿Para qué tenía que ir a verlo? La delicadeza y la dignidad nacional exigían que se abstuviera de buscarlo y que rechazara toda invitación de entrevista, si se la hacían. En ningún país libre y soberano se ve que los candidatos al gobierno vayan a cortejar a los diplomáticos extranjeros. Eso se queda para los pretendientes a la corona de las pequeñas monarquías vasallas.

Y los partidarios de Vasconcelos, los que de buena fe lo siguieron en su campaña, ¿supieron de esa entrevista, y la aprobaron?

Con todos estos antecedentes, el título puesto al libro resulta un verdadero sarcasmo.

PITTMAN TO PUSH COTTON FOR SILVER INFLATION SCHEME

**Proposes to Trade Surplus
for Metal on World Mar-
ket, Then Issue Currency
Against It.**

**\$1.29 IN MONEY FOR
OUNCE WORTH 43c**

**This Would Give Farmer
Nearly 13 Cents a Pound
for 8 1-2-Cent Product,
Nevadan Contends.**

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.—Senator Pittman (Dem.), Nevada, predicted today that there would be a showdown in the Senate at the next session on his proposal to give cotton farmers almost 13 cents a pound for their surplus crop by trading it for silver on the world market.

Pittman, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, said his proposal would be a form of "controlled inflation."

Definite assurances have been received from some cotton states Senators that they would support the idea, he said, in an interview. Cotton now is bringing about 8½ cents a pound.

Pittman said he felt sure of backing from Senators who formed the "silver bloc" several years ago and who helped pass legislation giving the President power to devalue the dollar.

With support of both of these elements, the Senator continued, he thought there was a good chance the Senate might adopt his proposal.

Explains His Proposal.

As he explained the proposal, 10 pounds of surplus cotton would be sold to foreign buyers for an ounce of silver, now worth about 43 cents on the world market.

The Treasury, under the present law, could issue \$1.29 in currency against this ounce of silver, and it would pay the cotton grower that amount for the portion of the crop sold abroad under this arrangement. The Treasury now issues currency only in the amount it has paid for the silver.

Pittman estimated that his proposal would require the issuance of about \$900,000 in new currency. He insisted, however, that this would be only a form of "controlled inflation" because this amount would represent only a small increase over approximately \$6,000,000,000 of currency now in circulation.

Effect on World Trade.

He said he thought that if his cotton surplus sale idea were put into effect it would promote world trade because other countries would be forced to raise the price of silver to meet this nation's competition. That would increase the purchasing power of silver-holding countries such as India, and stimulate all trade, he contended.

Pittman said his proposal had been criticised on the ground that it would bring most of the world's silver to the United States.

"This is based on the theory that silver would only have a high purchasing power for United States exports," he said. "The theory is unreasonable.

"If such a condition existed, the United States would have a monopoly on export until the other countries raised their price of silver to ours. When that time came, world trade would be so stimulated that there would be general prosperity."

Ignore Kick Of Daniels In New Grab

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WASHINGTON, Dec. 9 (I.N.S.)—The American government understands that Mexico will make just compensation for reported new seizures of United Sugar Co. properties in the same manner in which settlement of agrarian land expropriations is being arbitrated, said Acting Sec. of State Sumner Welles today.

PROPERTY IS VALUED AT \$10,000,000, WORD

MEXICO, D. F., Dec. 9 (I.N.S.)—President Lazaro Cardenas today signed an order expropriating the \$10,000,000 hacienda of the United Sugar Co., at Los Mochis, in Sinaloa state.

He telegraphed instructions to Gabito Vazquez, chief of the government's agrarian department, to proceed immediately with subdivision of the 100,000-acre property.

Officials of the company said no compensation was provided for. A protest was filed with the United States embassy and Ambassador Josephus S. Daniels interceded in vain.

The expropriated property was the most valuable American-owned holdings in the republic. Cardenas followed the precedent set when he took over British properties in the Laguna district, worth \$10,000,000 two years ago.

La Última Rechifla

(Viene de la pág. 1.)

El régimen cardenista se encuentra en plena descomposición; percíbese en el ambiente, saturado de infectas emanaciones, el anhelo ferviente del pueblo, que busca al tñ tan capaz de limpiar, de un sólo golpe los nuevos establos de Augias, en que está convertida la administración pública, por obra y gracia del desorden, la incompetencia y la vanidad.

¿Qué ha ocurrido con el cardenismo? Llegó la hora de la expiación en que los errores cometidos saldrán claros a la luz del día y cada servil y cada beocio, de los que formaron legión en el cardenismo, saltarán por la borda del barco que se hunde, como hacen las ratas en los navíos próximos a naufragar. El incompetente piloto, que con mar tranquilo recibió el barco hace cuatro años y enfiló la proa hacia los arrecifes, abriendo con su propio puño, grandes agujeros a la embarcación, contemplará el desastre, teniendo un momento de reflexión, por primera vez en su vida de gobernante.

¿Qué ha ocurrido con los falsos marineros que persiguiendo un botín, alentaban al inconsciente piloto a la destrucción?

Entre otros especímenes característicos del régimen comunizante que ha destruido al País, en los cuatro años de desgobierno, distingúense con claridad **LOS SABIOS DE ALQUILER**, que al servicio de los Bárbaros venidos del villorrio cooperaron a la miseria en que el colectivismo, el ladronismo, el nepotismo, el servilismo y el cinismo sumieron al pueblo mexicano.

Los sabios del alquiler, con orolepescas elucubraciones que para un cerebro poco organizado y sin cultivo intelectual, deben haber representado la quínta esencia del saber, porque se rodeaban de bajas adulaciones y de ditirámicos elogios hacia el discutido genio que de la abrupta serranía había descendido, inspirado por la Divinidad a provocar el asombro de los míseros mortales de la Ciudad, tienen una grave responsabilidad en el desastre patrio; a esos Carrillos, Villaseñores, Cebadas, Aparicios, Mezas, Sousas y demás abortos que simulan talento y a quienes la Naturaleza quiso dotarlos con una

espina dorsal más elástica que un resorte, debe cargárseles, el mareo que sufrió Cárdenas en el Poder y que lo llevó a cometer las peores atrocidades en el Gobierno.

Ellos lo incensaron; ellos lo adularon; le hicieron creer que era un genio, que por su modestia había permanecido oculto durante muchos años de la vida revolucionaria; no debe por supuesto pensarse que la servil actitud de estos granujas excuse de responsabilidad en el dolor y el desastre de la Patria al que se creyó ídolo; al segundo que se soñó genial porque unas miserables plumas de alquiler lo tomaron como mampara para sus sórdidas combinaciones.

Lázaro Cárdenas ya no puede engañarse; el pueblo lo repudia y desea que cuanto antes transcurran los meses que faltan para que termine su período presidencial.

Si quedara alguna duda sobre el desprestigio cardenista bastaría señalar un hecho ocurrido recientemente; la rechifla general de que fué objeto la política cardenista, en la cabeza de su representante, el señor don Luis I. Rodríguez; el pueblo tuvo ocasión de mostrar su profundo descontento con el continuismo cardenista al hacer una manifestación espontánea y vehementemente contra el Presidente del llamado Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, que en costosa barrera de primera fila y en compañía de dos vulgares demagogos, presenciaba la corrida de toros el domingo pasado. Según datos que hemos obtenido, se trataba de un "truco", que había de ponerse en práctica para demostrar la popularidad de Rodríguez, preparado por los demagogos de marras, que previamente pusieron de acuerdo al torero Pepe Ortiz, para que brindase, en el momento oportuno, uno de sus toros a dicho señor; pues bien, cuando los politicastros sonreían satisfechos esperando una manifestación pública de apoyo al fanático renegado que por irrisión representa la política revolucionaria, dejóse oír con toda claridad, en los ámbitos de la plaza, un grito condenatorio que electrizó a la muchedumbre y que provocó un ruidoso y prolongado aplauso para el obrero que desde la gradería de sol, así asestaba tremendo bofetón, no al hijo del cubilete, como le gritó el pueblo, sino a Lázaro Cárdenas el verdadero culpable de los males que sufre la patria.

Luis Rodríguez sólo es un ente desprestigiado, verdadera cabeza de turco, en donde se descargan las iras populares; pero hasta los politicastros que servilmente adularon al régimen, cuando ponía todos sus empeños en destruir al País, como los Soto Reyes y resto de la comparsa muguista, se han dado cuenta de que el barco se hunde pero quisieran que el pueblo, engañado con sus maniobras, desvara su justicia, que llegará fatal e inexorable, para castigar al autor que es Cárdenas, arrastrando naturalmente al cómplice que es este pobre Rodríguez.

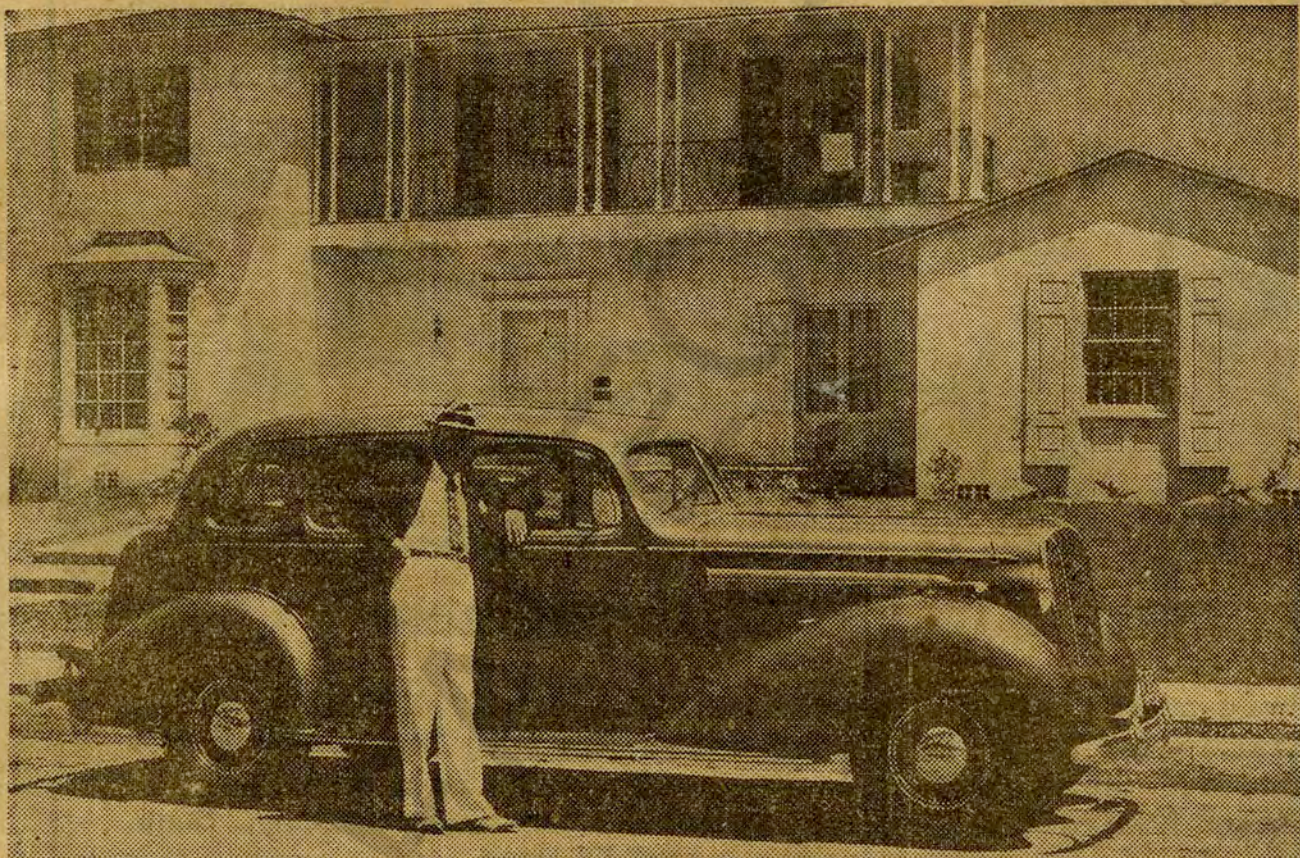
No hay que engañarse; el cardenismo está bien muerto y enterrado aunque todavía las miasmas que se desprendan del cadáver puedan provocar gestos de indignación y repugnancia.

Un amigo íntimo del diestro tapatío, Pepe Ortiz, nos dijo que éste se encuentra sumamente apenado por haber dado pretexto a la rechifla de que fué objeto el licenciado Luis I. Rodríguez en la corrida del domingo anterior.

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—Pero después de todo, —comentaba—, no estuvo malo. En lo sucesivo ya no andarán los políticos pidiendo de trasmano que los matadores les brinden, porque ya saben a lo que se exponen.

'IRON MAN OF MEXICO' SELECTS NEW BUICK

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P. Elias Calles, former president of Mexico, and known as "The Iron Man of Mexico" appears above before his San Diego residence with his new Buick recently purchased from the Robert D. Maxwell Co. Buick dealers here.

AVILA CAMACHO DICE QUE LAS CONQUISTAS DEL PUEBLO, BASE DE SU GOBIERNO

Sigue de la primera plana

El discurso íntegro del precandidato, es el siguiente:

PRINCIPIO DE SU PROGRAMA (1)

"Después de haber considerado con la mayor atención las adhesiones populares de respaldo a mi precandidatura a la Presidencia de la República, creo que uno de los fundamentales deberes que debo cumplir ante la Opinión Pública, en esta lucha cívica, es señalar los principios que guiarán mi pensamiento y acción:

"Estimo que la mejor síntesis que podemos hacer de la lucha social de México, es reconocer que las reivindicaciones del pueblo, que las garantías y los derechos de las masas campesinas y obreras del país, son un hecho reconocido y en marcha segura, en la realidad, en la ley y en las conciencias. Declaro que las conquistas sustanciales sobre la dotación de la tierra a los trabajadores del campo y las garantías consignadas en la Ley y en la práctica ascendente de nuestro movimiento social a favor de los obreros y de las agrupaciones sindicales, deben ser base de nuestra organización económica.

"Las conquistas obreras y el fraccionamiento de la tierra, una vez que se acaben de ordenar con los datos de la experiencia y el interés patrio, serán una garantía de seguridad social y el estímulo de una justa prosperidad.

RESPECTO PARA LA PEQUEÑA PROPIEDAD

"El desenvolvimiento del ejido capacitándolo cada día más para el desempeño de sus funciones sociales y económicas, juntamente con el respeto a la auténtica pequeña propiedad, elevarán la producción del campo y la riqueza nacional.

"Y no hay camino más seguro para consolidar esta situación que afirmarnos en los principios fecundos y genuinos de la Revolución Mexicana. El cumplimiento estricto de la ley y el esfuerzo por fortalecer y dignificar las instituciones nacionales, debe ser la norma de la marcha ascendente de la Revolución.

"Afortunadamente, la experiencia va vitalizando nuestros principios: las organizaciones de trabajadores, por su parte, han ido, en el ejercicio de sus derechos, adquiriendo un claro sentido de responsabilidad para colaborar en la prosperidad económica del país. Puerto que las masas trabajadoras han afu-

mado sus garantías, deben abrirse los grandes recursos del país a las inversiones legítimas y al estímulo de la iniciativa privada, rodeándolas de una justa seguridad, siempre que garanticen el respeto a la libertad económica de México y a las conquistas del proletariado.

EL PROBLEMA EDUCATIVO

"El problema de la educación del pueblo sigue siendo uno de los objetivos más importantes de nuestro movimiento social. La educación pública debe persistir en su empeño de afirmar los principios de liberación humana contra todas las formas de tiranía. Vital es, pues, la alfabetización de las masas y el mejoramiento, en todos los órdenes, de nuestra preparación y cultura.

"Consciente del valor que debe darse a la elevada misión del maestro, estimo que debe continuarse tratando de mejorar económica, cultural y socialmente al magisterio nacional, preparándolo cada vez con mayor eficacia para el leal desempeño de su misión educativa.

"Una buena administración de justicia es una de las exigencias fundamentales de los pueblos, constituye una de las más firmes garantías de seguridad social y es una elevada expresión del honor y el progreso de un país. Por tanto, nos esforzaremos por establecer las bases de honestidad, capacidad e imparcialidad en los tribunales federales, y con la participación de las entidades federativas, en los tribunales de orden común en toda la República.

"El Estatuto Jurídico representa una avanzada conquista no sólo para los servidores del Estado, sino para el Gobierno mismo. En efecto, si los intereses legítimos de los servidores públicos quedan defendidos, la nación, a su vez, tiene derecho a que, como una consecuencia de esas conquistas, se establezca la mayor eficiencia y la más firme garantía de colaboración en los propios servidores.

HAY QUE ELEVAR A LAS MUJERES

"Como un acto de justicia de la Revolución debemos capacitar a la mujer elevándola a la plenitud de sus derechos, orientar a la juventud que llega de los campos, de los talleres, de las escuelas, de las universidades, y que espera del poder constructivo del pueblo las oportunidades de una prosperidad económica, animada por la justicia social, en la que puedan, con sus actividades legítimas, contribuir a la grandeza del país y fincar el bienestar a que tienen derecho.

"La Nación reclama de todos nos-

otros el decidido propósito de hacerla fuerte, porque sólo así puede mantener su dignidad, cumplir sus destinos y combatir la opresión, la ignorancia y la pobreza. Para realizarlo es indispensable continuar la tarea de unificar y organizar a las masas trabajadoras de la República, dignificándolas con la plena conciencia de sus derechos al igual que con el profundo sentimiento de sus deberes y de su responsabilidad ante la patria.

LIBERTAD DE PRENSA Y DE CONCIENCIA

"Todos los ciudadanos y fundamentalmente las autoridades del país deben asumir el más profundo convencimiento, la sincera resolución de practicar y defender las libertades públicas. En el suelo de México la libertad de prensa y la libertad de conciencia deben consolidarse en realidades inexpugnables. Todos debemos esforzarnos por que el Municipio Libre sea lugar seguro de las libertades cívicas; pues sin el vigor que la vida municipal presta a las instituciones de la República será una vana palabra toda aspiración democrática.

"Con el sentimiento fraternal que me liga al Ejército, reitero mi convicción de que sus miembros no deben intervenir ni directa ni indirectamente en la política militante electoral mientras se encuentren en servicio activo; pues todo intento de hacer penetrar las contiendas electorales en el recinto de los cuarteles, es restar una garantía a la vida cívica del pueblo. Los derechos ciudadanos que la ley reconoce al soldado deben ejercitarse en la debida oportunidad y con la ponderación que corresponde a los miembros de una institución en la que el país entero ha depositado su confianza. Será para mí una acendrada aspiración conservar el afecto de todos los compañeros de armas y contribuir, con una actividad constante, al mejoramiento técnico, moral y económico del instituto armado, del cual dependen la seguridad y el honor de la Nación.

"Mi participación en la lucha política estará movida por un elevado sentimiento de civismo, seguro de que la más alta contribución que

puedo rendir, desde la categoría a que la adhesión de sectores del pueblo me ha elevado es la de coadyuvar a la afirmación de la confianza en las instituciones democráticas. Si la mayoría de los sectores del Partido de la Revolución, en su gran convención, o las mayorías del pueblo en las elecciones constitucionales, me fueren adversas, yo consideraría como un honor reconocer el triunfo legítimo del ungido por la voluntad popular.

TODOS DEBEN COLABORAR AL PLAN SEXENAL

"Dado el mecanismo de nuestro Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, todos nosotros debemos colaborar en la formación de un nuevo Plan Sexenal, en el que quede previsto, sin extravíos ni utopías, la consolidación de las obras emprendidas y la ordenación de nuevas posibilidades de justicia y acción creadora en el próximo periodo presidencial.

"Podría prodigar, en una ocasión como esta, promesas irrealizables, pero yo sé que no es esto lo que el país reclama, ni me lo permite mi propia convicción.

SOBRE TODO: EL SENTIDO PATRIO

"Hay algo que está más alto que nuestras luchas transitorias, y es el sentimiento de la patria mexicana. Todo un pasado cargado de sacrificios y todo un porvenir de legítimas esperanzas, debe elevar, en un movimiento de unión, el sentimiento genuino de la patria. Que nuestro patriotismo prepondere ante todo, inspirándonos en estas ideas todos los mexicanos unidos, formando un solo frente, consolidando nuestras riquezas materiales y espirituales que la Revolución nos ha entregado, debemos imponernos el mayor esfuerzo para engrandecer al país, acallando en nuestros espíritus todo sentimiento contrario a la verdadera justicia social.

"Más allá de la frontera hay muchos compatriotas que desean volver a la tierra de nuestros mayores y cobijarse con nuestra bandera; aquí en nuestro territorio, tan ensangrentado por seculares luchas, no sólo nuestra generación, sino las

venideras también, deben encontrar un solar propicio a todas sus aspiraciones.

"No debo terminar sin proclamar una vez más mi fe democrática, afirmando la necesidad de que trabajemos todos, en la medida de nuestra responsabilidad, por que la América nuestra rechace las atrocidades que amenazan al mundo, y sea nuestro país tierra de Igualdad y de Libertad."

(1) Este y los demás subtítulos fueron puestos por la redacción.

disto sostenido durante quince años por el callismo y la fugaz pero fructífera para él, administración de Fernández Manero, puesto por Cárdenas, a mandado tres ministros para que vayan a hacer un estudio de la situación, estudio del que dependerá la suerte de Tabasco.

Corren versiones, de que después de esa visita ministerial, de formular el respectivo proyecto y discutir Trujillo con los ministros el empleo o reparto que se hará de esos dineros, será concedida la ayuda misericorde al arrogante y en un tiempo rico Tabasco.

Se dice también que después de esa visita y por haberse despoblado el Estado de Tabasco (tantos miles de habitantes por la persecución de Garrido, tantos miles por el hambre y el empobrecimiento que introdujo Fernández Manero y tantos más por la ascensión de Trujillo al poder, y considerando que el plátano, el cacao, la ganadería, la industria del azúcar, la producción de maíz, frijol, arroz; los pesqueros de tortugas, icoteas, pochitoques, talmamas, guaos, robalo, pejes-lagartos, mojarra, juiles, tengualacas, castarricas y bobos y en general toda su fauna y su flora, han decrecido a tal grado que Tabasco no puede sostener, ni puede conservar su soberanía, se tomará el acuerdo de convertirlo en Territorio Federal y bajo la dependencia del centro se repoblará y se fomentará su riqueza, aprovechando el denodado esfuerzo de los milicianos españoles, que tanto bien prometen para la patria.

Si el préstamo o la dádiva se concede a Tabasco respetándole su denominación de ESTADO LIBRE Y SOBERANO, sugerimos al magnánimo Gobierno Federal ponga antes al frente de la Administración a un gobernante que emplee los millones en rehabilitar la riqueza del Estado y no en pagos de compromisos personales, erogaciones para campañas políticas y fastuosos matrimonios de familiares.

Si con Tabasco se toma la última determinación, los tabasqueños pedimos se haga un sereno y honrado estudio de las causas de su ruina, se señale a los verdaderos culpables de esa situación y se releve así al pueblo tabasqueño de una responsabilidad vergonzosa que no le corresponde.

Si del sapientísimo estudio que hagan los ministros y el rectísimo Gobernador, no nace la mágica fórmula para sacar a flote la quilla de nuestra pobre nave tabasqueña, nosotros proponemos la fórmula más eficaz: que se deje de considerar a Tabasco como región etióptica, que se deje a los esfuerzos propios del pueblo tabasqueño su propia rehabilitación y la responsabilidad de su Gobierno.—MARCOS MORA CHONTAL.

RUMORES DE QUE TABASCO DEJARA DE SER ESTADO Y SE- RA TERRITORIO

Después de noventa días de titánicos esfuerzos por sacar adelante los despojos de lo que en un tiempo fuera nave de riqueza empórica llamada Tabasco, el gobernador Trujillo Gurriá, electo por la impopular Cámara local, (atentado que sancionaron el Ministro de Gobernación y el Presidente de la República por no violar (?) la Constitución), ha venido ante el general Cárdenas, le ha expuesto claramente el desastre económico en que se halla el Estado, imposible de gobernarlo y administrarlo con sus propios fondos, y ha solicitado una ayuda de DOS MILLONES DE PESOS.

El Gobierno Federal, ansioso de remediar la difícil situación de Tabasco, fruto del barbarismo garri-

DECLARACIONES DEL LIC. J. VASCONCELOS

Sigue de la primera plana.

niente en fijar su posición con claridad. De todos modos, siento que basta con mis propias responsabilidades para hacer mi carga un tanto pesada y no es justo permitir que la aumenten los intrigantes con sus propios desahogos o con sus pasioncillas que acaso no se atreven a satisfacer por su cuenta. Ya desde la campaña electoral de 1934, pude comprobar que, no vacilan ciertos políticos, al sentirse inseguros de la popularidad de su causa, en emplear toda clase de medios para dar a entender, ya que no lo pueden afirmar, que Fulano y Zutano "están con ellos aunque no lo manifiesten". Entonces como ahora y para destruir toda suerte de engaños, expresé enfáticamente mi opinión contraria a los candidatos que, por no estar vengada la imposición de 1929, no lograrían otra cosa que legalizar la posición de las fuerzas gubernamentales. Y entonces como ahora se me injurió, se me calumnió y se me acusó de pretender ponerme bien con el régimen. Y entonces como ahora, ante la deslealtad y el fango, decidí esperar tranquilo. Más tranquilo aún estoy ahora, el **candidato de desesperación nacional** que hoy enarbola una oposición deshecha porque no supo mantenerse leal a sus jefes, resulta, sin duda alguna, inferior en todos aspectos a los candidatos de hace seis años. Y nadie podrá decir que lucré con la posición abstencionista que, en aquella época, me plugo recomendar. Para romper mi abstencionismo, que a mi juicio es el único camino que le queda a la democracia mexicana, por el momento, se acude hoy, otra vez como en 1934 a la intriga y a la mentira. En un semanario de amplia circulación se me hizo decir hace pocos meses. "Que el general Avila

Camacho triunfaría porque no sabía leer". La maliciosa versión tenía, por objeto forzarme dentro de las filas de una oposición cuyas miras y cuyas tácticas no suscribo. No me ocupé por el momento de desmentir la grotesca versión, porque esperaba conocer su origen. Pero me molestó, porque meses antes y cuando el general Avila Camacho no era aun candidato, tuve oportunidad de conversar con él en Sonora, en forma cordial y extremadamente cortés. Y resultaba de mi parte un exabrupto y una grosería corresponder, de buenas a primeras, la decencia en el trato, con la diatriba inmotivada. Para afirmar la propia independencia de carácter no es necesario prescindir del mutuo respeto. Y si alguna vez o muchas veces en mis publicaciones he tenido que juzgar severamente hombres y situaciones, he procurado hacerlo siempre dentro de lo que he creído la verdad estricta y cuidándome de no dejarme llevar de resentimientos personales o antipatías caprichosas. Con sacrificio de mi personal conveniencia, he agredido muchas veces, pero movido siempre por razones de interés patriótico bien, o mal entendido, pero sincero. Y lo que ahora reclamo es mi derecho para pelear, pero eligiendo yo el momento, el lugar y la forma de la pelea. Y resuelto a resistir la intriga, la calumnia y la befa; antes que prestarme al engaño de que se use mi nombre, en favor de movimientos y actitudes que no cuentan con mi simpatía. Si por no ser almazanista se me declara gobiernista, no me mostraré sorprendido. Acostumbrado estoy a padecer toda suerte de insidias. Pero no por eso dejaré que sea forzada mi voluntad.

José Vasconcelos.—Rúbrica.

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