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Organización y Educación

Educational Ideology, Practice and Influence of the Partido Liberal Mexicano

A thesis submitted in satisfaction of the requirements

for the degree Master of Arts

in Latin American Studies

by

Moises Santos

2013

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Organización y Educación

Educational Ideology, Practice and Influence of the Partido Liberal Mexicano

by

Moises Santos

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Juan Gomez-Quñones, Chair

Although they were highly influential in the processes and outcomes of the Mexican Revolution the Flores Magon brothers and the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) are often excluded from the traditional narrative of this important era of Mexican history. Their anarcho-communist politics are surely a cause for their marginalization. Their contributions to Mexican politics cannot be denied, and have long been documented. This thesis explores beyond their political activities to present the PLM's contributions to education. The PLM acted as more than a political organization. They were also educators. Through the distribution of their newspaper *Regeneracion* and the establishment of *escuelas racionalistas* inspired by Spanish anarchist educator Francisoco Ferrer they encouraged people to educate themselves while organizing toward their liberation in both Mexico and the United States.

The thesis of Moises Santos is approved.

Irene Vasquez

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2013

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Introduction

Histories of social movements entail the narrative of past events, personalities, and material conditions and also the ideas and ideals of the past. When assessing revolutions¹, historians identify key players and idea sets that influenced the reasons, processes, and outcomes of revolutions. Usually these are middle or upper class intellectuals that use popular movement projects to put forth their preferred agendas. Sometimes the masses elect a leader from their own class who may or may not better address their needs. Whatever the case may be, schools of thought may sometimes exclude some important figures in order to present a subjective view of revolutions with some degree of narrative coherence. Often, these exclusions stem from the ideologies those figures put forth, especially if they challenge the official or classic narrative of the revolution. The official narrative often emerges within the context of nation state building, whether it is a new one established by revolutionaries or the old regime that could not be toppled. Therefore, it is no surprise that those ideologies that challenge the state and challenge the official narrative are the ones that are ignored and often depicted as the most radical and marginal.

In the case of the revolution in Mexico, the important figures that are often excluded from the narrative are the anarchists, specifically the Flores Magon brothers, Ricardo and Enrique, and the core political organization they helped create, the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), whose tenets could be identified as anarcho-communist². An inspection of their political ideologies helps to explain their marginalization in the history of the Mexican Revolution. Rather than focus on the popular narrative and its strengths and weaknesses, we focus on the anarchists themselves in order to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their politics, ideas, and actions. An analysis of their politics in relation to the propagandizing and actions of the revolution in Mexico, however, has been thoroughly done by scholars³. What is of concern now is analyzing

the PLM through different prisms to determine its significance in other areas. Analyzing revolutions in terms of not only how they address political issues, but also social ones provides commentary on the line between ideas and practice. Likewise identifying the goals of the PLM offers a standard for measuring social change. The types of goals and social changes examined in this project are those that address educational frameworks and practices as they were at the turn of the century.

This essay addresses four questions. 1. What are anarchist ideologies and social arguments including reasons for education? 2. What were the goals of the PLM anarchists? 3. How did the anarchists apply their ideas to an educational framework? 4. How did they put these ideas into practice? The first two questions are concerned with the nature of the PLM itself. A basic step in this analysis is understanding what the PLM planned to accomplish and develop. This includes a discussion of their political ideas and how they were informed. Once a clear understanding of their political ideas is established it can be used as a foundation for the analysis of their application. The third question is more complex. In order to answer this question there must be a discussion of whether anarchist ideas in general *can* be applied to an educational framework, and how? The fourth question serves to assess the true success of the application of anarchist ideas into an educational framework, by analyzing its success, or lack thereof, when put into practice.

Significance

The reason for this study is to find the intersections between anarchist politics and critical pedagogy, and to explore the PLM's ideology and programs with their education related views and thinking and how they manifested these theoretically and practically. This investigation

informs historically and educationally because it provides an understanding of the significance of education and its practice in radical social change processes. Anarchist theorists have long written on the negative effect of government on the social and economic security of the masses. Anarchy, they argue, will end the oppression of the poor by abolishing government and other forms of authority. Equality, solidarity, and autonomy have been anarchists' definition of justice. Anarchists have not, however, been able to put these ideas and principles into action in regards to education at great lengths. Education plays a major role in the development of a society, especially after a change or abolition of power, yet anarchists have focused their efforts on destroying the governmental structure that exists, and not planning thoroughly what replaces the former. Anarchists write of the ways in which law, the State, and property should be changed or destroyed, and comparatively less on social institutions, though do note the importance of education.

Hopes for a better world are of concern to teachers as well as ideologues. Scholars of critical pedagogy, especially Paolo Freire⁴ (1921-1997), have been able to challenge the pedagogical norm by presenting new ideas on the organization and dissemination of knowledge. They advocate for specific changes to be made so that the educational model that exists, one that favors an elite minority, can be replaced by a more egalitarian model with broader beneficial social outcome. The goal of this project is to find the points in which these two schools of thought, anarchist politics and critical pedagogy, interrelated and influenced each other. This way we can have a more holistic assessment of anarchism and its social potential. By focusing on the PLM's own writings and actions, we can explore how this new understanding of anarchism looks like when put into practice.

Methodology

This thesis employs a qualitative analysis. The methodology involves a close read of primary sources, which are the main sources of information. These documents include issues of the periodical *Regeneracion*, specifically those published in 1906 and between 1910 and 1918⁵. This time frame for analysis focuses on those issues published during the PLM's most radical years. These involved the period of the revolution in Mexico while PLM members resided in the United States borderlands. Short stories and plays written by Ricardo Flores Magon are analyzed as sources of information on the political and pedagogical ideas of the PLM. The research also includes theoretical writings on anarchism and critical pedagogy. The analysis will consist of, first: a comparison of the theories themselves, to identify specific themes shared by both; and second, an analysis of the PLM to show how these themes are represented in the writings.

The educational framework used for this study as a primary point of reference is the one presented by Paolo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968). This framework aims to create an alternative model of education premised on an egalitarian approach to learning and teaching. In its prevalent form, in modern societies, education serves to present the ideas of the state, which are the ideas of the ruling class, to the general population as logical, coherent and effective when they are in fact modes for conditioning the oppressed to accept status quo social conditions. State mandated education employs the same social model that it aims to preserve, hierarchy. Systemic education sets up the educator, who is an employee of the state, as the immediate owner and distributor of knowledge, and the student as a recipient, a catechist. State officials give delegated power to the educator to decide what knowledge is, what knowledge should be taught, and whether or not, and to what extent, this knowledge can be challenged. This model, known as the banking model, rather than teaching students how to think, trains them how to act

according to the national obligation that argues the “good” of the student and the society are best served. Accordingly, this model promotes the oppression of the masses to continue.

Freire, in contrast, believed there should be a new pedagogy, “a pedagogy which must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed.”⁶ This new pedagogy encourages students to think critically about their conditions and encourages them to challenge and take action to change their situation. Action, of course, is *sine qua non* for anarchists as they promote their agenda and travel is a form of communicating ideas and advocating for action.

Contributions to knowledge

This thesis will analyze the political ideas of the Flores Magon brothers and the PLM⁷ in order to identify specific aspects of those ideas that can be applied or related to an educational framework. The essay critically informs on the relation of ideology to pedagogy through one historical example of this relationship. In order to do this we first present an understanding of what anarchism postulates and next we present what would be a consequent educational framework. In regards to education as well as other themes, anarchists demonstrate internationalism in their frame of mind and in relation to their inspirational references. In practice the PLM was trans-border and transnational and thus we learn specifics of such important human processes on our immediate borderlands.

Anarchist theories and views on education

Anarchism is the belief that human beings can, and should, live and organize themselves into societies based on cooperation and mutual aid, without authoritative institutions or persons to limit their equality and liberty. Anarchists in their articulation both critique and herald education. They criticize the education of the dominant system and they announce a liberating

education for a free society. Anarchists question authority of any kind because they believe it serves only those who have power and corrupts them. According to scholar Paul Eltzbacher⁸ anarchism can be defined by how it relates to law, state, and property. Each of these encompasses a role for education. He defines law as a collection of legal norms which inform people how to behave. Law makers create norms to make people conform, and not question those in power. The legal norm does this by presenting societal procedures that ought to be followed, thus protecting the norm which is based on the will of those in power. Legal norms determine the relation between two parties, a dominant and an obligated party, which creates the state. This legal relation, the state, is set up by the dominant party for its own sake by prescribing procedures for the subjugated party to follow. The state sets itself as the authority of all the territory which it controls, whether or not the inhabitants recognize the authority as legitimate, making the subjugated party involuntarily under the control of the dominant party and the state.

Property, Eltzbacher defines as existent when those in power set forth rules that prevent anyone from interfering with the will of the owner of things to do with them as he pleases. The rules of property are also involuntarily imposed on the people, for they do not have to give consent for these rules to apply to them. The problem, as with law and state, is to what extent these rules are carried out, by who, and for whom. Anarchists then, according to Eltzbacher, must address these three issues. Three major anarchist theorists, William Godwin (1756-1836), Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), and Peter Kropotkin⁹ (1842-1921) detail in their work the evils of law, state, and property and how and why they should be abolished in favor of an anarchist utopian society with different principles of order, governance, and cooperation.

Godwin bases his idea of anarchy on his belief that the supreme law that mankind should follow is that of general welfare. He advocates community consciousness and solidarity for the

general benefit of all. He believes that humans have a moral duty to care for one another and that justice only exists when everyone follows this principle. He rejects all laws because he believes that the general good is what is most important. Laws set limits for humanity, and thus are always changing, in an effort to control. “The consequence of infinitude of law is its uncertainty.”

¹⁰ Godwin believes that humans are capable of organizing and governing themselves without the need of laws. “The true principle which ought to be substituted in the room of law is that of reason exercising an uncontrolled jurisdiction upon the circumstances of the case.”¹¹ When addressing the state, again he rejects it for its damage to general welfare. He says that the state is dangerous because it justifies itself by expecting its subjects to hand over “to another the control of his conscience and the judging of his duties”¹² based on the belief that the State is approved by God, making it legitimate, or has the power to declare its legitimacy. Society, Godwin believes can exist without government. “Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness.”¹³ Therefore governments need to be abolished, and “common deliberation regarding the general good” will guide social order when there is no government. States, he argues are concerned with power, which brings happiness to nobody. Only small societies based on harmony, community, and general welfare benefit people.

On the issue of property Godwin is concerned with its distribution, and how, under any government, it is not based on a man’s labor and is opposed to the general welfare. “It is unjust that a man works to the point of destroying his health or his life, while another riots in superfluity.” “How rapid would be the advantages of intellect, if all men were admitted into the field of knowledge!”¹⁴ Godwin argues that the change to anarchy cannot be made by a violent revolution. War, leaves things up to chance, and corrupts the idea. Only by convincing men that general welfare demands change can an anarchist society be established, that is through

education. Although, the success of his plan of action relies on the assumption that men can come to the realization that change is necessary or possible, it is important to point out that he is more concerned with educating the people than he is in exciting them. In fact, he focuses some of his work on education itself, by criticizing the notion of national education, which is controlled by the state.

Proudhon, unlike Godwin, believes the supreme law of man is justice. Justice he says is gained by exercising mutual respect, with no conditions, and under any circumstance. Justice, therefore, must be the only thing by which a man's actions should be measured. Proudhon and Godwin again differ in their critique of law. Whereas Godwin believes all law should be abolished, Proudhon believes that there is still one legal norm that should be practiced, the contract. Proudhon believes that most laws are harmful to the general welfare, but is convinced that a contract should be put into place. A contract that asserts every man's right to be free, and is based on justice, is necessary. Proudhon rejects the state because he recognizes that it is involuntary and unjust. He believes that "the government of man by man is slavery"¹⁵ in any form whether it be a democracy, monarchy, or a socialist state. This is because all governments seek power and authority, and therefore do not have the needs of the people in mind. When speaking of property Proudhon advocates for a balance in distribution. He does make a distinction between what communists call for, a redistribution of property across the board, and what he is promoting. He is not calling for property to be regulated, but instead be inherently distributed equal and fair. He does not oppose people having possessions of their own, only that those possessions be fairly equal for all.

These changes, Proudhon says, will be made when men who recognize that anarchy is the best way to live convince others of this same truth, presumably this requires education. When

this happens, state, law and property will cease to exist and the new ways of living will emerge. Like Godwin, Proudhon's plan of action is idealistic in many ways. For example, he assumes that those in power will not fight to preserve the system as it is. Proudhon's contributions to this study however, are that his plan for the future includes a plan for the administration of public services, including education. These services, he states, must be centralized and independent, in other words, autonomous. This way the people of the community can choose how to organize these services and how they are carried out.

Both Godwin and Proudhon base their arguments of anarchism on the general laws that they believe mankind should adopt. Kropotkin, on the other hand, bases his argument on the law that he believes mankind possesses, and will continue to follow, the law of evolution.¹⁶ Anarchism is only the next step in social evolution to achieve a world society in which individuals will enjoy the most happiness. Progress, is simply the goal of evolution, something that not only should happen but is happening. Kropotkin believes that the state of the world now is temporary, because it is historically recent. Order, equilibrium between all men and their surroundings, takes time and when established will prevail for a longer time and will not be easily destroyed as have some governments. This order is anarchism. He is therefore not against all laws, for he sees general beneficial laws as important in the development of an anarchist society. He is opposed to enacted mandated laws, that is, laws that become legal norms and are enforced by "authorities." According to Kropotkin, in the next step of evolution, anarchism, authoritarian punitive laws will not have to be enacted because people will voluntarily follow priorities based on feelings of solidarity and harmony that all will share. Both law and the state, he says, are weapons the wealthy elite use to oppress the masses, and for that reason they will have to disappear in the next step of social evolution. In the present state the rights of the people

are secure as long as the masses do not realize that those rights allow them to question the powerful, at which point those rights are taken away. In an anarchist society, however, rights would be secured by use of a contract, a mutual agreement. Like Proudhon's this contract would guarantee the rights of all who choose to abide by it. Kropotkin, like Godwin, believes that small communes regulated by these contracts, based on morality, is the best way to organize societies.

Kropotkin, like Proudhon, makes a fundamental distinction when addressing the issue of property. He is not against property itself, but rather appropriation which becomes private property. Private property, because it is an unjust appropriation of property at the cost of the suffering of others, violates the principles of anarchism, and must end. In an anarchist society a new system of property owned by society would be established. Under anarchism everything would be owned by everyone in the community. All services would be free for everyone. To ensure that this is true, but also so that nobody can take advantage of another, everyone would be required to contribute to the production of the goods necessitated by the community. Also, not only will the community own the means of production, but the product itself, so that private property would not exist in any form. This way everyone contributes to the production, and everyone has the right to a share of the product. The contract that this community adopts will make sure that they have "first the right to live, and second the right to live comfortably."¹⁷ These changes, according to Kropotkin, can only be made through social revolution, which is possible through consciousness and learning from experience, that is, political education.

Kropotkin, unlike Godwin and Proudhon, is not opposed to using violence to reach the goals of anarchism.¹⁸ Only social revolution, which is by the masses for their own sake, can be successful in establishing an anarchist society. Like Proudhon, Kropotkin believes that all governments, even so called revolutionary governments, are dangerous and cannot adequately

address the concerns of the population.¹⁹ For this reason, only a social revolution that aims at creating equality for everyone and does not seek to take power, but rather to destroy it, can be successful. Kropotkin gave anarchism a scientific grounding for which lent it some empirical credibility. Anarchism's practicality came with unions, voluntary worker associations, and through anarcho-syndicalist values.

Arriving

Anarcho-syndicalism is the form of anarchism which had the greatest impact on Latin America²⁰. Anarchism appeared in Latin America mostly through European immigrants in the mid and late 19th century. Internal influences also existed, for example, communalism and collectivism notions deriving from indigenous or early Christian ideals. However, a large influx of migrants to Argentina, perhaps more than in other countries and smaller immigration to Mexico and Chile contributed to the dissemination and practice of anarchist ideals. The arrival of anarchists such as Petro Gori in Argentina, and Plotino Rhodakanaty in Mexico²¹ marks the beginning of anarchist activity in Latin America. In Argentina, Mexico, and also Chile, the first wave of anarchist resistance comes from early propaganda. Often published in independent newspapers like *El Oprimido* (1893) in Chile and *El Perseguido* (1890-1897) in Argentina, anarchist propaganda helped organizers connect with the populace. Later came the forming of worker unions and other mutualistic organizations that sought to address the concerns and needs of the common folk. Organizations such as the "Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina (F.O.R.A.)" in 1901 and the I.W.W. in Chile in 1919, allegedly modeled after the Industrial Workers of the World organization in the U.S., represented workers and campesinos. In Argentina the anarcho-syndicalists had much success in organizing unions. Chilean anarchists

shared the same popularity as their Argentine counterparts among workers, but were less successful in establishing unions.²²

In Mexico there was a considerable amount of anarchist activity between the 1860s and 1880s. Plotino Rhodakanaty was the catalyst for this first anarchist movement in Mexico. His activities and those of his comrades led to the establishment of various organizations, such as *La Social*. These organizations became popular among the urban worker, leading to the first known worker strike in Mexico in 1865. Their activities also became popular among the growing agrarian movement which they supported in the fight for land rights. Rhodkanatay established a school in the state of Mexico, but later left it because he disagreed with the direction it was taking.²³ In the 1870s there was a decrease in anarchist activity and success. Ineffective organization and poor planning of actions led to the easy prosecution and decline in popularity of *La Social* and other groups. Rising industrial growth in the cities and limited resources in rural areas for a revolt limited their influence. The next decade saw an even greater decrease in activity and hence no substantive transfer of legacy. Porfirio Diaz's consolidation of power (1876-1911) and his ability to wield it proved to be challenges for the anarchists of this era.

In 1892 the next era of anarchists made their initial mark as Ricardo Flores Magon was arrested for the first time for leading an anti-Díaz demonstration. Although, not yet the radical he became in the 20th century, it is around this time that he and his comrades read European anarchist writers, mainly Peter Kropotkin. The Flores Magon brothers, Ricardo and Enrique, and the organization they and others formed, the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), apparently had no contact with the early anarchists of Rhodakanaty's era. Instead the Flores Magon brothers turned to contemporary European anarchist thinkers and activists directly for inspiration and formed their own movement.

From 1900 to 1910 the PLM founders acted as a revolutionary challenge to the Diaz regime in many ways²⁴. They published their newspaper *Regeneracion* from 1900 to 1903 in Mexico City and join groups critical of the government. In the United States, through *Regeneracion* (1906-1918) they were able to disseminate anti-government reports and criticism, going beyond political propaganda. They asked readers to reflect and react critically. They were both directly and indirectly involved with the establishment of various other groups associated or modeled after the PLM. Their actions led to multiple arrests and the complete censure of their newspaper. In 1904 the Flores Magon brothers and a few of their associates exiled themselves to the United States to continue their work. There they continued to publish *Regeneracion* and formed the *Junta Organizadora de El Partido Liberal Mexicano* (La Junta) as a central organizing unit for the many PLM organizations all around Mexico. Disclaiming direct leadership, they played an important role in supporting the miners' strike in Cananea in 1906²⁵. Between 1907 and 1910 they organized and executed small revolts in various parts of Mexico. Government prosecutions of PLM members in Mexico and the U.S., however weakened the organizational and executional strength of their efforts. In the years leading up to Francisco Madero's call for regime change in 1910 the PLM attempted to stage other rebellions with little to no success. Beginning in 1906, they began to gradually espouse their anarchist beliefs. They called for an anarchist revolution and criticize Francisco Madero's and later Venustiano Carranza's reform efforts as pseudo revolutions. Ultimately the PLM served as proponents and examples of political grounding and justification for a social as well as political revolution.

Revolution

Mexico had the first major social revolution in Latin America in the 20th century²⁶. Diaz's complete acquisition of power and his unwillingness to share power through elections angered

people of all social classes in Mexico. The peasantry lost their lands and long established local community participatory formats because of Diaz's efforts to enhance production in the countryside²⁷. Overall, the middle and even some in the higher class lost power through Diaz's practice of appointing local and state government officials, many who were not native to the regions they governed. In the Diaz politics loyalty to him was the criteria of service and not the community. Madero's failed attempt to gain power through the elections in 1910 offered him the opportunity to call upon the disgruntled populace for support to overthrow the Diaz government. He was able to take advantage of the years of dissatisfaction and the prior organizing of others, especially that of the PLM²⁸. Madero moved toward the revolt that the lower classes had been planning and executing years before. Madero energized a desire in Mexico's people for change that ultimately he could not fulfill or contain. He offered electoral change but a large number wanted social reforms. His leniency towards Diaz family members and their supporters within the government caused other revolutionaries who had initially supported him to be suspicious. His inadequacies cost him his power and life and sent Mexico into a series of civil wars between different factions of revolutionaries.

Ideas

The conventional narrative of Mexico identifies the year 1910 as the beginning of the Mexican Revolution, yet criticisms of the country and its state circulated before that date. Years before 1910 there were uprisings and strikes around the country by workers seeking economic and social change. The miners' strike in Cananea in 1906 is an example. There was also critical press with avid readerships. These early actions for change had as much impact as calls to reinstate the constitution. Most of the movements both before and after 1910 had some sort of ideological grounding or specific issue they were addressing. The oppression of the Porfirio Diaz

regime (1876-1911) was known to all the working class, and there were recurrent protests, but the motivation to take overall action to enact national change came from several sectors. Writers and organizers worked for years before any mass action took place to educate and encourage the Mexican people. The Flores Magon brothers and the PLM were one of those highly influential groups who were the catalyst that drove the Mexican people to fight for social change. Like all influential leaders they had a context and a history.

Ricardo Flores Magon began his political activity at an early age, participating in anti-Diaz and anti-reelection protests as a student organizer. He was arrested for the first time in 1892 along with his older brother Jesus.²⁹ After this he was not publically visible for years until 1900³⁰ when he began the publication of *Regeneracion* with his brother, Jesus. The newspaper was at that time tagged as an “Independent Juridical Journal” and served to bring to light corruption in the judicial system and Diaz government.³¹ A few months later the newspaper changed its focus to openly criticize the government and was then called an “Independent Journal of Combat.” Ricardo and his brothers, Jesus, and the younger Enrique also were involved with various liberal groups also organizing against the Diaz government. *Regeneracion* became a major outlet of information about these groups, their issues and their activities.

When the Flores Magon brothers intensified their attack on the Diaz government’s practices and officials, they became the target of persecution by officials. Their *Regeneracion* offices were raided several times and they were jailed on multiple occasions. They were able to persevere for a few years, at times using other newspapers to publish their writings. In April 1903, they participated in a rally outside the national palace in Mexico City and continued to publish anti-government writings in the newspaper *El Hijo del Ahuizote*. Soon the Flores Magon brothers and their comrades Juan Sarabia and Librado Rivera were arrested and their offices

were shut down.³² Shortly after their release from prison, in June of the same year, the Mexican Supreme Court ratified a decision to make it illegal for any newspaper to publish anything written by the Flores Magon brothers.

That decision forced the Flores Magon brothers to move to the United States where they hoped to continue their struggle. Once they raised enough money to buy a printing press they resumed the publication of *Regeneracion* in late 1904 in San Antonio, Texas. Next in 1905 the Flores Magon brothers and their comrades, now living in Saint Louis, Missouri, established the Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano (Junta) in order to distance themselves from the earlier liberal party in Mexico due to a conflict over difference as to whether electoral reforms or political reforms should be the priority.

From this point on the Junta encouraged the Mexican people to form their own PLM chapters in their towns so that they can coordinate with the Junta and organize a revolution.³³ The Junta's mission was to educate and organize the Mexican people so that they could take action against the oppressive government. They did this by publishing writings on their ideas on revolution, government, and a new society. At this time they operated under the "liberal" moniker but their ideas were increasingly more anarchist in thrust. Anti-authoritarian and egalitarian ideals were commonly discussed by the PLM. They warned the Mexican people of would be leaders that used popular movements for their own benefit. They asked the people to organize collectively and in solidarity with others looking for radical social change. The PLM's goal was to have a revolution where the Mexican people could create social change for themselves, without masters or leaders and create a new society that addressed all of their needs. They began as nationalistic liberal reformers, but soon felt that stance was not enough to secure social justice much less civic equality and they considered the merits of an anarchist social

revolution, and none more than Ricardo himself. Concurrently he reflected on Mexican history and its indigenous legacies.

Organizing

The year 1906 marked the beginning of the most radical part of Ricardo Flores Magon and the PLM's political career. It is in this year, in July 1st, that they published their Plan reporting the expectations the people of Mexico had for a new society after revolution.³⁴ Interestingly, they drafted their Plan according to recommendations and priorities solicited from readers in both Mexico and the United States. In effect they organized a bi-national consultation. It detailed constitutional changes and social reforms that the Mexican people needed. It addressed by far more issues and provided the most specific and progressive solutions than any other document from the Mexican Revolution. Education had a section in the plan with several sub-points. Other documents published from 1906 to 1917 also raised issues of education and thus education constituted one of the focus points for change.

In February 1st 1906, *Regeneracion* initiated discussion on education. They published an article titled "El Deber de los Parias (The Obligation of the Outcasts)" in which they talked of the necessity of progressive education. They said "educators should teach children to be liberators, not submissive."³⁵ They encouraged intellectuals, teachers, and writers to do their part in educating the populace, including children, to recognize their oppression and be proactive agents of change. The article pointed out that the illiteracy of the people, both in the fields and in the city, added to their oppression. They were unable to fight their oppressor if they were unaware that he existed. The intellectual understood this oppression and the benefit that it gave to those in the higher class. These intellectuals were and should be part of the outcasts and with

the outcasts. They should align their needs, hopes, and outcomes to those of the people. By calling on intellectuals and instructors to join the organizing of the people through their words by educating them, the PLM recognized the importance of education within revolution. In their exile, away from resources allowing them to implement some of these ideals they called on those who had power.

In that same newspaper issue appeared another article titled “Bases.” In the article are described the necessary steps and duties that PLM organizations around Mexico, and elsewhere, should follow. One task they asked readers to do was organize public readings and distribution of *Regeneracion* among the population. It called on these groups not only to organize the people but also to educate them. Both should be done simultaneously. It called on the organizers to reject education from the clergy by teaching their families about liberal ideals including unionizing, participating in civic duties, and practicing liberation.

The dual effort that the PLM encouraged in organizing and educating the oppressed is what Paulo Freire describes as “educational projects.” These are to be carried out while organizing people toward their liberation, which has multiple aspects. In the absence of political power, which is needed to enact systematic educational changes, the oppressed must educate while organizing. Critical consciousness is what Freire identifies as the first stage of the pedagogy of the oppressed. That is “the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation.”³⁶ The organizing side of the PLM is not enough for liberation if the people do not know who they are fighting for and against. As organizers and leaders they must teach the people to recognize their oppression and find solutions to remedy their situation.

At first this problematic was encountered in Mexico but their education focus also had to be addressed within the United States. The PLM engaged the objective and task of education within multiple contexts. In prior times education was a focus for liberals as well as their conservative critics. Contemporarily, education was a focus for policy makers in many countries including Mexico and the United States. Moreover, several PLM members had benefited from the increased access to education. Several of their salient activists were teachers or had planned to be teachers. In fact, after their apex some PLM members returned to teaching. The PLM's views on the importance of education are related to their views on social revolution. In various issues of *Regeneracion* they use the tag line "Mexicano: tu mejor amigo es un fusil" encouraging the Mexican people to take up arms. Yet this violent means was juxtaposed with the peaceful means of education.

In the issue published in September 24 1910, the translator for the English section of the newspaper, Alfred G. Sanftleben, commented on the usage of this phrase at a recent rally. He agrees that when peaceful opposition does not work, violence must be used against the oppressor. He suggests, however, that the counterpart to that, education, is highly valued. Education is what gives vitality and continuity to revolution. He writes "hay que armar el brazo, es cierto; pero tambien debe armarse el cerebro."³⁷ In order to achieve long lasting victory, he writes, there must be intellectual advancement. The rifle is not enough; it must be paired with strong convictions and knowledge. He cited the many instances in which the government has used the rifle against movements like that in Cananea to re-oppress the people. He reminded the reader that education is needed so that the oppressed can recognize their situation and their common interests and fight against oppressing forces. He concluded by saying that only the rifle paired with a strong education can bring true and long-lasting liberty.

In addition to disseminating their ideas on education, the PLM also critiqued the existing system of education. At this time, in Mexico, public education as provided by the states and the federal government in D.F., and the territories, was heavily influenced by positivist tenets, which stressed order and authority³⁸. The PLM recognized the use of education as an extension of oppression used by the Diaz government to keep the poor and the middle class submissive and controlled. They described that education as “cadenas de los libres.” They pointed out that the education that the students received taught them to accept their situation as part of a natural order. They were taught not to question the authority of the state. Most of the population at the time spends their time working in order to survive, and if they were of the few that were lucky to attend school, the education they received did not benefit them extensively. This education, the PLM says, was a tactic that the government used in order to prevent the population from having any hopes of change.

Speaking on the topic of education as fostering oppression or liberation the November 5 1910 issue of *Regeneracion* stated “De ese modo cierra el tirano todas las puertas a la clase trabajadora Mexicana arrebatándole dos de los principales agentes de fuerza moral: la educación y el bienestar.”³⁹ Again, the PLM saw the importance of education as a liberating tool. The Diaz government used education or the lack thereof to keep the people ignorant and thus dependent on the regime. The PLM argued that to truly liberate the people of Mexico, they must reverse the damage done by the regime, and education is essential in that struggle.

Later, the PLM also criticized Madero and others for attempting to limit education for the people of Mexico in other ways. When Madero took power, he and his associates proposed that the people of Mexico wait at least a generation and be educated before they received the changes and freedoms for which they were fighting. They said that in order to turn over the means of

production and land to the peasantry people should first have the education needed. Of course they were speaking of an education that would work in the favor of those already in power. The PLM recognized this campaign as an attempt to negate the people any liberation. This was another reason the PLM emphasized educating while organizing. The education that Madero and others suggested for the people was one that would assimilate them in to the existing social and political system. The education that the PLM proposed was to help the people fight any system.

The PLM in time endorsed one educator as their pedagogical mentor. In their mission to encourage new forms of education the PLM supported educational ideas proposed by their contemporaries, namely those of the Spanish-Catalan anarchist Francisco Ferrer⁴⁰ (1859-1909). This educator was successful in establishing the “Escuela Moderna” in Madrid, Spain in 1906, and he became an inspiration to the PLM. A school modeled after the one in Spain was founded in New York City in 1911 and one in Mexico City years later. Several issues of *Regeneracion* mentioned Ferrer and provided commentary on his trial and death. His school emphasized teaching anarchist social values with a curriculum premised on science epistemology and rational thinking. Unfortunately, Ferrer was constantly prosecuted leading to the closure of the school and his eventual execution in 1909. Flores Magon in a scathing speech in October, 1910 demanded that the agents of the state and the clergy who sponsored the assassination of Ferrer be punished, for Ferrer never preached violence or was ever involved in subversive politics, yet his work for education ended in his death.

In 1910 Praxedis Guerrero⁴¹, one of the most educated as well as charismatic writers and organizers in the PLM, wrote an article titled “Impulsemos la Enseñanza Racionalista.” In it he proposed that PLM groups establish schools similar to Ferrer’s. Written around the first anniversary of Ferrer’s death, the article encouraged organizers to set up schools in their

communities. Guerrero saw this as a fitting tribute to Ferrer, who inspired 120 schools with hundreds of students. Instead of protests, Guerrero suggested that the politically conscious honor Ferrer by practicing what he propagated.

Guerrero saw the establishment of *escuelas racionalistas* as a way to put the PLM's ideals into action. The PLM's main objective was to encourage the Mexican people to liberate themselves from the oppressive government. Thus the majority of the pages in *Regeneracion* were filled with political rhetoric aimed at exposing the Diaz regime for its danger to the future of Mexico. Importantly, the *escuelas racionalistas* provided the PLM with a concrete plan to put much of this rhetoric into action. Guerrero suggested that the PLM go beyond political action and begin to implement social changes in the communities they represented.

In the U.S., Guerrero and his comrades also noticed the inequalities that Mexicans had to face, especially when it came to education. He also, in an angry tone, when commenting on a lynching, accused the schools for whites as inculcating an education which fostered such acts. Several times they mentioned in *Regeneracion* the segregation they saw in the schools. Guerrero also saw the establishment of *escuelas racionalistas* as a way to counter the discrimination and inadequacies provided by the segregated schools in the U.S. He argued *escuelas racionalistas* could provide new pedagogical models but also serve as an organizing tool. Again, the purpose was to make sure that the liberation that the PLM was fighting to secure had longevity. The only way to ensure that was to educate the people by providing both new knowledge and liberation values.

There is an ideological intersection between Paolo Freire's critical pedagogy and the PLM's anarchist ideals. Freire points out that a revolutionary organizer must practice "co-

intentional education.” What he means is that both the leader of a movement and its supporters must become educated together on their reality and their need for change. When the oppressed are encouraged to recognize their oppression through their own experience, they are more likely to participate in movements for change. Flores Magon, like other anarchists, also believed that the road to liberation must be discovered by all people independent of any leader’s influence. The education and organization of the oppressed are dependent on each other, in fact mutually interactive, and thus must be carried out in conjunction. In order for an anarchist revolution to be successful, there must be solidarity among the oppressed, a status that cannot be achieved if the populace is not educated on the nature of their oppression. This knowledge cannot be taught or given to them by a leader or teacher, it must be learned collectively and in this manner action must be taken to remedy the situation.

When the PLM criticized the state education they also espoused anarchist ideals. They believed that if any government was established after revolution that the new government would try to achieve complete political control. They wanted the Mexican people to realize that setting up a new government would work against their goals. By raising the issue of education they also pointed out the dangers that government presents. Ricardo in 1910 writes “pan, justicia, educación, progreso...que no podra dar nunca la Ley Electoral...es lo que necesitan los pueblos.” “Se necesita civilizacion verdadera, establecida con la educacion racional.”⁴² In the PLM’s eyes no government could provide the kind of education that they advocated. What they advocated both politically and educationally was a new society, which created and ensured liberation by educating the masses to take control of their communities, including their education.

Practice

The PLM did more than propagandize and organize the establishment of PLM groups with an educational purpose attached to political organizing. They also put their ideas in practice. After the 1906 Plan, education of the Mexican people became one of the main purposes of the PLM and *Regeneracion*. The newspaper itself was their primary educational outlet. In several issues the *Regeneracion* staff referred to the newspaper as a “periodico educativo.” At times when they were in need of funds they try to appeal to the public by saying that they need to continue their “obra de educacion.” The purpose of disseminating all of the information through *Regeneracion*, in their mind, was more to educate than to provoke. They were able to do this with the newspaper itself by creating a dialogue with the public. Some of this dialogue was presented as part of funding opportunities for *Regeneracion* and the Junta, but the educational value was not diminished.

The PLM opened and maintained an education dialogue and was evident in the pages of *Regeneracion*. The Plan of 1906 is a clear example. Unlike manifestos created and used by political movements which tend to be written by the leaders, the PLM’s Plan was created with the cooperation of the readers of the newspaper. For months before the publishing the document, the PLM made a call to the people to send the Junta a list of reforms that they would like to see enacted. Thus the Plan is more of an articulation of the people and not to them. Politically as organizers the PLM were practicing their ideas of collectivism rooted in anarchism. Socially as educators they were giving the population the encouragement to promote their liberation by involving them in the process. This is what Freire describes as one of the necessary components of revolution and pedagogy. By asking the people for their contributions and supporting their requests the PLM were resisting the common practice of leaders. The PLM did not overlook

elements of popular culture such as singing songs, reciting poetry or festive dancing in their task of public education. In around 1911 the PLM encouraged Enrique Flores Magon to reexamine the Mexican national anthem lyrics and change them to be educational to the people. The lyrics became summary bullet points covering the credo of PLM and its injunctions.

From many materials written by Flores Magon or commented upon by him, a PLM curriculum could be tentatively hypothesized. Social values would be most important followed by foundations in science, logic and history. Literature and art would have a major place. Students would be of all sexes and from all backgrounds. Children would be taught without disciplinary methods or authoritarian attitudes. Children would be encouraged to question. What would not be taught would be dogma, chauvinism, or war mongering. Core PLM members were amongst the anarchists who believed children had rights and were complete persons.

Common practice that the newspaper encouraged was the reading out loud of the newspaper among communities. The goal of *Regeneracion* was to distribute useful information to the public so why only limit it to those that could read. By having the newspaper read out loud they were ensuring that their message was reaching the people who perhaps needed it the most. This was a practical way to counter the miss-education that they criticized the government for providing. The PLM and *Regeneracion* filled the gap left in the absence of qualified professionals and materials to begin the education toward liberation. They complemented this effort by adding columns that suggested books to read and presumably to share.

The reading material that they suggested in the newspaper had educational value because they were not simply readings to pass the time. The books included were on topics ranging from education to anarchism, from feminism to religion. One of the books was titled “Educación

Burgesa y Educación Libertaria.” Of course included were anarchist thinkers like Proudhon and Kropotkin. What is important to note is that even though the section seems to be simply a fundraising add, its purpose was beyond that and with multiple ends. They could have easily used the limited space to advertise local business like was customary in papers of the day. Instead they used the space to encourage people to read books that will aid them in their liberation.

For a brief time in 1912 this section seems to have evolved into the section titled “Biblioteca de Escuela Moderna” or “Escuela Moderna⁴³.” The difference being that they now categorized the readings in terms of their educational purpose. The books were divided into three main categories: young children, older children, and adults. The list now seemed like more of an annotated bibliography than simply a list of recommended readings. There were fewer books in the later list and more detail about them. Self-evidently the focus of the column was now more focused on the educational value of books rather than their fundraising value. They were now directly addressing those groups who were successful in establishing schools. In addition, they provided a sort of lesson plan for those who did not have a school but could use the material and distribute the information in organizing meetings or at home.

These practices, however, were the first step into providing socially conscious and egalitarian education. The next would be the establishment of schools, escuelas racionalistas, which could implement these practices in a systematic manner. As early as 1910 there was mention of community centers or organizations established by the PLM, or its sympathizers, for the purpose of supporting their movement. In a November issue of that year the Junta advertised the Los Angeles based group in the segment “Centro de Cultura.”⁴⁴ Originally a group formed to support *Regeneracion*; it quickly turned into a cultural organization. The segment in the paper advertised

their meetings, which tended to feature guest speakers who covered a variety of topics. The PLM encouraged their readers to attend and support the group. Although not necessarily an all-around school, this is an example of the PLM trying to exercise their educational ideas into practice.

Continuously and consistently the PLM promoted the educational model established by Francisco Ferrer. In November 9, 1912 *Regeneracion* consequently, after his death, published an article of Ferrer entitled “El Programa de la Escuela Moderna.” In this article Ferrer described how his school would be set up in Spain. It detailed specifically the goal of the school. One of the goals was to establish a school that moved away from the dogmatic teachings of education by clergy and instead teaches on the basis of reason and science. Here, children would be taught to be valuable not just as individuals but also as part of a collective society. Moreover, Ferrer also planned for his school to integrate both sexes and all classes.

Ferrer emphasized the inclusion of women in education and societal obligations outside of the traditional gender structure. Gender equality for Ferrer was part of the process he planned to employ at his school but also part of the new society he wanted to inspire. He, like the PLM who also supported feminist and gender egalitarian ideas and practices, believed it was important to employ these ideas as educational models so that children were not only receiving a different education but also being socialized in a different way. Ferrer believed the establishment of new schools was an important step towards the building of a new society.

As early as 1912 there was evidence of schools established in various cities around the Southwest. In Como, Texas and Marion, Texas and Santa Paula, California there were schools set up by Regeneracion groups. The success of these schools was positive. They were able to sustain themselves and even provide funds for the newspaper in Los Angeles when monies were

needed. Unfortunately, not much detail about their curriculum or pedagogy was covered in *Regeneracion*. Later in 1915 the newspaper published an article by a group called “Grupo Racionalista” in which they detailed their plan to set up a school in San Antonio, Texas. A similar article was published in 1916 by a group in Laredo, Texas. Again, not much detail was given, but it is proof that the PLM’s long campaign of promoting education had inspired several groups to establish schools. In the same year, Flores Magon commented extensively on the feminist congress in Merida, Yucatan. His focus was equality of women and men and a critique of holding electoral office. He was aware that most of the agenda of the women’s congress dealt with issues of education⁴⁵.

Earlier in Los Angeles, the home of the Junta during the majority of their time in the United States, apart from the aforementioned “Centro Cultural” there was one additional example of an educational center being established. In 1913 there was an organizer named J.F. Moncaleano that published a series of articles promoting “Casa del Obrero Internacional.” Moncaleano, who was successful in setting up a similar center in Mexico City in 1906 hoped to do the same in Los Angeles. The center was planned to be set up in a large building where it would act as an organizing center for workers and the *Regeneracion* staff. It also would include rooms for workers and migrants to use as a shelter. A library and gymnasium would also be provided free of cost. The main project to be established was an escuela racionalista.

The building was to be divided into classrooms for children and adults. Also, dormitories for children whose parents wished to have them be live-in students would be available. The classes were to be taught by unpaid volunteers, mostly intellectuals from the various supporting groups. The courses would be scientifically and reason based. They would include teaching of a variety of languages including Spanish, French, Italian, and English. The classes would be co-ed and

taught by teachers of both genders. The goal was to involve both the parents and their children in the center. They encouraged the parents to attend evening courses and use the materials provided in the library to educate their children at home. The school and the center itself would be autonomous of each other and the other groups housed in the building; the founders believed this in practice would be a true anarchist community center.

Unfortunate for the founders' goals, this center would never come to fruition due to faults of Moncaleano. After March 1, 1913 there was no further mention of the center and the school. Where before there was constant information about the development of the center and the support needed from the community to establish and maintain it, now there was no discussion at all. It is not until 1915⁴⁶ that the issue is revealed through a letter written by Ricardo about Moncaleano. Indigently he reported that Moncaleano was accused of molesting young girls at the school. The PLM, immediately after learning this information, severed ties with him. Whether the school and center was continued after the expulsion of Moncaleano is not revealed, at least not through *Regeneracion*. It is doubtful, however, that this would be the case. The center was very much Moncaleano's personal project. The support of the center, being that it was for workers and included a school, was an obvious choice for the PLM to support, their involvement and reference for the school was as a medium for information and a site for organizing by parents. Their support for what the school represented should be noted. Nevertheless their error in supporting a man they did not know should also be noted.⁴⁷

In Texas, Mexicano education reform activists, perhaps through *Regeneracion* influences, address schooling. Several refer to Ferrer's pedagogy as a means to improve education. The editor of *El Cosmopolita* (1916) called for political education in both Spanish and English with attention to Mexican culture and history. He saw education as a means of strengthening the

Mexican community both socially and politically. The pro-education tendency in Texas was strong and *Regeneracion* readers were widespread between the years of 1906 and 1918.

PLM members continued to address education in various ways even though they faced troubles and difficulties. What had befallen PLM education advocates was the importance of teacher character in education projects. Certainly, as anarchists and Mexican rights advocates they were sensitive to questions of class, gender, racial or ethnic aspects. Both public and private communications reflect their concerns, valid north and south of the border. If their education efforts had continued they would have to address these as particularly important in fostering a more emancipated education in the young of both sexes.

The PLM did not sway from their mission and continued to publish educational work. Ricardo Flores Magon between 1910 and 1918 wrote and published short stories and staged plays. Many were stories exemplifying his thoughts on authority, leadership, solidarity, and revolution. In Los Angeles in 1915, his most famous play *Tierra y Libertad* was staged and later sold in print. Ricardo described the *Tierra y Libertad* play as a true account of revolution. The plays were intended to encourage readers and viewers to organize an anarchist revolution. Two years later he wrote the play *Verdugos y Victimas*. Flores Magon's plays possessed a quality best described as Bertolt Brecht's (1898-1956) epic theatre. The primary purpose of the plays was not to entertain, but to awaken political consciousness. The subject was one that the audience was familiar with, revolution or oppression, but the perspective was one that encouraged the audience to think critically about that subject. They were, in a sense, a lecture presented through artistic medium of theatre.

All of Ricardo's literary endeavors were meant to inform and encourage action toward liberation. His articles, speeches, stories, and plays were all educational tools and were used as such. After his death the "Grupo Cultural Ricardo Flores Magon" continued the PLM education by printing and disseminating Ricardo Flores Magon materials. In one of his letters, to Elena White in April 5, 1921 he writes "la educacion es una de nuestras grandes tareas, necesitamos palabras, palabras y mas palabras."⁴⁸

Conclusion

The inception of *Regeneracion* marked the beginning of the change that was to come in Mexico and indeed the newspaper was a source for public education, by reporting and commenting but more so by calling for critical evaluation and critical thinking by readers. Through this newspaper the Flores Magon brothers and the PLM were able to communicate to their readers their ideas about the Diaz regime, revolution, and the hope of a new society. As the organization progressed politically, so did the newspaper. They began as a source of information on the corruption in the judicial system. That soon became too small a task, especially for Ricardo. He and his comrades saw more value in the being openly critical of the government in general. Moreover, they saw the importance of informing the people of the specific ways in which the government was oppressing them in hopes of inspiring them to change their situation.

Regeneracion's popularity with the working class allowed the PLM to create a communication community using *Regeneracion* as a point of interaction. They published essential information about the state of Mexican society, and later the events of the revolution and its leaders. In turn, their readers provided them with content that they found important and financial support to continue their labor. The PLM's goal was to be part of the revolution in

Mexico and be present for the establishment of a new liberated society. Unfortunately, their popularity also caused them to be constantly persecuted by the authorities and eventually forced into exile. This made them internationalists not only in theoretical inspiration but very importantly in organizing practice and in their critical horizons.

As exiles in the U.S. their convictions continued to grow more radical. They did not let their exile discourage them from organizing action against the Diaz government. They continued their dialogue with the Mexican people. That led to the drafting and publishing of the Plan of 1906. Although progressive and influential, it was not enough. If they were to enact real change, the PLM felt they had to distance their movement from many other ones who only seek to revise the government by appointing new leaders. Although not openly stating it, they began to defuse anarchist ideals. They encouraged their readers to organize collectively and in solidarity with other communities, without leaders or hierarchies. They also published their and other writer's ideas on how to create social change. They also came to the critical conclusion that other societies and governments, including in the United States, deserved radical change.

One of the main social institutions that they promoted for immediate change was education. The PLM realized the importance of education for revolution. To make change occur, they needed political and revolutionary action. In order to make that change last, however, they needed to further education consistent with their ideals, one which was critical and humanist concurrently. Organizing the people to fight for their liberation was not enough. For their revolution to be truly anarchist, the people themselves had to decide critically what their liberation meant. That is why education was so important to the PLM.

The PLM made the turn from appreciating basic education as possibly a source for progress, but that education's methods, contexts, and purpose had to be criticized. Education in Mexico at that time was used, like in many regimes, to make the populace submissive. Education worked to socialize the oppressed into accepting their situation and the oppressor into perpetuating that oppression. Critical education then, became essential to the birth of a new society. Critical education gave the people courage to seek self-determination in the face of oppression.

The PLM's educational model worked in two stages. First they used their newspaper as a medium for information. There they published articles and suggested books for people to read to begin their education. They encouraged their readers to use *Regeneracion* as both an organizing and educating tool. Later, they promoted and supported the establishment of escuelas racionalistas, or modern schools, to give children a progressive education based on scientific and secular knowledge. In this capacity the Junta was the most successful. They were not able to establish a successful school themselves. However, various groups around the Southwest did achieve that goal, at least for a time. In the end the PLM served as catalyst for a social revolution that aided and influences the eventual change created by the Mexican Revolution and also cemented a progressive radical heritage among Mexican communities in the United States.

Notes

¹ John M. Hart's *Revolutionary Mexico* (1987) and Michael J. Gonzales' *The Mexican Revolution 1910-1940* are a good starting point for those interested in analysis of the Mexican Revolution.

² PLM groups around Mexico and the United States included anarchists, communists and socialists. The PLM Junta was most influenced by Peter Kropotkin's writings on anarcho-communism.

³ Ethel Duffy Turner gives a detailed biographical account of Ricardo Flores Magon and the Magonistas in *Ricardo Flores Magon y el Partido Liberal Mexicano* (1984). John M. Hart in *Anarchism & the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (1978) analyzes their activities in Mexico and within the context of the Mexican Revolution. Juan Gomez-Quiñones in *Sembradores: Ricardo Flores Magon y el Partido Liberal Mexicano: a Eulogy and Critique* (1979) discusses their activities in Mexico and the United States and argues their importance within Mexican and Chicano history.

⁴ Paolo Freire presents a pedagogical model that is influenced by leftist political ideologies, including anarchism, and thus resembles many of their goals and practices. Consult Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2011) and *Teachers and cultural workers: letters to those who dare teach* (1998).

⁵ Digitized copies of *Regeneracion* and works written by Ricardo Flores Magon can be found in the archive *Archivo Electronico Ricardo Flores Magon* sponsored by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, <http://www.archivomagon.net/Inicio.html> (2007).

⁶ (Freire 2011, 48)

⁷ In addition to digitized versions of *Regeneracion*, works published by Ediciones Antorcha written by Ricardo Flores Magon were also consulted. These include *Discursos* (1979), *Epistolario Revolucionario e Íntimo* (1978), *Obras de Teatro* (1977), and *¿Para qué sirve la autoridad? y otros cuentos* (1978).

⁸ Other sources on anarchism include Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action* (1973) and George Woodcock's *Anarchism: A history of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (2004).

⁹ For Proudhon consult *The Philosophy of Progress* (1853) and *What is Property?* (1840). For Godwin consult *Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (1793). For Kropotkin consult *The Conquest of Bread* (2007) *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (2009), and *The Black Flag: Peter Kropotkin on Anarchism* (2010).

¹⁰ (Eltzbacher 1960, 27)

¹¹ (Eltzbacher 1960, 28)

¹² (Eltzbacher 1960, 29)

¹³ (Eltzbacher 1960, 29)

¹⁴ (Eltzbacher 1960, 35)

¹⁵ (Eltzbacher 1960, 47)

¹⁶ Kropotkin's theory of evolution was the opposite of Darwin's. Kropotkin argued that the driving force of evolution was cooperation within a species which allowed the species to resist external conditions. This idea is thoroughly discussed by Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* and in *The Conquest of Bread* in which he uses his theory of evolution as a base for his proposed economic model that would replace capitalism as a more egalitarian system.

¹⁷ (Eltzbacher 1960, 114)

¹⁸ Kropotkin justifies the use of violence in revolution by pointing out that the state has long used violence to reach its goals. Unlike the state, however, revolutionaries use violence as a means to an end, not a solution. When an anarchist society is gained, there will be no need for violence.

¹⁹ In his essay *Revolutionary Government* (1880) Kropotkin discusses the differences between anarchism and other radical social movements. The most obvious is that anarchists want all forms of government, even a socialist one, to be destroyed.

²⁰ Consult Rudolf Rocker's *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (1989) and David Viñas' *Anarquistas en America Latina* (1983).

²¹ Consult John Mason Hart, *Anarchism & The Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (1978).

²² Panama, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador were among other countries that also had anarchist activity at this time. Some were influenced and had direct communication with anarchists in neighboring countries. (Viñas 1983)

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- ²³ Rhodakanatay, a teacher, intended the school to be used to educate. Some of his colleagues and students used it as an organizing space. When they began contemplating the use of violence for social change, Rhodakanatay, who was opposed, left the school at the hands of one of his followers, Francisco Zalacosta. (Hart 1978)
- ²⁴ In *Pelemos contra la injusticia* (1960) Enrique Flores Magon talks about their activities.
- ²⁵ PLM members aided in the planning and staging of the strike, although, the miners through their union were the major driving force. *Regeneracion* was distributed and read among the miners.
- ²⁶ (Gonzales 2002)
- ²⁷ Much of the land was given to Mexican elite while in the cities French, British, German and American investors owned and operated most of the textile, mining, and railroad industries. (Gonzales 2002)
- ²⁸ In the early days of the PLM, while they were in Mexico and early in their U.S. exile, Madero supported their activities and at times provided funds. He later distanced himself from the PLM because he disagreed with their radical approach. (Turner 1984)
- ²⁹ He contributes to the newspaper *El Democrata* for a few months. He evades capture after police raid his home but goes into hiding. He returns to school but is later expelled because of his political activities. (Turner 1984)
- ³⁰ He apparently works for a lawyer in Pachuca, Hidalgo to earn money for his mother. He spends a lot of his time reading.
- ³¹ (Magon 2005)
- ³² When *El Hijo del Ahuizote* was shut down, the staff continued to publish their work under slightly different titles including *El Nieto del Ahuizote*, *El Padre del Ahuizote*, and *El Bisnieto del Ahuizote*.
- ³³ PLM groups are successfully established in Veracruz, Puebla, Tamaulipas, Baja California and other states. In many of these states PLM groups later stage revolts and work together with unions to stage strikes.
- ³⁴ The Plan addresses labor, property, taxes and the power of the clergy. Under each section it listed several demands. (Cockcroft 1968)
- ³⁵ (Regeneracion 1906)
- ³⁶ (Freire 2011, 54)
- ³⁷ (Sanftleben 1910)
- ³⁸ (Vaughan 1982)
- ³⁹ (Magon, *En Pos de la Libertad* 1910)
- ⁴⁰ (Ferrer 1972)
- ⁴¹ For more on Guerrero consult *Praxedis G. Guerrero: artículos literarios y de combate, pensamientos, crónicas revolucionarias, etc.* (1924).
- ⁴² (Magon, *Otro Partido del Porvenir* 1910)
- ⁴³ In January of 1912 it is called "Biblioteca Sociologica de 'Regeneracion'." Later in the year, in August and November, the other two titles are used.
- ⁴⁴ In 1912, under a section giving thanks to groups who support the PLM in their time of financial need, there appears a group called "Centro de estudios racionales" also based out of Los Angeles and connected to a *Regeneracion* group. The relation to this group is unclear, but possible.
- ⁴⁵ *Diario Oficial*. "Primer Congreso Feminista de Yucatan," *Diario Oficial*, January, 6, 1916.
- ⁴⁶ The publication of *Regeneracion* is irregular after 1912 and apparently not published in 1914, though PLM activities continued. The tardiness of the details of the Moncaleano scandal being published is more likely due to these irregularities than negligence by the PLM.
- ⁴⁷ It is later revealed that J.F. Moncaleano also allegedly molested young girls in La Habana at a school there prior to moving to Los Angeles. This information was apparently not known to the PLM in Los Angeles in 1913 or to those in Mexico City who recommended him. Also, at the time that Moncaleano is promoting his center the Junta is imprisoned, leaving the management of *Regeneracion* to others. This does not justify their oversight or Moncaleano's actions but might have contributed in their decision to support his project without really knowing him.
- ⁴⁸ Letter from Ricardo Flores Magon to Ellen White, April 5, 1912 in *Archivo Electronico Ricardo Flores Magon* (2007).

Bibliographical Note

Research interest on the PLM has increased in Mexico and the U.S. The contemporary scholar of anarchism, the Mexican Revolution, the PLM, and Ricardo Flores Magon has various sources readily available. These sources are available through the internet or material exchange programs of University Research Libraries. Anarchists collections in Europe are available as are principle files of government ministries in Mexico and the United States. Particularly important sources are major files of “relaciones exteriores” and “governacion.” The INAH has the major Magon project files which bring many materials to one site in Mexico City. Regeneracion is available at various sites. Several U.S. universities have PLM related materials.

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