

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION AND LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION:

The Mexican Revolution (1910-1940) had and continues to have a profound impact on countless social and political movements in the region.

Which revolutions have you heard of? Which revolutions are considered influential? French, Russian? American? Cuban?

The Mexican Revolution. is normally left out of this, partly because it is thought to be simply one nation's revolution.

Today I will argue it was important for the ideas it put forward, that were taken up by other Latin Americans: particularly in Central America: Guatemala, Nicaragua, but also in Bolivia and CUBA. In 1959, when Fidel finally takes power in Cuba, the first man he invites is the former president of Mexico: the most radical and revolutionary of these: Lázaro Cardenas. So there is a strong relationship between our topic today and the larger history of Latin America in the later 20th Century. Particularly the history of revolution and redistributive reform, land reform, social justice etc.

WHY DID THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION HAPPEN?

DATES: 1910-1920

- FIGHTING TOOK PLACE, MAJOR IDEAS PUT FORWARD
- PARTIES DON'T FIT INTO ORTHODOX IDEOLOGIES: SOME COMMUNISTS, SOME ANARCHISTS, SOCIALISTS, BUT IDEAS THEMSELVES WERE AN AMALGAM OF DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES, WHICH I WILL EXPLAIN TODAY

WHY DID THE REVOLUTION BREAK OUT?

ESSENTIALLY 3 SEPARATE MOTIVATIONS, AND WE WILL SEE THEM CLASH WITH ONE ANOTHER OVER THE DECADE OF CIVIL WAR

RURAL POVERTY CAN YOU DEFINE A PEASANT? **CAMPESINO** SMALL, POOR, FARMERS, GROW FOOD FOR FAMILY AND SOME FOR SALE ON THE MARKET

WHAT HAPPENS? DURING THE 19THC, LOADS OF MEXICAN PEASANTS ARE KICKED OFF LAND THEY OWNED AND MADE TO WORK INSTEAD ON BIG FARMS, WHICH TOOK OVER THEIR LANDS, AND FORCED THEM TO WORK AS PEONES, OR DEBT SLAVES.

So there is a lot of DISCONTENT AMONG THE RURAL POOR. LAND TAKEN. FORCED TO WORK ON HACIENDAS. WHAT IS AN HACIENDA? A BIG FARM. IF YOU HAD A DEBT AS A PEASANT, THE LOCAL HACENDADO (OR OWNER OF THE HACIENDA) WOULD LOAN YOU MONEY, AND IN RETURN FOR THE LOAN YOU WOULD WORK FOR HIM. THESE FARM OWNERS BEGIN TO CONTROL LARGE SWATHES OF THE RURAL POOR. THIS DISCONTENT AMONG THE RURAL POOR, FORCED TO WORK FOR NOTHING, IN TERRIBLE CONDITIONS, WAS, ACCORDING TO THE EARLY RESEARCH AT LEAST, THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

THERE IS ALSO DISCONTENT AMONG THE **URBAN POOR**, FORCED TO WORK IN LARGE INDUSTRIALISED FACTORIES, FOR MEAGRE WAGES, WHILE LIVING IN DREADFUL, DANGEROUS SLUMS.

BUT THIS IS NOT THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (PUSHED BY AN URBAN WORKING CLASS). THEY'RE INVOLVED, BUT NOT THE MAJOR FACTOR HERE. Not as important as the peasants or *campesinos*. P

Finally, the third group that rose up AGAINST THE MEXICAN DICTATOR, Porfirio Díaz, the **middle classes** - Not terribly poor, relatively well off, but had no political power. - Not looking for redistribution of land or of wealth, but to become elected. - They are LOOKING FOR SOME KIND OF POLITICAL ROLE IN THE STATE

We're going to see that these 3 essential groups and 3 essential motives are what drive forward the revolution.

I. First off: peasant/agrarian discontent (countryside)

During the colonial period, land was owned communally. What does that mean? There was private property, but poor people owned land as villages. You didn't have an individual plot of land, but had it as a village, and worked it as a village, sold produce as such.

During the 19thC these landlords came in, known as liberal landlords, people in power known as the liberals, not the same connotations as today. They allowed sales of communal lands. Villages were forced to sell up their communally owned lands to private investors. Sounds like good idea, but leads to the concentration of wealth in the hands of those few with more capital who can buy up these lands. This is what happens in Mexico: Concentration of land in the hands of a few, creation mega farms known as haciendas. Meanwhile, the people who used to own the land have nothing to farm, and are now forced to work on these haciendas as debt slaves.

RESULT: A lot of people have no land.

THESE PEASANTS WILL FORM THE MILITARY LINES OF THE REVOLUTION

II. WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?

Until about 1906 workers had done pretty well in Mexico.

Porfirio Diaz – in power almost without interruption from 1876-1911 – this period (his rule) is known as the *Porfiriato*.

In this time workers, in general – who worked in mines and factories, textile factories, brick factories – had done pretty well. However, from 1906/7 there was a recession, principally affecting the US, so didn't buy as many American goods. And this will have a significant impact on the industrial sector: businesses cut down, wages dropped and unemployment increased. So you were either paid a lot less, or sacked. There are strikes, and these are violently repressed:

Eg. Cananea, SONORA: Mining town. With most of population employed by these large US owned copper mines. Work in miserable conditions, paid less than US workers, a very abusive environment. SEVERAL THOUSAND MINERS JOIN THE STRIKE IN 1906.

Rather than making a deal, Diaz allows the Americans in, who send bounty hunters/mercenaries, that will open fire on the Mexican workers, killing between 60-100. Strikes put down very violently, enraging workers even more.

Eg, Another big strike a year later: **Rio Blanco: A huge textile factory outside Orizaba in Veracruz.** Again, the textile workers went on strike. This time the government sent its own army, who opened fire on the strikers. Again, violent repression.

THERE WERE, THEN, TWO DISCONTENTED SECTORS: Peasants with no land and workers without work

III. HOWEVER, AND CRUCIALLY for the revolution, the MIDDLE CLASS and some of the elite was also discontented. Why? When they are doing well with this unequal system. They lack political power. Reason for this is that by this time Mexico is a de facto dictatorship: IT IS RULED BY ONE MAN

SLIDE:

PORFIRIO DIAZ

BROADLY QUITE LIKED, A MEXICAN WAR HERO, FOUGHT AGAINST VARIOUS FOREIGN INVADERS AND CONSERVATIVES IN HIS OWN COUNTRY

By the 20THC had been REELECTED 6 TIMES, in increasingly dodgy situations. Sends army to stuff ballots.

So, what you have going on here are: - A rural class, group of farmers, peasants, who are discontented because they've been left without land - A group of workers who are losing wages, and have been brutally repressed when going on strike

Finally, you've got a middle class that is starting to make demands for political as well as economic power

The Revolution has been much romanticised by film-makers (eg. Kazan) photographers (eg. Modotti and Western) and historians (eg. Hobsbawm).

JOHN STEINBECK SUMMARIZES THE SITUATION ON THE EVE OF REVOLUTION (FORGETTING TO MENTION THE MIDDLE CLASS). HE WROTE A SCRIPT FOR THE FILM VIVA ZAPATA – DIR. ELIA KAZAN STARRING MARLON BRANDO. QUOTE FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO SCRIPT:

The pay and wages (speaking of rural peasants) were exactly pegged to the point where a man could not possibly ever, in his whole life, get out of debt. It was not called slavery, but it was a most effective kind of slavery. There was peace in Mexico: it was the peace of the rifle and the machete. The haciendas became larger and larger. They had great houses, they had slaves (the slaves of debt); they had the power to hold their slaves, and the power of life and death over the working people.

I myself have seen records of this time on one of the great haciendas, or what is left of it. I remember a man's name on the record and his value. Against his name was put zero. He was not worth anything, whereas the others were rated in what they were worth to the hacienda. This reign of Porfirio Díaz grew longer and longer and the people became hungrier and hungrier, and their sense of outrage greater...

The pressure of unrest grew and had to be kept down with harsher methods all the time. These were the conditions which brought about Emiliano Zapata and which brought about our story.

IT BEGINS in 1908, when DIAZ indicates that he would be happy to step down, he's in his 70s, suggests there might be a possibility of slightly freer elections, and gives his blessing to the elites in the search for an heir. VERY famously in 1908 he gives an interview with a US journalist: James Creelman, where he says:

"if an opposition party were to arise in the Republic, I would regard it as a blessing and not an evil"

His idea behind this was not to start new parties back home, but to show the Americans that he was a progressive, democratic kind of guy. But it backfires, because the interview was immediately translated into Spanish, and middle class and elites react enthusiastically – we can start opposition parties now! – and they do it.

BERNARDO REYES. Popular military general. Followers called the Reyistas. But he steps down at Diaz' request and exiles himself to the US. He will return during revolution and oppose Madero, but achieves meagre success. P

ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE ELITE: FRANCISCO MADERO (a big farmer, without economic reasons to rebel) attempts to run for office and take on Diaz in a general election.

WHO is Francisco Madero?

- A very unlikely revolutionary leader
- Not an ideologue, not Lenin
- Basically a political democrat, not terribly radical, comes from a very rich family
- What the MC lacks is political power.

SO Madero begins to push for free elections, where people like him can be elected

SLIDE: Publishes a book: 'The Presidential Succession of 1910.'

ASKS for greater democratic freedom, ask key word here, very mild and polite. Diaz can retire OR participate in free elections.

Diaz won't even accept this. As a result, Madero eventually sets up what he calls his Anti-reelectionist Party:

NO PEASANTS OR WORKERS. Basically, a group of middle class people who want to be elected and don't want Diaz and his cronies to be elected anymore.

So, this is a political movement that begins in the early 1900s Madero's campaign for presidency is pretty well received. Goes round to all the major cities, shakes hands with all the local dignitaries. SLIDE: A crowd of 10000 welcomes him in Guadalajara, 25000 in Puebla.

Diaz responds with REPRESSION:

- Party clubs are banned
- State committees are jailed 6
- MADERO himself is placed UNDER HOUSE ARREST
- ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN 1910, AND DIAZ WINS BY AN ABSOLUTE LANDSLIDE –ESSENTIALLY BY STUFFING BALLOTS.

LOOKS LIKE THERE WILL BE NO REBELLION AND CERTAINLY NO REVOLUTION

BUT THEN SOMETHING HAPPENS: IN NOVEMBER 1910 MADERO RECEIVES AN EXTRAORDINARY LETTER FROM HIS BROTHER, WHO IS LIVING IN EXILE IN FLORIDA, essentially inviting him over and offering his support. BUT MADERO RESPONDS SAYING: NO, IM GOING TO START A REVOLUTION. - HE ESCAPES HOUSE ARREST, GOES UP INTO THE MOUNTAINS, AND BEGINS TO PLAN AN ACTUAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AGAINST DIAZ. –

Much in the spirit of this age he writes a PLAN: Calls it the Plan de San Luis Potosí:

EVERYONE WHO VOTED FOR ME WE SHOULD RISE UP IN ARMS AND KICK THIS DICTATOR OUT. - CALLS FOR HIS FOLLOWERS TO RISE UP ON NOV. 20TH - THE FIRST SHOTS ARE FIRED IN NOVEMBER 1910. IN A PLACE CALLED PUEBLA, WHERE A MAN CALLED AQUILES SERDAN IS KILLED, BECOMING THE FIRST MARTYR OF REVOLUTION.

Madero's idea of a revolution absolutely fails. Middle classes wake up to the risk and danger, think twice about risking their homes, land and comfort, and essentially put down their arms. So this idea, mostly based in the cities, is a complete disaster.

To the surprise of many, including Madero, the Revolution does take hold in other, unexpected areas, regions where Madero had no allies or friends. Areas he had never been to. REVOLUTION takes off with force in the most rural, and poorest areas of Mexico.

- Succeeds up in the mountains of Northern Mexico, in states such as Durango, Chihuahua, Coahuila
- Led not by middle class people in suits, but by cowboys, bandits, unemployed miners, landless peasants. The poorest, the lowest in Mexican society. People like Pascual Orozco, Domingo and Mariano Arrieta (basically pretty vicious bandits) – these are the people who lead this revolution

The middle class revolution doesn't take off. What you actually get is a massive popular insurrection.

SLIDE: Map. YOU can see it mostly centred in these two areas of Mexico (map).

1. North, states of Chihuahua and Durango. 2. South, large agricultural areas south of Mexico city, where loads of poor farmers have no land.

SO YOU GET THESE TWO GROUPS THAT RISE UP AGAINST DIAZ

Another thing that happens that Diaz again doesn't expect is that his vast army crumbles. Many basically put down their arms and go join the Revolutionaries: It's not worth dying for someone who pays you near to nothing in wages.

- Give up arms and join revolutionary forces.
- Diaz resigns the presidency in 1911, AND has to flee to France where he dies in 1915
- Buried in Paris Montparnasse.

Elections are held and Madero is made president. First time since 1874 that Diaz hasn't been president of Mexico. Instead, this new guy comes to power, wins by a landslide election – 98% of electorate vote for Madero.

It looks like this is the end. However, the contradictions of the revolutionary alliance now start to open up. The middle class, people like Madero, have come to power, BUT they didn't do any fighting, none of the blood was shed by them. Rather, they cowered in their houses thinking this is too dangerous. YET THEY NOW HAVE THE POWER, AND THEY CAME TO POWER ON THE BACK OF THE FIGHTING DONE BY THE PEASANT POOR AND SOME OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

AT THIS POINT THE POORER SECTORS OF SOCIETY DEMAND THEIR GRIEVANCES BE ANSWERED: YOU GOT THE POWER. NOW GIVE US WHAT WE WANT: LAND, WAGES, AND ENOUGH TO FEED OUR FAMILIES. THIS TENSION BETWEEN THE MIDDLE CLASS REVOLUTIONARIES (WHICH KIND OF SUCCEEDS BY 1911), AND THE POPULAR PEASANT REVOLUTIONARIES WHICH GOT THEM TO POWER, WILL PROLONG THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION FOR ANOTHER DECADE. THIS IS WHY IT IS NOT JUST SETTLED IN 1911. So BETWEEN 1911 AND 1920: there is a REVOLUTIONARY CIVIL WAR. ♪ AND THIS IS NOT RARE WHEN IT COMES TO REVOLUTIONS, MORE A NATURAL SECOND CHAPTER –FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, OFTEN AS A RESULT OF THE CONFLICTS THAT ARISE BETWEEN DIFFERENT FACTIONS/SOCIAL GROUPS, THEY ROLL ON FOR A DECADE OR TWO. ♪ MEXICO HAS THIS REVOLUTIONARY CIVIL WAR, WHICH PITCHES THE MIDDLE CLASS REVOLUTIONARIES AGAINST THE PEASANTS.

I'LL INTRODUCE THE CAST HERE AS IT GETS COMPLICATED:

1. Francisco MADERO: Who we've talked about. Eventually killed in 1913 by a right-wing coup. Will return to this.
2. Venustiano CARRANZA: Comes from same place as Madero, a former Senator and part of the LANDOWNING ELITE. Interested in political power, democracy perhaps, but certainly not agrarian reform Again, killed in 1920
3. Alvaro OBREGON: FROM MORE HUMBLE ORIGINS THAN THE OTHER TWO, AND ONE OF THE FIRST MC REVOLUTIONARIES TO REALISE THE NEED FOR PEASANT SUPPORT. SO, HE STARTS TO DO some THINGS FOR THE PEASANTS AND as a result GETS A BIG ARMY. DOES WELL, A GOOD STRATEGIST, WINS IMPORTANT TERRITORIES. ARM BLOWN OFF, AMPUTATED

THEN LOST, KIDNAPPED BY A PROSTITUTE AND THEN FOUND IN A BROTHEL, BEFORE IT WAS RETURNED TO HIM. HUMOROUS MAN, ALL THESE JOKES ABOUT HIS VARIOUS REACTIONS TO the arm incident. FINALLY, THE HAND ENDS UP DISPLAYED AT A RESTAURANT FOR SOME 70 YEARS.

THESE MC REVOLUTIONARIES WERE PITCHED AGAINST A GROUP OF PEASANT REVOLUTIONARIES. STILL TO THIS DAY, THE HEROES OF MEXICAN (and I would say Latin American FOLKLORE). The two most important were:

1. EMILIANO ZAPATA: FROM A VILLAGE IN THE SOUTHERN STATE OF MORELOS. CHARISMATIC AND BELOVED LEADER; BRINGS TOGETHER AN EXTRAORDINARY ARMY OF PEASANTS, FORMER SUGAR WORKERS, WORKED ON CANE FIELDS FOR INCREDIBLY LOW WAGES. ASSASSINATED IN 1919.
2. FRANCISCO/PANCHO VILLA: WELDS TOGETHER AN ARMY OUT OF PEASANTS FROM NORTHERN MEXICO. A VERY DIFFERENT CHARACTER, AS WE'LL SEE. (CAN ALSO NOTE: THEY ALL DIE)

THIS INCREASINGLY CHAOTIC CIVIL WAR DRAGS ON FOR A DECADE AFTER MADERO'S ELECTION. SLIDE: PHOTO EMILIANO ZAPATA. HE WAS A PEASANT FARMER. BILINGUAL IN NAHUATL. CAME FROM THE LOWEST SECTOR OF MEXICAN SOCIETY.

After election of Madero, he refused to disarm his men and fled to the hills instead, starting a rebellion against the new president. **In November 1911, Zapata and a school teacher Otilio Montaño wrote the Plan of Ayala. Perhaps the most radical document of the revolution, calling for the return of lands stolen by haciendas and the confiscation and reassignment of other haciendas to villages without land titles.**

IN THIS EXTRAORDINARY MOMENT: TWO GREATEST REVOLUTIONARIES IN MEXICAN HISTORY TAKE THE CITY IN 1914.

Slide: AT THE NATIONAL PALACE ON THE PRESIDENTIAL THRONE. INCREDIBLE IMAGE: Look closely, these are not city men, and Mexico remained very segregated. Is there DISCOMFORT IN the EYES OF ZAPATA?

PERHAPS EVEN MORE EXTRAORDINARY IS THAT NEITHER IS INTERESTED IN POWER, BOTH OFFER EACH OTHER THE PRESIDENCY. THEY STAY FOR TWO MONTHS.

"WHAT SHALL WE DO? DIVIDE MEXICO IN 2? YOU TAKE NORTH I TAKE SOUTH? GENUINELY TRYING TO DISTRIBUTE WEALTH AMONG THEIR FOLLOWERS. SO THEY BOTH WANDER OFF AND BACK TO THEIR STRONGHOLDS. ZAPATA HEADS SOUTH AND VILLA NORTH TO THE MOUNTAINS.

VILLA EVENTUALLY INVADES THE US. In 1916, Villa ATTACKS TOWN OF Columbus. HIS troops ENTER the city, screaming "Viva Villa!" This town is burned beyond recognition, its residents terrorized, and Villa becomes the enemy of the U.S

SLIDE: This is a political cartoon, published in November 1916. Lady Liberty wrapped in the U.S. flag stands over the graves of the 18 U.S. citizens killed in the raid on Columbus, New Mexico.

This insane move into the US is, of course, a SPECTACULARLY BAD IDEA. Villa runs around PURSUED BY AN AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, who absolutely fail to capture him. He returns home, eventually gets a deal, puts down arms and settles on a large estate in Chihuahua. Will eventually be shot by Mexican government assassins.

IN FACT, AMERICANS were ABSOLUTELY OBSESSED WITH VILLA UNTIL THE INVASION. SO, FROM 1912-1915 THEY SEND CAMERA CREWS DOWN, AND MAKE THIS HUGE FILM ABOUT HIM. NEVER GETS A RELEASE BECAUSE HE INVADES THE US. ASK HIM TO REPLAY HIS BATTLES: GIVE HIM GUNS TO DO THIS, GUNS THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO USE LATER, AND SO HOLLYWOOD has a role/FUNDS SOME OF HIS BATTLES.

AT TIMES, JUST TO MAKE IT MORE COMPLICATED, THE REMAINING SUPPORTERS OF DIAZ, THE OLD DICTATOR, ARE STILL HANGING AROUND, AND AT TIMES THEY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THESE DIVISIONS BETWEEN MC AND PEASANTS TO TRY AND REINVENT THE DIAZ REGIME.

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL THEY ARE IS BETWEEN 1913-14 WHEN A MAN CALLED VICTORIANO HUERTA, follower of Diaz and military general has Madero assassinated, and takes Mexico City – essentially installs a military dictatorship.

This brings the opposition together again: they join forces, remake their alliance, and eventually succeed in removing Huerta from power. THIS IS when they are photographed at the Palace: Obregon and Carranza send Zapata and Villa to retake Mexico City.

This fleeting moment when everyone is friends again is also captured HERE: Obregon, Villa, and NEXT TO US ARMY GENERAL, THE MILITARY ATACHE IN MEXICO who later LEADS the EXPEDITIONARY FORCE that tries by fails to TRACK DOWN VILLA in the US. PHOTO TAKEN WHEN THEY WERE ALL FRIENDS.

ANOTHER, UNEXPECTED OR SUPRISING PART OF THIS REVOLUTION IS THE PART PLAYED BY WOMEN.

- Women fought on the battlefield during the Mexican Revolution.

Women accompanied men in the columns, ADELITAS AND SOLDADERAS ran the camp

- Soldadera comes from the word soldada, or soldier's pay. The men gave their wages to women to pay for food, meal preparation, clothes cleaning, and other services.
- Some went willingly, others were forced. Most were unmarried and without children
 - Some women fought on the battlefield during the Mexican Revolution. Female soldiers, either by choice or coercion fought alongside rebel and federal forces.
 - Leaders among the Zapatistas included *coronel*s (female colonels) in their lists of troops alongside the coronels (their male counterparts).

AND THE COST OF THE REVOLUTION? SLIDE: VENUSTIANO CARRANZA.

A disturbing image/shot: HOW MANY CHILD SOLDIERS WERE USED. THE WAR LASTED OVER A DECADE, AND COST MORE THAN A MILLION LIVES, FROM A POPULATION OF 14 MILLION. ANOTHER MILLION WOULD DIE IN DURING THE 1918 INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC. It was also very violent; on both sides. (SEE US library of CONGRESS WEBSITE FOR MORE)

Huerta conducted a campaign of torture and random killing, displaying bodies all over. In 1917, after Villista forces lost the battle of Horcasitas, Chihuahua, Villa angrily massacred a group of 90 women in the city of Camargo

SO WHAT HAPPENS? HOW DOES THIS MASSIVE CIVIL WAR EVENTUALLY END?

THE middle class realise that they've got to make a deal with the peasants they've been fighting. And they do this in two ways:

1. Co-option. What we might call through co-option. Taking the ideas of the peasants and owning them. Do this by implementing quite limited but still very definite social reform.

2. So in 1917, the Carrancistas, followers of Carranza, institute a Constitution which has several articles which are at the time, the most far sighted socially Liberal, radical constitution in the world (two years before Russian revolution)

3. Forward looking at the time.

4. It contains three essential articles, numbers 3, 27, and 123.

- Article 3: Everyone entitled to a free education and more radical still: LAY –not run by the Church

- Article 27: Extraordinary. Everyone will have enough land to grow enough for their family. LAND FOR EVERYONE. If you've had your land stolen in the past 50 years, you will have it returned. A complicated difficult process, getting evidence, papers bureaucracy. A lot stuck in courts

- Nonetheless by the 1930s Mexico has a peasant population that owns land, produces enough food for its family, and is in many ways the most stable country in Latin America, partly because it can feed its rural poor. Very real LAND REFORM PROGRAM

- FINALLY, ARTICLE 123 is the most far-reaching charter of workers rights in the world: Way more advanced than the US, France or the UK at the time. It calls for an 8hour day, one day off a week, pensions, child-care in factories! Imagine, not even now! Amazingly some of it is implemented, not for everyone and not all of it, but some workers do gain benefits, do see a difference. Middle Classes learn they must give the poor something if they want them to put down arms, and this works.

Slide: CARRANZA SIGNING CONSTITUTION

On the one hand they buy off these people, but not everyone believes them. As a result they also use FORCE or COERCION.

From about 1917 onwards, when the MC have effectively gained most military power in Mexico, they start to track down, hunt and assassinate those who disagree with them.

MURDER OF ZAPATA: Complex betrayal and ambush. Riddled with bullets. Shot some 60 times. Body PHOTOGRAPHED OTHERWISE THEY WOULDN'T BELIEVE. Made postcards of Emiliano's dead body and sent around Mexico.

Villa murdered a few years later by a hit squad, peppered with bullets as he was arriving home and getting out of his car at his ranch in Chihuahua.

Some historians also **romanticised the revolution** or at least the revolutionaries. Eric eg. Hobsbawm's BANDITS. Hobsbawm is a well-known British historian but **NOT an expert** on Mexico by any stretch of the imagination.

Figure of the Social Bandit – Robin Hood like. Comments on MR: Sees Villa as a bandit, Zapata as agrarian agitation. Zapatistas not as important militarily as Villistas, and Zapata dies in 1919. YET this was the movement, which injected the element of agrarian reform into the Mexican revolution.

'The brigands produced a potential caudillo and a legend – not least, a legend of the only Mexican leader who tried to invade the land of the gringos in this century. The peasant movement of Morelos produced a social revolution; one of the three which deserve the name in the history of Latin America'

WHAT DOES THE REVOLUTION ACTUALLY ACHIEVE? IT DOES ACHIEVE **LAND REFORM**

There is important land reform: the big haciendas are split up into EJIDOS, which are basically communally owned farms. So any group of peasants that claimed a hacienda had stolen its lands, could ask the government for an ejido, allowing them to farm and feed their families.

LAND REFORM IS NEVER A SMOOTH PROCESS. BUT HERE IT IS ALMOST EASIER THAN ELSEWHERE. NOT AS MUCH BLOODSHED, LESS FORMULAIC, LESS BUREAUCRATIC THAN IT IS IN RUSSIA OR CHINA. THEY LEAVE THE PEASANTS TO ORGANISE IT THEMSELVES, AND THEY DO: GIVE THE TOWN THE LAND AND THE CHOICE: DIVIDE INTO PRIVATE PROPERTY, OR HOLD COMMUNALLY, OR SOME COMBINATION OF BOTH. SO THEY DON'T GET RID OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. WHETHER FOR THIS OR OTHER REASONS, IT ENTAILS LESS CONFLICT THAN IN RUSSIA OR CHINA.

MAN WHO GETS THIS DONE: LAZARO CARDENAS ♪ HE IS THE GUY INVITED TO CUBA. HERO OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION. ♪ GIVES OUT 8 MILLION HECTARES TO 1 MILLION PEASANTS. SIX MILLION WITH FAMILIES. A THIRD OF MEXICAN POPULATION GET LAND FROM CARDENAS. ♪ LOVED IN MEXICO TO THIS DAY. ♪

THERE WAS ALSO FAR REACHING **LABOUR REFORM**. ARTICLE 123. Established an 8-hour workday, a 6-day workweek, a minimum wage, and equal pay for equal work. It gave workers the right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike. It provided for indemnification if you were sacked.

FINALLY, in a less popular move, they decide they really dislike the catholic church, partly because they are radicals, partly because the church supported the Diaz regime, they want people to be less loyal to the village priest and more loyal to the revolutionaries. So they make some fairly extreme **anticlerical measures**. Don't allow religious education. Secularise the State. P Went so far as to burn saints and close churches, which leads to two major religious uprisings known as *Cristiadas*.

WHAT ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS? WHAT EFFECTS DID THE REVOLUTION HAVE BEYOND MEXICO?

THE REV. HAD ENORMOUS **CULTURAL INFLUENCE**

IT WILL INSPIRE A HUGE ART MOVEMENT, THREE MAIN FIGURES, MEXICAN MURALISTS: • Diego RIVERA • Jose Clemente Orozco • David Alfaro SIQUEIROS

ALL THREE were raised during the *Porfiriato* when land division and wealth in Mexico was exceptionally unjust. For Rivera and Siqueiros in particular, their left-wing political leanings influenced their work; Siqueiros was a prominent Stalinist and Rivera, an on-again/off-again Trotskyist or member of Mexico's Communist Party. Orozco was more critical of the toll the Revolution took on Mexico.

PUT FORWARD THIS PRO WORKER PRO LABOUR PRO PEASANT AGENDA/IDEOLOGY IN THESE MASSIVE MURALS.

NOT JUST IN MEXICO OR LEFT WING LATIN AMERICA, BUT IN THE US. YOU CAN SEE THEM IN: Rockefeller Centre in NY, in Detroit (Frida). SO THEY ARE POPULARISING MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

IN 1922, SIQUEIROS manifesto for the Syndicate of Technical Workers and Sculptors (1922).

AT THE SAME TIME, MEXICO BECOMES THE GO TO PLACE FOR RADICALS, ON A GLOBAL LEVEL, AND UNTIL RUSSIA GETS THROUGH ITS OWN REVOLUTIONARY CIVILWAR IN THE MID 1920S.

FIRST EVER LEADER OF THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, Manabendra Nath ROY. IS IN MEXICO. FOUNDS THE Socialist Worker's Party (PSO) that becomes the Mexican Communist Party. GETS THERE IN 1917, STAYS FOR 2 YEARS, GOES BACK TO INDIA AND STARTS COMMUNIST PARTY THERE.

ANOTHER MAN: Augusto Cesar SANDINO. WHO EFFECTIVELY KICKS THE AMERICANS OUT OF NICARAGUA, IS ALSO IN MEXICO, PICKING UP IDEAS FROM THE REVOLUTION.

ALSO ARTISTS settling in Mexico for a decade or more and taking these radical ideas back to Europe and the United States: PERHAPS THE MOST FAMOUS ARE: (WORKS IN SLIDES)

- TINA MODOTTI: BEAUTIFUL ITALIAN PHOTOGRAPHER
- EDWARD WESTON: FATHER OF MODERNIST PHOTOGRAPHY (Travels with Modotti to Mexico after the Revolution)
- ANITA BRENNER: FASCINATING MEXICAN/AMERICAN JEWISH ARTIST AND SCHOLAR

FINALLY, THE REVOLUTION DOES HAVE MAJOR **POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS AND PROVIDES INSPIRATION FOR FURTHER REVOLUTIONS OUTSIDE MEXICO:**

MOST FAMOUSLY IN NICARAGUA, SANDINO leads a group that will kick out AMERICAN INVESTORS AND MILITARY.

PERU's left wing national party, the ALIANZA POPULAR REVOLUCIONARIA AMERICANA, comes into being in the 1930s, inspired by Mexico.

CUBAN REVOLUTIONARIES THEMSELVES, partly INSPIRED BY MAO, but very little in Spanish. Not really inspired by Russia. Inspired more by the Mexican revolution, people like Lázaro Cárdenas, stories of Villa and Zapata.

Historiography:

- The extent and relevance of US intervention.
- The importance of the urban, working class – whether they played a larger role than they have been credited with (Hart, Knight, and Jeffrey Bortz have written on urban labour)
- Whether the middle class coopted the revolution and power went from landowners in Central Mexico to landowners from Northern Mexico (John Womack argues this).
- There was also a shift in the late twentieth century to study the revolution from a regional perspective (Thomas Benjamin has an edited collection -the provinces of the revolution).