

Regeneration.

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Clear up this Tangle

During the past week the soil of Mexico has run with blood, spilled in what history will eventually chronicle as skirmishes preliminary to the second great battle for the overthrow of human slavery. The first battle was fought in the United States, lasted from 1861 to 1865, and resulted in the temporary rout of slavery. That it accomplished only an insignificant portion of the task has been long apparent.

At first there is infinite confusion: millions, who eventually will take their sides, have no conception where they stand; the issues not having been made clear to them they remain undecided and inactive. The first of all duties, therefore, is to make the issues absolutely plain; and this duty the "Junta" of the Mexican Liberal Party, speaking through its president, Ricardo Flores Magon, endeavored to perform in "Regeneracion" of Feb. 25. That the work was well done is proved both by the storm of controversy that immediately arose and by the fact that the Mexican revolutionary movement at once assumed proportions that riveted the attention of the world. At once the campaign took on a character of deadly earnestness; at once plutocracy became seriously alarmed and more than twenty thousand troops were rushed to the border; at once the revolutionary element throughout the world—that vast army of discontent which plutocracy dreads instinctively and tries so assiduously to ignore—pricked up its ears and woke into activity.

Make no mistake about it; it was the Junta's clear-cut declaration that the contest is for LAND and LIBERTY and not for any of those surface political reforms with which the masses have been humbugged for a century, that brought the crisis; or, at least, was largely responsible for hastening it. It was high time to blurt out the unvarnished truth, for even among advanced radicals the impression prevailed that this was only one more futile attempt to patch up the unpatchable and tuck the real problem out of sight.

As a matter of fact never, from its inception, has the Mexican Liberal Party sailed under false colors; never has it done otherwise than try, by every resource at its command, to publish from the house-tops of the world that it is working for an economic revolution; that its first and foremost aim is to seize the empire gobled up by plutocracy under pretense of law and restore it to its legitimate owners—the resident workers of Mexico. Always has it striven to make this understanding unmistakable; but with the advent of Maderism, and the following Madero gathered to him while the leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party lay in United States prisons, the issue became confused, muddled up with glibernecked reforms, smothered in the mire of politics. It was a peremptory necessity, therefore, that the issue should be restated; that, for the sake of union and effective action, a clear understanding. This task the leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party lost not one moment in undertaking when freed from prison; but failed to accomplish. In particular on the land question Madero and the Mexican Liberal Party were at irreconcilable loggerheads.

Unfortunately the land question is fundamental—absolutely fundamental. Leaving that unsettled will be to render all political and other suggested reforms worse than useless. Give the Mexican peasant economic freedom, by restoration of the land, and other needed reforms will follow naturally. Give him free speech, the right of assembly, and all the rest of it, while leaving him deprived of land and in

economic servitude, and his position will be as helpless as is that of the proletariat with which the United States swarms.

These should be sufficiently obvious truths, and, we believe that, thanks to a vigorous propaganda, the revolutionists and radicals of the world are beginning to grasp the situation as it actually is. Nor need we waste words in reminding our readers that plutocracy sized the matter up correctly, without one moment's hesitation. Hence the cries for intervention, the assembling of troops and warships, the negotiations for peace reported day by day as in progress between Maderists reformers and the authorities that be. An avalanche has been started, you understand. What was meant for a pretty little bonfire threatens to become a conflagration.

Unfortunately there are few things in the world stronger than political fanaticism, and the fact that the Mexican Liberal Party has little use for politics sticks in the craw of "The New York Call," the well-known Socialist daily. Accordingly, in its issue of April 12, it devotes nearly two columns, under a big double head, to denouncing the Mexican Liberal Party in general; and its president in particular, for having split the rebel forces. It raises the cry that Magon is an Anarchist, and makes the most serious charge that American Socialists have been deluded into taking part in the revolution, supposing that the Mexican Liberal Party was in agreement with Madero. We have endeavored to show that nothing could be farther from the truth. No stone has been left unturned to make our position absolutely clear, to friend and foe alike.

This movement long since reached a point at which the personalities of individuals—be they Madero or Magon, Diaz or Taft—amount to nothing. The one important thing is that the people should understand, for according to the clearness of their understanding will be the whole-heartedness and intelligence of the action they will take. But it seems pretty mean to accuse Magon of cowardice because he is not at the present moment shouldering a rifle. If "The New York Call" will take the trouble to read "Barbarous Mexico" it will get a truer idea of the perils and hardships Magon has undergone during nine years of propaganda, with a price of \$20,000 on his head. As a matter of fact he was with much difficulty dissuaded from going to the front after his release last year from prison. The man who, in addition to his editorial work, can carry on a correspondence averaging some fifty letters a day and reaching trusty allies in every civilized country, is in duty bound to stay where his services count the most.

The article dealt with above reached us at so late a date that it is impossible to give it the attention it deserves, not for its own merits or for any influence the paper in which it appeared may yield, but as a peg whereon to hang once more the explanation of the situation as it actually stands. That the people should be enlightened as to the true meaning of the conflict in which, even at this early date, so many have laid down their lives—that is the one thing needed, to which all other considerations must give place. We may say, however, that the article in question was inspired by a visit to the "Call" paid by the Mexican "Junta's" accredited representative, Julius Menke. Mr. Menke immediately sent a letter to the "Call," in which he protested against the article as grossly misrepresenting himself, the Mexican Liberal Party and Magon. The protest was published—but under an inconspicuous single line head, whereas the greatest prominence had been given to the attack.

We grab the space to quote Mr. Menke in answer to the charge that Magon is an Anarchist. He says: "I do not wish to monopolize your space by replying to the 'argument' of the unsigned article against Magon, to the effect that the latter is an Anarchist. The Liberal Party of Mexico numbers among its members men of all shades of radicalism; there are Socialists, Anarchists, non-political Socialists, Unionists, etc., among them. They have all been working together for the success of the revolution, which is an economic one; the people demanding, first of all, access to the land." Mr. Menke showed himself therein an excellent representative of the Mexican Liberal Party, stating its position with complete accuracy.

"The working class should not devote all its energies to these ephemeral struggles. The workers should never forget that such struggles deal only with effects."—(Karl Marx.

The Army of Discontent

How rapidly the light is breaking! Under the heading "Madero's terms of peace make no mention of peonage," the S. F. Bulletin of April 11—a capitalist paper but one of the fairest-minded and most influential in the state—says—"It is all right for Francisco Madero to insist that Diaz shall step down, but why doesn't Francisco Madero go farther? Why doesn't he insist on a proclamation freeing the peons? * * * The men who contributed money, the men who risked their lives for the cause led by Madero, rightly cared less about the overthrow of Diaz than the uprooting of the system which Diaz sanctions and protects."

"The Coming Nation" of last week again gives great prominence to the Mexican Revolution, leading off with an article by Charles Edward Russell which begins:

"Close observers everywhere have been astounded by the manner in which the American people have received the attempt of the administration to save Diaz by force of arms. To reactionaries few phenomena of recent times have proved more discouraging, to radicals few phenomena more inspiring, than the absolute failure of The Putterer to obtain support for his 'maneuvers.'"

Russell is probably the oldest and best known journalist in the American Socialist movement. Few men keep so close a touch on current events, and none is more capable of valuing them at their actual worth.

"Cultura Proletaria," a large and excellently got up New York weekly, opens with a powerful appeal for solidarity in support of the Mexican Revolution. The first paragraph of the article runs as follows: Comrades, liberty lovers, sympathizers with the Mexican Revolution! The hour has arrived when we must show by our acts that we mean to aid the valiant rebels who, on the fields of Mexico, are battling heroically against republican despotism and capitalist exploitation. To extend platonic sympathy alone would be to play the coward. We must add practical action; positive deeds which shall enable our Mexican comrades to maintain with advantage the struggle against their enemies. It then quotes a letter recently received from Ricardo Flores Magon in which he urges the editor to remind his readers that the Mexican cause requires both money and the moral and personal support of comrades throughout the world. "The circulation of our paper," he says, "in the interior and Southern portions of Mexico, in the manufacturing, agricultural and mining centers, is accompanied by great difficulties. But with the requisite funds we could establish a propaganda service throughout Mexico."

In this connection we may remark that at present some four thousand copies of "Regeneracion" find their way into Mexico every week, despite the rigid governmental censorship. The danger that accompanies their distribution will be readily understood.

"Tierra" (The Land), of Havana, Cuba, reprints the program of the Mexican Liberal Party and makes powerful editorial appeal as follows: "Comrades! If the revolution is to be more than an empty word upon our lips now is the time to show it. Our Mexican comrades call for solidarity and these are the moments that put us to the proof. But this solidarity must be shown promptly; it must not be delayed; and it must translate itself into acts, not words. If, face to face with crime, we remain silent we ourselves shall be the tyrant's accomplices. He who calls himself a liberal and remains deaf to the cry of our Mexican brothers is disqualified henceforth from speaking of the faults and inaction of the ignorant mob."

Of the political reforms, which many foolishly dream will cure Mexican discontent, Louis Buchner writes in "El Proletario" (El Paso, Tex.): "Much more important than all political and national reforms is the reconstruction of society. What do political liberties, or the satisfaction of national pride, amount to for the individual if his own happiness is embittered or rendered possible only by means of social oppression?"

With singular unanimity our Spanish exchanges insist on the necessity of radical economic changes.

"L'Emancipation" (Laurence, Mass.), official organ of the Franco-Belgian Federation of the I. W. W., protests vehemently against the despatch of United States troops to the Mexican border. Its leading article concludes: "In the United States, as in Europe, the army is always at the service of high finance; and all the colonial expeditions, all the wars and all the massacres, serve ever to fill the already overflowing coffers of those

who pick the quarrels but never expose their own hides."

From "The Star," an influential liberal daily of London, Eng., we clip the following caustic criticism: "England well remembers the indignation that was expressed by Americans over her invasion of the Transvaal. It is to be hoped that the echo of these protests will arouse America to a realization of what her new adventure means."

From both sides of the Atlantic, and from the Canadian border to tropical Cuba, comes the chorus of protest against intervention. It is only an occasional note that our limited space permits us to emphasize.

An item in "La Estrella," (Las Cruces, N. M.), is suggestive. After mentioning the release from prison of nine Mexicans the paper states that they all left for El Paso, Tex., to join the rebels; "for they informed the authorities that they would rather die than deny that they were insurgents." That is the spirit that prevails all along the line, and it is the spirit on which it is safe to put your money.

As might have been expected from those who have any knowledge of the Spanish labor movement, "Solidaridad Obrera," organ of the workingmen's Societies of Barcelona, devotes its first page to the Mexican revolution. It quotes at great length from "Regeneracion" and makes its own caustic comment on the political nincompoops who fancy they can pacify Cerberus with the sop of electoral reforms. We quote:

"Everywhere they talk of liberty and pretend that 'under the representative system public rights are more respected than they are under an absolute form of government. But the truth is that we workers have no rights save those of dying from hunger, of putting up with the insolence of the exploiter and employer, the arrogance of office-holders, and the hypocrisy and laziness of friars, monks and others of their kindred, whom our sweat and blood support."

Last week's issue of "The Public," (Chicago) national organ of the followers of Henry George—who devoted his life to demonstration of the patent truth that without land men cannot live, and that the exclusion of the masses from the land is the parent of all poverty and crime—dilates with its customary power on that greatest of all themes. Among other things it says: "When a strutting bondholder is fattened, a bent and broken breadwinner is shriveled. Where a pampered royal prodigal scatters in drunken abandon and riotous waste his abundant store of wild oats, some hollow-eyed child in southern mills or northern sweat shops cannot, in an endless, grinding day, gather the value of enough honest wheat to buy a decent crust."

But not a solitary word of the Mexican Revolution, in which hundreds have laid down their lives to overthrow the gigantic crime Henry George attacked!

Organized Labor Awake

Bakers' Union Local, San Francisco, at its meeting of April 15, by unanimous vote pledged its moral and financial aid to the Mexican revolution, making at the same time an initial donation of twenty-five dollars. Powerful speeches were made by William Boone and Joseph Moore, of the Liberal League, and great enthusiasm prevailed. The letter enclosing copy of the resolution asks for the speedy despatch of 5000 copies, in English, of the Manifesto recently published in "Regeneracion" and assures us that organized labor in San Francisco is rapidly awakening to the true facts in the struggle between the Mexican people and plutocracy. That is all that is needed. When the true facts are known the battle will have been won.

Such Silence

We Cannot Ignore Emma Goldman in

For three consecutive weeks, "The People's Paper," now under the control of the Los Angeles section of the Socialist party, has not even mentioned the Mexican Revolution, save for the reproduction of one short letter from a sympathizer. Yet within those three weeks that revolution has brought a call to arms from the President of the United States; has staggered from its sleep a conscience-stricken world. Within those three weeks the radical and reform press of America and Europe has denounced, with a unanimity truly magnificent,

SHOT - AND - SHELL

By Ethel D. Turner.

And still Diaz hangs on, though veritably by the skin of his teeth.

The fighting in the southern part of Mexico is a glorious thing. In the environs of Mexico City itself 2000 armed men are said to be actively operating.

Lee Little, a perfectly reliable American, on whose ranch the battle between Stanley and Mayol was fought, says that he counted sixty-eight federal dead and one hundred wounded.

If you want to get real authentic news from the front, every day, with details of the outrages the American army at the border is committing, subscribe to the Calexico Daily Chronicle, at 26c a month. This is a free ad, unsolicited and unpaid for.

The Mexican consul is now the arbuter as to who shall cross the border from Calexico to Mexicali, according to arrangements made between him and U. S. army officers. If your opinions are favorable to Diaz, you may cross. If not, stay where you are.

The report circulated by the federalists that the provisions abandoned by the rebels after Stanley's attack on April 8, were poisoned, is vehemently denied by Captain Pryce, who says: "We know the rules of civilized warfare. Such tactics are not to be thought of, for they would be as inexcusable as the kind of tyranny we are fighting against."

If you care to save yourselves and the coming generation from outrages similar to those committed by the U. S. government against innocent Americans and Mexicans at the border, it's up to you to—raise a howl that will shake the White House chair worse than if it had been caught in the throes of an earthquake.

When Col. Mayol first started toward Mexicali he boldly announced that it was his intention to clean out all the rebels in Lower California. But after the attack on his forces by Stanley's command, on April 8, Mayol sud-

Taft's servility to plutocracy; and Socialists well known in Los Angeles—which is on the very edge of the conflict—have shed their blood and laid down their lives.

Beyond all question the Mexican Revolution is the most important event that has taken place in America since the Civil War. It is well within probability, moreover, that it may prove as world-shaking an upheaval as was the French Revolution; for the Mexican is far more advanced than was the Frenchman of that time, and for fifty years past revolutionary thought has honeycombed the life of every nation.

That the money power comprehends this clearly is shown by its press, which, while forced to devote columns daily to the matter, pursues a carefully devised policy of misrepresentation and suppression. From the journalistic standpoint, therefore, it is extraordinary that a paper which professes to advocate economic revolution, and is published at the very seat of war, should allow week after week to pass in silence.

We seek allies, not enemies. We rely on the growing solidarity of the army of discontent, and assuredly it is not to our interest to sow dissension. But we have no intention of allowing this great cause to be boycotted—in Los Angeles, of all places in the world—without entering emphatic protest. Not with our consent shall radicals be tempted to lose heart, concluding, from indifference displayed here, that the cause of Mexico—which is the cause of the disinherited throughout the world—is not deemed worthy of support.

Fortunately a genuine economic revolution is precisely the one thing that cannot be ignored. Were that possible the capitalist press would be as silent as is "The People's Paper."

Emma Goldman in hearty sympathy

We wage a campaign of education, not only through "Regeneracion" but by unrelenting correspondence, especially with recognized leaders of radical thought. Recently we published the letters that have passed between Samuel Gompers and Ricardo Flores Magon, and that sent to Eugene V. Debs. This week we reproduce one written last month to Emma Goldman, and the whole-souled reply it immediately evoked. Copies of the correspondence, published in leaflet form,

denly discovered that his purpose was to guard the Lower Colorado dam, no more. And he says he's going to hug that little old dam till the revolution is over, if the enemy will please be so kind as to let him.

It was American intervention that lost Agua Prieta to the rebels. How? The rebels had to evacuate the town because their ammunition gave out. Just one day before the fight United States soldiers at Douglas illegally seized 20,000 rounds of ammunition, that would have been sold to the insurgents. With this extra 20,000 rounds stolen by the United States, the rebels would easily have been able to hold the town against the federalists till expected reinforcements arrived.

There are twenty men, innocent of any crime, unlawfully held in the Calexico jail, in dirty cells, with insufficient covering at night, with all the keen discomfort that accompanies confinement. They are held there, and for what? No crime is charged against them. They tried, as they had every right to do, to cross the border, and the U. S. army officers had them thrown into jail, to stay there till the U. S. army officers were pleased to release them. And this in "free" America! What are we coming to; the military despotism of Russia and Mexico?

The case of Salustino Aldena, now held in San Diego for setting on foot a military expedition against Mexico, presents about the limit of shameful conduct to which the United States has yet gone to help the despot Diaz.

Aldena was arrested while on his way from a nearby point south to San Diego. All the evidence against him was that he was carrying a gun. He was alone; and was not even on his way to the border—in fact, was traveling in an opposite direction. And yet on this evidence the courts are holding him. The trial is set for October. All these long months Salustino Aldena will have to stay in jail, and the purpose of Taft and Diaz against him will be accomplished—unless you raise your voice to stop this sort of work all the way along the line.

are being distributed at all meetings held by Emma Goldman on her present western tour. The letter sent her runs as follows:

Dear Friend and Fellow-Fighter in the Cause of Human Liberty:—I write urging you to exercise on behalf of my countrymen in Mexico the influence you wield over a large section of the American public. Need I spend my breath in telling you that we are fighting the world-wide battle of human emancipation; that our cause is your cause; that we are struggling for what every intelligent man and woman knows as being absolutely indispensable for human happiness and development? I think I need not.

It is well known—has been proved beyond all peradventure of doubt—that, at the behest of the money power, hundreds of thousands of my countrymen have been driven from the lands on and by which they and their forefathers had lived since our history began. Thus they have been forced into such Hells as the tobacco plantations of the Valle Nacional and the hemp plantations of Yucatan, or driven into exile across the American border, where they struggle desperately for a starvation wage. Somehow or other men and women must live; or, at least, try to live.

What will become of these millions of men and children if the money power has its way? What will be the result if it succeeds in trampling them beneath the heel of militarism? And what will be the effect on the character and standing of the American nation if it suffers itself to be the obedient tool of the money power, and stands before the world the avowed defender of chattel slavery of the most atrocious type? Surely, to ask these questions is to answer them.

The American public does not understand; it cannot see the picture in its awful reality, for it is misled by the wilful misrepresentations of those who, having gigantic money interests at stake, are sparing no effort to delude it.

So long as the money power thought the struggle in Mexico was merely to displace one dictator with another it looked on indifferently; for such struggles have been frequent in the history of Latin peoples, and they alter nothing. But today it understands quite clearly that its own selfish interests are in the balance; that we are fighting for the restoration of millions and millions of acres of land, given away to foreign syndicates by the fraudulent connivance of Diaz' unspeakable

government, and entirely without the consent of the rightful owners, the people; that we are determined that the poor shall come once more into what is justly their own. Therefore today the money powers in America, backed by the money powers of the world, are calling the American nation to arms.

In such a crisis will you be silent? I think not; indeed I know you cannot be.

Yours for human emancipation,
R. FLORES MAGON.

In reply we received the following, being a copy of a manifolded letter Emma Goldman is mailing to all her correspondents. Jack London and other noted writers on the social question are pursuing a similar course. The letter follows:

Dear Friend—Enclosed is copy of letter received from Ricardo Flores Magon, president of the "Junta" of the Mexican Liberal Party. It speaks for itself and makes, to me at least, irresistible appeal.

The leading facts connected with the Mexican revolution are well known, thanks largely to the measures taken recently by the government of the United States, at the behest of Wall Street. Through countless articles and such well-authenticated books as Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," it has been proved beyond all doubt that slavery of an inconceivably brutal type is rampant in Mexico, and is supported mainly by American dollars. Thus this country has become once more a partner in that very chattel slavery which, less than two generations ago, it shed blood and treasure freely to overthrow, once and forever.

"The American public would not tolerate for one moment that partnership if it understood the situation clearly; but it is being duped and misled daily by a press owned and soul by the money power. Our struggle is against this terribly powerful combination, and, Herculean though the task may be, the education of the public is the one imperative duty of the hour. Accordingly I urge you, above all things, to devote all the time and money you can spare to the education of the public on this Mexican question; doing so without delay, for time is precious.

Write to your friends; send letters and articles to the papers; use your own brains and think out for yourself the various ways in which you can be of service. And DO IT NOW.

MONEY MUST BE CONTRIBUTED, and for this we must look to an awakened public conscience. You will awaken that conscience best by yourself making sacrifices for this, which is our common cause.

Send all money and communications to "Regeneracion," (organ of the Mexican Liberal Party), 519 1/2 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal. You may rest assured that every cent will be expended honestly and judiciously, for these people thoroughly understand the situation and have proved their sincerity by years of exile, imprisonment and heroic labor.

This is not the special cause of Socialists, Anarchists, Single Taxers, Trades Unionists, or other individual wings of the great army of discontent. It is a straight case of millions of our fellow creatures having been driven from the lands on which they and their forefathers had lived for generations, in order that absentee syndicates may reap colossal fortunes by indescribable revolting slavery. I believe it to be the most brutal instance on record of absolutely heartless expropriation by that money power which worships the dollar alone, and is deaf, dumb and blind to the claims of human life.

No question of "isms" is involved. There is a plain call to universal duty. The fight for human liberty in Mexico cannot but affect most profoundly the labor movement in this country and throughout the world. Thought will be engendered and apathy dispelled; the road will be cleared for fundamental changes. The more successful the struggle there, the easier it will be for every one of us here. We should reciprocate, going to the very edge of our opportunities.

Either this revolution will succeed or it will fail. In the former case human liberty will gain, inestimably. In the latter case another gallant effort will be drowned in blood, and the struggle for emancipation will receive an incalculably serious setback. Whichever way the struggle goes every one of us will be affected.

In your own self-interest, therefore, as well as for the sake of our common humanity, I send you this appeal. I feel confident I shall not send in vain.

Yours for human liberty and a life worth living,
EMMA GOLDMAN.