

## Regeneracion.

Published every Saturday at 519 1/2  
E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal.  
Telephone: Home A 1350.  
Subscription rates:  
Per annum \$2.00  
Per six months 1.10  
Per three months .60

## BUNDLE ORDERS.

100 copies \$ 3.00  
500 copies 12.50  
1000 copies 26.00

Editor and Proprietor, Anselmo L. Figueroa.

"Madero as second-class matter  
September 12, 1910, at the post of  
San Jose, California, under  
the Act of March 3, 1879."

No. 44.

Saturday, July 1, 1911.

## Franked At The Workers' Cost

Mr. Frederick M. Noa, who has written much and ably on the brutality of our penal system and with whom I corresponded while writing "Crime and Criminals"—has sent me the following letter. You will understand immediately why it is given place at the head of our editorial column. Mr. Noa remarks that, as the matter cannot be considered private, he has no scruple in sending it to me. For my part I have no scruple whatever in reproducing it. It is signed by the secretary, W. J. Ghent, but professes to represent the sentiments of the congressman himself. Here it is, spelling and punctuation unaltered. You should read it carefully, noting particularly the condemnation of the "revolutionists by temperment."

Victor L. Berger,  
5th District, Wisconsin.  
House of Representatives, U. S.  
Washington, D. C.  
Washington, D. C., June 17, 1911.  
Mr. Frederick M. Noa,  
Room 226, Indiana Building,  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dear Comrade: Comrade Berger left last night for a brief trip to Chicago, in order to speak at the McNamara demonstration to be held there on Sunday. Before leaving I submitted to him your two letters, and he expressed himself regarding the matter you mention to this effect:

Comrade Berger is, of course, opposed to the transportation of Mexican troops across the soil of the United States. He is, as he expressed himself in his first resolution, in favor of the American nation keeping its hands off from the internal affairs of Mexico.

But on the other hand he is wasting no sympathy on the "insurrectos" of Lower California. Comrade Berger is a Socialist, and he stands by the principles and traditions of the international Socialist movement. The "insurrectos" are not Socialists, but are, in the main, opposed to Socialism. Their movement is not predominantly a Mexican movement. It is a movement originating in the United States, and its promoters and followers are a mixture of men of every creed except Socialism. Some of them are merely vague utopians. Some of them are so-called "direct actionists." Others are avowedly anarchists. Still others are revolutionists by temperament and would as readily revolt against a Socialist administration. The Socialist party can afford to have no connection with this movement.

The front-page article in this week's Appeal expresses the situation clearly and correctly from a Socialist point of view.

Fraternal yours,  
W. J. GHENT, Secretary.

When, rather more than two months ago—at the instigation of John Kenneth Turner, who was leaving Los Angeles—I took hold of the English section of "Regeneracion" I found a condition of affairs that filled, and still fills, me with amazement. I had read "Barbarous Mexico" and my sympathies had been vividly aroused. I had read articles in the "American Magazine," the "Pacific Monthly," the "Appeal to Reason" and elsewhere, that had brought my indignation to fever heat. Recently I spoke on the Mexican question at the monthly dinner of a somewhat aristocratic society, and the son of a known States senator, himself a well-known lawyer, said to me: "I felt, after reading 'Barbarous Mexico,' that such a government should be wiped off the face of the earth." He echoed my sentiment, and it is today my sentiment.

A much more important fact is that

this has been the sentiment of practically all California radicals. It was in Los Angeles that "Barbarous Mexico" was written. It was here that the Mexican Liberal Party Junta had its headquarters; we all knew the Magons and other Mexican leaders, and what they had gone through. Moreover, we live in California, one of the most monopolized states in the world, where such men as Miller and Lux can ride from one end of the state to the other without getting off what they call THEIR land. We all recognized that the troubles of California were duplicated in the still greater troubles of Mexico, and from the first Mexican arrests in Los Angeles, some five years ago, we all accepted their cause as our own. From the first we have held mass meetings and protested by all the means at our command.

Whether we have called ourselves Socialists, or Anarchists, or Single Taxers, or have been unattached, we have always held that the basis of all this trouble is economic; that "all oppression has its root in the economic dependence of the oppressed on the oppressor." That sentence stands at the very commencement of Bebel's "Woman and Socialism," and is capitalized in the German edition. I read it nearly thirty years ago; have always considered it a singularly happy expression of the fundamental bond that knits the entire international labor movement together, and personally have made it the cornerstone of my own propaganda, which, on this coast alone, extends over more than twenty years. So have hundreds of others, and there are thousands on this Pacific coast who hold, as I hold, that, except as a struggle for shaking off the economic yoke of the economic oppressor, there is nothing to the labor movement.

Lower California is an unimportant square on the chess board of Mexico, whereon is being played this life-and-death game between rich and poor, monopolists and disinherited. It is most thinly populated and would scarcely have been heard of but for the fact that it is near Los Angeles and has been largely gobbled up by Otis and other capitalists, who are holding it for future speculation. Naturally, when that great Army of Revolt which monopoly has created heard a genuine effort for the overthrow of economic slavery was being made in Mexico, many members decided to assist it to the best of their ability. Naturally they went to Lower California, as the nearest point. There were some who got the tip that Madero, backed by the capitalists, was the coming man, and begged the money to carry them to El Paso. But that is another story, which I mean to relate at my leisure, when all the evidence is in. Then there will be a rattling of the bones.

Why should not the Army of Discontent have taken a hand? I will bet that during my life in California millions of copies of the "Communist Manifesto" have been distributed and read throughout this state.

Here are the words with which Marx and Engels closed their celebrated "Communist Manifesto": "The document that is circulated to this day at every Socialist meeting and sold at every Socialist bookstore. They are the emphatic summing up an argument that covers sixty-four pages.

"In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

"In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question. NO MATTER WHAT ITS DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT AT THE TIME.

"Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at the Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Working men of all countries unite."

We have capitalized the last words in the second paragraph because the argument of the "Appeal to Reason" and Victor Berger is that Mexico has not yet reached the stage of industrial development that justifies revolt.

Mr. Berger may be "in favor of the American nation (by which he means the workers 'keeping its hands off from the internal affairs of Mexico' but that is not the teaching of the 'Communist Manifesto' or of International Socialism; and all the Socialist congressmen in the world cannot make it such.

This is what filled me with such genuine amazement when I began to edit this section. I supposed that Socialists, who had been tearing passions

to tatters at a thousand meetings in their anxiety to express their sympathy with the Mexican peon, would stand by the gallant fight being made for their avowed ideals. I had supposed that those who were always quoting against me the "Communist Manifesto" and Bebel, the Oracle of Social Democracy in Germany, would stand by their gospels. I had supposed that the professed followers of Henry George would welcome such an honest and vigorous attack on land speculation and monopoly as the Mexican Liberal Party has been making. And it filled me with amazement to find a divided radical press on what seems to me the struggle of the century—a struggle so clearly between the House of Haves and the House of Wants that I should think a child could understand it. However, there have been influences at work which it has taken time to disentangle.

"See how a plain, unvarnished tale shall set them down." I believe it is from Shakespeare and I quote in it. I have all Tolstoy's invincible confidence in the power of the simple, truthful speech; the one omnipotent weapon that, sooner or later, brings every one to time. Looking over my evening correspondence I see that I have written Voltairine de Cleyre, our Chicago correspondent, as follows:

"Week by week I shall endeavor to show that he who does not believe that economic dependence is the root of all oppression is not a Socialist; and that the Socialist is not a understanding that basic principle, refuses and discourages aid to a people struggling for economic independence, is a traitor to the international movement. Thus, as it seems to me, we shall bring the entire American labor movement down to bottom facts and help along that purification and simplification process so imperatively necessary."

Week by week I shall hammer on that anvil, and I shall make much use of letters written me by alleged leaders to whom appeal was made and usually made in vain. For the most part those letters have filled me with contempt, and I shall do my best to express the contempt I feel. In doing so I shall make bitter enemies for the cause of the Mexican Liberal Party, but only among the false friends who, in any serious struggle, are most undesirable allies. On the other hand, I shall bring to the movement many true friends, for I shall show it as it actually is—a cause that has only to be understood, or the Junta, were to object to this policy I should, of course, immediately resign. But they will not object. I have met no straighter fighters in a somewhat wide and lively experience that now covers more than thirty years.

WM. C. OWEN.

## Mexico's New Reign of Terror

Here are some samples from the capitalist press respecting Madero's "jefe politico" in Lower California. They are not taken from revolutionary organs but from sober, conservative journals.

How much "Barbarous Mexico" will Americans stand for when their own countrymen are the victims of it? Vega says he "shot" no wounded.

Why, then, did he refuse to allow the Red Cross doctors and nurses on the battlefield? (Alamo)

Shooting is a merciful way to kill the wounded—if there is still a nation in North America that resorts to such barbarism.

Answer this question, Vega:

When the Red Cross is shut out, when all the missing are dead, when mutilated and burned bodies are found on the battlefield, what is the inference to be drawn by civilized men?

The world has stood aghast at the crimes against humanity committed by "Barbarous Mexico." Mexico herself has driven Diaz from his capital and even from its soil. But the spirit and methods of Diaz survive in Lower California. ("San Diego Sun.")

"It is my belief that before many generations the race, as a whole, will revolt at the senseless inequality of the wealth-producing power of individuals." The quotation is from an interview with Mrs. Emmons Blaine, described as the second richest woman in Chicago. What we should remember is that the revolt foretold by Mrs. Blaine has begun already, the upheaval of Mexico being merely part of a profound disturbance over

## Chicago Workers Show Sympathy

### Rousing Resolutions Passed by Tool and Diemakers

What with the misreports of the general press, the misinformation of the radical press—let us add the timidity of the latter—the intense local warfare in the labor world, and the necessity for concentrated defense of the labor leaders now under indictment in Los Angeles, it is hard for the average Chicagoan, even the more enlightened one, to grasp the Mexican situation and its importance in relation to himself.

Pioneers among those to recognize it are Tool and Diemakers' Union, Local 105, International Association of Machinists, who, during the closing weeks of May, passed resolutions as follows:

Whereas, The working people of Mexico are now in open revolt against a system of economic oppression which has robbed them of the land and the opportunity to labor, and enslaved them to a few enormously wealthy alien and native landlords;

And whereas, These insurrectionists sturdily refuse to abate their claims or abandon their struggle because of the peace pact between Diaz and Madero, declaring the latter to be a mere political place-hunter, and, in virtue of his being one of the greatest landowners of Mexico, necessarily a bitter foe to those economic changes which alone can give liberty to the Mexican workers;

And whereas, Realizing that the struggle between capital and labor knows no boundaries; that the United States army is held upon the border ready to protect the interests of American capital in Mexico should the Maderist government prove unable to crush the genuine revolution; realizing that the workers everywhere, if actually informed as to the real situation (which they are not, owing to the conspiracy of the capitalist press to suppress the truth), must sympathize with the daring struggle of their Mexican brothers in revolt; the Mexican Liberal Party, (whose organizing Junta is at 519 1/2 E. 4th street, Los Angeles), has issued an appeal to the Workers of the World to support them in their struggle by spreading the knowledge of the situation through every available means, by energetic protest against intervention from any outside power, and by contributions in money;

Therefore resolved, That we, the members of Tool and Diemakers' Union, Local 105, International Association of Machinists, hereby express our fullest sympathy with the workers of Mexico in their just demand for the restoration of the land to the people; that we recognize their struggle as our struggle, and that of the workers everywhere; and

Resolved, That we protest with all our might against intervention either by the United States or any other government in the Mexican struggle. If capitalists have chosen to invest in Mexico, taking advantage of corrupt and barbarous political and economic conditions to wring profits from the Mexican workers, let them abide the consequences. Let not the workers of the United States or any other country, be betrayed into getting themselves shot to maintain the supremacy of the leeches of capital, who will themselves do no fighting!

And resolved, That in emulation of our brothers of Bakers' Union Local and Millmen's Union No. 422, of San Francisco, we likewise pledge our moral and, if necessary, our financial support to the great struggle.

Copies were directed to be sent to Pres. Taft, to the "Chicago Daily Socialist," and to "Regeneracion." It was expected that the "Chicago Daily Socialist" would print them in full; however, it merely made a labor note of it.

At present the situation is clarifying itself, and the "Chicago Daily Socialist" is now giving better reports. Its own Socialist readers are vigorously protesting against the attitude of Congressman Berger that the proper thing for the sufferers of Mexico is to continue to suffer submissively till capitalism "has filled up the measure of its fathers." There are Socialists who think that measure is already running over.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE,  
2038 Potomac Ave., Chicago, Ill.

## Madero Denounced in Mexican Daily

A peep behind the curtain that conceals the drama now being played in Mexico is afforded by "El Imparcial," the leading daily of "Mexico City" and a paper surely not to be accused of revolutionary tendencies. In its issue of June 15 it reports the arrest in Los Angeles of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta, and in parallel front-page columns publishes a series of facts that must be anything but comforting to the admirers of Madero. Translated from the Spanish its leading head runs: "Is it possible to hold the elections for President and Vice-President? There is neither time nor possibility of such a thing. The date set is too near to permit of the country being divided into electoral districts. Besides, the rebellion is not yet pacified, for the rebellion burns fiercely in Lower California and there is armed insurrection in Veracruz, Puebla, Chihuahua and Sinaloa."

Following this comes another display head which reads: "The revolution within the provisional government. Nepotism and favoritism; in subordination and anarchy." Beneath this comes the cut of Sr. Lic. Jorge Vera Estanol, and the statement that the gentleman in question has published a manifesto as preliminary to the formation of a new political party. As Sr. Estanol has held high political office his manifesto is reproduced in full, and if "Regeneracion" has said worse things of Madero we do not know where to find them. The character of the charges may be gathered from the sub-heads, which run as follows:

**Nepotism and Favoritism**  
Sr. Estanol accuses Madero of having wilfully violated the agreement he made with his supporters as to the manner in which the new cabinet should be selected. This he did, as his accuser avers, in order that he might put his relatives in office; and Sr. Estanol backs up his accusation with an appalling array of proof.

His next charge is headed "Military and Illegality," and is to the effect that, "although the government sought to gain prestige by putting the stamp of legality on the revolution," in reality it used force without scruple. "Sonora, Sinaloa, Coahuila, Colima, Morelos, Guerrero and other states are proof of that. At every step the state dealt fresh blows; armed forces entered the capitals, and, exercising coercion on the legislatures, at the instigation of their leader, Sr. Madero, obtained the election of members of his party as provisional governors."

**Cesarism and Arbitrariness**  
This is another of Sr. Estanol's heads, and under it he first points out that with the agreement reached at San Luis Potosi Madero lost his title of Provisional President and became an ordinary citizen. Nevertheless, says Estanol, "May 25 he sends a telegram to his agent in Mexico to ORDER THE PEOPLE to assume a certain attitude. May 26 he issues a manifesto to the country in which he abrogates to himself the rights of permitting the Federal Chambers and State Legislatures to continue their official duties, always provided that they accept the new regime. Soon afterwards he declares, in an interview, that he will allow the return of Gen. Reyes on condition that he accept the new regime." Other instances of autocratic high-handedness are given, and Sr. Estanol sums up this count in his indignant with the reflection: "The famous French monarch could say: 'I am the State.' Sr. Madero has been able to say: 'I am the State and the People.'"

It is pointed out further that the early date fixed for the elections renders the entire proceedings a farce, since it will be utterly impossible to ascertain the wishes of the people. The object is, of course, to give Madero's candidates a walk-over.

We have received many letters—largely from Socialists—urging that Madero should be given a fair trial. It is profoundly to be regretted that ignorance of Spanish bars the American public from access to the mountain of evidence that already has accumulated.

### IN BERGER'S LAND.

Being somewhat interested in padlocks I am posted on them. By an elaborate organization of woman and child labor the Miller Lock Co., of Pennsylvania, puts a padlock on every Pennsylvania retail at five cents; surely a triumph of cheapness. But in Germany—the stronghold of Socialism—the tinkering Victor Berger type—padlocks are manufactured at fourteen cents a dozen! This is merely one of a mountain of facts that are gradually bringing about distrust of Bergerian methods, and creating the conviction that measures infinitely more radical are imperatively

## Bread-Land-Liberty

### Chicago Socialist Calls Congressman Berger to Order

The following letter appeared in the "Chicago Daily Socialist" of June 21. It should be read most carefully. We have even reproduced the original head, despite our conviction that the trouble with Berger is not that he is misinformed, but that he does not wish to be informed. Already the Mexican question is choking him.

I am sorry that Comrade Berger has been led to make a statement so much at variance with the real facts as that quoted in the Daily of June 9, as follows:

"There are, no doubt, insurrectos in Lower California, but I deny that they are Socialists any more than Madero is a Socialist."

"Socialism presupposes a population of high grade intelligence; it presupposes a certain capitalistic development," etc.

What are the cardinal doctrines of Socialism? Am I wrong in thinking they are:

1. Democracy. 2. Co-operative collectivism. 3. Internationalism.

1. Those men fighting under the red flag, not only in Lower California but all over Mexico, are not spending much time and energy just now preaching democracy. They are doing better than that. They are actually governing a democratic army by democratic methods. They elect their own officers, from generals-in-chief down.

2. Their battle cry is "Bread, Land and Liberty." In order to make this motto short, they did not include machinery. But in all their manifestos, programs and platforms; in all their propaganda papers, from week to week, they urge the workmen of Mexico, while they NOW have arms in their hands, to seize and hold the land and machinery of Mexico "for the use of the whole Mexican people, men and women."

That is as literal a translation as I can make of their Spanish into English. They further advise the Mexican people to organize and work co-operatively these means of the production and distribution of wealth.

3. Those men who are actually doing the fighting (and such fighting!) are actually composed of almost every civilized nationality—Mexicans, Spaniards, Indians, Italians, German, French, English and Americans.

Here, again, they are doing something more than merely talking internationalism.

They are living internationalism. They are calling to their brethren of the whole world to hold back the world's capitalists and let them have a fair fight.

The fact that Comrade Berger states that Mexico is not sufficiently advanced for Socialism may be true in an academic sense. But unless Socialism is a church—a close communion church—these men are Socialists.

The fact that the people of Wisconsin are not of sufficiently "high grade of intelligence" to inaugurate Socialism would hardly justify us in asserting that those Milwaukee comrades are no more Socialists than Taft is a Socialist.

4. The program of Socialism, as I understand it, is, in some way or other, at some time or other, more or less opportune, to "expropriate the expropriators."

Here, again, our militant comrades in Mexico are actually doing, as far as their power reaches, the things which we propose to do.

"But they are not doing it our way," I hear some one say. A close communionist.

"But they can't do it, too weak." Are you doing anything to strengthen them?

Comrade Berger would better be protesting in congress against the violation of neutrality laws by our president transmuting forces across our territory to crush those splendid men.

The best proof that they are not weak lies in the fact that Mexico fears she is not strong enough to crush them, unless Otis, Taft & Co. will transport her troops across American territory.

The early in April Colonel Mexican, regulars, 400 strong, a piece of artillery, and four machine guns, came against our comrades in Mexico.

He boasted that he would crush or starve out the little force there. Gen. Bliss was lined up on the American side to help do the starving.

If Stanley had been of "high grade intelligence," of course he would have starved. But instead of that he went out with 87 men armed with rifles and whipped Madero so badly that they have never been able to get a fight out of him since, although they have sought it diligently.

D. BOND.

## Changing Masters Profits Nothing

Madero is sold to the American capitalists, as Diaz was. American capitalists even greater benefits than foreign capital enjoyed under Diaz' administration. Madero, to keep himself in power, has been employing the same barbarous means Diaz used to prolong his reign more than thirty years. Madero is assassinating Liberals without formal trial, exactly as Diaz did. Madero promised that he would have done with "Jefes Politicos," but, on the contrary, instead of putting an end to that institution, he is nominating new executioners. Madero promised all sorts of political liberties, and he is prohibiting the circulation of "Regeneracion," just as his predecessor, Porfirio Diaz, did. Madero promised to remove from their positions all the "Porfiristas" and he is doing just the contrary, for he is retaining nearly all the hangers-on of the old regime.—(Ricardo Flores Magon, in "Regeneracion.")

### A WORLD-WIDE STRUGGLE

Possible to give again readers a review of press notices, which come in from a continually widening area. The latest addition to our list is the admirably edited "El Jornalero," of Trujillo, Peru, which deals with the subject weekly in a series of clear-thoughted articles, distinguishing the futile political promises of Madero from the radical economic program of the Mexican Liberal Party.

To Jos. Kucera, of Chicago, we are indebted for Polish exchanges which testify to an extensive propaganda among the Slavonian population.

We stated recently that within a very short time Mexico's struggle against the money power would attract the attention of radicals the world over. That time has come. The movement is today thoroughly international, and the attitude that should be assumed toward the conflict is discussed weekly in hundreds of papers to which millions of workers look for instruction.

### EVEN AT 100 IN THE SHADE

Chicago has been sweeter in nature of the hottest spells on record. Naturally it is difficult to interest workers, since they would rather work of the North Pole than of semi-tropical and tropical Mexico. Nevertheless Voltairine de Cleyre has sent us quite a long subscription list, amounting in all to \$25.71. In the near future better things are promised.

We have also to acknowledge the receipt of \$30.00 forwarded by Emma Goldman from Denver; \$11.25 of which was collected at a debate held by her there, \$15 on a list circulated by Julie May Courtney and \$3.75 on one circulated by M. Spanier.

From Comrade Esteve we have received \$360, collected by workers at Tampa, Fla.

### BONDS NOT FORTHCOMING

At this date Enriquez, Rivera and Figueroa are still confined in the county jail, the procuring of the bonds required for their release having been delayed, more than once, most unexpectedly.

The adjourned preliminary hearing of their case is set for Monday, July 3.

Our movement is a vast one and is not limited by the revolutionary activity in Lower California. This is no case of an insignificant uprising confined to one corner of the country, but of a wide movement embracing almost every state in the Republic of Mexico.

R. F. MAGON.

### BENEATH CONTEMPT

Under the heading "Magon is arrested," George H. Shoaf, staff correspondent of the "Appeal to Reason," wired his paper thus, June 17—three days after the arrest:

"W. C. Owens, an anarchist and enemy of political action, who has had much to do with the official paper of the revolutionary junta, with fierce onslaughts on the Appeal to Reason, has not been arrested, since his ardent for direct action didn't prevent him from keeping his exact location uncertain."

That was a lie, manufactured out of whole cloth. From the moment of the arrest I have been notoriously in evidence, visiting the men in prison, speaking on their behalf, editing "Regeneracion" daily at the Junta's offices and living where I had previously lived.

Magon wished to telegraph to the New York protest meeting his refutation of the lie, but I did not think it worth the dollar.

WM. C. OWEN.