

Regeneracion.

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Attack Poverty
But Foster It

Scattered throughout Los Angeles are huge billboards which read: "Los Angeles' population will be one million in 1920. Read this again. We like to hear the numbers." One of these signs thrusts itself daily on my attention, and keeps me healthily alive to what, beneath all the fine speeches, is the real mainspring of Los Angeles; to what is its religion, morality and motive power. Our approaching municipal election induces me to comment on it, for our elections are decided by the question of how the real estate market is likely to be affected. That is the fetich before which bow not only the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and other plutocratic organizations, but still more the thousand and one nobodies who are in on the sure-thing gamble.

First, I wish to remark that the thought suggested by the sign is that large cities are a blessing. This our Pillars of Society are constantly in the habit of refuting; for, whenever the unemployed begin to make themselves obnoxious these oracles proclaim that the rural districts are starving for labor they cannot get. But here their own interests are concerned; here they see a chance of becoming millionaires through unearned increment; here, therefore, their opinions undergo a startling but highly judicious revolution. Accordingly, my first comment is that these people have no opinions worth attention; that there is no conviction they will not abandon for the sake of money; that they are without character and, so far as public morality is concerned, corrupt beyond redemption. There is nothing astonishing in that, since privilege invariably corrupts.

In the case of Los Angeles the corruption is worse because hidden under a cloak of sickening hypocrisy. None knows better than do our leading citizens that, from the summit of Mt. Wilson to the edge of the Pacific, everything was gobbled up long ago, and that they are inviting colonists simply that the land monopolist may levy tribute. This they reckon on with the coldbloodedness of a calculating machine, and in all their plans for the "City Beautiful" they picture themselves in the foreground as the Astors of another New York. They see, as clearly as I do, their own palaces and the slums that will be their natural accompaniment, but they pretend that, despite the tribute levied, we shall be able to avoid the slums. Thereby, chiefly with the assistance of the church, they crown their infamy.

Apart from the pulpit this hypocrisy finds its most convenient mouthpiece in politics, and especially in that of the "reform" brand, which consequently has become abhorrent to straight-thinking men and women. For, there all is pretense; there it is always insisted that black is white; that we can stand by the grabber—who puts up the campaign funds—and also benefit his victim; that we can free the slave without knocking off his fetters. Of the truth of this Los Angeles, wherein local politics are directed exclusively toward making the city safer and more attractive for the well-to-do, furnishes conclusive proof.

All thinking persons recognize that in our civilization the penitence are slaves. No educator is worth his salt who does not understand that it is necessary to make the poor see their slavery as it is, and comprehend quite clearly the methods by which that slavery is accomplished. If the slave comprehended these he would rebel, and accordingly he who would lord it over his fellows must keep them ignorant. All that is elementary politics and has been practised from time im-

memorial, but never more assiduously and subtly than it is today.

In this city of Los Angeles every device imaginable is employed to keep the masses from understanding how complete is their subjection to the wealthy few, and how hopeless is their case until they regain possession of the opportunities for supporting life. Through the mouths of expert spellbinders—recruited mainly from the bar, the pulpit and the ranks of professional politicians—lies are taught untiringly by men and women who know them to be lies. Thus, women from the wealthy class have dined unceasingly into the ears of their poorer sisters that with the ballot they will become industrially free. Thus, those excluded from life's table are told that drink is the cause of all their woes. Thus, others are assured that things will right themselves if the masses are given the right of recalling objectionable political masters, and others are cheated with the odious pretense that a moral city spells happiness for outcasts. In a word, no pains is spared to hide the ugly fact that a few have possession of the key and that to obtain admission you must pay their price.

Under a shameful play of furthering the welfare of the masses the one real object of our municipal campaign is to make this city more safe and comfortable for the well-to-do; safe by such a resurrection of Puritanism as the world has seldom seen; profitably comfortable by an enormous extension of that municipal Socialism which fills the pocketbooks of the possessing class without any effort on their part. No clear-sighted person, for example, can fail to see that the Owens River aqueduct will raise the value of monopolized real estate and result in higher rents; that our extensive harbor improvements must have the same effect, that a municipal railroad will make the fortunes of those who have grabbed up land along the route selected. If the Socialists do not know it the capitalists do, proving themselves thereby superior in intellect. Similarly, all clear-thinking persons understand that the playgrounds, park and kindred reforms, agitated so hypocritically in the name of humanity, serve the double purpose of chloroforming the poor into content and adding to property values.

Los Angeles calls itself intelligent and is unceasingly habitually by such palatable thimblerrigging; erects monuments to soldiers alleged to have distinguished themselves by bravery, but cannot produce a leading citizen with courage sufficient to acknowledge facts known to all business men. We are bamboozled eternally by hirelings whose mission it is to steer away the masses, and when we talk about our respectability it may be well for us to remember that nineteen out of twenty of these Judases walk in the odor of sanctity, seldom, if ever, take a drink and are most careful as to their sexual reputation. Respectability is their stock in trade; the stiletto that kills and leaves no incriminating blood behind.

A man may be a drunkard; he may be a petty thief; he may be so foolish as to waste his health and faculties and substance in all sorts of dissipation, and he may be at bottom a good fellow, full of the milk of human kindness, an enemy to no one save himself. But I deny the possibility of a man being a good fellow when he is scheming to grow rich at the expense of others; when he lies awake at night plotting to get possession of the means of living in luxury without doing work. When he gets to that pass his blood has changed to water, and when he covers up his criminality with deceit the water has congealed to ice.

This is Los Angeles as it actually is; a city of schemers, of real estate gamblers, playing their unholy traffic under the mask of religion, morality, reform and even Socialism,—for I know many well-to-do Socialists who object strenuously to any attack on real estate. To such men the struggle in Mexico makes no appeal, for they themselves are doing here what, across the border, has forced the Mexicans to take up arms. And, of course, the greater their treason to the fundamental tenets of their faith the more loud-mouthed their advocacy of the non-essentials.

With such conditions it is preposterous to talk of Los Angeles as revolutionary, for it is reactionary to the very core. We are dominated by the real estate interests, and not one speaker among the army of candidates in this campaign has dared to face them. As men not one of these politicians can hold a candle to the despised Mexicans who have the courage to fight for land and liberty. As practical statesmen they are incompetents, for campaigns that attack poverty but shrink from attacking the causes that created poverty can only aggravate the evil.

WM. C. OWEN.

Nero Fiddles While Imperial
Rome is BurningZapata's Forces Hammer at
the Gates of Mexico CityMeanwhile Madero Takes Vacation to
Study Anti-Trust Laws

So much has appeared during the last few days in the daily papers respecting the doings of Zapata that one need give them comparatively little space. The general situation may be gleaned from the following dispatch which appeared in the "Los Angeles Record" of October 28:

"MEXICO CITY, Oct. 26.—With the Zapatista rebel army within four miles of the capital, three states already controlled by them, and others on the verge of rebellion, Mexico, Thursday, is facing the greatest crisis since the Diaz resignation.

"Practically defenseless, with the federal troops either fighting to prevent Guatemalan invasion or scattered over the republic engaging Zapatista rebels, subjugation of the capital is imminent.

"News of the expected battle between 500 federals, who have advanced to check 2000 rebels, is awaited momentarily. The battle is believed to be progressing, and the crowds assembled in the streets apparently hope for a Zapatista victory, as they are gathered about the city hall, hissing the Maderista officials and yelling 'vivas' for the rebels. Madero and his cabinet claim that the government will have the rebellion crushed within five days after the inauguration, which has been scheduled for Nov. 5."

The morning papers of the same date had contained similar accounts, and their general tenor may be judged from the headlines in the "Los Angeles Times," which made it the story of the day: "Battalion wiped out, Zapatistas defeat Federals. Desperate battle occurs near Mexico City; small towns in danger. Department of War and Interior decline to make public the facts. Cordon of troops trying to entrap rebels operating in mountains." There were exciting scenes in the Chamber of Deputies, and the article just referred to remarks that "Francisco I. Madero shared the denunciation leveled at the government by excited deputies, and the galleries applauded." Meanwhile Madero is reported as on his vacation, studying up the Sherman anti-trust law!

The burning of two railroad bridges and two other encounters between the Zapatistas and Federals had been reported October 23, and other "Times" headlines read: "Another revolt in Sinaloa State. Five uprisings in Mexico now."

From the very first I have treated the Mexican Revolution as the most important event this side of the Atlantic since the civil war; as being probably more important than the Abolition movement, and as ranking, by reason of the influence it will exercise, with the great French Revolution of the eighteenth century. Experience has caused me to hold that opinion more tenaciously than ever, it being impossible to edit "Regeneracion" from week to week without understanding that in Mexico there is a tremendous struggle to secure the rights of man, or without comprehending that the battle to translate them from theory to reality has only just begun. To me it represents the tensest phase of the giant upheaval that is commencing to shake the world.

In emphasizing the importance of the Mexican Revolution I have fallen foul of the Socialists who place their political ambitions above the life-and-death contest of a nation, and I have round myself at outs with the Single Taxers, because I consider that from Mexico there came to them, above all others, a call they were bound to answer and did not. It is about Galeani, editor of "Cronaca Sovversiva," that, much against my inclination, I now find myself compelled to write.

Galeani has made a huge mistake, and he should be man enough to acknowledge it. On the word of a cigarmaker, who spent three days at Tia Juana, Galeani felt himself justified in saying that the Mexican Revolution existed largely in the imagination of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party. Events have proved him in the wrong. Events have proved that Madero is precisely what the Liberal Party said he was, and it is now self-evident that a large percent-

age of Mexico's population is fighting desperately to gain possession of the land as the key to economic freedom. That in itself constitutes a revolution of a most important type; a struggle all revolutionists are bound, in honor, to support. Perrone's charges are ridiculous, and to wrangle about them is only to split forces and hoist obscurity into a notoriety it does not deserve.

I give this as preface to my weekly notes that I may save myself the trouble of answering letters asking what this squabble is about. A single mail has brought me three such letters today from San Francisco alone, and I have no time to waste upon so trivial an issue. The Mexican Revolution will justify itself, and I now let no less a personage than Francisco Vasquez Gomez, who was Madero's right hand, do the talking.

Tied to Limantour

Gomez has given out a long interview in which he declares that his quarrel with Madero arose solely from the fact that he insisted that with Diaz must go Limantour, the head of the "Client-flores." He declared that the Madero family is so tangled up with Limantour that the president-elect dared not take the step proposed and that he is now absolutely in the hands of the old financial ring.

"El Diario," of Mexico City, publishes a long interview with Almazan—at one time in alliance with Zapata—in the course of which he says: "Zapata is more than a mere individual; he is the symbol of the people of Morelos; the symbol of the Socialism that has awakened in that region. In no other State has the pressure of capital on labor made itself felt so severely as in Morelos. Indeed, one has only to glance over that region to see that almost all the land is in the power of the big hacienda owners, and Zapatism is merely the reaction of the peasants against the big land owners; a conflict, at the bottom, between capital and labor." He recommends that the government buy out the big landowners and divide their property in small lots among the peons. "But," he concludes, "do it immediately, to avoid greater evils."

With none of these State-purchasing schemes does the Mexican Liberal Party find itself in sympathy, but we point out that the remorseless pushing of the agrarian question to the front is forcing all parties to take it under consideration. Privilege yields only when it is compelled to yield—a truth to which Socialist and Single Tax politicians deliberately close their eyes. The more dangerously objectionable the Mexican disinherited make themselves the better their chances of getting something worth the while.

Madero's Promised Freedom

Privilege is fighting in Mexico, as it always has fought everywhere and always will fight. Under Madero, as under Diaz, it is putting all objectionable editors in jail, and we have noticed previously that Madero's special pet, Pino Suarez—his candidate for vice-president—is the greatest sinner. As Governor of Yucatan he has been making wholesale arrests, the latest we have seen recorded being those of the editor and of the manager of "Revista de Merida." They have been kept "incommunicado" and "El Diario" reports their offense as "making comments unfavorable to the government." By the way, when "Mother Jones" was endeavoring to seduce the Magons by promises of security in Mexico they replied with the production of a long list of recently-imprisoned editors. The good lady knows nothing of Mexico but what she was told by Madero's agent, Villareal, and it took her breath away.

HURRAH FOR LIBERTY

"Brown October Ale," the delightful song in "Robin Hood," is under the ban, by decree of a W. C. T. U. in Ohio. They want something inspiring written around root beer, opines an exchange.

Support of Madero
Fundamentally
DecisivePlutocracy, Playing for Time,
is Using Socialism as
Its Catpaw

For several weeks there has been lying on my desk a letter from Manuel Sarabia, published in the "New York Call." I had made up my mind not to comment on it because our space is limited, because the public is not interested in minor figures, and because Sarabia and those he is championing long ago, in my opinion, put themselves out of court. However, a letter from Mr. Menke induces me to change my course.

Manuel Sarabia, Villareal, De Lara and others unnecessary to mention took their sides long ago, and are merely using the Socialist press to cover up their desertion to Madero under a cloud of pseudo-economic verbiage, prattling about the wisdom of slow educational methods, and so forth. If our war against Madero is justified; if, as we assert, he has enserfed the Mexican people, giving them a mere change of masters instead of land and liberty; if our fight to stop this cheating of the masses is just, Sarabia and the others stand self-condemned. With Madero they must stand or fall, for they are Madero men and nothing else.

De Lara and Sarabia joined the reaction long ago, when, through some people call fortunate marriages they became financially independent. Since then Sarabia has traveled about writing articles which, veiled by radical phrases, carry always the moral that the Mexican people are not fit to be entrusted with their rights. De Lara and his wife now reside in Mexico City, which is proof positive that they are not considered dangerous. De Lara doubtless will get office and would have had it long ago had he not disgraced himself by running away under fire. Villareal is campaigning through Chihuahua for Pino Suarez, Madero's candidate for vice-president. There is great popular opposition to Suarez, who is regarded as another Ramon Corral. No true radical or revolutionist could take the stump for such a man, and I myself have read, with infinite disgust, long reports of Villareal's speeches. Bristling with patriotic utterances they endeavor to sustain a semblance of radicalism by urging the Mexican workers to organize in trades unions, etc. That is the game and we should understand it.

"Mother Jones" visited the Junta twice last week, on just the same mission. I was not present at either interview, but I am assured that, coming straight from an interview with Madero, she promised safety and many other good things if the Magons would go to Mexico, join hands in the work of organizing the Mexicans into union connected with the American Federation of Labor, etc., etc. That is the game.

Politicians' Puppets.

In some cases it is being played directly for money, furnished by that astute politician, Madero. In other cases it is being played voluntarily by simpletons; by men of the fanatic type, who cannot see an inch beyond their labor-union or Socialist hobbies to which they are perfectly willing to sacrifice the freedom of a nation. It would take the Mexicans fifty years to form such an organization as the A. F. of L. possesses in this country and Madero's plutocratic backers ask for nothing better than such a frittering away of time. When finally formed it would be the backbone of conservatism, as it is in this country in Germany (where the Social-Democratic Party plays the role), and in England. Again, Madero's backers ask for nothing better.

This is the one important point. Madero has been endeavoring to accomplish by guile, under the cloak of a pretended radicalism, what Diaz vainly tried to carry out by sheer brutality. Diaz was the cruel soldier; Madero is the far more dangerous Jesuit, and in his Jesuitry he has the support of Socialist politicians and professed radicals of the "labor leader" stamp.

The personal charges made by Manuel Sarabia do not interest me because, as compared with the one great central issue—the diversion of the Mexican masses from their revolutionary activity—they cut no figure. I am assured, however, that the accusations against Villareal are absolutely true, and I know that Ricardo Magon has challenged their denial, promising thereupon to publish the officially recorded proof.

If, several years ago, the Magons got \$800 out of Madero for "Regeneracion" I am glad, and I wish with

all my heart that we could wring from him anything like the sum he himself squeezed out of the financiers for whom he is the agent. We are not radicals nor socialists; we know that the Mexican masses are still exploited because their poverty keeps them unarmed; we know that if they had the money with which to purchase arms they would make short work of their oppressors. We think that day is coming and coming rapidly. We would stretch a good many points to bring it now and set an enslaved nation free.

Gross Misrepresentation.

In his "Statement of Explanation" Mr. Menke—who was in New York City as the Junta's agent when the "New York Call" published a terrific attack on Ricardo Magon—denies emphatically having told Sarabia that "before leaving Los Angeles Ricardo Flores Magon said to me that they were working in agreement with Madero." Menke writes that he told Sarabia "we were trying to get a force in the field to prevent Madero from doing what Diaz had done." I am positive Menke's statement is true for that is precisely what we have been, and still are, trying to accomplish. On that understanding we are appealing to the revolutionary world for support, and are receiving it.

Menke states farther that "during the war Magon did not wish to attack Madero in 'Regeneracion,' until Madero provoked such an attack when he arrested a general and soldiers of the Magon faction. That statement is entirely in accord with the proved facts."

Much opposition was shown by the De Laras, Villareal and John Kenneth Turner; Mrs. De Lara objecting to Menke paying over money to an "Anarchist" such as Ricardo Magon; Villareal denouncing Magon as a tyrant, and Turner deprecating the exposure of Madero. All were professed Socialists.

Furthermore, Menke states that he received expressions of sympathy and financial assistance from several congressmen, but from Victor Berger only the declaration that he objected to "armed revolt." I remember that when the "Appeal to Reason" denounced the Mexican Revolution at an end it also remarked that the day of armed revolutions had passed. Since then five months have elapsed and the world has been shaken in all its four corners by violent upheavals on a scale unprecedented in history; the latest and most gigantic, of course, being that now taking place in China.

Plutocracy's Bulwarks.

At present plutocracy is safer in the United States than in almost any country, for such bodies as the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party—the latter officered mainly by ex-preachers, lawyers and professional office-seekers—have drilled the workers out of all effective protest. The leaders have disciplined the rank and file to abject obedience; day in and day out they have inculcated the shameful doctrine of "peace at any price"; they have devoted all their energy to making their followers slavish worshippers of law and order. Not a reader of this article but knows I speak truly when saying that men of the Berger-Gompers type would be the first, the very first, to put down any genuine attempt at popular revolt. They and their lieutenants would be out on the street corners in an instant; counseling prudence, pleading for delay, using all the plausible eloquence which years of stump-speaking in pursuit of votes has taught them. They would be then openly what they are today secretly—plutocracy's invaluable allies.

Mexico itself furnishes the incontrovertible proof of the justice of my charge. There, for the moment, plutocracy has been reeling in the saddle, and who have been so eager to come to its support as the leaders of the Socialist Party; who so indifferent to the struggle of the Mexican proletariat as the officials of the American Federation of Labor? This gives the Mexican Liberal Party no concern, for it is now fully persuaded that the Mexican proletariat must fight his own battles for himself. But to those of us who are interested in the international revolt the lesson has been heart-strengthening.

Remember Nov. 11

Burbank Hall has been taken for a mass meeting in commemoration of the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists, Nov. 11, 1888. The date falls on a Saturday, but, because of the difficulty of obtaining a hall for that evening and in order to avoid conflict with similar celebrations, we have engaged the hall for Friday evening, Nov. 10. The meeting will be essentially cosmopolitan and the names of speakers representing the different nationalities will be announced in a later issue.

Land and Liberty
Its Message to
MankindMexican Revolution has
Erected Landmark for
Oppressed of every
Nation

The following article by Voltairine de Cleyre, of Chicago, appeared in the August number of "Mother Earth." Its value has not been diminished by the events that have taken place since its first publication, and could not be, for it voices eternal truths. We are about to imitate the example set us by New York and publish it as a pamphlet.

At last we see a genuine awakening of a people, not to political demands alone, but to economic ones.—fundamentally economic ones. And in the brief period of a few months, some millions of human beings have sprung to a full consciousness of a system of wrong, beginning where all slaveries begin, in the sources of life. They have struck for Land and Liberty. And even if their revolt shall be crushed by the mailed hand of the United States Government (for I do not believe the present nondescript thing calling itself a government, in Mexico, has craft or power to pacify or crush all the seething elements of rebellion), yet it has set a foremost mark upon the record of human demand, from which hereafter there will be no retreat. From now on, when an oppressed people revolt, they will not demand less.

"Events are the true schoolmasters," I hear the justified voice of my dead Comrade Lum calling triumphantly from his grave. For years and years the brothers Magon and their co-workers in and out of Mexico have been voices crying in the wilderness which some few thousands at best have heard. But in the storm-wind of popular revolt, rising, no prophet could have foretold when, nor gazer at the aftermath just why it was the chosen hour, in that strong clean-sweeping of the psychic atmosphere, millions of unlettered and otherwise ignorant people saw, as with lightning sharpness cutting a black night, the foundation of all their wrongs, and heard the slogan "Land and Liberty" to which their ears were so long deaf,—heard it, raised it, acted on it, are acting on it. With that clear and direct perception of the needful thing to do which lettered men, men of complex lives, nearly always lack, being befogged by too many lights, they move straight upon their purpose, hew down the landmarks, burn the records of the little deeds.

So do the plain people. Temporizing men, sophisticated men, men of books and theories, men made timid with much mind, Hamlets all,—they devise solemn indirections; they figure on compensation schemes, on taxation fooleries, on how-to-do and how-not-to-do at the same time. The simple man says, "No: you have told us, and truly, that this land was flched away from us by a paper-title scheme. Its power lay in our admitting its right. Well, we no longer admit it; we destroy it. The land is ours; we take it." And they have driven off the paper-title men, and are working the ground on hundreds of ranches.

Great Landmark Established

It is true there were other millions asleep in the storm; true that many of the awakened have been quieted with political hocus-pocus; true that a hundred and one reactionary forces are battling on the same ground. It is true that the world at large, outside of Mexico, is but little informed as to the real struggle. But that does not alter or diminish the truth that the Slaves of Our Times, in a nation-wide revolt, have smitten the Beast of Property in Land. And once a great human demand is so made, it is never let go again. Future revolts will go on from there; they will never fall behind it.

At present the great press is saying little of the chaos in the Mexican situation, though for the last few days, since as news purveyors they cannot keep entirely silent, small, hinting editorials are creeping in, pointing interventionwards, "in case disturbances are not pacified." No doubt the United States Government would prefer to preserve its hypocritical pretense of abstinent impartiality. It hopes its catpaw will safely pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

To Be Continued