

Regeneracion.

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Saturday, November 4, 1911.

Clear the Way for Essentials

At last the "Appeal to Reason" has been forced to tell the truth. In its issue of October 28 it gives a column-and-a-half article to "Land and Machinery," which article begins: "The history of the United States may be written in two words: Land and Machinery. We Socialists have been trying to write it with the one word machinery, and HAVE FAILED." I myself have capitalized the two last words, and if I had the power I would write them in letters of fire, sky-scraper high, all over this country. For, they may Milwaukee Los Angeles, Chicago and New York; they may promulgate initiatives every twenty-four hours and recall every official on their interminably long lists monthly, but until they tackle the land question they will not advance one inch toward that abolition of poverty which is the one thing for which they should be organized. That is fundamental; the others merely trimmings.

They talk about "machinery," by which they mean the belts and pulleys, the lathes and planers and grinders you can see in any shop; the clumsy implements our scanty knowledge fashions and refashions daily; the stuff that is thrown periodically on the scrap heap to make way for new designs not quite so clumsy. Of this they demand common ownership as the panacea for all our woes. But of the incomparably magnificent machine of whose eternal whirl we ourselves are but a microscopic part: of this unspeakably productive machine, not made by human hands, to whose untiring work we owe the very possibility of life; of this great tool, the earth, from which all other tools are made—of this they take no count. It concerns the rural population alone; to the inhabitants of so undeveloped a country as Mexico it may have interest; the important thing to the city worker is the truck that fills our factories! Was there ever greater folly?

I am well aware that the Socialists write the land question into their platforms, but it is their actual propaganda that concerns me. I say that such propaganda ignores almost entirely the fundamental fact of the monopoly of Mother Earth: that their orators and editors sidestep it, wandering off into surplus value and vague generalities on the "class struggle." In which the direct employer, himself usually struggling to satisfy the landlord, is posed as the sole enemy; that they talk still more vaguely of the coming democracy, to hasten which all sorts of hocus-pocus political machinery have been invented. As if democracy were even thinkable with our life-tool in the possession of the few!

I deal with facts and invite our readers to contemplate Los Angeles, wherein a furious Socialist campaign is now on tap. I go back to the history of Los Angeles and Southern California, with which I have been familiar for twenty-five years, and I say that its history is one of land exploitation and nothing else: that the wealthy and the schemers recognized it as a pleasant land, swooped down and took possession. Just that and nothing more.

Having taken possession of the house the invaders proceed to furnish it in the latest style: to bring water to its doors; to equip it with excellent approaches; to make it, in a word, as comfortable as possible.

After which they hold a perpetual housewarming; but only for guests of the proper class, those with money in their pockets, able to pay for the privileges extended. All that goes without saying to those who understand.

Of course no up-to-date mansion can be run without a retinue of servants, and for these accordingly there is a limited demand. But they must know their business; they must be able to cater to the wants and whims of the proprietors, and precisely to that extent will they be welcome. As for the incompetents—those who neither have the price nor the satisfactory services to offer—to the jail or poorhouse with them! They are superfluous and must be disposed of in one or the other way. That is the situation in Los Angeles as in every other city; stripped to the bone and exposed in all its naked verity. Let us see how Mr. Job Harriman, Socialist candidate for mayor—whom personally I prefer to any of his rivals—handles it.

We are spending many millions to bring water from the Sierras and far-sighted citizens have got hold of large landholdings all along the route. Especially the newspaper proprietors, Otis and Earl, who had advance information and were able, therefore, to gamble on a dead-sure thing. Mr. Harriman accordingly singles them out for attack, and charges that his main opponent, the present mayor, has made corrupt bargains whereby a portion of the water will find its way onto the Earl and Otis lands. This is what Mr. Harriman says, and whether it be true or not, I do not greatly care.

What I know as true is that those lands will be enhanced enormously in value by this "public" improvement, whether they have a special water privilege or do not have it. This Mr. Harriman also knows, but he does not say so. I know that the public parks, the public playgrounds, the municipal railroad and all the other allegedly "public-spirited" schemes now afoot will enhance enormously the value of "private" estates. Mr. Harriman also knows it, but he does not say so. My intellect tells me this must be so, and my experience in Los Angeles enables me to name at any moment landowners who are working tooth and nail for "public" improvements that will benefit their "private" holdings. Mr. Harriman, whose acquaintance with Los Angeles is as large as mine, also knows this, but he does not say so. He does not face the real issue, and, at present, Socialist politicians never do. For this reason I, and many others, have a contempt for Socialist politics.

However, our financial magnates dread the election of Harriman, fearing it may pave the way for something far more formidable than votes for women, initiative and referendum, and all the other non-essentials, with which they flit in safety. They fear it may prelude a genuine attack, directed against that real estate monopoly to which they owe their power, and even I—so skeptical as to Socialist politics—begin to have some faint hopes in that direction. For the "Appeal to Reason" article continues: "In no other section of the world has land played such an important part in such a brief time, unless it be in Africa, as it has in America;" and later on gives this reflection: "We have not had an American statement of Socialism to this day. There cannot be such a statement without an understanding of land, as well as the effect of machinery, on social affairs."

Fortunately we, who want to get down to bottom facts and substitute strength for hysteria, have the Mexican revolution to assist us; and fortunately, the Mexicans are fighting, just across the border, against the conditions to which Americans in southern California have tamely and stupidly submitted. Fighting, moreover, with the power of a simple people that recognizes place at nature's table as a necessity of life, and fighting with the carelessness to personal safety and the dogged tenacity that are in their Indian blood. Our Tories see the monstrosity of land monopoly but will not fight to overthrow it. The Mexicans will.

Meanwhile, is there not a world of significance in the fact that we always speak of land as "real" estate; implying thereby that our instincts—far more reliable than fine-spun arguments—recognize the possession of land as being the real thing?

The foregoing was written, purposefully, before the holding of the primaries that have given Harriman a triumphant vote. I see no reason to change one word of it. We should be glad, at least, that Good Government has been rebuked; for, to the poor and to the worker—identical under our glorious civilization—Good Government is cruelty incarnate. Under the cloak of morality—the morality of man-eating sharks—it shows no mercy to the outcasts it creates; levies tribute heartlessly on the would-be industrious for permission to toil, and harries the life out of the unfortunate it has the audacity to brand as sinners. It is the quintessence of a smug selfishness that would sacrifice the race itself to its own comfort and respectability, and is the natural habitat of the Pecksniff of reform. The instinct that repudiates it is sound to the core, and I guess that is the real meaning of the Harriman vote. WM. G. OWEN.

Limantour Still the Power Behind the Throne

Juarez Receives Madero with Hisses Instead of Cheers

Zapata Acknowledged as Representing the Spirit of the Masses

Through accidental misplacement of copy we were unable last week to reproduce the interview with Francisco Vasquez Gomez, and were compelled to give a short synopsis from memory, instead of allowing Gomez to speak for himself, as promised. Here is a portion of what the man who was Madero's minister said, as reported by W. G. Shepard, the well-known correspondent:

"Jose Limantour, the Mexican minister of finance was Diaz' master. Limantour headed the Cientificos and directed the money powers in Mexico. The members of the rich Madero family were all followers of Limantour. When the revolution was under way Madero's father and mother, Gustavo, met Limantour in New York and extracted a promise from him to force Diaz into exile. In return for this, the Maderos were to take care of Limantour. This meant that Diaz was to go, but that the same old ring of Cientificos should remain in Mexico.

"The Limantourists are all with Madero today. In other words, Madero is working with the very Cientificos against whom the revolution was directed. He thrust Pino Suarez forward for the vice-presidency and dictated Suarez's nomination in exactly the same way that Diaz dictated the nomination of Corral two years ago. In fact, it was Diaz' dictation of Corral's nomination that caused Madero to start the revolution. And yet, because I am against Limantour and the Cientificos whom Madero made the people believe he was fighting, he has done the very same thing that Diaz did. I fear for the consequences in Mexico when the people find that they are still in the clutches of the Cientificos."

The "Los Angeles Record," which published the interview, illustrated it with a cartoon from "La Risa," in which a peon is represented gazing with disgust at two long and cruel whips, one of which is headed "P. Diaz," and the other "Madero." The peon's comment is: "Well, they've changed the butt-ends but not the lash." Yes, indeed.

It strikes one as singular that the "Record" published the important interview with Gomez and the accompanying cartoon only in its early morning edition, and that when we applied at the office for a copy not one was to be bought. On the other hand, it ran in every edition that same day a comparatively unimportant interview with Reyes, who avoided all allusion to economic affairs, but protested against Madero's election tactics. He said, in part:

"Although the people fought against tyranny, after the triumph they realized that a new tyranny had been established; they took to arms to acquire the right of free suffrage, and yet in the late election they could not vote freely because of persecution against all parties opposed to Madero. These persecutions went as far as murder, and included immunity for those who committed it."

Lost Good Will
"By forcing the candidacy of Pino Suarez for the vice-presidency, Madero has lost the good will of a great number of his followers. The Maderista party, to avoid opposition at the polls, used bands of armed Maderistas. The Maderistas are still armed and enjoy the greatest immunity because they are Madero's soldiers."

Our readers must pardon us for piling up, week after week, the evidence of Madero's complete subjection to the money power, and we ourselves feel that every mind open to conviction must have become persuaded long ago of the truthfulness of the charges we have been making for the last eight months. Unfortunately such women as "Mother Jones" apparently can be still won over by a handshake from Wall Street's president-elect, and communications from men who are intriguing day and night for Madero are still played up in Socialist publications. For the most part, however, the Socialist press has dropped the Mexican revolution like a hot potato. It will have to take it up again, and

it is to be hoped, from an amended standpoint.

Juarez Hoots Madero.
Madero visited Juarez October 31, and urged the claims of his candidate for the vice-presidency, Pino Suarez. According to the "Times" dispatch "his oratorical request was received with unanimous shouts of 'Death to Pino Suarez; Viva Vasquez Gomez.'" As the result of this he refused to speak at an evening meeting, but gave out an interview in which he said that "he would first quell the Zapata revolution and then invite foreign capital to invest in Mexico, with his guarantee of safety to insure the investors."

News of continued conflicts between Zapatistas and federal forces keeps dribbling in. A special telegram to the "Los Angeles Examiner," dated October 29, reported 100 federals and Maderists surrounded by Zapatistas in the ancient city of Cholula, which was burning around them, and fifty Zapatistas as having been annihilated at Yocapitla. The best view of the entire situation is to be obtained from leading articles and we translate and summarize from "El Demócrata Mexicano," a noted Mexico City daily, the article being entitled "Emiliano Zapata—Bandit or Redeemer?" It runs, in part as follows:

"The situation in Morelos could not be more extraordinary. The complete annihilation of the Zapatistas which, in the opinion of a great part of the public, should be accomplished immediately, shows no signs of being realized. The most contradictory reports are being received daily, and all one knows for certain is that Zapata dominates the State and that his followers are spread over Puebla on the one side and Guerrero on the other. The bold guerrillist adds to his hosts from day to day and habitually escapes the pursuit of which he is the object."

"The personal conduct of Zapata and the offensive and defensive proceedings of himself and his chiefs leave much to be desired. But, is it not strange that, merely at the voice of a bandit, hundreds of men rise to embrace the perils of an unequal struggle? Is it not surprising that behind a small group of jail-birds, as they are called, there are marching thousands of hard working and honest men? And, if the sole object of the numerous bands that swarm into existence is rapine and assassination, we have to confess that the whole State of Morelos has been and is inhabited by bandits."

Look Into the Causes.
"No; it is necessary that the journalists investigate the true cause of this anomalous situation, that they may direct the course of public opinion, which, in this instance, is vacillating; it is necessary that the government cease being guided by a few interested persons and try to find out why a bandit has so great a prestige and why hundreds of towns, in mass, have launched the fatal cry—'Struggle to victory or death.'"

The article then goes on to say that in Morelos the alignment is absolute, "on the one side the proletariat, the ranchers, the Indians, all those who in the past have been iniquitously despoiled of their lands; on the other side the forces of the government which, in this case, are under the influence of the owners of the sugar plantations and the big haciendas; all those who, with the aid of the government, made huge fortunes between night and morning; all those who, upheld by Diaz, reviled and despoiled the unhappy people of Mexico."

Following a vivid description of the manner in which the land was distributed among the government's favorites comes a recital of the patience with which the people endeavored to obtain legal relief; "but the dictator answered invariably with his eternal phrases of 'justice,' 'peace,' 'order,' ending always by cheating miserably the petitioners, aiding the Cientificos and ordering soldiers stationed in the towns, to prevent disorder." In conclusion the writer declares: "The people of Morelos, in mass, regardless of the personal conduct of Zapata, have seen in him their savior, and they follow him because they have understood that only by force, and by turning the present moment to account, will they be able

to recover what, during so many years, they sought to win back by pacific means."

Publicists Take Notice.
We specially commend that article to the notice of the Single Taxers and Congressman Berger; to say nothing of the editors of such papers as "The Evening Post," and the "Call," of San Francisco, both which are eloquent, in cartoon and printed word, as to the present turmoil in Mexico; one asserting that the industrial development of the country has been set back a score of years, and that "there is nothing to be done but to let Mexico stew in her own juice;" the other declaring that the peon will begin to recognize that Diaz was his trusted friend.

Also we commend it to the notice of Gallant, of the "Crónica Sovversiva," who has been disseminating what are more than hints to the effect that the Mexican Revolution is a hoax, and to the New York Italians who solemnly discussed, a week or so ago, whether there really was a revolution. The fact is that every statement we have made is being proved up to the hilt by events; the main points established being that Madero is precisely what we said he was—the friend of money power and allied with the Cientificos—and that there is a true struggle on in Mexico for the possession of the land. The mere change of presidents has brought with it no mitigation of the popular and righteous discontent.

The activities of the Zapatistas stretch to the boundaries of Oaxaca, and in many other States the movement for retaking possession of the land is extremely active. Thus, one reads in "El Imparcial," of Oct. 24, that rebels entered Tochmilco, bearing a banner with the inscription, "Down with monopolies in lands, mountains and water;" and in the "El Paso Morning Times," of Oct. 22, that "troops were sent today to Poncitlan, a town in Jalisco, to put down the Indians who yesterday rose in arms. The cause of their uprising is the discovery of their error in supposing the government would hand over to them the land."

The Indian, as distinguished from our own city proletariat, has always kept a good grip on the elemental facts of life, and has been willing to fight for them. In the past he has had only bows and arrows. Today he is learning to use a Mauser. It will make a difference.

W. C. O.

Exemplifies His Own Lessons to the Peon

Madero Puts into Practice the Frugality He Preaches

The Mexican revolution spent \$12,000 for its "newspaper campaign," according to expenses turned in to the national congress of Mexico. Where this money went to, Congress is likely to ask, unless it is too much under the domination of Madero. On the border, newspaper men generally found the junta leaders pleading poverty, and in Mexico it is certain that no great sums of money were spent for "newspaper campaigning."

Finance Minister Ernesto Madero, in reporting expenses to Congress, declared: "No books were kept. The expenses paid were merely on lump statements of leading revolutionaries. They said that their expenses had been such and such, and the government paid them, as the peace agreement provided that all expenses of the revolution must be borne by the government."

Mr. Madero says he paid over to the revolutionary leaders for expenses of maintaining the Washington junta, \$60,000; for arms and ammunition, \$154,000; for the revolutionary junta at San Antonio, Texas, \$18,000; for lawyers' fees for revolutionary leaders, \$53,000; for the revolutionary junta at El Paso, \$15,000; and "for correspondents, railway fares and war expenses," \$56,000. The expenses of the peace commission were \$26,000 and "for traveling expenses and the payment of ex-revolutionary officers," over \$42,000.

The total expenses in the items presented by Minister Madero amount to about \$384,000, and this does not cover the pay for soldiers mustered out of the service, neither does it include \$90,000 paid to railroads for transporting insurgents during the war.

The minister says there were 60,000 rebels in arms when the war ended. Madero had a hard time getting 1500 to capture Juarez—"El Paso Herald."

Land and Liberty Its Message to Mankind

Mexican Revolution has Erected Landmark for Oppressed of every Nation

(Continued from last week)

It is comfortable to pose as the disinterested friend of peace in our sister republic, so long as American landlord powers in Mexico are undisturbed, or so long as the Mexican branch of the Capitalistic Defense Association is able to tend to its vision. But one thing has been pretty plain since the provisional government assumed its functions: "Barkis is willin',"—but not effluently able. People who have once taken up arms and felt the satisfaction of ridding themselves of one tyrant, of doing rude justice in opening prison doors, of seeing a whole confraternity of office-holders and office-seekers in anxiety to placate them, are not so unready to take up arms again; especially when the whole mass of discontent is leavened with colossal revolutionists who are crying the means of social regeneration in their ears.

It is very plain now that the provisional governors are treading on thin crust, and the elections instead of steadying the human subsoil down to mortuary rigidity, may prove the prelude to more violent eruptions. In that case, the reluctant (?) hand at Washington may be forced to play—clubs! on its own responsibility.

Where are the Revolutionists?
Meanwhile, what have the revolutionary elements of the United States to say about it? I almost sneered as I wrote "revolutionary elements," for candor compels us to inquire where they are. Time was when some people thought the Single Tax was based on a fundamentally revolutionary idea, the final expropriation of the landlord by the people. The Single Tax papers, however, have said as little as possible about the great Land cry of the Mexican revolutionists, have laid all stress upon the political mirage-chasing by which Madero and his coadjutors side-tracked the uprising of May, and have refused to print the manifestoes and appeals of the Mexican Liberal Party, to afford the publicity of their columns to the real demands of the revolutionists, that their readers might give their sympathy and support, and the influence of their understanding. They were waiting, they said, for Madero to pronounce himself upon the land question! I opine they have still quite some wait coming.

From all which, it seriously appears that the expropriation of the landlords by the people, the restoration of the land to the people, is not the object of the single tax movement; on the contrary, the object is the establishment of the single tax itself,—not as a working means to a great end, the establishment of the equal right of all to the use of natural resources, but as a neat sleight-of-hand method for collecting revenue; at best, a way of getting rid of landlords by fooling them into getting rid of themselves, not because they are robbers to be got rid of, but because it's such a clever trick to play! Men are to demand the land, not that they may get the land, but that the demand may serve as an excuse for instituting the Single Tax!

If this is not the interpretation we are to put upon it, then how else are we to read the conspicuous silence of the Single Tax press concerning this great agrarian revolt? Millions of people have been demonstrating their appreciation that The Land for All the People is the primary foundation for a better economic structure. They have taken a more direct route than the single tax. And the land agitators are silent!

Time was when Socialism was a revolutionary word. And there are still some Socialists who are international revolutionists. But the official political Socialist Party,—bah! If ever the vitriolic influence of the marriage of Socialism with Politics (that old Bluebeard husband of so many fine young wives) was demonstrated beyond dispute, it has been in the official attitude of Socialists towards this spontaneous manifestation of the Mexican people.

Repudiate Their Master
The utterances of Victor Berger, "the Socialist Congressman" (we receive this information as to his status with painful reiteration at least once a column in every issue of the Chicago Daily Socialist), concerning tithing and admission will be free.

"the bandits of Mexico," were enough to make the authors of the Communist Manifesto repudiate their name. Those strong souls who asserted that "the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things," and appealed to "Workingmen of All Countries to unite,"—what would they have in common with a smug occupier of a congressional seat, who in a strongly marked German accent makes anti-immigration speeches against Slaves and Italians in the name of protection to American labor (?) and who directs his secretary to say, concerning the Mexican revolt, that "the Socialist Party can afford to have no connection with this movement" (?) In the light of this and similar utterances in the Socialist press (I have even learned on good authority that one Socialist editor really desires United States annexation of Mexico, but dares not advocate it yet, "because it would be unpopular" with Socialist readers) it would appear that the distribution of the Communist Manifesto by the Socialist Party is about of a piece with the distribution of the Christian Gospels by the Christian Church; in both cases it is traditional literature, which nobody is supposed to take seriously.

Instead of giving even the news of international revolutionary movements (often one looks in vain for any), or the economic ground-plan of Socialism, we have columns of vice-crushing, sporting, pages, and veritable hot-air balloons of self-inflation for having assisted in some relatively trivial petition. Only in their correspondence columns is there some occasional evidence of the indignant spirit of a true Socialist, outraged by all this trimming to suit the wind, this flunking to the respectable element, this suffocation of revolutionary principle and sentiment under a time-serving mantle of political prudence and cheap catering. Yes; Politics is nicely "Blue-bearding Socialism." How far away is all this from the serious, intent spirit which watches and welcomes the manifestations of the people themselves—no matter what their degree of development or enlightenment—as the real indications of how the Race will come into its own! Not according to any men's preconceived program, not by any little platform prescription; not by any carefully selected route; not by anybody's plan of campaign to make an "educated, class-conscious," etc. ad nauseam vote-casting machine; but in their own unforeseen and unforeseeable, unpredictable, by-the-hour-and-circumstance-decided way, as the peoples always move,—as Life, which is greater than the peoples, always selves!

And the business of the revolutionist, the Seeker for the Changes of Old Forms, the dreamer of Liberty and Plenty, is to be with them in their struggle, in their victory, in their defeat, whenever, wherever, the people rise.

Hail to our brothers, the Mexican peons, who are too unlettered to read Henry George's gospel, but who have discharged their landlords and set to working the ground for themselves.

Hail to the Mexican strikers, who likely are too ignorant to pursue a course in the "Evolution of Class-consciousness," but who are apparently very alive to the fact that Now is the hour to Strike for better conditions,—the hour of governmental weakness and popular strength!

Hail to the Mexican Revolution, victorious or defeated! And hail to the next that rises!

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

Rally in Force!

Don't forget the meeting at Burbank Hall, 542 S. Main St., next Friday evening, Nov. 8, to commemorate the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists, twenty-five years ago. No event in American history ever carried more important lessons for the world's disinherited, and we of Los Angeles, in particular, should not allow them to be forgotten.

Ricardo Magón and others, whose names will be announced on the handbills, will speak. Señorita Angela Romero will recite "La Patria," by Jose Maria Zeledón. It is safe to say that the speeches will be to the point and straight from the shoulder. By attending, and causing others to do so you can aid greatly the struggle for economic freedom and for a life really worth the living. All will be welcomed heartily and admission will be free.