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DISCURSO

Pronunciado Ayer en el Mitin Celebrado en Memoria de los Anarquistas Asesinados en Chicago el 11 de Noviembre de 1887

Camaradas:
Apóstolos del pacifismo; creyentes de la acción pacífica del proletariado como el mejor medio para alcanzar la emancipación económica, volvéis los ojos hacia Chicago donde cuatro negros zañones practicados en la tierra, guardan los restos de cuatro mártires, cuyo silencio es el testimonio elocuente de que la justicia gemirá encadenada mientras no brille el arma en la mano de cada trabajador y no hierva en los pechos robustos este formidable sentimiento: ¡Rebelión!

Los cuatro sepulcros donde duermen Spies, Engel, Fischer y Parsons, proclaman esta verdad: la Razón debe armarse; y esta otra: la violencia contra la violencia.

No os crucéis más de brazos; no pidáis. Pedir, es el crimen del humilde: ¡por eso se le mata! Si se le pide: ¡por eso se le mata! Si se os ha de matar por pedir, mejor, ¡tomad!

Esechad lo que os dicen esos cuatro sepulcros: "Aquí guardamos los restos de los mejores de los vuestros. Aquí, en nuestras entrañas sombrías, duermen cuatro hombres generosos que soñaron conquistar el bienestar de la humanidad por la virtud de esta sola hucha: cruzarse de brazos en huelga general."

Cruzarse de brazos en huelga pacífica es tanto como tender el pecho para que el verdugo descargue el golpe de su hacha. La libertad no se conquista de rodillas, sino de pie, devolviendo golpe por golpe, infiriendo herida por herida, muerte por muerte, humillación por humillación, castigo por castigo. Que corra la sangre a torrentes, ya que ella es el precio de la libertad.

¿Qué paso hacía adelante, qué progreso, qué adelanto humano en las relaciones políticas y sociales de los hombres ha tenido éxito sin el grito de rabia de los oprimidos, sin el grito de cólera de los opresores, sin el derrocamiento generoso de la sangre, sin el incendio reduciendo a cenizas cosas e instituciones, sin la catástrofe que sepulta bajo sus escombros cadenas y cetros y altares?

¿De qué se trata? ¿No se trata de destruir, de aniquilar un sistema que está en pugna abierta con la naturaleza? ¿No se trata de fundar una

EL CAOS

Francisco I. Madero tomó posesión de la Presidencia de la República el día 6 de este mes. ¿Cuántos días, cuántas semanas, cuántos meses durará el gobierno de este pobre hombre?

Emiliano Zapata, se ha declarado en abierta rebelión contra Madero; Reyes, alista rápidamente sus falanges y algunas de ellas están ya en acción de guerra en puntos muy separados unos de otros; los Vázquez Gómez, fuertes en varios Estados, y, sobre todo, en los de Tamaulipas, Michoacán, México, parte de Jalisco, etc., cuentan con guerrillas audaces que merodean por las goteras de la Capital de la República; toda la región del Istmo de Tehuantepec está en armas y esos rebeldes han amenazado a Madero con avanzar hacia la Capital y arrasarlo todo, si se le impide el ser libres; nuestros hermanos de la Bandera Roja, diseminados por todo el país, ponen en fuga a los hacendados en el Estado de Durango, traen al trote a Maytorena en Sonora, a federales maderistas en Tamaulipas, a los rurales en Zacatecas, los federales maderistas en Guanajuato; Yucatán prepara su separación del resto de la República; Sinaloa hace otro tanto; Díaz, en Suiza, sueña con un retorno triunfal a México, y su esbirro Rómulo Cuéllar, práctica movimientos sospechosos en la frontera de los Estados de Coahuila y Nuevo León; las cosechas de las haciendas están siendo levantadas por los trabajadores conscien-

grandes casas de los que nada hacen, existe la abundancia, y, como en las jastias de los que todo lo hacen, existe la miseria. Esto es: los bandidos, arriba, gozando cuanto placer pueda imaginarse, mientras los trabajadores, los que sudan, los que se sacrifican bajo los rayos del sol, entre las tinieblas de las minas, en esos presidios que se llaman barcos y en todos los lugares de explotación, viven en el infierno de la miseria, escuchando en lugar de risas los sollozos de los niños que tienen hambre.

— Toda conciencia honrada se subleva ante tanta injusticia, amparada por la ley y sostenida por el gobierno. Contra una injusticia así sólo existe un remedio: ¡La Rebelión! Pero no la Rebelión que tenga por objeto quitar a Pedro para poner en su lugar a Juan, sino la Revolución salvadora que vaya hasta el fondo de las cosas, que destruya privilegios, que estrangle prejuicios, que se encare con lo que hasta aquí era considerado sagrado, el principio de autoridad y el derecho de propiedad individual, y, con toda la fuerza de la cólera tragada en silencio durante siglos y siglos de miseria y de humillaciones, rotas las cadenas, abiertos los presidios y vibrando intensamente la gran campana de la libertad de la especie humana, aniquilar de una vez y para siempre el viejo sistema e implantar el nuevo de Libertad, de Igualdad y de Fraternidad.

Esto es lo que están haciendo los mexicanos. La Revolución no murió el 26 de Mayo con el pacto de dos bandidos. La Revolución siguió su marcha porque no tenía como causa la ambición de un payaso, sino la necesidad largamente sentida por un pueblo despojado de todo. Es el león que ha despertado y lanza a los cuatro vientos como un reto a la injusticia estas bellas palabras: ¡Tierra y Libertad! Y toma la tierra, incendia las guardias de sus verdugos y sobre las humeantes ruinas, clara con puño firme la bandera de los libres, la gloriosa Bandera Roja.

Contra la ley armada hasta los dientes, el derecho del proletario armado también; contra el fusil el fusil. Contra la tiranía, la barricada y la expropiación. ¡Viva la Revolución Social!

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

los sigue, sino que se hace justicia por su propia mano, todos procuran engañar al pueblo diciéndole que nosotros estamos de acuerdo con ellos; la catástrofe está en marcha; ¡bendita, bendita sea!

Tal es la situación en estos momentos. La Autoridad, quebrantada, ape-

AL PUEBLO MEXICANO

La Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano declara solemnemente y con la energía que es propia de hombres convencidos y de rectas miras, que no tiene liga alguna con los partidos políticos de cualquiera denominación que en estos momentos están sobre las armas para derribar a Francisco I. Madero.

Por enviados especiales, la Junta ha sido informado de que agitadores reyes, vazaristas, porfiristas, etc., y con el propósito de captarse voluntades, recorren poblados, haciendas, centros mineros e industriales, en México, diciendo a los trabajadores que esta Junta trabaja de acuerdo con Bernardo Reyes, Emilio y Francisco Vázquez Gómez y conocidos porfiristas científicos, para derribar al Iluso Francisco I. Madero, de la misma manera que los agitadores pagados por Madero hicieron creer a personas sencillas que estamos de acuerdo con él cuando inició su revuelta.

¡Mexicanos, alerta! Toda partida o cuerpo de ejército rebelde que no lleve como base de su acción revolucionaria la expropiación inmediata de los bienes de los ricos y su entrega a los trabajadores, deberán ser considerados como enemigos y batidos con la misma energía que si fueran maderistas o federales.

No hay que confundir. TIERRA Y LIBERTAD. Los Angeles, Cal., Noviembre 11 de 1911.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON, LIBRADO RIVERA, ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON, ANTONIO DE P ARAUJO, ANSELMO L. FIGUEROA.

nas puede sostenerse; el Capital cierra las puertas de sus negocios y a bandada nuestra movimiento por Pan, Tierra y Libertad para todo ser humano. Unos pueden escapar de este tremendo cataclismo no soñado por ella. ¡Aliento, hermanos desheredados! ¡Constancia, hermanos de miseria!

El sacrificio de la libertad, de la vida o del bienestar personal, nada significa. Que cada quien ponga lo que esté de su parte para la lucha. Este es el momento oportuno que no debemos des-

perdiciar, para dar un fuerte impulso a nuestro movimiento por Pan, Tierra y Libertad para todo ser humano. Unos pueden escapar de este tremendo cataclismo no soñado por ella. ¡Aliento, nuestros libertad, y también, nuestra vida, ¡por qué no pone el resto, que es la inmensa mayoría, unas cuantas monedas cada uno para que triunfe nuestra causa, que es la causa de todos los desheredados?

Un esfuerzo más, hermanos de cadena.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

Discurso Pronunciado el 13 de Octubre en el Mitin Efectuado en Memoria de Francisco Ferrer Guardia

¡Viva la Escuela Moderna! Este fue el grito que salió de los labios de Ferrer cuando de las bocas de doce rifles salían los proyectiles que lo dejaron sin vida en Montjuich el 13 de Octubre de 1909.

¡Viva la Escuela Moderna! Sí, que viva esa escuela que enseña a los hombres a pensar con su cabeza; que viva esa escuela que arranca del cerebro las sombras de una enseñanza dañada con todos los prejuicios que las clases privilegiadas se interesan en fomentar, en tener vivos, para que los desgraciados no se rebelen y no caligan la opresión y la explotación.

¡Pero cómo hacer vivir la Escuela Moderna en un medio que la es hostil? ¿Cómo hacerla vivir cuando todas las fuerzas de la reacción se oponen a ella?

Francisco Ferrer Guardia no murió por haber tomado participación en la Revolución de Julio de 1909 en Barcelona, porque ninguna participación tomó en ese movimiento insurreccional. Francisco Ferrer Guardia murió por educar a la humanidad para que llegase sin sobresaltos, sin hecatombes, sin cataclismos a los ideales de la Sociedad Nueva en que no habrá grandes y chicos, ricos y pobres, aristocratas y plebeyos.

¡Ah, sueño generoso de un hombre inteligente y bueno! Pero contra ese sueño se levantaron por todas partes los puños alados de los hombres del Clero, del Capital y del Estado. Contra ese sueño aprietan sus filas las clases privilegiadas y alistan ejércitos de polizontes, de soldados, de funcionarios de todas clases, dispuestas a mantener sus privilegios por el hierro y por el fuego.

La Escuela Moderna no podrá vivir mientras existan el Clero, la Autoridad y el Capital, mientras exista el medio brutal que sofoca todo sentimiento sano, toda aspiración honesta. Será posible fundar hoy una, mañana otra y después otras y otras más; pero cuando lleguen a un número que inquiete a la burguesía, que espante al Clero y amedrente a la Autoridad, nuevos Ferrer caerán bañados en su sangre generosa en otros tantos Montjuich.

Contra la fuerza no hay otra arma que la fuerza. Así lo entendemos los libertarios mexicanos; Contra la

opresión, la rebelión armada, y la rebelión siempre, tenaz, enérgica, acompañada de la expropiación, hasta que quebrantado de tal manera el principio de autoridad, hasta que generalmente perdido el respeto al derecho de propiedad privada, puedan vivir en esta tremenda lucha las Escuelas Modernas, sostenidas por comunidades que trabajen la tierra y las industrias con el fusil terciado, mientras acaban de desvanecerse las sombras del último burgués y del último esbirro.

Este es el sueño de los libertarios mexicanos. Esta es la idea que acurrian nuestros hermanos los sostenedores de la Bandera en México cuando frente al enemigo se echan pecho a tierra y disparan sus fusiles al grito de: ¡Tierra y Libertad!

Por este camino, venceremos los mexicanos. No queremos esperar siglos y siglos para obtener la libertad económica. La queremos enseñar. Nuestros hijos tienen hambre y no podemos esperar a que la humanidad sea un arcángel de sabios para que cada quien tenga asegurado el pan.

Yo soy un ferviente partidario de la acción directa. Soy trabajador. He gastado en el taller, en la fábrica, en el ferrocarril, en la mina, en todas partes donde se explota el trabajo de los pobres, los mejores años de mi vida. Sé, por lo tanto, cuál es el interés de mi clase. He tomado parte en muchas luchas industriales y después de amargas decepciones, he llegado a convencerme de que es inútil ir arrancando pequeñas ventajas a nuestros verdugos, porque ellos se dan siempre maña para hacer que esas ventajas queden burladas. ¡Nada de reformas! ¡Atrás los pacifistas! ¡Contra el mausser de la tiranía, el rifle y la idea del libertario mexicano!

Recordemos con cariño a Ferrer; pero que su martirio, compañeros, nos sirva de lección saludable para no esperar todo el tiempo, sino de la acción. Enmedio de la Revolución se puede hacer obra de educación.

Esta es mi opinión sincera. No creo que gobierno alguno de la tierra permita alguna vez que la Escuela Moderna se robustezca hasta más allá de un límite estrechísimo. La acción, la acción tenaz, vigorosamente sostenida y honestamente aplicada, llevará a la humanidad hacia la emancipación económica, política, social y moral.

RAFAEL ROMERO PALACIOS.

NO ME EXTRANA

El aeroplano se eleva y surca los espacios, el automóvil devora las distancias por valles y praderas; aquel triunfa en los aires, este en la tierra, y son admirados los hombres que idearon y construyeron tales máquinas yendo contra la tradición y el espíritu conservador de las masas.

Admiro esas máquinas, pero más admiro y requiero con respeto a los hombres que las concibieron y supieron llevar adelante su concepción hasta convertirla en realidad, sin perder su entera ni sufrir en sus convicciones a pesar de la oposición de los "sensatos" y los insultos de las masas estúpidas que les llamaban

IL Covegno di Brooklyn, N. Y.

Domenica 22 ottobre u. s. s'è avuta la seconda puntata del Covegno per discutere sulla rivoluzione messicana. Alle ore 7,30 la gran sala del Club "Avanti" è affollatissima; i compagni son venuti numerosi a portare il proprio parere sulla importante questione. Vi sono le rappresentanze del Circolo "Era Nuova" e "Pensiero ed Azione" di Nuova York, della "Francisco Ferrer Association," della "Solidaridad Obrera," della "Mexican Revolution Conference." V'è inoltre la famiglia del giornaleto locale LA LUCE, la famiglia di CULTURA PROLETARIA di N. Y. Molti aderiscono al Covegno individualmente.

Apertasi la discussione, Ganci dice che secondo lui la rivoluzione nel Messico esiste; che queste due settimane di sospensiva non hanno fatto che rafforzare la sua opinione. Cancelliere d'accordo, e per dimostrare l'esistenza della rivoluzione cita la recente sconfitta di Zapata e compagni letta sui giornali borghesi. (1) Ha parole acerbe per Galleani perché dice: mentre tutti parlano della rivoluzione, mentre moltissimi l'appoggiano, egli, Galleani, la contrasta col suo ostinato silenzio. Propone un voto di sfiducia per Galleani. Maggio e Barcellona approvano. Il primo giudica la CRONACA SOVVERSIVA indegna dell'appoggio del compagni, "di quella CRONACA che mentre inneggia all'insurrezione d'Albania e Portogallo" fa silenzio di tomba su una rivoluzione economica; "il secondo accusa Galleani di malafede perché dice—non pubblica una lettera di Perchè che non gli fa comodo mentre ha pubblicato le altre in suo favore. Molti presenti affermano che Galleani ostacola la rivoluzione per certi rancori personali contro Caminita ed altri. Li Causi e Stabile osservano che questo pensiero è assurdo e mostruoso perché non è da potersi ammettere giamaica che Galleani scenda a simili bassezze. (2).

Ganci, Messina e Casale credono cosa seria non discutere le persone e di tenersi all'ordine del giorno.

Prende la parola il compagno Vidal, il quale rievoca a non molto remota epoca in cui, nel Messico, bastava che si professasse un'idea un poco avanzata per essere fucilato dai birri di Díaz. Accenna all'opera di propaganda fatta dal Partito Liberale Messicano con programma eminentemente comunista, legge una lettera che Riccardo Flores Magon gli inviò lo scorso gennaio, nella quale, comunicandogli le speranze che nutriva sulla rivoluzione l'esortava ad appoggiarla, fa risaltare la figura del Magon che paragona—in sacrifici— a Kropotkin e Caffero, perché, come questi, provenienti dalla borghesia, i Magon han perduto tutto per venire a noi. Chiude il suo dire raccomandando ai compagni di non perder tempo in biasimar Tizio o Caio, ma di aiutare quanto più è possibile i compagni messicani che lottano per la terra e la libertà.

Parlano poi i compagni messicani Bamlira, Moro e Rodriguez in spagnolo in favore sempre della rivoluzione messicana. Segue in lingua inglese un rappresentante della Francisco Ferrer Association il nome del quale non ricordo in questo momento. Egli inneggia alla rivoluzione messicana che afferma essere rivoluzione prettamente economica; chiama Galleani il Deba italiano e conclude col raccomandare ai compagni tutti di aiutare i rivoluzionari messicani. Parla poi il compagno Woolman che con una pianta geografica messicana sintetizza la storia della rivoluzione mostrandone i diversi punti dove si è svolta e continua a svolgersi, dichiarandosi d'accordo nel credere che nel Messico la rivoluzione in corso è economica.

Moltri altri compagni vorrebbero parlarne di tontos soñadores.

Al contemplar esas grandes conquistas de la ciencia y recordar que quienes hicieron objeto de insultos a sus inventores fueron los "sensatos" conservadores y las turbas ignorantes que se oponen a todo progreso, no me extraña, compañeras y compañeros trabajadores, que los que combatimos contra el presente orden de cosas de la sociedad burguesa y contra el llamado gobierno, deseando obtener un

lare, sempre in favore della rivoluzione, ma sono le ore 11, si è detto abbastanza sull'argomento e tutti i presenti siamo convinti che la rivoluzione nel Messico esiste.

Visto e considerato ciò il Covegno lancia un appello a tutti i sovversivi d'America affinché vogliano aiutare con ogni mezzo la rivoluzione messicana. Il Covegno invita la CRONACA SOVVERSIVA di fare altrettanto.

Si costituisce un Comitato permanente composto dei compagni Di Maria, Mortillaro, Messina, Ganci, Luppino, Maggio, Marrone e Amodeo. Questo Comitato avrà cura di raccogliere danaro ed organizzare comizi pro rivoluzione messicana. E tanto per incominciare fra i presenti si raccolgono \$9.00 che si sono spediti a REGENERACION.

Prima di chiudere la seduta, dietro proposta di Di Maria il Covegno protesta altamente contro la guerra italo-turca: Noi siamo lieti d'aver potuto dare il nostro contributo ai fratelli messicani, e sapendo che molti compagni aspettano l'esito del Covegno per decidersi, diciamo a costoro: Aiutate come potete la Rivoluzione Messicana; essa è degna dell'aiuto di chi è veramente libertario.

Per il Club "Avanti" di Brooklyn, N. Y. C. A.

N. B. La presente relazione è stata inviata a REGENERACION, a L'ERA NUOVA, al PROLETARIO, alla CRONACA SOVVERSIVA.

(1). I giornali borghesi hanno spesso annunziato la sconfitta di Zapata e compagni ma il fatto è che Zapata è più forte che mai, ha messo a disposizione dei peoni tutte le haciendas che ha incontrato lungo la sua marcia trionfale e combatte già alle porte della capitale messicana sbaragliando le truppe federali tanto da costringere Madero a chiedere un colloquio a Taft per discutere molto probabilmente la necessità di un intervento da parte del governo degli Stati Uniti in Messico. —N. di REG.

(2). Di fatto sembra mostruoso il pensare che Luigi Galleani si schieri contro la rivoluzione economica nel Messico per odio contro Caminita e qualche altro. Ma il fatto è che fino al giorno in cui Galleani non sapeva che Caminita e Cravello facevano parte del Comitato Rivoluzionario affiliato alla Giunta del P. L. M. egli sostenne sulla CRONACA che il P. L. M. lottava per realizzare nel Messico la rivoluzione economica. Appena seppe da Perrone che a rappresentare l'elemento italiano nel Comitato rivoluzionario eran Caminita e Cravello, cambio bandiera. Fino ad oggi Galleani si è rifiutato di dare spiegazione di questo cambiamento, ma a noi pare che il brano di una sua lettera da noi pubblicato nel num. 60 del nostro Supplemento italiano sia molto chiaro nel dire che la CRONACA la fa per necessità e per puntiglio anche un po'. Non si può spiegare diversamente la condotta del Galleani. A meno che non si voglia ricorrere all'ipotesi peggiore che egli si sia venduto a Madero, ipotesi che deve ripugnare di più ai compagni.

Ad ogni modo, occupiamoci della rivoluzione e non ci curiamo d'altro. —N. di REGEN.

LE QUESTIONI PERSONALI. In quanto alle questioni personali, io non vorrei che in omaggio alla concordia si faccia del nostro movimento il rifugio di tutti i farabutti disposti a coprirsi con la bandiera di un partito. Se ci sono questioni personali serie bisogna, in un modo o in un altro, risolverle, ma bisogna che si tratti di vere indegnità, e non già di pettegolezzi, di antipatie e di meschini rancori personali.

ERRICO MALATESTA.

cambio radical que beneficie a toda la humanidad, seamos considerados hoy como locos y tontos soñadores por los "sensatos" convenienceros y conservadores y por la masa estúpida y retrógrada que se postea humilde ante frailes hipócritas y tiranos ruines, y que se deleita en su esclavitud y en el fango de su servilismo.

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Figueras.

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Brutally Madero Shows His Hand

It is shameful, unspeakably shameful. This betrayal of the Mexican proletariat is, without exception, the most brutal I have read; no chapter in the history of Jesuitry is blacker or more heartless. My indignation knows no bounds, and justly; since language cannot express the treason to which Madero, aided by his sham revolutionary allies, himself is pleading guilty. His own confession needs only to be put in evidence, for, thick as is his head and blind as are its eyes, the international labor movement is sound at heart. It will not countenance knowingly a nation's sale; it will not stand indifferent while the lives and liberties of millions of its fellow-workers are put up to auction like shares on Wall Street. I give here facts of record, indisputable and damning.

Madero has seen fit to promulgate what is described as "a message to the people of the sister republic of the United States." It has been published broadcast by the daily press, under date of Nov. 5. Therein he bids for an influx of American capital and promises that it "will always find a friend in me and my government." He has the audacity—and utter lack of humor—to declare that, under his regime, "the republic will be as well ordered and tranquil as it ever was under the administration of Porfirio Diaz" (!); and, being forced to express himself on the land question, he announces a program that must make the corridors of Hell ring and re-ring with laughter. To that extraordinary pronouncement I direct special attention, reproducing word for word the question asked him and his answer. Read them, you alleged revolutionists, who think the Mexican question does not concern you! Read them, you Single Taxers, who hold that land monopoly is the cause of all misery and crime! Read them, you blind but honest Socialists, whose mis-leaders are aiding this Judas to the very limit of their power. Read the question and his answer. Re-read them and think them over. I give them in the following paragraph:

Q. "President Diaz outlined a plan whereby the government was to purchase large haciendas and sell to farmers on the installment plan, covering a period of eleven years. Will your administration carry out such a plan?"

A. "I should very much prefer that a private corporation or private bankers should carry that through. Such a syndicate or company would receive encouragement and aid from the government."

What do you think of it? Do you understand that Mexico, the land without which the Mexican people cannot live, has been sold to financiers as if it were a sack of potatoes? Do you realize that the very magnates against whom it is your pleasure to howl have swooped down on Mexico and annexed it as a private park, expatriating thereby millions of Mexicans who flood the labor markets of the Pacific Coast and live under conditions that might move Nero himself to tears? Do you realize that Los Angeles swarms with a robber Mexican aristocracy which is now offering on the market lands valued at hundreds of millions? Do you realize that American corporations and American bankers, armed with that most crushing of all weapons, the purse, have looked on fertile Mexico as the wolf looks on the lamb and have devoted fortunes wrung from the American workman to the expropriation of the Mexicans? Do you realize that Madero, the landed magnate, who measures his own holdings by the hundreds of miles, will push that expropriation further still,

being himself part of the great swindling game, hand in glove with the real estate cornerers, the willing agent of the money vampires, the eager lackey of his fellow-countrymen?

This master of Jesuitical hypocrisy closes his statement thus: "Let people use industry, save their money and they will have plenty of opportunities to acquire small farms and become prosperous. Industry, economy and respect for law will make of Mexico, under democratic rule, an ideal country for every class." Could cant—the modern economic cant that has taken the place of the older Phalaris—express itself in more sickening terms? The "grand seigneur," who never has had to soil his hands with work, counsels the slave to industry, the millionaire tells those who live eternally on the starvation line to practice frugality, the captain of the land pirates instructs his victims as to the terms on which they may repurchase portions of the plunder stolen from them, privilege's megaphone prates of democracy!

Meanwhile what are the alleged revolutionists in the United States about? No longer can they plead ignorance; no longer can they accuse us of taking snap judgment of Madero. Events have moved most rapidly, cards carefully concealed in the earlier stages of the game have been forced on the table, we know, both by his own acts and words, for what Madero stands. We know that, following in the steps of Diaz, he has surrounded himself with all the armed forces he could muster, seeking to build up a government of the type privilege must have for the perpetuation of its reign. We know that thus he was able to force through his own election. We know—step by step the story has been traced in these columns—that Limantour is the power behind his throne and Wall Street his proprietor. We know that, thanks to the fighting powers of the outraged Mexican proletariat, the land question has been forced to the front as it never was before; and now we have out of his own mouth what he is prepared to do in satisfaction of his people's hunger for the restoration of their heritage. Are not his proposals and his advice insults of unspeakable brutality?

Nevertheless, there are alleged revolutionists and allegedly revolutionary journals that court alliance with Madero! I pick up the "Appeal to Reason" of November 4 and find an article which informs me, among other things, that "the Socialists have established a labor paper at the City of Mexico and both the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers have gone into the republic to organize the miners. Mother Jones is now there for that purpose, as is also Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners. Madero has promised his protection. It is too early to make predictions as to the result."

Too early, forsooth, to predict the outcome of alliance with the man who has sold his country to the money power; too early to foretell what will come of lending themselves to the service of the man who joined the Mexican Liberal party, subscribed to "Regeneracion" and posed for years as an economic revolutionist; that he might use its following, while the real workers and leaders of the movement lay in jail, to foist himself into the presidential chair! To isolate the clear-sighted revolutionists—clear-sighted by their very honesty of purpose—has been, from the first, the main strategy of this intriguing politician; and, to the shame of the American labor movement, he has been able largely to gain his end by the scattering a few cheap crumbs of flattery, by the promising a pitiable editorship here and a berth as organizer there, and by using party and organization fanaticism for his own unscrupulous ambitions. This is the game Madero has been playing, but it is a game the Mexicans, bent on regaining their economic liberties, will bring to naught.

Cannot the revolutionary world understand? Can it not see that, above all things, Madero is playing for time—time to mass forces and put down agrarian revolt; time to form a strong, central government of the Diaz type? Can it not comprehend that what Diaz failed to accomplish forcibly this politician, of the most modern brand, is doing under a hypocritical cloak of pretended semi-radicalism? Is it not self-evident that, in the words with which I headed my article on this very subject only two weeks ago, "support of Madero is absolutely decisive," that he has fooled and is fooling the Socialists and Single Taxers, using a few worn-out phrases to beguile them into friendship? Do they dream for one moment that this Wall Street tiger is going to lie down with the lamb and not take him for his meat? What are they thinking of

that they countenance, by stolid silence, this palpable betrayal of some fourteen million proletarians?

The "Appeal to Reason's" article opens with the reflection that "the history of the Mexican revolution is too well known to need discussion here." The entire trouble is that the TRUE history of the Mexican Revolution is NOT known. But we shall make it known; and, as for Madero's assurances that there will be peace within three months from the date of his inauguration, he promised that within less than thirty days from Juarez's fall. There will be no peace until economic slavery has been overthrown, for there are today thousands of Mexicans who echo Magon's statement that it is better for the race to perish than to continue in its present thralldom to the money power.

WM. C. OWEN.

HELP THIS PROPAGANDA.
Comrades!
The International revolutionary group in Los Angeles has published 10,000 copies of Voltaire de Cleyre's leaflet, "The Mexican Revolt," with the intention of giving the widest possible publicity to the fact that the Mexican revolution did not culminate with the mere change of rulers, but is proceeding on its onward march to liberate the worker.

To attain this end we want your assistance. Since we are boycotted by the political Socialist press, we resort to these means of publicity. Our particular aim is to keep the working class of this country informed on the real state of affairs in the Latin republic, and for that purpose we shall try to distribute the "Mexican Revolt" in every local of organized labor.

Are you willing to co-operate with us? If so, tell us how many leaflets you can distribute in your local, inclose some money to help us pay the printer's bill and postage, and we will send you the amount asked for. If you have no money, ask for the leaflets just the same, as we shall be only too glad to hear from fellow-workers who, at least, are trying to assist us somehow in our work. Remember that when the first lot is distributed another one will be coming. Get in line.

Send communications to
JOS. KUCERA,
914 Boston St.,
Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A.
I. W. W. and other radical papers please copy or comment.

For Fair Play

Industrial Union, No. 179, I. W. W. of New York City, at its last regular meeting passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, the proletarian leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party, Generals C. Rhys Pryce and Jack Mosby, having been acquitted of the untenable charges of murder, arson and robbery, are again arraigned before the plutocratic courts for alleged violation of the neutrality laws;

And whereas the reactionist Madero and his followers have admittedly, and with the aid and sanction of the U. S. Government, violated those same laws again and again; be it therefore Resolved, that Local 179 of the Industrial Workers of the World protest against this flagrant discrimination against the working class and extends sympathy and support to those brave and determined fighters in the cause of freedom.

(Signed) JANE A. ROULSTON, Secretary.
That is good and sets an example we should like to see other labor organizations follow. If the men who are fighting, against terrific odds, for land and industrial liberty are not labor's true champions we should like to know who are.

NEW YORK PROPAGANDA

Our good friends in New York City keep up a steady activity. We have before us the reports of two meetings, one at the Terrace Lyceum, under the auspices of "Liberty Group," and the other in Brooklyn, under those of the "Avanti Club." At the former, Bernard Sernaker, August Lott and M. H. Woolman, secretary of the Mexican Revolutionary Conference of New York, were the speakers, and at the latter Jaime Vidal, Alejandro Rodriguez, S. Boris and Woolman. On both occasions Woolman illustrated his speech with a map, being able thereby to demonstrate to doubters the extent of the struggle for Land and Liberty now agitating the entire Mexican Republic.

That is the kind of work that tells, for facts are the true parents of that enthusiasm without which nothing can be accomplished. If the American workers only knew, we should have thousands of ardent co-operators today who have but one.

Madero's Government Faced by Foes at all Points

Demand for Radical Agrarian Reform Grows in Strength

Heavy Fighting in Oaxaca and Zapatistas Exceptionally Active

We are at war with Madero and the government of which he is now the head. We say it is a government for the land monopolist and the speculator—especially the foreign, absentee speculator—precisely as was that of Diaz. We say that nothing has been changed; that the substitution of the Madero flag for that of Diaz is of no importance to the workers. For the life of us we cannot see how alleged economic revolutionists, and the Socialists in particular, can view the matter otherwise. If armed revolution against Diaz was justifiable, far more so must it be against his treacherous successor who induced Mexicans to shed their blood by making promises of radical economic changes and repudiated them.

Others have made their peace with Madero, and thereby are abetting our deadly foe. Mother Jones, of whom we probably shall have more to say next week, is aiding the arch-enemy. According to the "Appeal to Reason," Moyer and other members of the Western Federation of Miners, which was at one time a radical organization, are aiding him. The so-called Socialists in Mexico—Juan Sarabia, Villareal, who has been campaigning for the deposed Pino Suarez, and others—are aiding him, and the Socialist press in the United States apparently applauds their treason. For example, the "Chicago Daily Socialist" announces in its issue of November 2 that a Socialist paper, called "Lucha de Clases," has been started in Mexico, and that "among its principal collaborators are Juan Sarabia, Juan Humboldt, J. M. Gonzales and Antonio Villareal." Of the last named and of Sarabia we have had much to say. Humboldt was one of the editors of "El Radical," which, by the way, was born only last July and also called itself a "Socialist Workingman's Paper." From which it appears that "La Lucha de Clases" is only the second and not, as claimed, the first attempt.

We reviewed "El Radical," under date of July 15, and showed conclusively that it was nothing but a lick-spittle worshipper of Madero. Will the newly announced organ be different? We judge not from its salutatory, quoted with apparent approval by the "Chicago Daily Socialist," which runs: "The struggle by force of arms is now terminated. We must now begin the struggle of the proletariat," etc.—by peaceful means of course. If Madero should foot every cent of the new Socialist paper's bill he could get no better service; could purchase nothing more helpful to his policies. Have you noticed the enormous sums he confesses having paid out to newspapers and lawyers?

LAND THEIR PASSION.
Madero is not going to have it easy, nor is Mexico; for great changes always mean a painful birth. Mexico is now in greater turmoil than ever, and Madero is facing the fight of his life. The petty operations that preceded the fall of Juarez are not a circumstance to what is now going on. In another column we give an article by Voltaire de Cleyre which shows most lucidly how passionate is the people's longing for the restoration of their land, that they may free themselves for ever from the wage slavery which is intolerable to them, above all peoples. That is what Madero is up against, and with

every hour the passion and the determination to satisfy it at any cost grows more intense. It is taking the shape of universal guerrilla warfare, with which the Federal troops are utterly powerless to cope. Diaz faced no such situation and Diaz was far more powerful than is Madero.

Here, for example, is a clipping taken from "El Correo de la Tarde": "The twelve hacienda owners who are the masters of all the State of Morelos have placed a price on Zapata's head, promising \$1,000,000 for his delivery, alive or dead." The amount of the reward offered testifies to Zapata's importance, but what one wishes specially to comment on is the TWELVE landowners who have divided up Morelos among them. There is the seat of the entire trouble, and a government that will not go to the roots and utterly revolutionize such conditions will always have insurrection, latent or open, on its hands.

We take another item, from "El Imparcial," October 31, dated Cuautla, State of Puebla, which runs as follows: "At different points throughout this State new bands of Zapatistas have made their appearance, committing depredations, as is their custom. The difficulty of pursuing is lack of mounts, for it is well known that the Zapatistas easily immerse themselves in the mountains, where the infantry have difficulty in following them." The dispatch in question goes on to say that the Zapatistas are usually mounted, and that "they are multiplying and escape in this manner the beating they should have."

Of course it is guerrilla warfare, to which the mountainous character of the country readily lends itself; and it must never be forgotten that in guerrilla warfare much depends on the attitude of the country population, since the combatants are moving all the time and must supply their wants as they travel. In this the rebels have an immense advantage, for the rural districts sympathize with them profusely.

SURELY HE STANDS BY THEM.
The "Appeal to Reason" reproduces a circular which, it says, is being distributed industriously by the Knights of Columbus, with the result that Debs meetings are crowded. The circular consists of extracts from Debs' writings and speeches, with the dates and references attached, and the "Appeal to Reason" adds the comment that "no defense is made merely because such venomous misrepresentation requires no answer." I cannot see where the misrepresentation comes in or why it should be thought that apology is needed.

The passages quoted by the Knights of Columbus—to inspire prejudice among Roman Catholics, of course—speak of Christ as "The Tramp of Galilee," denounce charitable institutions as "whited sepulchres," de-

Will this Struggle be Drowned in Blood?

Passion of Mexicans for Liberty has been Unquenchable

The following is the English copy of an article contributed recently, by the well-known writer Voltaire de Cleyre, to "Volne Listy," the noted Bohemian weekly. Our limited space compels us to postpone to next week the latter half of the article, in which the writer strongly urges all those interested in "Land and Liberty" to subscribe to "Regeneracion" and send all contributions to her, as treasurer of the Mexican Liberal Defense Conference, or to "Volne Listy," 217 E. 66th St., New York City.

Since the publication of my report of the work of the Mexican Liberal Defense Conference I have received a number of requests, on the part of those interested and anxious to do work, for an article of explanation, giving some idea of the scope and present status of the revolution. And indeed, remembering my own ignorance of the subject no longer ago than last May, and the fact that our daily and weekly press, including the Socialist and other reform journals, is almost absolutely silent on the matter, and that the chief source of information is a paper but little known, even to our own comrades—I mean "Regeneracion," the organ of the Mexican Liberal party—I believe it is quite important that an explanatory article be written for the information of the readers of "Volne Listy."

It is important that all anarchists, and sympathizers with anarchistic tendencies and developments among the people, should know that the Mexican Revolution neither began nor ended with the spectacular military movements which culminated in the overthrow of Diaz and the substitution of the present government in Mexico. Those movements were but brief, though important, incidents in the whole mighty effort of a people to overthrow an economic system foisted upon them partly by politicians of their own people, but largely by capitalists of this and other countries, whereby they, the genuine children of Mexican soil, have been reduced to a most hateful slavery.

The details of that slavery I do not intend to rehearse; those who wish to inform themselves as to its almost unbelievable horrors should read Turner's "Barbarous Mexico."

MEXICO AND ITS PEOPLE.

Mexico consists of twenty-nine States and Territories and a Federal district similar to the District of Columbia. The smaller, but more thickly populated States are those to the southward, in the vicinity of the Federal district. The entire population of Mexico is some fifteen millions, out of which four million are of unmixed Indian blood, descendants of its pre-European-invasion occupants. Of the remaining eleven million, the greater portion are of mixed breed, a relatively small number being of pure Spanish descent.

The mass of the population is agricultural by instinct, habit and the general conditions of economic development in the country.

The various tribes of Indians have from time immemorial had communal land-holding arrangements which are very interesting, both for the insight they afford into the character of the people and for the comparisons they afford between theoretic and practical free communism.

These Indians have within the last half century seen these communal lands of theirs granted away, thousands of acres at a time, to native or alien landlords, and themselves driven to a hateful toil merely to create profit for the landlords. They have rebelled, and, as the reward of their rebellion, have been shot, tortured or sent away to pestiferous districts where they were bound to die within a few months. Thus the landlords get rid of their "undesirable" tenants.

The half-breed population is also communist, having harked back to their Indian forbears in this respect. And both Indian and half-breed have an utter hatred of work for work's sake. They wish to work in order to live, but they have no wish to work to make others rich.

A REBEL AGAINST SLAVERY.
The Indian's "laziness" is proverbial among white men; but, far from being what the white man thinks it is, it is rather the intense protest of a free soul against a useless and degrading waste of life. He wishes to feel himself a child of the sun and

sky, a being through whom moves the breath of life, a thing of the soil and the air, and not a tool for the aimless production of heaps of goods at some one else's orders.

The half-breeds, on the white side again, are the descendants of Latins; and, while the Latin peoples work, they have never hungered and thirsted after purely commercial gain as have northern nations; they have always preserved a devotion to the beautiful (even the useless beautiful) and the more joys of life—song, dance, and festival—unknown to the Anglo-Saxon.

Add to all this the overrating estimate of much of Mexico, and you have an understanding of what our grab-and-get system of life stigmatizes as "Mexican laziness."

These people want the land; they do not want to live in cities; they want to use the land in their own way, according to their inherited communal customs.

Time and time again they have rebelled, and their rebellions have been mercilessly put down, but this instinctive hunger for the free field of life is so essentially a part of their being that the only way to kill it is to kill the entire agrarian population. At the present time it has risen up more invincible than ever; and although the people are ignorant—less than 20 per cent being able to read and write—they need no book learning to convince them that the land is theirs by right.

(To be Continued.)

Held in Bondage

In my editorial of October 28 I said that Los Angeles was dominated by real estate interests and that such interests decided our elections. I said that the history of Los Angeles had been one of land seizure by the few who thereupon parcelled out their holdings among many, making preposterous profits by the transaction and holding the purchasers in absolute bondage by selling on installments. By that very fact they have been able to keep a large percentage of our population cravenly submissive, for there is no human being more afraid of quarrelling with his master than is your map of family who has invested his savings in a house and lot half paid for. That is the man continually struck by the land monopolists and their agents, the banks and loaning institutions, who play remorselessly on the debtor's fears; and hitherto have played with uniform success. It was inevitable that this would be their leading card in the present campaign and none can read the daily papers of study the constitution of the "Good Government" committees without recognizing it. I give a sample from the "Los Angeles Times" editorial of November 6:

"Voting for Socialist Harriman and his Socialist fellow-candidates means voting for calamity to the home. Painfully, by close economy and savings, (in many cases,) the lots have been acquired and paid for and then the home built on borrowed money, relying on steady work and good wages to keep the interest, taxes, insurance, repairs and installments (monthly, usually) promptly paid, thus preserving the home for wife and children. There are thousands of such cases in the city and suburbs, and many new deals of that sort are being made daily as our population so rapidly increases. Again, there are thousands of small homes which have been bought ready-built (or built to order) by a payment of \$100 or more down and further payments of \$20 or more monthly, depending on the steady earnings of father, brother and other members of the family to meet those payments. Those earnings are now in danger and consequently thousands of our pleasant and comfortable homes are menaced."

If Mr. Harriman, who secured a plurality of nearly 4000 at the primaries, should go down to defeat December 5, he will have to thank the land speculators, for they are the ones who are putting on the screws and are able to do so most effectively. It is not in Mexico alone that they rule the roost.

W. C. O.

Mexico's Message

Salesmen, you will lose your job! Clerk, you will lose your job! Workman, you will lose your job! Debtor, the banks will close down on you and you will lose your home and business! What do all these fulminations, issued daily from the "Good Government" headquarters, mean except that we are economically slaves, not owners of our own lives, dependent on the few for leave to make a living? Never shall we get back our independence until we put an end to this cornering of opportunities, and this is exactly what the Mexican Revolution means.