

Regeneracion.

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Land and Liberty

Labor's True Aim

If the Socialist party or the Trades Unionists are capable of learning there will be a revolution in their policies as the result of the forthcoming Los Angeles election, which ever way the election may go. If they are able to recognize a fact when it hits them in the face and pounds them from head to foot they will become alive to the importance of the land question, and we shall no longer hear at workers' meetings the drivel that they are industrialists and, therefore, have no concern with the problem of land monopoly. Then, perhaps, we shall receive a tardy recognition of the truth that the Mexican workers, by insisting on the abolition of land speculation as fundamental, have shown themselves infinitely the superior of the white slaves whose mentality has been paralyzed by factory grind.

Hating the Puritanic Alexander regime with the bitter hatred of a Cavalier attached to the good things of life, the Los Angeles Times has found itself impelled to work, as an upholder of plutocracy, for what it regards as the most detestable of partners. Having thrown itself into the breach it is rendering service with the intelligence that has made it the really formidable enemy it is, and its method of attack is one no social student can afford to blink. As might have been foretold by anyone who knows its owner's character the attack has been the very essence of directness, a headlong charge on the center, an uncompromising blurring out of wholesome but unpleasant truths. Briefly, it has told the masses of Los Angeles voters that they are wage slaves, dependent on their masters for the privilege of keeping a roof above their heads. I quote from its exhaustive editorial of November 19, in which it concludes an elaborate exhibit of industrial conditions with the following words: "The issue is clear and vital. The workers' pay envelope, on which the support and comfort of his family, his home and himself rests, is in danger from Socialist spoliation."

That passage is preceded by statistical tables which profess to give a resume of Los Angeles' industrial life; and I see no reason for supposing that the conclusions are not substantially correct. In the final summing up it is estimated that "In Los Angeles nearly \$2,000,000 a week are paid out in wages," which, putting our population at 350,000, gives an average of \$5.71. It is a fact that we are an intensely industrious population; for our factories and department stores swarm with children, and almost as soon as they can toddle boys are put on the streets to swell the family tribute to the real estate speculator by selling newspapers, flowers, popcorn and what not. Many a home has been built out of the contributions of the children, and that is tantamount to saying that many a West Side mansion, built out of the profits of land speculation, has been paid for by them. We have been, and we are, a most industrious people, anxious, above everything, to get a home in a climate most agreeable to us. That anxiety has been the speculator's opportunity, and he has worked it to the very limit—shamelessly, remorselessly, without one human consideration outside of the filling of his moneybags. Yet they teach our children patriotism, and start morning school to the waving of the Stars and Stripes. Patriotism! To our leading citizens the credit side of their bankbooks beats patriotism all hollow.

Now observe how the Times plays instantly the strongest card and touches to the very quick this primal nesting instinct—inasmuch as a nest the human bird must have, however high may be the price of the materials. Moreover, when the nest is half finished the parent birds are crazy to complete the job, and nothing will throw them into greater flutter than the fear that the building may be stopped. It is a primal instinct, satisfied with heartrending difficulties under the land monopoly conditions on which our artificial civilization rests. On this primal in-

stinct—this fear of the parents as to the safety of their nest—the Times plays mercilessly. In the very issue from which I have quoted more than a page is devoted to an article headed, "Small home-owners organize to work for success of the Alexander ticket." It consists of a series of interviews with workmen, every one of whom is made to say that he is fighting for his weekly pay envelope, because on that depends the completion of the family nest.

About the leaves and fishes of Los Angeles politics I care nothing, but in Los Angeles politics as illustrative of a world situation I am profoundly interested. For, in the land speculation which has been, far beyond all else, Los Angeles' main industry, is to be read the true story of the recent upheaval in England; the inside history of the bread riots that have shaken Europe within the last few months, and, above all, the bottom cause of the struggle that is rocking Mexico. Everywhere the trouble is that speculation in human flesh and blood against which the North-American movement for the abolition of chattel slavery was a partial and comparatively ineffective protest. It is still the cornerstone of our industrial life, the slave-making philosophy still dominates our thought, and Wall Street is its mouthpiece. In fighting for economic freedom we are fighting for the world's proletariat against Wall Street and Wall Street methods.

Last week we gave verbatim more than a column of dispatches culled from a single issue of the Los Angeles Times, and daily that paper is filling its valuable space with harrowing accounts of bloodshed in Mexico. From motives of humanity? Such an idea is preposterous, for the Times revels in a bloody fight. It is as the organ of plutocracy that the Times is playing up the Mexican troubles, because Wall Street is moving for intervention. It has lost confidence in Madero; it no longer regards him as capable of pulling its chestnuts out of the fire; it needs a Napoleon, which Madero is not.

The foregoing was written Sunday last, and Monday's dispatches informed us, at portentous length, that the United States is consulting the European powers as to the establishment of a military protectorate in Mexico, for the safe-guarding of "foreign interests." As we have pointed out repeatedly, it will be a most hazardous adventure, for it will unite all factions and arouse the Spanish-speaking populations from the United States frontier to farthest South America. Fighting in their own country, habituated to the tropical climate, so deadly to the northern races, and employing those guerrilla tactics to which the topography lends itself most admirably, the Mexican will be a more formidable enemy than was the Boer who put the British empire to its trumps to bring him to his knees. A large army will be needed. It can be procured only by conscription. There will be a world of trouble, but it appears that in our present crude development thought can be awakened only by world-shaking events. When intervention comes the land question will be discussed as it never was discussed before.

WM. C. OWEN.

MADERO'S TURN COMING.

There are early indications that Mexico, in ousting Diaz and establishing Madero as president, has simply changed dictators. "Diazpotism" has been replaced by Maderotism. Since his inauguration Madero has cast aside all subterfuge and has taken steps to show that he is the real dictator of Mexico for the present and that he will brook no possibility of rivalry. Already he has decided upon the elimination of the office of vice-president. This action is taken as evidence that Madero is determined to make himself "the entire government" of Mexico.

Madero's move may serve to test the revolutionary feeling in Mexico. It will show whether or not the revolution was a demonstration against Diaz personally, or a real demand for an untrammelled republic. Madero's plan, as far as he has outlined it, is simply to fill the shoes of Diaz and to walk in his footsteps as closely as possible. But the administrative trail of Mexican government is a rocky one, and the shoes of Diaz are too big for any one but the rightful owner.

If the Mexican revolution that overthrew Diaz was really a struggle for popular government, there is every probability that the country on the other side of the Rio Grande will be plunged into another and a bloodier revolt before long. Maderotism will not hold out as long as "Diazpotism." The former is weaker and the people of Mexico have advanced since the rise of the latter. "The Evening Post," San Francisco.

United States Intervention Again Threatened

Troops Hurried under Rush Orders to International Border

Madero Declares He will Crush Revolt with Iron Hand

Cartoons representing Mexico and Uncle Sam making faces at each other; editorials on the arrest of General Reyes; dispatches telling of risings here and strikes there—the daily papers have become suddenly so full of Mexico that one is bewildered by the mass of material from which to choose. Once more, and somewhat more quickly than expected, the all-absorbing question of American INTERVENTION comes to the front and, despite the rival attractions of the Chinese revolution, our own political whirlpool and the McNamara trial, Mexico again holds the center of the stage. Throughout the week the press has given her its place of honor—the front-page seventh column.

The heart of the matter is reached in the following from the "Los Angeles Evening Herald" of Nov. 21: "At the department of state in Washington it is rumored that if these incursions into Mexico continue, and if there exists at various points along the border a continual state of conflict between the Mexican federal authorities and revolutionary forces, it may be deemed necessary for the United States to intervene and establish a military protectorate over northern Mexico until a stable government can be maintained. The conviction grows that Madero is unable to cope with the situation; that while he was able successfully to assault and overthrow the government of President Diaz he will be unable to defend his own administration from similar upset. In which case Secretary Knox seems to have it in mind to send the American flag down to protect the American dollar."

Madero Their Pet.

Other leading organs do not hesitate to state editorially that the United States government winked at Madero's violations of the neutrality laws when he himself was in rebellion, since it believed he would establish stable rule, a task for which Diaz had proved himself, in the opinion of foreign investors, incompetent. It is admitted frankly that Madero had the sympathy of the authorities in Washington, but it is pointed out most carefully that the revolt against the new dictator is one no good citizen can possibly endorse, since it threatens capital and places American investments in jeopardy. Under the heading: "Uncle Sam to be sharp with Mexico this time," the "Los Angeles Times" voices this sentiment in a long telegram from Washington which begins: "Another revolution in Mexico will meet with more serious attention from the United States government than did the recent one overthrowing Diaz and resulting finally in the election of Madero to the presidency. Now that it is over, there is no impropriety in stating that this government had a certain sympathy with the cause that prevailed in the uprising against Diaz." We always said so. Madero, who has hoodwinked so many Socialists and radicals, had from the first the hearty good will and assistance of the money power and its official hirelings.

Meanwhile Madero is following, and of necessity, the footsteps of Diaz. The headlines that apprise the public of another marshalling of United States troops along the border, add that Madero himself has started 25,000 soldiers to the frontier and that he is bent on rule at any cost. Much prominence has been given to a statement he issued Monday last, in which he declared: "The iron hand will be used against all who attempt to disturb the peace of Mexico. General Lis has been sent to Oaxaca with orders to suppress the revolt there without instructions from the capital, and he is not to stand on ceremony or red tape. Other generals will get the same orders."

The "Los Angeles Examiner," commenting on the statement, says that Madero's secret agents have informed him that all along the Texas border the Revistas have joined hands with the Maderistas, and that they are from 250 to 350 strong in every town. It calls special attention to

the fact that Madero is now facing revolt in the States of Morelos, Oaxaca and Guerrero; but that is, as our readers know, a most inadequate description of the actual situation.

Madero-Reyes-Taft.

A somewhat significant statement, which has appeared in numerous papers, is to the effect that Americans resident in Mexico are saying: "One month of Madero, one of Reyes, and then Taft." Doubtless the wish is father to the thought, but wise Americans located across the border must view with deep apprehension the racial retributions that are sure to follow intervention. That anti-Gringo sentiment, already very powerful among the much-exploited masses, will be fanned to fever heat is unquestionable, and the dispatches add that already Americans are fleeing to the border from many points.

The Mexican Chamber of Deputies has passed a bill appropriating \$14,000,000 for the formation of new regiments of rurales, of which there will be sixty. One notes also that the Mexican warship Guerrero sailed from Ensenada, Lower California, under sealed orders, last Friday, carrying 600 officers and men. The report added that this reduced the garrison at Ensenada to one thousand. It was news to us that there were so many at so insignificant a point. Beyond all doubt Madero, who now denounces all insurgents as "bandits," is doing his utmost to convert Mexico into one armed camp.

If evidence of the subservience of the American press to plutocracy be needed, wade through its columns of Mexican matter, as the present writer has waded through them for the preparation of this article. Not one word, not even a single hint, is given of the economic causes that have led to all this trouble. No reporter dares to mention that the vast majority of Mexican rebels are in arms because they believed that Madero would restore to them their natural heritage—the land. No correspondent ventures the reflection that the Mexicans are tired of being exploited; above all by foreigners. Yet the same columns that recite discoveries of arms at this point, and new insurrections at that, also inform us that the general strike, which has led to a total cessation of industry at Torreón, is spreading to Chihuahua; that it is in support of the demand for a general eight-hour law, is led by the skilled laborers in all the trades, and is being taken up by the unskilled and, more particularly, by the men employed in the big mines of the Santa Eulalia district. It is an economic revolution that Madero is trying to put down by force; but one that has already gone far beyond the temporary relief afforded by strikes, and is making straight for labor's true goal—full and equal access to the means of life.

Labor Must Sweat.

Meanwhile it may be worth noting that the Torreón strikers appealed to Madero to recommend an eight-hour law. His reply was characteristic and ran: "In answer to your telegram I am sorry to say that I cannot accede to your wishes, in which you ask that Congress declare an eight-hour law. I consider that the economic conditions would not permit the carrying through of such a law." Of course not. Somehow the labor that supports human life must get itself done, and if you draft the best portion of your nation into the army the others must necessarily work like niggers.

Perhaps one can give no better bird's-eye view of the disturbed conditions than by reproducing the Associated Press dispatches as they appeared in Monday's papers, at the tail end of columns devoted to Reyes' arrest. They ran thus:

San Luis Potosi, Nov. 19.—A battery of mountain artillery and six machine guns passed through here. It was stated they would be used in the campaign against the insurrectos of Ramos Arizpe.

Toluca, Nov. 19.—Jesus Salgado, revolutionist, is reported to have

marched into the State of Michoacan, where it is expected he will join forces with Antonio Salvador.

Morelia, Nov. 19.—The rebels yesterday took possession of the town of Covaca, just across the state line in Guerrero. The residents of Huamantla, nearby, fear an attack.

Corlazar, Guanajuato, Nov. 19.—Candido Pocal, an ex-revolutionary officer, has started an insurrection at Valle de Santiago. He was on the Hacienda de Belia, recruiting men.

Meridia, Yucatan, Nov. 19.—An uprising is reported at Hunucma. The authorities do not regard it as serious.

Don't Forget Zapata.

For the moment Zapata has dropped out of notice, events along the northern border having focused public attention once again. But do not suppose that he has gone to sleep, or that the rebels in the southern states have thrown aside their arms. In another column we reproduce the first installment of an article contributed recently to "L'Era Nuovo" and dealing specially with Zapata. It is given in the hope that we may make our readers understand more clearly how powerful are the primal impulses that are moving our brother toilers across the border to what is not a mere revolt but a true economic revolution; one that history will class with the epoch-making struggle that overthrew feudalism in France, and will rank far above the Russian Revolution that excited so much sympathy in the United States only ten years ago. The Mexicans are greater fighters than are the peaceful Russians; their vision is clearer; their hatred of economic slavery, in all its phases, incomparably more intense. No Douma will satisfy their aspirations. No foreign invader will succeed in quenching them in blood.

W. C. O.

UPHOLDING MADERO.

Harmonious relations between the United States and the government of Madero in Mexico are promised. On the part of President Madero it is agreed that Mexico will keep out of Guatemala, which has been a cause of repeated trouble in the past, because of suspected designs of the Diaz government to press the territorial claims in that region. Under the former administration of Mexico efforts were constantly made to embroil Guatemala in order to create a pretext for aggression, and our state department was kept busy in the endeavor to preserve the integrity of that country.

The fact is that the so-called Cientificos, who ruled the Mexican roost under Diaz, greatly coveted the rich territory of Guatemala. Now Mexico has quite enough to do in settling her own affairs.

On the other hand, the United States government has agreed to keep watch of rebellious or revolutionary juntas that may be organized in this country with designs to make trouble for Madero's government. This is an undertaking of some difficulty under our laws, and although measures of a similar sort were taken in the interest of Diaz when he was in power, they did not prove conspicuously successful. It was current report in Los Angeles, for example, that policemen in the employ of the city were under pay from the Diaz government to make things unpleasant for the Mexican revolutionaries operating from that city, and it is true that a series of arrests made in this relation appeared to give credit to the reports. —"San Francisco Call."

GOMPERS SCORES POLITICS.

The strike has shown that the British masses have brought within practical knowledge this truth. They have set aside the verdict of economists and publicists that there is no hope for the poorest wage-workers of their country in our time. They have grown tired of the decades of platonic sympathy coming to them from lip philanthropists and uplifters through petty political processes. They have exhibited the workings of the yeast that has been leavening the poorer strata of British society in recent years. They have decided not to await in quiescence the uncertain outcome of experiments through timid parliamentarianism. They have discovered the one profound social secret for themselves. It is, what must occur when the manual laborer stops work.—Samuel Gompers, in "American Federationist."

There is a prevailing opinion that the traveler in Mexico must be on his guard—that the "greaser" is not to be trusted—yet Wallace Gillpatrick, in his delightful narrative, "The Man Who Likes Mexico" (Century Company), has naught but kind words for the Mexicans. He says: "The first thing that impressed me in Mexico and continued to impress me was that the Mexicans took people at their face

Zapata Represents Aspirations of the Masses

Fight for Land is based on Ancient Usage and Primal Instinct

An Italian translation of the article that follows appears in "L'Era Nuovo" this week. The article was written for the express purpose of removing certain misunderstandings that have done much harm among Italian revolutionists, and it is produced here in the hope that it may have a similar effect in other quarters. It may have some added interest from the fact that it deals with Zapata, the rebel leader against whom, according to latest advices, the Mexican government is marshalling all its forces.

Anxious as is the moneyed press to bury out of sight the land confiscation now going on in Mexico, you will see one name cropping up from time to time in such scanty despatches as we get. It is that of Emiliano Zapata. He is only one of many, but of him I wish to speak, because I happen to have passed last evening in the company of a man who knows him well. My informant's name would at once arrest attention, but I conceal it because I wish to keep the secret of his whereabouts.

Mexico City papers paint Zapata as a dangerous man, who has at his back a force that it will take an army to subdue. Above all, they complain loudly that he is encouraging the peasant to steal land. My informant—which is supported by much other testimony—is that Zapata is all his enemies say about him. He is an Indian who has been, under the wheels of extreme poverty and tyranny; he is described as a man who would kill his father or mother without a moment's hesitation if he considered them obstacles to the progress of the revolution. Prior to the outbreak of the revolution he appears to have been nothing more nor less than one of those "bandits" of whom Socialist Congressman Berger, has such horror. Yet we of "Regeneracion" hail him as comrade, for with all the force at his command he is encouraging and aiding his brother Indians, and the peasantry in general, to take back the land.

Morelos is a very small State. I have looked it up in the guide book and find it has a population of a little more than 212,000. But it is centrally situated, cutting right into Mexico State and being near to Mexico City, the official center of the nation. It has been a State of large haciendas, whose proprietors have devoted themselves mainly to enjoying life in the national capital on the proceeds of their peons' toil. At this moment, as I am assured, from one end of Morelos to the other the peon has taken possession of those estates, is living on the present crops and is engaged in sowing fresh ones.

Some ten years ago the population of Southern California, where I live, was about that of Morelos. I ask, what would the American nation have thought if it had discovered that the proletariat population of Los Angeles and other Southern California towns had sent their millionaires to the right about and squatted on those millionaires' estates, rifle in hand. Should we not have said that the long prophesied Social Revolution had arrived and that the world was coming to an end? Yet that is precisely what has happened in Mexico, and in a State having as neighborly connections with the capital as has New Jersey with New York.

The Real Revolution

This is the Mexican revolution; inasmuch as what has taken place in Morelos is taking place throughout the country, as opportunity offers. We must remember that it is not easy to get rid of the master, be he landlord, mineowner or manufacturer; that it is not every one who is willing to risk his life, and that you cannot turn people out unless you yourself have the superior force. In short, revolutions work themselves out piecemeal, different localities catching the impulse from their neighbors and using the psychological moment to make their own break for freedom.

No one can read the news we publish weekly in "Regeneracion" without understanding that the one marked characteristic of the Mexican Revolution is its spontaneity. It is this which makes it so formidable—to the moneyed class—and has caused it to spread throughout the country, leaving no State unaffected.

To be continued

Rebellion Spreads

Expropriation on Every Tongue

In every corner of the republic arises the formidable cry: "Down with Madero." Battalions, brigades, divisions, artillery of all descriptions traverse the country at top speed, bound for districts disaffected toward the existing regime. It is not yet three weeks since Madero inaugurated his government and our beautiful country is again a furnace. Two hundred "Jefes" and federal officials have asked for their dismissal from the army, and Madero, terrified at the prospect of finding himself alone, does not grant the request. "El Imparcial," of the City of Mexico, under date of November 11, carries this head on its front page: "Rebellion continues to spread throughout the entire republic."

In the full delirium of revolution unarmed masses are flinging themselves on garrisons, sacking haciendas, running up and down city streets. In Torreón, the situation is so alarming to the government that it has despatched fifteen hundred soldiers. In Torreón the workers in all industries have declared a general strike and they are masters of the situation, for every industry is at a standstill, the street cars do not run, the bakers make no bread and the great masses of the strikers swarm over the city threatening to fall upon the banks and larger stores.

The entire district of La Laguna is full of more or less large bands of Vazquistas, Revistas and Liberals. Almost the whole of the state of Durango is in arms, the Liberals being in goodly numbers there. The state of Oaxaca is aflame on all its four frontiers, and lacks only a spark in the central districts to reduce it to a single flame. In all the towns of the state of Sinaloa the government forces are assassinating the inhabitants. Fifteen hundred Yaquis, thoroughly well armed, refuse to surrender and have converted the Sierra del Bacatete into an impregnable fortress, resolutely hoisting the red flag. All the haciendas of the state of Guanajuato are being menaced by the peons who threaten to take possession of them unless they are paid better wages. The very politicians are declaring that the growth of the revolution is not due to the political ideals of the masses, but to the fact that they desire to get bread. The Indians of the state of Oaxaca are declaring honestly that they are fighting because they were promised haciendas, and this has excited consternation among the bourgeoisie throughout the country.

In the Comarca Lagunera—the North-Americans are appealing to Washington for aid, since they are in danger of being executed by the workers whom they have exploited for years. Uprisings in all quarters indicate that the fighting spirit of the Mexican people has been born again, more vigorously than ever and better directed, for now it seeks the CONQUEST OF BREAD. Authority burns with the dull yellow of phosphorus beside the sun of revolution. Capital has lost the religious respect the disinherited masses formerly entertained for it. Expropriation is talked of as if it were the most natural thing in the world.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

MEXICO! TAKE WARNING!

Perhaps the shock to our tenderly reared American women traveling abroad on witnessing women engaged at out-door labor over there might be lessened if before going to see the strange countries they would take a tour in some of our home factories, or even make some inquiries as to the conditions in which many of our shop-girls work. Is there anything in Europe much worse than the striking Chicago garment-worker girls' every-day experience in some of the big factories? How as to conditions at stockyards, in laundries, in textile mills? How as to long hours in the big stores, in the milliners, and dressmakers' workrooms? If we go to the extremes of suffering at indoor work for women, we shall find results worse than those to be found in the extremes at outdoor work. Inquiries by the British government into the deterioration of the workers in certain factory industries have brought to life a menace to the race such as could hardly be possible at any outdoor labor. Tuberculosis, lead poisoning, match-makers' diseases, the ailments incident to many dangerous indoor occupations—from these the open air worker is comparatively exempt.—American Federationist.