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HAMBRE DE LIBERTAD ECONOMICA

¡No más palabras sonoras! gritan los desheredados de uno á otro confin de la República Mexicana, y, empujando el fusil, se lanzan á la lucha, por algo bien definido, por algo concreto: ¡Tierra!

Por Tierra peleó el proletariado en la revuelta de Madero, y por Tierra continúa peleando, como se ha demostrado hasta la saciedad.

"El Diario," periódico burgués de la ciudad de México, dice en su edición de 5 de este mes: "Se sabe que enviados de Gaviira (un candidato derrotado al Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz) recorren algunos Cantones del Estado, intentando sorprender la buena fe de la humilde gente del pueblo á quien ofrecen la abolición de la contribución y reparto de bienes en el caso de conseguir que sea Gobernador del Estado de Veracruz, y como ya las elecciones están hechas y por voluntad del pueblo ha sido electo por asombrosa mayoría el Lic. Lagos Cházaro (mentira, pues en México el pueblo, por instinto, desprecia la farsa electoral), incitan los delegados gaviiristas á la clase del pueblo á efectuar un levantamiento en contra del Gobierno del señor Madero, proclamando un programa de zapatismo."

El mismo periódico, en su edición del 7 de este mes, habla de la aparición de fuertes columnas revolucionarias en el Distrito de Temascaltepec, en el Estado de México. Oigamos al "Diario." "No son partidas dispersas, como en un principio se supuso, sino grupos perfectamente organizados de gente alzada, bien armados y equipados, que persiguen un plan revolucionario perfectamente meditado y preconcebido, pues hacen gran propaganda entre los indígenas de los pueblos, haciéndoles á la vez grandes promesas de redención y de distribución de tierras."

"Nueva Era," diario maderista de la ciudad de México, dice en 6 de este mes: "Llamamos la atención del señor general don Ramón Rosales, Gobernador del Estado de Hidalgo, acerca de las noticias bastante alarmantes que nos han llegado, referentes á la existencia, en la Sierra de Agua Blanca y Tututepec, de varios individuos que diciéndose emisarios del bandido Zapata, andan recorriendo dichos lugares, aconsejando á los indios asalten las fincas inmediatas, para proveerse de armas y caballos, atacar después Agua Blanca, Metepec y Tulancingo, robando y saqueando las casas de comercio, y apropiarse de los terrenos de las haciendas vecinas."

"La Prensa," diario burgués de la ciudad de México, en su edición de 8 de este mes, al hablar del levanta-

miento en Santa Rosalía, Estado de Chihuahua, dice: "Mil cien hombres que se encuentran en Santa Rosalía, perfectamente armados, se han pronunciado contra el Gobierno, so pretexto de la tan mentada distribución de tierras."

Por su parte, "El País," diario católico de la ciudad de México, en su edición del 9 de este mes, confirma lo asentado por "El Diario," de la siguiente manera: "Los citados individuos (los revolucionarios de Santa Rosalía) se han levantado en armas contra el gobierno del señor Madero, alegando que éste no cumplió con lo que les ofreció en la pasada revuelta. Entre sus demandas figura el reparto de tierras, que ellos aseguran fué una de las promesas que les hizo el actual Presidente, cuando peleaban á su lado. Alegan que no se dondrán las armas, hasta que no se les cumpla lo que se les ofreció."

En la misma edición de "El País," se encuentra este suelto: "Se asegura también que en el Estado de Durango han ocurrido serios levantamientos y que un gran número de peones han tratado de dividirse las tierras."

"El Monitor," diario católico de la ciudad de Chihuahua, capital del Estado del mismo nombre, habla del movimiento revolucionario en el Estado de Michoacán: "En Michoacán ha habido serios desórdenes; pero parece que no son de carácter político y que son debidos especialmente á peones descontentos de los salarios que se les pagan, aunque algunos de ellos piden que se les den tierras."

Entre una de las más grandes virtudes que caracterizan á la clase pobre de México, descuella el odio que siente contra la autoridad y sus agentes. No sucede en México como en los demás países civilizados, que la autoridad infunde respeto. En México se odia cordialmente á jueces, carceleros, polizontes y gobernantes. Ese odio se ha recrudecido ahora por todo el país, al verse que el cambio de personal en el gobierno, no significa cambio en las condiciones económicas de la clase trabajadora. "El Diario" dice en su edición de 4 de este mes al referirse al descontento que reina en el Estado de Oaxaca: "El Gobierno del señor Juárez Maza cada día se hace más impopular, debido á que el actual funcionario no ha cumplido sus promesas, tales como la supresión de jefaturas, el reparto de terrenos, etc."

Piden tierras los vecinos del pueblo de Reyes Metzontla, Estado de Puebla; de Abasolo, Estado de Coahuila; de Ayotlán, Tepeala, Jamay, San Pedro Itzican, Zula, Santa Cruz, Poncitlán, San Luis del Agua Saliente, As-

catán, Santiago, Otatán y Mezcala, Estado de Jalisco; Villa de Reyes, Estado de San Luis Potosí y otros muchos, demostrando, aunque pacíficamente, el ansia de libertad económica de que está poseído el pueblo mexicano.

El Gobierno está tan preocupado, que anuncia en sus periódicos que muy pronto se harán repartos de tierras. En Chihuahua, según "El Monitor" de 6 de este mes, "ha andado una comisión viendo á algunos hacendados para que cedan sus propiedades, ó parte de ellas, para que sean repartidas entre los agricultores pobres, mediante el pago que de ellas haga el Gobierno Federal."

Esto, naturalmente, no resuelve el problema, y solamente servirá para que los proletarios, teniendo más confianza en su propia fuerza al ver que el Gobierno tiembla y comienza á ceder, se apresure á tomar en vez de pedir.

En el Estado de Jalisco, uno de los más importantes de la República Mexicana, los campesinos están, de hecho, en posesión de tierras, y otros, los pacíficos, escogen desde ahora los terrenos que son más de su agrado esperando el día del reparto. He aquí lo que dice "Nueva Era," de 5 de este mes: "Para nadie era materia de duda, que la idea del reparto de tierras fructificó en diversos lugares de Jalisco; y que había muchos entusiastas de esa idea, lo probaban diversos sucesos, tales como el establecimiento de campesinos en predios que no eran de su propiedad, pero que como suyos disputaban, y las medidas que otros andaban tomando por las haciendas, señalando á cada uno para el día del reparto."

Madero, tristísimo, ó mejor, desechadísimo ante la agonía de su efímera popularidad, declara que el problema agrario no puede ser resuelto en unos cuantos meses, porque es necesario que todo se tramite ante las Camaras legislativas, y pide prudencia y paciencia á los que se mueren de hambre....

Pero ya nadie cree en el farsante que soñó ser otro Díaz por medio de la política del engaño, primero, y del terror, al fin. La Revolución es la mejor prueba de que el pueblo no quiere palabras, sino pan. Aunque bajo distintas banderías, lucha y persigue como una conquista inmediata, la expropiación de la tierra de las manos de los ricos, nacionales y extranjeros.

El deber de los libertarios, es encauzar, todavía mejor ese hermoso movimiento. No desmayemos; no perdamos la fe. ¡Adelante!

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

llegando hasta el extremo de matar para tomar lo que necesitan para vivir. La profesión del robo no es ciertamente una de las más fáciles. Ella requiere, una gran actividad y un gran derroche de energía por parte del ladrón, mayor actividad y mayor energía que la que en muchos casos se requiere para desempeñar alguna tarea, pues para llevar á cabo el robo el ladrón, tiene que espiar á su víctima, estudiar sus costumbres, cuidarse del polizonte, trazar planos, arriesgar la vida ó la libertad, en continua zozobra, sin límite en esa clase de trabajo, y es de suponerse que un hombre no se entrega á él por placer, sino empujado por la necesidad ó por la cólera de verse en la miseria, cuando la clase rica pasa á su lado ebria de vino, de lujuria, la boca retorcida por el hipo del hartazgo, arropada en sedas y en trapos finos, envuelto en una mirada de desprecio á la gente pobre que se sacrifica en el taller, en la fábrica, en la mina, en el surco....

La inmensa mayoría de la población de las cárceles, está compuesta de individuos que han cometido un delito contra la propiedad: robo, estafa, fraude, falsificación, etc., mientras una pequeña minoría de delincuentes se encuentran prisioneros por delitos contra las personas. Abolida la propiedad privada, teniendo todos la facultad de escoger un trabajo de

su agrado, pero útil á la comunidad; humanizado el trabajo en virtud de que no se efectúa para que el patrón acumule riquezas, sino para satisfacer necesidades; devueltos á la industria los miles y miles de brazos que hoy acapara el gobierno en sus oficinas, en los cuarteles, en las prisiones mismas; puestos todos á trabajar para ganarse el sustento, con la ayuda poderosa de la maquinaria de toda especie, se necesitará trabajar solamente unas dos ó tres horas diarias para tener de todo en abundancia. ¿Habrá entonces quien prefiriese el robo para poder vivir? El hombre, aun el más perverso, gusta siempre de atraerse la estima de los demás, de estar bien con los demás. Eso puede observarse hoy mismo, á pesar de que el medio en que vive la humanidad embota los mejores instintos de la especie, y si esto es cierto, ¿por qué no admitir que el hombre sería mejor en el seno de una sociedad libre?

En cuanto á los delitos contra las personas, son en su mayor parte el producto del medio malsano en que vivimos. El hombre vive en constante sobreexcitación nerviosa; la miseria; la inseguridad de ganar el pan mañana; los atentados de la Autoridad; la certidumbre de que se es víctima de la tiranía política y de la explotación capitalista; la desesperación de ver crecer á la prole sin vestido, sin instrucción, sin porvenir; el espectáculo nada edificante de la lucha de todos contra todos, que nace precisamente del derecho de propiedad privada, que faculta á los astutos y á los malvados á amasar capitales explotando á los trabajadores, todo eso y mucho más, llena de hiel el corazón del hombre, lo hace violento, colérico, y lo precipita á sacar el revólver ó el puñal para

agredir, á veces por cuestiones banalizadas. Una sociedad en que no exista esa brutal competencia entre los seres humanos para poder satisfacer todas las necesidades, calmaría las pasiones, suavizaría el carácter de las personas, y fortalecería en ellas los instintos de sociabilidad y de solidaridad que son tan poderosos, que á pesar de la secular contienda de todos contra todos, no han muerto en el ser humano.

No; no hay que temer una vida sin gobierno; por el contrario, anhelamos la con toda la fuerza de nuestro corazón. Habrá, naturalmente, algunos individuos dotados de instintos antisociales; pero la ciencia se encargará de atenderlos como enfermos que son, pues esos pobres personas son víctimas de atavismos, de enfermedades heredadas, de inclinaciones nacidas al calor de la injusticia y la brutalidad del medio.

Mexicanos: recordad cómo han vivido las poblaciones rurales de México. En las rancherías se ha practicado el comunismo; la Autoridad no ha hecho falta, antes por el contrario, cuando se sabía que algún agente de la autoridad se acercaba, huían los hombres al bosque, porque la Autoridad solamente se hacía presente cuando necesitaba hombres para el cuartel ó contribuciones para mantener á los parásitos del gobierno, y sin embargo, se hacía vida tranquila en esos lugares donde no se conocían las leyes ni amenazaba el gendarme con su garrote.

La Autoridad no hace falta, mas que para sostener la desigualdad social.

Mexicanos: ¡muera la Autoridad! ¡Viva Tierra y Libertad!

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

A los Rebeldes

Rebeldes de cualquiera bandería: no dejéis de fusilar á todo jefe oficial que impida que los pobres tomen de las tiendas, almacenes, trojes, etc., etc., lo que necesitan.

No dejéis de fusilar á los jefes y oficiales que se opongan á que los habitantes de las regiones en que operáis, tomen desde luego posesión de la tierra y de la maquinaria de producción.

Si no hacéis eso, la sangre que se ha derramado y la que se está derramando, solo servirá para que se encaramen sobre el pueblo mexicano un nuevo tirano.

¡A expropiar!

El Vazquismo Suicidandose

Emilio Vázquez Gómez y sus secuaces comienzan á dar de puñaladas á su enterlerida causa. Siguiendo los pasos de Madero en cuanto á sus relaciones con los prohombres de la política y de las finanzas de los Estados Unidos, el vazquismo ha enviado á Washington un representante, para que solicite del gobierno de este país su reconocimiento á la causa vazquista, asegurando por su parte no tocar los intereses de los extranjeros que explotan y esclavizan al pueblo mexicano, esto es, que si los Estados Unidos ayudan á Vázquez Gómez, las tierras, los bosques, las aguas, las minas, las fundiciones, los criaderos de petróleo, los depósitos de sal, las fábricas, los talleres, los ferrocarriles, los barcos, todo ó casi todo quedará en las manos de la burguesía contra la cual el pueblo mexicano se ha rebelado.

Vázquez Gómez ha demostrado con este solo hecho, que lo que á él interesa es llegar á la Silla Presidencial lo más pronto posible, aunque todas ó casi todas las riquezas de México queden en poder de los aventureros extranjeros que las tienen en sus manos. Eso es sencillamente una nueva traición á la Revolución mexicana, porque precisamente de lo que se trata es de abolir la esclavitud económica en México, acabar con el sistema de salarios, hacer de cada hombre y de cada mujer seres libres que tengan asegurado el pan, sin sufrir la humillación de dejar la mayor parte del producto de su trabajo en

las uñas de burgueses, sean estos mexicanos ó extranjeros.

Mexicanos: el chasco que os llevasteis elevando á Madero, lo sufriréis una vez más si eleváis á Emilio Vázquez Gómez ó á cualquier otro hombre á la Presidencia de la República, y tendréis entonces que rebelaros otra vez para encumbrar á otro bandido. ¡Abrid los ojos de una vez! ¡Tened compasión de vosotros mismos y de los vuestros y enarbolad resueltamente la bandera emancipadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano, que es el único que, por la pureza de sus principios, por la sinceridad de sus propósitos, por el mero hecho de no hacer ofrecimientos para "después del triunfo," sino que invita á tomar desde luego, para su uso y disfrute en común, toda la riqueza que ahora se encuentra en poder de unas cuantas manos, merece ser sostenido.

Nosotros no os hablamos de hacer leyes que os hagan felices y libres, sino que os recordamos á cada paso aquella frase sincera que no debemos olvidar todos los oprimidos: "La emancipación de los trabajadores debe ser obra de los trabajadores mismos." Lo que quiere decir que no hay que confiar á individuos pertenecientes á la burguesía, la resolución de problemas que solo nosotros, los desheredados, sentimos la necesidad de resolver, siendo el principal el del Hambre.

Unámonos todos los desgraciados; todos los que tenemos de común nuestra miseria; todos los que senti-

Il Contradditorio di Chicago

(Continuazione e fine)

Parla il signor Perrone.

—L'ho già detto prima. Io non ho studiata la teoria di Sant'Alfonso come l'ha studiata il sig. Caminita. Ma insisto nell'affermare quel che ho detto riguardo alla rivoluzione della Bassa California e alla falsità della Giunta di Los Angeles.

—Regeneracion scrisse che Tia Juana era una piazza importante e invece noi trovammo che era un piccolo villaggio sulla frontiera. L'Era Nuova e Cultura Proletaria pubblicarono che laggiù si praticava il comunismo, e invece si doveva fare a schioppettare per un pezzo di pane. Price se ne scappò con 8,500 dollari. Quel rivoluzionario non erano che briganti che lottavano per far bottino. Quando siamo andati noi trovammo che un messicano ne aveva ammassati altri due. Fra quei briganti si stava peggio che fra mafiosi.

—E come la Giunta di Los Angeles inventò la rivoluzione nella B. C. così può inventare quella del Messico.

—Che la Giunta sia in malafede lo dimostra il fatto che ha pubblicato che io fui boicottato dai sigarai di San Francisco.

Qui il signor. Filippo Perrone fa modestamente l'apologia di sé stesso. Modestamente, però. E chiude col ritornello di non prestar fede in quegli agitatori che vivono a spese della classe operaia.

Replica il comp. Caminita.

—Il signor. Filippo Perrone si è proposto di non parlare della rivoluzione messicana. E son certo che non lo smuoverà dal suo proposito.

—A parte la sua cocciutaggine nel volere sproporzionare sull'importanza di Tia Juana come punto strategico per i liberali, è riaffermata la sua malafede quando ci dice che in Tia Juana si doveva fare a schioppettare per un tozzo di pane. Dopo sei mesi di polemiche nessuno dei reduci di Tia Juana ha avuto l'audacia di dir ciò.

Il sig. Perrone interrompe:—Anche i ventidue compagni di Vancouver sono d'accordo.

Caminita:—I ventidue compagni, dite? Ma se voi stessi ci avete detto tornando da Tia Juana che la maggioranza di quelli di Vancouver andò pel bottino! Se voi stessi ci avete raccontato che uno di essi rubò un cavallo in Tia Juana e se lo vendette in Los Angeles. Se voi avete ripudiato l'Antonelli! Me li chiamate tutti compagni, ora?

Il sig. Perrone:—Antonelli non è anarchico.

Caminita:—Oggi dite così perché vi fa comodo. Ma tiriam innanzi. Il fatto è che in Tia Juana i viveri erano a disposizione di tutti.

Una voce del pubblico:—Parlate della rivoluzione. Non vogliamo beghe. Caminita:—Se siete venuti a partito preso l'uscio è aperto e potete uscirne come ne siete entrati. Se le beghe non vi piacciono perché avete permesso al sig. Perrone di non fare altro che beghe?

Uno del pubblico:—Non dargli più retta e parlati della rivoluzione.

Caminita:—Ebbene, poiché lo desiderate, e non avete tutti i torti io, considerando le parole del

sig. Filippo Perrone come pronunziato dal mio bambino che ha appena ventidue mesi di età, vi parlo della rivoluzione messicana.

Il nostro compagno illustra concitazioni solide la storia del popolo messicano, ne fa risalire la psiche e la morale, accenna alle cause che provocarono l'attuale rivoluzione, e con un fascio di giornali borghesi messicani alla mano prova che nel Messico esiste una rivoluzione di carattere economico.

Non è possibile—egli dice—che giornali borghesi possano mentire a danno proprio. Non è possibile che tutta la stampa borghese messicana si sia messa d'accordo per far credere al mondo civile che nel proprio paese si agita, a mano armata, un problema importantissimo: l'agrario.

Essendo l'ora tarda il nostro compagno chiude invocando dagli Italiani la loro solidarietà in favore dei ribelli messicani.

Il dott. A. Molinari.

Presente al contraddittorio, il socialdemocratico dott. Alberigo Molinari, chiede di parlare, e dice:

—Dal contraddittorio —svoltosi abbastanza civilmente, dato il rancore esistente fra i due avversari—mi son fatto un concetto, ed è che la rivoluzione nel Messico esiste.

Però io credo che il Perrone, anarchico, è coerente a sé stesso nel negare la propria solidarietà alla rivoluzione messicana, Caminita, anarchico, nell'appoggiarla è incoerente.

Anzi credo che socialisti e anarchici dovrebbero negare il proprio appoggio alla rivoluzione in parola.

I socialisti dovrebbero negargliela —e gliela negano—perché i messicani, pure avendo a propria disposizione il suffragio elettorale, usano la violenza in luogo dell'urna per conquistare ciò che vogliono.

Gli anarchici dovrebbero negare a questa rivoluzione il proprio contributo, perché essa non ha per iscopo che la riforma agraria. E noi sappiamo che gli anarchici debbono essere contrari ad ogni riforma se vogliono essere anarchici. Perciò trovo il Perrone coerente, a sé stesso, Caminita no. Caminita risponde:—Dal dott. Molinari non m'è aspettivo altro. Egli considera l'anarchico l'uomo che non partecipa ad alcun movimento rivoluzionario a meno che si tratti di far l'anarchia. Noi invece intendiamo di partecipare a tutti i movimenti di carattere economico perché siamo convinti che così solo possiamo affrettare la realizzazione della anarchia.

Sono circa le 7 pom. e il pubblico sfolla la sala.

IL CORRISPONDENTE.

Ne prendiamo nota: Per una volta tanto gli anarchici prediletti dalla Cronaca Sovversiva si stringono in ibrido connubio coi socialdemocratici della Parola. Buona salute e figli maschi. Noi rimaniamo, però, orgogliosi di aver con noi Fabbrì, D'Angiò, Malato, Craghe, St. John, Voltairine de Claire, Goldman, Turner, Kropotkine e tutte le individualità più spiccate del l'anarchismo internazionale.

That's all.

D. d. R.

SIN GOBIERNO

Hay personas que de buena fe hacen esta pregunta: ¿cómo ha de ser posible vivir sin un gobierno? y concluyen diciendo que es necesario un jefe supremo, y un enjambre de funcionarios, grandes y chicos, como ministros, jueces, magistrados, legisladores, soldados, carceleros, polizontes y verdugos.

Esas buenas personas creen que faltando la autoridad, todos nos entregariamos á cometer excesos, resultando de eso que el débil sería siempre la victima del fuerte.

Eso podría suceder solamente en este caso: que los revolucionarios, por una debilidad digna de la guillotina, dejaran en pie la desigualdad social. La desigualdad social es la fuente de todos los actos antisociales que la ley y la moral burguesas consideran como crímenes, siendo el robo el más común de esos crímenes. Pues bien, cuando todo ser humano tenga la oportunidad de trabajar la tierra ó de dedicarse, sin necesidad de andar alquilando sus brazos, á cualquier trabajo útil para poder subsistir, ¿quién será aquel que haga del robo una profesión como se ve ahora? En la sociedad que anhelamos los libertarios,

la tierra y todos los medios de producción no serán más objeto de especulación para un determinado número de propietarios, sino que serán la propiedad común de los trabajadores, y como entonces no habrá más que una clase: la de los trabajadores, con derecho todos á producir y á consumir en común, ¿qué necesidad habrá de robar?

Se dirá que hay personas dadas á la holgazanería, y que éstas, en vez de trabajar, se aprovecharían del trabajo ajeno para vivir. Yo he vivido en diferentes presidios; he hablado con muchos ladrones, con cientos de ladrones; casi todos ellos habían robado por necesidad. No hay trabajo constante; los salarios son mezquinos; la jornada de labor es verdaderamente agotante; el desprecio de la clase propietaria para la clase proletaria, es irritante; el ejemplo que la clase capitalista da á la clase trabajadora de vivir en la holganza, en el lujo, en la abundancia, en el vicio sin hacer nada útil, todo esto, hace que algunos trabajadores, por hambre, por indignación ó como una protesta á su manera contra las rapacidades de la burguesía, roben y se conviertan en criminales,

¡OJO, PROLETARIOS!

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CANNOT STOMACH
INTERVENTION

Gentlemen who wrote to Madero, in the hour of his triumph, engaging to crush the Mexican Liberal Party for the trifling consideration of \$10,000 cash; gentlemen who wrote that they would consider it their "duty to let the Socialists and unionmen know" that the party was under the control of "Anarchists(!)"; gentlemen who were so imprudent as to write, on official paper, letters slandering Ricardo Magon's private life—all that sort of thing we have passed up for months, knowing that the Mexican Revolution would justify itself and events talk with an eloquence far greater than we could command. The rank and file of the labor movement are honest at the core, and it was certain that, sooner or later, facts would tear the Madero bandage from their eyes. No better article on the all-important subject of intervention could have been written than that which has appeared in the "California Social Democrat," State official organ of the Socialist Party in California. Both for its intrinsic merit, and as proof of the thought-revolution wrought by stubborn facts, we reproduce it in its entirety. It runs as follows:

Zapata, a pure-blooded Mexican Indian from the state of Oaxaca, is leading thousands of armed Mexican peasants in a war to win back the soil to the actual tillers. They march, they fight, they bushwhack as did the French peasants at the time of the great French revolution.

In almost every Mexican city of size there are unions organizing and on strike.

Bullets from the soldiers of Madero slaughter alike both peasants in arms and unarmed city workers.

As yet there is no organized connection between the two revolts, city and country.

Here is not a concrete social revolution with constructive aims for the whole nation, and yet it is the beginning of great things, for, at last, the people of Mexico are battling without the leadership of "reforming" capitalists.

The poverty of Mexico's working class is beyond expression and so, having at last gotten arms from their masters engaged in private warfare, they now are using the guns for their own immediate needs. Proclamations could not stop their hunger pangs, and proclamations were all that their new masters offered.

Left to themselves the Mexican people would soon win a world of new and ennobling freedom, for a whole people cannot go wrong in judgment as to its needs. But there is a black cloud hanging over Mexico, a cloud coming from the border, and intervention will just as surely be brought about if American capitalists have their way as the sun is to rise in the East.

If this happens blood will flow in Mexico as it has never done before, because a high power gun is just as deadly in the hands of a small brown man as in the hands of a six-foot Texan.

It is conservatively estimated by those just returned from Mexico that over five thousand people have fallen in battle there since Madero obtained the presidency.

There has been much live-target practice in the Southern Republic in the past year and any invading army coming from the United States would be the most startled military expedition that ever sought to shoulder "the white man's burden."

The only thing that can prevent this seemingly near crisis, the only block that can be placed in the way of American capitalism's armed invasion of Mexico, is outspoken protest in a militant form by the socialist and labor organizations of the United States.

Do we want the blood of thousands of American and Mexican working people to soak the soil of Mexico from the Rio Grande to Yucatan?

Do we want the capitalists of America to subjugate and grind the Mexican worker as the English capitalist has done to the millions of India?

Do we want a continuation of starvation wages in Mexico under the guise of an American protectorate?

No. We, the American working people, do not want intervention. On the contrary we believe that the present revolution in Mexico, if left to its own ends, will result in raising the standard of living in that hunger-stricken country and also advance wage conditions on the entire North American continent.

Why This Fight Is
Irrepressible

The resolute attitude of the people of Mexico in face of threatened intervention by the United States has caused the government of this country to deny emphatically that it has any intention of invading Mexican territory. We do not know to what extent that declaration may be sincere. The one thing certain is that the American consuls resident at numerous Mexican points have given their government an account of the profound discontent and great indignation provoked among the people of Mexico by learning that the United States was preparing an army of a hundred thousand men to invade the Mexican Republic and establish a protectorate under the Stars and Stripes.

Well; for the moment the United States will not intervene. But does that fact dispel the danger of foreign intervention in Mexican affairs? The Mexican Revolution, by its economic character, must have, as its necessary result, foreign intervention. If the revolution were solely the result of the political ambitions of the various groups who are contending among themselves for supremacy, the United States and other powers would wait tranquilly the coming of peace, feeling assured that their subjects would continue to exploit the natural wealth of Mexico and the labor of the Mexican proletariat. But this revolution cannot end with the elevation to power of any one of the leaders of the revolutionary bands, just as it did not end with the elevation of Francisco I. Madero to the presidency of the Republic. This revolution will end when each and every one of the inhabitants of Mexico has been made sure of bread, clothing, shelter, education and liberty, as the result of the refusal to recognize private property.

Well then; the great natural sources of wealth are in the power of powerful foreign companies; magnificent estates, forests that are very rich, fine mines, oil deposits that yield abundantly, in addition to great factories and foundries, railways, etc., etc., are all in the foreigner's power. One can say that all Mexico is being exploited by foreigners, who, in the immense majority of cases, made use of franchises obtained under the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, and often employed violence, to obtain control of the natural wealth of Mexico. By virtue thereof, we Mexicans have been reduced to the condition of slaves to the foreign exploiters; we have been left with no other fortune than our bare arms with which to earn the miserable wages our executioners pay us in exchange for the sweat of our brows, our health, our future.

Misery has been the result of this monopoly of our natural wealth by a few foreign companies and a handful of Mexican bourgeois, and that misery has been the leaven of the formidable movement now shaking our native country and engaging the attention of the bourgeoisie and governments of all the world.

We Mexicans have understood that so long as we are not really masters of the land—that is to say, so long as the land is not the property of each and every one of the human beings who form the population of what calls itself the Mexican Republic—ignorance, hunger and tyranny will be our eternal executioners. We have, therefore, to lay hands on the land; we have to make it our own, even if by so doing we have to challenge the wrath of those who exploit and tyrannize over us. Therein lies the danger of intervention. We are locked in this iron dilemma; either we must reconstitute ourselves to being for ever proletarians, to being for ever serfs, to being for ever slaves, and to continuing to labor for hire, through fear of foreign intervention, or we must resolutely lay hands—powerful, virile and sublimely disrespectful—on that which hitherto has been considered sacred under the laws manufactured by the bourgeoisie—the right of private property.

This we must do, even if we bring the whole universe upon us. We cannot make a half-revolution. All or nothing! Land and Liberty or death! Sooner or later intervention will become a fact, either because of our

valor in snatching from the hands of the bourgeoisie the property it withheld, or from the impossibility of paying off the debt that presses on the nation. Some day the foreign bankers will no longer be content to wait; and they will force their governments to collect from us, at the cannon's mouth, what Diaz and the Cientificos, what Madero and his family, have pocketed. Diaz escaped with the millions he had stolen. Shall we permit Madero to plant "his" money in foreign banks, that he may dissipate it at his ease in the watering places and grand hotels of Europe?

For the moment the United States hastens to say that it will not interfere in our affairs; but the European powers, whose subjects are being despoiled of the wealth they have been able to amass by exploiting the Mexican proletariat, will bring such pressure to bear on the American government that finally intervention will become a fact. If it is not effected by the United States alone, because that nation has not the resources sufficient to carry to completion a work of such a nature, it will be by the combined action of all the powers. But then the Social Revolution will break out in Europe; the European proletariat will rise in its indignation against its governments; the earth will be one flame, and will travel its orbit proud of the fact that for the first time it is trodden by men where formerly there crept, century after century, a humanity submissive and vile. (From the Spanish of Ricardo Flores Magon.)

THE SECRET OF POWER.

Note how constantly Washington despatches emphasize the difficulty of dealing with the Mexican Revolution, because it has no head. Precisely therein lies its strength. Movements that depend on leaders are never any good, inasmuch as leaders can be bullied, bamboozled or bought. Only movements of the people, wherein each acts individually and each is his own leader, amount to anything. The guerrilla uprisings of the masses, with every unit acting as its own general and making its own home run, are what the classes fear. When the people themselves are aroused only extermination can stop them. Of course, this is Anarchistic doctrine, and of course the leaders do not like it. That is why they have boycotted the Mexican Revolution, but the Mexican Revolution has survived and is now at the point where it is no longer boycotted.

ALL THE SAME AS MEXICO.

"The testimony thus far adduced before the committee," said Representative Sulzer, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, when commenting on the progress of the Rainey investigation, "shows conclusively that the taking of Panama was the result of a conspiracy carefully planned and cleverly executed. It cannot be justified in morals or in law. The government of the United States must make reparation for the outrage to the Republic of Colombia." Mexico cleaned out; every Central and South American Republic on its guard against United States expansion; Oriental pride wounded to the quick by the insulting exclusion acts—there are plenty of chickens coming home to roost, and those who have a fancy for enlisting will have fine opportunities of learning what a tropical climate can do to its invaders. Meanwhile there is quite a little row going on at home. Stirring times ahead!

ON, TO THE ATTACK!

Do not stand weakly on the defensive! Take a lesson from the masters of political and military warfare; move boldly to the attack. Every kind of capitalistic skulduggery has been at work, rooting for dear life fill its pockets out of intervention in Mexico. Go for it! Let the "National Socialist Press" collect and publish its proofs of the hand Standard Oil and other "interests" have been playing in Washington and Mexico. We ourselves can tell you of editors whose eyes bulge out of their heads when discussing the value annexation will give their properties. Let us get together and start an exposure that will shake every pillar in the plutocratic temple. This Midas looks like a mighty imposing figure, but, true to the ancient fable, he has the ears of the ass. He is like Sullivan when he succumbed to Corbett—the softest snap that ever stepped into the ring.

FOR THEIR OWN JOBS.

When you have been beaten and robbed, and outlawed it is time to make a row. Common sense and a decent regard for society alike demand it. Yet there are leaders by the thousands who tell you that never, under any circumstances, should you be other than submissively law-abiding. That proves how utterly corrupt they are. That proves that they are fighting not for you but for their jobs.

Difficulties "Overcome" Fire
Madero's Eloquence
News of Uprisings Pours in Despite
Severed CommunicationsUnited States Government Pressed by
European Powers

LATEST NEWS.
Emilio Zapata has issued a proclamation announcing March 15 as the date on which he will enter and take possession of Mexico City.
By the capture of four towns the rebels now have the electric power of Mexico City at their mercy and can throw it into darkness at a moment's notice.
U. S. Ambassador Wilson has engaged passage on the first steamer leaving Vera Cruz.
The foregoing are taken from United Press despatches published as we go to press.

Under date of Feb. 15 Madero wired the "Los Angeles Evening Herald," in part, as follows: "The difficulties through which the republic of Mexico has been passing were not of really great importance, and have been overcome. There has been no great political principle involved and there has been no notable leader as their sponsor. For all these reasons my government is sufficiently strong to give complete protection to all of the interests." The first portion of the telegram slobbered over the United States government for its "cordial" attitude. Do you wonder that even the "interests" lose faith in an agent who makes himself a universal laughingstock?

At the date of this writing, Feb. 20, the latest news of the "overcome" difficulties is that in a battle lasting more than twelve hours and waged near Cuernavaca the federal forces, according to the government's own admission, were completely routed, being forced to abandon its trenches and fly. Official reports, which are sure to under-estimate, place the dead at 120. Cuernavaca, it may be said, is not over fifty miles from Mexico City, and the fighting is for control of a most important strategic point.

The same issue that contained Madero's telegram stated that the representatives of foreign governments resident in Mexico City were receiving daily scores of telegrams from subjects in the interior, declaring the revolution far more serious than the authorities admitted. Durango was spoken of as the hotbed of disturbance—the government has said repeatedly that Morelos presented the only serious problem—and the Zapatistas were reported as in control of the railway running to Veracruz. The road traverses four States and commands the commerce of one of the most important harbors of the country.

Incomplete, but Telling.

This article is compiled somewhat earlier than usual, and the weekly list made out regularly by one of our Spanish editors, from leading Mexican papers, is therefore incomplete. It excludes the States of Morelos and Puebla, which are the scenes of the heavy fighting between Zapatistas and Federals noticed so profusely by the American press, but includes numberless encounters between rebels and government forces; the taking of minor towns and haciendas, the burning of bridges, etc. Examination of the list gives the following results: Guerrero, eight items; Guanajuato, four; Chihuahua, three; Jalisco, one; Durango, three; Michoacan, four; Veracruz, two; Coahuila, eleven. It must be understood that any single item may contain several distinct events. For example, one of those given under the head of Coahuila reports three towns taken, and another gives details of the occupation of eleven haciendas and the burning of a number of bridges.

One should add that the Spanish editor apologizes for the scantiness of this week's notes, explaining that throughout Mexico telegraph and telephone lines have been cut and railroad communication brought to a standstill, the result being that papers have to be sent by the sea route and are arriving with much irregularity. So much for the suspension of constitutional guarantees and the making

it a capital offense, punishable without trial, to tamper in any way with the means of communication.

Always the Land.

From "El Pais" we take the following, as containing food for thought: "The troops at Torreon have decided not to pursue the bandits for fear that, during their absence, the populace may sack the city." The same paper states that about a thousand Zapatistas are operating in the neighborhood of Santa Rosalia, Chihuahua, and that "among their demands is the repatriation of the land." Another of its despatches says that "in the State of Durango many serious uprisings have taken place, and that a large number of the peons has set itself to work dividing up the land." On that item our Spanish editor has commented as follows: "It does not matter that they have begun by dividing up the land. Experience and our propaganda will make them understand that it is best to work it in common. The important thing is that they themselves take the land, without waiting for Gomez or any one else."

"El Imparcial" notes combats in the State of Guerrero, wherein the Salgados, notorious exponents of "the land to the cultivator" doctrine, defeated the federal forces. It also notes that in the same State the ex-Maderistas Francisco Vital and Roman have joined the rebels, that they have a following of 300 men and have taken two towns and a number of haciendas. In the State of Puebla it reports deserters from the rurales as having assaulted and sacked Esperanza.

"El Diario" reports thirteen well-known haciendas as having been captured in the State of Coahuila in a single day, and remarks that the rebels were "mounted on magnificent horses and took possession of all the animals and arms they could find, sacking the stores and dividing the merchandise among the neighboring poor."

Other Danger Points.

Torreon remains virtually besieged, and the Spanish have a proverb that a city-besieged is a city taken. Feb. 17 nearly 200 American women and children, who had been sent out under the advice of the American consul, reached El Paso, safe but with a story of much hardship suffered. American women are also reported as fleeing from Sinaloa, by way of Mazatlan.

Cananea, in Sonora, is again a danger point, as it has been in the past; for the slaughter of Mexican workers following the strike, in May, 1906, on the Greene-Cananea Copper Company properties has not been forgotten. On page 148 of "Barbarous Mexico" you may see a photograph of the Yaquis hanged at the instance of the late Col. W. C. Greene. Part of the garrison at Cananea deserted recently and the Cananea Cattle Ranch, belonging to the Greene estate, was raided.

Vazquez Gomez has issued a presidential proclamation, and sent an envoy to Washington. It has not interested us greatly, our one concern being with the fact that while elsewhere the workers are not masters of the situation but on the contrary, its helpless slaves, in Mexico they may win a control that will be actual instead of paper-written and fictitious.

The Monroe Doctrine.

For the moment the American press has lapsed once more into comparative silence, but a calm is often the forerunner of a storm. One notes, under date of Feb. 21, the following Mexico City despatch:

"The raiding of the ranches of the Sonora Mexican Land Company, limited, near Ysabel, Sonora, yesterday, has complicated the situation considerably, as it is British property, and the manager has received advices from the British ambassador at Washington that he has made representations to the American government. According to advices received here, the British, German and French ambassadors have all notified the American state department that the European nations look to the United States to see that property is respected in Mexico."

Mexico's Struggle
For Economic
Freedom

(Continued from Feb. 17.)

Often a handglass will reflect as faithfully as would a ten-foot mirror, and Los Angeles gives us the measure of this entire conflict between the dollar and the Man. I walk the streets of Los Angeles and see glaringly displayed in the windows of real estate firms such advertisements as this: "Peace. The war in Mexico is over and now is the time to get you a few acres of land. Where Mexico is today California was forty years ago. Where California is today Mexico will be ten years hence, and remember that the best investment on earth is the earth itself." You see at once that such dealers—and from New York City to Los Angeles their name is "Legion"—have every reason in the world for representing the war as over, since they wish to dispose of enormous properties at the best price obtainable. That their statement is a lie I shall now proceed to prove.

PART III.

What Are the Prospects of the
Revolution?

As to that one may say, in the first place, that at the present moment those who should be in the best position to judge, and are vitally interested in crushing the revolution, are showing greater alarm than at any previous time. I have referred already to the suspension of constitutional guarantees and the preparations for conscription, both of which betoken governmental fear, and there now comes into my hands "Nueva Era" of January 19. That paper is recognized as distinctively Madero's special organ, and it devotes to Zapatism a leading article which begins thus: "El Tiempo has just published two articles dwelling on the importance of Zapatism and conceding that it has assumed the proportions of a true social, agrarian revolution. In one of the articles it says that Zapatism has increased so greatly that it is the dominant power in several States, and that in others it is spreading with great rapidity. It calculates that more than three million persons sympathize with the idea of certain recoveries that, as it supposes, figure in his program, and that many of them are disposed to follow and fight in its ranks."

Naturally "Nueva Era" deprecates that statement—although "El Tiempo" is a conservative, Roman Catholic daily of acknowledged weight—and expresses the opinion that Zapata does not know what he wants. It says: "He is an absolutely uncultivated man, who springs from the humbleness of the peasantry, among whom he was reared and brought up. He has had no lecture-hall or book instruction, he has not mixed in good society, and he cannot have any idea of what Socialism is or what must be the legitimate foundation of the recoveries he is said to be seeking."

In my humble judgment "Nueva Era" talks like a college professor who imagines that without a degree no one amounts to anything. That is not the teaching of history, which furnishes us with countless examples of unlettered men who, in troublous times, have swept everything before them. It is probably true that the great thoughts and discoveries that pave the way for another step forward have their birth in the scholar's brain, but it is also probably true that the action necessary to incorporate them in a people's life is taken far more vigorously and effectively by those whose brains are not weighed down by books. The fighting qualities Zapata has inherited, and the close, sympathetic touch with the masses that must come natural to him, are assets of infinitely greater value, at this particular epoch, than are Madero's college courses.

(To be continued)

Those who were present tell me you could have heard a pin drop. Every delegate was panic-stricken; all denounced Magon as having jeopardized the very existence of the party; and, in fact, Diaz took immediate steps to suppress it, ordering arrests right and left. But it was Magon who spoke the decisive word and transformed what would have remained for ever a debating club into the power that banished Diaz and eventually will make the Mexican peasant master of himself.

All movements in all countries are alike. Always the leaders shiver at the prospect of coming to the point. Always one or two bold characters have to lead the way.

THOSE YELLOW DEVILS.
"Uncle Sam's soldiers patrolling the bank of the Rio Grande came down here hungry for fight," writes a friend from El Paso; "came down to 'eat' em up—those yellow devils, as one of the newcomers said to me last night. But he was a new man in this country, full of virility stored up in a moderate climate. If I meet him again in a few days his walk and talk may not differ from those of his comrades in khaki, whose legs are dragging their bodies through the furnace of Mexican desert. The fight of those is gone. The sun is slowly devouring it. The climate can fit the men to its liking in far shorter time than the men can fit themselves to the climate."

WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR.
"Les Temps Nouveaux" of Feb. 3, contains a lengthy article by Tarrida del Marmol, doing justice to the Mexican Revolution as an economic movement of the first importance. We hail it with delight because hitherto that old-time revolutionary organ has kept silence or assumed a hostile attitude. The article pays special tribute to Ricardo Magon, both on account of his pertinacious courage and incorruptibility, but it regrets that he should have attacked former comrades. Therein, as we think, the writer misunderstands Magon and the revolutionary movement of which he is a part. Magon never attacked a man until he had gone back on revolution. Magon would be entirely unfit to play a part in revolution if he let himself be gagged by friendship. "Les Temps Nouveaux" should be able to understand Nietzsche's saying that "the first of all duties is to be hard." What is the leader worth who allows himself to be swayed by fear or favor where the lives and liberties of millions are at stake?

FIRST IN IMPORTANCE.
We find the following on the front page of "Revolt," the anti-orthodox Socialist organ, of San Francisco: "Comrades—Answering your appeal for funds, I am this day sending \$1.00 to each of the three most important causes or factors in the movement as I see it, and will mention them in their order of importance."

First, "Regeneracion," supporting the Mexican Land Revolution, which international capitalism must put down at any cost or capitalism perishes. Second, "Revolt," a necessity of greatest importance at this moment if capitalism is not to be allowed to vaccinate the Socialist Party and make it harmless and its next instrument to keep the masses in subjection. If "Revolt" cannot live, why the Socialist Party at all? If it is going to be the same old gang and the same old bunks and tactics of the G. O. P. and the mule. I have only one sore spot or objection to make with "Revolt." That is your ignoring or overlooking the Land revolution in Mexico now going on.

Third, the I. W. W. fight at Aberdeen.

The Mexican upheaval presents the two characteristics recognized by all historians as indispensable to the creation of a true revolution. First, there has been immense pressure from below, caused by the sudden loss of the people's rights. Secondly, there has been immense pressure from above, in the futile effort to smother discontent. Revolutions are never made by speeches or articles. They are the children of events, which, at the best, the agitator merely interprets.

Will the United States Intervene in Mexico?

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