

Regeneration.

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Compelled to Show
Their True Colors

At Indianapolis, May 17, an event took place that seems to me of the very first importance. In the convention assembled the Socialist Party, the Anarchists, the proletarian and aligned itself definitely with the middle class. It did so by passing the following resolution: "Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crimes, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class, to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist party platform."

One hundred and ninety-one voted for the resolution and ninety-one voted against it. After a most bitter fight in which Congressman Berger declared that if the resolution failed of passage he would start another party. He fulminated against the Anarchists who had forced their way into the party under the guise of Industrial Workers of the World, and his entire attitude showed that, at last, he and the other political leaders of the party had been forced into the open and compelled to lay their cards upon the table. Politicians never do that except under the severest pressure, and the action of the convention proved conclusively that the split between Direct Actionists and the politicians was no longer possible. In my judgment we never shall succeed until we clear away the clouds and get where we can take our bearings.

If ever there was a revolutionary situation it is that now existing in these United States, wherein plutocracy rules supreme and hundreds of thousands find themselves at the beck and call of a few millionaires. Nevertheless a proletarian—that is to say, a truly revolutionary—party has had the greatest difficulty in struggling into life, and, in my opinion, it never could have grown so long as the politicians of the Socialist Party held the whip over it and were able to pull the wool over its eyes. I have had that opinion expressed to me by scores of reliable men, old and new, who have seen the Russian Revolutionists, who are now paying so tragically for allowing fine words to take the place of deeds. It has been our experience in connection with the Mexican Revolution; it has been the experience in England and France, where Direct Actionists have been cheated of their victories repeatedly by the smooth-tongued parliamentarians. Above all, it has been the experience of Germany, whose proletariat, after years of vaunted political triumphs, is prostrate beneath the heel of militarism and bureaucracy.

That a truly proletarian—that is to say, a truly revolutionary—movement will now take possession of the stage is a most important fact, and if I doubt it I invite you to review the history of the past few months. I invite you to consider the alarm created by the revelations of the McNamara case, by the Lawrence strike, by the conflicts in which the I. W. W. has figured, by the situation in Mexico, where the movement cares nothing about fine speeches, is intolerant of politicians and is striking to the very best of its ability for access to the means of life. I would not belittle the San Diego situation, but devoted thought and I will not stultify myself by pretending to believe that such a struggle has the element of permanence or the bottom to it that the fight in Mexico possesses. When you have won free speech you have still to conquer economic liberty, and meanwhile largely hold your liberty to talk at the mercy of the boss. When you have achieved economic independence free speech and all other good things follow as of course. I repeat Max Stirner's profoundly true words: "You cry for liberty? You fools! Get power and liberty will come of itself." All oppression is born of helplessness.

Happily we know that the I. W. W., in common with the entire Syndicalist movement, recognizes this truth, and that its fight is economic. Indeed, the suppression of free speech in San Diego has been itself merely an incident of a bread and butter contest. Before they fell under the sway of politicians the Socialists also recognized this truth, as did the Anarchists, among whom unfortunately there has developed a bourgeois school, which side-tracks the essentials to cultivate what may, for ought we know, be the ornaments of existence, or talked out of existence by the State. Life in these United States is beginning to assert itself, and the proletarian movement that now steps to the front will not be timid; for it will understand that it has not a thing to lose and all the world to gain. Thirty years ago Henry George showed conclusively that if we could overthrow monopoly, and every one of us might have enough

catch votes they have flattered all those aristocratic tendencies so fatal to a revolutionary movement; they have told the workingman that he is a sovereign at the ballot box, and they have prevented him from seeing the situation as it actually is. Henceforth we shall be rid of that.

Berger has locked the door and thrown away the key; tied his party to conservatism and hurled it into the arms of the middle class, where it and its army of legal and clerical spokesmen actually belong; chained it to a narrow program which the proletariat cannot possibly accept. It is the misfortune of wealth that it never understands how immediately pressing are the necessities of the poor. It is the misfortune of the well-fed Socialist spellbinders not to understand that an empty belly must be filled at once, and cannot by any possibility await the results of an election two or four years hence. The Socialists never grip life as the proletarian knows it, and they proved it in this selfsame convention after passing the resolution given above. Actually, after declaring that expulsion from the party should be the punishment for advocating violence, they mounted tables and sang enthusiastically the "Marseillaise." "To arms! Citizens," was what they shouted. They have no sense of humor and people without humor are not in touch with life.

Debs is for the fourth time their candidate for president, and his one formidable opponent was Charles Edward Russell. The latter at least knows life, and recently he told his readers, in "The Coming Nation," that although they might decry violence history did not, which was a vastly more important matter. I cannot imagine that Russell voted for a resolution so palpably absurd, and Debs henceforth will have to face one way and cut out the oratorical gems with which he has been wont to work his audiences. His favorite resource has been the flowery eulogy of John Brown. Now, every one knows that John Brown despised politics, relied mainly on violence and died as the result of Direct Action of the most drastic kind. It is certainly hard on Debs, whose wings are badly clipped. But he is one of the most adroit contortionists this country boasts, and if there is a way out of the difficulty he will find it.

I say again that the hand of the Socialist politicians has been forced; forced by driving in the wedge so relentlessly that the vessel has been split from stem and stern. This cleared the way, and for this we have to thank the grim revolutionary element that understood its task and pursued it without fear or favor, knowing that if we allowed ourselves to be governed by the twaddling popularity-hunters, who habitually ache for applause and guide their propaganda by the gate receipts, we should wander for ever in a wilderness of words. The situation is such that we have no right, as honest men and women, to sit down and prattle of what may happen in the sweet by-and-by, while thousands are homeless outcasts, without bread or the possibility of earning bread. If you hold up your hands in horror at the phenomenal advance of the Anarchist-Syndicalist I. W. W. movement, I refer you to the great criminologist, Cesario Lombroso, to whom your most trusted jurists perpetually pay homage. In his words, the causes and remedies, he deals especially with the increase of Anarchy, and says: "The sole remedy against our political criminals, who are such from accident, from passion, from intimidation, or from poverty, consists in remedying the economic uneasiness in the country, since this is the true basis of Anarchy." You will understand that Lombroso regarded Anarchists as exceptionally dangerous to the public peace. His views were not of the proletariat, to whom a bourgeois peace is apt to mean death by the exceedingly unpleasant process of starvation.

The trouble is that without an economic transformation society cannot ally that economic uneasiness by economic means, or extended so widely as it is today. Free labor bureaus, free municipal shelters, free this and free that, are multiplied in vain. Victor Berger's proposal of old age pensions and similar facilities of the charitable legislation type. It is all to no purpose. Discontent increases; the armies of the unemployed and of prostitution steadily expand; Anarchist, Syndicalist, I. W. W. movements surge, more dramatic, and for the most excellent of reasons. Examine conditions in these United States and you find, for example, that murders and homicides have increased in twenty-one years from 1808 to 1930 annually; that in the same period suicides have advanced from 978 to 10,125, and that from 1880 to 1900 the number of inmates in hospitals grew from 81,6 to 186,2 for every 100,000 of our population. Anyone who considers that a healthy condition ought himself to be placed in a lunatic asylum. I go farther and say that the really sane portion of our population is that which is trying to eradicate, at all and every cost, the causes that produce such damnable results.

Above all the stupidities and Jesuitisms of politicians soars life; life which has in it the divine quality of refusing to give up, of struggling against all odds and to the last gasp. It is life on which we bank, and life is not going to allow itself to be smothered by calculating place-hunters, or talked out of existence by the State. Life in these United States is beginning to assert itself, and the proletarian movement that now steps to the front will not be timid; for it will understand that it has not a thing to lose and all the world to gain. Thirty years ago Henry George showed conclusively that if we could overthrow monopoly, and every one of us might have enough

involuntary poverty be swept out of existence. Since then human productivity has made enormous strides, and today we of the proletariat know well that it is when we triumph we shall all be rich.

WM. C. OWEN.

KROPOTKINE UNDERSTANDS.

"Les Temps Nouveaux" of April 27 published a letter written by Kropotkine to Jean Grave, in which the former explains that he has satisfied himself as to the serious nature of the revolutionary movement in Northern Mexico, not only from the columns of "Regeneration" but also "from various Mexican papers, of diverse opinions." After reference to the incessant fighting he adds: "It would be to form an absolutely false idea of all agrarian movements—including those of July and August, 1909—not to be willing to see that the movement in Northern Mexico has the characteristics that always have marked all peasant insurrections. In the rural districts there is distrust of strangers, and with reason. From time to time, now here, now twenty leagues away to the South or North; at an interval of seven or eight days, the exploiters of another village are attacked and the land is seized. Twenty or thirty days later a detachment of soldiers representing order arrives, executes the rebels, burns the village and, at the very moment when it is returning victorious, falls into an ambush from which it escapes leaving half its force dead or wounded. Here we have a peasant movement."

Unfortunately nine-tenths (or perhaps ninety-nine per cent) of the Anarchists conceive of revolution only in the form of combats on the barricades or Garibaldi triumphs. In the last paragraph Kropotkine has hit the nail squarely on the head. The country is full of Anarchists who can tell you all about the latest free love drama, but cannot recognize an economic revolution unless it is dressed in the fashion of a century ago and set out in screaming headlines. Unfortunately by far the most arduous and dangerous part of our work is economic. Surely it is time we considered the matter gravely, for we have entered on a troublous era. The last time we saw a revolution in this country, across the border, thousands of men and women have gone through fire and hell in their assault on economic monopoly. I refer specially to the I. W. W. and Mexican Revolutionists, who have been bringing the land question to the front as it never was brought before.

Kropotkine's remarks about distrust of strangers hits at the alleged revolutionary editors who actually have betrayed their readers by taking the unsupported testimony of men who knew nothing of Mexico and had barely set foot within her borders. He himself errs in supposing, as he apparently does, that the upheaval is confined to Mexico's Northern States. We hear most about the disturbances there simply because those States are nearest, and because American capitalists are centered more largely there. Perhaps on account of their proximity it happens that the movement in those States is infected deeply with politics. In the Central and Southern States, however, one meets the formidable and almost exclusively agrarian movement headed by Zapata, and still farther South—in Yucatan, for example—there is general and most ferocious peasant revolt.

In my opinion the bitterest foes the Mexican Revolution has encountered have been the Socialists, and it is to be noticed that their opposition has been based on the doctrine that the land question amounts to nothing, and that Mexico has to pass through the capitalist stage of factory evolution. I have found it necessary to combat incessantly that monstrous delusion, and I consider that a number of our most notorious editors and lecturers have deliberately sidestepped their duty, which most emphatically was to aid us in our domination of the basic land question and the land question and in our exposure of the absurdity of the Socialist position. Either through unpardonable ignorance, or through equally unpardonable indifference or through unspeakably base personal motives, they have skulked in their tents. By this time the Mexican Revolution should have forced the entire American people to consider seriously this fundamental question of the monopoly of natural resources. As it is, the work has been barely begun.

DEBS' SPONSORS.

I have been looking over the list of delegates to find the working class. Here they are: Lawyers, 20; editors, 16; lecturers, 15; teachers, 13; clerks, 21; doctors, 11; ministers, 9; journalists, 8; writers, 7; merchants, 5; secretaries, 5; insurance, 3; salesmen, 3. The above number of men, women, and children and twenty-nine of them, will make its laws and the laws for the Socialist party. They will nominate a candidate for the presidency and we will follow their leadership after the convention is over. (Alexander Irvine, in "California Social Democrat.")

The political Socialists spent hours at Indianapolis in wrangling as to whether the commission form of government is or is not the best for citizens. That is what these "intellectuals" actually did! Any proletarian could have told them that when a few own the land on which a city stands the rest must do their bidding.

"Just for a handful of silver he left us;
Just for a ribbon to stick in his hat."

MEXICO vs. WALL STREET

Burbank Hall, 542 S. Main St.
Saturday, June 1, 8 p. m.
English, Spanish and Jewish.
Speakers will explain
Mexico's Struggle Against
THE MONEY POWER.

Good Music.
Admission 10 cents.

All Mexico In Grip
Of Guerrilla Warfare

When American and other plutocrats bought Mexican land by the hundreds of square miles did they ask what right the vendors had to sell it? Did they ask how it was that a few were able to dispose of principalities? Of course they did not. They took their alleged titles knowing them to be absolutely rotten. They knowingly made themselves partners in one of the most gigantic crimes on record. By every principle of justice they should be punished. Most certainly they should not be upheld by American bayonets.

Fourteen Chihuahua City men were recently arrested, charged with disloyalty to the revolutionary cause, as represented by Orozco. They protested they were innocent and are now carrying arms for him as common soldiers. Looking through the list one finds that it comprises two judges of the State supreme court, one ex-judge, three clerks of the supreme court, two members of the State legislature, two merchants, a politician and the manager for Alberto Madero, uncle of the president. The Mexican Revolution is hard on politicians. I we of the United States ever see such a collection of dignitaries sent to the front as common soldiers we shall think the world is coming to an end.

This week we give far more space than usual to what may be called the reflex of Mexican conditions on this side of the border. Or, if you like it better, you may say that the Mexican Revolution was itself the reflex of the unjust conditions that exist notoriously on this side of the Rio Grande. It is immaterial, the truth being that it is impossible to have serious disturbances on one side of the line without an echo on the other side. When Mexicans take back their stolen lands, people in the United States begin to think about the land question. When Mexicans overturn their government, the inhabitants of this country investigate their own politicians.

So far as the big fighting is concerned, as we explained last week, Orozco has been gathering his entire force at Rellano, where it occupies a strongly fortified position. It was there that the federal commander Gonzales Salas suffered such disastrous defeat. For the past week there has been a lull, as was inevitable after the strenuous activities of the previous week, but as we go to press an important battle is in progress. The latest account has it that Huerta attacked the Orozco forces. May 22, and retreated after five hours' fighting. The attack was preceded by and made under cover of a terrific shelling, the artillery fire being described as quite the heaviest yet seen in any of the Mexican battles. This shows that Madero has been able to get in ample supplies, and the rebels have been heavily handicapped in that respect. It is the enormous advantage those who have captured the government always have.

The federal forces attacking Rellano are estimated at 3500 and those of Orozco at 4000. Fighting is still in progress and may be of the most decisive character. Huerta is Madero's commander-in-chief and his defeat probably will mean the fall of Torreon and the road to Mexico City clear.

Guerrilla Warfare.

We have sacrificed space of late to the big fighting and neglected our summary of the guerrilla warfare, partly because the accounts of hundreds of petty encounters are dry reading, and partly for lack of space. The bare recital, reported in the briefest telegraphic fashion, occupied a page of solid matter in last week's "Regeneration" and no doubt will do about the same this week. It is impossible to study that summary without discovering that the entire country is in arms, that only occasionally is the government able to send troops to the relief, and that in such cases they are a mere drop in the bucket. For example, it is announced that 400 troops have been sent to Sinaloa. Stated most briefly our notes respecting that State are that the capital, Culiacan, remains in the possession of the rebels; that the banks are closed, the revolutionists having obtained already very considerable funds; that the Southern Pacific Railway has moved all its supplies to Empalme, near the Sonora line; that, generally speaking no correspondence has been received from any part of the State for twenty-seven days; and that guerrilla bands are active everywhere. One asks, therefore, "What can four hundred soldiers do?"

Our information, compiled most carefully from every paper available and supplemented by private correspondence, points to practically similar conditions throughout the country. The real heart of the situation is not the doings of Zapata or Orozco, though they are of great importance since they may lead to the immediate capture of Mexico City, which is one of the world's important capitals and financial centers. That of course will mean the final overthrow of Madero's moribund government. All that is of importance, but in our judgment, not nearly so important as the fact that in practically every State the Mexicans are in spontaneous revolt, not under any one leader, but under hundreds who come and go according to their success in what orthodox call "brigandage." It is obvious, however, that the Mexicans have reached the point at which they are not deterred by words, and doubtless they would tell you that the "brigands" are simply taking back their own. The raids of haciendas and mining camps cut

more and more a conspicuous feature, and from the record it appears that effective resistance is the very exceptional exception. One notes a representative American mining man who found himself forced to leave the country, as saying, in the "Springfield Union": "The revolution has neither head nor tail, and most of the peons do not know what they are fighting for politically. They are all out for plunder." We conceive that to be a true and pithy statement of the situation. The peon, as we have said from the first, cares nothing about politics. He is after immediate possession of the good things of life, hitherto denied to him. He is doing exactly what the revolutionists in Russia, France, and other countries always have done, and always will do, so long as they have the upper hand. When that ceases the revolution is at an end.

What Time Has Passed.

In this connex we are able to measure progress most accurately by comparing our present weekly record with that of "Regeneration" when it was resuscitated in September, 1910; less than twenty-one months ago. The notes for the first week were that the leader of the insurrection at La Viesca had been shot; that a rising in Yucatan had been put down with fire and sword; that the natives in San Luis Potosi had rebelled. It also contained the statement, by the then editorial editor, that Diaz was afraid of Madero "because that man always was a man of peace and lawfulness." The second issue had comments on the enormous sum being spent by Diaz on the reception of foreign delegates; told of seventy-five persons being committed for trial in Yucatan, of a noted physician being murdered by the police in Tonalá, Chiapas, and of a similar event in Chiapala. It also gave a long list of political prisoners, immured in San Juan de Ulua. The third issue's notes concerned themselves with the assassination of a peasant by the Chihuahua authorities; with the acquittal of the governor of Colima who had been guilty of murder; with proceedings against the governor of Coahuila, charged with misuse of public funds; with the prosecution of a rebellious editor in Guadalajara; with the case, in Veracruz, of workmen who had been connected with the Santa Rosa strike; with comments on the imprisonment of 250 rebels in Yucatan, and with the suppression of a paper in Mexico City. There were also comments on politics, which were even then of little importance.

Compare such news—which was then the most revolutionary to be obtained—with our present weekly chronicle. Then we had only a tale of suppression to tell; of incipient rebels killed and imprisoned, and of men in high places going unwhipped of justice. The entire song was in the minor key. Within less than two years we have the people in the saddle and our report is one of continuous victories, numbered literally by the thousands. We know of no page in universal history from which a parallel intervention can be drawn; we do not believe the transformation wrought within less than two years can be matched by any other record. Less than two years ago the Mexican was the absolute slave of one of the cruelest despots that ever existed. Today, for good or evil, he is on top; he is travelling his own road and has the bit between his teeth. Nothing but the intervention of another strong government, such as that of the United States, can stop him.

Notes in Detail.
Let us take a very fleeting and only fractional bird-eye view, beginning with Yucatan, in the far South. The struggle there, as might be expected from the galling slavery of the henequen plantations, is very savage. The week reports eight large and many small plantations set on fire. "El Insurgente" says the loss to property owners is "incalculable." Let us hope that the peons will set out on their crops needed for their own support. Hitherto they have been devoted to raising hemp, for export.

In Oaxaca guerrillas are most active. One notes a fight over the land between 250 natives and government forces, in which the latter were defeated. Three towns destroyed. Justice has become once more an active center. "El Imparcial" says: "The life of federal and State employees is very bitter and full of anxiety, for they are constantly under arms and cannot get a moment's rest."

Guerrero is dangerously near Mexico City and the government thought it necessary to send 600 soldiers against the guerrillas. They tried vainly to dislodge them from the important city of Toluca, which they had taken, as also four other towns. Juan H. Galardo, who rebelled against Madero, is said to have a very numerous following but many of his men are poorly armed.

In Michoacan, also near Mexico City, the important town of Puruan-diro has been taken by 600 revolutionists. A letter received from there recently ran, in part: "We are threatened, and have been for some weeks past, by Zapatista, Vazquista and Orozquista bands. All the leading young men are practicing military exercises morning and evening. We march to the chief plaza, where we are taught how to handle a 30-30."

From Guanajuato the news is of increased guerrilla activity. The important town of Huanimaro was taken, all prisoners were released and the archives were burned. The rich mining camp of Peregrina, near the capital, was taken and looted. Three hundred rebels captured Villa de Gomez Farias. We note that "El Imparcial" reports: "The revolutionary movement in Nuevo Leon continues." That had been claimed as being the one tranquil State.

In the Mexican States where fighting, and we find Mexico City rebels as 8000, but they say that only half of these have modern weapons. In Puebla 1200 Zapatistas were engaged for days with a large force of federalists. "El Imparcial" reports that troops are sent out constantly to repair the railroad lines, but that "almost always they return bringing wounded with them, for they are fighting an enemy who never presents himself and whom they never see."

Believing, as we do, that the great risk of intervention will be eventually incurred, we point out that there is every reason to suppose these Mexicans have got guerrilla warfare down to an art, and a fine art at that.

Don't forget the Mexican meeting at Burbank Hall, 542 S. Main, Saturday, June 1, 8 p. m. Your cause is our cause and ours is yours.

RUSSIA'S AWFUL WARNING.

Let the Mexicans take a lesson from Russia and learn that revolutions cannot be dropped half-way with impunity. In one portion of the Empire, the population of which is put at forty-one millions, twenty-one millions are said to be actually starving, and executions and military murders are finishing whatever famine and famine typhus may have left undone. One selects for special, but typical notice the strike in the Lena gold-field of Eastern Siberia, where nearly two hundred were killed and hundreds wounded at the bidding of a Cossack officer. It is well to note, however, that while a Russian ordered the shooting it was for the benefit of British capitalists, who own seventy per cent of the investment. So it has been in Mexico, where the tyrannies of Diaz were set in motion by the pious, liberty-loving capitalists of the United States. So it is everywhere. Capitalism long since became international, and there is not a despotism with which it will not join hands voluptuously for the sake of profit. Everywhere the underlings alone are slaves to a national superstition their betters outgrew a century ago.

POOR WHITE TRASH.

The newspapers are still turning out copy on the Titanic tragedy, but the carefully eschewed damning facts exposed by the "Daily Herald," of London. That fact is the appalling class discrimination shown in the face of death itself. Figures, based on official and unofficial enquiry, show that of the first-class women passengers 97 per cent were saved; that with the second-class the percentage fell to 84, while of the third class only 55 per cent were rescued. In the case of the children the matter is even worse for all those in the first and second classes were saved, while 70 per cent of the third-class passengers' children drowned. It cannot be urged that this was due to steerage overcrowding, inasmuch as steerage passengers were notoriously few. We are glad to find "Freedom" featuring this and trust other workmen's journals will do likewise.

RALLY TO THEIR AID!

We have received from the I. W. W. Publicity Committee, 876 Green Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., biographical notices of Joseph J. Etor and Arturo Giovannitti, now facing trial on a charge of murder in connection with the Lawrence strike. The notices have come just as we go to press and, therefore, too late for extended notice.

It is admitted that the accused men had no direct connection with the death on which the charge is based, but it is alleged that things they said resulted in the deed. That is an infamous doctrine, for under it there is not an educator in the world who could not be held for having taught something that induced some one to commit a crime. Let me write the incontestable truth that capitalism often sacrifices life to profits, and, under that doctrine, I may be held for a murderer of a capitalist by an outraged worker of whom I never heard. Apart from this, Etor and Giovannitti are fine men, with fine records. They are not of the old money-seeking, notoriety-hunting type of organizer and agitator, with whom we have been cursed for years. They have stood in the front rank of the battle; they have shared the fighter's every toil and risk; they have brought great talents and great capacity to a task that needs it; they have put their lives at stake for the cause; they have sunk themselves in the movement of which they are a vital part. These two men are types of the new breed this struggle is producing, and we should follow the example they have set us, making their cause our own.

"Of all the miserable, unprofitable, inglorious wars in the world is the war against words. Let men say just what they like." We have nothing to do with a man's words or even his thoughts, except to put against them better words or better thoughts, and so to win in the great moral and intellectual duel that is always going on, and on which all progress depends." (Auberon Herbert.)

The Mexicans have struck for and are getting back their lands. Despite the sentries that idea has jumped across the border.

Will the United States
Intervene in Mexico?

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"Regeneration's"
Special Pamphlet

on the

Mexican Revolution

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Purpose and Probable
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San Diego's Curse

If there is a thing in the world that will harden a man's heart; if there is a thing that will turn his blood to water and kill in him all true sympathy with his fellowmen, it is to grab a natural opportunity, that he may be able to cinch those who eventually will have to pay his price. I have made criminology somewhat of a study, and it has taught me that the universal test is whether a man's instincts are or are not anti-social. Judged thereby the men of whom I write are the arch-criminals of the age, and the woods are full of them.

Here, in Los Angeles, I could name any number of men who have scrimped and saved for years that they might get their claws on a particular piece of land the public would be sure to need. Many of them have lain back for years, doing not a thing to add to the welfare of the community; waiting, like a cowardly panther, for the opportunity to spring. Many of these despicable creatures are millionaires today. I can think of one man in particular who played that game for fully twenty years, keeping his family down to the lowest living notch. He is worth several

Still more does all this apply to San Diego; a city which has lived on "Bay Area Climate" for thirty years. It has one of the meanest populations on earth, for its leading citizens have made their money as the panther has his meal. Years ago they grabbed everything in sight; and they have persistently poisoned the whole city's moral atmosphere by spreading the doctrine that the way to prosper is to hold up the other fellow. They expected to make a gigantic haul out of their World's Fair and the influx of population it, and the completion of the Panama canal, would bring. They were "out for the stuff," as the expression goes, and the bottom of all this trouble is that the I. W. W. has quered their lives.

Their whole course of life, their whole philosophy of life, has made these leading citizens mean, and quite naturally they intended to put up their fair buildings with the cheapest labor they possibly could get. It happened that the Mexican Revolution and the troubles all along the border had attracted many roving spirits to San Diego, and the I. W. W. in particular, objected to the cheap labor program on which San Diego's leading citizens had set their hearts. They objected in open speeches, in localities dedicated to public discussion from San Diego's birth. Their speeches were objectionable to the leading citizens; an ordinance especially designed to abolish outdoor speaking was passed, and the free speech fight began.

In our indignation at what has taken place we should not, we cannot, we must not, lose sight of the fact that at its root the trouble is economic; that it sprang out of an economic fight; that such an economic fight itself was begotten, legitimately and inevitably, by the practices have described. We also cannot and must not lose sight of the fact that such practices themselves are born of that public insanity which allows the moneyed class to buy up the whole earth and charge the rest of us whatever the traffic will bear.

All along the line we have too much sensationalism, too much hysteria, far too much hero-worship. We must go to the bottom of the trouble and move against its cause. If we fail to do that the movement will be, in the long run, nothing but bubble and squeak, just as the Mexican Revolution would have no bottom to it if you cut out the land question.

Everyone who stops to think a moment can understand that the real monopolists expect to reap an enormous harvest out of the coming migration. That is, beyond all question, the reason why a concerted attack on the entire radical wing of the labor movement has been made. Any one can understand that this matter ends in oratorical fireworks and hero-worship, and anyone can understand that when the "Times" warns its readers that the San Diego trouble may spread to Los Angeles, it is thinking of the possibility of real estate values being knocked into a Mexican hat as they have been in Mexico, and as they must have been, to some extent, in San Diego.

That readers may understand quite clearly the game California real estate operators are playing I add a clipping from a recent issue of the "Los Angeles Tribune," which runs: "More than seven thousand families are said to have come into Los Angeles in the last week on the colonist and home-seekers' excursions of the transcontinental lines. A photograph of one group, at the railroad station, published in the Express, needed no confirmation in words to the high quality and substantial character of the newcomers. It has been calculated that every addition to the population means an increment of \$1000 to the value of real estate."

Such is the game the proletarian movement is really up against, and it lacks the intelligence to understand and play the game it had better quit, right here and now. It may sport and grumble to its heart's content with out any monopolist caring twopence, for the police will attend to that. Let it stop world's fairs from being built or injure seriously real estate investments, and it will find itself in a tight wretched talking about.

Always and everywhere the struggle is economic and nothing else. If we call ourselves Radicals we should go for the roots. In the mere clipping off of blossoms we may toil till doomsday without accomplishing a thing.

From the vote-catching standpoint it is good politics to play respectable, as the Socialist party, under Berger's lead, has done. The middle class man and woman has a vote, and usually the proletarian has not.