

Regeneración

Semanal Revolucionario.

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NUMERO 231.

Carranza traiciona la Revolucion.

Cuando Carranza salió de huida de la ciudad de México en Diciembre de 1914, viendo perdida su causa, lanzó en Veracruz aquel manifiesto célebre que había de renir bajo su bandera a una buena porción de la clase trabajadora de las ciudades. Carranza dijo entonces: "hoy comienza la Revolución Social", y esa frase fué como un toque de clarín, al cual acudieron todos aquellos trabajadores que todavía creían que podía realizarse el milagro de obtener un gobierno que apoyara decididamente al desheredado en su lucha contra la burguesía.

Los Batallones Rojos, formados por entusiastas obreros, se multiplicaron, y las hazañas guerreras de esos Batallones les dieron justa fama como valientes, como abnegados defensores de la causa constitucionalista, la que adquirió, gracias al sacrificio de los proletarios, una fuerza extraordinaria. Lograda esta fuerza, Carranza volvió la espalda a los generosos obreros que derramaron su sangre en cien combates.

Esta traición fué predicha por nuestros compañeros presos Ricardo y Enrique Flores Magón, quienes repetidas veces llamaron la atención de los trabajadores carrancistas sobre el hecho de que no puede existir un gobierno que desconozca el derecho de propiedad privada, pues el gobierno no es otra cosa que el guardián de los intereses de los ricos. Advirtieron también nuestros compañeros presos, que los poderosos no se dignan lanzar una mirada sobre el infortunio de los desheredados, sino cuando tienen necesidad del apoyo de éstos, con su voto en tiempo de elecciones y con su sangre en tiempo de revuelta; pero que pasada la necesidad del apoyo de los desheredados, pagan los servicios de éstos con un puntapie por el trasero.

No dejaron de hacer presente nuestros compañeros Ricardo y Enrique, que los trabajadores, si quieren verse libres de una vez de la pesada cadena de la esclavitud económica deben emprender por su propia cuenta la obra de su emancipación, sin confiar a nadie la solución de sus problemas, porque poner en manos extrañas la tarea de resolver lo que los proletarios tenemos que hacer, es abrir de par en par las puertas a la traición.

Lo predicho por nuestros compañeros, hoy presos por dar esos sanos consejos, no ha tardado en cumplirse, como todo lo que ellos han predicho. Carranza ha tirado la careta de redentor, y se presenta como en realidad es: un perro guardián de los intereses de la clase capitalista.

Pablo González, uno de tantos rufianes que han conquistado medallas y cintas con la sangre de los trabajadores, y que es el comandante militar de las fuerzas carrancistas de la región Oriente de México, con asiento en la ciudad de México, lanzó un Manifiesto el 18 de Enero anterior, por medio del cual quiere justificar la

actitud insolente asumida por el carrancismo ante las demandas justísimas de los trabajadores.

Por supuesto que Pablo González no es más que un pobre instrumento de Carranza, y lo que manifiesta González es lo que Carranza quiere decir.

Dice, pues, Carranza, por boca de González: "..... la simpatía del gobierno constitucionalista para los trabajadores, ha sido interpretada de una manera errónea, por ciertos leaders de la clase trabajadora, que han llegado a creer, y han logrado que su creencia penetre en las mentes de sus camaradas, que la unión de los trabajadores es una especie de institución oficial dotada de poder gubernamental para imponer sus demandas, y de derechos especiales que no admiten discusión o limitación de ninguna clase."

Por lo transcripto se convencerán nuestros hermanos los trabajadores carrancistas, de que estaban soñando un imposible cuando creían que era posible, dentro del sistema capitalista, dentro del Estado burgués, conseguir su emancipación. El Estado no tolera otro poder dentro de él. No puede existir otro poder que dentro del Estado rivalice con el poder del Estado. Por eso es por lo que, si el trabajador quiere emanciparse, tiene por fuerza que rebelarse contra el Estado. Creer que los trabajadores pueden alcanzar su emancipación dentro del Estado, es preparar el terreno para una derrota cierta. Para obtener la emancipación, los trabajadores tienen que luchar contra el Estado, que es el apoyo de la burguesía.

En efecto, el Estado, con sus leyes y los encargados de hacer que las respeten, es el apoyo más poderoso de los intereses de la clase capitalista, como que el Estado no tiene otra misión que velar por la integridad del llamado derecho de propiedad privada o individual. Pretender que el Estado vele por los intereses de la clase trabajadora, es pretender un imposible, y si se confía al Estado la tarea de emancipar a la clase trabajadora de la explotación capitalista, o si se espera a la tarea de resolver lo que los proletarios tenemos que hacer, es abrir de par en par las puertas a la traición.

La Autoridad, desde los tiempos más remotos, no ha tenido otra función que defender el derecho de propiedad privada. No se la puede pedir que defienda el derecho de los desheredados, porque no fué instituida para eso. La Autoridad fué instituida por los primeros bandidos que aparecieron en la Tierra, para evitar que los desposeídos se rebelasen y arrancasen de las garras de los ladrones lo que éstos les habían robado.

No hay, pues, que esperar que gobierno alguno pueda hacer justicia a los trabajadores. Son éstos los que deben hacerse justicia con sus propias manos, desconociendo toda Autoridad y tomando posesión de la riqueza social para el beneficio de todos los que quieren trabajar, sin distinción de sexo ni de raza, como se expresa en el Manifiesto de 23 de Septiembre de 1911.

Obrar de otra manera, esperar que un gobierno bueno haga el milagro de emancipar a la clase trabajadora, es remachar las cadenas, es esperar en vano. Y cuando se llega hasta el sacrificio de la vida por elevar a la Presidencia a un hombre para que garantice la obra de emancipación, es sacrificarse por el bienestar de los buitres que nos devoran las entrañas a los desheredados.

(Continuará)
CELSE MARQUINA.

¡ATENCIÓN!

I.— La Revolución Mexicana es un movimiento del pobre contra el rico.

II.— El Partido Liberal Mexicano y su órgano en la prensa, REGENERACIÓN, se han esforzado y se esfuerzan por encauzar ese movimiento revolucionario por el sendero del comunismo anarquista.

III.— Los ataques contra la Revolución Mexicana, contra la Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano y contra el Grupo Editor de REGENERACIÓN, si son hechos por proletarios, constituyen una traición a la causa de la emancipación económica, política y social de la especie humana.

Trabajadores, hombres y mujeres: todos los que estéis de acuerdo con los tres puntos arriba expresados, decidnoslo para publicar vuestros nombres en REGENERACIÓN, para que la prensa obrera, los grupos anarquistas y los trabajadores de todo el mundo sepan que los hombres y las mujeres que trabajan, que piensan y que sienten ansias de redención, están con nosotros, y que en contra solo están unos cuantos desposeídos, unos cuantos envidiosos que sacrifican los principios anarquistas a la satisfacción de rencores irracionales y bajos.

"Insisto en lo mismo"
La revolución de México es económica.

Hace mucho tiempo, desde el principio de la Revolución Mexicana, divulgué, con mis escasos conocimientos, por medio de la prensa obrera, mi entusiasmo y simpatía hacia los valientes camaradas que, tremolando la roja enseña de "Tierra y Libertad", sacrifican su bienestar y sus vidas en los campos y poblados del país de los Aztecas, por la redención de los esclavos mexicanos.

Hoy, con más razón que nunca, después de haber observado personalmente en Veracruz, Tampico y Puerto México, el carácter de aquellos indios, con quienes he charlado acerca de tan impor-

tante movimiento, si es cierto que entre ellos los hay que desprecian por completo la cuestión social, también he de decir constatar que encontré muchos que me han llevado al conocimiento de que aquella lucha, tiene ramificaciones profundas, de social y económica.

Hace dos meses que, hallándome en el puerto de Veracruz, a bordo del buque en que iba prestando mis servicios como camarero para los pasajeros de tercera clase, entablé conversación con varios estibadores mexicanos, acerca de aquel movimiento, finigiéndome enemigo de él con el objeto de conocer la opinión de aquella gente, toda vez que se hallan muy distanciados de los que sostienen la lucha con las armas en la mano.

El resultado de aquella discusión, hubo de salirme caro, si mi prudencia y táctica no me hubiesen llevado al camino de la realidad, demostrándoles con pruebas y documentos, entre ellos algunos números de REIVINDICACIÓN, (primera época de Sabadell), que yo era un simpático a la causa que defendían, y que con objeto de orientarme en el propio terreno, me había fingido su enemigo.

Descorrido así el velo de la incógnita, he sido invitado a salir a tierra con ellos, a la hora de abandonar el trabajo con objeto de fraternizar juntos en casa de un compañero, donde fui agasajado con un buen café y un cigarro puro, del país.

En la conversación que hemos sostenido, todo ha girado alrededor de la cuestión social y de la Revolución de México, llegando al convencimiento de que muchos trabajadores simpatizan grandemente con el Partido Liberal Mexicano, así como con su Junta revolucionaria, probándolo con la entrega de un centenar de ejemplares del Manifiesto del 23 de septiembre de 1911, que repartí al regreso de mi viaje, entre los pasajeros y trabajadores del puerto de la Habana.

Cierto es, también, que dicha Revolución tiene muchos enemigos allí, tanto en los trabajadores ignorantes, que desconocen completamente la cuestión social, como entre toda clase de comerciantes extranjeros, que vivían muy bien explotando a sus anchas, con el consentimiento de los gobernantes, a los desafortunados mexicanos.

Todos estos, si les preguntáis que opinan acerca del Partido Liberal Mexicano, os contestarán que son unos gachupines, bandidos, violadores, etc., etc. De ahí la disparidad de criterio entre los revolucionarios de Europa, acerca de aquel grandioso movimiento, pero si estos pudiesen ir aquel país, llegarían a tener otro, real y efectivo, de que en México se lucha por la implantación del comunismo en la tierra.

Comprendo que mi personalidad no es suficiente garantía para acreditarlo así, pero Jaime Vidal, Juan Creaghe y otros muchos, que han visitado aquel país, internándose entre los revolucionarios, lo han hecho magistralmente, y no es de creer lo hicieran con el ánimo de engañar a sus hermanos del mundo entero.

Insisto en lo mismo. La Revolución de México es económica.
ENRIQUE T. CHAS.

La Coruña.
(De "Reivindicación" No. 6, de 9 de Febrero de 1916, Sabadell, España.)

Tercer Artículo Denunciado

Para que los lectores de REGENERACIÓN se formen completo juicio en la denuncia hecha contra nuestros compañeros presos Ricardo y Enrique Flores Magón, y se vea que sus escritos fueron hechos no para incitar al crimen, sino para señalar el remedio al mal social que aqueja al pueblo mexicano, publicamos el siguiente artículo, marcando la parte denunciada que apareció en el número 206 de este mismo semanario, fecha 2 de Octubre de 1915.

"Las Reformas Carrancistas."

"Venustiano Carranza ha logrado hacerse de partidarios haciendo buenas sus promesas de repartos de tierra y dotación de egidos a los pueblos.

"Viendo que el pueblo ya no tiene fe en promesas, para después del triunfo", va haciendo efectivas esas promesas, va poniendo en prácticas las reformas que agregó a su programa cuando se dió cuenta de que el pueblo lucha por adquirir bienes materiales que le den independencia económica, sin la cual la libertad del individuo es imposible.

"En Veracruz, en Yucatán y en algunos otros Estados, controlados por Carranza, se están llevando a cabo repartos de tierras entre los campesinos, y los pueblos están siendo dotados de egidos. Pero, la realización de tales promesas dará a los desheredados la libertad y el bienestar a que tienen derecho como seres humanos que son? No lo creemos, porque tales reformas no dan muerte al llamado derecho de propiedad privada o individual. Ese derecho inicuo, fuente de todos los males que sufre la humanidad, queda en pie, y al quedar en pie, tienen que vivir igualmente sus dos poderosos apoyos: la Iglesia y el Estado, esto es, el sacerdote y la Autoridad, sin los cuales el Capital no podría existir.

"Menos malo sería si esos repartos de tierras se hicieran a título gratuito, esto es, que nada se cobrara por ellos a los beneficiados; pero no es así: el campesino que recibe un pedazo de tierra, tiene que pagar el valor de dicho pedazo al burgues, por medio del gobierno. Tiene que pagar, además, contribuciones para que puedan vivir y divertirse el Presidente de la República, los Ministros de su gabinete, los diputados, los senadores, los jueces, los magistrados, para todos! Y haciendo mil pedazos las banderías perso-

nalistas, agitar por lo alto el Manifiesto de 23 Septiembre de 1911, cuyos principios son los únicos que garantizan a todo ser humano el bienestar y la libertad, porque no quiere mas propiedad privada ni Autoridad, ni Clero.

"El pobre, el verdadero paria, el desheredado que no cuenta con un terron para reclinar la cabeza, ese nado gana con las reformas carrancistas, porque necesita dinero para ponerse a trabajar un pedazo de tierra; pero suponiendo que contase con algo para provisiones, utensilios para el trabajo y lo mas indispensable para poder subsistir mientras levanta la primera cosecha, y suponiendo todavía mas, que la cosecha sea bastante buena, estando el mercado controlado por los capitalistas, tendria que sujetarse el campesino a vender a vil precio sus productos a los acaparadores, con lo que habria trabajado mas que cualquier jornalero por una despreciable pitanza, y la miseria y la tristeza continuarían reinando en su hogar, mientras la abundancia y la dicha reinarían en los hogares de los burgueses, de la misma manera que habia ocurrido antes de la Revolución.

"Las reformas carrancistas son la burla mas sangrienta que pueda haber recibido nunca el proletariado. Su reforma agraria es una bofetada dada en pleno rostro a los desheredados.

PARTE DENUNCIADA

"Nada de reformas! Lo que necesitamos los hambrientos, es la libertad completa, basada en la independencia económica. ¡Abajo el llamado derecho de propiedad privada! Y mientras este derecho inicuo continúe en pie, en pie continuemos y con las armas en la mano todos los proletarios. ¡Basta de burlas! Proletarios: a quienes os hable de carrancismo, escupidle el rostro y quebradle los hocicos.

¡Viva Tierra y Libertad!
RICARDO FLORES MAGÓN"

¿A Que Temeis?

¿A qué teméis para no rebelarte en tus derechos contra el patrón que te humilla, deves de servirle como máquina sumisa? ¿Contra el juez que te envía a presidio por tomar una tortade pan para mitigar el hambre de tus hijos, o contra el mismo que te da un puntapie por hacer un acto de justicia en castigar a tu patrono por no pagar tu trabajo, o por algún ultraje recibido a tu persona o tu familia por algún ricacho o perro de la autoridad? Estas son cosas muy comunes, innumerables que ocurren diariamente. Pero esto parece ser poco para rebelarse los mansos. La revolución armada les espanta, le temen; pero, ¿acaso no les espanta la miseria que es la fiel compañera del proletario desde su cuna hasta su tumba? La mano sanguiñaria que nos arranca a los seres queridos por falta

s "Reportes recibidos aqui hoy
e, cen que hubo muchos habitar
- muertos en la lucha por la posesion

Regeneración

English Section

Edited by WM. C. OWEN

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The Way I Judge Invasions.

How is one to judge? On the one hand it must be recognized that the masses, as always, have become excited by the possibility of war—an excitement our sensational press fans industriously. On the other hand, however, I have been astonished by the number of people with whom I have talked who take an entirely different view. And it happens that, almost without exception, these have been people in no way connected with any revolutionary movement, not in the habit of attending agitation meetings, in fact conservative country-folk. These experiences tend to confirm once more the opinions I have expressed repeatedly that our strength will be found in the sober-minded country rather than in the nervously-distracted city population, and that the propaganda of explanation on the land question has gone far deeper than we supposed.

Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that there is anything but universal condemnation of Villa, or that any doubt exists as to this government being in duty bound to resist invasion and protect its citizens against any repetition of the offense. On that head opinion is unanimous and no amount of talking could alter it. I welcome that, in order to, concur in it with all my heart and soul. For nearly five years I have devoted my pen chiefly to the attempt to head off what I considered the imminent danger of invasion of Mexico by the United States, and assuredly I should not be the one to condone invasion of the United States by Mexico. During the last eighteen months I have denounced, in season and out of season, with every atom of eloquence I could command, the invasion of Belgium by Germany, which I regard as one of the most brutal and indefensible crimes recorded by history—a crime that has led to the slaughter of millions of German and other workmen. Furthermore, and above all, I have utilized this huge historical crime to point the lesson that all tyranny is nothing but invasion of the weak by the strong, and that without a clear distinction between invader and invaded there can be no such thing as social science; no adequate conception of what justice means and what civilization should signify. To grip this, and to grip it firmly, seems to me of incomparably greater importance than is a knowledge of what Karl Marx taught or capacity to discourse learnedly on the materialistic conception of history.

No; the invader should not look to me for support, and I am cordially at one with those who condemn the Villa outrage. But what delights me especially is the skepticism with which these simple country-folk view the repeated assurances that we have intention of invading Mexico; their grasp of the fact that, if we go to war, it will be to defend the indefensible titles of Hearst, Otis (these names in particular bob up all the time) and other land monopolists; their clear-cut comprehension of the undodgeable, truth that at the bottom of all this trouble in Mexico is the land speculator, and if some victim should be punished it is he. That sentiment I find almost universal, and it is a sound and healthy sentiment, in accordance with the facts.

What these people, who naturally have not been able to make

any special study of the Mexican question, do not know is that enormous sums have been invested in options on Mexican lands—options purchased for a song but certain to become immensely valuable if our government, by force of arms, renders the speculator's title secure. I tell these people, and tell them truthfully, that I personally know men who are being urged at this moment to scrape together every cent possible and invest it in Mexican lands, playing for a certain rise.

The problem of militarism, of "preparedness", is evidently worrying all these people, and is a hard nut for them to crack. What, by the necessity of the case they do not see is how the military program dove tails in with the giganatical-ambitious policing scheme which is the kernel of Pan-Americanism. This has to be explained to them; but, on the other hand, a most intelligent man, back recently from a long tour through Mexico, spoke most emphatically on a subject respecting which I have seen only occasional hints in the daily press. His decided opinion was that, if it comes to fighting, we shall not have to fight Mexicans alone, for Germans and Japanese have worked themselves into the country in steadily increasing numbers and are bitterly hostile, as is to be expected, to the United States. This man is a great admirer of the Mexicans whom he describes as being, under normal conditions, the most peaceable of peoples, anxious only to lead their own simple life unmolested.

Another man, whose literary work I have known for years, and whose powers of observation I should not dream of questioning, had been recently in Juarez, and had taken special note of the Mexican cavalry. He thinks them extraordinarily fit, hard as nails, exactly the type best fitted for guerrilla warfare. He also laid stress on their capacity to endure heat, from which American soldiers, especially at this particular season, are sure to suffer greatly. Personally he is a good deal of an American patriot, with imperialistic tendencies,

but he considers that we are judging the Mexican soldier by the out-of-work poor we see loafing along our city streets, and that a most unpleasant surprise awaits us. Perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that all the points made by this man I elaborated, four years ago, in my pamphlet, "The Mexican Revolution."

Problems so large and grave as this should not be belittled, as a rule, by the intrusion of personalities. However, in the special circumstances arising out of the prosecution of the editors of "Regeneracion," it seems to me permissible to say a word about myself. Forewarned not by telegraph from Los Angeles but by a telephone message from the sheriff's office in Tacoma, Wash. I evaded arrest. All my friends express the opinion that I acted wisely, but as to that I have still the gravest doubts. On the one hand, I know that my writings have been devoted exclusively to explain the causes the Mexican upheaval, and that my one object has been to do what I personally could to keep the United States from going to war with Mexico. In that there is assuredly nothing criminal. In that, and in the publicity of a trial, I might find enlarged opportunities for propaganda and a certain notoriety which would be beneficial to me. On the other hand are considerations which influence me greatly.

First: I have no love for the martyrdom of prison, and an even greater abhorrence of troubling others to furnish bail or funds for my defense.

Secondly: I am opposed, on principle, to surrender. We should fight. We should not surrender.

Thirdly: In my opinion the ordinary jury is quite incapable of rendering an equitable verdict in political cases. To do so presupposes an adequate education on the subject. This the ordinary juryman does not possess, and he cannot acquire it in the short time a trial occupies.

Fourthly: Outside the jail I can write. Inside I cannot.

Wm. C. Owen.

THE ARTICLES IN QUESTION.

With this issue we publish the first of the articles upon which the indictments against Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon and Wm. C. Owen are based: the others will appear as soon as the translations are made.

Our purpose in reproducing these articles is for our readers to have a full grasp of the case and judge for themselves.

For lack of space we refrain from a more extended introduction, but as to the "incendiaryism" contained in these articles we ask the reader to compare it with Jefferson's "God forbid that 20 years pass without a revolution," and "It is error alone that needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself"; Phillips' "If there is anything that cannot bear free thought let it crack". And even the mild Lincoln's: "Whenever the people shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right to amend it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it".

All this is piffle, we know, but don't you feel red with shame to live under an aberration called civilization that grows backwards instead of forward?

"TO CARRANCISTA SOLDIERS."

"REGENERACION", of Nov. 6 1915
"Carrancista soldiers, listen:

very soon, your First Chief, shall remain almost master of the situation, and I say almost master of the situation, because there are rebels that will not submit to the authority of Venustiano Carranza, but who will prefer to remain arms in hand, expounding a worthy existence for the cause of humanity, before surrendering his arms to a government which like any other government on Earth, shall not be anything else but a prop on which capitalism relies to continue its exploitation of the working class at leisure, that is, to have the poor perpetually under the domination of the rich.

"Those rebels that shall continue on foot, are your brothers, they are poor like you, and like you before shouldering a gun shed their sweat in the furrow leaving with it a land that was not theirs. They, like you, audaciously submerged themselves in the darkness of the mines, disputing with the rocks the precious metal which were to fill the coffers that were not theirs. They, like you, defied extenuation and consumption in the factory side by side with those iron workers called machines, producing silks that would not cover their nudity, vate property which makes poshoes that were not for their sible the gathering in a few hands of the social wealth. We want in their huts. They, like you, the social wealth to be the common patrimony of all the inhabitants of Mexico, men and wo-

foot; they grazed the cattle, to live on herbs and roots; they chopped wood to shiver with cold.

"Those rebels are your brothers. They are also awaited in the shack by a melancholic mother casting anxious looks along the dirty road; by a sad wife, by the loving sister, by the beloved daughter, the elderly father, the tender children, and those dear ones that make existence enchanting, the family, in a word, without whom we seem to lack something, we don't seem to be complete.

"Those rebels are your brothers, only more intelligent than you are, they don't sacrifice themselves or their families to elevate a man to the Presidency who shall make the happiness of the humble, for experience, observation and the teachings of history, have demonstrated that never in the life of humanity has the rare phenomenon been produced of a government that concerned itself for the well being of the poor classes, but all to the contrary: it has always been seen that governments support the rich as against the poor. You don't know why is that, you Carranza soldiers; but I will explain it to you in a few lines.

"In the beginning, human beings had no government, then everything belonged to all; at that time the land was free for anyone who wanted to work it; the forests supplied with wood and meat all those who cared to take the trouble to go and look for such things so necessary to life; the springs had no owner; all had an equal right to extract from the river, the lake or the sea, all the fishes they wanted. In that happy time there was no government, because there was no private property to protect, and people understood each other so well, that the greater part of all work was done in common, consumption was done in fraternity, everyone taking what he needed. But wars came of tribes against tribes, and the vanquished were reduced to slavery, having then to work for their conquerors, who, naturally declared themselves owners of everything in existence. Then, Authority was born, there were privileges to protect: those of the conquerors over the conquered.

"Here is how was born the principle of Authority, that had not as its origin, as generally supposed, the necessity of the weak of defending themselves from the aggression of the strong, but the necessity of the strong to keep their riches safe from the possible aggressions on the part of the dispossessed.

"If you, Carranza soldiers, have no material wealth to lose, it is bad for you to sacrifice yourself and those dear to you to elevate a man to the Presidency, who, as a ruler, will be your lash and your executor, as he shall do nothing in your benefit, because his mission is not to protect you from the aggressions of the strong, but to keep you subjected by means of the law that the strong has made for his own protection," and not for yours.

The strong have the earth, the machinery of production, the houses, the means of transportation and distribution, of the prime material (materia prima) and of all manufactured things, and transportation, also of persons. All of that is what is called social wealth, and the possession of that wealth gives power to him that has it to play at his whim with the fate of him that has it not. That is why we, the anarchists who form the Mexican Liberal Party, do not fight to obtain an increase in wages, or a decrease in the hours of labor, nor for the indemnization of accidents, nor for old age pensions, nor for any such things, but for the abolition of the right of private property which makes poshoes the gathering in a few hands of the social wealth. We want the social wealth to be the common patrimony of all the inhabitants of Mexico, men and wo-

men, without distinction of race or color.

All that as to salaries, more or less high, of indemnizations and so forth, can be easily acquired, because such things do not attack the right of private property, which is the right to exploit and to keep the people in slavery. As long as the right of private property remains on foot, the same wrong that compelled you to take up arms will stand: misery, because it would do you good to have your wages raised and to be "benefited" by the other reforms, such as the diminution of the hours of labor, and others, if you have to pay a higher price for the necessities of life, and more for house rent, to say nothing of contributions, which, if the government does not exact them from you in person, it will exact them from your masters, who reimburse themselves by raising the prices of everything. You are the one who, in reality, pay the contributions, or taxes, not the bourgeoisie.

DENOUNCED ITEM.

"So you see, brother carrancistas, the problem which is going to be solved by the rebels who retain their arms, when Carranza becomes President, is the problem that you will have to decide because it affects you in the same manner.

"Your duty is to help and for this purpose do not surrender your arms when the troops are ordered disbanded.

"What you should do at such a time, or before if possible, is to rebel, turn your arms against your chiefs and officers and without trembling pulse open fire with your rifles, because they are your enemies and are concerned in having these conditions last forever, so they can have a life of privilege.

"A strong heart, a firm pulse and steady aim is all you need to exterminate your immediate oppressors.

"If you surrender your arms you will return to your home in poverty, ready to sell your blood and strength to the rich at their own price.

"You will have accomplished nothing, but in the meantime your chiefs and officers will enjoy, in the city, all kinds of pleasures and honors, and display on their breasts crosses and medals. If you remain in the Carranza army as a permanent soldier you will be a bad man, an executioner of your brothers of your class because you will help to serve the rich.

"Honor points to the road you should take; rebel against the government until you attain the triumphs of the principles comprised in the declaration of the 23d of September, 1911, expedited by the Mexican Liberal Party, principles that advocate the death of capital, of authority and of clergy of all religions.

"Decide to follow this road. Don't be deceived by the specious arguments of alleged wise politicians; these same arguments were used by the enemies of the great French Revolution to prevent the people from obtaining their political liberty.

"It was the argument of Porfirio Diaz to prevent you from obtaining your liberties; it is also the argument of the Carranza party used to prevent you from obtaining your economic liberty, which is the foundation of all liberties.

"This means the privilege of earning your living by working for yourself and being independent, and this can only be obtained, understand, by expropriation of land, houses, machinery, means of transportation and merchandise becoming common property without distinction of men or women, race or color. He who tells you to the contrary, spit in his face and even kill him, because it is necessary, it is absolutely necessary, to initiate a revolutionary campaign of house-cleaning."

"We, the disinherited, must

rid ourselves of those who are in our way, if we can, by hook or crook, the same as we get rid of tigers, as we annihilate the rattlesnake, as we crush the tarantula. Those who tell that they are not prepared for this or other conquests which benefit you, are the ones who have interest in delaying your emancipation, so that in the meantime they can live at your expense."

Now, carrancista soldiers, to act as men convinced that there is nothing in common between the poor and the rich, unless it be the hatred that they mutually

profess for each other, a hatred we must not try to lessen, but which precisely must be deepened, exasperate it, increase it if it is possible, enliven it, poke it so that it shall not be extinguished, for the existence of that hatred between the two social classes, that of the exploited and that of the exploiters, is a guarantee of struggle and hope of emancipation for those who today are found in the last rung of the social ladder.

Long Live Land and Liberty!
RICARDO FLORES MAGON."

Villa Or Wilson—Which Is The Bandit?

VILLA

PANCHO VILLA is the descendant of a long line of peons whose lives were spent in hard toil, cultivating the soil of Mexico and helping to produce foodstuffs for their fellow countrymen and profits for their exploiters.

Villa followed the same calling. His childhood was dark and dreary. The son of a peon, he passed his early youth in hard farm work, helping to support his family. The hand of greed lay heavy upon the people of Mexico. The hardest toil barely sufficed to keep the Villa family alive.

As a young man, Pancho saw an opportunity to improve his condition by securing work in a neighboring town. He took his widowed mother and younger children with him, he the chief support of the family. It was a garrison town, and one day Pancho learned that his oldest sister, a beautiful girl of 15, was seduced by an army officer. Pancho set out to find the man. He demanded that he make amends. The officer scorned the low peon and young Villa shot and killed him.

The authorities ordered the arrest of Villa. Pancho knew that he, a despised peon, could expect no justice at the hand of masters. He fled to the mountains. The government set a price on his head and declared him an outlaw.

But the townspeople knew Villa and the story of his wrongs. They admired him for challenging the right of an officer to violate the daughter of a peon. They aided Pancho and by their help he was able to avoid arrest. He gathered around him a circle of other peons embittered by the injustice and oppressions they suffered. From time to time they made excursions to neighboring states expropriating rich land sharks and sharing the spoils of victory with the needy peons. He was an outlaw, but the people loved him and blessed his name.

When the Revolution broke out, Villa joined forces with peons fighting for a chance to live, for a little land and liberty. He has kept up the fight against tremendous odds. Nor has Wall Street been able to corrupt him and buy him off, as they did with Carranza.

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TO REBEL PRESS.

Besides the exchange for "Regeneracion" we ask all the labor and radical papers to send each issue an extra copy to the Magon Brothers, Los Angeles county Jail, Los Angeles, Cal.

THOUGHTS.

BETWEEN a priest who kills with impunity a million of tender minds, and a soldier who in cruel battle kills ten adversaries and then gets kill himself which is the most criminal?
P. C. Paulet.—Los Angeles, Cal.

All social agitation arises from the persistence of right against the obstinacy of law.—Victor Hugo.

WILSON

Unlike Villa and his hard-working progenitors, Wilson comes from a long line of exploiters. His forefathers did neither spin nor sow. Yet, they always enjoyed the good things of life, parasites on the back of labor.

Wilson himself, unlike Villa, has never tilled the ground nor worked in mine or factory. He has not helped in any productive or otherwise useful work. On the contrary, as teacher and college professor, he used every effort to poison the young minds with the dogmas and dominant views that support present institutions and make more secure the bondage of the people. As President, he has proved himself a menace to the welfare and peace of the country, a weather cock constantly swayed by the breezes from Wall Street. A puppet of the money magnates, his attitude on important issues has been dictated by Big Business. Preaching peace and sanity a few months ago, he has suddenly veered into the camp of mad militarism. The compelling hand of the munition and steel trust is dictating his policies. And now he cries loudest for the biggest navy of the world. The priests of Mammon got him, body and soul.

At this very moment Wilson is preparing to invade Mexico—poor, bleeding Mexico, for years torn by inner strife and weakened by the long struggle. He has ordered a "punitive expedition" against Villa. It is no secret that back of this outcry for the punishment of Villa are the American political and commercial pirates eager for the invasion of Mexico in the holy name of greater profits.

Villa killed a Mexican officer to avenge the ruin of his sister. Wilson is preparing to kill thousands of Mexicans on the pretext of avenging the death of some Americans. Which is the greater bandit—Villa or Wilson?

There is only this difference between them: Villa had the courage to do his own vengeance, taking the risks and profiting nothing himself.

Wilson sits safely in the White House and orders others to do the dirty work.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We need not say that REGENERACION is traversing rough seas these days, and it is with no little effort that its existence is made possible.

For a long time this paper has been sent to a number of people who have not cooperated or supported it in any way. Under present conditions this cannot continue and we hereby notify the above mentioned subscribers that after three weeks their names will be stricken off our lists if they do not signify their WILLINGNESS to support the paper.

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