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Send money payable to
ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.
P. O. Box 1236, Los Angeles, Cal.

Commercialists Cannot Understand The Mexican

With United States troops still pouring into Mexico, and every one speculating as to whether they will or will not be withdrawn, our most noted publicists have begun to busy themselves once more with Mexican affairs. Hopper in "Collier's," Blythe in "The Saturday Evening Post" and Lincoln Steffens in "Everybody's" are instances. Also Philander C. Knox, who was Secretary of State under President Taft, has been explaining the condition which confronted President Wilson when he succeeded Taft. Knox knows what he is talking about, for he was on the inside; and first I think it advisable to call attention to a widely-circulated myth which Knox takes pains to puncture. Huerta, he reminds us, did not become Provisional President of Mexico AFTER Madero's assassination but three days BEFORE it—a fact of much importance, since it makes it improbable that Huerta had any direct hand in the useless removal of his vanquished predecessor. Taft had no idea of refusing to recognize Huerta on the ground that he was a murderer; but, when he handed over the reins of government to President Wilson, was waiting "for definite assurances for the security of American rights and the adjustment of American claims." The words quoted are Knox' own, and unquestionably he knows.

This, I steadily maintain, is the keynote to all our policy in Mexico since the outbreak of the revolution, and the pretense that Huerta was rejected as a red-handed murderer was simply a play to sentiment and bid for political support. Huerta, for whom I certainly never held a brief, was an exceptionally strong and stubborn Indian. He was in sympathy with his race and anything but malleable, as his persistent refusal to apologize to the United States most clearly demonstrated. For that reason, in my opinion, our present administration decided to make war on him and adopt as its protégé the more pliable Carranza. Unhappily it had its doubts as to Carranza's ability to protect the interests. For some time, therefore, it deemed it judicious to carry on a side flirtation with the notorious bandit, Francisco Villa.

The editor of a well-known Socialist publication has written me soliciting an article on Mexican affairs, which, according to his statement, Socialists cannot understand. Although my patience is beginning to be exhausted, after long years of weekly explanation, I have again complied; and here again I address myself to the tedious task of illustrating what seems to me the obvious; of demonstrating the eloquence with which money talks; of interpreting that odd twist of character which makes the Mexican-Indian anxious to govern his own life instead of turning it over to the civilizing influences of foreign diplomatists and profit-mongers. A strange phenomenon, I admit, and one that neither master devoted to money-making nor servants devoted to jobs can be expected to understand. For the one, life would be meaningless without opportunity to take. For the other, to make and make what others take has grown into a second nature.

Nearly five years ago I wrote, as editor of this section, one of those rebellious, Anarchistic criticisms of which no well-regulated mind is ever guilty. It was provoked by a Los Angeles "Times"

editorial, in which the writer, congratulated Los Angeles on "the sudden influx of members of the oldest and proudest families of Mexico," families, as he remarked ecstatically, that "ranked right along with that of Diaz in the olden days." Then came a long list of names, which produced the following outburst of enthusiasm: "The names belong to former governors, statesmen, wealthy planters, mine owners and land operators, who will in the future direct the development of their vast properties in Mexico from Los Angeles, bringing here a wealth that cannot be estimated. Los Angeles will actually rival Mexico City in the control of estates, giving pleasant and safe residence where all that is best in American civilization can be enjoyed."

That glowing picture I was beast enough to daub with a whole bucket of established facts, and I repeated the treatment in a special pamphlet issued from our office. Being able to write with some local knowledge I pointed out that one of these distinguished visitors was a former governor of a Mexican State, who was utilizing the "pleasant and safe residence" Los Angeles afforded by hawking round Mexican properties for which he asked the trifle of \$50,000,000. I gave a lot of other similar instances. I also wrote, as emphatically as I could, that people of this class did not seem to me desirable citizens but pirates, inasmuch as every single one of them was confessedly an absentee landlord and gloried in it; and inasmuch as every one of them had as his ideal a life of idle luxury, led in the pleasant asylum of Los Angeles and rendered possible by robbery of the toiling peon. In short, between the "Times" editorialist and myself there was quite a difference of opinion; and these differences of opinion, as deep as that they cannot be compromised, are at this moment converting the world into one armed camp and drowning it in blood. Of course the vast majority of people think the wisest course is to ignore them, but somehow I never could see safety in the ostrich act. According to those who run ostrich farms he is probably the stupidest of all animals, and his proverbial attitude toward threatened danger makes him the easiest to capture.

If, therefore I have any message to Socialists, or to any one else, it is that all talk about peace is obviously humbug so long as these conditions endure. They will endure for all time if their abolition is left to those who live by them; that is to say, to the monopolists and politicians. Mexico itself affords the most conclusive proof of that. You admire, President Wilson, we will say, and surely I agree that, in culture and general intelligence, he towers above his rivals. How comes it then that he, the highest of his type, never ventures to treat this Mexican upheaval as impartial investigation habitually treat it? How comes it that he has never dared to remind the nation that the economics of land monopoly are at the root of all this trouble? I asserts and re-asserts, "ad nauseam," that from politicians we cannot get the truth; and in holding up as illustration the distinguished scholar who now occupies the White House I clinch the fact with proof so striking that none can blink it—honestly. Unfortunately the Socialists have to blink it, because their creed commits them to a belief in politicians. So you find them saying that the Mexican situation is so complicated that they cannot understand it.

We do not understand the Mex-

ican, they say; but we never do understand people until we really try. Blythe, in his article on Villa, insists that the Mexicans' understanding of ourselves is even less, but that I doubt. My own experience of Mexicans is that they have gripped the fundamental positions in this controversy with a firmness that is startling. Universally I have found them convinced that the social scheme which apparently suits us,—since we have grown into it—does not suit them. Universally they have declared that the advent of the foreign engineer, mine operator, land speculator and so forth, means that they must move out, or stay on terms by no means to their liking. In Mexico, for example, they say that when you talk mines you must talk "Guggenheim", and that is a language the Mexicans do not admire. Personally I am with them on that proposition, and only today I read that one of that terrible family of money-makers is suing his brother for loss occasioned by their misrepresentations in respect to a certain mining property. The unfortunate sufferer declares he dropped \$10,000,000 in consequence. Over such a tragedy who would not weep?

Our American ideal, at present, is a society of Guggenheims who take, and of workers who make and make and make. Our ideal is the more wants the merrier, for that keeps the machinery in motion and, more or less, insures the inestimable job. That does not happen to be the Mexican ideal. Nobody enjoys a good meal more than does the Mexican, but he will not make himself a slave to cooking, as do our hospitable Jewish ladies whenever feast days come along, or as the German housewife seems habitually to do. No one likes more to cut a dash than does the Mexican, but he is quite unwilling to buy his cottons at the price of having to slave as does the Lancashire or South Carolina operative. Most Americans let drop occasionally the sententious remark that money can be bought too dear, but they seldom live up to it. I should say it is the center of all Mexican thought, and I should say that, when given the chance, they habitually live up to it.

Let me here call the attention of my Socialist friends, and many others, to what is happening in Europe; for it may help them to understand the case of Mexico. Whether you are for Germany or for the Allies is immaterial, since there are certain facts which no sane person can dispute. Rightly or wrongly the little kingdom of Serbia did kick like the devil when Austria proposed, as Serbia at least conceived, to swallow her. Rightly or wrongly Belgium did precisely the same thing; and, rightly or wrongly, a lot of small European countries are all giving evidence of the same rebellious disposition. With gritted teeth or with profound courtesies they admit that the other fellow's economic arrangements are superior to their own; that his laws are juster and administered more purely, and so forth. But they do not want it. They prefer muddling along in their own way. They would rather be their own masters than the highly-paid servants of the supermen. They spurn the offers of would-be benevolent protectors; and the attitude taken by these, smaller nationalities in Europe is the attitude taken by Mexico on this side of the water. I myself think that attitude the larger wisdom, and I am amazed at the discovery that quite a number of professed

Anarchists do not agree with me. I myself think that the homeless wretch who refuses to be held up by the real estate men has a much better time of it in this transitory life than has the Los Angeles book-keeper who, for the next ten years, must somehow hold on to his job lest he lose his installment-purchased home. I myself think the roving blades, who suffer all sorts of hardships in their determination to preserve their individual liberty, have a much better time of it than do the drilled and disciplined drudges who, after a life of what is called "loyal" obedience to orders, die with the happy consciousness that they have left their widows a thousand dollars or so in life insurance. I myself expect that a nation whose inhabitants till their own fields, and put the produce into their own pockets, is wiser and will be happier than a nation working from dawn to night to swell the over-swollen fortunes of a lot of "takers." Surely it is more interesting. Before the United States government decided that it wanted to lay hands on me I was looking after my own chickens and putting what their eggs brought me into my own pocket. Believe me, it was far more amusing than working to boom some syndicate's stock or make some Morgan even more preposterously wealthy.

Anarchists, and other wise men, need no teachings on this head. On Socialists, and other foolish persons, such teachings, I regret to think are wasted. They are always for the big; for the biggest machinery, used on the biggest scale, turning out the biggest product, for the biggest of all possible employers, the State. If you, the humble individual, don't like that program you can lump it. Efficiency in producing cheap toys or wooden nutmegs!—is the God, and human liberty, and human happiness, can go to Hell. Such people cannot understand the Mexicans. Such people are secretly convinced that it is written in the stars that Mexico shall be absorbed by her more skilled and powerful competitor, the United States. Such people, unable to look beyond the narrow limits of what they call the "materialist philosophy" look on commercial ability as the all-in-all, and are incapable of understanding that against that arid philosophy the human spirit, sooner or later, invariably revolts. Everywhere the man who think, "with Wendell Phillips, that 'a man is better than a bank vault'" are putting up quite a fight.

It is not from any innate pugnacity that I perpetually attack the Socialists, and it is not from any love of controversy that I drag in questions of philosophy from which so many revolutionary editors steer clear. I act thus because, in my conception, on both sides of the Atlantic we are now passing through the center of a revolutionary whirlpool which throws to the surface all these thoughts, and ultimately will force to examine thoroughly the rotten bases on which we have been building our movements and our lives. I did quite a lot of thinking some four years ago when, in reply to my appeal for sympathy, the editor of the "International Socialist Review" replied that, in her opinion, it was Mexico's destiny to be absorbed by this country and ruled by a Rockefeller, and that thinking set me on the track of quite a lot of other things. I have come to understand very clearly that the man who thinks culture (which implies devotion to individual development) the great aim of life, and he who considers money-making and money-saving its sole, are at war to the knife. They represent directly antagonistic readings of life's riddle, and between them, and the classes nations composed of them, there will be war until one or the other reaches final triumph. Down to the Rio Grande commercialism

holds undisputed sway. Below it commercialism is generally hated. In his heart's heart the average Socialist is a commercialist, for he considers that industrial organization is mankind's most elevated task, and his mind is centered on the workshop. That is not, as I see it, the Anarchist's thought, nor is it that of the ordinary Mexican. To my thinking the Mexican upheaval is at bottom, an Anarchist upheaval, prompted by all those aspirations for individual liberty which have always been the earmarks of true Anarchistic thought. I believe the case of Mexico closely analogous to that of Serbia's revolutionary tendencies which set off the powder magazine in Europe. Sooner or later Imperialism, whether of the sword or of the purse, is always called to time.

Comrades and Fellow Workers:—The undersigned, members of the working class residing in Los Angeles, California, and vicinity, protest with all the energy of which our proletarian breasts are capable, against the treacherous conduct of the members of Local 602, I. W. W., of this city, have assumed regarding the persecution that is being suffered by "Regeneración" and its editors, Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon, from the federal authorities of the United States.

The article that in behalf of the comrades Magon, and signed by comrade Georgia Kotsch, appeared in number 332 of "Solidarity," has had the effect of causing the individuals that form Local 602, of Los Angeles, to give loose rein to their irrational hatred against the members of the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, as may be seen by the article entitled "Arrest of the Magons," and which, signed by Ben Wittling and Wm. Baker, appeared in No. 18 of "El Rebelde," Spanish organ of the mentioned local.

That article tends to convey the understanding that the Mexican Liberal Party is an enemy of the I. W. W., hoping with the expression of that lie, to cause disruption among those surrounding the comrades Magon, so they may be abandoned and left at the mercy of the common enemy in the persecution of which they are the object.

As is known, the comrades Magon are now prisoners in the Los Angeles County Jail of this city, since the 18th of February of this year, accused by the postal authorities of circulating incendiary matter through the mails by means of "Regeneración."

It is well known to us that neither the Mexican Liberal Party or its organ in the press, "Regeneración," are enemies of the I. W. W. The ends of the I. W. W. and the Mexican Liberal Party are identical, as may be seen in the Manifesto of the 23rd of September, 1911, issued by the Organizing Junta of the Party, and which principles are sustained by this organization strictly proletarian and revolutionary.

What in reality happens is that the leaders of the Spanish speaking branch of the I. W. W. in Los Angeles, are a set of individuals that have brought upon themselves the antipathy of all class-conscious workers of this city and its surroundings by their absurd attacks upon the members of the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, attacks that are entirely unjustified, the comrades that compose the Junta are well known to us; we are aware of their efforts, of their sacrifices, their abnegation, their unselfishness, fealty and wholesomeness to defend the working class whom they educate and prepare to end the capitalist and authoritarian system.

Notwithstanding the unquestioned sincerity and good faith on the part of our comrades Magon and their associates in the Junta, the leaders of the Latin branch of the I. W. W. in this city, attack them, jealous perhaps of the prestige that the said comrades have won for themselves in the ranks of the workers by their unceasing fight against Capital, Authority and the Clergy, and for the purity they have shown, repeatedly scoring most tempting inducements made to them by Mexican rulers in an effort to make them join the bourgeois camp, preferring to live in the most abject misery, as is well known to us, the workers of this city, than to betray their brothers the disinherited.

The mendacity of the I. W. W. leaders of whom we speak has reached the extreme of converting them into informers to the benefit of the police, calling the attention of the authorities, by means of their former paper, "Huelga General," as well as verbally in the open air meetings held at the Plaza, of the revolutionary acts of the Junta which, by their nature, are in those that the capitalist laws persecute.

The campaign of calumny and insults that the leaders of the Latin branch of the I. W. W. have carried on, against the comrades of the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, and their acts as informers of the police, in their efforts to always see our comrades, the Magons, involved in litigation, have had no other result than to discredit those leaders of the I. W. W., and, as a natural consequence, our aloof-

To The I. W. W.

ness and that of the working people in general, from that Local 602. All of us, and all the class conscious workers of this city and its surroundings, sympathize with the I. W. W. movement, because we see in the doctrines of that Union a marked similarity to ours, and when the I. W. W. require our solidarity, we shall be with them without the necessity of a call, because as class-conscious workers that we are, we know which are our obligations towards our class brothers; but with the leaders of Local 602 of the I. W. W., we don't want to have relations of any kind as we consider them traitors to the cause of the economic emancipation of the working class.

The leaders referred to are a hindrance to the progress of the Union. Many comrades have had the best of disposition to join it, but have abstained from doing so, and others that already belonged, have dropped out, sickened by the foul conduct of those I. W. W. leaders. Considering the years the Latin branch of that Union has been established here, it should have a good number of members, but it isn't so, and its sterility is due to the iniquitous campaign that these I. W. W. leaders have sustained against the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party for which the working people have sympathy and confidence.

We, men and women of the proletariat, protest against the treacherous conduct of Local 602 of the I. W. W., which tries to undermine the surroundings and work of the comrades Magon, so that they, without the support of the workers be the victims of the common enemy, without Local 602 stopping to think that an injury to one member of the working class is an injury to all workers.

The Magon brothers are in jail because they published in "Regeneración" writings that tend to awaken class-consciousness among the working masses, and it is the duty of all workers to be on their side. All those who desire, may ask us for the English translations of the articles for which they are prisoners, as well as the Manifesto of September 23, 1911. By reading those articles and Manifesto, it may be seen that the persecution against "Regeneración" and its editors is nothing else but a brutal attempt of Authority to suppress the freedom of thought in this country.

This case is, therefore, an affair that concerns all workers, if they do not wish this liberty to be snatched from all, for we must bear in mind that if the Magon brothers are convicted, that conviction will serve as a precedent to later legally suppress all the laboring press.

In helping our comrades, the Magons, nothing else is done but to repel the grave danger that menaces the free expression of thought.

I, W. W. Comrades, lend your help in this case. It is not personalities we are dealing with, but to prevent that the last medium which we possess to make ourselves understood be snatched from the hands of the disinherited, the only means we have for education and to prepare ourselves for the final assault against privilege and tyranny all over the world.

Agitate by means of your press, at your meetings and everywhere that it be opportune to do it, against the persecution of which the comrades Magon are the object, and invite all to contribute to their defense.

All money for the defense of our comrades Magon should be sent to P. D. Noel, Fin. Sec. Workers' International Defense League, 621 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal. Los Angeles, California, May 10 de 1916.

(Seal) "Centro de Estudios Racionales," Los Angeles, Cal.
Signed: R. L. Chacón, Victoria Chacón, Rutilio Contreras, Felicitas Chacón, Manuel Trigueros, Amado Hernández, Edmundo Márquez, Luis Martínez, Juan Reyes, Valeria Santana, Pablo de la Cruz, Juan Carpio, Vicente Carpio, Gorgorio Carpio, Gerónimo Lárez, Ramona Lárez, Refugio Lárez.

(Seal) Grupo "Armonía y Solidaridad," Los Angeles, Cal.
Signed: Ramón M. Alvarez, José Macías, Antonio García, Julian Nava, José Ortega, Guillermo Montero, José Mirélez, Cándido Fernández, J. Fernández, Leon A. Signoret, Francisco Espinosa, Alejandro Lara, Marcos Solano, Pascual López, G. Tudela, F. Hernández, R. Vázquez, Pablo García, Rafael Sánchez, Pedro Vázquez, Natalia Téllez, C. Márquez, J. Nila, A. G. José M. García, Pedro Castorena, Idefonso Alva, José Flores, Francisco Sapién, F. P. Ochoa, O. E. Zelaya, Luis Pérez, Q. Limón, N. Rebollo, Agustín Díaz, F. Villarreal, Francisco García, Eustacio Juárez, P. C. Pautel, Juan Alvarez, Francisco Gregeda, Dolores A. Rodríguez, Nicolás Becerra, E. Contreras, E. Durán, M. Cuadros, Luis Robledo, P. Vargas, V. Ayala, M. Contreras, R. Peña, A. Robledo, M. Guerrero, C. Contreras, N. Estrada, M. Estrada, I. Sierra, Z. Rivas, F. Franco, Vicente Martínez, M. Olivárez, L. de Olivárez, H. Magdalena, R. Olivárez, S. Dominguez, A. Olivárez, R. Olivárez, J. Delgado, P. Figueroa, A. Estanol, L. López, M. Contreras, E. Carrasco, E. Zavala.

(Seal) Grupo "Juvenil Libertario," Los Angeles, Calif.
P. Robles, Nemecio Cotas, Pedro Hernández, Apolonia Solís, Julio A. González, Manuela Peña, Juan Zuluaga, Manuel Miranda, Ventura Mendoza, Primitivo Aguirre, Jr., Lázaro Medrano, Jr., Primitivo Aguirre, Sr., Cruz C. Aguirre, Albino Campos, Paulino Medrano, Alex Avila, Maria Diaz, José L. Martínez, José Perret,

Manuela Méndez, Luis Martínez, G. Hernández, Tomás Hernández, Raínaldo Solís, Pánfilo Méndez, Saturnino Cota, Damacio Miranda, Andrés Miranda, David Cano, Jesús Cano.
ARTURO MIRANDA, Secretary.

(Seal) Grupo "Los Sin Fortuna," Los Angeles, California.
Ascensión Martínez, Eliza T. Martínez, Benita Talavera, Vicente Talavera, José Rodríguez, Librada Lara, Victoria Lara, Salvador Lara, Reclm Martínez, Genaro Avila, Antonio Palma, Raúl Palma, Blas Hernández, Pedro Rincón Gallardo, Jesuita R. Gallardo, Manuel R. Gallardo, Virginia R. Gallardo, Serapia R. Gallardo, Eduardo R. Gallardo, José R. Gallardo, Angelita Hernández, Dionisia Hernández, Arturo Hernández, Lázaro Medrano, Sr., Lázaro Medrano, Jr., Lucita Medrano, Carmen Medrano, Ma., Carmen Medrano, H. Moisés Medrano, Dora Medrano, Cornelio Romo, Gerónima Romo, Dolores Pedrosa, Francisco Pedrosa, Refugio Torres, Francisco López, Josefita López, Manuel López, Lorenza López, Carlos López, Anita López, Domitila López, Félix Rojas, Lucita Rojas, Isaac Rojas, Juan Murillo, Isabel Gallardo, Baudelio Martínez, Juanita Martínez, Guatemoc Martínez, César Martínez, Esteban Calvillo, Magdalena Calvillo.

The Groups of San Gabriel, Oxnard and Puente, California, send similar protests to the foregoing, but for lack of space we cannot reproduce. Signed by the following:
San Gabriel, Cal.
Tomás Mata, Amado Rincón, Juan Rincón, Juana Rincón, Agustina G. Mata, Protasio Reyes, Esteban Estrada, Daniel Altamirano, Jesús Rincón, Antonio Rincón, Felipe Magalleno, David Altamirano, Julián Rincón, Trini Rincón.
(Seal) Grupo "Acracio," Puente, California.
A. E. Betancur, D. E. Betancur, A. Betancur, F. Lacio, R. Luna, P. Luna, G. Luna, R. de Santiago, G. de Santiago, F. Betancur, A. R. Betancur, A. B. Betancur, C. Alfaro, E. Alfaro, M. Alfaro, G. Barrios, A. Guerra, I. Betancur, A. Guerra, T. F. García, A. Enciso, G. P. Betty, A. Hernández,

Grupo de Oxnard, California.
Concepción Villanueva, Esteban Villanueva, Angelita Rangel, Dolores Rangel, Inceita Rangel, Andrés D. Rangel, Melecio García, Lorenzo González, Antonio Salcedo, Camilo Zúñiga, José Riso, Reyes Camino, Urbano Carranza, Fidel Carranza, Jesús Carranza, Trinidad Nuño, Martín Carrillo, Jesús Mendoza, Enrique Durán, E. Cendejas, G. Rubio, José Rios, Rosario Morales, María Brousse, Cleofas Cázares, Matilde Montano.
Florence, California.
Anita Monreal, Catarino Rodríguez, Filogonio Rodríguez, Amelia Sánchez, Tomás Sánchez, Petra Nicasio, Simon Nicasio, Eulalio Martínez, Labelia Martínez, José Sánchez, Atanasio Reyes, Julio Rodríguez, Anastasio Ramírez, Maria Ramirez, Juan Ramirez, Cleofas Ramirez, Ignacio Ramirez, Catarino Ramirez, Atanasio Ramirez, Juana Ramirez, Francisco Ramirez, Altargracia Ramirez, Margarita Ramirez, Transito Guerrero, Adrian Guerrero, Herminio Guerrero, Lucita Guerrero, Lape Guerrero, Luis Martinez, Tomás Martinez, Manuel Martinez, Felipe Robles, Jesus Robles, Antonio Robles, Luis Robles, Felix Robles, Elena Robles, Linda Robles, Andrea Robles, Paulo Rodriguez, Francisco Rodriguez, Antonio Rodriguez, Juan Rodriguez, Saturnina Rodriguez, Alas Darling, Charles Darling, Herald Darling, Valat Darling, Gladys Barber, Lorans Barber, Chery Barber, Clad Barber, Annas Ibas, John Ibas, Cane Jonson, Zathes Jonson, Baby Jonson, Ruthe Janson, Herald Janson, Ernest Janson.

Report of the money received by Los Angeles Branch Workers' International Defense League for MAGON defense:
Previously acknowledged, \$285.28
Collections for two weeks ending May 8th. 1916.
G. Rinaldi, Los Angeles, Cal. \$1.
Ladies Tailors' Union, Chicago, Ill. \$5.50; Workmen's Circle No. 127, Chicago, Ill. \$2.; Regeneracion \$30; Collection at May Day meeting; Los Angeles, Cal. \$49.93; R. J. Robinson, Saint Louis, Mo. \$1.; Workmen's Circle No. 192, Paterson, N. J. \$1.; M. McQuaig, Chicago, Ill. \$2.; Workmen's Circle No. 79, Cleveland, O. \$1.50; Collection by H. Cohen, Chicago, Ill. \$4. Total, \$383.21.
P. D. Noel, Fin. Secy.

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HOW ZAPATA SOLVES The Agrarian Problem.

When the land of a nation has passed into the possession of the few, the masses, if they are to recover their lost independence and escape from poverty, are compelled by the necessities of life to expropriate those few. When it comes to the breaking-point the masses always recognize that to buy out the monopolists is to burden themselves with the support of parasites and perpetuate their former rent-vassalage under another name. Before the dispossessed can get back their lands, or obtain compensation, they have to regain control of the governing machine. For this, as far as I can construe history, they stick at nothing.

In Mexico the breaking-point came some five years ago, when the Revolution drove Porfirio Diaz into exile. It came of the necessity, for the land had passed into the hands of the very, very few, leaving the masses helpless. For example, in our issue of January 22 I reproduced an article from the "Tacoma Tribune," which ran, in part: "The size of these estates (in Mexico) is almost incredible. The property held by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst in Western Chihuahua is said to comprise 3,000,000 acres. The Rockefeller-Aldrich syndicate owns a 2,000,000 acre ranch in the State of Zacatecas, British and American interests hold under title, or lease more than 20,000,000 in the Tampico oil region. There are huge ranches and plantations owned by Americans scattered all through Northern Mexico. Most of the property in question was formerly known as 'community lands.' It was divided into small farms held and worked by peasants without titles. It supported in modest comfort a great population which, since the land was taken and consolidated into big estates, has been reduced to helpless peonage."

Such being the indisputable condition let us see how Zapata has dealt with it, and for that purpose I draw on a article by Harry H. Dunn, published in "The Wide World" of this month, May. Dunn has been in Mexico several years, and published, in the same magazine and as far back as September, 1912, an article on Zapata. After an exhaustive account of the steady consolidation of Zapata's power, the story comes down to the date at which Huerta had become Provisional President, and Dunn describes Zapata's course as having been as follows:

"Zapata voluntarily evacuated Cuernavaca, withdrew all his raiding bands into one compact army of close on thirty thousand men, retired to the mountains of Guerrero, and lay down quite, for nearly two months, making only such forays as were necessary to supply his army with food, the while he waited to see what the old warrior who had helped to overthrow Madero would do. Huerta did nothing, and then Zapata made the 'ten strike' of his life. In proclamations posted all over Morelos, Guerrero, Puebla, and parts of Tlaxcala, and Mexico, he announced that the poor of all the territory he controlled could have the land for the asking. Immediately he began the dispossession of such foreigners and wealthy natives as had not already been driven out of the five States named and the repartition of their lands among the peones of the country."

"Huerta, occupied with the financial question and with the opposition of the United States was in no position to emerge on

a long and arduous campaign with so well entrenched a leader as Zapata, so he turned a deaf ear to the pleadings of the upper classes who had fallen under Zapata's displeasure, and the distribution of lands went on. In the two years which have elapsed since that time, more than ten thousand square miles of fertile, well cultivated land have been given to men who before this time never had even a hoe of their own, let alone land on which to use it. Poor laborers who had been born and lived all their lives in brush huts were given fine stone houses, while men and women who had never slept anywhere save on a dirty floor rolled in their rags found themselves possessed of magnificent beds whose cost, laid down in interior Mexico, had been hundreds of pesos each. Out of the funds he had gained by looting Zapata gave these people mules and tools and seed with which to work their farms, and in hundreds of instances provided whole families with food until they could harvest their crop. Thus the amazing bandit established what Ismael Palafox later called, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, 'a new aristocracy of the soil.'"

Later in the article Dunn tells us how Zapata levied on priests to whom various terrified landowners had entrusted their wealth, and writes: "But the Master Bandit was too wily to take possession of any property himself. When he looted a town, he gave permission to the poor of the place to occupy whichever houses suited them best. If these peones could not agree in distribution of real estate, Zapata decided for them, allotting to each family what he considered a fair tract of farming land, and a good home in which to live. In the towns he wrecked, such as Yauhtepec, Jojutla, Jonacatepec, Cuauhtla, and others, whose sack was described in my previous article, he allowed the lower classes to divide the land and build such houses as they could. None of this land is allowed to be sold, mortgaged, or seized for debt; it must descend from the father to the oldest son, though all members of the family are to share in the products of the soil. Inasmuch as all deeds are carefully destroyed in each town captured by the Zapatistas, as well as all municipal and State records, it is doubtful if the rightful owners of these properties can ever recover them."

I have quoted at considerable length because Dunn knows his subject; because his article appears in a magazine of weight, that enjoys an international circulation, and because he seems to be by no means an enthusiastic admirer of Zapata; although I note that his present article is far from being as condemning as was that he published four years ago. Evidently he has become impressed, for he tells us that Zapata has been twice in possession of the City of Mexico, has named two Presidents and their cabinets, and had the Presidency four times within his grasp.

Indeed his article closes with the declaration that Zapata today commands an army almost as large as that of the existing Carranza government; that he has the loyal support of a million peons who, thanks to him, are now free landowners, and that nine Presidents have sought to suppress him and been worsted in the endeavor. And, although he lays much stress on the ruthless brutality of many of Zapata's methods, he also testifies to his unflinching courage, saying that he was the only revolutionist who, when our forces landed at Vera Cruz, immediately offered to op-

pose them, writing President Huerta as follows: "We shall lay down all differences and, as two brave men, fight side by side against the invader from the North." The moment the army of the United States starts inland from Vera Cruz my forces and myself are at your orders." Dunn adds that at that critical moment Carranza cringed and Villa hid behind him.

In short, Zapata is essentially a revolutionary leader; a type of those who, when confronted with the social problem, do not ask themselves how they can solve the riddle without breaking laws or infringing the national constitution, but only how they can solve it; how they can give the admitted victims of injustice quick and sure relief. Napoleon, whom men call "The Great," was of that type, and the French forgave him a hundred thousand murders because he restored their lands and stopped, to some extent, the greater and more cruel slaughter land monopoly entails. When we pass to Carranza we pass to the consideration of an entirely different type, which works by different methods. Him also we have to study as closely and impartially as possible, for between these two types all countries will have to choose in that great struggle which, as is now self-evident, cannot be deferred much longer.

Carranza, who at present enjoys much support among the Socialists and Single Taxers, and of whom Lincoln Steffens has written enthusiastically in this month's "Everybody's," will be the subject, therefore, of next week's editorial.

WM. C. OWEN.

'Regeneracion' Barred From The Mails

The expected has happened. Regeneracion has been barred from the mails as second class matter. We have just received notification from the Third Asst. Postmaster at Washington to the effect that the second class mail privileges enjoyed by Regeneracion have been revoked and that this paper can no longer circulate thru the mails as heretofore.

The reason given for this action is the same as originally advanced, viz. "that Regeneracion is not regularly issued," and that it is not a "newspaper or other publication within the meaning of the law."

As to these charges, we have dealt with them in former issues and little more need be said along these lines beyond pointing out the absurdity and discriminating nature of same.

During the last two years Regeneracion actually failed of publication for a number of times, but as these lapses were caused for very good reasons, the Post-office always accepted our excuses as valid, and without any difficulty. So, it is strange that now that Regeneracion has come out with strict regularity for the last seven months, its privileges should be revoked for irregularity. The charge of using the mails to circulate matter that "incited to murder, arson and assassination" is still more ridiculous and utterly discriminating when we only glance at the continuous murderous scream of the daily press and especially the Hearst

organ. All of this is so obvious and self evident that we consider it a waste of time to dwell upon it. But when we see our most sacred rights being snatched from us with a brutal and ruthless hand

it would be criminal and shameful to remain in silence.

The hand of Authority has fallen unusually heavy upon us of late and blow after blow has been dealt; to mention a few of these during the past week: Owing to Ricardo's delicate state of health application was made to have his bail reduced in the hope of getting him out of jail to receive proper treatment. This was met with stern refusal by the court, the Deputy Dist. Attorney going as far as to say that even if Ricardo were dying he would fight the motion to the last. The most that was granted by the court was that Ricardo could be taken to a hospital. After being taken there he found the treatment so much worse than in jail that he is actually anxious to return to the tanks. What he needs the most is fresh air, sunshine and exercise, but he is kept confined to a small cage without any chance for the above necessities.

Quick in succession came the exclusion of REGENERACION from the second class mails; while at the same time Raul Palma, a tireless and ardent young worker for Land and Liberty was given a prison sentence of 30 days for exercising his right of free speech. Palma was addressing his fellow workers as usual, at the Plaza, speaking mostly of conditions in Mexico, when he was arrested for "inciting to riot" but the charge was so ridiculous that even the "law and order" gang found it convenient to change it to "disturbing the peace". In the trial the prosecution with all its police witnesses was badly worsted by counsel for the defense and everything pointed to an acquittal, but things pre-

arranged and a jury of old fossils did their work.

From the above succession of acts against freedom of the press, and in particular against the libertarian work of Regeneracion and the Magons in behalf of social and economic emancipation for the Mexican people, we feel certain that the American plutocracy, thru its instrument, the government, is in concerted campaign to wipe out any libertarian activity that may interfere with the plans of the American and foreign plunderers to crush the Social Revolution in Mexico and establish a reign of bondage and slavery with an iron hand to protect the aristocratic looters.

But we are not to be silenced or deterred, and persecution will only intensify our determination and efforts in a cause we consider most sacred.

With the exclusion of Regeneracion from the mails we shall be compelled to use one cent postage on every copy, which will about double the present expenses, or cost an additional fifty to sixty dollars per issue in postage alone. The paper may not come out every week as before, but we will get it out as often and as long as our unceasing efforts will permit.

We ask those who care to help us out in distributing Regeneracion in their community to send us their names and addresses and we will send them a bundle with the necessary copies of the paper to cover the subscribers in their vicinity. We need not repeat that the present situation has forced the paper into twice the ordinary expenses; therefore, we ask those who care to see the paper live to redouble their efforts in its support, if they think its work is worth while.

Yours for Land and Liberty,
REGENERACION GROUP

THE CARRANZA HUMBUG.

Phineas T. Barnum no doubt voiced a sound truism when he said that the American people love to be humbugged. Of course this would seem to be a fitting classification for the average every day sucker and not for those who claim to do their own thinking, but it seems that it could well be stretched to include the whole flock, the "wise" ones not excepted. We are all humbugged, no doubt, some time or other, and perhaps like it, as Barnum would say, but this being a matter of degree, we can't help wondering how easy some "thinkers" will take their dose.

In this particular instance I have reference to the easiness with which Venustiano Carranza has succeeded in making a lot of "radical" folks believe that a political clown can actually do something for a downtrodden people. How any socialists, radicals of all shades and even so-called anarchists can pin any faith to a cheap fraud like Carranza, and expect him to do any thing just because he promises, is more than one is able to conceive, but unfortunately there are such cases and quite numerous too. This would be bad enough if it were something new, but when it is a threadbare and worn-out game like it is in Mexico, with the continuous rotation of would be Napoleons, it becomes really puzzling.

When Madero took advantage of the despoiled and outraged people of Mexico to induce them to follow him and put him in power with the promise of giving them the land free, it was not so bad to expect the people to rise and use any means to overthrow a dynasty that had crushed them for over thirty years, and especially when Madero actually appeared to be sincere. But when even this paragon of democracy betrayed and outraged the very people he so zealously professed to set free, it would seem that the question of expecting a political savior to do anything for a people was settled for good. But a-

gain we were mistaken.

There are men who call themselves anarchists who are actually hopeful and even anxious to see Carranza come into power in Mexico and establish an era of freedom and peace. What a stupid mockery!

Why should any man with common horse sense expect a vulgar politician who solemnly pledges himself to protect private property, corporations, investors, exploiters and slave drivers of all kinds, to do anything in the interest of the people, or rather the working class, who are the only people worth mentioning? The very idea is idiotic and sickening.

The only redeeming feature about Carranza, as with most every politician, is his crass stupidity in trying to play the tyrant too early, as is naturally the case with all would be dictators who crave to be rulers, and in their anxiety betray the people and try to impose themselves before they are strong enough. Of this the bearded savior has given ample proof.

Like all his predecessors, Carranza has been long on promises but very short in carrying them out, and as no politician in Mexico dares come out before the people today without promising the land, he has gathered his following from these promises, but had neglected an element which he discovered over two years ago when he entered Mexico City. He had not reckoned with the city or industrial workers, and when he entered the Capital on what he thought to be the crown-triumph of his ambitions, he met with the rudest jarr of all his spread discontent among the workers which was very disturbing to his peace of mind.

However he thought it was an easy matter to settle and proceeded to order the most active rebels shot. This aroused such storm of indignation that he was forced to leave Mexico City in a hurry and to stay away for over two years. By the time he reached American property, to bring the

Veracruz, where he established his "government", he had learned a wholesome lesson, and in order to gain the favor of the industrial workers, he proclaimed at the end of his run in Veracruz, that from that day on the Social Revolution had started and that if all the workers rallied to his banner they would be fighting for their real emancipation. This had the desired effect and many labor organizations and groups banded together in what they called "Batallones Rojos", or "Red Battalions" and took the field in what they considered a most worthy fight. They were guaranteed absolute liberty to organize Unions in any way they desired and even encouraged to establish "La Casa del Obrero" ("The Worker's Home") and branches in all the cities.

An idea of the adroitness and "liberality" shown by the Carranza machine to bait and trap the workers may be gained from the fact that the most aristocratic Club House in Mexico City, called The Jockey Club, and only frequented by millionaires and aristocrats, was confiscated and given to the workers to establish their headquarters.

For a while all of this appeared to be the real thing, and the workers were beginning to congratulate themselves and to actually believe that at last the New Order was about to be established. But a very rude awakening was in store for them.

Just as soon as Carranza felt he was strong enough he began to show his teeth and proceeded to carry out his real intentions and program. He began by dispossessing the workers of their mansion in Mexico City, forcing them to vacate and driving them to the suburbs, while at the same time restoring the palace to his aristocratic friends.

Today the harlot has thrown the mask aside altogether and stands naked with hardly any more pretense of liberality. After eluding their blood for the land and emancipation from all exploitation the peons are told to move on, that they must buy the land from the government or the landgrabbers if they want it. This in the face of the fact that even if the land was free it would amount to nothing if a pack of thieves and exploiters are allowed to gamble with and grab the products of the farmers.

When the workers go on strike Carranza and his lackeys are ever ready to protect the interests of the exploiters and shoot the workers down if they don't behave. A few words from Carranza himself are perhaps not amiss, here is what he said in a recent speech: "If the revolution has combated the tyranny of the capitalists, it cannot sanction the tyranny of the proletariat, and this tyranny they are reaching now, especially the members of the Workers of the World's

Home, who are not satisfied with the benefits and concessions made to them, but instead persist in multiplying and exaggerating their demands, until they become a reproach to the constitutionalist authorities, who have been their allies and supporters. The constant efforts of the agitators tend to make the workers take advantage of circumstances to force their demands."

"The government must recognize the right of the companies that ask for aid in forcing respect of their rights and protection of their properties."

This is only a brief outline of things as they now stand in Mexico, and the way Carranza is carrying out his promises. Much more could be said about this matter but space will not permit. However, more about this will appear from time to time.

R. G. Cox.

Intervention

The Hearst and other papers are urging intervention in Mexico. "To save American lives, to safeguard American property, to bring the

people of Mexico out of their frightful misery". These and other high sounding expressions are used. Is their any meaning in them?

"To save American lives!" Pure bunk! If American lives are so important, they could have started long ago in the American industries, where 35,000 workers are murdered and some 700,000 maimed and crippled yearly in industrial "accidents." Have the papers now shrieking about the killing of Americans in Mexico ever hollered for a war on the United States Steel Corporation, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., and other homegrown bandits that have snuffed out so many thousands of lives yearly? No! On the contrary, every effort on the part of the workers in these industries to make them decent and safe places to work in has been fought tooth and nail by these papers that are now howling for "intervention"

"To bring the Mexican people out of their frightful misery" Nothing was heard of their frightful misery so long as Hearst, Rockefeller, and other leeches were quietly sucking the blood from the Mexican workers under the protection of Diaz. Nothing was mentioned of millions of the Mexican people being bought and sold as slaves, living (!) crowded in little vile hovels, reeking with vermin and filth, the women violated with impunity, men, and children lashed or killed for unwillingness or inability to work as hard or as fast as their masters demanded. You know how friendly Hearst and Rockefeller are to American labor—we have had plenty of experience with them—and you can imagine how benevolent they are towards labor in Mexico. It is only now, when the Mexican people, learning their lesson through betrayal, are taking possession of the land, the mills, the workshops, the railroads, for themselves, that Hearst and the others weep crocodile tears over the poor, downtrodden, people of Mexico.

"To safeguard American property, to bring the Mexican people out of their frightful misery" What is meant by American property? If a bunch of Scotch, English, Jewish, German, and American plutocrats are America, then there is American property to be protected there. But if you refer to the ninety-odd millions of American people as America, there's nothing to be lost, for not one in a million of these owns anything in Mexico.

The workers of Mexico are fighting the same enemies as we American workers fought at Ludlow, Calumet, Paint Creek, and Youngstown, only the Mexican workers are going far ahead of us in the struggle for industrial freedom. Shall we be "loyal citizens" or traitors to our class if we help Big Business in their attempt to force the Mexican workers into slavery once more?

"Clean up Mexico!" howl Hearst and the rest of the pack. The first truthful expression that has passed their frothy, snarling lips. They want to clean up Mexico—to clean out Mexico—and with Mexican labor. And they want American labor to "clean up" Mexican labor.

Refuse!
(From "THE ALARM", Chicago, Illinois.)

Report of the money received by Los Angeles Branch Workers' International Defense League for MAGON defense:

Workers' International Defence League.

Receipts for week ending May 15th. 1916.

Previously reported:—\$383.21

Grupo Risveglio, Ybor City, Tampa Fla., \$37.15; W.S. & D.B. Fund No. 276, Evergreen, N. Y. \$2.00; anarchist Red Cross, N. Y. (Regeneracion) \$25.00

Total for week \$64.15

Total received to date \$447.36

P. D. Noel, Fin. Secy.

The trial of Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon is set for May the 31st. All those who disapprove of the procedure against the Magons may send their protests by writing to Judge Benjamin F. Bledsoe in charge of the case, and Dist. Attorney Albert Schoonover, Federal Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.