

Regeneracion.

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Better Death Than Hopeless Slavery

The Mexican Revolution has reached the point at which it forces an unwilling world to look facts frankly in the face. The first of such facts is well illustrated by the account given in the "Los Angeles Tribune," March 3, 1912, of the arrival in Los Angeles from Sonora, Mexico, of the daughters of a wealthy landowner. They fled in haste across the border and said, quite innocently: "We have almost 100,000 acres of land in Sonora, and the peons wish to convert it to their own uses." That simple statement is typical; represents what is going on, and will continue to go on, throughout the length and breadth of Mexico—unless, indeed, intervention should wipe out the nation.

From a Washington despatch to the "Oil Record" I take the following: "In Chihuahua the Mexican landowning system is illustrated in its fullest power. In that State Don Luis Terrazas (one of Diaz' prime favorites) has succeeded in laying his grasp on practically everything worth owning. He is said to be the largest landowner in the world. His wealth is estimated at more than \$100,000,000. His consent is necessary before the humble citizen—if the inhabitant of Chihuahua can be called a citizen—can borrow a cent of money or buy a piece of property. He believes in retaining all possible perquisites for himself or his family. When he is not acting as governor, one of his sons is—Some authorities have estimated his holdings at 5,000,000 acres; others at triple that figure." The despatch goes on to state that "in all his eighty-one years he has been a sterling patriot," and "has always paid the greatest deference to the church." The Juarez rebels got hold of one of this grande's sons, March 2, and clapped him into jail, releasing him on payment of \$2,000. Many will say he got off cheap.

The "Los Angeles Daily Times" had the almost incredible stupidity to publish as its principal cartoon, Feb. 28, a sketch of Diaz luxuriating in exile with a strong-box labelled "\$60,000,000" at his feet. "Almost incredible stupidity" because that cartoon expressed, with a few strokes of the pencil, the whole case for the overthrow of the system against which Mexico is fighting. Every one who saw that cartoon, or reads about it, understands instantaneously that Diaz was a thief, and that he got his millions by selling the national heritage to capitalists—Americans and others—as criminal as himself. Presumably the "Times" tried to mend matters when it published a cartoon, March 2, in which Diaz was represented as weeping over the misfortunes of his country. Diaz is not weeping. He has his millions safely tucked away, as have many of his fellow pirates. Luckily they could not cart away the land, and that is being retaken, and will continue to be retaken, by the people—unless, indeed, intervention should wipe out the nation.

The "California Social-Democrat" has an editorial in which it calls the attention of American workmen to the fact that Mexican competition is playing havoc with their wages. It says that "in Texas the Mexicans are working for as little as forty-five cents a day," and adds that "this starvation wage is the direct reflection of the standard of living in Mexico." Oh! Lane and impotent conclusion! Not because Mexicans have been used to the misery implied by forty-five cents a day; not because they wish to sell themselves for a starvation wage; not because of any voluntary self-denial have such conditions developed, but because the land has been stolen from beneath their feet and they have been rendered homeless outcasts.

It may be that, before finishing its course, the Mexican Revolution will inflict punishment on those who, to the accompaniment of tortures from which a Spanish Inquisitor might well have shrunk, expatriated a race so truly noble as the Yaquis; it may be that another noble race, the Mayas, may mete out to its oppressors some

fraction of the misery it has suffered; but it must be admitted that at present, considering the universal fury against existing conditions, personal reprisals have been astonishingly few. It is against native officials that popular indignation is aroused, for, piercing with the eye of genius beneath the surface, the revolution recognizes government as its most deadly foe. The peasant knows that his government is barring him from access to the land, and recognizes that as his government grows weak it becomes easier for him to satisfy his vital need. Never again will he welcome a strong government, and we may be sure that throughout the world the disinherited are making similar reflections. They note the unwavering fidelity with which governments rally to the support of money, and they more than suspect that their own interests and those of the money power are not identical. On the land question, and on the even more important and less understood government question, the Mexican Revolution is making these unnumbered millions think.

They say Mexico is feudal. In many ways it is, but we ourselves are feudal. At one time it was supposed that the great French Revolution had killed feudalism, but today we know that it simply took the larger form of capitalism, since the preposterous delusion that it is sensible or just to permit the powerful to annex the globe remained untouched. Since the days of the French Revolution the world has done much thinking, and has discovered that the power of the purse may prove far deadlier to human happiness than ever was the power of the sword. We want happiness and do not willingly tolerate institutions that make happiness impossible. Under such institutions Mexico obviously is suffering, and Mexico has understood. It is not very different in the United States and Europe, and there also the people begin to understand.

Mexico may be trusted to make her own revolution, for she has stepped into the world-wide fight with unexpected vigor. She is tired of raking out chestnuts for capitalism to swallow. She is tired of the landlord burden, and if it be written in the book of fate that Mexico's lands are to be tilled for absentee proprietors; that her mines are to be worked for stock exchange gamblers and her forests and streams exploited for the benefit of the idle rich—if this be written in the book of fate, then Mexico will be inhabited by some other race that shall be content to reproduce on her soil those slavish inequalities beneath which we ourselves are plunging to our own Niagara.

Words have not made the Mexican Revolution and words will not unmake it. It is the child of intolerable conditions, and only when those intolerable conditions have passed away will its career be ended. No nation should consent to being stretched on the rack as Mexico has been, and no one should wish it to consent. Every nation must force from its throat the hand that strangles it, or it must die. Thereafter its fragments may be seen pitifully begging their bread in foreign lands, starving on the charity of stronger races and adding incalculably to the sum of human misery which it is the task of the wise and courageous to abolish.

Look back a century and reflect how gigantic would have been the gain had the Powers investigated the causes of the French Revolution instead of hurrying to repress it. Consider how they created the warrior of the age, Napoleon, and how Europe swam in the blood that marked his triumphs. Consider that all the democratic ideals on which this country prided itself, and expressed in its immortal Declaration of Independence, strove to embody themselves in the French Revolution and were crushed by the mailed hand of privilege. Consider that the great thought of human equality had sprouted and was nipped in the bud; that the world had risen, for the first time in centuries, to a real conception of fraternity, and that fraternity was smothered under the weight of arms; that liberty, at once the source and crown of life, was the flaming aspiration of the age and was choked in her cradle by militarism. Those great and truly beneficent ideas could not be translated into actual life until the hand of feudalism had been taken from the nation's throat, and to that task the French boldly addressed themselves. The world applauded and our own forefathers—the Jeffersons, the Franklins and others we profess to honor—gave unflinching support. Today the situation repeats itself in Mexico.

WM. C. OWEN.

Diaz Knows For What Mexico is Fighting Land-Hunger Acknowledged as True Cause of Revolution

Diplomats Look for Intervention and Madero May Resign

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.

Amid the wild and whirling talk of the past week rumors of Diaz' return have been prominent. But Reyes, far more popular than Diaz, has taught his chief a melancholy lesson as to Mexican love for military dictators, and the former president declines in a public statement, which ends thus: "People are being inspired to communistic ideas and things are in such a condition that I could do nothing to alleviate it, as the government would have no confidence in me." A wise gentleman is Diaz.

"Communist ideas!" Precisely. Diaz, on the mother's side, springs from the Mixteca tribe, neighbors of the Mazateca tribe, to which the father of the Magons belonged. In a previous issue I made the mistake of treating the two as identical. At any rate, Diaz knows what the inherited inclinations of his people are; knows that they always held that land should be common property; could have told any one that, when once the people got the bit between their teeth, they would head straight for communism in land. It is the gospel of Henry George, who wrote in "Progress and Poverty," nearly forty years ago: "This, then, is the remedy for the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth apparent in civilization, and for all the evils which flow from it. We must make land common property."

Madero's cousin, C. G. Garcia, described as one of the wealthiest men in the State of Jalisco, has given out a rather remarkable interview in which he says: "Mexicans want to fight out their own fight. Mr. Madero is going out, for he has violated every promise he made; notably the plan of San Luis Potosi." He considers that Vasquez Gomez will succeed Madero and meet a similar fate, for "the people of the republic have gone so far in revolutionary paths that nothing less than a military dictatorship will restore order." This patriotic gentleman also finds himself able to live in the United States and announces that he is not going to return to Mexico until the country is at peace. Let the unpatriotic people do the fighting.

What the People Want. Here is another despatch that may clear the situation: It is the more suggestive because of the hostile source from which it comes, being an "exclusive" to the "Los Angeles Daily Times," dated San Francisco, March 4, and reporting an interview with Charles Butters, an Oakland capitalist, who has just returned from Mexico. Mr. Butters said: "While there could never be a better man at the head of the government of Mexico than Francisco I. Madero, the people do not realize it and they are intent on overthrowing Madero. And they will succeed, I believe. Zapata is their hero and leader. He is an uneducated former foreman of a hacienda, but a man of great magnetism. His strongest appeal to the 12,000,000 poor and suffering citizens is his promise to divide the lands of the country among the people. He makes every promise that Madero made. The people are convinced that Madero is a self-seeker and a false prophet. They believe Zapata will carry out all that Madero promised and give them the lands for themselves, cutting up the vast estates into small lots for the heads of families to own and till. I have no doubt

that the revolution against Madero will succeed." For more than a year the international money press bent all its energies to misleading the public into the delusion that trouble in Mexico, if trouble there was, arose solely from dissatisfaction with political arrangements. Never would it confess that the Mexicans were trying to shake off the landlord and secure the product of the soil to him who works it. Never would it give its readers an inkling of the alarming truth that Mexico was the scene of one of the most gigantic acts of confiscation on record. Today it is no longer possible to hide that truth, and the world at large begins to understand that the Mexican Revolution presents as living facts, which must be faced and settled, all the great problems we have been discussing theoretically these fifty years. The following, taken from the "Los Angeles Examiner" of March 5, states the case in language that will carry conviction to all intelligent persons; and, for our part, we of "Regeneracion" believe that even the Socialist press ultimately will pluck up the courage to discuss the situation. At present it maintains the prudent silence of the grave. The extract runs: "Vast Issues at Stake. Despatches received in Washington today indicate the insurrectionists and robbers are in possession of the entire State of Durango, with the single exception of the city of that name. Said a member of the diplomatic corps today: 'Conditions in Mexico are more serious today than they were at any time during the Diaz regime. Order does not exist anywhere. In his instructions to Ambassador A. Wilson, President Taft served notice on the 75,000 Americans in Mexico that he could not protect them. More than \$1,600,000,000 of Yankee money is invested in Mexico. Does the United States propose to abandon that great amount of property? The diplomatic corps does not think so. It knows that the fate of the Monroe doctrine rests in Mexico. Europe looks to the United States to protect her interests. If the United States does not do so you will see German or English or French warships in Mexican ports before very long. Then where will your Monroe doctrine be?' The United States prides itself on being the 'Home of the Brave,' and we should not be like ostriches, burying our heads because we dare not face the situation. The Mexican peasant means to be the master of the soil and get the full product of his work. If we intervene in Mexico we intervene on behalf of the tribute-gatherer as against the worker, and that is all there is about it. Doubtless we shall intervene, and American workers will lay down their lives, and American workers will tax themselves and the starving families they will leave behind them, solely to strengthen plutocracy and prevent their brother-laborers from getting their own. Of course plutocracy thoroughly understands that if the Mexican succeeds in throwing off its yoke the disinherited in other lands will make a similar attempt; and that also makes intervention well-nigh inevitable. It would not be if the Labor and Socialist press understood as clearly, but it does not understand because it does not want to understand. Those who control it have political fish to fry, and a purely economic upheaval interferes with that fascinating occupation. Hence silence when all the world is talking. Diaz' Statesmanship. The "Los Angeles Daily Times" which is now writing editorially on Mexico at portentous length, expresses the opinion that "Diaz understood how to govern the Mexican people so as to preserve order, encourage industry and make property secure." It would be hard to pack more falsehood into an equal space. Diaz failed at the government job, as is shown by the fact that he had to fly the country. Instead of encouraging industry he depopulated entire sections of Mexico, as for example, by the exportation of those most diligent of workers, the Yaquis; the only peace

he established was the peace of Warsaw," the security he afforded property was to give away the nation's land by the millions of acres—land that before his time was the property of the commune and held absolutely sacred. The position in Mexico has been strictly on all fours with that which brought about the Russian revolution, the land in each instance having been absorbed by a few and the disinherited peasant given the finishing stroke by being called on to pay enormous taxes for the support of government. Unfortunately in Russia that government has proved too strong for the people, but apparently in Mexico history is being written differently.

If you have any doubt as to the correctness of the foregoing remarks read the chapter entitled "The Diaz System" in "Barbarous Mexico," paying special attention to the wholesale expropriation accomplished through Diaz' registration law. Again I call attention to the persistency with which the Mexican revolutionists destroy the public records whenever they capture a county seat. The Mexican peasant may be illiterate, but he knows exactly how his educated superiors used the law to rob him. Probably it has given him a poor opinion of what we call our "education."

Want No Government Aid. Madero's impending fall has precipitated much discussion as to the position and sincerity of Zapata, Gomez and other leaders whose names are now in every mouth. All experience teaches that leaders and politicians should be forced to be sincere, and that promises will be fulfilled when non-fulfillment spells serious personal risk. That beyond all doubt, is the position in Mexico today. It is claimed that "Regeneracion" understood the situation when others were floundering in ignorance, and the opinion of "Regeneracion" is that Madero will be extremely lucky if he saves his life. If Zapata—whom we consider quite sincere—Gomez or others attempt to stop the people from getting back their land they will be signing their death warrants. It will be noticed that I say "stop the people," and that I particularly refrain from saying "give the people." The Mexicans are not asking their government to "give" them the land; they are asking it to stand aside and let them "take" it. There is a world of difference.

At present no candidate for power dares present himself without promising that the people shall get back their "stolen" lands. As an instance it may be interesting to read the revolutionary proclamation issued on behalf of Vasquez Gomez, from Sierra de Musquiz, Coahuila, Feb. 2, 1912, and published in "La Voz de Juarez," Gomez' official organ. After denouncing in the strongest terms Madero's infidelity to the Plan of San Luis Potosi, and declaring that he has sought to establish a personal government for the benefit of his numerous relatives and immediate favorites, it asserts that the object of the Vasquez movement is "to destroy the economic feudalism that weighs on the proletariat of the Republic, by bringing about immediately the subdivision of property and the equalization of taxes: (1) By the recovery of lands stolen by the authorities of all classes; (2) By respecting absolutely the legitimate possessors from time immemorial, even though they may have no title." It then declares that the return of the lands so stolen must be effected by the continuous advance of the armed forces of the revolution.

The proclamation declares that foreign rights should be respected, but the important thing is that it emphasizes the agrarian question, printing in capitals the clauses quoted.

The Real Quarrel. The statement that foreign rights should be respected is buncombe, and no one knows it better than does Vasquez Gomez. As no man made the land no man can add to or duplicate it, and if titles to the principalities given away by Diaz are to be respected the Mexican people will continue to be excluded from access to the soil. "You have it by legal title, but it is mine by natural right." That is the quarrel and all the world should know it. It should not be deceived into believing that the Mexican is fighting because he thinks Gomez or Zapata more charming than Madero, or because he is so fickle-minded that he hankers for repeated change of masters. In the main the Mexican is a peasant, wedded to the soil, and there is no determination more determined, no devotion more dogged than that of the peasant who deems the land his life, divorce from whom means death. He has had his experience with masters, native and foreign, and today he is fighting for the chance to become his own boss. Give Mexican workers the ownership of Mexico and Mexico's poverty will be no more a by-word. We should

understand the situation. The public guesses, but it should know, that all information as to the present situation which comes from official sources is just as unreliable as are the telegrams Madero has been issuing. As an example of what official statements are worth I quote from "El Imparcial," which reproduces the notice served on its Cuernavaca correspondent. It runs as follows: "All information relative to military operations, or that in any way prejudices the government from a military point of view, such as the communication of the news of defeats, the numbers killed in battle, etc., is subject to a special censorship and must be submitted to the censor, who may cancel reports according to his judgment."

President's Proclamation. Events have been so tumultuous in Mexico during the past week that the barest record would more than fill this page. Luckily the daily press now keeps readers fairly well-informed as to the principal happenings, leaving us free to devote our space to explanation of the causes of the revolution and its most marked tendencies. The proclamation by President Taft immediately lifted the Mexican question to the position of a world-wide issue of the first rank, but can have told our readers nothing new to them. It was doubtless wise to give Americans and other foreigners due notice of existing conditions and afford them every opportunity of seeking safety. The warning that the neutrality laws will be enforced most strictly seems to lose its edge in view of the fact that for weeks past United States troops have lined the frontier, presumably to enforce neutrality. What will take place after Madero's government has been given a breathing spell and has still found itself impotent is now the question on every tongue. It seems needless to point out again that money is still clamoring, and will continue to clamor, for protection.

According to Mexico City despatches to the "Los Angeles Evening Herald," under date of March 6, constitutional guarantees have been suspended throughout Mexico. How this worked in Morelos we showed in our issue of Feb. 17, quoting a despatch which stated that, by the war office's own admission, within one week and in the State of Morelos alone, "one thousand Zapatistas, all non-combatant suspects, were killed." This had the immediate effect of sending every man on the warpath, common sense dictating that it was better to be slain on the battle-field than murdered in cold blood. It is safe to say that the extension of martial law to the whole country will make that position universal.

Will Madero Resign? The "Los Angeles Daily Times" report from Mexico City, March 6, is that Madero and Suarez are expected to resign when Congress convenes, April 2. Pino Suarez has been the most hated of all Madero's appointees, for he was recognized by all as the representative of the "cientifico" plutocrats. It was for Pino Suarez that Antonio I. Villareal stumped the State of Chihuahua, receiving his reward by being appointed consul to Barcelona, Spain. One notices that his colleague, Manuel Sarabia, editor of the new-born "El Socialista," devotes a column to rhetorical denunciation of Ricardo Flores Magon, whom he brands as a coward for remaining in the United States. Apart from the fact that Magon is under heavy bonds to stay in Los Angeles, does any one suppose that "Regeneracion" could live twenty-four hours if published where Madero could get his hands on it, or that "El Socialista" could exist in Mexico City if it were truly a revolutionary organ? The press censorship put in force by the existing government has caused bitter outcry and the question just asked answers itself.

Chihuahua is in possession of the rebel army, which has proclaimed Orozco generalissimo. He has issued a proclamation declaring that he will begin the campaign against the City of Mexico next Sunday, March 10. As nearly as we can calculate, the government has more than 12,500 men engaged against Zapata in the State of Morelos alone. The fighting in the neighborhood of Cuernavaca has been continuous. Next week we shall publish an extensive notice of the Zapatista movement, translated from "Revista de Revistas" but crowded out this week.

Our Spanish notes show that the revolutionary movement has been strongest during the past week in the States of Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Morelos, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Puebla, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tlaxcala, Veracruz and Zacatecas. Quintana Roo, Guerrero and Lower California alone furnish no news. In the case of the first-named communication is exceedingly difficult. In Chihuahua and Veracruz there appears to be a large element

among the rebels that has political views in view. In the other States the purely economic struggle for the possession of the land grows continually more pronounced.

DIRECT ACTION.

Talk about Direct Action! Here you have it. "One woman" chained herself to a tree in Whitehall, and unable to remove the chain, the police uprooted the tree, with the suffragette still attached, and carried both to a police station. Some ten years ago a noted Parisian Anarchist, being beat on talking, chained himself to a column in the Place de la Concorde, but the London suffragette is making Anarchist propaganda look like a candle to the sun. Volleys of stones pour from racing automobiles and the article from which we clip states that half London's police force was required for the protection of the government buildings.

CAMINITA-ARRESTED.

L. Caminita was arrested, Feb. 29, at Paterson, N. J., which he was visiting on his way to New York City where he was booked to lecture on the Mexican Revolution. He had been making a prolonged tour on behalf of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party and "Regeneracion," traveling through Texas, Kansas, Oklahoma, Illinois and other States. The charge against Caminita is connected with articles he wrote some four years ago, when editor of "La Question Sociale," articles that at the time drew down on him the wrath of the then President, Theodore Roosevelt, who issued a special message in which he fulminated against Anarchism. His paper was suppressed, but it was supposed all further trouble was ended. As it is, Caminita is in jail, with bonds fixed at \$2000 and trial set for the latter part of next month.

The suppression of "La Question Sociale" of which "L'Era Nuova" is the successor, was regarded by all believers in liberty as another of the all too frequent arbitrary interferences with the constitutional right of free speech, but no one imagined that the old charge against its editor would be revived.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the necessary bail will be forthcoming, but on this point we have no definite information.

HELP GREATLY NEEDED.

Many of our comrades are still in jail, charged with violation of the neutrality acts. One mentions Jack Mosby and Pedro Solis, in Los Angeles; Pedro Perales, in Marfa, Texas, and Silvestre Lomas, Rosendo A. Dorame, and Fernando Palomares, in El Paso, Texas. These men have lain long months in jail, because it has been found impossible to raise the money needed for bail and defense. They are most worthy of support and contributions to that end will be money well applied and economically expended.

TO HONOR KROPOTKINE.

The proceeds of the Kropotkine celebration, March 23, will be devoted, as we understand, to the publication of his works in Jewish. There should be a good attendance at Labor Temple Auditorium, and tickets can be purchased from M. Lissner, 558 Maple Ave.; the P. Kahn Produce Co., 931 San Pedro St.; at Tyre's Book Store, 920 Temple St., and at this office.

"Do you know that the Mexican Revolution is the most significant upheaval the world has ever known? Not because it is a revolution, for there have been thousands of revolutions, but for the thought that is behind it. Most revolutions aim merely at a change of rulers. The Mexican revolution aims at a change of property. 'Land and Liberty' is the war cry of the Mexican peons. These ignorant men and women, who never heard of Marx, Kropotkin or George, are actually fighting the Social Revolution, while we fancy philosophers continue our learned parlor discussion about shades of belief." (Jay Fox in "The Agitator.")

Will the United States Intervene in Mexico?

Send for copies of "Regeneracion's" Special Pamphlet on the Mexican Revolution Its Progress, Causes, Purpose and Probable Results. Sixteen Pages. Price 5 cents.