

Regeneracion.

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No Wonder They Cry "Anarchism."

"The sincerity and power of the Madero movement was fully understood in the great financial circles from the start. Most of the world's financial leaders knew months ago that the revolution was bound to succeed. When Limantour returned from Europe three months ago, he stopped in New York for the purpose of discussing the financial situation in Mexico with New York capitalists, many of whom are heavily interested in our country. Limantour apparently resided at the Plaza, but spent most of his time at the Astor. It was in his room in the Astor where the most effective work for the revolution was done. Father and I went to New York three times and conferred with Limantour. We told him that the richest men in Mexico were behind us, and that he had better inform the world's financial interests that we were going to overthrow the Diaz dynasty."

The foregoing is the statement Gustavo Madero, brother of Francisco I. Madero, gave to the United Press, June 1. It is played up and set in black-face type, despite the fact that it is not new and was set out in these columns, June 10. It is played up again because it "places" Madero, once and for all time; shows the true character of the man—who posed as a member of the revolutionary Mexican Liberal Party, that he might use its following—and demonstrates irrefutably how completely the Mexicans have been euchered. If you believe that the euchering of a nation is a side-splitting joke, you will pat Madero on the back, as the capitalists, and as Victor Berger and Debs, in reality are doing. If you believe that the euchering of some 14,000,000 suffering fellow-creatures is the most infamous of crimes you will grind your teeth and throw yourself into this fight, if it costs you your last dollar and every friend you have.

We are dealing not merely with the revolt of a few million Mexican slaves, at whom certain aristocrats of the American labor movement turn up their noses. We are dealing with one of the greatest historical crimes on record; the counterpart of that by which the infamous Napoleon III forged his way to the throne of France, with the Franco-German war as its aftermath. We are witnessing once more a drama analogous to Maximilian's attempt to found a throne in Mexico, dragging into his nefarious conspiracy the army and the Roman Catholic church. Madero has gone Maximilian one better. He has combined his own military forces with those of the deposed Diaz; he has the Roman Catholic church at his command, and he has secured the backing of—the Socialist Party of the United States, so far as certain of its leaders and leading organs can deliver the goods. Whether they will be able to live up to their contract is now the question. It is a question that will shake the entire labor world to its foundations, and it is this which makes the Mexican Revolution an international problem of the first importance.

Madero's own brother has shown us precisely what Madero is; has drawn a picture of the man and given away the entire conspiracy so frankly that, so far as that part of the game is concerned, we have been playing ever since with the cards upon the table. Even Debs himself dares not defend the man, and when he writes for the "International Socialist Review" he has to express the hope that the "substitution of Madero or some other landed aristocrat and bourgeois re-

former" will not "placate the people." That handicaps him enormously but it is a handicap he cannot shake off. Apart from his own public utterances and the fact that he has built up his reputation by everlasting denunciation of the bourgeois type, Debs knows well enough that under date of April 15, he wrote us as follows: "Now the question that arises is would the revolution subside with the overthrow of Diaz and the installation of a successor under practically the same conditions? I do not believe it. The causes of the revolution are too deep-rooted, and the spirit of the revolution has too firm a grip upon the millions who have been tortured, beaten and driven into this uprising as a last resort to escape the hell of slavery to which they have been so long doomed. You may be assured that what I can do to help the revolution on this side will be done with all my heart."

Debs was with us then, although he wrote that he had "been led to doubt the tactical wisdom of your attack upon and repudiation of Madero AT THIS STAGE OF THE FIGHT." That position was entirely justifiable, for admittedly he was ignorant of Mexican affairs, and he probably was unaware that Madero had started imprisoning Mexican Liberal Party leaders. But his suggestion that our attack on Madero might have been imprudent was founded solely on "tactical wisdom." He thought it immature, and he had a perfect right to think so. That the substitution of Madero for Diaz could satisfy the aspirations of the Mexican people was an idea he repudiated in the strongest terms.

When Debs wrote us that letter, just three months ago, he wrote as an international Socialist; as an economist who knew that a mere change of dictators would alter nothing. When he wrote for the "International Socialist Review," a month ago, he wrote as a politician, who dared not sever himself from the party program, however iniquitous that program might be. By that time the Socialist Party had determined to sacrifice the Mexican Revolution to an attack on Anarchism and Debs acquiesced. Anarchism was to be the stalking horse for a support of the bourgeois monopolist Madero—a support that could not be defended in any other way. It was a support for which Madero, with the capitalist backing of the world, was willing to pay almost any price; for the thorn in his side is the Mexican Liberal Party, and the Mexican Liberal Party must be killed at any cost. Now, there are two ways of killing it; the first being the imprisonment of its leaders, and the second the alienation of financial aid, by newspaper and platform attack. These are the leading cards, and accordingly these are the cards played in this most damnable of games.

Debs has changed because his party leaders have seen a new light. In the matter of Madero the Socialist Party reasons exactly as a Jesuit, eager to win another domain for Mother Church would reason. Madero is in power Madero can assist the party, both financially and by the grant of those privileges that are often beyond price. Madero needs its help against the one enemy that seriously threatens him, and Madero will be grateful to those who assist him in his hour of need. He has showered favors on those who left the Liberal Party for his standard, and what he has done for individuals he will do for the party at large.

I am informed that George H. Shoaf, who led so deliberately and knowingly concerning myself, is now defending the "Appeal to Reason's" attacks on the Mexican Liberal Party by the plea that I began to quarrel. A contemptible argument, if it were true; for it assumes that his party would be willing to turn traitor because an individual criticised it. But it is another lie, and the newspaper records prove it. They prove that the change in the Socialist Party's policy came simultaneously with the approaching fall of Juarez; which, captured in spite of Madero, rendered the immediate overthrow of Diaz certain. It was then that the Socialist leaders "ratted," went over to Madero and began a campaign of lies against the Mexican Liberal Party that has increased in virulence. Here is the record.

I assumed the editorship of this section April 15, 1911, and the first thing that struck me was that the "People's Paper," of Los Angeles, had become silent on the Mexican question, although the daily papers were full of the triumphs then being scored by the revolutionary forces. The silence was the more remarkable because the "People's Paper" had just become a Socialist Party organ, with John Murray as editor; and John Murray had been prominently identified with the Mexican revolutionary movement, having edited "The Border," for which a

Miss Strowbridge supplied the funds. In my first issue, therefore, I chronicled this silence as singular.

In our issue of April 22 I found myself compelled to notice an attack in the "New York Call," of April 12—three days before I became editor. It was one of the most vicious attacks I ever read; denounced Ricardo Magon as an anarchist, said he was a coward and declared that he had misled the Socialist Party into believing that he and Madero were in alliance. The article drew a most indignant protest from The Junta's agent, Mr. Julius Menke, who was then in New York.

My editorial in "Regeneracion" of April 29 concerned itself mainly with the interview given by Madero to Hearst's representative, in which he stated that the capitalists "approve of the revolution and inaugurate in the hope that it will soon restore to them their political rights." That seemed to me infinitely more important than anything Socialist papers might, or might not, say; and in the next three issues I dealt with the Socialist press only to praise it, calling special attention to Charles Edward Russell's articles in "The Coming Nation," and to the attitude of the "International Socialist Review," the "Chicago Daily Socialist," and "Revolt."

June 3 came along and, after chronicling the fight of Diaz, I found myself compelled to notice an article in the "Appeal to Reason" which began: "The Mexican revolution is at an end." That article was the most emphatic endorsement of Madero, and was brought to my attention by Enrique Magon, who had written on the copy he handed me the following: "What do you think of that, by Gosh? Read this 'God damned article and tell me if it is not a capitalistic!'"

I never have met a cleaner-mouthed man than is Enrique Magon, and that was the first and only time I have known him to indulge in what is called "profanity." The occasion justified it, for the obvious trend of the article was to assist the Madero-plutocratic forces by alienating sympathy for the Mexican Liberal Party.

Since then the "Appeal to Reason" has waged a war of calumny and lies, largely through its staff correspondent, George H. Shoaf, now stationed in Los Angeles. He lied most deliberately about me and knew he lied. That is disgraceful enough, but the claim that we began and sought the quarrel with the "Appeal to Reason" and other Socialist papers is still more disgraceful, for it wilfully misrepresents a great movement. What is perhaps even more disgraceful is the fact that letters are being written from the "Appeal to 30 and addressed to Blas Lara, Fort Son, who now stands once more in serious danger of his liberty, if not his life. These letters come to me from indignant Socialists, and the latest to fall into my hands is one dated June 30 and addressed to Blas Lara, Fort Bragg, Cal. The second paragraph in that letter is as follows: "The trouble with Magon is he has fallen into the hands of anarchists. The man who made the severest attack on the Appeal (my humble self) is an avowed anarchist and has fought the Socialist party for years." Then comes an infamous aspersion on Magon's sexual character, which I do not care to print, and the paragraph concludes with the remark that he "seems to have gone to pieces all around."

What do the Mexicans know of these fine, scholastic distinctions between Socialism and Anarchism? What, for the matter of that, do the rank and file of the Socialist Party know about them? Nothing, absolutely nothing. From Victor Berger's standpoint Karl Marx and Engels, when they wrote the closing sentences of the "Communist Manifesto," were Anarchists of the rankiest kind. From the standpoint of Benjamin R. Tucker, certainly one of America's greatest authorities on Anarchism, the Magons are not Anarchists but revolutionary Socialists. If I myself am an Anarchist it is because I believe that this magnificent earth is for the unfettered use of every child of man; and that man's dignity requires that he should be free instead of being enslaved to monopoly. It is not only the creed of Tolstoy, of Herbert Spencer and many others who stand foremost among the thinkers of the world, but it happens also to be the creed of Clarence Darrow, whom the Socialist Party is now engaged in idolizing.

The plain truth is that all this fuss about Anarchism is the deliberate scheme of leaders who wish to tie their followers to their own set program. In this Mexican business they are desperately anxious to work their old, old gag; for some of them, at least, are feeding at the Madero trough.

WM. C. OWEN.

Madero's New Socialist Organ.

PEONS MUST CONQUER THEIR FREEDOM BY FRUGALITY.

"The Radical,"—"Socialist Workingman's Paper," has made its appearance in Mexico City, the date of birth being July 2, 1911. To say that it is an oddity would be to put it mildly, for it is quite the most astonishing production that has come under my eyes; and I have seen some queer ones. Two things are certain: First, those answerable for the get-up have no sense of humor; second, Berger, "The Appeal to Reason," Debs and others involved in this Madero deal, will curse to the limit the stupidity that brought it into life. It has given the whole snap away; which is unpardonable.

Half the front page is occupied by a cartoon representing a procession of workmen; the smuggest lot you ever saw. Their leaders are carrying transparencies with such inspiring mottos as "mechanics," "carpenters," "painters," and "masons,"—mottos to which even our Los Angeles police censorship could not object. At their head a youth bears a banner inscribed, "Workingman's Socialist Party," and greeting him smilingly are an official, hat in hand; and what looks like a helmeted and epauletted policeman, though I take him to be a mysterious gentleman of rank. On the left two army officers, heavily cartridge, wave their sabres in an ecstasy of enthusiasm.

The caption above this suggestive work of art reads: "Is this the party that is seeking to dismember our fatherland?" Below we have the reply: "No! No! March forward, noble sons of toil! Your mission is grander than that of the lunatics who have sought illegally to attack the integrity of our beloved fatherland." If this does not move to tears the "Slaves of Yucatan" and the martyrs of "The Valley of Death," what will?

In a box above the cartoon is a profound sentiment by Madero: "Seek strength in union;" and below it is another box with an autograph reflection by F. L. De La Barra, present provisional president of Mexico, by Madero's grace, and formerly of Diaz' "cientifico" cabinet and ambassador to the United States. With characteristic diplomatic caution De La Barra expresses himself as follows: "Provided they keep within the law and respect the established order, all doctrines which do not tend to dissolve society as it exists have, and should have, an ample field for their propaganda and defense."

It was written expressly for "The Radical"—"Socialist Workingman's Organ." How the cause progresses! But the back page is the thing. There we have an imposing figure, hammer in hand, inscribed "Socialism," over whose shoulders peers a sun labeled "Peace and Toll." Yet the Socialists publish and circulate industriously La Fargue's "Right to be Lazy," which often has struck a sympathetic chord in my otherwise somewhat unsympathetic bosom.

I like it that before this symbolic figure capital and the priesthood are bowing, though it is but slightly. I do not like it that the figure is flanked by a stern sentry on the right and an even sterner sworded officer, on the left. They suggest themselves to me as blots on the sun of "Peace and Toll."

No "boxes" adorn this simple work of art, but in their stead we have the leading article by the "editorship," with this heading: "To the suffering people and the workingman. Words of D. Francisco I. Madero." The opening paragraph is as follows: "Sr. D. Francisco I. Madero, the grand democrat whom we workingmen have to thank for giving us the liberties we have gained, has issued to the Nation a well thought-out manifesto from which we extract the references to us workingmen and to the press; and we hope these sublime ideals will find their beautiful realization on the not distant day when Sr. Madero will occupy the elevated position of chief magistrate of the Nation."

Here are some of the Madero gems of thought, the capitals that lend them emphasis being those employed by "The Radical." "Everything is to be hoped for from (the people's) wisdom and prudence. Let them consider me THEIR BEST FRIEND; let them use with moderation and patriotism the liberty they have conquered and have faith in the justice of their new governors; let them collaborate with these latter for the engraftment of the fatherland; let them work to

RAISE THEMSELVES ABOVE THEIR PRESENT LEVEL, for, if their situation from the political standpoint has undergone a radical change, passing from the MISERABLE ROLE OF PARIAH AND SLAVE to the august height of CITIZEN, they must not expect their economic and social situation to be ameliorated so quickly, for this cannot be effected by decrees or laws, but only by the constant and laborious effort "OF ALL THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY."

At this point I began to hunt about for some assurance that Madero, as one of the "elements," would let go of the 5,000,000 odd acres from which he and his family levy tribute; but I found only the following: "Its (the people's) happiness will be found in its dominion over its passions; in its repression of its vices. Prosperity and wealth can be obtained only by practicing frugality and 'DEVELOPING STRENGTH OF WILL.'" \* \* \* LASTLY LET THE PEOPLE LOOK FOR STRENGTH IN UNION, AND TAKE AS ITS RULE THE KEEPING ITS ACTS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE LAW."

All which seems to me even worse than Roosevelt, whom the "Appeal to Reason" professes to abhor. These brilliant, if somewhat vague, scintillations are flanked by an article headed, "Ambition, spite, deception." It is devoted to the consideration of one Ricardo Flores Magon, who is pleasingly described as "ambitious, spiteful, deceitful and crazy." Well; at any rate Magon has an admirably developed sense of humor, and I am sure he would enjoy the department headed: "Workingman's Movement in the Republic." Its first item runs: "Jalisco. The Indians living on the banks of the Chapala, believing they had been robbed of lands and property, threatened resident Germans and North Americans. Troops were dispatched to bring them to order."

Long may "The Radical" live; adding to the gaiety of nations and sending its penetrating rays into the darkest recesses of Socialist Party politics. W. C. O.

San Diego Calls for Assistance.

As you know, there are at present six men who were members of the Liberals in Lower California under arrest, five of them being confined in the county jail at San Diego and one in Los Angeles. They are: John R. Mosby, commander; J. B. Laffin, adjutant; Jos. Reed, and two Mexican rebels in jail at San Diego; C. R. Pryce, in jail at Los Angeles.

The two Mexicans are in the hands of the United States Immigration Department, charged with entering the United States illegally. Their cases are practically settled and they are to go back to Mexico. However, we may succeed in having this postponed.

The other four men are charged with "murder and arson" committed in Mexico. The warrants were sworn to by J. Diaz Prieto, the Mexican consul at San Diego, at the instance of Celso Vega, governor of Lower California.

As soon as the Mexican government has collected all its evidence, extradition proceedings will be commenced by them for the purpose of returning these men to Mexico for "TRIAL" (?) which, of course, means that they will be murdered. California State Senator Leroy A. Wright is the attorney for the Mexican government.

Now, we all know that this charge of murder and arson is merely a pretext to get these men back to Mexico; where, unarmed, they will be shot or buried in a foul prison for life. THESE ACTS UPON WHICH THE PROSECUTION BASES ITS WARRANTS WERE COMMITTED DURING A CIVIL WAR; THEREFORE, THEY CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED AS POLITICAL OFFENCES, AND IF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT RECEIVES ENOUGH PROTESTS against such extradition it can be stopped.

International Investigation Needed. If the Mexican Revolution has been Sold Out, All the World Should Know It.

When corruption becomes notorious, as in the Lorimer case, Congress orders an investigation. When the course of alleged leaders of the radical, workingman or revolutionary movement, in connection with an event of such importance as the Mexican Revolution, is attacked persistently in publications representative of the movement, an investigation should be held.

Such attacks have been made by "Regeneracion" and taken up by many other representative publications. Certain Socialist Party organs and leaders are under direct fire. It is charged that they are in collusion with Madero, who is paying money and granting privileges to those who will support him and aid in suppressing the Mexican Revolution.

We are prepared to make definite charges and to show how men who were then members of the Socialist Party, together with others now working for that party, went from the Mexican Liberal Party to Madero, and were rewarded immediately with place and power that they might aid in subduing Mexico's economic revolution—a matter vital to Madero, who belongs to the plutocracy and is the agent of plutocracy.

Such charges are of the gravest nature, for they constitute the crime of treason to an entire nation of 15,000,000 persons and to the labor and revolutionary movement of the world.

We say that the foulest means have been used, and are being used, by those we so accuse; and that the matter, being of international moment, calls for investigation by an international committee.

If Congress can investigate national scandals it should be possible for the great labor and revolutionary movement to investigate a scandal of this magnitude, which must affect most profoundly its cause throughout the world.

From France, Italy and Spain; from Cuba, the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Peru, exchanges come to our table which are telling millions of readers, week after week, that the Mexican Revolution has been sold out by its professedly revolutionary friends.

If that does not constitute an international scandal, calling for prompt and thorough investigation, what does?

It should be comparatively easy to form the needed tribunal, for the labor movement is divided into sharply defined camps, each of which has its representative organs. Each camp could be represented in such a tribunal by delegates selected through such organs.

In a word, if investigation is sincerely desired—as we of "Regeneracion" desire it most sincerely—it can be had, and conclusions that will carry weight with the entire international movement can be reached.

This, in our opinion, would be infinitely better than leaving the question to the angry bickerings of individual papers and platform orators, some of whom we ourselves accuse of lying straight, with the full knowledge that they lie.

Something should be done, and done without delay. It seems to us that New York, as the largest city in the country, should take the initiative.

Let All Liberals Protest

Those who wish to see our comrades, Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon, Librado Rivera and Anselmo L. Figueroa, set at liberty, have merely to sign the coupon given below, tear it off and mail it with the address, "William H. Taft, Washington, D. C., U. S. A."

Both men and women are invited to sign. The radical and labor press of the world at large is urged to print this coupon, in order that those who are anxious for the prompt release of our imprisoned comrades may have an opportunity of signing. If possible Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!

I, the undersigned, protest against the arrest, June 14, 1911, in Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A., of Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon, Librado Rivera and Anselmo L. Figueroa, members of the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, at the instigation of the Madero-De la Barra dictatorship and the capitalist class of Mexico and the United States, for the "crime" of fomenting Mexico's economic revolution. In the United States expeditions have been organized against Cuba, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Hayti, Santo Domingo, and many other Central and South American countries, with the knowledge and consent of the United States authorities, and even with their connivance.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Free Speech!

Madero and his new Socialist organ, "El Radical," are declaring loudly that at the coming elections the Mexican people will have absolute freedom of choice. But how can an election be free unless it has been preceded by free discussion? How can the people weigh the merits of candidates unless they are allowed to hear all that can be said for and against them?

There is a large and eager demand in Mexico for copies of "Regeneracion." We have shown how Madero, at Juarez, confiscated 2000 copies of "Regeneracion" and drove its sellers from the city. Last week, at Torreon, State of Durango, in which 10,000 miners are on strike, five sacks of our mail were confiscated. Throughout Mexico the post-offices have been forbidden to distribute our paper.

By this and other persecutions, Madero and his supporters may succeed in forcing us to suspend publication for a time. But it will be only for a time, and will not affect our agitation. Should we be forced into temporary

suspension, "Cultura Proletaria" will take over our Mexican subscription list, and the propaganda will be urged through a score of other Spanish papers. English subscribers, as we anticipate, will be cared for by "Mother Earth," "The Agitator," "Freedom," and others with whom we have corresponded.

Magon Re-Arrested

Ricardo Magon, who had been out on bonds, was re-arrested on July 10, and his bail is now placed at \$10,000. This we are unable to furnish. The original indictments returned against him, Enrique Magon, Rivera, and Figueroa, were quashed by Judge Wellborn, July 12, but the men are held on new indictments returned by the federal grand jury July 8. The hearing on these new indictments is set for July 24.

The Hearst papers recently published a widely-noticed cartoon of Madero facing both ways. How many ways is the Socialist Party facing?