

Regeneracion.

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Saturday, October 21, 1911

Eating Their
Dish of Crow

Back to the property room with
the red-linked bludgeon and the bat-
tered hat, the battleship and the in-
struments of torture; file away the
red-ink scareheads; ring down the
curtain and turn out the lights, the
"Appeal to Reason" faces is over-
shout went into voluntary hiding
and the lady's letter is accepted as
conclusive. Faugh!

The Charles Edward Russell mat-
ter is more serious because Russell
hitherto has been a somebody, and
his repudiation of the article he con-
tributed to last month's "Internation-
al Socialist Review" cannot be
passed over in a paragraph or al-
lowed to fade from public memory.
With apologies, therefore, to our
readers I reproduce once more the
sentences with which that article be-
gan. They were as follows: "A
proletarian movement can have no
part, however slight, in the game of
politics. The moment it takes a seat
at that grimy board is the moment it
dies within. After that it may for a
time maintain a semblance of life
and motion, but in truth it is only a
corpse. This has been proved many
times. It is being proved today in
Great Britain. It has been proved
recently and most convincingly in
the experience of Australia and New
Zealand. In Australia the proletari-
an movement that began eighteen
years ago has achieved an absolute
triumph—in politics. Under the
name of the Labor Party it has won
all that any political combination
can possibly win anywhere. It has
played the political game to the
limit and taken all the stakes in
sight. The whole national govern-
ment is in its hands. It has attained
in fullest measure to the political
success at which it aimed. It not
merely influences the government; it
is the government."

Those are the words with which
Russell's article BEGAN. He had
just returned from his Australian
tour; he was giving the Socialists of
the world, through their interna-
tional review, the experiences he had
gathered, and he opened, like the ex-
perienced journalists he is, with a
clear-cut summary of the conclusions
he had reached. The remainder of
his lengthy article consisted of varia-
tions on the previously-stated theme;
marshalled the facts in support of
the main thesis; re-inforced the ar-
gument with forceful illustrations.
It was as outspoken as any article
could be, and for that reason I gave
it nearly two columns, making no
comments but quoting fully and al-
lowing the writer to tell his story his
own way. Now, what has happened?

As might have been expected the
political Socialists were furious.
One of their most cherished lead-
ers had returned from a loudly-
heralded tour and instead of bless-
ing he had cursed them; cursed them
to round, unvarnished language;
told them that Tom Mann was right
and that the pursuit of political as-
pirations led infallibly to betrayal of
the proletariat. Russell hit from the
shoulder, hard and straight; de-
clared that with victory at the polls
came the passion to continue in
power, advocacy of militarism, al-
liances with capital, an endless train
of just those evils which, sensed in-
stinctively by the proletariat, have
inspired them with a distrust of poli-
tics that increases as experience ac-
cumulates. His language was most
precise; his illustrations were most
forcible; rarely has there been
penned a more powerful exposure.
In particular, toward the end of his
article, he wrote: "When we come to
reason of it calmly what can be

gained by electing any human being
to any office beneath the sky."

Among others Morris Hillquit, a
recognized Socialist leader, called
Russell to account and wrung from
him the following letter, which ap-
peared in the "Chicago Daily So-
cialist" of Sept. 26:

"Dear Comrade Hillquit I am not
opposed to political action any more
than I am opposed to the revolution of
the earth upon its axis or the pro-
cession of the equinoxes or the course
of the west wind or the transit of
Venus or the annals of Mars. There
is not a line, word or syllable in any-
thing I have written that indicates
that I am opposed to it.

"You think I ought to give to the
Socialist press some definite state-
ment as to what I believe and don't
believe on this subject. I think the
Socialist press can easily find much
more instructive and diverting mat-
ter. But since you have asked I have
no objection to telling you this:

I do believe in political action. But
I don't believe in compromise, truck-
ing, trading, thimberligging, deal-
ing, ducking and dodging.

"No one in the Socialist party that
is opposed to these things has any
quarrel with me. I trust this is suf-
ficiently explicit.

"I wrote an article to show how
these devices had resulted in the de-
feat of the working class of Australia.
Somebody jumps thence to the con-
clusion that I am opposed to the
nominating of Socialist candidates
in America.

In the course of a long and check-
ered life I have seen many strange
things, but nothing, I think, stranger
than that I would fail to know the
reason if I could grasp it.

"I am now engaged in writing an
article on South Sea Island dances.
I hope no one will deduce from its
conclusion that I believe in eating
raw meat and drinking hot blood, but
I have my doubts.

"Yours fraternally and cordially,
"CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL."

In reply Mr. Hillquit has written,
"Let us shake hands again," but I am
positive he sneered when writing it.
Assuredly I sneered, and assuredly
the revolutionary world will
sneer as long as the memory of Rus-
sell's article and letter lasts. They
should not be carelessly forgotten;
they should be cited as concrete il-
lustrations of the pass to which poli-
tics can bring men who of themselves
were fine and a movement that once
had an aim for which men were con-
tent to sacrifice their lives. They
should go far toward convincing the
public of the truer wisdom by which
the Mexican Revolution, itself strug-
gling desperately against a sea of
political corruption, guides its course.
WM. C. OWEN.

MADERO AND HIS PROBLEMS

W. G. Shepherd, who has con-
tributed to the radical press many
thoughtful articles respecting Madero
and his problems, writes as follows
in a syndicate letter sent from Mex-
ico City, Oct. 17: "In the State of
Chihuahua a man named Terrasas
holds 25,000 square miles. Every
peon on this land is practically his
slave. The State governor is Abram
Gonzales, a man something of the Gif-
ford Pinchot type. If Madero informs
Gonzales that he wishes the land tax
raised, Gonzales will see to it. But
the Madero family also owns, it is
said, about one million acres in this
same State. Will Madero raise the
tax against his own family? All
Mexico is asking the question.

"Madero is further handicapped
by his quarrel with Dr. Vasquez Go-
mez, his right hand man during the
revolution. Gomez says that the
quarrel arose because he demanded
that Jose Limantour, minister of fi-
nance, leave Mexico at the same time
that Diaz departed and that Made-
ro's family were so entangled finan-
cially with Limantour that they per-
suaded the revolutionist son that Li-
mantour ought to be permitted to
stay, even though the Mexican peo-
ple regarded Limantour as a Cientif-
ico leader.

"While Madero was in the field,
with the power of the common people
behind him, he was the most power-
ful man in Mexico. In just so far
as the business interests of Mexico
stand between him and the common
people, with their advice and inter-
ference and their time-honored cry,
"Don't interfere with business," in
that same degree he will lose his
power. With his power gone the
Scientificos—which means the Wall
Street of Mexico (and that includes
a large part of our own Wall Street)
will turn on him like wolves."

The kingdom of this world is what
we are after, but meekness will not
win it. This is the modern gospel,
and you should paste it securely
where your thinking apparatus ought
to be.

Guerrilla Warfare Gives Way
to Pitched Battles

Government makes Prodigious Efforts
to Suppress Rebels

Maderist Intrigues Laid Bare by
Official Statement

What is to be expected from Mader-
o's government can be judged by
the confidence the Los Angeles
millionaire colony reposes in it, as
to which in previous issues we have
had much to say. From the "Los
Angeles Tribune," Oct. 18, we now
clip the following: "Wealthy Italian
here from Mexico. Dante Cusi says
Madero's government is eminently
satisfactory. Probably the second
wealthiest man in Mexico arrived
at the Angelus yesterday. He is
Dante Cusi, an Italian who emigrated
to Mexico many years ago and be-
came so successful in the land of his
adoption that he is now rated second
only to former President Diaz in
wealth. The bulk of his property
is in the State of Michoacan, Central
Mexico, where some of the most pro-
ductive land in Mexico is situated." The
"Los Angeles Times" also plays
up an interview with the same gen-
tleman.

As a natural consequence of such
conditions fighting is on a larger
scale than ever, but, as the rebels are
playing for their own hand and not
conducting a campaign engineered by
capitalists, their battles are passed by
in almost utter silence by a press
that gave pages on pages to Madero's
unwilling capture of Juarez. How-
ever, the following Mexico City de-
spatch appeared in the "Los Angeles
Times," Oct. 18: "Today's advices
from Cuernavaca say that Zapatistas
were cut to pieces in a battle at Te-
peatlan yesterday, but Zapata him-
self escaped. The Zapatistas were
caught between the forces of Gen.
Figueras and Col. Blanquet. Two
hundred of them are said to have
been killed, a large number wounded
and many taken prisoners. The
rebels had entrenched themselves on
the hillside close by the village. The
Federals, advancing from opposite di-
rections, cut off the rebel retreat."

It is fully a month since the fed-
eral troops had Zapata surrounded
and captured, according to des-
patches, and the accounts given in
the government organs of the ulti-
mate dispersion of his forces have
proved invariably not worth the paper
they were written on. We think our-
selves safe in saying that Zapata is
still very much alive.

In the "Los Angeles Tribune" of
the same date appeared the follow-
ing: "Monterey, Mex., Oct. 16.—
Further advices from Chiapa De-
corzo, state of Chiapas, say that in
the attack on the town, by federal
troops, more than 100 persons were
killed and more than 1000 men and
women wounded. The attack lasted
five hours.

"In Copanoala there was another
encounter. The town was taken by
the Federals after a five-hour com-
bat with the inhabitants. After a
two hours' battle, the town of Con-
cordia was set on fire and destroyed.

"A band of rebel Indians from
Quintana attacked a group of gun
makers five leagues west of Santa
Maria, near the town of Peto. The
federal escort and the gun makers
fought valiantly against the Indians."

Previous telegrams to the "Tri-
bune" had represented that "Cha-
mula Indians are in complete con-
trol of the State of Chiapas and are
threatening to invade other States.
In almost every town of the State
federals have been deposed." Under
date of Oct. 13 the same paper re-
ported that "the situation in the
State of Morelos, where the bandit
chief Zapata and his men are oper-
ating, is not improved."

As stated in our last week's issue,
Pasqual Orozco is proceeding to the
attempted pacification of Sinaloa
with what is described as a force of
"400 picked insurgent soldiers" re-
cruited from Chihuahua. Since gov-
ernments invariably help govern-
ments Taft has given them a special
permit enabling them to pass through
United States territory. Thus they
will be enabled the more quickly to
set about their task of shooting down
those who have dared to declare their
independence of the new authority
these insurgents of yesterday have
established.

In response to insistent clamor Er-
nesto Madero, minister of finance,
has rendered a statement according
to which Francisco I. Madero, the
president-elect, has been re-imbursed
from the public treasury as follows,
for personal expenses in connection
with the political revolution that ele-
vated him to power. Cost of arms,
munitions and equipments, \$154,000;
paid lawyers in New York, Washing-
ton, San Antonio and El Paso, \$55,-
000; confidential agency in New
York, \$6000; agency in San Antonio,
\$18,000; agency in Washington,
\$5000; agency in El Paso, \$15,000;
for publicity campaign in newspa-
pers, \$12,000; traveling expenses,
\$56,000.

Thus the game is played, and the
last paragraph gives us a highly sug-
gestive peep behind the scenes. What
wires must have been pulled in New
York and Washington, where Ameri-
can capitalists most do congregate,
and what a lot of arms must have
been smuggled across the border with
the connivance of a government that
is now indignantly prosecuting a
handful of penniless agitators for al-
leged breach of the sacred principle
of neutrality! "Through tattered
tattered clothes small vices do ap-
pear; gowns and furred robes hide
all. Plate sin with gold and the
strong lance of justice hurtless
breaks. Arm it in rage—a pigmy's
straw doth pierce it."

From "The Tribune," we take the
following: "San Antonio, Tex., Oct.
18.—Gen. Bernardo Reyes feels that
the new revolutionary outbreak in the
state of Tabasco is the beginning of
a widespread uprising in the repub-
lic. The general said today that his
first intimation of the conditions in
Tabasco came, however, from the
press dispatches and that he had no
idea an outbreak would occur there.
Reyes is intensely interested, but de-
clares that he is only a spectator. He
said: "The outbreak in Tabasco is
the result of discontent created by
the lack of liberty in the recent elec-
tions in which the candidacy of Ma-
dero was imposed upon the people
by the authorities and ex-revolution-
ists who are still armed and on a
war footing. I believe similar events
will occur elsewhere in the repub-
lic, as the indignation seems to be
general."

Gen. Reyes also referred to the up-
heavals in the neighboring States of
Yucatan and Chiapas as proof of the
correctness of his forecast, adding
that the government faced excep-
tional difficulties in its attempt to
smother rebellion in the Southern
provinces. Assuredly we are no ad-
mirers of Reyes, but his judgment is,
at least, better than that of two
somewhat noted labor leaders who,
not knowing one word of Spanish,
have returned from Mexico City and
have been endeavoring to persuade
us that all is peaceable and lovely.
They had the honor of shaking hands
with Madero and were escorted, dur-
ing their brief stay, by "Col." Villa-
rreal, who deserted the Mexican Lib-
eral Party for Madero and is now
one of his principal political lieutenants.

It is significant that the "Los An-
geles Times," in its editorial of Oct.
19, while praising Madero for his
promises to protect and encourage
foreign investments, warns him that
"at the same time most students re-
cognize that Diaz fell because he per-
mitted capital to exploit both the
Mexican people and all of their
natural resources." The "Times" is
essentially the organ of plutocracy,
but it is a wise champion of its
client's interests and knows well
enough that there is danger of those
interests going entirely by the board.
Unfortunately the only advice it can
give is to close the stable door with
as little noise as possible, the steed
having been already stolen. Made-
ro's protection to foreign capital
means nothing more nor less than
that the nation shall continue to look
on quietly while others ride the horse
that was formerly their property.

To protect the loot Madero must
follow Diaz' footsteps. He has no

other choice, and what his policy
compels him to do he is already do-
ing. We quote in evidence the "Los
Angeles Herald" of Oct. 15, the quo-
tation being from its Mexico City
special despatch:

"Great activity in moving troops
to Sonora, the scene of Magonista
riots, followed the word that Presi-
dent Taft had granted permission to
Mexico to transport soldiers across
the United States border in using a
short route to the scene of distur-
bance.

From all quarters come reports
that mobs have been battered and
dispersed by soldiery within a short
space of time after formation. Cav-
alrymen did effective work in break-
ing up a hostile gathering in Sonora
recently.

It is the intention of the Maderista
to lose no opportunity to crush the
least disposition of the Magonistas to
oppose the reigning party in Mexico.

The government is rushing its
troops to Sonora, which seems to be
the hotbed of discontent."

You understand that we are fight-
ing, all along the line, and that the
stake at issue is nothing less than the
complete surrender to plutocracy of
a nation numbering 15,000,000 or its
economic liberty.

In this issue we meant to have dis-
cussed at length the frauds that
marked the late election. "El Diario"
has been full of information on that
head and Gomez is making a terrific
attack in his special organ. Unfor-
tunately the details of actual rebel-
lion, which seem to us more impor-
tant, have made these notes already
far too long.

FERRER ANNIVERSARY
OBSERVED

Burbank Hall was crowded Friday
evening, Oct. 13, the occasion being
the commemoration of the murder
of Francisco Ferrer by the Spanish
authorities, Oct. 13, 1911. Speeches
were made by Messrs. Palacios, Ri-
cardo Magon, Caminita and Owen,
all of "Regeneracion," and Lewis,
local organizer of the I. W. W. Quite
a number had to be turned away,
although the hall has a seating ca-
pacity of about 700, and the audience
stayed patiently to the very end de-
spite the fact that the addresses were
of necessity in languages often in-
comprehensible to a large portion of
those present. The meeting was
thoroughly cosmopolitan, uncompro-
misingly revolutionary and most en-
thusiastic. Quite an amount of radical
literature and of Mexican Liberal
Party badges and buttons was sold.

CRIMINAL CARELESSNESS

Mr. W. H. Rhodes, candidate for
a third term on our honorable and
reformed City Council, has been can-
vassing the machine works that have
the honor of commanding our Eng-
lish editor's services. In the office,
supposed to be in touch with pluto-
cracy, he has presented cards from
which the union label is conspicu-
ously absent. In the works, where
men go about in their shirt-sleeves,
the cards handed round have the
magic symbol much in evidence.
Unfortunately Mr. Rhodes muddled
up his distribution and explanations
were demanded.

"Keep this card for future refer-
ence," runs the inscription. Always
anxious to oblige we are referring to
it, free of charge.

"Shortsighted is the philosophy
which counts on selfishness as the
master motive of human action. It
is blind to facts of which the world
is full. It sees not the present, and
reads not the past aright. If you
would move men to action, to what
shall you appeal? Not to their pocket-
s, but to their patriotism; not to
selfishness but to sympathy.—All
that a man hath will he give for his
life—that is self-interest. But in
loyalty to higher impulses men will
give even life." (Henry George.)

"Where there are no hereditary dis-
tinctions, and men are habitually seen
to raise themselves by corrupt qualities
from the lowest places to wealth and
power, tolerance of these qualities
finally becomes admiration. A cor-
rupt democratic government must fi-
nally corrupt the people, and when a
people becomes corrupt there is
no resurrection. The life is gone,
only the carcass remains; and it is
left but for the plowshares of fate
to bury it out of sight.—It has al-
ready begun in the United States and
is rapidly going on under our eyes."
(Henry George.)

"The failures of justice to which I
have alluded are only illustrative of
the increasing debility of our legal
machinery in every department. It is
becoming common to hear men say
that it would be better to revert to
first principles and abolish law, for
then in self-defense the people would
form Vigilance Committees and take
justice into their own hands." (Hen-
ry George.)

Culled at Random
from Various
Exchanges

Politicians Blind to
International
Upheavals

How pitifully narrowing is the
mere propaganda for the vote! In
this office we run through hundreds
of exchanges weekly, and the distinc-
tion between those which confine them-
selves to politics and those which de-
voted themselves to the education of
the masses regardless of ambition for
office is matter of repeated comment.
In the former you will find little, if
any, foreign news, for the opinions
of those who cannot register at the
polls do not interest the editor. In
the latter you will find a consciousness
that the social movement is essen-
tially an international upheaval,
and editors sympathetic toward every
struggle for liberty, no matter where
it may be waged.

It delights us to see the German
papers taking hold, for the Germans
are essentially conservative. Nothing
could be better than the exhaustive
review of the Mexican Revolution
published in "Wohlfahrt fur Alle."
It discusses the entire question with
German thoroughness, reproduces a
long letter from its own special cor-
respondent, distinguishes clearly be-
tween the economic aspirations of
the masses and Madero's pretended
political reforms, and gives much
space to the part played by Debs and
Berger, whom it scores unmercifully.
The editor is doing his duty bravely
to his readers and the international
labor movement. Moreover, he knows
his subject, for he served a long, ar-
duous and honorable apprenticeship
in the United States.

"Der Anarchist," of Leipzig, pub-
lishes one of our most recent mani-
festoes, giving an able synopsis of
the general situation by way of
preface. But the article that pleases
us most is that in "Dear Sozialist,"
us most is that in "Der Sozialist,"
which exhibits unusual grasp. Open-
ing with the statement that "the
Mexican Revolution is not over" it
proceeds to a careful analysis of Ma-
dero, pointing out that Germany of-
fers no parallel to his gigantic land-
holdings, which "it would take a
journey of many weeks to traverse,"
and that "he is only the agent of the
North-Americans who wish to exploit
and sack Mexico." After which it
characterizes the attitude toward the
revolution taken by United States
Social-Democrats and radicals as
shameful in the highest degree. That
the Henry George element should re-
main indifferent does not surprise the
editor, for he has had experience
with their organs in Germany, but
that Socialists should shelter behind
the plea that Mexico must pass
through a long capitalistic evolution
on its road to freedom excites his ut-
most scorn.

We notice the same distinction in
the trades-union exchanges that come
to our table. If, as usually happens,
the editor relies on the A. F. of L.
for support he will show practically
no interest in anything outside of the
United States, and his politics will be
largely local. On the other hand, the
I. W. W. papers, having as their ideal
the ultimate union of all the work-
ers, take a much wider range. For

example, "The Industrialist," En-
glish organ of the I. W. W., devotes
columns to the international strug-
gle in Europe, the United States and
Canada, in addition to which it has
been at the trouble of translating,
for its latest issue, one of Ricardo
Magon's most luminous articles on
the position in Mexico. This is all
the more remarkable from the fact
that the issue, of necessity, is largely
occupied with the recent upheaval in
England, as to which it speaks brave
and much-needed words on the sub-
ject of the betrayal of the masses by
their "leaders." We are overjoyed
to see a little paragraph which reads:
"Our comrades are carrying on an
intense propaganda throughout the
country, including the agricultural
districts."

"Le Libertaire," of Paris, is pub-
lishing an excellent review of condi-
tions in Mexico, drawing largely on
"La Revue de Paris" and "Les
Temps Nouveaux" for its informa-
tion. "A Guerra Social," of Rio de
Janeiro, Brazil, is keeping its read-
ers extraordinarily well posted on
events in Mexico. As for "Cultura
Proletaria," "La Tierra" and "Ti-
erra y Libertad," these well-tried
friends still keep their army of read-
ers admirably informed as to the
fight for industrial freedom being
waged so gallantly by their Mexican
blood-brothers.

Right well does the editor of this
section know how practical and far-
reaching are the lessons he himself
has learned from this Mexican Rev-
olution, which has opened up to him
the spectacle of an entire Spanish-
speaking world in rebellion against
our monstrous economic system. But
the United States, as a whole, has
neither eyes nor ears for anything
but the village politics that center
on the problem of whether Jones or
Smith is the most skillful skinner.
On that mad passion to clothe adven-
turers with power our energies ex-
haust themselves.

Not for Sale

The editor of this English section
takes it on himself to inform readers
of "Regeneracion" that the Magons
have been approached once more with
promises of safety and prosperity in
Mexico, by the grace of their brother
Jesus, who is candidate for vice-presi-
dent; and that again they have re-
fused, although poverty is ever with
them and a long jail sentence stares
them in the face. They have an-
swered that—their present agitation
on behalf of the Mexican masses, con-
ducted from this side of the border,
will be far more fruitful to the cause
which has their absolute devotion
than could be their propaganda in
Mexico under the protection of poli-
ticians.

That is the true spirit; the spirit
that finally accomplishes things, and
the only one that can. We add that
"Mother Jones"—who is one of the
"labor leaders" alluded to in another
column—is in poor business attempt-
ing to seduce men from loyalty to a
cause which, itself the noblest con-
ceivable, is calling loudly throughout
the world for men and women who
will stand fast and true.—On a sec-
ond visit she stated that our agita-
tion, if continued here and on the
present lines, would have no support
from American organized labor. It
was a threat and a most contempti-
ble threat at that. Men worth talk-
ing to are not carried in the pocket
of "Mother Jones" or any other self-
appointed leader.

Do not Desert Them

As was inevitable, the attempt to convict Pryce, Mosby, Reed
and Laffin on murder, robbery and arson charges arising out of re-
cent military operations in Lower California proved an utter failure.
But the two first-named have still to stand trial for alleged violation
of the neutrality laws.

It is now that labor and radical organizations should bestir
themselves. The previous charges had to be tried on evidence, and
public protest could have done little, if any, good. But the neutrality
prosecutions raise large questions of public policy, on which opinion
should be expressed in no uncertain terms.

The plutocrat Madero admittedly imported arms by the whole-
sale, and his troops were granted special permits to pass over Ameri-
can soil. He is honored by the American government. The proletari-
an leaders who opposed him were thwarted at every turn by
our government's forces and their leaders now lie in jail.

Madero's guilt is conceded and was on the largest scale. His
enemies, under the flag of the Mexican Liberal Party, had they
wished to do so, could not have begun to compete with Madero in
violating the neutrality laws, for they were far too poverty-stricken.

Radicals and labor union organizations should consider this.
They should not leave their brothers in the lurch. They should not
look on indifferently while men of the people suffer for what brings
the capitalist-politician glory and power.

It is in our power to rectify this by prompt and vigorous action.
If we fail to rise to the occasion we ourselves shall suffer, for we shall
have shown ourselves weak and the weak are always in the wrong.
Take action, and take it quickly. If you would know how to act
effectively write to "Regeneracion."