

Regeneracion.

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What Signifies Madero's Victory?

Now that Madero is practically president of Mexico, though under conditions that are making the air sizzle with charges of fraud and armed coercion, what have we obtained? Simply this typical declaration, given out the very eve of the election: "One of my principal aims on becoming president will be to favor the division of the land, so that small portions of the uncultivated soil may get into the hands of the people. I shall be in favor of laws tending to improve the situation of the Mexican toiler, but at the same time I SHALL PROTECT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE MASTERS. I shall exercise all my power to encourage the influx of American money into Mexico." I say it is "typical," typical of the politician the world over.

Have you, you who scrape and save for years that, some day, you may call a twenty-five by seventy-five lot your own—have you ever thought what the ownership of 5,000,000 acres means? That is the figure at which the holdings of Madero and his immediate family are placed, and it ranks him inevitably among the rulers of the earth. It gives him literally power of life and death over thousands; it represents incalculable resources that every new invention, every improvement in methods of production and distribution, every new conquest achieved by the human intellect, renders more accessible, more lucrative. By the grace of the fendishly unnatural laws that uphold so monstrous a condition, and by the force of the governmental clubs and bayonets that compel obedience to those laws, a man of the Madero type occupies one of the seats of the almighty as truly as if he had a hundred titles to his name and had been baptized by the Pope himself with the Czar of All the Russias standing sponsor at the font. He is, by the necessity of the case, as much a grandee and aristocrat as if he had been born to the imperial purple.

Such a man, using what we fatuously call "his own" vast wealth and aided by others of his class, seeks further to cement his economic power by grasping the reins of government, and steps down, for the moment, to the people. In the face of seething discontent he has to promise, and the promises he gives are as gaudy as the soap bubbles we blew when we were children, but even less substantial. In reality he scarcely deigns to gild the pill, for what he gives with the right hand he immediately snatches from us with the left. He would like to see the masses in possession of small portions of unoccupied land, but—existing vested interests must be protected at all hazards.

Why, the whole trouble in Mexico is that everything has become vested in the few. The whole trouble is that one of the richest countries in the world has been parcelled out among a few Maderos; the whole trouble is that what should be a rich and magnificently prosperous commonwealth has been put up to auction by officials and bought in largely by that foreign capital to which Madero tenders a renewed lease of hospitality. The man announces that with all the force of government he will protect "legitimate" vested rights, although his peasants are in armed rebellion because their instincts tell them that such rights, upheld by the law courts and enforced by the mailed hand of government, are "illegitimate," in violation of the basic laws of life, fatal to the very existence of their race.

As we showed in last week's issue, on the testimony of the "Los Angeles Times" itself, the American city of Los Angeles has now become the home of a Mexican aristocracy which is looking serenely to a future of luxurious tranquillity, wherein it will get all the profits of its nation's industry without running any of the risks. It bows itself gracefully out of the cares and responsibilities of rulership, confident that its finances are in the hands of a reliable agent who will guarantee its revenues while absolving it from the inconvenience of residence and personal care. If at any moment the peasant's toil shall prove insufficient for the expenses of its new and larger life it will sell off another chunk of its country to the foreign speculator, and if the patriotic Mexican does not like his change of masters he can lump it. If his objection take so violent a shape that the Mexican government cannot bring him to submission Washington will prove a true friend in the hour of need. Take a glance at the item in this week's issue, wherein our own president's brother-in-law figures as the "angel" in one of such convenient deals.

How blind are those who will not see! How lack of courage to look up and face the issue holds the proletariat in its chains! One would suppose that the conflict rending Mexico revealed a lesson writ so plainly that the dullest could comprehend its import. One would imagine that every one could understand the difference between the self-contradictory promises of a Madero and the direct action of a rebel who takes power into his own hands and refuses to entrust his future longer to the oily assurances of slippery politicians. One would think that every reflective mind would grasp the significance of the role played, as always, by government in this conflict between the classes and the masses. Above all, one would conceive that the thousands who are in the habit of discussing just such themes as this and have reached pronounced conclusions as to the roots of slavery, the causes of poverty and human unhappiness, the proverbial failure that has attended merely political as distinguished from economic equality—one would conceive that such people would hail with delight so blazing an exemplification of the truths they have championed for years in the face of public indifference and cruel social ostracism.

As everybody knows, a thunderstorm is needed occasionally to clear the air. There comes a time when we have talked enough; when continued discussion rots instead of vivifying; when theories must be tested; when rubbish accumulated in long years of inaction must be swept out of the system; when we must step boldly out, even if the initial steps have to be taken largely in the dark. But we need most urgently every bit of light available; we need to watch the fight, if only to profit selfishly by the contestants' failures and successes. When great history—history that affects most nearly the welfare of every one of us—is making, as it is today in Mexico, we cannot stand indifferent while claiming to be rational. Mexico's basic problems are our own, and must be recognized as such.

"MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE." One reads the following in a despatch from Rome, relative to the embarkation of troops for the practical war into which a handful of capitalists and politicians have seduced the Italian workers: "The minister made a short speech, congratulating the men on their smart appearance and wishing them God-speed. He said he was convinced that Italy's soldiers would maintain the traditions of the past and uphold the honor of the flag, which he and the officers successively kissed amid cheering and repeated shouts of 'Long live the King.' Many of the soldiers, accompanied by their families, heard mass and received communion today. All carry relics and holy images in their pockets." Even so. First the brain is killed by patriotism and religion. Then the body is buried on the battlefield.

"HIS NATURAL AFFINITIES" "I love judges and I love courts. They are my ideals on earth that typify what we shall meet afterward in heaven under a just God." (President Taft, at Pocatello, Idaho.)

"The development of manufactures and exchange, acting in a social organization in which land is made private property, threatens to compel every worker to seek a master, as an insecurity which followed the final form of it; WE MUST MAKE LAND COMMON PROPERTY." (Progress and Poverty, by Henry George.)

Now, will the Dinner Pail be one Bit the Fuller?

What has the Proletarian Gained by his Recent Vote?

However smiling the surface may appear things in this country are going unquestionably from bad to worse. Despite all our struggles we are falling more and more into industrial slavery to the few who own or control the means of life. As a consequence, life itself is becoming more and more insecure and the army of the unemployed grows continually. As a further consequence, crime, insanity and suicide advance out of all proportion to the growth of population. These are the crucial tests.

Moreover, there is no relief in sight. There is no relief in sight because, of all the great nations of the earth, we are probably the most thoughtless and provincial. We plunge ahead regardless of the lessons other countries could teach us, if we would but listen. For example, in free silver Mr. Bryan imposed on our innocence a fake proposition that England tried out for nearly two centuries and found unworkable. We knew, however, nothing about that—although the whole story is given in Karl Marx' "Capital"—and we wasted years of energy and a vast amount of temper blowing the free silver bubble. Where is that bubble now?

From the passing of the Reform Bill, in 1831, up to the end of last century English legislative history is little beyond a series of tinkering with the political-machinery. Gladstone, in particular, built up his whole reputation on the enlargement of the franchise, measures for making elections purer, and so forth. What did it amount to? Let the galling poverty of England's cities and the social upheaval which has been shaking to her very foundations that most conservative of countries supply the answer. California has just suffered a special election at which no less than twenty-three amendments have been submitted to the people. Every one of those amendments represented, in one form or another, just such a tinkering with the political machine as that on which England wasted nearly a century. And we flatter ourselves that we are progressive, when we are simply half a century or so behind our competitors in these political experiments.

Worse Than Wasted I use the word "wasted" advisedly because experience, which is our reliable guide, has proved the waste. In the solution of the basic problem; in giving her workers security of life, to say nothing of that large prosperity to which their skill and industry entitle them; in abolishing want, and the crime and unhappiness that spring from want, England's years of political activity have been worse than wasted. I say "worse" because the real result achieved has been the diversion of the workers' minds from the one subject that did materially concern them—their industrial slavery to the few.

We are traveling precisely the same road, and whether woman suffrage carries or does not; whether we recall our judges and other officials or do not; whether we strengthen the power of the railroad commission or do not, the solution of the social problem will be as far away as ever. The opportunities for making a living will not be one whit more at the disposition of the ordinary man than they are today; on the contrary, they will be more out of his reach, because while we are dallying with ballot reform monopoly will be strengthening its grip on the resources of the nation.

It is here, as it seems to me, that the simpler people of Mexico, who care nothing about politics, have the advantage over and are destined to get ahead of us. While we are chasing the shadow they are going for the substance; while we are frittering away our time on improved methods of counting noses they, infinitely more practical, are taking steps to fill their empty bellies; while we are figuring on being able to change our masters they are doing what will make them masters of themselves.

Chasing the Rainbow Thirty years ago every Socialist in the country would have agreed with this article, but they have been dazzled by the political mirage and have become mere ballot-box fanatics. Thirty years ago the follow-

ers of Henry George would have applauded to the echo what I am now writing, for they one and all believed that only the opening up of natural opportunities was worthy of their efforts. Today they hang on to the skirts of Roosevelt, Bryan, municipal socialism, woman suffrage, anything and everything that has a semblance of political power, in the hope that thus they may bring to the fore their Single Tax. A great change has come over the United States radicals within the last thirty years, and I, for my part, am convinced that it is the change-plutocracy most eagerly desired. Like a skillful chess player it understands that gaining time is half the battle.

On the other hand it is to be noted that, although no less than twenty-three amendments were submitted to the California voter, the whole lot of them was not sufficiently attractive to bring out half the registered vote. One hopes, therefore, that the man in the street, the ordinary worker, feels instinctively what I am trying to express, viz. that his dinner pail will not be one ounce the fuller, his job one bit securer, or the future of himself, his wife and family one ray the brighter for all this political juggling. In him, and in him alone, rests our hope of doing something worth the doing. It is to the proletariat we must go, for their hunger teaches them a better logic than is to be found in libraries.

Know no Creed in Labor's Struggle

In a series of strong resolutions the Socialist Local of Littleton, Colo., has expressed its disapproval of leaders who are discouraging the continuation of the Mexican Revolution, and its disbelief in Deb's theory that the Mexican peon is too ignorant to retain his liberties if he shall be successful in recovering them. "We sympathize," they say, "with the Mexican peons in their struggle for the possession of their land and their liberty. We believe they have shown greater intelligence in fighting for fundamental necessities, i. e., 'Land and Liberty,' than have the workers in the United States and Great Britain, who strike for shorter hours and an increase of wages, but are apparently willing to remain in the chains of wage slavery. As Socialists and according to our idea of truth, and as men and women, we stand for liberty and justice. The comrades in jail in Los Angeles and in San Diego are our brothers, as also are the oppressed everywhere, whether they are Socialists, Anarchists or Mexican Liberals. We consider that the Mexican comrades would commit a great blunder by laying down their arms. We believe they would again be driven into peonage, and would lose completely all chance for education and political organization."

FOR PLUTOCRATIC SPORT With the double object of being enabled to enjoy perpetually good shooting on well-stocked private hunting fields and of helping to preserve game birds and wild animals from early extermination, several wealthy residents of Los Angeles and its vicinity last week formally concluded the purchase of 36,000 acres of land just across the international line in Lower California. Dr. William A. Edwards, of this city, a brother-in-law of President Taft, was the seller. The sale was recorded at Escondido only last Tuesday, although the negotiations for the transaction had been entered into over a year ago, the revolution in the southern republic having temporarily halted all proceedings.—Los Angeles Times.

LAFIN AND REED FREE Following the break-down of the charges of murder, arson and robbery brought against General Pryce by the Mexican government, similar charges against General Mosby, Laffin and Reed have been dismissed, and the two latter are now free. Mosby and Reed, however, have still to face trial on charges of having violated the neutrality laws, as is the case with the accused members of the Mexican Liberal Party junta.

Zapatista Activity Shows no Sign of Abating

Madero means that his Family shall still handle the Finances

Another Revolution will start Spontaneously, says Noted Editor

Despite repeated assurances on the part of the Mexican authorities to the effect that Zapata is no longer a factor one reads such dispatches as the following, sent to the "Los Angeles Times" from Mexico City, Oct. 9: "Morelos, with the exception of a few towns garrisoned by Federals, is as much at the mercy of the brigand followers of Zapata as at any time during the revolution, according to advices received by the Minister of the Interior today. In spite of a three-months' campaign against them, the outlaws over-ride the rural districts, robbing plantations and sacking towns at will. "After having been routed by Federals at Acochilapan, with a loss estimated at from thirty to forty killed, 1500 rebels were camped today in the hills a few miles from Cuautla. Since Gen. Huerta left for Mexico City several days ago there has been no active pursuit of the Zapatistas.

"Federal troops in the State of Chiapas are reported to have had an encounter at Chiapas de Corzo, with rebel Chamula Indians under Esponosa Torres, in which thirty Indians were killed and forty taken prisoners. "The trouble in Chiapas is due to dissatisfaction with the State authorities. A provincial governor named by the Department of the Interior was rejected by Torres and his followers, as was also a governor declared elected at the recent state election. A strong force of Federals has been sent into the state to restore order.

Another dispatch to the same paper deals extensively with the troubles in the state of Chiapas, where at present two governments are at war with one another, and also with Isidro Escobosa's rebellion against the local government of Sonora. As the correspondent words it, Escobosa "has notified the Department of the Interior that the whole revolutionary party is ready to rise, claiming that the recent state elections were fraudulent."

Prophecies Revolution From a dispatch to "The Los Angeles Record," of October 12, we clip the following: "Roman Pena, editor of 'El Porvenir,' a former Mexico City daily, has moved his paper here (San Antonio, Tex.). He said, Thursday: 'Madero cannot last two months more as president, for he has fallen into the clutches of the same man who controlled and ruined Diaz. Reyes will not need to start a revolution, for a revolution will start itself.' Another dispatch of the same date announces that Madero has appointed Camilo Arriaga, a Socialist editor of some prominence, consul-general to the United States, with headquarters at San Antonio, Tex.

Madero is reported as arranging for his cabinet and as having elected Ernest Madero for minister of finance. There is a suggestiveness in this when one considers that the Chamber of Deputies has just taken an unprecedented step by calling on President de la Barra for an accounting of the funds that have passed through the hands of Gustavo Madero, brother of the president-elect. There we have a financial scandal that will not down.

Mexico City papers are beginning to let out information respecting the intimidation and fraud practised at the late so-called election, about which we shall have much more to say next week. One of the commonest methods was the printing of ballots in great excess of the number of voters; but apart from such tricks no pains were spared to mislead, in true political fashion, the utterly unsophisticated voter. Here, for example, is an extract from the notice that appeared in the polling booths: "On the ballot you should not put the name of the candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, but the name of the Maderist elector. In each electoral booth you will see a picture of Senor Madero. On that picture will be written the name of the elector and this you should put on the back of the ballot."

going begging since the assassination of the late incumbent. "El Diario" complains that government forces are being used to safeguard politicians who are campaigning in the interest of Madero candidates. Madero recently met with the roughest of receptions at Leon, Guanajuato, both he himself and the building he occupied being stoned repeatedly. Pascual Orozco has been deputed to attempt the pacification of Sinaloa but refuses to discuss his plans, contenting himself with praising the federal troops as being more heroic than those of the revolution, inasmuch as they are willing to die for the government.

Dr. Kirkpatrick, former chief surgeon for the construction department of the Southern Pacific, has arrived in Los Angeles from Tepic. Being interviewed by the "Tribune," he expressed the strongest opinion that unless Madero resorted to the stern methods of Diaz he would be lost. In reality Madero has merely to satisfy the peasant's aspirations, by granting him that access to the land and economic liberty which the peasant fondly supposed the revolution would bring him. But this neither Madero nor any government that may succeed that of Madero will do. Therefore the peasant must keep up his fight.

HITS SOCIALISTS HARD

Of all the astounding positions taken by those astounding politicians who are making special pleas in behalf of the proposed Madero regime—as opposed to the ideals for which the real "insurrectos" of Mexico have fought and suffered through so many painful years—perhaps the most astounding is to be found in the argument or pretext that Mexico "has not yet passed through the capitalist stage of social development," and that therefore (so far as these would-be doctrinaires and their followers are concerned) the insurrectos' movement should be allowed to perish from lack of sympathy and support, and as a just punishment for their presumption in rebelling without having first consulted these modern augurs as to whether or no the signs are auspicious!

The world will not stand still to enable these quacks to throw Mexico into their curious interpretation of capitalism long enough, and for her no less than for the rest of the modern world the hour has struck for the "Great Change." Far from being behind the times, these Mexican clamorers for land and liberty are in the very forefront of the battle. They should be loyally supported, not fired upon from the rear by persons who have decorated themselves with the uniform of progress and of alleged love for mankind.—H. J. Jaxon, in "Freedom," London.

No Trifling Movement

Among the papers that have come to our table within the last few days and have been picked out as containing articles specially devoted to the Mexican Revolution, are the following: "Freedom," London, Eng.; "L'Avenir," New Kensington, Pa.; "A Aurora," Porto, Portugal; "La Voz del Pueblo," Torrazo, Spain; "El Libertario," Spezia, Italy; "El Tirapico," Montevideo, Uruguay; "La Accion Obrera," Buenos Aires, Argentina; "Tierra," Havana, Cuba; "O Sindicalista," Lisbon, Portugal; "Tierra y Libertad," Barcelona, Spain; La Picota, Sabdel, Spain; "La Confederacion," Buenos Aires, Argentina; "L'Alleanza Libertaria," Rome, Italy; "Solidaridad Obrera," Barcelona, Spain; "Proletar," Bohemia, Austria; "Cultura Proletaria," New York; "Der Anarchist," Leipzig, Germany; "Vida Nuova," Ponta Delgada, Azores; "Volve Lusty," New York; "Wohlstand fur Alle," Vienna, Austria; "La Comune," Philadelphia, Pa.; "La Protesta," Buenos Aires, Argentina; "Frei Arbeiter Stimme," New York; "La Voz del Obrero," Coruna, Spain; "La Protesta," Lima, Peru; "L'Era Nuova," Paterson, N. J.; "Mother Earth," New York; "A Lanterna," San Paulo, Brazil; "Las Dominicas," Madrid; "Pacific Ocean," Russianland, Los Angeles, Cal.; "Revolucion," San Jose, Costa Rica; "Agitator," Home, Wash.; "A Guerra Social," Rio Janeiro, Brazil; "El Dependiente," Habana, Cuba.

The papers cited represent the leading radical thought of the world, the brain, the heart and the unflinching courage of the battling proletariat. We may be justly proud of our fellowship in this true Republic of Letters; we exult over the conviction that we are part and parcel of an empire of struggle on which the sun never sets. It is a magnificent display of international solidarity; a glorious guarantee of future triumph.

Was Karl Marx an Anarchist?

"The Herald of Revolt," (London) is taking up the war—for it is more than a verbal controversy—between the Socialist Party leaders and ourselves, and handling it in thorough fashion. It devotes the first two pages of its current issue to a scholarly article headed "Was Marx an Anarchist?" and the proofs it marshals, together with the conclusions it advances, have more than mere scholarly importance. They touch the quick of the entire situation, and form an admirable pendant to the convictions driven home to the conscience of Charles Edward Russell by his Australasian experiences. The development of Marx' thought is shown by extracts from his own prefaces to successive editions of the "Communist Manifesto," and it is made clear that the lessons taught him by French upheavals drew him farther and farther into the way of negating real freedom. (Could the quarrel between the Mexican Liberal Party and Madero be expressed more tersely?) He also impeaches Social Democracy, and, despite hypocritical pretences to the contrary, the Social Democracy he impeaches is, in substance, the Social Democracy with which we are so well acquainted today. In attacking Ledru Rollins' party Marx attacks the party of Bebel and Berger, of Jaures and Hyndman.

The letters of Congressman Berger's secretary letters are dismissed with the remark that he knows too much to quote the "Communist Manifesto" in support of his position. "Not Marx but Pleckanoff, the anti-Marxist," is the way the writer puts it. The article concludes:

"Magon and his colleagues are imprisoned, at the instance of Wall Street finance, for interpreting working-class aspirations and standing by the revolution. Madero is Mexican President, christ side with Magon. Social Democracy takes its stand by Madero, who is murdering and imprisoning as ruthlessly as ever Diaz did. Who, then, are the traitors? And what was Marx?"

Understand Art of Ruling Workers

By far the most intelligent review of the recent railroad strike in England that has come to our notice appears in "La Guerre Sociale" (Paris), edited by Gustave Herve, the noted anti-militarist. It is devoted mainly to a comparison of the action taken by the authorities under similar circumstances in Republican France and Monarchist England, the conclusion reached being that the French capitalists and politicians, as compared with the English, are novices in the art of stifling revolutionary movements. The writer advances the following illustrations and arguments:

In France the strike committee had to send out its orders secretly, for the government, in former railroad trouble, confiscated its telegrams. In England the strike leaders sent out 2500 telegrams without any one dreaming of intercepting them. In France they forced the workers themselves to guard and operate the running of the lines. In England they had the decency to throw that unpopular task on the shoulders of the troops. In France the strikers were subjected to long-continued persecution. In England, the moment peace was restored, assurance was given that there would be no reprisals.

The result of these conflicting policies, in the writer's view, is that the English plutocracy is able to shelter itself behind the bulwarks of a disciplined working class that is conservatism itself. "Hitherto," he says, "it has been able to prevent the birth of all revolutionary spirit, for the English trades unions continue imbued with the corporatist spirit and the Socialist idea has scarcely budded among them. The idea that the capitalist class ought to be exploited at the first opportunity, legally or by force, seems a chimera to most of the English syndicates. It does not interest them in the least. Thus, at the very height of the conflict one of the leaders of the movement could say, without raising any protest whatever, that if the Kaiser tried to make capital out of the troubles in England the strike would stop as if by magic."

The article concludes: "In truth I tell you, the English working class will become revolutionary only on the day when her capitalist class becomes as stupid as is our own. That it may become so is the good luck I wish the people of England."

You long for freedom? You fools! If you took might, freedom would come of itself. (Strasser.)