

Regeneracion.

Published every Saturday at 519 1/2 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal.
Telephone: Home A 1360.

Subscription rates:
Per annum\$2.00
Per six months 1.10
Per three months60

BUNDLE ORDERS.

100 copies\$ 3.00
500 copies 12.50
1000 copies 20.00

Editor and Proprietor, Anselmo L. Figueroa.

Entered as second-class matter September 12, 1910, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

No. 11.

Saturday, June 10, 1911.

It is necessary to state certain facts about the Mexican Revolution and the Mexican Liberal Party in order to clear away misconceptions industriously circulated in the hope of overwhelming them.

In the first place, Mexico does not stand where France stood at the time of the French Revolution, and Mexico is not struggling to overthrow a feudal system that has had its day and was doomed to perish. On the contrary, Mexico is struggling against modern capitalism in its most modern and virulent form; is indeed the latest and most conspicuous victim of up-to-date finance. Misconception on that point is robbing the Mexican Revolution of the support it should have from the labor movement in general and from Socialists in particular. For that very reason the misconception is being spread abroad by every means available.

Let me show you. The same number of the "Pacific Monthly" that contains John Kenneth Turner's article, (reviewed in another column) has an admirably balanced survey of the Mexican situation by John E. Lathrop, who quotes an American mining man as follows: "I know that my own company did not have an investment of \$10,000,000, and at no time had ever actually invested more than \$27,000, and that the value of our property was not investment by us but actual wealth of Mexico, of which we simply had taken possession and were now reaping substantial profits from it." In an earlier portion of the interview the narrator stated that after the first four months' work he and his partners had received back every dollar they put in.

That is what has been going on in Mexico, and it is obvious that it represents modern finance and not mediaeval feudalism. In short, while Mr. Lathrop expresses the opinion that American investments in Mexico have been exaggerated, he sums up thus: "The truth is that the Diaz administration has given away the natural wealth of Mexico in untold fortunes, and that out of the corruption of his tyrannical rule foreigners from this and other countries have gone there and had handed to them, by reason of their machinations with Diaz's officials, gigantic slices of the natural resources which should have gone to the enrichment of the people of Mexico."

I do not care how it may interfere with their political programs, or how bitter may be the quarrels between different factions of the Army of Revolt. I say it is the duty, the imperative duty, of Socialists, Single Taxers and all the multitude that has been howling for years against modern piracy, to stand by the Mexicans in the magnificent struggle they have been making, are making and yet will make. Those who for years past have been denouncing modern finance have no business skulking in their tents. But, if they cannot face the situation, they should at least be silent. They should not stoop to wilful misrepresentation for the concealment of their—prudence

Another misrepresentation most industriously circulated is that the Mexican Liberal Party's operations are confined to Lower California, and that it has sought to establish an independent commonwealth there. This yarn—started, so far as I have been able to ascertain, by the "Appeal to Reason"—is about the most preposterous invention that a sensational journalist could conceive, and has

been seized on with avidity by such papers as the "Los Angeles Times." The "Appeal to Reason" has even elaborated on the original text, and explained how the 117 members of the Mexican Liberal Party realized that the Steel Trust was after the iron deposits of Lower California, and determined to forestall it. In the United States alone the membership of the Mexican Liberal Party's groups is more than 5000. So far as any of us know there are no iron deposits in Southern California.

Naturally all the world does not read "Regeneracion," but probably 100,000 do, for our weekly issue is 21,000. Every one of those readers is well aware that we are supporting the Mexican Revolution throughout Mexico, and I know of no paper representing a movement that gives such wide-gathered news from week to week. That very fact—a most difficult accomplishment when one considers the rigid press censorship and the unsettled condition of the country—itself proves that the Mexican Liberal Party has most extensive ramifications, reaching into almost every nook and corner of Mexico. The entire country is honeycombed with groups which represent the arduous work of more than eleven years. Does it become allegedly revolutionary organs to belittle such a movement, picturing it as a hole-in-the-corner affair, confined to one of Mexico's minor Territories?

"The Chicago Daily Socialist" of May 29 carried on its front page a huge cut of Madero, with the captions: "This is Madero, who unseated Diaz," and "Liberator Madero, as sketched by Valentine." This is hard on the "Appeal to Reason," which claims to have been the author of the job, and about all I have to say on that head is that every thinking person recognizes that Diaz wrought his own downfall. Not Madero, or the Magons, or any Socialist organ made the Mexican Revolution, but the instinct of life struggling to preserve itself. That, however, is little more than platitude, and does not interest me. What does interest me is the reason for the "Chicago Daily Socialist's" sudden conversion to worship of Madero, since the cut is followed by a lengthy article of fulsome flattery.

At this point I reproduce the statement given by Gustavo Madero, brother of Francisco I. Madero, to the United Press, June 1, remarking that such an interview could not have been manufactured, and that, as most Socialists know well, Madero's whole course substantiates his brother's statements. In fact the meetings with Limantour, etc., have been noted in these columns. The pith of the interview is as follows: "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."

Everyone recognizes Limantour as the type "par excellence" of cold-blooded financier, and this is the man whom Madero took to his bosom as chief confidant, counsellor and friend! No wonder the Mexican Liberal Party revolted

WM. C. OWEN.

PACIFICATION!

Recently the employees of the American Smelting & Refining Co., of Matehuala, San Luis Potosi, demanded an eight-hour day. The reply was an attack by the so-called "soldiers of liberty" under the command of Navarro, one of Madero's generals. Thirty-four workers are reported killed and some seventy wounded.

In the same state, at Morales, the employees of La Compania Metalurgica declared a strike. The employers at once applied to Navarro, who promptly despatched from the state capital a force of soldiers and reduced the strikers, for the time being, to submission. In their case six have been reported as killed and a number wounded.

Plot away Men's Lives

Magon Appeals to Vincent St. John.

Among the many difficulties with which the Mexican Revolution has to contend one overtops all others—viz., the persistent and industriously circulated reports that the revolution is now a thing of the past. To circulate such reports is obviously to dampen the enthusiasm of the proletariat and of all who, yearning for the abolition of human slavery, have begun to understand that in Mexico, at least, a truly heroic struggle for its overthrow is being made. To circulate such reports, in the face of all evidence, is obviously an attempt to stop support that otherwise would flow in from all quarters, rendering the triumph of the revolution certain. To circulate them is to work for the isolation of those gallant fighters who hitherto have carried all before them, planting the banner of "Land and Liberty" on a hundred hard-won fields. To work for their isolation is to work for their annihilation; for, if the revolutionists now lie down submissively they will be slaughtered to a man.

To offset this we are compelled to maintain an immense correspondence explaining the true situation. The following letter, written by Ricardo Flores Magon to Vincent St. John, Secretary and Treasurer of the I. W. W., is reproduced as a sample.

519 1/2 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal.
(Offices of Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party.)

June 1, 1911.

Mr. Vincent St. John, Gen. Sec. and Treas. I. W. W., 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Comrade:

We have received letters from Mr. Julius Menke, who has been urging the cause of the Mexican Revolution in Chicago, in which he tells us that, by your advice and that of Mr. Trautmann, he is not circulating our manifestos; or, at any rate, not at Socialist meetings. The reason given is that the manifestos ignore political action. This is why I write you.

We of the Junta, being strangers and speaking a strange tongue, find it hard to steer our course through the conflicting currents of the American labor movement, with its numberless factions; but we strive to keep headed directly for our goal, and believe the absolutely straight course to be the right one. We are neither seeking enemies nor compromising that we may make alliances.

Misrepresentations Scored.

Unfortunately the question of the ballot has come up in connection with the Socialist Party. While we are sorry to give offence, we cannot ignore such misrepresentations as those in the "Appeal to Reason," nor can we pretend that it is other than the crudest of farces to suggest to the Mexican peon that he should be patient and wait for relief until the political party of the workers shall have obtained a majority at the polls.

The Mexican peon is fighting a life and death fight. He must either win or forfeit his life; for, if he now gives up, after months of victories, he will be slaughtered without mercy. That is the true situation, and we should be infamously false to him if we were to represent it otherwise.

From my knowledge of your past, and from the record of the I. W. W., I am sure that both you and they can appreciate that situation—can understand that we are in a position in which we must speak out, whether it offends Socialists or any one else. And I urge on you, as I have urged on Mr. Menke, that his and our duty is to speak straight out, and not to cater to prejudice in any form. Both he and we have to present the case as it stands; as the revolution for economic freedom it really is; as an out-and-out fight in which the Mexican workers stand to win or lose everything.

I am sure that is the honest thing to say, and that the honest truth is what the workers of the United States want. Naturally we are most eager for their sympathy and substantial aid; both because a revolution cannot be fought to a successful finish on wind alone, and because we feel most strongly that we are fighting labor's universal fight.

I cannot express myself better than by quoting from the manifesto just issued by us to "the Maderist soldiers and Mexicans in general." If it should seem that I am troubling you with too long a letter, I beg to lay it to my own conviction of the importance of the subject, on which, somehow or other, American labor must be made clear.

The True Crisis.

We begin our manifesto by saying that the Revolution has reached a point at which it must either degenerate into a mere political movement, from which the Mexican workers will profit nothing, or realize itself as a true economic revolution, which will place the Mexican people in possession of their lands and of the machinery of production, thus securing the well-being of all. I may add that no one who keeps track of the hitherto victorious course of the Revolution, as we record it from week to week in "Regeneracion," can doubt that if the Mexican people continue as they have been acting during the past few months they can bring about a true and most beneficial economic revolution. Surely it is not to the interest of any sincere worker to discourage them at this most critical moment! Surely we can leave that to plutocracy, which will spare no pains to dampen their enthusiasm!

Following this our manifesto calls attention to certain facts which I beg to impress on you. It says, and says truthfully: "Madero and Diaz have entered into a pact whereby the forces of Madero transform themselves into federal forces, that they may crush the heroic Liberal comrades who do not lay down their arms. It is said that Orozco or Villa are to be sent to smother the Liberal movement in Sonora. It is said that other Maderist leaders, joining hands with the Federals, are to crush the Liberals of Central Mexico. It is said that other Maderist leaders, combined with the federals, are to crush the revolutionists of Veracruz and of Toluca, of Campeche and of Yucatan, of Chiapas and of Oaxaca, of Guerrero and of Morelos, of Durango, of Sinaloa, of Tepic, of Jalisco, of Guanajuato, of the entire country. Is not that a tremendous treason to the revolutionary movement?"

Upholding Wall Street.

I ask you if that last short sentence is not literally true. It is treason to the people's cause that we are now engaged in fighting, and little would it become us at this crisis to waste our time and energy in discussing what the ballot might accomplish in times of peace and under conditions the very opposite of those now prevailing in Mexico.

To do so would be to play directly into the hands of the tyranny in Wall Street and the American tyranny in Mexico; and both would pay millions to whoever could assure them that the robbed and outraged proletariat of Mexico, whose cause we uphold, had lost courage and given up the fight.

I am sure that both you and your organization will understand that we must speak plainly; that we cannot equivocate; that we must tell the truth, no matter whom it may offend; that we must fight on.

Most fraternally,

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

PEACE!

More distant than ever is the day of peace. The Madero-Diaz pact has served solely to demonstrate two facts—that Madero is not the leader of the revolution, and that the people are not satisfied with a mere change of tyrants.

The people want something that is exceedingly definite—the abolition of hunger; and inasmuch as the electoral ballot is not made of flour but of paper it seeks something more substantial: Bread.

That, in a word, is the aspiration of the toilers.

As for the bourgeoisie, it is split up into various factions: Reyists, Maderists, Obregonists, "Cientificos," Figueroists, Orozcoists, and so on ad infinitum.

Clericalism, for its part, lifts up its head and presents itself boldly as the Catholic National Party.

Chaos has come; the much wished for chaos, from which there will issue something good for the poor people of Mexico.

Those who hoped that this revolution would be an operabouffe revolt, ending in the enthronement of a new tyrant, are panic-stricken. "Anarchy reigns in Mexico," say these poor-spirited ones, who do not know that Anarchy is order based on mutual aid.

What is happening in Mexico at the present moment is that passions of all kinds have broken loose; passions good and passions bad; the bad passions of the petty chiefs who are seeking to gain power that they, in their turn, may oppress; the good passions of the liberty lovers, who seek to put an end to privilege, that they may establish equality on the firm basis of the economic emancipation of the proletariat.

(From the Spanish of Ricardo Flores Magon.)

Mexico's Struggle

Turner Writes in "Pacific Monthly."

John Kenneth Turner has an article entitled "The Mexican Revolution," in the June number of the "Pacific Monthly," the first part of which has filled me with delight. Therein Turner does the work most needed, showing clearly that the Mexican Revolution is the spontaneous uprising of an entire nation, fighting desperately for ECONOMIC freedom. As he himself says: "The determination of the people to take part in the revolt is shown by the desperate efforts to put fighting groups in the field in the face of every handicap in the way of equipment."

Furthermore, Turner shows that the fighting has been on a scale of which the American public, studiously misled by a plutocratic press, has no conception. He gives particulars of encounter after encounter; and, while admitting that "only the roughest kind of an estimate can be made," asserts it as his belief that "six thousand already killed; in the Mexican Revolution, or twenty times our losses in the Spanish war, would be counted a conservative guess by those who have closely watched the situation."

Again, Turner has done admirable work in calling attention to the tremendous odds against which the Mexican revolutionists were and are contending. He points out that every city had its garrison; that "the police were very numerous" and that "political spies were everywhere." This portion of his subject he sums up thus: "I remember viewing the Independence Day parade in Mexico City, in 1908. There were miles and miles of artillery and artillerymen. The Government had millions of money to buy more equipment, to buy food. It had its base of supplies. It had everything. The insurgents had nothing—nothing in a military way."

United Against Slavery.

Naturally he asks how the revolution has been able to fight its way so triumphantly against such odds, and naturally he gives the only answer possible—that the people were a unit in their opposition to "the terrible debt slavery, the feudal system of peons and million-acre farms, the poverty of the cities, the oppression of the factory workers, the farcical administration of justice, the absence of any vestige of popular government."

It will be noted that the grounds of discontent set out in the foregoing paragraph are mainly economic, and precisely because they are economic the Mexican Revolution is entitled to the support of the revolutionary movement of the world. That this is so Turner himself admits, for he says that "so far Madero has not faced the real issue in Mexico. He has flirted with it, but he has not faced it." On the other hand, he emphasizes the fact that "the Liberal Party, weaker in a military way only because it cannot furnish as many guns, goes directly to the land question. 'Tierra y Libertad.' Land and Liberty, is its battle cry. Saying nothing of political reforms, it boldly announces that the basis of liberty is land, and that its first step will be to divide up the haciendas among the people."

All Robbery Denounced

Turner must know well enough that the Magons and I myself do not attack only the large land owners, but that we perpetually denounce the money leeches, the financial pirates, who have fastened their tentacles and claws on Mexico; using it, as I myself have said repeatedly, as a mere counter in the game of high finance. I myself have written many articles directly on that subject, and I have good reason to suppose that Turner read them. Similarly all articles by the Magons abound with denunciation of the entire capitalist system, under which life is subordinated to the dollar.

This position—that the Mexican Revolution is merely for the overthrow of an antiquated feudal system, bound to fall of its own weight, is precisely the delusion that the "Appeal to Reason," and other Socialist papers, are endeavoring to spread abroad. It is a most mischievous delusion, for it alienates support and thereby imperils the revolution's success.

This is not the place for economic argument, but I direct special attention to the following sentences: "Practically speaking, there is no land problem in the United States. Our problems are of machinery and of finance, principally. In Mexico these problems are secondary." Of

the first two sentences I say that they are childish, for it is by the acquisition of natural resources that capitalism has entrenched itself in these United States so powerfully that many believe only a bloody revolution can drive it out. Of the last sentence I say most emphatically—and the Magons ask me to add their indorsement—that the Mexican situation is on all fours with that in the United States; that, if there is a difference, it lies in the fact that capitalism is more full-blown in Mexico, works with a freer hand, is more master of the situation. Against this, against modern capitalism, all Mexico is in revolt; and this we are most eager to demonstrate.

Political Humbug

Turner describes the Liberal Party as "saying nothing of political reforms." That is directly contrary to fact. I do not believe Ricardo Magon capable of writing an article without touching on political reforms, and exposing them as the utterly pernicious rubbish that I, as editor of the English section, also conceive them as being. Both the Magons and I are never weary of repeating that the people want not the sickening humbug of elections but the comforting reality of bread; not the farce of free speech for slaves but that abolition of slavery which will enable every man to speak his mind without fear or favor; not a change of masters but the eradication of masterdom. These are the ideas that, for eleven years, the Magons and many others have been propagating throughout the length and breadth of Mexico. They have borne good fruit, and probably Mexico is ripe for the overthrow of capitalism than is the United States, which is still fast in the grip of politics, and the corruptest politics in the world at that.

I have stated frankly the position of "Regeneracion" and of the Liberal Party, as I understand it. The Magons desire me to say I understand it rightly. I have condemned Turner's article as misleading in the points criticised, and the Magons say my condemnation is just. If I had not thought so, and considered it imperative to give my thought expression, I should not have written as I have.

There is praise for Madero in Turner's article, but on that it is not worth my while to dwell. Madero is now in the limelight and events are showing exactly what he is.

WM. C. OWEN.

The Champion Ass!

We have received the following letter, which we submit, justifies our heading: "Mexican Liberal Party, Los Angeles, Cal. Gentlemen:

Through Emma Goldman I have received your collection list which I am herewith returning to you.

"Whenever working class will be ready to take possession of means of production the start will be made in Paris, Berlin, London and New York, where is the seat of capitalism," not in Mexican prairies, where one of 200 could not read.

"I think that you are agents of American capitalists, who brought you like to become permission to occupy Mexico."

"Inclosed find card with which you can make good agitation for class revolution."

The editor of this section intended to append the sender's name and address, but finds himself too sensitive to the world-wide tragedy of ignorance and stupidity to aid in crucifying it. For the cold-blooded profit-mongers and crafty politicians who play on ignorance and stupidity he reserves his flings.

You will observe that this correspondent, though obviously ignorant both of the Mexican revolution and of all contests for popular rights—which never start in metropolitan centers, where revolt is easily suppressed—does not hesitate to call men of whom he knows nothing capitalist agents.

Yet he himself is a propagandist, for he sends us the card of the International Publishing Co., representing the "Pyramid of Capitalist System." We are not unfamiliar with the document in question, having distributed it at many meetings.

Meanwhile, we think the joke is on Emma Goldman.

"The people," especially those of the Latin races, "want the independence of provinces, communes and groups of laborers; they want not to submit to any dominion, but to league themselves together freely." (Kropotkin).

"He who is politically or economically privileged has his mind and heart depraved. This is a law of social life which admits of no exceptions." (Bakunin).

Army of Discontent.

"The Peoria Star," one of the really influential dailies of the country, devotes its leading editorial to the manifesto recently issued by International Committee of the Mexican Liberal Party, the article beginning: "The manifesto issued by the Los Angeles Junta of Mexican revolutionists, declaring land and liberty to be the only terms on which they will lay down their arms, should make the Mexican revolution worth while. Without the restoration of the natural resources of Mexico to the people, all their sacrifice of blood and treasure would be in vain." Socialist papers, please notice.

"Tierra y Libertad (Barcelona, Spain,) gives more space than ever to the Mexican revolution, and sets out a long array of facts to prove that 'the Mexican revolution is not the mere Maderism that the European bourgeois dailies are trying to make it out as being.' The subscription list it has opened shows \$305.40 already contributed."

"Revolt" (San Francisco) writes most caustically of both Diaz and Madero, and adds that "in the much-sneered-at 'Land of Manana' the dawn of a tomorrow, filled with the promise of a potent working class movement already is lightening the war-darkened sky."

In a powerful leading article headed "Madero, the Thiers of Mexico," "La Cultura Proletaria," (New York), says: "Mexico's social revolution will begin when Madero assumes the reins of power, and it will be the Mexican Liberal party that will conduct the struggle against the new system of government. Once more it has been demonstrated that a political revolution cannot satisfy the aspirations and necessities of the workers, and, for proof, here is the last declaration made by Madero in a manifesto directed to the North American capitalists: 'One of the first tasks of the new regime will be to disarm and punish the socialists, (meaning the Liberal party) who have made trouble in Lower California.'"

"Il Lavoratore Italiano" (Pittsburg, Kan.), and "L'Era Nuova," (Paterson, N. J.), keep up a steady propaganda for the Mexican Revolution, emphasizing their conviction that the real struggle—that against Maderism—is only just beginning.

"Le Reveil," (Geneva, Switzerland) reproduces in full the manifesto to the workers of the world, issued by the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party. So also does "Les Temps Nouveaux," (Paris).

"La Commune" (Philadelphia) gives front-page space to two lengthy letters urging all radicals to support the economic revolution in Mexico.

"Il Libertario," (La Spezia, Italy) warmly espouses the cause of the Mexican Liberal Party, declaring that "it has a program boldly international, which admits of no equivocation." It scoffs at the Diaz-Madero pact.

"L'Avenir," (New Kensington, Pa.) publishes a stirring appeal on behalf of the Mexican Revolution, signed by the directors of "Justice," "Il Proletario" and "L'Avenir."

DO NOT FORGET THE Social to be held at Italian Hall, 648 N. Main, Sunday evening, June 18, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta. All arrangements for a thoroughly enjoyable time have been made, and all profits will go to the Mexican Revolution. Admission, 15 cents.

A SUGGESTIVE ITEM. By direct wire to the "Los Angeles Times," El Paso, Tex., June 7: "Six hundred and fifty employees of the Asarco Smelter, the property of the American Smelters and Securities Company, near Torreon, are on a strike for higher wages. The plant is shut down and under guard of Maderista soldiers."

That is what political rights are. Freedom of the press and freedom of association, the inviolability of the home and all the rest, are respected only so long as the people make no use of them against the privileged classes." (Kropotkin).

"Our prisons are filled with criminals which our virtuous state has made what they are by its iniquitous laws, its grinding monopolies and the horrible social conditions that result from them." (Tucker).