

Regeneracion.

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Debs Sides with The Reactionists

Eugene V. Debs has written for the "International Socialist Review" an article entitled "The Crisis in Mexico." Trying to place myself in the position of the Mexican worker, and regarding this question solely from the standpoint of his welfare, I consider Debs' article the most pernicious that has yet appeared. Its pith is to be found in the closing sentences, wherein he says: "The workers (Mexican workers, of course) should be organized as speedily as possible within one great industrial organization and at the same time united politically within the Socialist Party." There is the milk in the coconut.

The danger of the article lies in the air of friendliness it assumes; in its professed fear that the workers have undertaken a task beyond their strength; in the appeal to prudence, and in the development of an argument calculated, from its first line, to shake confidence and weaken resolution. Debs does not openly attack direct action, for his own record, past and present, makes that impossible. He professes himself convinced of the necessity of an economic revolution in Mexico, and hopes that the "substitution of Madero or some other landed aristocrat and bourgeois political reformer" will not "placate the people." Having thus won his reader's confidence, he draws the very picture Morgan would delight in and argues as slave-owners have argued since slavery began.

Incidentally Debs maligns the Mexican Liberal Party Junta by representing them as concealing their creed. This he does by raising the question of Anarchism, which has been worked to death ever since Magon denounced Madero; being dragged hither and thither as a red herring, to divert the workers from the trail. With tedious repetition the Magon, and others who have espoused their cause, have declared that they are not theorists; that this is a straight question of millions of the disinherited trying to win their economic freedom with the best weapons at their command; that it is not a party or even a national question, but the very heart of the social problem which knows no boundaries and soars far above the logic-chopping of "schools."

Nevertheless Debs expresses himself thus, respecting the manifesto issued by the Mexican Liberal Party: "Direct action, so-called, is relied upon for results. Reading between the lines I can see nothing but anarchism in this program, and if that is what the leaders mean they should frankly say so, that there may be no misunderstanding as to their attitude and program."

That is, at the least, an insinuation that the Magon and other members of the Mexican Liberal Party have not been frank with the public. It is an insinuation certain to do them infinite harm, and Debs must have known that when he wrote it. It is an absolutely false insinuation, for it is impossible to imagine men more outspoken than the Mexican Liberal Party writers have been. Their strength lies precisely in the fact that they never prevaricate and that whoever reads their literature knows precisely what they want. It is this which has brought them so devoted a following, and made them, on the other hand, most bitter enemies. There is no surer proof of influence.

When Debs read Anarchism "between the lines," he referred to the following passage in the Mexican Liberal Party's manifesto:
"The people of Mexico are right now in open rebellion against their oppressors, and taking part in the general insurrection are found the supporters of modern ideas, those convinced of the fallacy of political panaceas in the redemption of the proletariat from economic slavery, those who do not believe in the goodness of paternal governments nor in the impartiality of laws fashioned by the bourgeoisie, those who know that the emancipation of the workers ought to be accomplished by the workers themselves, those convinced of DIRECT ACTION, those who deny the 'sacred' right of property, those who do not take up arms for the purpose of raising any master to power, but to destroy the chains of wage slavery."

Compare that passage with the closing sentences of the "Communist Manifesto," as reproduced last week in these columns; the sentences in which Marx and Engels boldly declared that "their ends could be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Has Debs gone back on that gospel of Socialism? Does he now advocate political "panaceas" out of deference to the conservatives? His greatest oratorical effects have been made in eulogies of John Brown, the type "par excellence" of the rebel in direct action. What would John Brown think of his admirer's present attitude?

The Mexican Liberal Party leaders know little English and, therefore, have never mixed in the American labor movement. They have confined themselves to writing about their own country, which they know, and they have insisted that the expropriation of the Mexican workers by modern finance has led to conditions so desperate that they must be changed in the most direct and speedy manner possible. How any one who has read "Barbarous Mexico," or other standard works on present conditions in Mexico, can doubt the truth of that position I cannot understand. How any one acquainted with Mexican history can have confidence in Madero's forthcoming elections is, to me, still more incomprehensible.

Debs writes that the "battle-cry of the Mexican Liberal Party is 'Land and Liberty,' and its leaders declare that 'the taking away of the land from the hands of the rich must be accomplished during the present insurrection.'" On that plain statement he passes hostile comment, saying: "If the land can be taken from the rich in this insurrection, so can also the mills, factories, mines, railroads, and the machinery of production, and the question is, what would the masses in their present ignorant and unorganized state do with them after having obtained them? It would simply add calamity to their calamities, granting that this impossible feat were capable of achievement." Yes, that is his comment!

In other words, he tells us that until the peasant has been educated he should remain without access to the soil; tells us that until the peon has been drilled and disciplined he should be deprived of those rights which should be the inalienable property of every child of man; tells us that until he has been taught the tricks of organization it will "add to his calamities" to be given a place at the generous feast nature spreads daily for the inhabitants of Mexico. He rehearses the argument of the French aristocrat, the Russian Grand Duke, the Irish landlord, the slaveholder the wide world over—and he poses as a revolutionist!

Outside of, at a liberal estimate, two hundred to three hundred thousand persons the people of Mexico are engaged in agriculture and kindred pursuits. You may put the population at about 15,000,000 and you will not go far wrong. How long will it take Debs and the Socialist party to organize that vast mass, "economically and politically"? What will you do with them when you have organized them according to your superior wisdom? What COULD you do with them except urge them to get back their land—the very thing they have been doing most effectively NOW, and without your aid? Will some one please speak up and report on the progress Socialism has made within the last fifty years in organizing the peasantry of Europe?

During the centuries it will take you to bring these people up to the Marxian standard, what, pray, will the monopolists be doing—the men who have seized land by the millions

of acres, cornered Mexico's mineral wealth, and added territory to territory, that they may be alone on the earth? They have laid the foundations of one of the most powerful plutocracies on record, and all they ask is time to complete the structure. Do you think they will sit idle while you are dilly-dallying along, from generation to generation, with the higher education? What has happened in your own United States, where, while you have been talking universal education and orating about the "sovereign" voter, monopoly has been gathering the resources of the country into its clutches and developing poverty and crime at a pace that leaves your petty reforming efforts hopelessly out-distanced? If Debs has meditated seriously on America's problems he will know that what I say is true. If he is the least acquainted with the literature of revolution he will know that delay is the one thing fatal to emancipation movements.

Debs says "there is no short cut to economic freedom." That may sound well from the platform but it is a sophistry of the most deadly type. There is exactly one road, and only one, to economic freedom; but unfortunately it takes courage to tread that road. You may organize sheep until the crack of doom and they never will muster up the pluck to venture on it. But the Mexicans—ignorant, unorganized, and much below the mark from the "scientific Socialist" standpoint—have suddenly amazed the world by taking their freedom in their own hands and triumphing over their former masters from one end of the country to the other. For the moment they have been ennobled; and, if they listen to the gospel of delay so smoothly preached by Debs, ennobled they will remain.

WM. C. OWEN.

IN RINGING TONES

For a rousingly vigorous, and at the same time lucid, appeal nothing could be better than the following, issued by the New York-Mexican Revolution Conference. We should like to think that it might serve as a model for similar organizations in other cities.

"The Mexican revolution is still on. The King is dead. Long live the King! Though Diaz has gone, Madero takes his place and in his turn calls on Wall Street to help him down the agrarian revolt."

"Throughout Mexico, and especially in Lower California, the laborers themselves are fighting for land and liberty. They have been stripped to the bone by the land owners and capitalists. They are now up in arms. It is a war of men versus money. The people versus Wall Street."

"The profits wrung from American labor are being used in Mexico to grind out greater fortunes by the most degrading form of slavery. Huge landed estates have been fraudulently given away to foreign millionaires and corporations by the 'scientists'—that corrupt financial ring which has exploited the people so successfully that they were derisively so termed because they have reduced exploitation to an exact science."

"Robbed of his product and forced from the land, the Mexican has at last arisen and dares to reclaim his own. Your fellow workers are at the front. They are the men behind the guns. We must supply the ammunition and insist that the United States Government keep its hands off. Capital is straining every nerve to win this fight. Defeat it; score a victory for labor that will be decisive throughout the world."

"All radical organizations and progressive societies are urged to send delegates to the next meeting of the New York-Mexican Revolution Conference. Regular meetings are held at the Ferrer Center, 6 St., St. Marks place, Thursdays at 8 p. m."

"Remember, their fight is your fight! Let solidarity be your watchword!"

A FRIEND IN NEED

We have to acknowledge the receipt of \$100 from "A Friend," forwarded by Emma Goldman. Our propaganda is taking a continually wider range, for we are issuing weekly a larger number of copies of this paper than ever, circulating protests and going otherwise to great expense in the endeavor to place the merits of the Mexican economic revolution clearly before the American public. In addition to all this there are certain legal expenses connected with the imprisonment of the Junta members which are unavoidable. The sweltering weather East necessarily affects collections most seriously, for, with all the good will in the world, it is almost impossible for our workers to get up meetings.

New York Rallies to Mexico's Aid

Cooper Union Meeting Opens Campaign of Agitation

Despite the almost insuperable obstacle of the grilling weather from which New York has been notoriously suffering, the radicals of all fractions have been up and doing in the cause of Mexican economic freedom, holding weekly meetings, organizing committees and handling the situation in what is evidently a most business-like manner. Immediately after the arrest of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta arrangements were made for the continuance of the work being conducted by this paper in case it should be compelled to suspend, "Cultura Proletaria" volunteering to step into the breach. The culmination of several weeks of persistent work was the holding of a mass meeting at Cooper Union, at which the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. The list of speakers alone testifies to the international character of the proceedings, and was as follows:

Chairman, Leonard D. Abbott; in English, Harry Kelly, Alexander Berkman, Jos. J. Ettor, and Timothy Walsh; in Italian, Edmondo Rossoni, Libero Tancredi, and Arturo M. Giovannitti; in Spanish, Jaime Vidal; in Russian, Simon O. Pollock and S. Boris; in German, Max Baginski and August Lott; in Jewish, Dr. M. Girsansky, and Comrade Vlodek, who returned recently from Mexico and witnessed much of the conflict between the radical and federal troops. We understand the labor that was entailed and feel deeply grateful. Moreover, we are assured that the effort made will be followed up, since a series of open air meetings is to be held, the first having been named for Saturday last in Union Square.

At the last meeting of the New York-Mexican Revolution Conference subscriptions were taken amounting to \$31.00.

We take the following excellent account from the columns of the "New York Call":

The Liberal Party of Mexico and its leader, Ricardo Flores Magon, were cheered last night by an audience of mixed nationalities, as well as opinions, that gathered in Cooper Union to protest against the action of the United States Government in arresting Magon at the request of the Mexican authorities.

While the meeting was in progress a telegram reached the hall stating that Magon had just been released from jail in Los Angeles on \$5,000 bail. With Magon were arrested his brother and two more leaders of the revolutionary party of Mexico. Their fate the telegram did not state, and it is presumed that they are still in prison.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the New York Mexican Revolutionary Conference, Leonard Abbott, editor of Current Literature, presided. Addresses were made by Joseph J. Ettor, Alexander Berkman, Harry Kelly, Edmondo Rossoni, Libero Tancredi, Simon Pollock and Max Baginski.

A resolution expressing sympathy with the Mexican rebels and promising support was adopted. A collection of \$36 will be forwarded to the Mexican revolutionists in Los Angeles.

Russia at Our Door

"The object of the meeting," Leonard Abbott said, "is to express our sympathy with the Mexican rebels who are fighting under the banner of Land and Liberty. We protest against the action of the United States Government in arresting Magon, the leader of the Mexican revolution, and in playing the part of a policeman for Mexico by allowing Mexicans to come into the United States and order arrests."

"It is the capitalist press with its persistent misrepresentation of the state of affairs in Mexico that is responsible for the fact that for a long time we in America did not know that there was a Russia next door to us."

In describing the character of the revolutionary movement in Mexico, Abbott explained that the revolution in Mexico is not ended, as is the impression conveyed by the newspapers.

The contrary is true. The revolution is just beginning. Madero, he said, is such a politician as Diaz was. Magon and his revolutionary junta do not believe in putting out one set of capitalist politicians, the Diaz party, and putting in another set of politicians, the Madero party. They want freedom for the people not only on pa-

per, but in reality. They want not only a constitution, but economic freedom.

"It is preposterous," Abbott concluded, "for radicals to withhold support from the revolutionists in Mexico because they have not read Carl Marx or because they have not had a chance to vote the Socialist ticket. All rebels look alike to me."

Simon O. Pollock talked in the same vein.

"The public," he said, "is now of the belief that the revolution in Mexico is ended because Diaz has been removed and Madero virtually enthroned. As a matter of fact, the revolution in Mexico is just beginning. Madero is a financier and he has turned the country over to the capitalists just as readily as Diaz did. It is against this that the people are now rebelling."

Alexander Berkman said that the revolution in Mexico is a social revolution. Berkman scored the Socialist party for what he considered its unfriendly attitude to the Mexican revolutionists.

All Mexico Shaken by Labor's Revolt

From border to border Mexico is in upheaval. Mexico City papers are full of the industrial troubles that are shaking the so-called Republic, and you can take any section that you will. Toward the North, for example, in Durango, 10,000 miners are on strike. In Guanajuato and San Luis Potosi, which brings us nearer Mexico City, there is universal revolt among the miners and smelters, and on the haciendas. In Yucatan and Territorio Quintana Roo, at the very foot of the country, there is scarcely a plantation to be found whereon the peons are not in the full tide of rebellion, ousting their former masters. If you are in doubt as to the side toward which your sympathies should lean, read "The Slaves of Yucatan"—the opening chapter of "Barbarous Mexico."

From the standpoint of the Mexican capitalist papers there is "chaos," but, as Magon is never tired of reiterating in the Spanish columns of this paper, "it is a chaos from which something good for the poor people of Mexico will come."

Never did plutocracy sit so uneasily on its throne in Mexico as it sits today; and consequently never was plutocracy in so yielding a mood. Events are forcing it, and from a leading article in "El Paladin" (Mexico City), we quote as follows:

"There can be no doubt that at the bottom of the revolution, as of all armed revolutions, there were well-defined economic causes, apart from those that properly belong to the political category. The general misery caused by the frightful discrepancy between the receipts of capital and those of the worker, the fever for business on a large scale, with the consequent absorption and slaughter of the smaller fry; and the protection, out of all proportion, given to the rich—these constituted the greatest and most powerful impulse to the revolt. In the eyes of the ignorant masses the revolution came to destroy an abominable order of things, and in the eyes of the masses the most abominable order of things is their misery. Their enthusiastic adherence to the revolutionary standard was logical."

The article concludes with a declaration that opportunities to work must be afforded idle hands, and wages must be raised.

"El Paladin" is a capitalist paper, and the article from which we quote has for its display head: "The terrible specter of Anarchy shows its head throughout the country. We urge that the fountains of toil be thrown open to the people and wages raised."

Our quotation is from the issue of June 22. That of June 25 bears across its front page the six-column "scare" head: "At the gates of Anarchy!" Its leading article recites that "the Mayas and peon day laborers are destroying the haciendas in Yucatan; that the Yaquis and other Indian tribes are devastating Sonora; that Morelos is at the mercy of the Zapata brothers, and their following of brigands; that in State after State political ambitions are producing incurably bitter quarrels, and so forth, with a wealth of detail we lack space to reproduce. The article concludes:

"In our own hands lies the remedy. Our patriotism will be our salvation. Let us drown Anarchy with the strength of an Anteus, and let us all unite in labor—the regenerator and emancipator."

The closing words fairly represent our own creed, but unfortunately the Mexican and foreign monopolists do not see it in that light.

Impartial Justice Who Does Side Our Demand with Berger?

We, the undersigned, residents of the United States, protest, and will continue to protest, by all the means at our command, against the recent arrest of members of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, on the charge that they have violated the neutrality laws. We do not pretend to pass judgment on the technical evidence in the case, for that is kept secret by the authorities. But we do pass judgment, and harsh judgment, on the palpable injustice of singling out for prosecution this special body of poor and comparatively defenseless men.

We state it as matter of universal knowledge that, throughout the troubles that have rent and still are rending Mexico, the neutrality laws have been in practical abeyance. We consider their attempted enforcement in this special case as being on a par with the revival of obsolete statutes for the crushing of some individual objectionable to those in power.

Notoriously the agents of both Diaz and Madero recruited actively in Los Angeles, San Diego, and throughout the border states. Madero was until recently a rebel; on all fours with the members of the Mexican Liberal Party, so far as the neutrality laws are concerned.

Up to within the last few weeks Mexicans were drilled in Los Angeles. They were enlisted to crush the Mexican Liberal Party. All this the authorities knew well, but they did not interfere.

Does any one in his senses suppose that Madero did not import men, arms and supplies, in huge quantities, from the United States? How is it that our government made the merest pretense of prosecuting an occasional Maderist, while Mexican Liberal Party leaders lie in jail under heavy bonds and practically incommunicado?

Can our government suppose that it is fostering respect for law by showing such patent partiality? How can it be expected to figure in the eyes of thoughtful men and women when proceeding against these men for the very crime of which it itself is guilty?

No greater violation of the basic principles of neutrality can be imagined than the action of the United States government in permitting Mexican troops to traverse United States soil; that they might more advantageously assault other Mexicans who were then in possession of Mexicali and Tijuana. Yet this very thing our government has done; our government that, at huge expense, has stationed 30,000 troops on the Mexican border for the alleged purpose of maintaining strict neutrality. The neutrality they actually displayed is shown by the fact that they arrested every member of the Mexican Liberal Party the moment he set a toe on United States soil; while, on the other hand, they gave Maderists the freest hand, and actually guarded them when they trespassed on our territory. Yes; it is true! American soldiers, supported from the pockets of American taxpayers, guarded, and still guard, Madero's troops.

Of course the "Appeal to Reason" is very logical in its course of action. Based on the assumption that the ballot, backed by the Appeal, will overthrow capitalism, it naturally supports Madero and Wall Street against the peons who are hoping and fighting for industrial freedom. ("Solidarity.")

Special attention is directed to the Italian column edited by L. Caminita, whose work, both as writer and speaker, is well known on this coast, and even better East. Arrangements are being made for an extended tour by Comrade Caminita, which, it is hoped, may begin within the next three weeks.

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 Madero did this very thing, and you, 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.

special leaflets, printed in different languages, should be issued and distributed generously, both in the United States and foreign countries.

All who abhor tyranny are urged to send funds to the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, under the following address: "Manuel G. Garza, 519 1/2 East 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal."

All such funds will be devoted to the publication and distribution of "Regeneracion"; to the aid of the Social Revolution in Mexico and to the defense of our imprisoned comrades.

I demand the immediate and absolute release of the Junta members, whose arrest is a proof of the partiality shown by governments when they have to deal with those who are struggling for the economic emancipation of the proletariat.

Signature
Address
Date