

Regeneration.

Published every Saturday at 914 Boston St., Los Angeles, Cal.

Telephone Home A 1360.

Subscription rates
Per annum \$2.00
Per six months 1.10
Per three months .60

BUNDLE ORDERS.

100 copies \$ 3.00
500 copies 12.50
1000 copies 20.00

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Entered as second-class matter September 12, 1910, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under No. 33

Saturday, September 2, 1911.

What Would Be Your Answer?

To our exchange table comes "The Voice of Labour," Auckland, New Zealand, official organ of the "New Zealand Labour Party." From its issue of July 21 I clip the following "spread-eagle announcement": "Mills! Mills! The Oratorical Star of Two Hemispheres. The Greatest Living Delinquent of Labour Ideals. In Four Soul-Moving Orations. After completing a great whirlwind tour of the Dominion, enthralling thousands at every point. Professor Thomas W. Mills, the greatest orator living or dead, and Special Commissioner from Milwaukee City, U. S. A., returns to this city tonight and will open a great six months' organizing campaign," etc., etc.—a column of it.

This is the gentleman one knew in the United States as Rev. Walter Thomas Mills, spoken of by his admirers as the "Intellectual giant of Socialism." With the triumph of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee he got a nice, fat job; the sort of a job I myself should dearly like, though I should be sorry to purchase it as I consider Mills is purchasing it. Nominally he was to enquire into municipal problems in Australasia. In reality he was to spread the gospel of Milwaukee-Berger Socialism throughout the antipodes—at the expense of the Milwaukee worker. One does not complain, you understand, in Milwaukee the Socialist Party is in power; which means that it is in the saddle, and, if it chooses, can ride the Labor horse to death. Why not? What sense would there be in capturing the power of taxation if one did not tax?

Special Commissioner Walter Thomas Mills, of Milwaukee City, and the "Voice of Labour," have shown me more clearly than has anything else why Victor Berger calls the Mexican Revolutionists "bandits" and declares that the great International Socialist Party can afford to have nothing to do with them. Mr. Mills' program; the war now raging throughout Australasia between the political Laborites and such bodies as the Miners' Federation; the literature issued by both sides; the denunciation by the one of anything looking toward violence and by the other of parliamentary tactics,—these could be reproduced almost verbatim here in Los Angeles, in Chicago, New York, and throughout England, where a recent proletarian upheaval has brought them into special prominence. The scorn for the Socialist Majority campaign now on in Los Angeles which you can hear expressed nightly at the street-corner meetings of the I. W. W., is the scorn expressed throughout Australasia by those who regard the Labor Politicians as, at best, mere shill-plaster men and, at worst, conscienceless grafters. Naturally the politicians "solemnly warn the workers of this country against having anything to do with the doctrine of violence and semi-Anarchism preached here under the name of "Revolutionary Socialism," "Industrial Unionism," "One Big Union," etc., etc." The quotation is from the "Voice of Labour," editorial immediately preceding the preposterous Mills notice quoted above.

You see, it is a world-wide conflict; one that splits the labor camps alike in the northern and southern hemispheres; one that by its very nature must be fought out and decided by the unanswerable logic of events. For it is the conflict between the characteristically radical; between the patient and the impatient; the men of words and the men of action; and finally, between those who can and those who cannot afford to wait. Thus Victor Berger, thank you, can well afford to trust to the slow-rolling centuries, but the Mex-

ican peon cannot. Thus the labor attorney who makes business thrive by agitation, and the salaried preacher for whom enthusiastic labor audiences and organizations are always willing to fill the hat, can well afford to wait; but unskilled labor, the unemployed, the "rough-necks" of the I. W. W., the blacklisted worker and discharged convict, cannot. And, above all, the man in office always can afford to wait, since his bread and butter is entirely safe, for the time being at any rate. Hence the never-failing experience that the radical elected to office immediately grows conservative, which is itself one of the many powerful arguments against politics.

The one-time Rev. and now Prof. Walter Thomas Mills, Special Commissioner from Milwaukee, can well afford to wait, add carry on what he calls his "Unity Campaign," a Movement for the Industrial and Political Union of All Labour Organizations." Before me is its program, with what is headed "Immediate Fighting Platform." It starts with the demand for a State-owned ferry service, and continues with a number of purely political reforms, including our old friends the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. If a starving man should object that he himself could not last out another twenty-four hours Mills would be hard put to it for an answer. However, he is a far more skillful word-fencer than was Taft; to whom, as you remember, a question on that very point was put.

Taft replied, "God only knows," and, for my part, I always thought the answer honest. Whereupon the Socialist Party made the greatest fun of him and christened him "God-Knows Taft." But nobody, save a few thinking Anarchists, ever challenges the Socialist Party to give a better answer; nobody ever tackles it boldly and says—"Here, you loud-mouthed friend of the working-man, what can YOU do?" Nevertheless the day draws very, very near when that question will be put, in tones that mean business, to the spokesman of the Socialist Party. Then, down comes the balloon.

There is only one satisfactory answer that can be given to the starving man; only one answer that even begins to fill the bill. It is the answer for which they put Emma Goldman into prison for a year; but perhaps one should not mention Emma Goldman, since, according to the Socialist organ "Justice" she is a Russian spy, and unquestionably she is one of those Anarchists denounced by Debs as corrupt politicians. That answer is "Help Yourself." It is an answer that slaps "law and order" directly in the face; that every politician, no matter what his party, condemns as the rankest heresy; it is the most dangerous advice an agitator can give; but—it happens to be the only one that fills the bill. It is the answer given by the Mexican Liberal Party to the starving and enslaved Mexican peon. It is the answer the Socialist Party is AFRAID to give the starving and enslaved American proletariat. And that is all there is about it.

WM. C. OWEN.

AGAIN POSTPONED

Trial of the cases against the members of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party was postponed again, last Thursday, to September 5. Ricardo Flores Magon has been subpoenaed to testify on behalf of Gen. Rhys Pryce, September 12.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL

Much against our will we have been compelled to move, the landlord having demanded a preposterous increase of rent. Until further notice the offices of "Regeneration" will be at 914 Boston St., near Figueroa and Temple.

BENEFIT WELL ATTENDED

The entertainment given at Italian Hall, Sunday, Aug. 27, for the benefit of "L'Era Nuova" and "Regeneration," was largely attended but unfortunately did not prove a financial success, the expenses running unusually high. Sr. Palacios, of the "Regeneration" staff, delivered an excellent address.

Another re-union will be held at the same hall, Sunday evening, Sept. 17, for the benefit of "Regeneration," at which a varied program will be presented.

WILD ENTHUSIASM

For the benefit of "Revolt," which thinks the Mexicans are showing great political enthusiasm, a friend has mailed us the following, clipped from "El Imparcial," of August 11: "There were no elections. I have talked today with a person who has come from Sahuaripa, and he informs me that the elections for Governor and Vice-Governor of the State could not be made effective because the population betook itself to the country shortly before the elections, with the deliberate purpose of not voting. At the electoral booths only nine votes were recorded."

Mexico Dare not Celebrate Her Fourth of July

Officials Stand Appalled Before Increasing Disturbances

Proletarians Take Possession of Lands

In the history of large movements six months are but as a watch in the night. Think of the generations of self-sacrificing toil needed to build up the Socialist Party to its present voting strength. Think of the generations during which the Godwins, Proudhons and Stirners, the Bakunins, Tolstoy's, Kropotkins and Tuckers, labored to gain even a hearing for the Anarchist philosophy. Think how long it took to shape such evanescent movements as those of the Knights of Labor, Grangers and Populist Party in this country; and then think of the progress that has been made within six short months in Mexico.

Six months ago Diaz was still regarded as a dictator safely entrenched behind his standing army and, according to presidential authorities, was the leading statesman of the day. Diaz is in exile. Six months ago Madero was hailed by most revolutionists as an economic savior. Madero has been exposed beyond redemption. Six months ago the most enthusiastic and well-informed radicals sneered at the Mexican Revolution as a mere repetition of the old farce of turning the scoundrels out to make way for the rascals. Today throughout the State of Morelos, and in Michoacan, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Yucatan and many other parts of Mexico, thousands and thousands of peons are in possession of the land and are beginning to reap the harvests they forthwith began to sow; for the Mexican soil quickly responds to labor.

We have picked this six-months period because it is a trifle more than six months since the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party took a decisive stand, declaring that the true nature of the Mexican Revolution was economic, and that in Madero, as a mere political reformer, it had lost all faith. An enormous outcry followed, and Ricardo Magon, who wrote the article that made the split, was repudiated by the Socialists and denounced all round. What had Magon and the Mexican Liberal Party really done?

Perhaps unconsciously to themselves they had done what falls to the lot of only a fortunate few, and that only at the rarest intervals—they had opened a new era. Who does not know that the perpetually recurring political revolutions in Mexico, Central and Southern America had become a by-word and the jest of every buffoon, the ready-to-hand material of the comic opera librettist? And the Mexican Liberal Party changed all that and changed it for all time. Revolutions there will be for many years to come in all Latin countries, for the Latin race has revolution in its blood; but they will be no longer political farces; they will be essentially economic, and, as such, part of the world-wide movement for industrial emancipation. It is an immense stride forward; Father Time has been forced into making an enormous jump.

When Galileo demonstrated that the world was round and moved there was a terrific row; and always the iconoclasts, the expositors of shams, have had the hardest time of sledding. Much more so is this the case where vested interests that have ruled it from time immemorial are threatened, and for many a day to come the Mexican Economic Revolution must fight for its life. That the vested interests are profoundly alarmed and prepared to go to almost any lengths is well shown, as it seems to us, by the following, clipped from the "Los Angeles Tribune":

"El Paso, Tex., Aug. 23.—Fear of an uprising against the government on the anniversary of Mexican Independence, September 16, will result in almost all celebrations being postponed this year. The officials of Torreón, Gomez Palacio and Laredo, in the state of Durango, have already ordered that there will be no celebration.

"The Mexican government is taking steps to curb the Socialists. For scathing arrangements of President Taft, King Alfonso and Emperor William, Lazaro Gutierrez de Lara, the Mexican Socialist, who created a sensation in the United States by his connection with the articles on 'Barbarous Mexico,' is now behind the bars in Torreón, charged with insulting the heads of foreign governments."

That brief despatch is enormously significant. Consider what the world would think if it heard that the

United States dared no longer celebrate the Fourth of July. Consider the lengths reaction must go in this country before it dares forbid us poking fun at Emperor Bill. Meanwhile, since it is universally recognized that Mexico at present is under a Madero government, one wonders what the Socialists and De Lara think of their idol, the "Liberator," as the "Chicago Daily Socialist" fondly called him in glowing headlines.

From "El Pais" we clip the following: "Mineral de la Paz, San Luis Potosi, Aug. 21. The police of this camp two days ago arrested a foreigner who had been preaching Socialist doctrines daily at the most frequented spots, addressing himself to the workmen and telling them that they ought to unite against those who gave them work and ask for an increase of wages." No name is given, but whatever the Socialists may think of "Regeneration" we of the aforesaid Socialist. He is our comrade and may he quickly get out of jail to continue his good work. But we hope he will get beyond the wages stage of argument.

This Man Knows

In this connection Ricardo Flores Magon has something to say in this week's paper, which, translated from the Spanish, runs as follows: "Less than three months ago Juan Sarabia, in a long and tedious open letter addressed to me and published by nearly all the Mexican bourgeois press, told me the working class did not understand what we were preaching and that the public was satisfied with what the Madero revolt had accomplished—the conquest of the electoral ballot. Facts have demonstrated that we Liberals are not the ones who are under an illusion, and we struggle on convinced that our action and our propaganda respond to the necessities and modes of thought of the poor in Mexico.

"The Mexican people instinctively hate authority and the bourgeoisie. Any one who has lived in Mexico will have found out that there is no individual more cordially detested than is the gendarme; that the word 'government' is full of disquietude to the simple inhabitants; that the soldier, elsewhere admired and applauded, is regarded there with antipathy and disapproval; that all who do not make their living by the labor of their own hands are hated.

"These facts are more than sufficient to give any social revolution an economic and anti-authoritarian character; but there is more than this. In Mexico there are some four millions of Indians who lived, until twenty or twenty-five years ago, in communities that held the land, water and woods in common. Mutual aid was the rule in these communities, and Authority made itself felt only when the rent collector made his periodical appearance, or when the rurales came in search of recruits for the army. In those communities there were no judges, justices of the peace, jailers or similar wasters. All had a right to the land, the water was for irrigation, the forest was for cutting timber and the timber was used in the construction of cabins. Plows passed from hand to hand, as did the yokes of oxen. Each family cultivated its special strip of land, which was calculated as being sufficient to produce what that family required; and the work of weeding and harvesting the crops was done in common, the entire community uniting to get in Pedro's crop today, Juan's tomorrow, and so on. In the building of a cabin all members of the community took a hand.

Robbed of Their All

"These simple customs lasted until Authority, having become strong through the complete pacification of the country, was able to guarantee the bourgeois large grants of lands; the vilest politicians obtained immense uncultivated tracts, and foreign adventurers got concessions of land, woods, water, in short everything, leaving our brother Indians without a hand-breadth of land, without the right to take timber or the smallest branch of a tree, in the most abject misery, despoiled of all that formerly was their own.

"As for the 'Mestiza' population, which forms the majority of the inhabitants of the Republic of Mexico,

with the exception of those living in the large cities and more important towns, they also held the land, the forests and the water in common, as did the native population. Mutual aid was equally the rule; houses were built in common; money was hardly needed, for there was an interchange of commodities. But peace was made, Authority strengthened itself and the political and money bandits impudently robbed the people of lands, forests, everything. This was less than forty years ago, yet today one can see, even by the opposition papers, that the American, the German and the Spaniard have shut up an entire population inside the limits of what they call 'their' property, and done it with the aid of Authority.

"One sees, therefore, that the Mexican people is ready for communism; since, in part at least, it has practiced communism for centuries; and this explains how it is that, while the majority is illiterate, it understands better than to take part in electoral farces for the elevation of rascals to office, and prefers to take possession of the soil. It is doing so, to the great horror of the thieving bourgeoisie."

All which is respectfully submitted to the consideration of those who, having read in some American paper a flamboyant account of some political procession in Mexico City, jump at the conclusion that the people have gone crazy over politics. They make the same mistake as do those who imagine that the great French Revolution consisted of the speeches of Danton, Robespierre and Marat, the Jacobins of Paris and Marseilles. In all revolutions the city politician makes much noise and attracts the attention of the press, but the decisive factor is not their talk, but the action of the rural population. It was so in France; it is even more so in Mexico.

Deeds, Not Words

The article from which I have translated begins as follows: "The inhabitants of the State of Morelos, like those of the southern portion of Puebla, and those of Michoacan, Durango, Jalisco, Yucatan and other States in which vast tracts of land have been invaded by multitudes of the proletariat, who have set themselves to work cultivating the soil, are demonstrating to the entire world that no society of wise men is needed to settle the Hunger problem. To reach the practical result of taking possession of the land and instruments of toil in Mexico there has been no need of 'leaders,' of 'friends of the working class,' of 'paternal decrees,' 'wise laws,' of one knows not what. Action has done and is doing the whole thing. Mexico is marching to communism more rapidly than the most sanguine revolutionists hoped, and the government and the bourgeoisie are finding themselves at this moment, without knowing it, in the presence of facts that they believed to be far more distant than they actually are."

W. C. O.

Peace! Gentle Peace!

Here are a few headings from recent issues of Mexico City papers. They are big, seven-column, first-page heads, set up with the offices' most conspicuous type.

"El Pais," Aug. 20. "Gen. Huerta's forces in combat with the guerrillas of Gen. Emiliano Zapata. Sr. Madero assures the President that Gen. Reyes is acting in accord with Gen. Huerta in the provocation of this conflict. Federal spies captured with compromising documents."

"El Diario," Aug. 20. "Serious combats at Cuatitlan and in the neighborhood of Yautepac between the federal forces and those of Emiliano Zapata. Don Francisco I. Madero is being deceived by the bandit of the State of Morelos, says the Minister of Government."

"El Imparcial," Aug. 26. "Most of the Maderistas acting with Zapata have no credentials. Only 270 have promised to lay down their arms. More than two thousand actively hostile Zapatistas scattered at different points. The rebels in power throughout the greater portion of the State, being in possession of the two railroads, the Central and the Interoceanic."

"The map that accompanies 'El Imparcial's' heads shows the disposition of the federal and Zapata forces. The Central railroad, on which Zapata is encamped, leads direct to Mexico City, only a few miles distant. 'El Diario' is making most effective oratorical war on Madero by publishing extracts from his speeches. Here is the style, taken from a recent address at Cuatitlan: 'I, who was the leader of the triumphant revolution and incarnated in myself the sentiments of the people of Mexico, which has been always invincible in war and magnanimous in victory,'

Taken at Random From Our Daily Letter Box

Leading Issues of the Mexican Revolution Stated Clearly

D. Bond, member of the Socialist Party but much disgusted with the course pursued by the Berger-Debs syndicate, has sent us copy of an article written for numerous Socialist and radical publications. It reads, in part: "What do our papers here, in Los Angeles, reveal as to Mexico? The same as do the Mexican papers; but, to get these facts from a Los Angeles paper, you have to hunt up little inch paragraphs, scattered in odd corners all over the paper. Why is not the 'Appeal' tearing the mask off this villainy by giving a column of extracts weekly about the news in Mexico? Must I, at three score and ten, after the lapse of three months, write to the 'Appeal' that the red flag is still flying in Mexico? That months ago Zapata's force, estimated at 3000 and well armed, was holding vast areas of fertile land? That lately his force is estimated at from 7,000 to 10,000? That the peons of Yucatan are ceasing to be peons and, arms in hand, are driving the erstwhile masters first into the cities and then often entirely out of the country? That 7,000 to 10,000 miners at Oro, in the State of Mexico, right at the doors of the national capital, strike, raise the red flag, kill fourteen and wound forty of their enemy, hold their ground and pass this resolution: 'The times of rhetoric, good words, magnificent theories and little bread are now past.' Must I tell the 'Appeal to Reason' that 1500 rebels are concentrated at Zapotitan, in the State of Jalisco? That 2000 Yaquis under arms are holding lands claimed by foreign capitalists in Sonora? That the war is still going on in Lower California? That Magon has succeeded in inducing Madero's Insurrectos to hold fast their guns and refuse to disband? That to meet all this, and hundreds of other armed bands and strikes, there are but 14,000 federal troops, composed of discontented elements that would be glad of the chance to get out? Magon shouts across the line: 'Hold fast your guns. Take Bread, Land and Liberty.' Comrade Debs and the 'Appeal' are either silent or else they say: 'Lay down your arms, now, like nice little boys, and Sammy will come down and organize you; and we will send you some nice teachers and educate you into Molloycoddies, and then you will evolve. For, evolution, is evolution,—though you do not know what that means and are too young to understand.'"

For Sake of Votes

L. Baron, of 23 Lewis Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., writes us a most forceful and intelligent letter, in which, after showing that he fully appreciates the progress being made in Mexico, he remarks that unfortunately we have to fight the Socialist Party which "will even sacrifice the Social Revolution for a few thousand of votes." It certainly has looked that way as yet.

However, we are in receipt of a resolution passed by the Socialist Local of Littleton, Colo., enclosing a strong resolution urging the Mexican Revolutionists not to lay down their arms, and sending \$3 for the cause. In her accompanying letter Julia May Courtney, of Denver, writes: "That the Mexican Revolution is having a profound influence on the revolutionary thought of the world is true. I have used the example of the Mexicans, who know what they want and are going after it, in contrast to the English strikers. The English, trained by tradition to be ruled, want only a recognition of their union and an increase of wages—not to be freed from wage slavery. The Mexicans, on the other hand, caring nothing for the political side and refusing to be ruled, are going after the first fundamental necessity of life—their land and their liberty. It's a tremendous argument and it nearly always works."

That letter hits the nail squarely on the head and directs attention to the great opportunities for radical propaganda afforded by the Mexican Revolution. This country is full of radicals of all shades who are grossly neglecting those opportunities. To say that they ought to be ashamed of themselves is to use an absurdly mild expression.

From Oklahoma City, Prof. Frederic M. Noa, a recognized authority on Latin-American affairs, writes: "I belong to the North American and International Socialist Party, but I regret profoundly the attitude of the Socialist leaders, such as Debs, Berger, Fred Warren, Wayland and the

others. I explain to myself their attitude by the fact that they are far from the scene of action; that they know nothing, absolutely nothing, of the history, development and social economic conditions of the Mexican nation; that they do not understand Spanish, and that they depend for their information on North American correspondents who also do not know Spanish and are, moreover, so prejudiced that it is impossible to convince them of their errors."

We have replied that people—and especially those who aspire to be "leaders"—should not write and pass judgment on subjects of which they know nothing. Furthermore we have added that the action taken by the aforesaid "leaders" resulted, in our opinion, "from the fact that they are saturated with that political immorality which never asks itself 'Is such and such a course right?' but 'Will it pay?' Happily the experiences of life is that such people always come to grief, facts being too clever for them."

Prof. Noa further expresses, the deepest regret that, while the Socialists are pouring out money like water on behalf of the McNamaras, they are neglecting the Mexican prosecutions entirely, although they are fully as important.

What Does "Sympathy" Mean? It seems desirable to append copy of the letter we sent, last Sunday, to the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne, Australia, which has forwarded financial assistance and expressions of sympathy. It is appended here as a type of many similar replies, and as bringing out a point we must emphasize, viz. that Mexico is to be envied for having the courage to fight for her rights. The substantial part of our reply was as follows:

"We appreciate greatly the expression of sympathy on the part of the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne, understanding the word 'sympathy' as being intended to convey interest and desire to co-operate in the common task of emancipating the disinherited. For, if it were intended to convey the impression that one should be sorry for Mexico, we should repudiate it immediately. In our judgment Mexico is not to be pitied but envied at the present moment, inasmuch as she is beginning to 'live,' being for the time being at the very head and front of the world-wide movement for industrial emancipation.

Madero Accepts

At a convention marked by continuous uproar the Progressive Party nominated Francisco I. Madero as its candidate for president. He accepted. Moreover, faultlessly arrayed in frock coat and other fashionable attire, with his female relatives beaming on him from a private box, the friend of the proletariat delivered an address. We clip from the account in the "Los Angeles Times":

"Plank by plank, the nominee of the party discussed the platform and expressed his approval of it. Regarding that plank in which it is provided that no monopolies or special privileges shall be granted, Madero declared that this should not be taken to mean that his administration would be antagonistic to foreign capital. He insisted the money of the foreigner would be treated like that of the Mexican; that all foreign capital would be given ample protection; but he emphasized the statement of the platform that the government in the future would be an enemy to all monopolies.

"Fear has been expressed in some quarters that Madero's government can be counted on to bring about a radical division of the large estates by arbitrary methods. This fear was allayed. He declared that the large estates of the country would not be attacked, although the greater protection would be given to the small land owners who have complained of illegal seizures of their property.

For the Clerical Vote. "By law, clergymen are not to hold office, but Madero announced that with this exception; no citizen of Mexico, whether he had supported the friars or their foes, would find himself embarrassed by antagonism in the exercise of his political rights.

"The convention rose and wildly applauded. 'Madero showed that he recognized the value of an army when he assured the convention that he would be slow to alter the personnel of the nation's troops. He declared himself in favor of abolishing the present system of compulsory service, but added that at present the country needed a strong protective force and no change would be made in the army until nearly normal conditions had been restored.'

In view of these revolutionary sentiments the Mexican Liberal Party doubtless will discontinue its hostility to "The Liberator." Nevertheless, "Regeneration" will appear as usual.