

Regeneracion.

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Mene, Tekel, Upharsin

Perhaps I should feel complimented by the fact that the American Economic League devotes one of its weekly syndicate letters to criticism of my humble self. In reality, however, I am so interested in the Mexican Revolution and the issues it has raised as to be impervious to blame or praise. I have no ax to grind, no interests at stake, no ambition to pursue, and I am getting old. Why should anything but the problem itself interest me? It is from that standpoint, therefore, that I reply.

As it seems to me, one should go into a fight or one should not. As it seems to me, if one goes into a fight one should want to win that fight and win it in short order. And to win, one should grasp, if possible, the secret of that power which spells success. All this is very clear to me.

There are rules so well established by experience that they have become instinctive with the human race. That to sit on two stools is to court a fall; that where the treasure is there will the heart be also; that it is impossible to serve two masters wholeheartedly—these are not merely the precepts of one who unquestionably proved himself, for good or ill, a man of enormous influence, but are also conclusions hammered into us by life itself. When I say, as I said recently in "Regeneracion," that a real estate speculator with a deal trembling in the balance cannot be expected to attack land speculation as fiercely as it needs to be attacked—when I say that, I utter what every one of my readers instinctively recognizes as a truth, based on eternal verities, rooted in human nature, irrefragable. No sneers at my own supposed poverty will get away with that. I appeal to common sense and it indorses me.

When Henry George was writing "Progress and Poverty" his soul was on fire, for he himself has told us that the misery of our great cities would not let him sleep. When Henry George first gathered a following about him he did not beat about the bush, or seek circuitous paths. He bade his readers get out of the mire and climb without delay the heights that, sooner or later, must be climbed. He pointed to the goal and urged that it be reached by the direct route; he demonstrated that land monopoly was the cause of poverty and he demanded that it be abolished. Instantly he was charged with preaching confiscation and he avowed it boldly, exhausting argument and rhetoric to prove that landlords were not entitled to one cent of compensation. Forthwith he was denounced as "The Prophet of Iniquity," was branded as an agitator of the most pernicious type, and became a world-wide power.

We all write from our experience, and my own experience has been so unrelenting as to leave no room for doubt. As an Anarchist I should have no use for a professedly Anarchist lawyer, in the character of public educator, since no man who takes an oath of fealty to the law and wins from it his daily bread can attack the law as, according to Anarchist convictions, it needs to be attacked. As a free-thinker I have no use for those who call themselves free-thinking clergymen, since, by the necessity of their position, they seek to harmonize the unharmonizable, confusing counsel and side-tracking the attack that sooner or later will stamp out superstition. As a hater of land monopoly I have no use whatever for the Single Tax speculators whose vice compels them to buttress up a system that, according to their master, is the one great obstacle to human freedom.

"All thinking persons," writes the anonymous author of The American Economic League's syndicate letter, "realize that existing economic conditions compel nearly every one to be either a robber or a victim of robbery." Let him betake himself then to the keeping of a brothel, to the running of a gambling house, to blackmail, or to any one of those occupations we leave instinctively to lower types and palliate only on the ground of grim necessity. But let him reflect that, put into the crucible and analyzed as Henry George analyzed them, none of these occupations begins to injure humanity as land speculation injures it. Let him reflect, moreover, that this, which Henry George men should regard as the type "par excellence" of assassin occupations, is followed by them not from necessity but "because every one else is doing it." You cuddle the creature to your breast, yet would have the people regard it as the most venomous of vipers!

I do not write as a moralist, but as one who hates his enemy and longs to see him overthrown quickly and at any cost. I find my natural allies in those who make a powerful attack on land monopoly, and my antipathies in those who weaken the attack and prolong the monster's life. I stand by the Mexican Liberal Party because it has struck, and is striking, powerfully at Henry George's foe; because it has raised and is heroically upholding the standard of "Land and Liberty"; because in many, many districts it has restored the land to the people; because it has pushed the agrarian question so remorselessly to the front that even that prince of land monopolists, Madero, to be successful in his politics has been forced to bend the knee and promise concessions which, I believe, our agitation is strong enough to convert into something more than promises. Contrariwise, I criticize the alleged followers of Henry George because they have lowered his standard and run up the white flag; because they have endeavored, with almost incredible fatuity, to serve both God and Mammon; because at the end of more than thirty years of agitation one's heart is eaten out with the conviction that in the United States, far and above all other countries, the cornering of nature is deemed the most honorable of achievements, instead of, as it should be, the most dishonorable and dastardly of crimes. It is true that, as Single Taxers, they have kept to the letter of their master's teaching; but, in my opinion, it is also true that in the spirit—in what should constitute the revolutionary life of what should be their own revolutionary movement—they are dead.

Personally I am unable to understand how any one who really hates land monopoly, as the followers of Henry George are supposed to hate it, can look with indifference on such a struggle as that which is convulsing Mexico. Yet the Henry George men stand by as coldly impartial as the grave. Personally I do not understand how men can devote years of energy and apparent enthusiasm to explaining how deadly is the Upsas tree, and be actually hostile toward those who pick up the ax that they may bring it crashing to the ground. I can explain it only by supposing that American greed for money, American greed for place, and American greed for notoriety, have cut so deep into the nation's life that it may have passed already beyond the stage at which a cure is possible. If so I agree with Henry George that the plowshare of history must pass over us to make room for a simpler and more honest race.

WM. C. OWEN.

CARNEGIE, FOR INSTANCE

Sometimes when I read American editorials deprecating the removal of tyrants and then turn to their arguments against war, I more than half incline to the belief that at the bottom of a good deal of the guff talked about universal peace is a desire upon the part of people of power and property not only to abolish war, but to bring about the submission of the people to wrongs imposed upon them by their ruling classes. Anti-war talk is anti-revolution talk. No one has talked more of it than the Czar of all the Russias. And there is nothing more disgusting in American journalism than its attitude of discouraging revolution that appeals to force. They want omelettes without breaking eggs. They want revolutions by means of rose-water. They believe that even the continued existence of a brutal, slaughtering Stolypin is better than to have business disturbed in the least.—Wm. Marion Reedy, in "The Mirror."

Madero's Climb Ends in Temporary Triumph

New Political Clouds gather on the Blackening Horizon

Los Angeles becomes the Mecca for Expatriated Plutocrats

With the departure of Reyes the triumph of Madero at last Sunday's primaries became a foregone conclusion. It alters nothing. The hod is merely shifted from one shoulder to the other, as when a Taft succeeds a Roosevelt. The economic suffering that led to Diaz's overthrow is just as great as ever, save, indeed, where the pesos have taken possession of the land and tilted it to fill their empty stomachs. Madero doubtless will become president but his actual fight is now beginning; since, in addition to the economic problem, he has now to face a hurricane of political hostility. It is recognized that more time should have been allowed, in order that the country might be distracted in accordance with the law. The Maderists have defeated that demand the Reylistas immediately withdrew and they have lost not a moment in declaring war.

Naturally Madero's instinct is now to secure peace at any price, and already he is treading the old and fatal road. The "Los Angeles Times" correspondent puts it thus, Oct. 3: "The campaign against the trouble-makers in Southern Mexico is being pushed strenuously, now that the election is over, and no mercy is to be shown. It has been decided by the Cabinet that some of the subordinate officers of the Morelos rebellion may be pardoned, but that Zapata and his chief leaders cannot have any such concession and that they will have to surrender unconditionally, if they surrender at all, and be held for trial. The other men will be pardoned if they surrender their arms at once."

In Diaz' Footsteps

According to a statement issued by Minister Alberto Garcia Grandes, Felipe Morelos is to be second in command of the federal troops in Morelos, Romulo Figueroa will occupy a similar position in Guerrero, Gen. Eduardo Paz will be at the head of operations in Chiapas and Pascual Orozco will be given the task of attempting to bring about order in the South. It is a regularly military campaign that has been marked out and testified in itself to the truth of our constant contention that Madero, being the frontispiece of what has been merely a political revolution, will have no other alternative but to rule by force of arms, as did his predecessor, Diaz. But he cannot command the resources Diaz wielded and he has to do with a people no longer cowed. It makes all the difference in the world.

Meanwhile there is increasing talk about the secret preparations for invasion being made by Reyes, with San Antonio, Tex., as his headquarters and members of the old Cientifico ring as his financial backers. Enrique Creel, who was Diaz' right-hand man and is immensely wealthy, is reported as having visited San Antonio under an assumed name, and various rumors are in circulation which are said to be urging the United States government to add vigilance. Reyes himself has sailed from Havana for New Orleans.

It is not to be supposed that everything will break at once. Time is required for reflection and, just as Madero was the hero of the hour when Juarez fell, so for the moment his electoral triumph will bring him another flush of popularity, until the public has had leisure to consider how little that triumph really means. Nevertheless events are moving fast. This

Los Angeles is surely the most extraordinary city in the world, being at once, as capitalist papers put it, the cradle of the Mexican revolutionary movement and the asylum for those against whom that very revolution is making war. The colony of exiled monopolists and officials is growing with startling rapidity, and one of the latest arrivals to attract the attention of our newspaper fraternity is Sr. Damian Flores, late governor of Guerrero. Sr. Flores is described unctuously by the "Los Angeles Tribune" as "a splendid type of the true Mexican gentleman; quiet reserved, courteous." Following which we are informed that he has opened an office down town for the disposal of \$50,000,000 worth of agricultural, timber, rubber, oil and mineral

evening's paper—Oct. 5—brings news of a serious Reyes uprising in the province of Veracruz, where Raoul Russo, at the head of a force numbering 500, captured San Juan Coscomatepec after seven hours' fighting.

Press censorship has been exceptionally severe of late, which is always ominous; nevertheless reports of formidable election riots have found their way into the American papers. 19 REGENERACION 10-6 K One reads of seven killed and thirty-seven wounded at Salinas Cruz, State of Oaxaca, 300 armed Indians having invaded the town and attempted to destroy the ballot boxes; of twenty-nine killed and more than a hundred wounded at Juanaacatepec, State of Morelos, where Zapatistas and federal forces clashed; of 700 Zapatistas retreating South to join their main body, and of a real battle between 900 Zapatistas and 1500 federals at Tuxtpec, on the borders of Guerrero and Oaxaca, which resulted in the defeat of the former. All this information comes from United States papers, the latest received from Mexico City dating the day before the election.

Welcoming the Prodigals

Most eloquently suggestive of existing conditions is the article on which the "Los Angeles Times" spread itself Sunday, Oct. 1, congratulating this city on "the sudden influx of members of the oldest and proudest families of Mexico"; families, as it remarks, that "ranked right along with that of Diaz in the olden days." "The names," it says, "belong to former governors, statesmen, wealthy planters, mine owners and land operators who will in the future direct the development of their vast properties in Mexico from Los Angeles, bringing here a wealth that cannot be estimated. Los Angeles will actually rival Mexico City in the control of estates, giving pleasant and safe residence where all that is the best in American civilization can be enjoyed."

Among those singled out for special notice are the former governor of Guerrero, the former governor of Sinaloa, Luis E. Torres, former governor of Hermosillo and a notorious land monopolist, Jesus Almada, who recently sold one of his estates for \$3,000,000 and Bernardo Garcia, a multi-millionaire bachelor. However, dozens and dozens of others are mentioned casually.

The spokesmen for these people all declare they are out of politics; the former governor of Guerrero, who has properties valued at \$50,000,000 for sale, goes out of his way to shower compliments on Madero, and all announce their intention of living in Los Angeles on the labor of their fellow-countrymen. Every one of them looks forward to a life of luxury without doing a stroke of work; every one of them is confessedly an absentee landlord and glories in it, and the "Times" congratulates Los Angeles on the influx of this horde of pirates. Is it any wonder that those who, like the Mexican Liberal Party, are urging the Mexican workers to make these pirates walk the plank are being hounded down by the wealth and power of the United States, which gazes on the Mexican peon with disgust while idolizing the parasites that feed upon him? Have we not here the social problem in a nutshell? On one or other side of the Mexican Revolution must not every one of us take his stand?

lands in various States of Mexico, the same being concessions obtained from the much-lamented Diaz, one of whose favorites he was. Although all my native sympathies go out to refined and courteous gentlemen, I express the profoundest hope that Sr. Flores' practical enterprise will not bring him in one single dollar. If it does so it will be at the expense of American freebooters as guilty as himself; would-be slaveholders who regard Mexico as a paradise of profit-mongering, in which labor was meant to be exploited by the absentee landlord and the foreign money-shark. One dislikes giving Sr. Flores this free advertising but the statement of his case may throw light on the true inwardness of the Mexican Economic Revolution.

Politicians Side with Madero
Straight Revolutionists Demand Economic Freedom

Last week's synopsis of the history of the Mexican Liberal Party and of "Regeneracion," since its resurrection in September, 1910, was devoted mainly to an exposition of the clear-cut position occupied throughout. It carried us as far as the final repudiation of Madero and John Kenneth Turner's retirement from the movement. We shall now see other forces industriously at work.

The Mexican Liberal Party has had an extensive organization throughout Mexico for many years and must be given credit for having understood conditions. It knew well that the overthrow of Diaz by Madero, with heavy financial backing, was almost inevitable; but it also knew that Madero's triumph would mean merely a change of officials and that only the restoration of the land to the people would abolish the poverty and oppression against which it had risen in arms. It could not recognize the triumph of Madero as other than the first stage in a revolution that must run its course, if blood and treasure were not to have been spent in vain; and it had spared no effort to make that position absolutely clear, as the quotations given above will demonstrate. What I emphasize is that it reckoned on the support of the Socialists and of all who had been preaching for so many years that access to natural opportunities is the first step toward economic freedom. It had a double reason for supposing that it could rely on Socialist support, because the entire Socialist philosophy has as its cornerstone the restoration of the means of production to the people, and because the release of the imprisoned members of the Junta had been hailed by the Socialist Party with peans of joy. Nothing could have exceeded the enthusiasm of the reception it accorded to Ricardo Magon and his colleagues at an immense mass meeting, called in Los Angeles. Yet the position of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta is today precisely what it was when its leaders were sent to the Yuma penitentiary for breach of the neutrality laws.

In the earlier part of this article it has been shown that, as far back as Dec. 17, "Regeneracion" declared most precisely that it was not working with Madero, since his triumph would not mean the breaking-up of that land monopoly which is Mexico's curse. Notwithstanding this the speakers and writers of the Socialist Party—such men as Debs and Turner—continued to give the Mexican Liberal Party what was apparently their sincerest support. But, with the obviously approaching fall of Juarez, a sudden change took place, its herald being a most bitter attack on Ricardo Magon and the Junta made in the "New York Call," a Socialist daily. This was prior to Mrs. Turner's retirement, and from that moment the attack was almost continuous. "I cannot think of a Socialist paper that did not either boycott the Mexican Liberal Party movement by silence—as in the case of the Los Angeles official Socialist paper—or attack it directly—as in the case of the 'Appeal to Reason'—or indirectly, as in the case of the 'Chicago Daily Socialist,' which ostentatiously played up Madero, with flamboyant cuts, as the 'Liberator' of Mexico. While Mrs. Turner was still editor of the English section of 'Regeneracion' a committee from the Socialist Party of Los Angeles waited on Ricardo Magon, insisting that he should state whether he was a Socialist or an Anarchist, since in the latter case the party would withdraw its support from the paper. Magon answered, quite truthfully and naturally, that what he and the Junta wanted was to restore the land to the people. By pure accident I was present at the interview and heard the whole discussion.

Appeal to Prejudice

When, at the insistent urging of John Kenneth Turner, I assumed Mrs. Turner's position the attacks were redoubled, the "Appeal to Reason" and others promptly pointing out that an Anarchist was in charge of the English section. For my part I had come into the matter purely as a volunteer, anxious to do what I could to assist the Mexican people in their struggle to regain possession of the land. Anyhow, it seems to me that personalities should cut no figure in the case, for we have to do with a profoundly serious enquiry, viz.—Why did the Socialist Party continue for months to support the Mexican Liberal Party, despite the latter's clear statement in December last that it considered Madero a mere

political aspirant? Why did it suddenly, with the approaching fall of Juarez, change its entire attitude, becoming a bitter opponent instead of an enthusiastic ally?

The Socialist Party knew beyond all question that the Mexican Liberal Party and Madero were at daggers drawn; it knew that to attack and alienate sympathy from the Mexican Liberal Party was to do that which Madero desired above all other things. Yet this was the policy it pursued remorselessly. Ignorance cannot be pleaded, for it had its own adherents as editors of the English section of "Regeneracion," and through its Los Angeles organ the policy and attitude of the Junta was known to the whole movement.

My own conviction is that it picked Madero as the winner, and resolved to stand by the winner even if it had to throw every principle overboard. Doubtless it thought Madero could be "used," as he himself has "used" so many others. An astounding misconception, which has lost the Socialist Party its character among hosts of radicals and brought us shoals of friends!

Prior to my assumption of the editorship of the English section there were several interviews between the Junta and myself at which we found ourselves agreed that the Mexican movement was part and parcel of the world-wide economic revolution; that, consequently, an international propaganda should be set afoot; that we should have to fight the politicians of all parties; that we should get nothing from the Socialists but words and apologies for those delays which we regarded as fatal to the masses, since they give the classes the opportunity of cementing their power. We were positive that the Socialists would side with Madero, inasmuch as politician always supports politician against those who stand for direct action. Furthermore we considered that true wisdom lay in being unpolitic; in hewing close to the line, regardless of where the chips might fall; in neither courting alliances nor being afraid of making enemies. This is the sum and substance of the conversations that took place, as the result of which a line was marked out from which "Regeneracion" has not deviated and will not deviate. There is no reason why it should, for the results attained have exceeded expectations.

Fundamental Education

The role of mere muckrakers does not content us, and we aim to make this paper something vastly more important than a mere chronicle of events. If we call attention to the expropriation now proceeding so rapidly in Mexico we also explain that the people have been accustomed for generations to a communist system of land occupation for use, and show why radicals should support the movement of the Mexican peasantry. If we record strikes it is to demonstrate that the Mexican is playing his part in the labor movement of the world. If we expose the trickeries of such a contortionist as Madero it is to point out that politics is everywhere the game of getting office while cheating the poor with promises. We seek to educate our readers to the basic truth that he "who would be free himself must strike the blow."

Events are coming fast enough. What is needed is clear, fearless interpreters; for until we free ourselves from illusions and learn to grasp realities the opportunities now offering themselves on every side will be neglected. One of the greatest of these opportunities is the Mexican Revolution, but it is being ignored by the Anglo-Saxon workers, thanks mainly to the political illusions in which they have allowed themselves to be entangled.

Politicians of all parties war on us, and we for our part have no inclination to make peace. Why should we, when the very stars in their courses are fighting on our side? For is it not becoming patent to all the world that the EVENTS now taking place in England and Ireland, in France, Spain and Austria, everywhere except in ballot-bedrugged Germany, are doing more for the education of the people in a week than politics have accomplished in a century? For thirty years the followers of Henry George have been talking about the restoration of the land to the people. Within six months thousands of Mexicans, under the leadership of the Mexican Liberal Party, have got back their lands.

All over the world the masses are discovering what the Mexican peon has discovered. All over the world they are rising in forcible revolt against the absurdity that as our capacity for producing the necessities of life increases the difficulty of procuring those necessities increases. All over the world they are realizing that the El Oro miners spoke the truth when they declared that the time for fine speeches had ended and the hour for bread arrived.

Mexicans Will Do Their Share

James J. Hill may be expected to look at railroad troubles through plutocratic spectacles, but he is always well-informed and he has the habit of talking a good deal of common sense. He is reported as having expressed himself as follows: "The strike of the shopmen is, very untimely. Here in Seattle and on the Pacific Coast you do not have such a large percentage of unemployed men as prevail in the East. The coast has been fortunate in this respect. The number of employed workmen, skilled and unskilled, in the East and the Middle West, is so large that the shop employees of the Harriman roads and the Illinois Central have no chance to win."

While we hope this prediction may be false, all accounts show that the army of unemployed this winter will be larger than ever, and it is the unemployed who determine the financial position of labor, pulling down wages and rendering jobs more insecure. It is in this connection that the Mexican Revolution should appeal most powerfully to United States workers who, even if they lack the sense of international solidarity, should understand how seriously expropriated Mexican labor threatens their own jobs. It will do so more and more until the land question in Mexico is settled by the restoration to the Mexicans of that soil which they are passionately eager to have the chance of cultivating.

Meanwhile it may be stated confidently that no workers are more ready at the present hour to assert the solidarity of labor than are the Mexicans, as an instance of which we quote from a circular just issued by Fresno Local Union, No. 66, I. W. W., relative to a strike near Coalinga. It reads in part:

"Contrary to the accepted notion that the Mexicans won't stick and that you can't do anything with them, it gives us great pleasure to state that the majority of the men were Mexicans (some of them only four days from Mexico) and they insisted the hardest in their demands. These Mexicans are setting a good example of solidarity for you American Peons to pattern after. All classes of consensual wage workers should back them up in their fight. By following this policy to the end you will find that the Mexicans are your friends and that you should organize with them into one Big Industrial Union and fight the boss, and not among yourselves. If it takes four days for Peons from Mexico to learn how to fight for better conditions, how long should it take you Americans to get next?"

We commend this incident and the I. W. W. comments on it to the notice of organized labor, but it must unlearn a lot of the aristocratic, race superiority teaching it has been lapping up from the mouths of scheming politicians, who habitually flatter it to catch the vote.

SOCIAL PROVES SUCCESS

The Social at Italian Hall last Sunday evening drew a large crowd and proved in every way a great success. We have not received the full financial statement, but understand that something more than ten dollars was cleared for the benefit of "Regeneracion's" propaganda.

Don't Forget

The Ferrer Meeting, Burbank Hall, 542 South Main street, Friday, October 13, 8 p. m. Addresses will be delivered by Ricardo F. Magon, R. R. Palacios, L. Caminita, Wm. C. Owen and well-known local speakers; the meeting being essentially international. Admission free.

The judicial murder of Francisco Ferrer by the Spanish authorities, Oct. 13, 1909, is commemorated yearly, on the date of his death, by radicals and revolutionists throughout the world. It was one of the most heinous of historical crimes and also one of the stupidest of blunders, for it stirred the revolutionary forces of Europe as they seldom have been stirred and kindled a flame of revolt that has burned with increasing intensity ever since. The date—Oct. 13—is loyally observed annually by the international labor movement to exemplify its sense of solidarity and emphasize its determination to struggle on until freedom shall have been fully won.

Come yourself and notify your friends. Send or ask for literature and assist in giving the meeting all publicity. It is a work in which all can be of service, thus doing their share toward bringing about that emancipation of humanity for which Ferrer died.