

Regeneracion.

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Eating Their Dish of Crow

Back to the property room with the red-linked bludgeon and the battered hat, the battleship and the instruments of torture; file away the red-ink scareheads; ring down the curtain and turn out the lights, the "Appeal to Reason" farce is over. Shout went into voluntary bidding and the lady's letter is accepted as conclusive. Faugh!

The Charles Edward Russell matter is more serious because Russell hitherto has been a somebody, and his reputation of the article he contributed to last month's "International Socialist Review" cannot be passed over in a paragraph or allowed to fade from public memory. With apologies, therefore, to our readers I reproduce once more the sentences with which that article began. They were as follows: "A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within. After that it may for a time maintain a semblance of life and motion, but in truth it is only a corpse. This has been proved many times. It is being proved today in Great Britain. It has been proved recently and most convincingly in the experience of Australia and New Zealand. In Australia the proletarian movement that began eighteen years ago has achieved an absolute triumph—in politics. Under the name of the Labor Party it has won all that any political combination can possibly win anywhere. It has played the political game to the limit and taken all the stakes in sight. The whole national government is in its hands. It has attained in fullest measure to the political success at which it aimed. It not merely influences the government; it is the government."

Those are the words with which Russell's article BEGAN. He had just returned from his Australian tour; he was giving the Socialists of the world, through their international review, the experiences he had gathered, and he opened, like the experienced journalist he is, with a dear-cut summary of the conclusions he had reached. The remainder of his lengthy article consisted of variations on the previously-stated theme; marshalled the facts in support of the main thesis; re-inforced the argument with forceful illustrations. It was as outspoken as any article could be, and for that reason I gave it nearly two columns, making no comments but quoting fully and allowing the writer to tell his story his own way. Now, what has happened?

As might have been expected the political Socialists were furious. One of their most cherished leaders had returned from a loudly-heralded tour and instead of blessing he had cursed them; cursed them in round, unvarnished language; told them that Tom Mann was right and that the pursuit of political aspirations led infallibly to betrayal of the proletariat. Russell hit from the shoulder, hard and straight; declared that with victory at the polls came the passion to continue in power, advocacy of militarism, alliances with capital, an endless train of just those evils which, sensed instinctively by the proletariat, have inspired them with a distrust of politics that increases as experience accumulates. His language was most precise; his illustrations were most forcible; rarely has there been penned a more powerful exposure. In particular, toward the end of his article, he wrote: "When we come to reason of it calmly what can be

gained by electing any human being to any office beneath the skies."

Among others Morris Hillquit, a recognized Socialist leader, called Russell to account and wrung from him the following letter, which appeared in the "Chicago Daily Socialist" of Sept. 28:

"Dear Comrade Hillquit I am not opposed to political action any more than I am opposed to the revolution of the earth upon its axis or the procession of the equinoxes or the course of the west wind or the transit of Venus or the canals of Mars. There is not a line, word or syllable in anything I have written that indicates that I am opposed to it.

"You think I ought to give to the Socialist press some definite statement as to what I believe and don't believe on this subject. I think the Socialist press can easily find much more instructive and diverting matter. But since you have asked I have no objection to telling you this:

I do believe in political action. But I don't believe in compromise, trucking, trading, thimberligging, dealing, ducking and dodging.

"No one in the Socialist party that is opposed to these things has any quarrel with me. I trust this is sufficiently explicit.

"I wrote an article to show how these devices had resulted in the defeat of the working class of Australia. Somebody jumps thence to the conclusion that I am opposed to the nomination of Socialist candidates in America.

In the course of a long and checked life I have seen many strange things, but nothing, I think, stranger than that, I would fain know the reason if I could grasp it.

"I am now engaged in writing an article on South Sea Island dances. I hope no one will deduce from its conclusion that I believe in eating raw meat and drinking hot blood, but I have my doubts.

"Yours fraternally and cordially,
"CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL."

In reply Mr. Hillquit has written, "Let us shake hands again," but I am positive he sneered when writing it. Assuredly I sneered, and assuredly the revolutionary world will sneer as long as the memory of Russell's article and letter lasts. They should not be carelessly forgotten; they should be cited as concrete illustrations of the pass to which politics can bring men who of themselves were fine and a movement that once had an aim for which men were content to sacrifice their lives. They should go far toward convincing the public of the truer wisdom by which the Mexican Revolution, itself struggling desperately against a sea of political corruption, guides its course.

WM. C. OWEN.

MADERO AND HIS PROBLEMS

W. G. Shepherd, who has contributed to the radical press many thoughtful articles respecting Madero and his problems, writes as follows in a syndicate letter sent from Mexico City, Oct. 17: "In the State of Chihuahua a man named Terrasas holds 25,000 square miles. Every person on this land is practically his slave. The State governor is Abram Gonzales, a man something of the Gifford Pinchot type. If Madero informs Gonzales that he wishes the land tax raised, Gonzales will see to it. But the Madero family also owns, it is said, about one million acres in this same State. Will Madero raise the tax against his own family? All Mexico is asking the question.

"Madero is further handicapped by his quarrel with Dr. Vasquez Gomez, his right hand man during the revolution. Gomez says that the quarrel arose because he demanded that Jose Limantour, minister of finance, leave Mexico at the same time that Diaz departed and that Madero's family were so entangled financially with Limantour that they persuaded the revolutionist son that Limantour ought to be permitted to stay, even though the Mexican people regarded Limantour as a Cientifico leader.

"While Madero was in the field, with the power of the common people behind him, he was the most powerful man in Mexico. In just so far as the business interests of Mexico stand between him and the common people, with their advice and interference and their time-honored cry, 'Don't interfere with business,' in that same degree he will lose his power. With his power gone the Cientificos—which means the Wall Street of Mexico (and that includes a large part of our own Wall Street) will turn on him like wolves."

The kingdom of this world is what we are after, but meekness will not win it. This is the modern gospel, and you should paste it securely where your thinking apparatus ought to be.

Guerrilla Warfare Gives Way to Pitched Battles

Government makes Prodigious Efforts to Suppress Rebels

Maderist Intrigues Laid Bare by Official Statement

What is to be expected from Madero's government can be judged by the confidence the Los Angeles millionaire colony reposes in it, as to which in previous issues we have had much to say. From the "Los Angeles Tribune," Oct. 18, we now clip the following: "Wealthy Italian here from Mexico. Dante Cusi says Madero's government is eminently satisfactory. Probably the second wealthiest man in Mexico arrived at the Angelus yesterday. He is Dante Cusi, an Italian who emigrated to Mexico many years ago and became so successful in the land of his adoption that he is now rated second only to former President Diaz in wealth. The bulk of his property is in the State of Michoacan, Central Mexico, where some of the most productive land in Mexico is situated." The "Los Angeles Times" also plays up an interview with the same gentleman.

As a natural consequence of such conditions fighting is on a larger scale than ever, but, as the rebels are playing for their own hand and not conducting a campaign engineered by capitalists, their battles are passed by in almost utter silence by a press that gave pages on pages to Madero's unwilling capture of Juarez. However, the following Mexico City dispatch appeared in the "Los Angeles Times," Oct. 16: "Today's advice from Cuernavaca say that Zapatistas were cut to pieces in a battle at Tepehuan yesterday, but Zapata himself escaped. The Zapatistas were caught between the forces of Gen. Figueroa and Col. Blanquet. Two hundred of them are said to have been killed, a large number wounded and many taken prisoners. The rebels had entrenched themselves on the hillside close by the village. The Federals, advancing from opposite directions, cut off the rebel retreat."

It is fully a month since the federal troops had Zapata surrounded and captured, according to despatches, and the accounts given in the government organs of the ultimate dispersion of his forces have proved invariably not worth the paper they were written on. We think ourselves safe in saying that Zapata is still very much alive.

In the "Los Angeles Tribune" of the same date appeared the following: "Monterey, Mex., Oct. 16.—Further advices from Chiapa de Corzo, State of Chiapas, say that in the attack on the town, by federal troops, more than 100 persons were killed and more than 1000 men and women wounded. The attack lasted five hours.

"In Copanola there was another encounter. The town was taken by the Federals after a five-hour combat with the inhabitants. After a two hours' battle, the town of Cordoba was set on fire and destroyed.

"A band of rebel Indians from Quintana attacked a group of gun makers five leagues west of Santa Maria, near the town of Peto. The federal escort and the gun makers fought valiantly against the Indians."

Previous telegrams to the "Tribune" had represented that "Chamula Indians are in complete control of the State of Chiapas and are threatening to invade other States. In almost every town of the State the Federals have been deposed." Under date of Oct. 13 the same paper reported that "the situation in the State of Morelos, where the bandit chief Zapata and his men are operating, is not improved."

As stated in our last week's issue, Pasqual Orozco is proceeding to the attempted pacification of Sinaloa with what is described as a force of "400 picked insurgent soldiers" recruited from Chihuahua. Since governments invariably help governments Taft has given them a special permit enabling them to pass through United States territory. Thus they will be enabled the more quickly to set about their task of shooting down those who have dared to declare their independence of the new authority these insurgents of yesterday have established.

In response to insistent clamor Ernesto Madero, minister of finance, has rendered a statement according to which Francisco I. Madero, the president-elect, has been re-imposed from the public treasury as follows, for personal expenses in connection with the political revolution that elevated him to power. Cost of arms, munitions and equipments, \$154,000; paid lawyers in New York, Washington, San Antonio and El Paso, \$55,000; confidential agency in New York, \$6000; agency in San Antonio, \$18,000; agency in Washington, \$6000; agency in El Paso, \$15,000; for publicity campaign in newspapers, \$12,000; traveling expenses, \$56,000.

Thus the game is played, and the last paragraph gives us a highly suggestive peep behind the scenes. What wires must have been pulled in New York and Washington, where American capitalists most do congregate, and what a lot of arms must have been smuggled across the border with the connivance of a government that is now indignantly prosecuting a handful of penniless agitators for alleged breach of the sacred principle of neutrality! "Through tattered tattered clothes small vices do appear; gowns and furred robes hide all; plate sin with gold and the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks. Arm it in rags—a pigmy's straw doth pierce it."

From "The Tribune," we take the following: "San Antonio, Tex., Oct. 18.—Gen. Bernardo Reyes feels that the new revolutionary outbreak in the state of Tabasco is the beginning of a widespread uprising in the republic. The general said today that his first intimation of the conditions in Tabasco came, however, from the press dispatches and that he had no idea an outbreak would occur there. Reyes is intensely interested, but declares that he is only a spectator. He said: 'The outbreak in Tabasco is the result of discontent created by the lack of liberty in the recent elections in which the candidacy of Madero was imposed upon the people by the authorities and ex-revolutionists who are still armed and on a war footing. I believe similar events will occur elsewhere in the republic, as the indignation seems to be general.'

Gen. Reyes also referred to the upheavals in the neighboring States of Yucatan and Chiapas as proof of the correctness of his forecast, adding that the government faced exceptional difficulties in its attempt to smother rebellion in the Southern provinces. Assuredly we are no admirers of Reyes, but his judgment is, at least, better than that of two somewhat noted labor leaders who, not knowing one word of Spanish, have returned from Mexico City and have been endeavoring to persuade us that all is peaceable and lovely. They had the honor of shaking hands with Madero and were escorted, during their brief stay, by "Col." Villareal, who deserted the Mexican Liberal Party for Madero and is now one of his principal political lieutenants.

It is significant that the "Los Angeles Times," in its editorial of Oct. 19, while praising Madero for his promises to protect and encourage foreign investments, warns him that "at the same time most students recognize that Diaz fell because he permitted capital to exploit both the Mexican people and all of their natural resources." The "Times" is essentially the organ of plutocracy, but it is a wise champion of its client's interests and knows well enough that there is danger of those interests going entirely by the board. Unfortunately the only advice it can give is to close the stable door with as little noise as possible, the steed having been already stolen. Madero's protection to foreign capital means nothing more nor less than that the nation shall continue to look on quietly while others ride the horse that was formerly their property.

To protect the loot Madero must follow Diaz' footsteps. He has no

other choice, and what his policy compels him to do he is already doing. We quote in evidence the "Los Angeles Herald" of Oct. 15, the quotation being from its Mexico City special despatch:

"Great activity in moving troops to Sonora, the scene of Magonista riots, followed the word that President Taft had granted permission to Mexico to transport soldiers across the United States border in using a short route to the scene of disturbance.

From all quarters come reports that mobs have been battered and dispersed by soldiery within a short space of time after formation. Cavalrymen did effective work in breaking up a hostile gathering in Sonora recently.

It is the intention of the Maderistas to lose no opportunity to crush the least disposition of the Magonistas to oppose the reigning party in Mexico.

The government is rushing its troops to Sonora, which seems to be the hotbed of discontent."

You understand that we are fighting, all along the line, and that the stake at issue is nothing less than the complete surrender to plutocracy of a nation numbering 15,000,000 or its economic liberty.

In this issue we meant to have discussed at length the frauds that marked the late election. "El Diario" has been full of information on that head and Gomez is making a terrific attack in his special organ. Unfortunately the details of actual rebellion, which seem to us more important, have made these notes already far too long.

FERRER ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED

Burbank Hall was crowded Friday evening, Oct. 13, the occasion being the commemoration of the murder of Francisco Ferrer by the Spanish authorities, Oct. 13, 1911. Speeches were made by Messrs. Palacios, Ricardo Magon, Caminita and Owen, all of "Regeneracion," and Lewis, local organizer of the I. W. W. Quite a number had to be turned away, although the hall has a seating capacity of about 700, and the audience stayed patiently to the very end despite the fact that the addresses were of necessity in languages often incomprehensible to a large portion of those present. The meeting was thoroughly cosmopolitan, uncompromisingly revolutionary and most enthusiastic. Quite an amount of radical literature and of Mexican Liberal Party badges and buttons was sold.

CRIMINAL CARELESSNESS

Mr. W. H. Rhodes, candidate for a third term on our honorable and reformed City Council, has been canvassing the machine works that have the honor of commanding our English editor's services. In the office, supposed to be in touch with plutocracy, he has presented cards from which the union label is conspicuously absent. In the works, where men go about in their shirt-sleeves, the cards handed round have the magic symbol much in evidence. Unfortunately Mr. Rhodes muddled by his distribution and explanations were demanded.

"Keep this card for future reference," runs the inscription. Always anxious to oblige we are referring to it, free of charge.

"Shortsighted is the philosophy which counts on selfishness as the master motive of human action. It is blind to facts of which the world is full. It sees not the present, and reads not the past aright. If you would move men to action, to what shall you appeal? Not to their pockets, but to their patriotism; not to selfishness but to sympathy.—All that a man hath will he give for his life—that is self-interest. But in loyalty to higher impulses men will give even life." (Henry George.)

"Where there are no hereditary distinctions, and men are habitually seen to raise themselves by corrupt qualities from the lowest places to wealth and power, tolerance of these qualities finally becomes admiration. A corrupt democratic government must finally corrupt the people, and when a people becomes corrupt there is no resurrection. The life is gone, only the carcass remains; and it is left but for the plowshares of fate to bury it out of sight.—It has already begun in the United States and is rapidly going on under our eyes." (Henry George.)

"The failures of justice to which I have alluded are only illustrative of the increasing debility of our legal machinery in every department. It is becoming common to hear men say that it would be better to revert to first principles and abolish law, for then in self-defense the people would form Vigilance Committees and take justice into their own hands." (Henry George.)

Culled at Random from Various Exchanges

Politicians Blind to International Upheavals

How pitifully narrow is the more propaganda for the vote! In this office we run through hundreds of exchanges weekly, and the distinction between those which confine themselves to politics and those which devote themselves to the education of the masses regardless of ambition for office is matter of repeated comment. In the former you will find little, if any, foreign news, for the opinions of those who cannot register at the polls do not interest the editor. In the latter you will find a consciousness that the social movement is essentially an international upheaval, and editors sympathetic toward every struggle for liberty, no matter where it may be waged.

It delights us to see the German papers taking hold, for the Germans are essentially conservative. Nothing could be better than the exhaustive review of the Mexican Revolution published in "Wohlfahrt für Alle." It discusses the entire question with German thoroughness, reproduces a long letter from its own special correspondent, distinguishes clearly between the economic aspirations of the masses and Madero's pretended political reforms, and gives much space to the part played by Debs and Berger, whom it scores unmercifully. The editor is doing his duty bravely to his readers and the international labor movement. Moreover, he knows his subject, for he served a long, arduous and honorable apprenticeship in the United States.

"Der Anarchist," of Leipzig, publishes one of our most recent manifestoes, giving an able synopsis of the general situation by way of preface. But the article that pleases us most is that in "Dear Socialist," us most is that in "Der Sozialist," which exhibits unusual grasp. Opening with the statement that "the Mexican Revolution is not over" it proceeds to a careful analysis of Madero, pointing out that Germany offers no parallel to his gigantic landholdings, which "it would take a journey of many weeks to traverse," and that "he is only the agent of the North-Americans who wish to exploit and sack Mexico." After which it characterizes the attitude toward the revolution taken by United States Social-Democrats and radicals as shameful in the highest degree. That the Henry George element should remain indifferent does not surprise the editor, for he has had experience with their organs in Germany, but that Socialists should shelter behind the plea that Mexico must pass through a long capitalistic evolution on its road to freedom excites his utmost scorn.

We notice the same distinction in the trades-union exchanges that come to our table. If, as usually happens, the editor relies on the A. F. of L. for support he will show practically no interest in anything outside of the United States, and his politics will be largely local. On the other hand, the I. W. W. papers, having as their ideal the ultimate union of all the workers, take a much wider range. For

example, "The Industrialist," English organ of the I. W. W., devotes columns to the international struggle in Europe, the United States and Canada, in addition to which it has been at the trouble of translating, for its latest issue, one of Ricardo Magon's most luminous articles on the position in Mexico. This is all the more remarkable from the fact that the issue, of necessity, is largely occupied with the recent upheaval in England, as to which it speaks brave and much-needed words on the subject of the betrayal of the masses by their "leaders." We are overjoyed to see a little paragraph which reads: "Our comrades are carrying on an intense propaganda throughout the country, including the agricultural districts."

"Le Libérateur," of Paris, is publishing an excellent review of conditions in Mexico, drawing largely on "La Revue de Paris" and "Les Temps Nouveaux" for its information. "A Guerra Social," of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, is keeping its readers extraordinarily well posted on events in Mexico. As for "Cultura Proletaria," "La Tierra" and "Tierra y Libertad," these well-tried friends still keep their army of readers admirably informed as to the fight for industrial freedom being waged so gallantly by their Mexican blood-brothers.

Right well does the editor of this section know how practical and far-reaching are the lessons he himself has learned from this Mexican Revolution, which has opened up to him the spectacle of an entire Spanish-speaking world in rebellion against our monstrous economic system. But the United States, as a whole, has neither eyes nor ears for anything but the village politics that center on the problem of whether Jones or Smith is the most skillful skinner. On that mad passion to clothe adventurers with power our energies exhaust themselves.

Not for Sale

The editor of this English section takes it on himself to inform readers of "Regeneracion" that the Magons have been approached once more with promises of safety and prosperity in Mexico, by the grace of their brother Jesus, who is candidate for vice-president; and that again they have refused, although poverty is ever with them and a long jail sentence stares them in the face. They have answered that their present agitation on behalf of the Mexican masses, conducted from this side of the border, will be far more fruitful to the cause which has their absolute devotion than could be their propaganda in Mexico under the protection of politicians.

That is the true spirit; the spirit that finally accomplishes things, and the only one that can. We add that "Mother Jones"—who is one of the "labor leaders" alluded to in another column—is in poor business attempting to seduce men from loyalty to a cause which, itself the noblest conceivable, is calling loudly throughout the world for men and women who will stand fast and true.—On a second visit she stated that our agitation, if continued here and on the present lines, would have no support from American organized labor. It was a threat and a most contemptible threat at that. Men worth talking to are not carried in the pocket of "Mother Jones" or any other self-appointed leader.

Do not Desert Them

As was inevitable, the attempt to convict Pryce, Mosby, Reed and Laffin on murder, robbery and arson charges arising out of recent military operations in Lower California proved an utter failure. But the two first-named have still to stand trial for alleged violation of the neutrality laws.

It is now that labor and radical organizations should bestir themselves. The previous charges had to be tried on evidence, and public protest could have done little, if any, good. But the neutrality prosecutions raise large questions of public policy, on which opinion should be expressed in no uncertain terms.

The plutocrat Madero admittedly imported arms by the wholesale, and his troops were granted special permits to pass over American soil. He is honored by the American government. The proletariat leaders who opposed him were thwarted at every turn by our government's forces and their leaders now lie in jail.

Madero's guilt is conceded and was on the largest scale. His enemies, under the flag of the Mexican Liberal Party, had they wished to do so, could not have begun to compete with Madero in violating the neutrality laws, for they were far too poverty-stricken.

Radicals and labor union organizations should consider this. They should not leave their brothers in the lurch. They should not look on indifferently while men of the people suffer for what brings the capitalist-politician glory and power.

It is in our power to rectify this by prompt and vigorous action. If we fail to rise to the occasion we ourselves shall suffer, for we shall have shown ourselves weak and the weak are always in the wrong.

Take action, and take it quickly. If you would know how to act effectively write to "Regeneracion."