Regeneracion.

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Could the Leopard Change his Spots?

"The Coming Nation" of September 21 has a full page cartoon in which Roosevelt is depicted as stealing from the Socialist premises a number of paper rolls, labelled "temporary relief measures," "laws to benefit labor" and "immediate demands." The cartoon carries beneath it the caption, "Stealing thunder, but don't worry, he will never steal the lightning." This latter is described as the "complete destruction of the capitalist system," which Socialism is represented as blazing on the wall in letters of fire. As to all which one may say that if Roosevelt is educating the Socialists to the futility of these "immediate demands" he is performing a duty for which the National Executive Committee should tender him a vote of thanks.

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As Roosevelt is not really God Almighty he cannot be expected to educate the Socialists, who, in spite of constantly repeated experiences, go on making the same mistake and more of it. First it was the Populists who had stolen their thunder, then it was Bryan, then it was Hearst, today it is Roosevelt, and tomorrow it will be some other political adventurer against whom they will be putting up this stale old whine. But, if you imagine that they will drop palliatives and confine themselves to straight goods, you do not know the Party. It can no more swear off the palliative habit than a morphine fiend can resist the dope and syringe put within his reach. It is a vote-hunter by the first law of its being, and the bait that seems likely to catch the immediate gudgeon is the bait that is going to be used.

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In reality the entire cartoon is a lie, because Roosevelt has stolen not only the Socialists' palliatives but their whole philosophy and system; stolen it wholesale and with a boldness to which they are incapable of rising. The Socialists have wanted State enterprise to take the place of private enterprise, but they have been mealy-mouthed about it, which the dashing Roosevelt has not. They want the government to run the individual employer out of business, and Roosevelt at once comes to the front with exceedingly definite propositions. If he knocks their vote into a cocked hat this fall, surely it will be because the public loves a man of action and aggressive fighter, and considers that for years past the Socialists have been yielding ground. Starting from the brave and logical position that the capitalist system, as the greatest of all murderers, must be overthrown at all costs, the Socialists first decided that violence should be left to the wicked Anarchists, whom they proceeded to belabor with every calumny to which they could lay tongue or pen. Then they opposed the strike and similar forms of direct action, in which the virility of the disinherited finds its natural vent. Then they went back on all physical force revolutionary movements, that of Russia being a recent and that of Mexico the latest and most infamous example of their attitude. A tale of cowardice from start to finish.

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Nevertheless, it is in its concessions to the great religious organizations, and especially the Roman Catholic Church, that modern Socialism has shown its most degraded front; degraded because the concessions are plainly hypocritical and granted to powers that every Socialist recognizes as the bitterest enemies of progress. No honest or well-informed man doubts that Roman Catholicism is the imperialist idea in its most pronounced expression; that the Church of Rome is a gigantic and most powerful political machine, with alleged infallibility at its head; that it is the untiring champion of authority, the unforgiving foe of liberty, a world-wide corporation that still works, as throughout the Dark and Middle Ages, solely and exclusively to capture power. No well-informed man doubts that, and until recently Americans looked with deep aprehension on the increasing power of the Church of Rome. It was left to Roosevelt, himself an Imperialist and a politician who has tossed aside all scruples, to smash his Democratic enemy by giving Rome guarantees that in the Republican Party she would find her warmest friend. No prominent American statesman had ever dared to go so far, and it is characteristic of Roosevelt, that, like the Socialists, he defended his treason by pleading religious tolerance. It was a lie. He made his terms with Rome as with a powerful political machine that swayed the balance. Liberty cut no figure in the shameful bargain.

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Rome is Authority; the pith and marrow of despotic Caesarism, and you can make of her nothing else. You can make nothing of the great Protestant Revolution but a struggle by those who panted for individual liberty against authority that proposed to drown them in seas of blood. You can twist and turn the matter as you will, but you can make nothing but Caesarism out of an organization that has as its supreme head a Holy Father who claims to be infallible and thereby entitled to lay down the law to all mankind. You can sit under the most distinguished Roman Catholic prelates and they will preach to you about the Kingdom of Christ, and drive it into you that "a kingdom was his plan." You can examine all the complex machinery, elaborated through centuries, and you will find it all—the confessions, the penances, the indulgences and a hundred other fantastic features—all based on the principle of unquestioning obedience to authority. You can go through the history of the Church's more open political activities, its Tammanys and similar cesspools, and you will find the same story. Then you tell me that alleged revolutionists, alleged Socialist devotees of the materialistic conception of history, can combine with the Church of Rome, and excuse themselves on the plea of liberty of thought! It is a lie. They are after the votes the Church may condescend to allow them temporarily to control. They are afraid of her; afraid of the enormous influence she exercises over the American press; afraid that her political machine will put them beneath the ban.

* * *

All these fundamental questions are still unsettled, because we permit ourselves to be hoodwinked by compromisers who try to harmonize the impossible and make liberty and authority lie in the same bed. It cannot be done, and the quarrel crops up continually, as it now is cropping up in Ireland. Home Rule! Home Rule is a magnificent ideal, for Home Rule means that we should govern ourselves, allowing no more infallible Popes, or political or industrial autocrats, to tell us what we must and must not do. But that the infallible Church of Rome cannot tolerate one moment, and that is not what Home Rule for Ireland means. Home Rule in Ireland means that the Roman Catholic-governed majority will have the Protestant minority at its mercy, and if you doubt me, ask an Ulster man. It brings you face to face with the fundamental weakness of political democracy; runs you straight against the rock on which Socialism, which is the creed of the infallibility of majorities, shivers into a thousand pieces. Like other fallacies it cannot stand the test, and the North of Ireland is about to show it up.

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What is the matter with our modern civilization? How comes it that the whole world is today a warring camp, in which the pitched battles of industry—with its factories, its slums, its red light districts, its jails and lunatic asylums—show a bloodier record than any charged to the account of the Napoleons of the battle field? Simply because, for the first time in history, we are ignoring the fact that individual life has rights which it must and will assert. Under the philosophy dominant in these United States, which is the philosophy of Socialism, the individual has no rights, save as a member of the collective machine. Industrially the fact of his existence gives him no title to life, and politically he is at the mercy of what the majority chooses to decree. All which is in open defiance of the necessities and, therefore, of the laws of life. Without recognition of the right to life and the means of sustaining life, your Democracy is a sham; a paper boat that founders with the first wave that comes along. But to this at present our ears are closed, so events must open them.

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From its very inception the dominent idea in this country has been that the government would take care of the masses; a theory swallowed with childish credulity by a people which supposed it had a government that represented it. That has been the theory, but the practice has been that those in power have made their alliances with and helped the powerful, granting them special privileges at the expense of the mass which idiotically looked to them for protection. I say that is the fact; the cruel, ugly fact that has made this country a hell for the poor and is laying the foundations of what probably will prove the bloodiest revolution this world has seen. I say, furthermore, that this is essentially the Socialist theory, for Socialism bids the disinherited look to the government for relief. That is why Herbert Spencer, with scientifically accurate analysis, declared Socialism to be merely the old Toryism masquerading under another name. If he had been writing in this country he doubtless would have pointed out that Alexander Hamilton, the all-government Tory of early days and Jefferson's great antagonist, taught precisely what Debs and Berger, with their program for the capture of political power, are teaching today. They are Centralists, as were Hamilton and all the old Tories; and because their theories are at bottom identical with that look-to-government-for-relief delusion which has hypnotized this country for more than a century, their theories have had enormous vogue and have colored and created all that tangle of allegedly protective legislation which has made the United States the most law-ridden nation in existence, and the United States proletariat the most desperate. As organizers of independent parties the Socialists have been absurd, but as agitators of the look-to-government fraud they have been accursedly maleficent.

* * *

Facts do the final talking, and the facts in this case are now so well established that no blatherskitism can get away with them. I do not believe that on any spot of earth any class of men is so universally distrusted today as are the politicians in these United States. Therefore the farce is drawing to a close, and the discredited idolaters of government are about to make way for those who bid the individual distrust his would-be guardians and rely solely on his own hand and brain. The individual, at last, is beginning to assert himself, and naturally his first assertion is that he must have just as good a chance in life as have the millionaires and other potentates to whom government hitherto has acted as wet nurse. To do this he must claim equal access to the soil, as the Mexicans are claiming it. To do this he must insist that the dead shall not be allowed to create a special class entitled to levy tribute, for all time to come, upon the living. To do this he must insist that equality of economic opportunity shall be made a fact instead of a nauseating hypocrisy, and that all this business of giving special privileges to some at the expense of others must be sent to that Hades where it belongs. This is the Anarchist, or Individualist, program—sensible people will care nothing about names—and it is the program that is about to have the floor. It is the only program that makes for permanent peace, because it is only when all have their individual rights that harmony can prevail and true co-operation be born into the world. It is also the program over which there is certain to be fighting of the most desperate kind, for it storms the very citadel of plutocracy and offers a crusade for which, when the masses grasp its import, millions will be ready to lay down their lives. Young and crude though the Anarchist movement is, as yet, its history proves that statement, for already Anarchists in great numbers have played the role filled by the early Christian martyrs, and, like them, gone to death and imprisonment with songs on their lips. Organizations such as the Roman Catholic Church, which make history their special study, that they may learn the art of governing men, know this well. So do ambitious statesmen of the Roosevelt type. Political Socialism is their plaything, but they think most seriously of Anarchism.

WM. C. OWEN.

CAMINITA ARRESTED.

By private letter received from Mrs. Caminita we learn that her husband, Ludovico, formerly editor of the Italian section of "Regeneracion" and before that of other well known revolutionary papers, has been once more arrested. His alleged offense is the having drawn, for "La Libreria Sociologica," a cartoon condemnatory of the war being waged by Italy against Turkey. Gallo, the manager of the paper, also has been arrested, and bail for each has been placed at $2000.

Mrs. Caminita writes that the cartoon complained of is not nearly as bad as those now being published in Italy itself, and expresses astonishment at the action taken by the authorities in what calls itself "the land of the free." We have written her that she does not understand the situation, since, while on paper "the land of the free," the United States is really a plutocracy that makes it its special business to scour the world in search of the cheapest labor available. It was formerly supposed that such labor would be completely obedient to the whip, but it is showing itself rebellious. That is a surprise by no means welcome to plutocracy, and it intends to bring back foreign labor to a properly humble state of mind, if law courts and militia can accomplish it.

"VORWARTS" SPEAKS OUT.

"Vorwarts," official organ of the Progressive German workingmen's organizations and unions of the Pacific Coast, devotes a four-column, front-page article to "The Revolutionary uprising of the peasantry in Mexica and America's helplessness." It gives an exhaustive review of the conditions that led to the overthrow of Diaz and an analysis of the forces that have been pulling for Madero, as representing modern capitalism in its most advanced stage; criticizes the assistance lent Madero by Washington in its permission to transport Mexican troops over American soil, and defends vigorously the action of the rebels in fighting with every weapon at their command, since for them it is a case of success or extinction. It reminds Social Democrats that none of them would dare to blame the French peasantry for the drastic measures they were compelled to take against the nobility during the war of the great French Revolution, and insists that the consideration due the French then is due the Mexican rebels today. The article closes with the statement: "Our sympathies are absolutely and entirely with the revolutionary bands, to which the loudly-condemned Zapata and his followers belong."

We hope next week to produce a translation of the most remarkable paragraphs in what is throughout an admirable article.

MUST GO DEEPER.

Halting at Willimatic, Ct., the Democratic candidate for President, Woodrow Wilson, made a brief speech, in which he said: "As I stop in this particular place I cannot but think of the absentee landlords who own the thread industry and do not live here; because, of course, one of the difficultics of our whole political arrangement in the United States is that the people who run us don't have anything to do with us."

Good stuff, but the fact that absentee drones consume the honey manufactured by the working bees must be due to something vastly more important than "political arrangements."

OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

In compliance with section 467½ of the Postal Laws and Regulations, as amended by Act of August 24, 1912, "Regeneracion" publishes here details of its statement, filed October 1, in duplicate, with the postmaster of Los Angeles, and sworn to before Cleveland Schultz, a notary public. The statement shows that A. L. Figueroa is the editor and publisher, Rafael Palacios the managing editor and Manuel G. Garza the business manager; that the paper is not owned by a corporation, and that there are no bondholders, mortgagees or holders of any securities. The circulation is given as 15,000.

SEND US NAMES.

You can assist greatly by sending us the names and addresses of those to whom it may be worth while to mail sample papers and other propaganda matter.

Intervention Talk Keeps Public Guessing

Washington, Sept. 10.—The American state department was denounced as a "Creature of Wall Street conspirators and financial pirates in Mexico" today by Juan Pedro Didapp, Washington representative of the Mexican revolutionists. He formally protested against the United States rendering aid to the Mexican government in its campaign against the rebels. In a statement today he said:

"The Speyer, Morgan and Harriman interests control the Mexican railroads; Henry Clay Pierce and the Standard Oil company possess a monopoly of Mexican oil lands; the big business interests in Mexico are John Hays Hammond and Charles P. Taft. These are the powers which are forcing the state department openly to assist Madero.

"If the state department grants belligerent rights to the revolutionists they will guarantee to protect all American lives and property in the republic and all friction along the border with Americans will cease."

Perhaps one of the most significant items from the hundreds telegraphed respecting the Mexican Revolution during the past week is a despatch dated Washington, Oct. 2, and stating that Gen. Felix Diaz, nephew of the former president, has joined the revolution and is serving with Aguilar, who was until recently federal commander of the Southern provinces and is now at the head of a rebel force in the State of Veracruz. Madero's uncle, Alberto Madero, has left Santa Barbara, Cal., for Chihuahua, and has been assuring the public that five or six months will see the revolution at an end. That is not the opinion of a well known foreign government expert who was recently in this city, having come here from more than a year's tour of inspection, in the course of which he was present at several battles. His opinion, given in answer to a direct question from the editor of this section, was: "Madero unaided can no more put down that revolution than I can overthrow this office building." But Madero is getting the aid all right, although for the moment the governor of Texas has demurred to the passage of Mexican federal troops over that State's soil.

It is characteristic that Alberto Madero, in the interview to which reference has just been made, dilated on the opportunities that would be opened up by the building of a railroad through Chihuahua to Topolobampo harbor, in the State of Sinaloa, emphasizing at the same time the low prices at which land could now be bought and the cheapness of native labor. The proposed road will pass through the territory where the Madero family has its largest holdings!

The possibilities of early intervention have been eagerly debated by the press, with most contradictory reports as to what President Taft does and does not intend to do. On the one hand it was declared that his secretary, at Beverly, Mass., had assured the reporters that the President has no intention of calling a special session, his position not having changed since he sent warning recently by Ambassador Wilson. This the "Los Angeles Daily Times" countered with a Washington despatch, dated September 28, to the effect that, "in spite of the diplomatic denial of President Taft's secretary at Beverly, the President is preparing to call a special session of Congress to consider armed intervention in Mexico." The telegram stated further that he would lay before Congress, "probably this coming week," the record of what Americans and other foreigners resident in Mexico have suffered, and that a report of communications from foreign powers has also been prepared by the State Department, "which shows the contention that if the United States does not act, foreign nations must be permitted to and will act in their own defense and interest."

Vice-Consul Killed.

There appears to be no doubt that one of the three Americans killed by Mexican Revolutionists at the San Juan de Michis ranch, Durango, was the American vice-consul to Durango, and that is being played up diligently in certain quarters as calling for immediate intervention. The senatorial sub-committee that has been at work in Los Angeles, probing into the extent to which the Revolution has been assisted from this side of the border, continued to the last secretive and non-committal.

Naturally new complications are arising constantly. Thus the State Department at Washington has requested the government at Mexico City to stay the execution of J. N. Carson, sentenced to be shot at Tampico. A stay of execution has been asked also in the case of W. S. Nichols, an American citizen sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for alleged murder. On the other hand a Douglas, Ariz., hotel keeper, is protesting that his constitutional rights as an American citizen have been violated by the fact that two Mexican secret service men, accompanied by two U. S. army officers, searched his premises for insurrectos, although they had no warrant. It is said that there is much indignation at Douglas.

The "Times" of September 30 gave much prominence to a long interview with two well known American mining men who have just returned from a long tour of inspection in Mexico. They declared emphatically that intervention was absolutely inevitable, but added that it would lead to a general uprising against Americans and much bloodshed, and that the U. S. government was well aware of this, through the reports of its secret service men.

Senator Smith, of the senatorial investigating committee, while refusing to give any hint as to the general findings of the committee, has stated that far fewer Americans have taken part in the present revolution than in that which hoisted Madero into power, and that El Paso, and not Los Angeles, has been the chief shipping point for arms and ammunition.

Raiding in the North.

American papers have reported continuous raiding of American camps and ranches in the Northern States. One notices in particular that of William Orr, a railroad contractor, in the Casa Grandes district. He is said to have been compelled to hand over his pay roll of $14,000, equipment valued at $12,000 and $10,000 in commissary supplies. Federal and rebel soldiers were reported as fraternizing freely, the former making not the slightest effort to check the raids. The Gabalonda ranch, thirty-five miles southwest of Douglas, Ariz., was reported as having been sacked by a hundred rebels, and four hundred entered Bocoachi and submitted it to its third raid. The Nogales ranch of the Cananea Cattle Company, twenty miles west of Cananea, was stripped of horses, arms and provisions, as was that of the Cananea Eastern Mining Company.

"El Imparcial" of September 26 contains a powerful editorial descriptive of the struggle in the State of Oaxaca, declaring that it is essentially a social war of the most savage type, in which no quarter is given. The government set the example when it suspended all constitutional guarantees. The Zapatistas do not appear to have been engaged in any heavy fighting this past week, but, judging from the numerous raids reported, they seem to be unusually active in the State of Mexico and near the capital.

Apropos of the recent legislative decree declaring that henceforth Mexicans must wear trousers, Barnett of the "Los Angeles Tribune" had an admirable cartoon, in which Plutocracy, wielding the stick of intervention, is attempting to force Mexico into the objectionable garments, labelled "trust rule." As time passes that is the view of the situation which more and more people are beginning to take.

Our remarks as to the apparent activity of the Zapatistas in territory near the capital appear to receive confirmation from the two following telegrams given in the "Times" of October 3, the day we go to press:

Eagle Pass, Tex., Oct. 2.—According to reports which reached here today, 205 men were killed in a battle Monday morning between Mexican rebels and Federal troops at Aura Pass, not far from Minelova, Mex.

Seven Federal officers were reported killed. About 500 men took part on each side, the Federals being under the command of Gen. Blanquet. Federal reinforcements last night drove back the rebels from the pass and they took to the mountains.

Washington, Oct. 2.—The Mexican government apparently is making no secret of the fact that it is negotiating with Zapata for peace, according to reports to the State Department. It is believed that if pending peace negotiations are not speedily successful the government will renew the war upon the rebels on a scale far more formidable and extensive.

COMMERCIALISM'S CURSE.

Nothing has ever appeared more singular to us than the rarity of radicals in the medical profession; for assuredly doctors, more than any other class of men, are brought face to face with the terrific life toll that our existing system exacts unceasingly. It is true that they have done splendid work in the field of criminology, and that they contribute an immense amount of material which reformers utilize in their crusades against drink, the social evil, tenement house overcrowding, and similar startling effects of the one great monopolistic cause. But it is seldom that doctors themselves give voice to revolutionary utterances, and therefore we have read with exceptional interest the address of Dr. Leonard Hill, delivered to the physiological section of the British Association, and reported in full in "The British Medical Journal" of September 14.

Dr. Hill took as his subject the overcrowded conditions of city and factory life, and; giving himself the widest range, marshalled a wealth of evidence that may well make optimism pause. He dwelled insistently on the confinement and monotony incident to commercial life, and voiced most decidedly the opinion that the man who would not embrace in preference the hardships of the frontier is a fool. In the following paragraph he struck the note of revolutionary discontent which we scarcely need to spread in Mexico today—for Mexicans hate commercialism—but which we certainly have to propagate unceasingly elsewhere. He said:

"It seems to me as if the world is conducted as if ten men were on an island—a microcosm—and five sought for the necessaries of life, hunted for food, built shelters and fires, and made clothes of skins, while the other five strung necklaces of shells, made loin cloths of butterfly wings, gambled with knucklebones, drew comic pictures in the sand, or carved out of clay frightening demons, and so beguiled from the first five the larger share of their wealth. In this land of factories, while the many are confined to mean streets and wretched houses, possessing no sufficiency of baths and clean clothing, and are ill fed, they work all day long, not to fashion for themselves better houses and clothing, but to make those unnecessaries such as the fluff of women's apparel and a thousand trifles which relieve the monotony of the idle and bemuse their minds."

It may well be that Dr. Hill has never attended a revolutionary meeting, but men who think such thoughts are crying "Hail to the Revolution!" as fervently as any of us. The numbers of such men are increasing prodigiously. If only they can preserve themselves from being side-tracked by political Socialism, as so many professional men and women unfortunately are!

Racial Prejudice Plutocracy's Big Card

At this moment the United States bourgeois press is threatening the Mexican Revolutionists with a campaign of the most infamous character, for it is working up race hatred and egging on the cowboys to direct intervention, with the object of killing the revolution. On the other hand, the New York and Washington press is declaring that Taft's attitude toward Mexico is the one most appropriate to the circumstances, and that, on the whole, intervention is not likely; but it adds that "if action in Mexico has to be taken it should be that of annexation.' This, it says, lies within the power of Congress. Thus, while capitalism is calculating on turning Mexico into a second Porto Rico, the Texas press is exciting the passions of the cowboys—those Northern savages—with a view to hurling them against the Mexican Revolutionists; in order that, as it says, they may defend the honor of Americans outraged by the revolutionists in Chihuahua and Sonora. All this because the rebels have been loyal to their program, have expropriated certain haciendas belonging to the Yankees and disarmed certain Mormon colonies, compelling the members to leave Mexico. In this they have acted quite rightly, for it is admitted that these Mormons are upholders of the government and that to them was due the failure of the late revolution. It must not be forgotten that during the dictatorship of Diaz they were the amateur police and handed over more than one comrade to the Porfirian jails; inspired doubtless by their great national heroes, Pinkerton & Co.

To do Madero's Work.

The American army, or the volunteer cowboy bands, will go into Mexico only to do what Madero and his myrmidons have been unable to accomplish; to restore the law which protects the capitalist system. They will go there to reduce to subjection the millions of proletarians who are struggling for their economic emancipation. Therefore they will go there to perpetuate the slavery of the working class.

Here it is useless for us to speak of the reception that the revolutionists are preparing for this army and for these cowboys. They will get the reception they deserve.

It is true that in the event of American intervention the revolutionary movement will be seriously menaced, and it is the duty of the workingmen in the United States to put a stop to that ignominy. It would be well if, from this moment, our comrades who live in the United States were to prepare the ground for an insurrection in case intervention comes, thus carrying the war for the emancipation of the proletariat across the Rio Grande, and bringing within the embrace of the social revolution the two most important countries on the continent.

Furthermore, it would be well if the American workers were themselves to cut out some work for and cause trouble to the Yankee plutocracy, thereby forcing it to occupy itself less with what is going on across the frontier. But for that plutocracy Madero would have been vanquished long ago, for it is that plutocracy which has been stopping the importation of arms into Mexico while permitting Mexican officials to pass over its own territory for the purpose of hemming in the Revolutionists who were fighting in Lower California. It is that plutocracy which has caused the imprisonment of dozens of good comrades, and rained years of jail sentences on the best writers who have been struggling for emancipation. The "Mexican Herald," of Mexico City, which is one of the organs of Mexican-American plutocracy, confesses that if the revolution has not succeeded—that is to say, if the people have not been able to attain their economic emancipation—it has been thanks to the effective enforcement of the neutrality laws by the United States government, which is firmly determined to co-operate with the Mexican government in the pacification of the country.

To Get Land and Slaves.

The policy of the United States has been always the same—to expand, gobble up the smaller countries and get millions of slaves. It despoiled Mexico of California, Arizona and New Mexico, which today are part of the United States. It betrayed Hawaii, and still more recently the protectorate established over Cuba, the annexation of Porto Rico, the devastation of the Philippines, the assault on the customs of the Santo Domingo Republic and the theft of Panama are among the misdeeds of Yankee capitalism. Moreover, the list is not closed, for the United States has acquired the bad habit of mixing in the internal affairs of other countries. Thus they drove Cipirano Castro from Venezuela and Jose Santo Zelaya from Nicaragua, for they were opposed to having their countries absorbed by the "Trusts." At this very moment, acting in concert with Manuel Estrada Cabrera, president of Guatemala, Manuel Bonilla, president of Honduras, and Francisco Madero, president of Mexico, the United States is preparing to reduce the workers of those unhappy countries to the worst kind of economic slavery. One need only take count of the sort of conditions in which Mexicans now live in the United States.

While the United States is getting ready for intervention, what is going on in Mexico? Madero, forgetful of all his promises, says that there will be no repartition of the land, but that he will favor small properties. Small properties! For long past it has been known that instead of relieving the peasant's precarious situation they only make it worse. How is the small proprietor to find the means of getting the machinery necessary to make the most out of his land, and how is he to struggle against the large proprietor? Being unable to buy machinery he must work animals whom he has to feed. Then bills fall due and a mortgage must be made; later new loans increase the debt and the day comes when, because the interest to be paid exceeds the profit, the property must be sold. What has become of small properties in Russia since the Douma resolved on the dissolution of the "Mir?"

* * *

The revolution pursues its course. At various points throughout the country the revolutionary and the federal forces come into collision, with fluctuations more or less pronounced. Wherever they succeed in penetrating the Revolutionists, faithful to their program, appropriate the land, and in many places they have been veritable appropriations.

In the midst of the storm the Madero government convokes the Mexican people to elections for the legislature and judiciary. These elections—this exercise of the right to vote, which was the one conquest of the Madero Revolution—have revealed clearly all the system's faults. The impositions, abuses and frauds inherent in the suffrage were so evident that even the United States capitalist press had to admit that the first elections in Mexico were the greatest frauds they had ever known. Persons unknown, or unpopular, were elected. In Mexico City itself lackeys wearing the Madero livery were imposed on the people; for example, Carlos Treio, who beat by some hundreds of votes (those of government employes) the Conservative Party's candidate. That party has just been resuscitated, and its candidate obtained all the votes of the seminarists, clergy and sacristans in the capital.

Better Than Voting.

And the people? The people, the real people, the workers, abstain from voting and by their abstention show clearly that they expect nothing from the politicians. Moreover, the very day of the elections the revolutionists put to rout a federal corps; something assuredly worth more than a victory at the ballot box.

It is difficult to state exactly how things are going at the present moment. Throughout the country there are small groups which take the offensive one minute and disperse the next, according to how things go Therein lies their strength, for the Madero troops are harassed by the "guerrillas" and know not from what quarter the enemy will come, while that enemy, always on the watch, swoops down on them unexpectedly and retires with its booty. Now it is a town that is attacked, just when it expects it least. The garrison is driven back or put to flight; the chiefs of police or others in authority are executed; the archives and other administrative papers are burned, and when an army corps comes to chastise the rebels they are gone and far away.

The movement tends to become general, which is not tranquillizing for Madero. Apart from the Revolutionists who are putting into execution a program that is purely communist and social in its character, there are here and there army leaders, captains or simple adventurers who take up arms and attack the Madero troops without having in view any other end than that of seizing the presidency of the Republic and displacing Madero. Such, for example, is Pascual Orozco, who has gathered round him many men by promising them all sorts of wonders after his triumph. But his play has been unmasked, and it is to be hoped that those among his following who are sincere will leave him without delay and join the revolutionists.

Zapata, another of the rebel chiefs who does not belong to the Mexican Liberal Party, but whose conduct hitherto has been frankly revolutionary, is continuing his exploits in the Matamoros district. The town of Acteopan was taken and sacked, the rebels burned everything they found in the municipal, justiciary and treasury archives, and they even destroyed the seals used for official correspondence. One could fill columns with the relation of engagements between Revolutionists and Federals. Petty skirmishes, ambuscades, and encounters succeed one another uninterruptedly, but it is a settled fact that the Mexican Revolution is a Social Revolution, and all the rebels' actions prove it.

What will be the attitude of the United States. Many Yankee capitalists possess great properties in Mexico, and it is evident that their properties will not be respected by the Revolutionists any more than are those of Mexican capitalists. Already Salazar, a rebel leader, in a speech delivered at Pearson, has said: "Americans have no business in Mexico and the sooner they get out the better it will be. American intervention does not trouble me, and if the fact of our appropriating American arms and ammunition should provike intervention it will be well received."

As yet the United States has not decided to intervene, but one can foresee that it will if the Mexican Revolution should assume disquieting proportions. What then should be our attitude?

(Translated from "Les Temps Nouveaux," Paris.)

"The general welfare may exult aloud while I must lie like a hushed dog. The State may be in splendor while I starve." (Stirner.)

Debs' treachery to the Mexican Revolution — the cold, calculating treachery of a political Pope did more to raise doubts as to the good faith of the Socialist Party than all its other history. The strokes on which politicians most pride themselves usually prove to be their most colossal blunders.