

Regeneracion.

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All Caught In Net of Land Monopoly

An old country, such as England, and a revolutionary country, such as Mexico, are those which show us the social problem in its boldest and most essential outlines. It is, therefore, to a comparison of those two countries that I now invite the reader, assuring him for her that reflections on the United States will not be lacking.

Ever since the execution of Charles I, which takes us back nearly three hundred years, the House of Commons has ruled England. It has been termed "the gentleman's club," and termed so most appropriately, for, until quite recently it has been composed of the landed gentry. Probably a more able government never existed, for it got everything it wanted, and with that masterly diplomacy which makes the goose chuckle with delight while being plucked. It closed in a common here and bought, when it had to, an additional piece of real estate there, until it had all the material resources of the country within its clutches. Only a few abnormal individuals objected. The masses were perfectly content, for the traders lived by the landed gentry; the lackey class, with which England still swarms, had good food in its stomach, good clothes on its back and a good roof over its head; the workers were given employment on the estates, and the class pride of my Lord and Lady Bountiful forced them to see to it that those workers did not starve. Everybody believed in that feudal, protective system. Everybody was convinced that prosperity had to filter down from above, and that my Lord's lavish expenditures kept money in circulation, gave work and set the whole machine in motion.

"Protection" is only this feudal system under another name, dressed out in new tags to suit the fashion of the times. The basic idea is identical with that of feudalism, and when Republican papers flourish the empty dinner pail they are only rehearsing the argument that has done the English land monopolists service for the last three hundred years. It is the same old plea that when the lord of the manor has money the workers will enjoy good times, and there is nothing else to it. Furthermore, when I write of the English landed gentlemen as able governors I am thinking of the extraordinary fact that they not only have kept their own people comparatively contented with that sort of talk, but that they have made it gospel wherever the British flag is planted, and impregnated the New World with the same preposterous delusion. The United States has taken its thought, as it took its common law which rules it from England; and I have heard an Irish rebel—Dennis Kearney, in fact—yelling for Protection and using the self-same arguments with which his bitterest foes, the English gentry, fooled their own people for generations. According to the Kearney type, unless the Carnegies, the Schwabs, the Morgans, etc., are permitted to rake in the shekels, the common people cannot expect anything. When the manor-house flourishes all the tenantry does well. It is the same old cry; prosperity has to begin at the top and trickle down.

The Old Toryism in Great Britain has ruled for centuries. The Old Toryism in this country has ruled rather more than half a century. Both are now in trouble, and they are in the sort of trouble from which no individual genius, however colossal, can extricate them. What they are up against is the changed spirit of the times; begotten mainly by the tremendous economic revolution through which we have been passing, but partly by the political revolutions to which those economic changes inevitably led. The world has changed, and changed profoundly. Huge cities spring up like mushrooms in obedience to the centralizing demands of manufacturing and commerce. The grouping of workers by the thousands and tens of thousands engenders a class spirit which no amount of moralizing can talk away. Democracy is born, and democracy crowds the old landed gentry more and more from the seats of political power. Nevertheless the landed gentry is economically far more potent than it ever was before. Owning the sites on which today immense metropolises stand it enjoys incomes of which its forefathers never dreamed. Owning the coal supplies, the iron supplies, the water powers and all the other natural resources, it levies, from manufacturers and workers, a tribute which would have turned the brain of William the Conqueror. It holds the whip hand, and when Democracy thinks it has arrived by electing a few members to the House of Commons, Democracy merely proves itself an ass. The old rulers still rule, because they have the wit to know that rule depends on possession of the purse. Moreover, they have not that fatuous belief in big words with which Democracy drags itself, and they are, and always have been, ready to fight for their privileges at the drop of the hat. That counts a lot.

Veracruz Captured Madero Faces New Peril

Felix Diaz, nephew of Porfirio, the former president, has captured Vera Cruz, which is Mexico's most important harbor. He seized two gunboats stationed there, the arsenal and the government offices, there being practically no opposition. Madero has ordered all his troops to concentrate in an effort to crush this new movement. That leaves free the hands of Zapata, Orozco and the various rebel leaders who, until recently, were grouped under Orozco. The plutocratic press hails this latest development as foreshadowing the restoration of the Diaz regime; or, at least, as the appearance of a Napoleon, who will restore order with an iron hand. They forget that Napoleon owed his strength, solely and entirely, to the fact that he restored the land, formerly monopolized by the feudal nobility, to the peasants. In no other way can Diaz, or any other man, hope to become strong in Mexico. Diaz's proclamation states that he will strive to enforce "full respect for the life and property of Mexicans and foreigners." If that is his aim he is merely an other political pretender who seeks to perpetuate the very conditions that made the revolution against Porfirio Diaz imperative. This is an economic struggle. It is not possible to leave the land monopolists in possession of their land. If the latter is not done, if the people do not regain possession of their natural rights from which they have been ousted, all the blood spilled during the last eighteen months will have been spilled in vain. There is, however, good reason to suppose that the Mexican disinherited understand that thoroughly, and that until the land is restored they will continue to fight on with the persistence they have exhibited hitherto. Like the proletariat everywhere, they have only their chains to lose and a world to win.

The "Times" bulletin boards of Oct. 16, which are posted throughout Los Angeles, blazed with a statement to the effect that Taft was believed to have given Madero notice that he must restore order by Oct. 18, or abdicate. News of that character we distrust utterly, for it appears to have no other foundation than the fact that Ambassador Wilson has left Mexico City, ostensibly on a vacation, and the supposition that the time named in a previous notice calling for the suppression of the revolution is about to expire. Nevertheless, such suppressive ability as Madero may have possessed seems to grow steadily less. On the heels of the desertion of Gen. Aguilar has come that of Gen. Felix Diaz, nephew of Porfirio. Diaz is heading another uprising in Vera Cruz and is believed to have a considerable following. The immediate surrender of Ciudad, in the State of Jalisco, a section previously free from revolutionary activities, is demanded; and it is noted that the rurales at Puebla have mutinied. Meanwhile the censorship is stricter than ever, which is always a sign of governmental trouble. "Current Literature" probably hits the nail on the head when it says, "seclusion from the foreign world seems to have become the main purpose of Madero's existence. Even the ambassadors, whose rank entitles them to personal access to the ruler of the country, have found occasional difficulty in penetrating as far as the presidential presence. Madero is weary of incessant representations on behalf of German sufferers, French sufferers, British sufferers. The envoys of his capital have long ceased to be safe from the casual pedestrian. Every morning brings to the executive ear renewed intimations that intervention is inevitable. His bulletins from the seat of war seldom lighten the weight of his official grandeur."

The same authority reports European military experts as saying that the best strategists are on the side of the rebels, and that the Madero forces seem incapable of holding the initiative when they take it. They also point out that "the situation is such that the fighter in the field employing mass tactics is at a dreadful disadvantage. It is a war of individual action, the man with the rifle, knowing how to use it, being supreme."

Sympathy for Mexico. The European press has been discussing most actively the probability of intervention by the United States, not neglecting to dwell on the fact that it will be the task of putting down nation-wide guerrilla operations and such a campaign must of necessity be long and costly, both in blood and treasure. Moreover, there seems to be no question that the course pursued by the United States in the matter of the Panama Canal has gone far toward alienating European sympathy. It has caused the recent intervention in Nicaragua to be looked at askance, the powerful "Le Temps" (Paris) stating bluntly that Nicaragua is engaged in an effort to preserve her autonomy against a power that is endeavoring to crush for the sake of rendering its hold on the Panama Canal more secure. Similar is the London "Times," which has collected the opinions of numerous papers throughout South America, all of which voice open hostility to the invasive tendencies of North American plutocracy. To quote the correspond-

In Deadly Parallel Socialists Reject Haywood's Resolution, Ettor and Giovannitti League Shows True Solidarity

Through our ignorance of Socialist procedure we have erred in the matter of Haywood's resolution calling for a general strike in case of intervention in Mexico. The resolution will not come before the Socialist Party as a whole, because the National Executive Committee voted it down. Nevertheless the party matter is now before the party informally, and indeed before a vastly larger audience which is passing silent judgment on the Socialist Party leaders. Haywood and Irvine voted in favor of the resolution. Harriman, Hilquit and Spargo voted against it. Berger and O'Hare abstained from voting. Job Harriman said: "I do not think that we, as a political party, have any right to attempt to call a general strike." Hilquit said: "I cannot subscribe to the entirely unwarranted assertion that the Socialist Party has steadily refused to do its duty in regard to the threatened war with Mexico, nor do I believe that the Mexican revolutionists, many of whom are reactionaries of the deepest dye, can be considered by the Socialists of the United States as fellow revolutionists." Spargo made a long speech in which he criticized the wording of Haywood's resolution and protested against the statement that the Mexican revolutionists "might be in a far better position today if the Socialist party had not steadily refused to do its duty." He recited the fact that in March, 1911, the committee issued the proclamation "Withdraw the Troops," and that De Lara had spoken in favor of the revolution before the last national convention. We have to say it, but the fact is that Spargo is a liar. He knows that the leaders of the party have done everything in their power to boycott the Mexican Revolution. He knows that Berger declined to have anything to do with it, writing publicly that the revolutionists were bandits. He knows that Debs wrote against the Mexican Revolution in the "International Socialist Review." He knows that for months, while men were being sent to prison by the scores and were dying on the battlefield by the hundreds, the Socialist press maintained a steady boycott. He knows that the proclamation he boasts of was issued during the Madero revolution, and was so issued because the Socialists made the gigantic mistake of upholding Madero. Finally, he knows, or should know, that De Lara sided with Madero, and fell into disgrace because, being given the command of troops, he ran away under fire. No Mexican Revolutionist has the slightest use for De Lara. It is a lie that the Socialist Party, as represented by its leaders, has ever done anything but discourage the economic struggle in which the Mexican people are engaged. That in itself was disgraceful enough. To lie about it makes the matter ten times worse.

CAMINITA'S OFFENSE. A plain sprinkled sparsely with palm trees and more thickly with gibbets from each of which hangs a Turk. Across it strolls an Italian officer in full uniform, with a woman, representing the Catholic church, leaning on his arm. He gazes cynically at the ghastly fruit the gibbets bear. That is all. The entire treatment of the subject is singularly restrained and refined. It merely suggests, and is quite free from brutally realistic details. It is for having drawn this cartoon that Caminita is in jail, and it seems to us the most monstrous thing we ever heard of. If it were not that the cartoon might spoil the sale of cards, on which depends the raising of money for his defense, we should reproduce the cartoon in "Regeneracion."

Moreover, it was not even published in a paper. It was merely exhibited at the Sociological Library as one of the specimens of Caminita's talent. We are proud of that talent, proud to think that he co-operated with us as editor of the Italian section of "Regeneracion"; confident that his pencil will yet puncture many a barbarity and injustice, and render invaluable service to the cause of the disinherited. We are informed that the judge, before whom Caminita was brought said that he himself could see nothing objectionable in the cartoon, but the prosecutor insisted that it was dangerous—because Caminita was an Anarchist! So, he and Gallo, in whose store the exhibition was given, are held for trial. They are accused of "inciting revolt against the Italian government." Please think it over.

MONTEVIDEO RESPONDS. By letters received from Montevideo, Uruguay, it is evident that the conviction of Ricardo and Enrique Magón, Rivera and Figueroa, produced intense indignation on the part of the revolutionary element there, which is keenly alive to the encroachments of American plutocracy. August 2 found an immense crowd assembled at the Central Internacional, and addresses were delivered by Carlos Balsan, Antonio Loredo and other well-known revolutionists, who explained the Mexican Revolution as part of the world-wide struggle of the disinherited, and emphasized in particular the part that should be played everywhere by the energetic minorities who, understanding the great issues at stake, launch themselves boldly into the larger revolutionary movements that appeal of necessity to all the proletariat.

We have received the following resolutions, adopted by the Ettor and Giovannitti Defense League of San Francisco, October 6. They differ considerably from the arguments used by the majority of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in voting down the Haywood resolution: "Whereas: The Associated Harlots of our daily press are urging intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of Mexico; and "Whereas: In furtherance of this sinister end the Mexican revolutionists are systematically belittled and their motives impugned by referring to them as bandits and robbers, so that the minds of the American people may be prepared by the poisonous narcotic of prejudice to tolerate such an outrage, and "Whereas: This nefarious campaign is being conducted in the interest of certain notorious American land sharks and labor exploiters, who, with their Mexican and European allies, wish to 'restore order' for the sole purpose of combining the despicable system of peonage, which has made Mexico a graveyard, the stench of which can no longer be abated by political disinfectants, and "Whereas: Our thieving dollar aristocracy has evidently forgotten the revolutionary traditions of the United States, and how we have ever demanded freedom from interference by foreign powers, be it "Resolved, by the Ettor and Giovannitti Defense League, an organization whose sympathy with the oppressed reaches beyond all national boundary lines to the uttermost corners of the earth, that we hereby protest against the United States government serving as a stalking horse for international capitalism, and be it further, "Resolved, that we warn the powers at Washington that any attempt to suppress the righteous revolt of the Mexican people against cruel and tyrannical taskmasters will, by creating a feeling of contempt for any administration so doing, cause the smoldering embers of revolutionary sentiment in the United States to be fanned into full flame; and be it also "Resolved, that we pledge ourselves to use any and all means in our power to make this protest effective. "E. B. MORTON, "SELIG SCHULBERG, "DAVID MILDNER, "Committee."

FOR GOD'S SAKE, GO SLOW! "The Toledo Union Leader," which advertises itself as "owned and controlled by Toledo Central Labor Union," is delighted because the International Cigarmakers' Union has pronounced against the Industrial Union in lengthly resolutions, from which we extract the following sentence: "The American Federation of Labor realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, that the grand army of organized labor cannot advance much further than its most backward column." Now—absolutely and eternally—that is just what is the matter with the whole American labor movement, and what has been the matter with it these last fifty years. It is, and always has been, in a position that calls for relentless attack; but it is paralyzed by the contemptible collectivist doctrine which teaches that no one can move unless the whole mass moves. Instead of recognizing that its ranks are full of gallant spirits who wish for nothing better than to forge to the front, its leaders invariably hold the entire body in check for the sake of the stragglers in the rear. Wait for them and you will wait for eternity. At the very best you will talk, as all the Socialist leaders talk, of a revolution as ultimately inevitable; "but, of course, not in our time." That means that you are still merely preachers. That means that you have constructed a paradise, just as has the church, which lies only in the future. That means that, although you may have the soap-box urge, you haven't any urge for action. That means, on the contrary, that you want to go on talking forever, because you know that when the talking stops your job will stop. As for the "grand army of organized labor" that is all bumcombe. Labor today is prostrate beneath the heel of capital. While it has been orating and revolutionizing, and waiting for the stragglers to pick up, capital has gathered into its clutches the entire resources of the country and now reigns with a power no plutocracy in past history ever attained.

EVERYTHING ON TAP. "Syrops of all flavors." Conservatism, Socialism, Initiative and Refutation, Federal Control, Votes for Women, Recall of Judges, Special Labor Privileges, Recall of Decisions, Commission Rule, Race Suicide Question. It is the picture of a soda fountain bar, with Roosevelt as the young man behind the counter, asking smilingly "What's Yours?" Thus Mayor in the "N. Y. Times" holds a Bull Moose party, and indeed our whole political system, up to ridicule. At the political pot-house every kind of drink is kept on tap. Hand over your vote and if you don't see what you want, ask for it. The so-called "good politician" is but the connecting link between the "bad politician" and the working class.

THE PANAMA CANAL. The only Politics, personal politics, the United States has been able as yet to rise, obscure, for the moment, all other issues. But do not imagine that the Panama Canal has dropped out of sight. Europe is very much alive to it, and the comments it is passing may well make our ears tingle. "Current Literature" devotes five pages to the subject, and declares that "we have displayed a bad faith so flagrant, according to dailies in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Rome, that America has sunk to the level of a Mohammedan power, in the moral sense."

In England, "Punch" leads the way with two cartoons; one representing Uncle Sam as blocking the entrance to the canal, and the other depicting the eagle as declaring he is not a vulture and refusing to swallow "Repudiation of Treaty." The London "Times," "Standard," "Saturday Review" and any number of influential papers take a similar position; the "Post" considering it now demonstrated that America's "most explicit pledges are of no more value than the paper they are written on."

Among German papers one notes the "Frankfurter Zeitung" as saying that this country has grown accustomed to apply its influence with foreign nations the business methods pursued, with complete indifference to any other principle but that of force, by the magnates of the Bourse and of the Trusts. "Les Temps," which is the organ of the French foreign office, writes that the entire treatment of the Panama Canal has been in violation of solemn pledges, and it alludes most forcibly to Roosevelt's breach of the treaty by which the sovereign independence of Colombia was supposed to have been assured. The "Independence Belge" declares that the force of the Monroe doctrine has been materially weakened, and this is the general attitude of the German and a portion of the English press, which considers that Europe has now a perfect right to reconsider its position and interfere in Central and South American affairs. The "Tribuna" of Rome, says that the general shock at our conduct will bring the old world powers closer together. It remarks that "we stand among nations as Judas Iscariot stood among the apostles; a betrayer, an outcast, a criminal."

In St. Petersburg the influential "Novoye Vremya" explains that Russia, not being a sea power, has no personal interest in the question, but it is "aghast at the indifference of the Americans to their reputation abroad. They cynically defy the terms of a pact to which they are in no way pledged, and they smile sarcastically at the ensuing expression of the world's wonder. If the Yankees think they have played a clever trick, they may be undeceived. The consequences to themselves will be serious."

All this is making for the triumph of the Mexican Revolution as nothing else could. It has heated to fever pitch the distrust of American plutocratic aggressiveness; a distrust that is very actual and smoulders unceasingly. Thereby it has drawn all the Latin stock, alike of Europe and Central and South America, more closely together. That of itself constitutes a most effectual obstacle to intervention for the money bags of Wall Street hunger for Latin trade, and are beginning to understand that this country is likely to be made the subject of a rigid and most bitter boycott. Furthermore Mexico feels now assured that the event of a Wall Street invasion, assistance will pour in from many quarters, and that is stiffening the backbone of every revolutionist. Fear of the armed Colossus of the North has been for many years past a paralyzing influence in Mexico. That fear is beginning to be exposed as the bogey it actually is.

ROOSEVELT'S ASSAILANT. For fully two months past the "Los Angeles Daily Times" has been assailing Roosevelt with every phrase and epithet it could rake out of its dictionary of invective. According to the "Times" he has been made the subject of a sneak thief to an incurable paranoiac; and above all, a Napoleon crazed with the ambition to found a dynasty. It has worked the third-term argument persistently for every ounce it could be made to bear. That argument seems to have got on the nerves of a Mr. Schrank to such an extent that he deemed it his duty to remove the would-be man on horse back. Immediately the "Times" comes out with monstrous cartoons, calling on the authorities and public opinion to drive Anarchists out of existence. How cowardly! How contemptible!

If you are going to hold writers and agitators, who stir up discontent, answerable for the acts of others unknown to them according to the infamous precedent created in the execution of the Chicago Anarchists—you should do the thing thoroughly and do it right. For example, if any outside individual was responsible for the shot that killed McKinley, that individual unquestionably was William Randolph Hearst. Similarly, if there is one individual more than another who has spared no pains to create the impression that urged Schrank to attempt Roosevelt's life, that individual is unquestionably Harrison Gray Otis.

"It is by and because of the direct acts of the fore-runners of social change, whether they be of peaceful or warlike nature, that the Human Conscience, the conscience of the mass, becomes aroused to the need for change." It would be very stupid to say that no good results are ever brought about by political action, sometimes good things do come about that way. But never until individual rebellion followed by mass rebellion has forced it. Direct action is always the clamor, the initiator, that through which the great aim of differentists becomes aware that oppression is getting intolerable. (Voltaire de Cleary.)