

Regeneracion.
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Helpless in Grip
of Circumstance

"Exciting and touching scenes," one reads, "mark the lockout in the cotton district of Lancashire, where union and non-union labor are in conflict, with the employers on the side of the open shop. Men, women and children roam the streets of such towns as Accrington, Harwood, Burnley and Darwen, all showing the effects of wet and cold, and many feeling the pinch of hunger. Neither side is inclined to yield; the famous common sense of the Lancashire men and women seems to have given place to obstinacy. The talk of both sides is for war and 'hang the consequences.' Many believe the struggle will last until Easter. The chaos in China, which ordinarily takes so much English cotton goods; the interruption on the trades routes in Persia, another good customer of Lancashire, and the fact that the contracts with India have strike clauses, make the mill owners none too anxious to reopen their factories. They regard the moment as OPPORTUNE for a decisive fight and are going to find out, they declare, whether we or the unions are masters of the factories. Ordinarily the Lancashire operative is not violent and is willing to leave matters to the officials of the unions. A prolonged lockout, however, is likely to cause serious trouble." Such is the situation as stated by direct wire to the "Los Angeles Times." You will notice that I have capitalized the word "opportunity."

In a word, the men of Lancashire—famed for their industry and common sense—are being driven to starvation and despair by causes over which they have no more influence than if they were living in the moon. Governments decide to go out on one of their periodical slaughter-fests, as is happening now in Persia and Africa, and the British workman, with all his talk of freedom and his glorious constitution, finds himself as helpless as the infant in the cradle. He owns nothing, he controls nothing. He may puff out his chest and vow he is a Man, a citizen and the lord of all creation, but, in sad and sober fact, he is as helpless as a baby. It is so in England, it is so in the United States, it is so everywhere; the pitiful truth being that precisely where civilization has forged most rapidly ahead the helplessness of the worker is most pronounced. Henry George crystallized an immortal truth when he entitled his great work "Progress and Poverty." To be poor is to be helpless, and it is because the masses cannot afford to continue helpless that poverty must be abolished, at all and every cost. Beside the tragedy of the impotence of millions the destruction of the "Los Angeles Times" is as a farthing candle to the sun.

I am an Englishman and happen to be somewhat acquainted with Lancashire. Among the most vivid recollections of my boyhood is the manufacture of lint for the wounded in the American Civil War, and the taking up subscriptions for the cotton workers, thrown out of employment by the stoppage of supplies. You understand, nothing has been changed. Fifty years ago war in this country spelled starvation in Lancashire. Today war in Persia and China has a similar effect. In the interim politicians have talked us blind, and laboring men have beggared themselves and exhausted their surplus energy in the formation of trades unions and other protective organizations. Yet nothing has been changed. Huge reform movements have swept the country, but nothing has been changed. Socialism has piled up votes and labor parties have gone into hysterics over the winning of parliamentary representation, but nothing has been changed. Nothing; absolutely nothing. As it was fifty years ago so it is today. A war breaks out thousands of miles from home and the noble British workman stands with his hands in his pockets, gazing at an empty cupboard.

What is the real object of the labor movement? What was the object of

the Abolition movement in this country? What was the object of the Russian and what is the object of the Mexican Revolution? One and the same, always and everywhere, viz. to do away with the workers' helplessness and not them on their feet as MEN. Not to hold into power Radicals, Socialists, Anarchists or any other set of men, but to hold MAN himself into power, and to do it by striking off the shackles that hold him powerless. Nothing else is worth a thought; nothing else is worth a moment's struggle. But THAT is worth all the blood and treasure, all the heroism and self-sacrifice, that have spent themselves on war since wars began. That is worth fighting for to death itself; because that, and that alone, means life.

I am not talking "isms" but truths that all can understand. I say it is absurd that willing workers should be thrust into starvation by the breaking out of war thousands of miles away. I say it is absurd and most degrading that huge masses of men should prosper or go down into a pauper's grave, not according to their own merits or demerits but according to the wisdom or folly of their masters. I say that poverty and crime, ill health, insanity and suicide spring from and are summed up in the one word "weakness," and that this weakness of the masses is due not to the deficiencies of nature but to an economic position that puts them at a hopeless disadvantage. They are compelled to play the game of life minus all the chief pieces and with their king penned into a corner. To continue against such odds is imbecile. They should start another game.

"You cry for Liberty? You fools! Get Power and Liberty will follow." Max Stirner wrote it some fifty years ago, but master minds have known it since history began. Always they have understood that the Liberty shouts of paupers are an idle disturbance of the air, and that the only thing worth talking about or struggling for is possession. Always they have understood that economic independence is the key to happiness, and instinctively we all recognize that truth. It is this that keeps our noses to the grindstone; that makes us money-mad, that hounds men into suicide when financial disaster overtakes them. And the great, fundamental complaint of the masses is that things are so arranged that they cannot by any possibility win economic independence and the consequent security on which happiness depends. You can see for yourself that this is so in the case of the Lancashire spinners, and you know that their case is only one of thousands.

For the preservation of the species there has been implanted in each one of us the basic instinct of self-preservation—an individual, not a collective instinct. Wisely it has been arranged that we must look after our own fortunes, and that if each will insist on his own rights the reign of right will be universal. If there is one thing more certain than another it is that the individual is the rock on which the collective structure must be built, and that if the rock is weakened the whole foundation will give way. That the individual comes first in nature's scheme is beyond the pale of argument, being a truth to which every moment of our lives bears witness. Adore a woman as deeply as you may it is your toothache and not hers that will make you writhe in agony. The hunger of my dearest friend cannot give me the physical pain my own empty stomach brings. We ourselves must look after our own teeth and stomachs. We ourselves must enforce our personal rights, and we cannot succeed by shuffling off the task on that vague and feeble abstraction, the collectivity. Under the influence of a false philosophy we have been trying to shirk our individual fight. The result? Why, the result is that, despite all their organization and their proverbial willingness to "leave matters to the officials of the unions," the Lancashire spinners are as helpless today as they were fifty years ago.

When Socialism appeared, with its declaration that the divorce between the worker and the opportunity to work must be abolished, it came with a message true as life itself. But the message was individual and not collective. It told John, the individual, that he was poor because he did not own himself, and that he could not own himself so long as he permitted others to monopolize what was necessary to sustain his life. It was a magnificent anti-slavery message that Socialism brought, and it was a message to the individual slave. To the extent to which it has departed from that individual message, to the extent to which it has

community and the twentieth-rate leaders that the community, necessarily incapable of judging personalities, elects to office, to that extent it has departed from the basic law of nature, and to that extent has John, the proletarian, relinquished vital action for dead oratory, reality for deception, the bone in the mouth for its shadow in the water.

There is no getting away from the fact that John's hunger is John's individual wrong, which he individually must right. Of this the condition of the Lancashire workers is the proof. After fifty years of trusting his individual fortune to leaders—Trades Union leaders, Radical leaders, Workingman's Party leaders, Socialist leaders and what not, the Lancashire spinner stands as helpless today as he stood when our Civil War broke out. It is so in Germany, where Socialism numbers its votes by millions; it is so in those United States; it is so in Mexico, where happily a large percentage of the people has discovered that Madero cannot and will not save them, and that, if they wish to be no longer helpless, they themselves must seize life's inalienable and truly divine inheritance.

The individual's primal impulse toward self-preservation is the most powerful force in nature. It is to that, therefore, we must appeal, for against nature we work in vain. Meanwhile, let us not deceive ourselves as to the situation in this country, illustrated by the McNamara case. What alarms plutocracy is not the numbers of patient, due-paying members that the rolls of the American Federation of Labor can show, but the ominous and most dangerous fact that certain individuals of that organization have lost all patience and are making their own individual rebellion. What keeps the thoughtful plutocrat awake at nights is the specter of the slums, the ghettos, the factory districts in individual revolt, their individual inhabitants asserting their individual right to life. The handwriting on the wall is becoming plainly visible and the feasters are seriously alarmed. My Lancashire cotton spinner, driven to the point at which he has become regardless of consequences, represents a worldwide situation.

WM. C. OWEN.

THE ABERDEEN FIGHT
Amid our troubles let us not lose sight of the plucky fight for free speech being put up by the I. W. W. at Aberdeen, Wash. It was really a fight against the lumber trust and the loggers, who rule that country and have been guilty of the grossest ill-treatment of the workers. They ran the I. W. W. men out of town, forcing them to wade through miles of swamps, but the local refuses to accept defeat. New recruits are dropping in all the time, and now it is announced that 250 members are leaving St. Louis to assist the struggle. A world of heroism is on exhibit.

THE IRRECONCILABLE.
"It is not to reform the evils of the day, but to abolish the social system that produces them, that the Socialist party is organized. It is the party, not of reform, but of revolution, knowing that the capitalist system has had its day and that a new social order, based upon a new system of industry, must soon supplant the fast decaying one we now have."—Eugene V. Debs.

It must be literally hell to have to reconcile such statements with the Milwaukee doctrine that capitalism flourishes under a Socialist administration.

"All classes have ever been insistent on their own rights, and regardless of the interests of their fellow man. Thus the captains of industry have ever stoutly maintained their right to monopolize and control; have ever built up their combinations even against positive human law, but they just as loudly deny the right of the working man to monopolize and control the one commodity he has to sell—his labor—which is his flesh and blood, his very life."—Clarence S. Darrow.

MARX' NATURAL ALLY.
John Spargo, author of some of the most superficial Socialist literature it has been my misfortune to peruse, is out with a pronouncement denouncing a number of his fellow Socialists as anarchists and declaring flamboyantly that he takes his stand with Marx and Berger as against Bakunin. Nobody who knows the "Communist Manifesto" could doubt that Magon is the man with whom his author would have sided, rather than with the respectability Milwaukee has sent to Congress to fight all revolutionary movements.

United States "Poisoned" By
Mexican Immigration
Thus Leading Daily Socialist Organ
Teaches Solidarity
Zapata Fighting Hard—Land Question
Becomes All-Absorbing

In "The Chicago Daily Socialist" of Dec. 18th, which has just been brought to my attention, I read that Mexican peons are flocking into the United States by hundreds of thousands. If that is so it testifies to grave disturbances in the economic life of Mexico, which is the very fact "Regeneracion" strives incessantly to drive home. But, apart from that, I myself regret most deeply the conditions described; first, because I know how helpless—and, therefore, deeply abused—is the Mexican peon who comes to this country, ignorant of the language and its customs; and, secondly, because the men should not turn their backs upon the fight thousands of their more heroic fellow-countrymen are making. It may be well to remember, however, that these men find themselves penniless and unarmed; and that, therefore, they may consider themselves powerless to affect the issue.

What I wish to emphasize, however, is the language used by the special correspondent of "The Chicago Daily Socialist," who begins his letter with these words: "A torrent of POISON is flowing into the United States, to fatten the dividends of the railroads." A torrent of POISON! Yes; I have capitalized the word. I capitalize the fact that a leading organ of Socialism, an organ of the party that is always shouting "Workers of the World unite!" characterizes the Mexican proletariat as POISON.

If it were merely a chance expression I would let it pass; but it mirrors most faithfully the entire attitude of the Socialist Party toward the Mexican Revolution. It has followed inevitably from the policy, to which its leaders committed the party when they induced it to boycott and expel its Oriental brother workers; assassinating the great principle of international solidarity for the sake of catching votes. Today they put the Mexican beneath the ban. Tomorrow it will be the Italian, the Slavonian, the Gods know who. All this follows by a logical necessity; having started the avalanche it is impossible to stop it. I capitalize the word POISON and I capitalize its use in a leading Socialist paper. I capitalize it as an enormous fact that should put the proletariat of the world upon its guard against this party fishing so industriously for power. Between the course adopted toward the Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, etc., and the course adopted by the Russian autocracy toward the Jews there is not a pin to choose.

All Promises Broken.
I translate the following from a leading article entitled "Society and the Revolution's Promises" that appeared in "El Imparcial" Dec. 24, 1911: "When Señor Madero undertook his tour of political propaganda throughout the Republic it was not the Democratic concept of the Liberal doctrine preached by the 'leader' that the country people absorbed. They absorbed the idea that gave concrete expression to their desire; the promise that responded to their instinct. The new 'Sermon on the Mount' had as its foundation a series of restorations—and it was of those that the revolutionary press of the day spoke—which led directly to possession of the coveted booty. And one remembers well that it was that aspiration, that instinct, that desire which surged from the lips of the first revolutionaries who, at the beginning of the new regime, filled the antechambers of the Minister of Government. It was of the land that belonged to them by natural right that all were speaking when the cause for which they had been fighting triumphed. Señor Madero had spoken, in the Plan of San Luis, of the return of the lands to those who had been despoiled of them, but the judgment of the people drew no such distinction at all. With one voice, all declared themselves despoiled. The idea that in Mexico the lands belong to the original inhabitants and that the real proprietors have been deprived of property to which, as the first occupants, they have a legitimate title, has never died out, old and venerable as it is."

The writer then shows that each of what he terms the "three most marked movements of agrarian rebellion" developed during the last six months has had this idea for its basis; the three referred to being those of Vazquez Gomez, Madero's first Secretary of Government; Molina Enriquez, who is now in prison, and Zapata. He explains that "El Imparcial," which was a Diaz paper, never favored Madero's revolution because it understood that it would lead to precisely the conditions now prevailing, and he reminds Madero that he has only himself to blame for the hopes he has awakened in the masses. The article ends with these words: "It is not in the camp of its old adversaries that the present government finds its natural enemies, but in its own, which is flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood."

That article represents the situation in Mexico, most accurately, it being certain that throughout the Republic the masses are clamoring loudly and more loudly for the restoration of their lands, and that the conception that the lands do belong of right to the original occupants is, as the writer says, instinctive and one that has never died out. This it is—this struggle to realize the time-honored principle that the land belongs to those who work it—which constitutes the Mexican Revolution; and it is a struggle that is being waged against the money power of the world, for money has gone down into Mexico and bought up the country from those to whom the Diaz dynasty calmly presented it. At this point I make a digression which seems to me timely and justified. What I wish to say is this:

Their Pleas Unheeded.
Never did a Christ, hanging on the cross, have a greater right to cry in agony, "They do but worship me with their lips, but their heart is far from me," than has the Mexican people; for, in its hour of agony, when it found itself cheated and betrayed, it turned, and turned in vain, to those in this country who, day in and day out, have been declaring that the one cause which has their unflinching devotion is the righteous struggle of the people for access to the means of life. It is the insincerity of the American movement in all its phases, that shears it of its strength. For an example of that insincerity study the criticisms on the McNamara confessions.

In another column I call attention to a plan we have adopted to demonstrate the reliability of our news. It is not doctored news, as is so much of that which appears in American partisan papers; or, if it is, the doctoring has been done in the offices of the leading Mexican journals. We report most faithfully, and all our information is that Mexico is boiling with agrarian discontent, and that for the restoration of the land to the people arms are being taken up throughout the country. From the most coldly scientific point of view that is an event of enormous significance.

We know that the struggle must be long and bitter, but we think that the masses will triumph. Suppose, however, that they do not. Suppose that the government, with the army and public treasury at its command, proves powerful enough to crush them. What difference should that make—to honest men? Are we to be such cowards as to fight only when we are sure of winning? Do Americans place numbers above right and justice? Frankly, I think they do, for politics has hypnotized them into counting noses only. For our part letters warning us that we cannot possibly succeed merely steel us to fight the harder. We are not running "Regeneracion" for profit. We do not steer our course by the compass of the box-office receipts, for we want our work to stick.

Will Defend Themselves.
The movement to take possession of the land shows no sign of abating. "El Imparcial" of December 21, 22 and 26 contained detailed accounts of haciendas seized in Oaxaca, Guadalajara and Puebla. "El Democrata" of December 24 reports 5142 inhabitants of Penon Blanco, State of Durango, as having taken possession of the Hacienda de Santa Catalina and declaring "they will defend themselves with force."

Next week I shall give similar items from "El Diario," "El Tiempo," etc., for which unfortunately there is now no space. Meanwhile I note the following passage in "El Democrata Mexicano," following a clear and powerful statement of the economic causes that led to the overthrow of Diaz. After discussing the condition of the agricultural workers the writer remarks: "The worker in the fields ought not to be the sort of the ranch owner, nor his slave. He ought not to be the poor man who lives on the crumbs that fall from his master's table. He ought to be his associate, his collaborator, his fellow, his equal."

It is one of the signs of the times in Mexico that such sentiments are finding constant expression in the leading papers, and I submit that it is the forceful action of the masses that is bringing them to the front. Unfortunately words do not solve the problem. Nevertheless one may fairly ask where the American paper is to be found that will express itself thus respecting the American farm hand.

Six thousand workers in the seven textile factories of the federal district are on strike for higher wages and shorter hours and have been parading the streets of Mexico City. According to dispatches received Jan. 4, Madero has offered all bandits in the State of Vera Cruz immunity on condition that they lay down their arms. This was part of the offer he made recently to Zapata, which offer was curtly rejected. Strikes continue with apparently undiminished vigor in mines, factories and workshops and on the haciendas; the workers demanding shorter hours and increased wages, and also, in certain instances, a share of the profits.

Sanguinary Combats.
It is evident that the government is pursuing a vigorous campaign against Zapata and I translate the headlines of "El Imparcial" of Dec. 31, just received. They run as follows: "Five hundred Zapatistas enter and sack Huachuquila. The bandits are engaged in two fights with the federal troops and are completely routed. During the last few days there have been various sanguinary encounters in which the hordes of the Atilla of the South have received bloody chastisement." The text accompanying this head shows that the Zapatistas pursued their customary guerrilla tactics, retreating when the enemy advanced in force. According to the "Los Angeles Times" of Jan. 3, the federal troops had 200 Zapatistas at their mercy in a mountain canyon in the State of Guerrero, but the evening papers reported the federals as having retired owing to lack of ammunition. Fighting has been in progress all along the borders of Guerrero and Morelos.

Associated Press dispatches of Jan. 3 from New Orleans report that eight carloads of ammunition and explosives have been shipped into Mexico, from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, within the last fifty days. They also speak of agitators as busy among the Mexican population of New Orleans.

W. C. O.
"REGENERACION" (OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MEXICAN LIBERAL PARTY.)
914 Boston St., Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A., Jan. 1, 1912.

The outside world knows little of the struggle for Free Land and economic liberty now convulsing Mexico. This is natural but most deplorable, since that struggle must affect profoundly the development of other nations now grappling with the social problem. It is the more deplorable because the comparatively simple agricultural life of Mexico has enabled her people to go directly to the primal cause of their poverty—the monopoly by a few of the nation's natural resources. In countries burdened with a more complex economic system the fundamental problem is obscured by innumerable side issues; in Mexico its main features stand out clear-cut.

The Mexican Liberal Party is not a political party. It has no candidates for office. It exists solely to aid the struggle of the disinherited masses for the restoration of their heritage. As such its official organ, "Regeneracion," tries to keep the public accurately informed as to the progress of the struggle, which is very rapid. Its weekly notes of the movement are compiled with the greatest care from the leading dailies and reviews of Mexico, and, as proof of the authenticity of its news, it sends to its Spanish and Italian exchanges marked copies of the original papers and reviews from which its information is derived. It will be understood that the money power of the world is interested in endeavoring to suppress news tending to shake its power, for Wall Street and European investors are today the actual owners of a large part of Mexico. It is against them—the absentee landlords and money-lenders—that there is revolution. Therefore

"Regeneracion" is anxious, above all else, that its news shall be proved reliable, and for that reason it adopts the plan mentioned.

With the beginning of this year it adopts a somewhat similar plan for the benefit of its exchanges printed in English. Each week it will send them a synopsis of the latest news, giving the sources of information, and describing the existing situation as briefly but faithfully as possible.

"Regeneracion" runs an English section largely on account of the constantly repeated threat of American intervention. Such intervention would, in its opinion, be one of the greatest calamities that could befall the United States, which would find itself involved in an inexpressibly bitter and bloody war for the sake of—Wall Street. The greatest misfortune of all, however, would be the IGNORANT plunge of the American people into such a war, and to dissipate the existing ignorance is "Regeneracion's" task.

"Regeneracion's" English section of Dec. 23d contained reports of popular movements, that either looked to taking possession of the land or actually took it, from nine out of the twenty-seven Mexican States, viz.: Durango, Morelos, Oaxaca, Puebla, Guanajuato, Sonora, Michoacan, Jalisco and San Luis Potosi. The States named have a total population, according to the latest guide, of 6,452,947. The States passed in review are of special importance because of their location, which, with one exception, is in Central Mexico. A glance at the map shows that they form an almost complete circle, with the Federal District and Mexico City as its center.

The one exception is the State of Sonora, which borders on the United States. Its population is small, being only 221,682, but it has been from the first a danger point on account of heavy American investments. The papers quoted from in support of the news were: "El Imparcial," "El Pais," "El Diario," "La Nueva Era," "El Heraldo Mexicano," and "El Democrata," all of Mexico City, and "La Voz de Juarez" and "El Monitor," the latter of Chihuahua. They are the leading Mexican papers.

"El Imparcial" reported 18,000 inhabitants of Durango calling on the government to restore their lands and informing it that they were masters of the situation. It reported the Indians as having seized a large tract of land in Oaxaca, and natives of San Luis Potosi as "demanding restoration of lands stolen from them."

"El Diario" reported a commission as visiting Mexico City from Guanajuato, demanding restoration of lands. Also that Villjoen, Madero's special envoy to the Indians of Sonora, had failed to make a settlement. Its report ran: "They have told him they will assume a pacific attitude only when they see that the lands of their ancestors, for whom they naturally feel a deep veneration, are to be really returned to them." It reported similar news from Jalisco, which has a population of 1,153,891, saying: "They have assumed an energetic attitude and will fight, if possible, arms in hand, for their rights so arbitrarily trampled under foot."

"La Nueva Era" wrote: "The action of certain natives of the State of Puebla is truly alarming, for they have taken possession of great stretches of land," and "El Pais" (the leading Roman Catholic daily) called loudly for the suppression of Zapata, saying that "the Zapatistas propose to take possession of the State of Morelos." Morelos is at the very gates of Mexico City, and has been the property of a few privileged monopolists.

In our issue of Dec. 30 we translated from "Diario del Hogar" Zapata's rejection of the peace proposals made to him by Madero's envoy. It ended thus: "Within a month I shall be in Mexico City with twenty thousand men, and shall have the pleasure of going to Chapultepec, whence I shall drag him (Madero) out and hang him to the highest of its chestnut trees." He charges that Madero is the greatest traitor in Mexican history.

To stem the agrarian revolution the government is promising to spend \$200,000,000 on agriculture and irrigation, and has appointed a special commission to investigate titles to lands. Our report of Dec. 23 ended with these words: "Up to date the proletariat has taken possession of the land in various parts of the States of Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Morelos, Oaxaca, Puebla, Veracruz and Yucatan. Probably others should be added to the list. It is becoming easy to lose count."

The foregoing is a necessarily brief resume of the news given in our last two issues, with the authorities cited. This week brings a similar story which will be summed up in next week's bulletin.