

Regeneration.

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McNamara
Case and
Socialism

If the capitalist and socialist press can have its way the invaluable lesson the McNamara case should teach us will be wasted. One may have the deepest reverence for human life and out-Tolstoy Tolstoy in abhorring violence, but the fact remains that fundamental truths are necessary to the very existence of the race and special individuals are not. To cheat the public of the education a powerful tragedy should convey is to obscure thought, block progress, prolong the savage reign of poverty and thereby inflict misery a thousandfold vaster than did the tragedy itself. At this moment the world has a chance of learning all-important truths. To rob it of that chance is the most hideous and contemptible of crimes.

For the capitalist press it may be said that most of its writers know little of the social question, and voice their hopes of a better understanding between capital and labor largely through honest ignorance. They do not understand that the "Times" explosion was merely an incident in the war between the Have-Nots and the Haves; a war that will end only when the latter have conquered possession. They imagine, therefore, that if employers would be more considerate and employees more dutiful the quarrel would die out, a view directly opposite to that which all revolutionists—whether they call themselves Anarchists, Socialists, Single Taxers or what not—are bound to hold if they wish to be even decently honest with themselves. All revolutionists are forced logically to recognize that the brutalities of the Legrees brought chattel slavery to its death, and that, on the other hand, the kindly conduct of many of the Southern slaveholders merely prolonged its agonies. All revolutionists recognize that the inhumanities of the nobility brought about the overthrow of feudalism in France, just as the tyranny of Diaz roused Mexico into revolt. My Lord and Lady Bountiful, who visit the sick and see that none of their dependents falls into actual want, keep feudalism alive today in England and are everywhere the bulwark of land monopoly. On the other hand, it is Gen. Otis who has transformed Los Angeles from a sleepy, semi-tropical sanitarium into a nucleus of the revolutionary movement.

C. P. Connolly's article on "Protest by Dynamite," in "Collier's" of Jan. 13, is an excellent illustration of the mistaken benevolence we deplore. Mr. Connolly writes with exceptionally large information on the war between capital and labor and does not hesitate to say that, in Colorado and elsewhere, the capitalists fought more unscrupulously and, therefore, more effectively than did the workmen. He says frankly that as "malefactors of violence" the capitalists have been much the greater criminals, and he prints in italics a recent editorial from the "Los Angeles Times," which we reproduce in another column, to show that the situation stands unaltered. Having elucidated which he ends his article thus: "What we ought to do is to point out that both sides have gone far enough. There are some Americans who still see the emblem of their country above these embittered and warring factions. The miserable shibboleths of both sides should be put away, and reason permitted to resume its sway. Torch and bomb are twin brothers to the rack and thumbscrew. We have travelled too far afield in the search for light to parley with them for a single moment now." Oh! Vain and impotent conclusion!

If we are to get any good out of the McNamara case we must face the situation as it is and admit honestly that our entire social structure makes not for peace but war. On one side or the other we must take our stand, acknowledging that we believe or do not believe in the maintenance of institutions which doom the masses to the factory, the poorhouse, the brothel and the penitentiary, that the palaces may stand unshaken. We must decide whether we believe or do not believe in the justice and propriety

of allowing those whose purse is long enough to buy up the earth, thereby reducing the rest of us to slavery. We must make up our minds as to where we stand on the subject of land monopoly. We must determine for ourselves whether we do or do not regard the relation of master and servant as an unalterable fact in social life, and whether, now that production far outstrips consumption, we consider poverty a curse that cannot be abolished. No logical and healthy mind can occupy middle ground. It must be one thing or the other. Institutions fitted to the wooden plow, the armored knight, the ignorance that deemed the earth flat and motionless, should be continued indefinitely or they should not. There is no middle ground, just as there was none when feudalism came up for trial or when chattel slavery was settled by the appeal to arms.

Strikes, lock-outs, the never-ending skirmishes between monopoly and labor, the Haymarket tragedy, the Homestead slaughter, the Cripple Creek war, the destruction of the "Times"—all these bid us listen to the striking of the clock. But the writers I am criticising will not listen. Another revolution of the earth has taken place, the tide has turned, and all they do is to anathematize the driftwood for not travelling as it was travelling before. Faced by appalling facts they are either too indolent or cowardly to analyse them. How comes it, Mr. Connolly, that men, whom you know as being decent fellows in private life, buy courts and legislatures, hatch vile conspiracies and commit about every devilry in the catalogue of crime? How comes it that workmen, whom you know as being paragons of virtue in their private lives, when their union is concerned will stick at nothing? These are intensely practical questions and they call loudly for an answer. I am told that Gen. Otis' hobbies are birds and flowers, and that J. J. McNamara's favorite author is the peaceful Tolstoy. It is up to those who pose as educators to explain these contradictions.

Writers for the capitalist press, I have said, are largely ignorant, but the leaders of the Socialist party are not. All I have written about worn-out institutions is what Socialism has been teaching for a century, and they hold, as I hold, that our present social system is in the throes of dissolution. Why cannot they seize this opportunity, throw the whole weight of their party strength into the balance and do something really worth while by making this the propaganda of the century? Why cannot they speak up boldly, saying: "These are the natural fruits of the deadly Upas tree you insist on maintaining, though you know it is poisoning all our social life." Why cannot they go farther still and say: "The longer you keep it standing the worse it will be for you, and we shall shed no tears when you yourselves are victims?" That would be the truth, the vital truth. That would be the brave and honest thing to do, and for that reason it would be the paying policy. As it is, Gompers, for example, is able to flay them mercilessly as peanut politicians, and all organized labor applauds the flaying.

Socialism has not risen to its opportunity. On the contrary, it has sunk incalculably in the estimation of all earnest and thoughtful persons, for they recognize—as organized labor recognizes—that it has run up the white flag and is using the "Times" tragedy as a bait to catch the voter. What the whole world knows is that if the McNamaras had been found guilty by a jury and hung, the Socialist Party would have instantaneously added them to its alleged calendar of Socialist martyrs, as it has added the Chicago Anarchists, Toki and his Japanese comrades, Ferrer and others whom it pilloried incessantly until death crowned them with its halo and it became profitable to claim relationship. What the whole world knows is that it left no stone unturned to make the McNamara case its own, using it as the cornerstone of the political machine it was constructing so laboriously, as it used the case of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. Now it is attacking Haywood, and the first act of its California state organ, when the McNamara confessions were still warm in type, was to declare that the case had not been, even remotely, an issue in the Los Angeles campaign. It was a brazen lie and all the world knew it. But the leaders thought they were playing politics of the smartest sort just as they thought they were displaying statesmanship when they threw the Mexican revolutionists overboard.

The Socialist Party has done more than miss its opportunity, for it is committing the gravest of all crimes

by misleading those who look to it for light. It is feeding them with practically the same pap as the capitalist press is doling out, merely substituting the "Join our Party" shibboleth for the milk-of-human-kindness rubbish. Precisely as the capitalist press is striving to allay the rising storm by declaring that with more gentleness on either side our troubles will be righted, so is the Socialist Party playing its siren harp and vowing that the taking out a card of membership will put bread into the empty belly of the starving, furnish the homeless tramp with shelter, rescue the prostitute from the brothel and the convicted burglar from the penitentiary, and usher in the millennium. There is not one solitary fact to warrant that conclusion, and "Regeneration" has chronicled no more blood-curdling horrors than those now being enacted in the municipal shelters of Berlin, the metropolis of the bayonet-ridden empire in which Socialism has scored its most spectacular triumphs. "By your fruits ye shall know them." By the McNamara cases our present institutions must be judged, for they have evolved such cases as naturally as fire produces heat. By the slavish helplessness of the German masses, who are among the poorest of the European poor and cower more timidly than any of them beneath the lash of aristocracy and militarism, must the juggling of Socialist politics stand ruthlessly condemned in the eyes of every keen observer. Germany is today the bulwark of conservatism, and in these United States the Socialist politicians may always be calculated on to draw the red herring of politics across the trail the moment the masses begin to show their teeth. In Mexico they were the first to worship at the feet of that prince of charlatans, Madero; in this country the "New York Sun" welcomes their petty municipal victories, purchased at the expense of all honest attack on institutions that have to be attacked. Wall Street knows its own, and the masses should be sufficiently intelligent to size up the true value of allies who have reduced to a science the trick of blowing hot and cold.

WM. C. OWEN.

CUBA MENACED

Havana, Jan. 15. (Associated Press report.) "News of threatened intervention by the United States in Cuban affairs, which was published in the late editions of the Havana afternoon papers, caused great excitement in the clubs and cafes. Astonishment and resentment against American interference were mingled with general incredulity."

Washington dispatches say that Secretary Knox has served notice on President Gomez, for the second "and perhaps the last time," because what is known as the "Veteran Organization" is trying to nullify the law prohibiting the interference of the military in Cuban political affairs. They also state that several thousand United States troops are ready to march at a moment's notice, and that "practically the whole Atlantic fleet, which is now based on Guantanamo, on the south side of the island, would spread out and envelope Cuba so completely that there could not be a thought of successful armed resistance."

This is part of our "spirited" foreign policy; of our "colonial expansion"; of our solemn assurances that, so long as they behave themselves, (delightfully vague phrase) our "Dependencies" shall enjoy perfect liberty. In the present instance the Washington dispatches state explicitly that, as the result of the warning given, "it is expected there will be a decided abatement of the raid of would-be office-holders upon places now filled by Conservatives." Perhaps the Cubans do not like the Conservative regime. No matter.

Read what a noted writer has to say, in another column, respecting colonial wars.

When the State Department telegraphed instructions to the United States Ambassador at Mexico City, May 12, 1911, the telegram ended with the statement that the government "demands nothing but the respect and protection of American life and property in the neighboring republic." That sentence sounds innocent enough to the ordinary citizen, who even hails it as proof of the virtuous code that guides his government. In reality it is the gate by which the powers march in their troops whenever a raid is deemed advisable. Persia, with her heaps of dead, rotting under a tropical sun, is the latest example.

"No, we do not threaten violence. But history does, and that is infinitely more important than anything that can be said by feeble man."—(Charles Edward Russell in "The Coming Nation.")

Constitutional Guarantees To
Be SuspendedMadero Asks That Government
Be Given Special PowersConscription Census Postponed
Until Further Notice

"El Imparcial" of Jan. 11 gives the full text of President Madero's proposals for the suspension of constitutional guarantees in two states and numerous districts, as they have been submitted by him to the recently-appointed Permanent Commission. Literally translated from the Spanish they are as follows:

"The President of the Republic, in accord with the Council of Ministers, has the honor to propose the following initiative of the suspension of individual guarantees, in conformity with the terms of article 29 of the General Constitution of the Republic."

"It is a sad and bitter thing for the Executive to form an initiative which restricts the cardinal rights of man, but he finds himself obliged to do so by imperative and unavoidable social necessities."

"Anarchist fomentations which, lamentably, are prospering in the State of Morelos, and which have been propagated in the State of Guerrero and the Districts co-terminous with the States of Mexico and Puebla, oblige him to ask for a means of social salvation, which is supreme. The Executive does not pretend to convert himself by this initiative, even provisionally, into a dictatorial power, but to provide measures for deciding the fate of those who fall beneath the jurisdiction of the authorities as determined by the present initiative of the law, in conformity with the legitimate demands of public opinion as the echo and genuine revealer of the instinct of social conservation."

"This initiative seeks to satisfy only the primordial necessity of securing life, honor, and individual property, now threatened. The Executive hopes to realize not only the interesting object just mentioned, but also to care scrupulously for the good name of our fatherland abroad, since unfortunately even the smallest focus of rebellion and turmoil is sufficient in the eyes of foreigners to cause them to ignore the true situation of our fatherland, so long as there appears to exist an exceptional menace to security of person and patrimony."

Agrarian Communism.
"The Executive hopes that there will be a speedy cessation of the tranquillity in the Republic which has given rise to a brigandage that, under the form of an agrarian communism, has caused certain persons to rise in arms in the Southern portion of the Republic. But, while he deems that this severe evil will be terminated promptly, he considers that he ought to solicit from the Permanent Deputation approbation of the following initiative in order that, without any delay, the Republic may be able to enjoy peace and take up the accelerated march toward progress and prosperity, based on liberty within the law."

Such is the preamble. Article I of the initiative calls for the suspension of the existing legal guarantees in the case of those who shall be found—as stated in much detail in section 1 of Article II—guilty of any interference with the railway traffic or the free operation of trains, it being stated explicitly that those who discharge firearms or throw stones or other objects at the trains shall come within the scope of the initiative. The closing words of the section run: "And, in general, those who perform any act against the security and integrity of the railways and their operation." The punishment provided is death without other restriction than the decision of "the chief of the force making the arrest." The question of whether anyone was killed or injured shall cut no figure. Kidnaping is also to be punished in a similar manner.

Article II deals with all acts tending to interfere with the operation of telegraph and telephone systems, and provides a penalty of from five to twelve years' imprisonment. But, if the crime be committed on a public highway the penalty shall be death, as in the case of interference with railroad property. This also shall be the fate of those guilty of highway robbery with violence, or robbery in the course of an attack on a town, country estate or industrial concern.

This suspension of the usual guarantees shall last four months from the date of promulgation and shall apply to the States of Morelos and Guerrero, to the districts of Acatlan, de Matamoros Izucar, Atlitico, Cholula and Huejotzingo, in the State of Puebla, and to the districts of Chalco and Tenancingo, in the State of Mexico.

"Anarchist fomentations which, lamentably, are prospering" "Agrarian communism!" Within how many days after the flight of Diaz, and again within how many days after his inauguration was it that Madero promised peace throughout the Republic? What about the prophecies made, by Zapata among others, that Madero would prove a more ruthless repressor of liberties than was Diaz? Either violence of all kinds will cease in the States and Districts named, or those inclined to it will proceed to the extremity, knowing that summary death awaits their most trifling breach of the new legal code. Which will it be, do you think? The new legislation is to apply to the large area in which Zapata is operating with, as reported, a constantly increasing force of followers. Will they at once lay down their arms?

From Neighboring States.

Of the neighboring State of Oaxaca "El Pais" reports that inhabitants of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec are greatly alarmed at "the revolutionary agitation, which is at its apex in that rich region. The revolutionary agitators go from town to town recruiting rebels, who, in one guerrilla alone, number 1,500." It adds that "the Juchita rebels who took part in the uprising headed by the late Che Gomez are compromised in this new movement for the taking of Tehuacan."

Strikes, often attended with violence, appear to continue unabated, and I take the following from "El Diario" of Jan. 9, the sentence quoted being that with which its special article on the subject begins. It says: "These manifestations of discontent on the part of the working classes continue throughout the industrial regions of the Republic and undoubtedly are a peril to social peace." Further on it remarks: "The peril will assume larger proportions unless the government re-establishes harmony between capital and labor."

Conscription Postponed.

It is a most significant fact that the taking of the military census, with a view to conscription, which had been set for Jan. 14, has been postponed until further notice, owing, says "El Demócrata Mexicano," to "the enormous difficulties." It adds that the government hopes to have ultimately at its disposal a force of 350,000 men.

The leading dailies run over with cuts of various phases of military life and Madero recently delivered an oration at the distribution of swords to the cadets of the military school. "Nueva Era" of Jan. 8 selects for the seven-column head it spreads across its front page the following sentence from his address: "Arm yourselves in the name of the Fatherland." The same paper in its next day's issue reported an interview with the Minister of Government in which he said that the time had come for an active campaign against rebels in the districts wherein constitutional guarantees have been suspended, as related above, and that 7,000 troops would be put into the field. The government is now trying to locate Vasquez Gomez, who was formerly Madero's right hand man and a member of the cabinet. It asserts that he is in alliance with Zapata, and has so informed the ambassador at Washington. This item comes from "El Imparcial" of Jan. 9.

Examination of the leading papers between the dates of Jan. 8 and Jan. 13 shows accounts of sixteen fights between Zapatistas and Federal forces, and of forty-five towns taken by the former during that brief time. It must be understood that the Zapatistas always pursue the same guerrilla tactics, occupying a place, taking what they need or can find and moving on. I also find reports of fifteen strikes, and it is to be noted that some of these cover not a single place but an

entire district. Thus, for example, the peons in the district of San Juan de los Rios, in the State of Puebla, are all on strike. Reports of guerrilla activity throughout the country are still exceedingly numerous. Unfortunately lack of space renders it impossible to give details.

W. C. O.

Well! Well!! Well!!!

There are many things of which the "Los Angeles Times" should be ashamed, but one doubts if it ever did worse than in its editorial of Nov. 2, 1911—a date at which there had been no McNamara confessions. Read the quotation and ask yourself if it is not a direct incitation to kidnapping and murder. Many a poor man has lost his liberty, if not his life, for saying less. Here is the editorial:

"And soon—it has begun to happen already—the plain citizens of every country will form a combine. Its object will be the suppression of seditious and anarchy in the persons of professional agitators. Theirs will be a big, powerful, effective, but very unostentatious revolt. It will work quickly, surely, silently. The first thing the Plain Citizen Combine will accomplish is the quiet removal of these gentlemen. They won't be blown up; they will just quietly disappear from human ken. There will be a little inquiry at first, but it will die down ever so quickly, for of all the people in the world the professional agitator depends entirely upon his presence and his glib tongue to maintain any sort of interest or influence in his followers. His impassioned rhetoric is his only asset."

"The idea of the Plain Citizen Combine is not being mouthed abroad and it is not seeking members or subscriptions. But it is growing rapidly nevertheless, and it is a real and tangible thing. With the itch removed, the great disease of unrest will soon be cured, and the world will settle down for another half a century."

KINDERGARTEN LEGISLATION

Fifteen thousand cotton and woolen operatives in Lawrence, Mass., on strike, and at least 15,000 more rendered idle. Eight companies of militia, with a battery, ordered to the scene, bayonet charges and martial law. A pretty picture!

But why this strike? Simply because the legislature compelled the masters to shorten the hours of work, and the masters, being in absolute economic control and able to do exactly what they pleased, retaliated by shortening the pay.

How childish to suppose that relief can come from such Socialistic legislation! How absurd to imagine that it hurts the monopolist!

WRITING ITS EPITAPH.

"Most Socialism in the United States," says "Collier's Weekly," is merely the desire to nought virtues surely old-fashioned enough to be safe—honesty, unselfishness, justice—yes, even that love which St. Paul called greater even than faith and hope." It was written in praise of the Socialist movement; to assure the public that it is safe and sane. In reality it is the severest condemnation that could be penned.

That is precisely what is the matter with the Socialist Party; precisely what is filling it with preachers, sentimentalists and perhaps the greatest aggregation of religious cranks on record; precisely what is robbing it of all revolutionary virility and rendering it hopelessly bourgeois. All these people regard the social problem as they do the crime question, as to which they think human depravity is at the bottom of the trouble. They imagine, therefore, that by the election of honest mayors and councilmen, the passing of prohibition measures—using the word "prohibition" in its widest sense—and other artificial schemes for forcing people to be good, they can solve the social riddle.

The trouble is not with human nature but with out-of-date institutions that do not give human nature a chance. The trouble is not that the man is "naturally bad," but that preposterous property arrangements force him to be hostile to our social system since it is fatally hostile to him. He HAS to destroy that social system, and when he comes to think about it seriously he discovers that his greatest enemies are those who seek to patch it up.

Seeking to boom the Socialist movement "Collier's" has written its epitaph.

"Throughout the union labor field leaders are coming up, who are convinced that peaceful means no longer avail to secure relief from present conditions."—(Henry George, Jr., Congressman.)

Depicts Horrors
of Colonial
Conquest

"L'Internationale," of Parma, Italy, recently published an interview with the noted writer, Octave Mirbeau, on the subject of the invasion of Tripoli. Through the kindness of De Ambris, to whom the interview was given, we are able to publish the following extracts:

"And colonial wars? Ah! That indeed! National wars can still hide themselves behind some excuses, but colonial wars—No. These cannot hide their evident character of armed aggression, with plunder as the object. They are the most complete expression of the commercial cupidity of our epoch, turned cynically assassin."

"For all that, we have in Italy, and I think you have also in France, writers who maintain that war is beneficial, because it awakens the heroic sentiments and serves as a reaction against the general cowardice, which is a product of long periods of peace."

"It is an unspeakable lie. War has never roused any but the worst passions, and colonial war debases even the best. It familiarises men with pillage, assassination and theft. It develops the most obscene desires of ferocious cowardice. I have received from men who have taken part in colonial expeditions the most revolting confessions—entire villages burned, with their inhabitants, at the simple caprice of some uniformed ruffian. Men slain because they did not seem sufficiently diligent in carrying out some order. Women cut open after being violated, and even before it. Acts of cannibalism—yes, even acts of cannibalism. All the world remembers the name of that Lieut. Lothaire, if I am not mistaken, who in the Belgian Congo, had seven or eight children brought before him, weighed them carefully, chose the fattest and consigned it to the pot that he might devour it. All the nations who have perpetrated these colonial conquests have committed the same atrocities, always and everywhere. Colonial war is a school of brigandage."

"Do you not admit that colonial conquest can develop a nation economically and politically?"

"No people whatever has ever become great or rich by colonial conquest. It may give sometimes a momentary illusion of wealth, but if, like every act of piracy, it brings profit to a minority, it cannot transform itself into effective and permanent welfare for the whole nation. Colonial war does not even bring with it what is called glory. It brings with it, on the contrary, shame and dishonor."

"But they also say—listen well to this—that war will teach the people to make the revolution."

"What an absurd sophism! He ignores history who affirms such a thing. War never arouses the revolutionary spirit. It destroys it. Sometimes war might be the immediate cause of a revolution, but only when the revolutionary spirit pre-existed, alert and combative. But in no way whatever can colonial war favor the cause of the revolution, even indirectly, unless by ending in a catastrophe."

GEE WHIZ!

Victor Berger, like his private secretary, Benevolent Feudal Ghent, has apparently been having bad dreams lately. He awoke from his troubled sleep on the morning after the McNamara confession, and hastened to have himself interviewed in part as follows:

"On the other hand this fearful case must result in opening the eyes of millions to the ineffectiveness of not only pure and simple money, but also of syndicalism, direct action, sabotage and other forms of anarchism."

Gee whiz! So the McNamara confession is going to cause the working class the world over to abandon the economic field, and all the weapons that go with industrial action, and turn solely to the Bergers and other old age pension politicians for their immediate and ultimate salvation!—(Exchange.)

"Great combinations of industry are threatening our country with a worse slavery than that which our fathers have driven from the land," said United States District Attorney James H. Wilkerson, prosecutor of the Beef Trust, before the Illinois St. Andrew Society, according to Chicago despatches. "We boast of our enormous resources. If we are not careful, those resources will be our undoing. The mines will be our slave pits, the railroads will be the bonds of our slavery, the whirl and clang of the mills will be the noise of the lash and clanking of our chains."