

Regeneracion.

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CANNOT STOMACH
INTERVENTION

Gentlemen who wrote to Madero, in the hour of his triumph, engaging to crush the Mexican Liberal Party for the trifling consideration of \$10,000 cash; gentlemen who wrote that they would consider it their "duty to let the Socialists and unionmen know" that the party was under the control of "Anarchists(!)"; gentlemen who were so imprudent as to write, on official paper, letters slandering Ricardo Magon's private life—all that sort of thing we have passed up for months, knowing that the Mexican Revolution would justify itself and events talk with an eloquence far greater than we could command. The rank and file of the labor movement are honest at the core, and it was certain that, sooner or later, facts would tear the Madero bandage from their eyes. No better article on the all-important subject of intervention could have been written than that which has appeared in the "California Social Democrat," State official organ of the Socialist Party in California. Both for its intrinsic merit, and as proof of the thought-revolution wrought by stubborn facts, we reproduce it in its entirety. It runs as follows:

Zapata, a pure-blooded Mexican Indian from the state of Oaxaca, is leading thousands of armed Mexican peasants in a war to win back the soil to the actual tillers. They march, they fight, they bushwhack as did the French peasants at the time of the great French revolution.

In almost every Mexican city of size there are unions organizing and on strike.

Bullets from the soldiers of Madero slaughter alike both peasants in arms and unarmed city workers.

As yet there is no organized connection between the two revolts, city and country.

Here is not a concrete social revolution with constructive aims for the whole nation, and yet it is the beginning of great things, for, at last, the people of Mexico are battling without the leadership of "reforming" capitalists.

The poverty of Mexico's working class is beyond expression and so, having at last gotten arms from their masters engaged in private warfare, they now are using the guns for their own immediate needs. Proclamations could not stop their hunger pangs, and proclamations were all that their new masters offered.

Left to themselves the Mexican people would soon win a world of new and ennobling freedom, for a whole people cannot go wrong in judgment as to its needs. But there is a black cloud hanging over Mexico, a cloud coming from the border, and intervention will just as surely be brought about if American capitalists have their way as the sun is to rise in the East.

If this happens blood will flow in Mexico as it has never done before, because a high power gun is just as deadly in the hands of a small brown man as in the hands of a six-foot Texan.

It is conservatively estimated by those just returned from Mexico that over five thousand people have fallen in battle there since Madero obtained the presidency.

There has been much live-target practice in the Southern Republic in the past year and any invading army coming from the United States would be the most startled military expedition that ever sought to shoulder "the white man's burden."

The only thing that can prevent this seemingly near crisis, the only block that can be placed in the way of American capitalism's armed invasion of Mexico, is outspoken protest in a militant form by the socialist and labor organizations of the United States.

Do we want the blood of thousands of American and Mexican working people to soak the soil of Mexico from the Rio Grande to Yucatan?

Do we want the capitalists of America to subjugate and grind the Mexican worker as the English capitalist has done to the millions of India?

Do we want a continuation of starvation wages in Mexico under the guise of an American protectorate?

No. We, the American working people, do not want intervention. On the contrary we believe that the present revolution in Mexico, if left to its own ends, will result in raising the standard of living in that hunger-stricken country and also advance wage conditions on the entire North American continent.

Why This Fight Is
Irrepressible

The resolute attitude of the people of Mexico in face of threatened intervention by the United States has caused the government of this country to deny emphatically that it has any intention of invading Mexican territory. We do not know to what extent that declaration may be sincere. The one thing certain is that the American consuls resident at numerous Mexican points have given their government an account of the profound discontent and great indignation provoked among the people of Mexico by learning that the United States was preparing an army of a hundred thousand men to invade the Mexican Republic and establish a protectorate under the Stars and Stripes.

Well; for the moment the United States will not intervene. But does that fact dispel the danger of foreign intervention in Mexican affairs? The Mexican Revolution, by its economic character, must have, as its necessary result, foreign intervention. If the revolution were solely the result of the political ambitions of the various groups who are contending among themselves for supremacy, the United States and other powers would wait tranquilly the coming of peace, feeling assured that their subjects would continue to exploit the natural wealth of Mexico and the labor of the Mexican proletariat. But this revolution cannot end with the elevation to power of any one of the leaders of the revolutionary bands, just as it did not end with the elevation of Francisco I. Madero to the presidency of the Republic. This revolution will end when each and every one of the inhabitants of Mexico has been made sure of bread, clothing, shelter, education and liberty, as the result of the refusal to recognize private property.

Well then; the great natural sources of wealth are in the power of powerful foreign companies; magnificent estates, forests that are very rich, fine mines, oil deposits that yield abundantly, in addition to great factories and foundries, railways, etc., etc., are all in the foreigner's power. One can say that all Mexico is being exploited by foreigners, who, in the immense majority of cases, made use of franchises obtained under the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, and often employed violence, to obtain control of the natural wealth of Mexico. By virtue thereof, we Mexicans have been reduced to the condition of slaves to the foreign exploiters; we have been left with no other fortune than our bare arms with which to earn the miserable wages our executioners pay us in exchange for the sweat of our brows, our health, our future.

Misery has been the result of this monopoly of our natural wealth by a few foreign companies and a handful of Mexican bourgeois, and that misery has been the leaven of the formidable movement now shaking our native country and engaging the attention of the bourgeoisie and governments of all the world.

We Mexicans have understood that so long as we are not really masters of the land—that is to say, so long as the land is not the property of each and every one of the human beings who form the population of what calls itself the Mexican Republic—ignorance, hunger and tyranny will be our eternal executioners. We have, therefore, to lay hands on the land; we have to make it our own, even if by so doing we have to challenge the wrath of those who exploit and tyrannize over us. Therein lies the danger of intervention. We are locked in this iron dilemma; either we must reconstitute ourselves to being for ever proletarians, to being for ever serfs, to being for ever slaves, and to continuing to labor for hire, through fear of foreign intervention, or we must resolutely lay hands—powerful, virile and sublimely disrespectful—on that which hitherto has been considered sacred under the laws manufactured by the bourgeoisie—the right of private property.

This we must do, even if we bring the whole universe upon us. We cannot make a half-revolution. All or nothing! Land and Liberty or death! Sooner or later intervention will become a fact, either because of our

valor in snatching from the hands of the bourgeoisie the property it withheld, or from the impossibility of paying off the debt that presses on the nation. Some day the foreign bankers will no longer be content to wait; and they will force their governments to collect from us, at the cannon's mouth, what Diaz and the Cientificos, what Madero and his family, have pocketed. Diaz escaped with the millions he had stolen. Shall we permit Madero to plant "his" money in foreign banks, that he may dissipate it at his ease in the watering places and grand hotels of Europe?

For the moment the United States hastens to say that it will not interfere in our affairs; but the European powers, whose subjects are being despoiled of the wealth they have been able to amass by exploiting the Mexican proletariat, will bring such pressure to bear on the American government that finally intervention will become a fact. If it is not effected by the United States alone, because that nation has not the resources sufficient to carry to completion a work of such a nature, it will be by the combined action of all the powers. But then the Social Revolution will break out in Europe; the European proletariat will rise in its indignation against its governments; the earth will be one flame, and will travel its orbit proud of the fact that for the first time it is trodden by men where formerly there crept, century after century, a humanity submissive and vile. (From the Spanish of Ricardo Flores Magon.)

THE SECRET OF POWER.

Note how constantly Washington despatches emphasize the difficulty of dealing with the Mexican Revolution, because it has no head. Precisely therein lies its strength. Movements that depend on leaders are never any good, inasmuch as leaders can be bullied, bamboozled or bought. Only movements of the people, wherein each acts individually and each is his own leader, amount to anything. The guerrilla uprisings of the masses, with every unit acting as its own general and making its own home run, are what the classes fear. When the people themselves are aroused only extermination can stop them. Of course, this is Anarchistic doctrine, and of course the leaders do not like it. That is why they have boycotted the Mexican Revolution, but the Mexican Revolution has survived and is now at the point where it is no longer boycotted.

ALL THE SAME AS MEXICO.

"The testimony thus far adduced before the committee," said Representative Sulzer, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, when commenting on the progress of the Rainey investigation, "shows conclusively that the taking of Panama was the result of a conspiracy carefully planned and cleverly executed. It cannot be justified in morals or in law. The government of the United States must make reparation for the outrage to the Republic of Colombia." Mexico cleaned out; every Central and South American Republic on its guard against United States expansion; Oriental pride wounded to the quick by the insulting exclusion acts—there are plenty of chickens coming home to roost, and those who have a fancy for enlisting will have fine opportunities of learning what a tropical climate can do to its invaders. Meanwhile there is quite a little row going on at home. Stirring times ahead!

ON, TO THE ATTACK!

Do not stand weakly on the defensive! Take a lesson from the masters of political and military warfare; move boldly to the attack. Every kind of capitalistic skulduggery has been at work, rooting for dear life to fill its pockets out of intervention in Mexico. Go for it! Let the "National Socialist Press" collect and publish its proofs of the hand Standard Oil and other "interests" have been playing in Washington and Mexico. We ourselves can tell you of editors whose eyes bulge out of their heads when discussing the value annexation will give their properties. Let us get together and start an exposure that will shake every pillar in the plutocratic temple. This Midas looks like a mighty imposing figure, but, true to the ancient fable, he has the ears of the ass. He is like Sullivan when he succumbed to Corbett—the softest snap that ever stepped into the ring.

FOR THEIR OWN JOBS.

When you have been beaten and robbed, and outlawed it is time to make a row. Common sense and a decent regard for society alike demand it. Yet there are leaders by the thousands who tell you that never, under any circumstances, should you be other than submissively law-abiding. That proves how utterly corrupt they are. That proves that they are fighting not for you but for their jobs.

Difficulties "Overcome" Fire
Madero's Eloquence
News of Uprisings Pours in Despite
Severed CommunicationsUnited States Government Pressed by
European Powers

LATEST NEWS.
Emilio Zapata has issued a proclamation announcing March 15 as the date on which he will enter and take possession of Mexico City.
By the capture of four towns the rebels now have the electric power of Mexico City at their mercy and can throw it into darkness at a moment's notice.
U. S. Ambassador Wilson has engaged passage on the first steamer leaving Vera Cruz.
The foregoing are taken from United Press despatches published as we go to press.

Under date of Feb. 15 Madero wired the "Los Angeles Evening Herald," in part, as follows: "The difficulties through which the republic of Mexico has been passing were not of really great importance, and have been overcome. There has been no great political principle involved and there has been no notable leader as their sponsor. For all these reasons my government is sufficiently strong to give complete protection to all of the interests." The first portion of the telegram slobbered over the United States government for its "cordial" attitude. Do you wonder that even the "interests" lose faith in an agent who makes himself a universal laughingstock?

At the date of this writing, Feb. 20, the latest news of the "overcome" difficulties is that in a battle lasting more than twelve hours and waged near Cuernavaca the federal forces, according to the government's own admission, were completely routed, being forced to abandon its trenches and fly. Official reports, which are sure to under-estimate, place the dead at 120. Cuernavaca, it may be said, is not over fifty miles from Mexico City, and the fighting is for control of a most important strategic point.

The same issue that contained Madero's telegram stated that the representatives of foreign governments resident in Mexico City were receiving daily scores of telegrams from subjects in the interior, declaring the revolution far more serious than the authorities admitted. Durango was spoken of as the hotbed of disturbance—the government has said repeatedly that Morelos presented the only serious problem—and the Zapatistas were reported as in control of the railway running to Veracruz. The road traverses four States and commands the commerce of one of the most important harbors of the country.

Incomplete, but Telling.

This article is compiled somewhat earlier than usual, and the weekly list made out regularly by one of our Spanish editors, from leading Mexican papers, is therefore incomplete. It excludes the States of Morelos and Puebla, which are the scenes of the heavy fighting between Zapatistas and Federals noticed so profusely by the American press, but includes numberless encounters between rebels and government forces; the taking of minor towns and haciendas, the burning of bridges, etc. Examination of the list gives the following results: Guerrero, eight items; Guanajuato, four; Chihuahua, three; Jalisco, one; Durango, three; Michoacan, four; Veracruz, two; Coahuila, eleven. It must be understood that any single item may contain several distinct events. For example, one of those given under the head of Coahuila reports three towns taken, and another gives details of the occupation of eleven haciendas and the burning of a number of bridges.

One should add that the Spanish editor apologizes for the scantiness of this week's notes, explaining that throughout Mexico telegraph and telephone lines have been cut and railroad communication brought to a standstill, the result being that papers have to be sent by the sea route and are arriving with much irregularity. So much for the suspension of constitutional guarantees and the making

it a capital offense, punishable without trial, to tamper in any way with the means of communication.

Always the Land.

From "El Pais" we take the following, as containing food for thought: "The troops at Torreon have decided not to pursue the bandits for fear that, during their absence, the populace may sack the city." The same paper states that about a thousand Vazquistas are operating in the neighborhood of Santa Rosalia, Chihuahua, and that "among their demands is the repatriation of the land." Another of its despatches says that "in the State of Durango many serious uprisings have taken place, and that a large number of the peons has set itself to work dividing up the land." On that item our Spanish editor has commented as follows: "It does not matter that they have begun by dividing up the land. Experience and our propaganda will make them understand that it is best to work it in common. The important thing is that they themselves take the land, without waiting for Gomez or any one else."

"El Imparcial" notes combats in the State of Guerrero, wherein the Salgados, notorious exponents of "the land to the cultivator" doctrine, defeated the federal forces. It also notes that in the same State the ex-Maderistas Francisco Vital and Roman have joined the rebels, that they have a following of 300 men and have taken two towns and a number of haciendas. In the State of Puebla it reports deserters from the rurales as having assaulted and sacked Esperanza.

"El Diario" reports thirteen well-known haciendas as having been captured in the State of Coahuila in a single day, and remarks that the rebels were "mounted on magnificent horses and took possession of all the animals and arms they could find, sacking the stores and dividing the merchandise among the neighboring poor."

Other Danger Points.

Torreon remains virtually besieged, and the Spanish have a proverb that a city-besieged is a city taken. Feb. 17 nearly 200 American women and children, who had been sent out under the advice of the American consul, reached El Paso, safe but with a story of much hardship suffered. American women are also reported as fleeing from Sinaloa, by way of Mazatlan.

Cananea, in Sonora, is again a danger point, as it has been in the past; for the slaughter of Mexican workers following the strike, in May, 1906, on the Greene-Cananea Copper Company properties has not been forgotten. On page 148 of "Barbarous Mexico" you may see a photograph of the Yaquis hanged at the instance of the late Col. W. C. Greene. Part of the garrison at Cananea deserted recently and the Cananea Cattle Ranch, belonging to the Greene estate, was raided.

Vazquez Gomez has issued a presidential proclamation, and sent an envoy to Washington. It has not interested us greatly, our one concern being with the fact that while elsewhere the workers are not masters of the situation but on the contrary, its helpless slaves, in Mexico they may win a control that will be actual instead of paper-written and fictitious.

The Monroe Doctrine.

For the moment the American press has lapsed once more into comparative silence, but a calm is often the forerunner of a storm. One notes, under date of Feb. 21, the following Mexico City despatch:

"The raiding of the ranches of the Sonora Mexican Land Company, limited, near Ysabel, Sonora, yesterday, has complicated the situation considerably, as it is British property, and the manager has received advices from the British ambassador at Washington that he has made representations to the American government. According to advices received here, the British, German and French ambassadors have all notified the American state department that the European nations look to the United States to see that property is respected in Mexico."

Mexico's Struggle
For Economic
Freedom

(Continued from Feb. 17.)

Often a handglass will reflect as faithfully as would a ten-foot mirror, and Los Angeles gives us the measure of this entire conflict between the dollar and the Man. I walk the streets of Los Angeles and see glaringly displayed in the windows of real estate firms such advertisements as this: "Peace. The war in Mexico is over and now is the time to get you a few acres of land. Where Mexico is today California was forty years ago. Where California is today Mexico will be ten years hence, and remember that the best investment on earth is the earth itself." You see at once that such dealers—and from New York City to Los Angeles their name is "Legion"—have every reason in the world for representing the war as over, since they wish to dispose of enormous properties at the best price obtainable. That their statement is a lie I shall now proceed to prove.

PART III.

What Are the Prospects of the
Revolution?

As to that one may say, in the first place, that at the present moment those who should be in the best position to judge, and are vitally interested in crushing the revolution, are showing greater alarm than at any previous time. I have referred already to the suspension of constitutional guarantees and the preparations for conscription, both of which betoken governmental fear, and there now comes into my hands "Nueva Era" of January 19. That paper is recognized as distinctively Madero's special organ, and it devotes to Zapatism a leading article which begins thus: "El Tiempo has just published two articles dwelling on the importance of Zapatism and conceding that it has assumed the proportions of a true social, agrarian revolution. In one of the articles it says that Zapatism has increased so greatly that it is the dominant power in several States, and that in others it is spreading with great rapidity. It calculates that more than three million persons sympathize with the idea of certain recoveries that, as it supposes, figure in his program, and that many of them are disposed to follow and fight in its ranks."

Naturally "Nueva Era" deprecates that statement—although "El Tiempo" is a conservative, Roman Catholic daily of acknowledged weight—and expresses the opinion that Zapata does not know what he wants. It says: "He is an absolutely uncultivated man, who springs from the humbleness of the peasantry, among whom he was reared and brought up. He has had no lecture-hall or book instruction, he has not mixed in good society, and he cannot have any idea of what Socialism is or what must be the legitimate foundation of the recoveries he is said to be seeking."

In my humble judgment "Nueva Era" talks like a college professor who imagines that without a degree no one amounts to anything. That is not the teaching of history, which furnishes us with countless examples of unlettered men who, in troublous times, have swept everything before them. It is probably true that the great thoughts and discoveries that pave the way for another step forward have their birth in the scholar's brain, but it is also probably true that the action necessary to incorporate them in a people's life is taken far more vigorously and effectively by those whose brains are not weighed down by books. The fighting qualities Zapata has inherited, and the close, sympathetic touch with the masses that must come natural to him, are assets of infinitely greater value, at this particular epoch, than are Madero's college courses.

(To be continued)

Will the United States
Intervene in Mexico?

Send for copies of

"Regeneracion's"
Special Pamphlet
on the
Mexican Revolution
Its Progress, Causes,
Purpose and Probable
Results
Sixteen Pages. Price 5 cents

LEARN TO STAND ALONE.

Eleven years have passed since the Mexican Liberal Party held its first big convention in San Luis Potosi. Two hundred and twenty delegates were present and an audience of some 7,000 had gathered in the theatre. The party was then little more than one of opposition to the clergy, who were most unpopular. When Ricardo Magon, representing the Mexico City students, told the convention that it was useless to attack the clergy while refraining from attacking their upholder, Porfirio Diaz, he created the sensation of the day.

Those who were present tell me you could have heard a pin drop. Every delegate was panic-stricken; all denounced Magon as having jeopardized the very existence of the party; and, in fact, Diaz took immediate steps to suppress it, ordering arrests right and left. But it was Magon who spoke the decisive word and transformed what would have remained for ever a debating club into the power that banished Diaz and eventually will make the Mexican peasant master of himself.

All movements in all countries are alike. Always the leaders shiver at the prospect of coming to the point. Always one or two bold characters have to lead the way.

THOSE YELLOW DEVILS.

"Uncle Sam's soldiers patrolling the bank of the Rio Grande came down here hungry for fight," writes a friend from El Paso; "came down to 'eat' em up—those yellow devils, as one of the newcomers said to me last night. But he was a new man in this country, full of virility stored up in a moderate climate. If I meet him again in a few days his walk and talk may not differ from those of his comrades in khaki, whose legs are dragging their bodies through the furnace of Mexican desert. The fight of those is gone. The sun is slowly devouring it. The climate can fit the men to its liking in far shorter time than the men can fit themselves to the climate."

WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR.

"Les Temps Nouveaux" of Feb. 3, contains a lengthy article by Tarrida del Marmol, doing justice to the Mexican Revolution as an economic movement of the first importance. We hail it with delight because hitherto that old-time revolutionary organ has kept silence or assumed a hostile attitude. The article pays special tribute to Ricardo Magon, both on account of his pertinacious courage and incorruptibility, but it regrets that he should have attacked former comrades. Therein, as we think, the writer misunderstands Magon and the revolutionary movement of which he is a part. Magon never attacked a man until he had gone back on revolution. Magon would be entirely unfit to play a part in revolution if he let himself be gagged by friendship. "Les Temps Nouveaux" should be able to understand Nietzsche's saying that "the first of all duties is to be hard." What is the leader worth who allows himself to be swayed by fear or favor where the lives and liberties of millions are at stake?

FIRST IN IMPORTANCE.

We find the following on the front page of "Revolt," the anti-orthodox Socialist organ, of San Francisco: "Comrades—Answering your appeal for funds, I am this day sending \$1.00 to each of the three most important causes or factors in the movement as I see it, and will mention them in their order of importance."

"First, 'Regeneracion,' supporting the Mexican Land Revolution, which international capitalism must put down at any cost or capitalism perishes."

"Second, 'Revolt,' a necessity of greatest importance at this moment if capitalism is not to be allowed to vaccinate the Socialist Party and make it harmless and its next instrument to keep the masses in subjection. If 'Revolt' cannot live, why the Socialist Party at all? If it is going to be the same old gang and the same old bunks and tactics of the G. O. P. and the mule. I have only one sore spot or objection to make with 'Revolt.' That is your ignoring or overlooking the Land revolution in Mexico now going on."

"Third, the I. W. W. fight at Aberdeen."

The Mexican upheaval presents the two characteristics recognized by all historians as indispensable to the creation of a true revolution. First, there has been immense pressure from below, caused by the sudden loss of the people's rights. Secondly, there has been immense pressure from above, in the futile effort to smother discontent. Revolutions are never made by speeches or articles. They are the children of events, which, at the best, the agitator merely interprets.