

This Great Issue We Must Face.

"After you give all the lands in Mexico back to the Indians are you going to give the United States back to me?" The speaker, as represented in a "Los Angeles Daily Times" cartoon, is Lo, the poor Indian, and he is addressing President Wilson. It seems to me a most significant cartoon, for it sums up the great thought which all this struggle and bloodshed in Mexico has evolved. As the result of these four years of conflict the United States itself, home though it is of commercialism and the pursuit of the almighty dollar, is asking by what right the few claim exclusive title to that earth without which it is impossible for the many to live. That greatest of all queries has passed far and wide from mouth to mouth; has crept gradually into all corners of the land, throwing a black shadow of doubt over our entire social structure; has climbed finally the steps of the White House and forced the padlock from the lips of Woodrow Wilson. It has laid bare the lowest root of the great social problem which, as every one of us knows, we have to settle. Naturally we shrink and strive to dodge the issue, but that alters nothing. The thing is there and must be faced.

Of course the "Times" misrepresents. Of course it is impossible to undo today the wrong committed against a race we exterminated, in our greed to put a ring around their lands and lay acre to acre that we might be alone in the midst of the earth—a phrase I take from the old Hebrew prophet, Isaiah, who cursed land monopolists with an eloquence that has never been excelled. Of course the Indian had no more right to land he did not need and could not use than has any other member of the human race. Of course he would have been just as much a robber in exercising monopoly for the sake of levying tribute as was and is his white antagonist, and of course the "Times"—no paper is better posted on economic questions—understands all this most thoroughly. The principle, the vital principle, is clear as a Southern California summer day, but to drive it home once more I give a quotation from "The Public," the national organ of the Single Taxers. In its editorial of June 5 it says: "The evils of landlordism lie not in the form but in the essence of private ownership. So long as any human being must pay another human being for the mere privilege of using the earth, just so long will the evils of landlordism persist."

It is to be considered most gravely that those evils have persisted in spite of terrific national upheavals intended to drive them out; that, notwithstanding a change of form and names, feudalism exists today as it did before the French Revolution, for land monopoly was its basis and land monopoly still flourishes; that it has survived the desperate Land League struggle made by Ireland some fifty years ago, has weathered the attack of the Russian revolutionists, and lords it today over the whole industrial system of this country in spite of the declarations of Jefferson and his followers that this earth was for the free use of the living and of every one of them. And now once more this same immortal principle raises its indomitable head across the Rio Grande, and cries with a voice so strong that all earth's powers are forced to listen.

The principle is basic, represents a natural law which it is not in the power of man to break without suffering the direct penalties, and, therefore, may properly be called immortal. It is being asserted most valiantly by Mexico, and it is at once our duty and self-evident interest to push the fight which she has started. Slowly but steadily we are sinking into times far harder than any this country has experienced; slowly but steadily the problem of the unemployed is growing to a point at which even temporary relief becomes impossible; slowly and most reluctantly our labor organizations are proving themselves hopelessly incapable of saving the disinherited from total smash. We face a national crisis of the most serious character, and we

face it helplessly as long as we ignore this fundamental question of the land. From Single Taxers to Socialists and Anarchists, from the most conservative Gompers men to the most revolutionary I. W. W., we have to tackle this question, discuss it thoroughly, clear our thought on it and then take prompt and effective action. The land question will not be denied, and until we recognize that fact and act upon it we shall continue to kick vainly against the pricks.

WM. C. OWEN.

Zapata His Man

Nothing could be better than John Kenneth Turner's article, "Why I am for Zapata," published in "The New Review" for June. It is a timely reminder that, from the very first, Zapata has proved impervious to bribery or extermination and has stood solidly for the land for the people. It seems unnecessary to add that the Mexican Liberal Party also has never swerved from that position, but it may be useful to recall the fact that it has stuck faithfully to its agitation on that line for fourteen years, while the Magons' activities and those of Rivera run much farther back.

Turner's article is also a much-needed rebuke of the "superior" attitude maintained by the aristocrats of the American labor movement; the men like Gompers, whose highly-paid work of generations has produced only a shapeless lump, that is at present little more than a survival of the medieval guild system. The result is continuous and bloody civil war; bloody because incapable of looking farther ahead than dull conflicts for a temporary shifting of the pack beneath which it staggers. And this brings Turner to a third point, the hue and cry as to "atrocities" committed against American citizens in Mexico during the three last years. He expresses himself thus:

"Certainly I am prepared to produce a list of atrocities perpetrated during the same period of time upon the inhabitants of West Virginia, Colorado and Michigan, by private gunmen and State militia, that would make Senator Fall's list look like a report of scratched fingers and bruised knees at a Sunday-school picnic. Why does not Senator Fall demand intervention to preserve the lives of Americans in West Virginia, Colorado and Michigan?"

Another contemptible delusion, carefully nursed by the political Socialists, in their anxiety to strip the movement of its international character and concentrate all attention on the domestic field, is that the Mexican Revolution is merely a quarrel between two rival oil corporations. Turner shatters that by writing: "Foreign capital, either American or European, has not initiated one of the various revolts of the past few years. The machinations of foreign concessionaires have complicated the situation, as have the personal ambitions of various leaders, but the struggle at bottom is and always has been a struggle between land monopoly and the landless. American money has been decisive only in its influence upon the policy of the American government. By tracing the history of the past four years I am able to prove that the American government has, again and again, interfered against Mexico's struggle for liberty, unfairly, even unlawfully, in favor of despotism and reaction; has interfered decisively, and as a result of such interference is directly responsible for the continuation of the war and the loss of thousands of lives."

"Intervention, if undertaken," says Turner in conclusion, "will be undertaken pretentiously on high moral grounds, but actually it will be for the purpose of promoting the schemes of rich Americans to grab the national resources of Mexico for themselves and fasten their own collar and chain upon the neck of the Mexican peon. There would follow a war of conquest, disastrous both to Mexico and the United States."

"If undertaken," is a slip. Intervention is here, and all the force our government dares, as yet, to exercise is being brought to bear against the peon in a frantic effort to protect monopoly.

MEXICO'S APPEAL.

Reprinted in pamphlet form from "Regeneracion" and from "Land and Liberty," by the Land and Liberty Publishing Co., at the Bakunin Institute, R. F. D. 1, Hayward, Cal.—Price 5 cents.

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REGENERACION

"Business" Is For War.

Let us understand, once and for all, that the commercial element generally sees in a good, brisk war with Mexico, a chance to line its pockets. In the first flutter of excitement, when our troops were hurried down to Veracruz, this truth cropped out on every side. Not on any moral grounds but from the standpoint of its effect on business did the business world discuss the expected war. On every side one heard opinions that stagnant markets would receive a filip, that the problem of the unemployed would be solved by drafting them as food for cannon, that the stock market would pick up, and so forth. A disgusting exhibition of the blindness of our ruling class to all things but the immediate dollar.

In our hands is one of Babson's recent reports, issued confidentially to merchants, bankers and investors. It discusses the possibilities of war as being the most important of all business topics; discusses it exclusively from the business standpoint; describes conditions as being different from those at the time of the Spanish-American war, and urges the invasion of Mexico because business today "is in the midst of depression." Here are some of its arguments:

"Expenditures of one million dollars or more a day for field operations can but stimulate mercantile clients and others to institute a vigorous sales campaign which should result in considerable business activity. For instance, a great demand for many commodities would be created, such as for leather, cotton, copper, lead, steel, iron and tin, foodstuffs and horse rationings, comprising grains, hay, etc. This demand would also be felt in certain manufactured articles, as, for instance, army shoes, harness and accoutrements, clothing and canvass goods, not to mention automobiles and aeroplanes."

"Of course, these suggestions could be extended much further, but this will be done in the regular Commodity and Mercantile Letters. All the above means that commodity prices would strengthen, except in the case of certain luxuries and articles which are not necessities of life."

Then comes this suggestion, which is set in capitals:

"Moreover, in the event of prolonged war, there would be less unemployment. In addition to increased demand for employees there would be a heavy enlistment which would absorb large numbers of men. There would also be a tendency to postpone strikes and disputes to some future date."

And these people talk of Patriotism! These people flaunt to all the world the lie that they are invading Mexico for the benefit of the dear Mexicans! These people, when want and unemployment have hounded proletarians into enlisting, shed tears over those who fall in the fight into which the business world has driven them! Can cynicism farther go? Did ever a ruling class reveal itself more brutally indifferent to all save profits?

We submit that on a question of this magnitude all true rebels against existing conditions must take a stand, and firmly. We submit that this is no time for shilly-shallying. We suggest that when our admitted enemy comes out so boldly, we of the other side cannot be backward. It is to the ultimate interest of Business to have war with Mexico, as it is to their ultimate interest to stifle the voice of discontent, however righteous. Contrariwise it is to our immediate and ultimate interest to block their most nefarious scheme and stand solidly for the right of the Mexican peon to achieve that economic freedom he has gone already so far toward winning.

On this question the attitude of indifferent neutrality is well-nigh as treasonable as that of a Jack London.

Do you fancy that the Mexican problem is near solution? The study of the Mexican problem, which is also your problem, is only just beginning. The more keenly you study it, and the more you induce others to do so, the better it will be for all of us.

Whenever he reads the details of some of our recent southern lynchings General Villa must feel that he is a hopeless amateur after all. ("Grand Rapids Press.")

JACK LONDON AGAIN.

This gentleman, whom we have been compelled to notice because he is a man of genius, has been interviewed once more on the subject of Mexico; this time by the "New York Herald." Here, in part, is what he has to say:

"What, then, is the solution, you ask? No halfway measure will suffice. If we must have a quiet instead of a turbulent neighbor to the south of us, we must assert and maintain our right to a guardianship. We must pacify Mexico by force of arms, and dominate it and police it as we did Cuba and the Philippines. This may require years of tedious work and heavy expenditure of treasure and human lives. It may require the period of a whole generation, but it is the only way. Mexico must be held with the iron hand, and the hand that would school her to civilization must grasp the rod as well as the lamp of enlightenment."

Let us remember that Jack London has built up a reputation and a fortune, of which he boasts most vulgarly, on the strength of his revolutionary writings; that he is the author of "The Iron Heel" and other works, in which the social war against plutocracy is proclaimed as the first duty and the reader wades to the bridle in the blood of monopolists, slaughtered by a justly-indignant proletariat; that tens of thousands of the disinherited have looked to him as champion, and have believed sincerely that, whoever else was cowed or bribed to silence, in Jack London, author of "Children of the Abyss," they would always have an incorruptible ally.

One handles this subject with profound reluctance, but one has to handle it; for, while little men's sins may be properly ignored, the treasons of those who mould a nation's thought are devastating crimes which call to heaven for chastisement. It is no light thing to betray the trust of thousands; it is no trifling matter that once more the world finds itself justified in saying: "The United States is so hopelessly corrupt that even its most noted revolutionary writer can be bought as men buy herrings at the market."

The responsibility of the man of genius is the heaviest of all, and when literature or society condones his treason it proves itself thereby beyond redemption. What should we think of our forefathers if Garrison had been caught trafficking in slaves and they had excused the crime? On what can the reputation of great writers rest save on the assurance that they give the world their truest thought and scorn to peddle their talents in the halls of Mammon?

NAIL HIM TO THE CROSS!

Don't tell us that the Mexican Revolution is not an international educator. Look at the bulletin put out, June 12, by the Socialist Party Press Service, hitherto almost completely indifferent to the land question. It has discovered that the governmental figures of concentrating land ownership are "startling" and that "the United States is in as great need of land reform, recommended for Mexico by President Wilson, as is Mexico herself."

What we like best of all is that, after giving lists of most convincing figures, the letter asks Wilson straight what he is going to do about it, inasmuch as all he condemns in Mexico exists in an even more exaggerated form in these United States. If, as Wilson says, "the day will come when the Mexican people will be put in full possession of the land, the liberty and the peaceful prosperity that are rightfully theirs," what has he to say about this country's own disinherited, its own unemployed?

MR. THOMAS' PLAINT.

One Sidney Thomas, president of the Keweenaw Miners' Union, No. 129, M. W. A., has written a letter to Congressman MacDonald. It has been syndicated by the Socialist Party Press Service, which properly describes it as "a hopeless appeal for federal help." The letter describes conditions in the Calumet, Michigan, copper fields since the failure of the strike, and relates how the mine-owners are breaking their promises, blacklisting union men and doing their utmost to make a job look so good to a man with a large family "that he will put up with most anything before he will go on strike again." Good heavens! What on earth else did Mr. Thomas and these miners expect? Do they imagine that the mine-owners want strikes? Do they sup-

pose that the fellow who has all the cards is going to throw up the game because the other side makes faces at him? Upon what stuff do these our miners feed, that they have grown so tame—and stupid?

This Thomas letter concludes: "It makes men say very often, 'How long will the Government allow such things to be done, by the men who own everything and don't do anything?'"

Dear, trusting Mr. Thomas, our Government, any Government, will allow these things just as long as the men who do everything and own nothing allow them. If the unemployed WILL starve in the midst of plenty they MUST starve. If thousands of hardy miners who do everything WILL let a few men who do nothing take it all, no Government will stop it. Nobody can help it; for, as a gentleman named Shakespeare wrote it down some three thousand years ago, "Caesar would not be a wolf if Romans were not sheep."

EDUCATORS AND WARRIORS.

(Concluded from page 3, col. 5.)

educator and warrior. It gives an idea to the Mexican proletariat and at the same time induces him into action.

An idea, without action, is a dead useless one.

Rangel, Cisneros, Alzalde and the other ten Mexican comrades who are now imprisoned in the Texan jails— unjustly charged with murder and facing the gallows or long jail sentences—are active members of the Mexican Liberal Party, and, therefore, they are class-conscious workmen who, either by means of the press, the word or the action, were exerting themselves to awaken the unconscious Mexican workmen and to orientate them toward the conquest of their emancipation. For that reason, they were marching to Mexico to fight for Land and Liberty.

Charles Cline, an American by birth, but a cosmopolitan by ideas, for he is a class-conscious workman who, therefore, do not recognize neither frontiers nor difference of races, when he learned of the emancipating principles of the Mexican Liberal Party, condensed in its Manifesto of September 23rd, 1911, and that Rangel and the other comrades were on their way to Mexico to fight the battles of the Proletariat, he readily joined them, answering the call of his duty, as a class-conscious man and as a proletarian, to lend his help in the fight against Capital, Authority and Church whenever his efforts should prove most useful for the emancipation of the proletariat.

Unfortunately, they were overtaken by the Texan Cossacks; one of these dogs of Capitalism was shot to death in self defense by one of the Mexican comrades, José Guerra by name, and who has disappeared, and the comrades now in jail, after two of their party were brutally murdered—Silvestre Lomas and Juan Rincón, Jr.—were arrested, maltreated, tortured, and finally placed in jail under the elastic charge of "constructive murder."

These men, now, are at the verge of being taken to trial next Monday, the 6th inst., which means to railroad them to the gallows and the penitentiary because for lack of money, for they are poor; they have been unable to secure proper counsel. A delay in their cases is needed and for this you, comrades, are requested to wire your protest to Oscar B. Colquitt, Governor of Texas, Austin, Tex., demanding their unconditional freedom.

Rangel, Cline, Alzalde and Cisneros, are the comrades pointed out by the prosecution to be hanged.

In the face of such conditions, what would you do, comrades? What would you do, workers of the world? Would you let those innocent men be hanged on a false charge of murder, when in fact they are wanted executed only because they are active militant members of the Working Class?

If you are convinced that it is your duty of solidarity to help your fallen brothers, and want to help denounce wherever you go the crime that the Texan authorities want to commit on these fourteen honest men, and send your contribution to the fund for their defense, to Victor Cravello, Room 108, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal. At the same time, do not forget to hold a Rangel-Cline Protest Meeting next Sunday, July 5th.

Clean-cut revolutionists like our comrades in jail in Texas are badly wanted in the Labor movement. Therefore, let us not let them be hanged.

ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.