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# Imperialism Means Blood In Torrents

A world-shaking explosion has taken place in Europe, and certain individuals must have prepared it and applied the match. Certain individuals must have said, "It is time for us to get into action and invade." Certain individuals must have decided that it was worth their while to lay Belgium in ashes Those individuals must have been urged on by some overpowering motive, and it is unquestionable that they will have sought to justify their own actions to themselves by some one or other of those big generalizations which Stirner, the German, has analysed so ruthlessly in 'The Ego and His Own." It is evidently our business to examine the evidence relentlessly, fix the responsibility and lay bare the leading motive. This we must do if this huge tragedy is to teach us anything This we must do if we are to prevent its repetition in our own country. Vague appeals to God, humanitarianism and other general concepts will alter nothing

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Why did Austria annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1908? Undoubtedly because certain Austrians, who had the power, believed in the policy of expansion and thought the moment opportune Why did they believe in expansion? Because, as I see it, they were dominated by the Imperialist idea, by the State generality, by the false concept that a country's activities and influence are measured by her boundaries When you get that idea into your head you immediately hunt up a map and note how one country hems you in on the South, and another on the North. You think that without added territory your countrymen will starve. You regard your country as a solid whole; as I might regard this article and say to myself that it must have another page in which to express itself. Of course you justify yourself, and presently you are shouting "Britannia rules the waves!" or "Germany above all!" The next step is war.

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It is all a general concept, a huge illusion, a lie that does not correspond with the ascertained facts of life. Nations are not wholes Nations do not wax rich by running one another out of business. Nations are aggregations of individuals, in all stages of individual development, in all stages of prosperity and lack of it, with an enormous network of conflicting individual interests. Nations do not trade with one another, but individuals do; and nowadays the same individual may be found exporting goods from Germany and importing them to England, being interested in the commercial well-being of half a dozen countries all at war with one another. Production, distribution, the exchange of commodities, are individual and not national activities. They are, moreover, international, save so far as governments, by their artificial tariffs, divert them from their natural course.

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The United States, as such, neither has a balance of trade in favor nor against it. Rockefeller and other exporters may give more than they receive, or vice versa, and the difference comes out of or goes into their individual pockets A nation need not expand its boundaries in order to give its citizens a chance to live. The Jews are the conclusive example, for without an aggressive fatherland to guard their interests they do quite well. When I came to this country I did not appeal to the British government to annex California in order that I might make a living. Germans, like Jews, can go anywhere in the world today and prosper, just as at this moment a man of any nationality can go even into Mexico and do well, if the natives understand he has not come to skin them.

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Neither as individuals nor as compulsory units of that artificial, government-created abstraction ,the nation, do we profit by crushing the other fellow—unless, indeed, our idea of prosperity is the grabbing of a monopoly. More than a century ago an economic genius, Adam Smith, proved that all commerce is the exchange of products for products; an operation that benefited both parties to the contract, for the simple reason that people buy only what they want to buy. He proved it so conclusively that Great Britain threw over (unfortunately not altogether) her protective system and became the tremendous force she is today. I live some thirty miles from San Francisco, and both I and the people of that city want better and quicker means of communication, for by them every one of us would profit. I wish some one would invent a flying machine, sold at about a dollar, that would land me in Petrograd within half an hour. But I should have to dodge the governmental sentries and the governmental customs officials, eager to block my way and pocket tribute.

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All this business of Imperialism, expansion, "my country 'tis of thee," protection, "trade follows the flag," etc, etc., is economic delusion, governmental delusion, military delusion, barbaric delusion, ignorance. The State Socialists are the victims, and apparently the hopeless victims, of this huge delusion, and I have mentioned Adam Smith because the State Socialists have the instinctive habit of attacking although they never offer to refute him. And, if we think that the German Socialists have behaved badly in this matter of the war, let us go a step farther and acknowledge that State Socialists, and the delusions of State Socialism, caused it. The real originator of this war is the philosophy of Bismarck, and Bismarck, in my judgment, was the greatest State Socialist on record

* * *

Bismarck was a gentleman with gigantic State theories, but blind to well-established facts. Bismarck wanted his people to be somebodies, and he could not conceive of their amounting to anything until they had become an immense, powerful and constantly-expanding State. Like Treitschke, Von Bernhardi and all the military writers who have patterned after him, he did not understand that the free individual has done in the past everything worth doing, and that the small communities, composed of comparatively free individuals, developed about everything of lasting value. The art and thought of tiny Greece, the magnificent intellectual output of the small Italian republics, the contributions to progress of little England or even of those tiny and scattered German communities which produced Goethe and Schiller and Lessing and all the great leaders of culture whose names Germany is today invoking, made no appeal to him. He was obsessed with an idea, was a slave to the worship of the big, was saturated with the military gospel of invasion, was wedded to the phantasy of an ever-expanding and finally all-inclusive State, as the benevolent protector that should shape the destiny of and mould to its pattern all the world. Never was there a more essentially-military, blindly-ambitious or wildly-impracticable scheme. Today we see its final smash. Life is omnipotent. Life cannot be forced into set channels, however desirable those channels may appear to those who dream that they have inherited the wisdom and culture of the ages.

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So Bismarck set to work. He made war on Denmark, and Prussia expanded by absorbing Schleswig-Holstein. He made war on Austria, and Austria became subservient. He forged the Ems telegram and made war on France, adding Alsace-Lorraine as the prize of conquest and finally giving birth to the German Empire through the long pregnancy of fire and blood. As I have written elsewhere: "To him, as to the Kaiser's military chiefs, the individual, German or otherwise, was nothing. To him the private citizen was but a brick in the vast edifice of the State; an edifice necessarily crowned with an emperor ruling by the grace of God. Most fittingly did he crown Wilhelm I at Versailles, the spot associated most intimately with the memory of the proud monarch who exclaimed, 'The State! I am the State.' Most logically did he put through his State-welding work with fire and sword."

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I do not write about the invasion of little Servia. I do not write about the onslaught of which innocent Belgium has been the victim. Of these I do not write because as to them the world has made up its mind, having formed it on facts that no boasts of culture (Oh, irony of ironies!) or flights of eloquence can shake. I trace the parentage of this war. I point out the continuance of the Bismarckian school of thought. I single out the delusion of Government, the fallacy of the omnipotent, ever-expanding, all-protecting State, as the real author of this war. I sketch the natural history of a dominant and false idea, which has had its inevitable consummation in the present war.

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During the Russo-Japanese war, when he must have been keenly sensitive to the agonies of his own distracted country, Tolstoy wrote that the real struggle was not the one then being carried on between the opposing armies, "nor that which may blaze up between the white and the yellow races, nor that strife which is carried on by mines, bombs and bullets, but that spiritual strife which, without ceasing, has gone on and is going on between the enlightened consciousness of mankind, now waiting for manifestation, and that darkness and that burden which surrounds and oppresses mankind." No truer words were ever penned The enlightened consciousness of mankind is struggling against the barbarism of militarism, the savage concept of the invasive State, the monstrous economic delusion that we must corner the earth in order to secure our commerce and invade that we may live

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Against all this I, who call myself an Anarchist, am necessarily in burning revolt. Intellectually and spiritually I am the foe of the invader, and whatever might be his nationality I would do my utmost to expel him. If he were my own brother I would assist in punishing him, for I see in him the universal foe, who strips men of their rights, makes them bow beneath the yoke, reduces them to helplessness and is, therefore, the direct author of all that poverty, ignorance and crime which still beset this thoughless yet thought-distracted world.

* * *

I am no non-resistant. On the contrary, I consider resistance to invasion and, above all, resistance to those delusions by which invasion seeks to justify itself, man's most commanding duty. While those delusions continue, the State will dream of expansion and plunge us perennially into war. While those delusions continue society will remain divided into the two hostile camps of ruled and rulers. While those delusions continue a free individuality will have no chance of life; and without free individuality, and the solidarity possible only when men are free, neither happiness nor real progress can be attained.

* * *

Let us use this war and drag its great lesson from it. Let us not be cowards. Let us not shelter once more behind vague generalities and, throwing up our hands, declare that human nature is irredeemably vicious and, once and so often, must receive its scourging. Let us face an obvious truth, viz., that this cyclone has had its causes and will come again unless those causes are exposed relentlessly and removed. What is happening in Europe today, as the result of the triumph of imperialistic policies, may well happen in Mexico tomorrow if our own imperialists are allowed to win the upper hand. There also the invader may seek to impose his unwelcome yoke, and there also there will be such bloody resistance as that which, arising from the rape of Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine and Poland, bids fair to wreck the German Empire.

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What invaluable lessons the history of Mexico herself during the last thirty years could teach us, if we would but study that history impartially! Who doubts today that the greed and personal ambitions of Diaz, and the human hyenas who surrounded him, rendered inevitable the revolution that drove them out of power? Who can doubt that the political ambitions of the Maderos, the Huertas and the Carranzas have stood between the peon and that recovery of his stolen lands which, as even President Wilson's personal representative, John Lind, now admits must be restored to him? In Mexico, as everywhere, the lust for power, the lust for special privilege, the lust for the opportunity of getting a rich living without working for it, make the earth run with blood. Always the invader is the criminal. Always the most righteous of all tasks is to render this inhuman trade impossible.

WM. C. OWEN.

## Means Conscription

Alberto Madero, brother of the late president, visited Los Angeles recently. He came accompanied by John V. Apablasa, the wealthy San Diego capitalist, and that gentleman assured the "Los Angeles Daily Times" that Señor Madero had come to straighten out all misunderstandings, adding that the capitalists of Los Angeles and San Diego were profoundly interested in the restoration of order, which now seemed assured in Mexico. Madero for his part assured the reporter—or at least it was so stated—that "none of the capitalists interested in Mexico would be disturbed in their rights." Yet apparently there are still revolutionists, and especially those for whom "The Public" may be regarded as speaking, who consider that Madero would have restored the land to the people, and believe Carranza will do so.

Carranza is no more likely to decree the uncompensated expropriation of land monopolists than would be John D. Rockefeller, and until such expropriation takes place nothing substantial will have been accomplished. Senator Thomas B. Catron, who recently gave out a long interview from Washington, D. C., is, in our judgment, unquestionably right in declaring that the troubles in Mexico have only begun. He has lived on the Mexican frontier nearly half a century, and he expressed emphatically the opinion that a presidential election would be followed immediately by immense confusion. As he put it: "The men who were in arms will have kept the guns and gone home with all the ammunition they could carry. They will come forth. Bands of revolutionists and robbers will swarm in all parts of the country. Worse things than have happened so far will follow."

Senator Catron is a conservative Republican and considers, of course, that we shall have to intervene in Mexico and hold it by force of arms, as we hold Cuba. If the government intends to intervene eventually the people should know it, for intervention implies a long, serious and most exhausting war. It means therefore —and this apparently is always forgotten—military conscription under the Dick act.

## Paternal Despotism

The "Oakland Enquirer," treating of the Mexican problem, said recently: "Peace and order will come to our troubled neighbor when the land question, her root of all evil, has been settled in such manner as to get her people into rightful possession of her soil, and not until then." Well and good; excellently well and good. But the editorial continues by reminding Carranza that he was placed where he is, not to elevate him, but to restore order and constitutional government," and that, "if this cannot be done through Carranza, some other man must be found for the job." The article concludes: "However much it may be regretted by conservative Americans, the United States is the overlord of Mexico today, in the interest of civilization. If the Mexicans will recognize this we will be able to get out of the country in the course of time, without a war."

Yes; but the American land monopolists are the ones who won't get out, and the interview given out recently by Lind, President Wilson's personal representative in Mexico, shows clearly that land monopoly is the root of all the trouble.

"Land for the peon is the dominant question in Mexico" runs the heading of an excellent article that appeared recently in the "Christian Science Monitor," of Boston. Siegfried, of Seattle, sent us the paper. Then the article was reproduced in the "Los Angeles Tribune" and elsewhere, and more clippings came to hand. It is thus that propaganda is made. The first pebble is set rolling by the hand of some unknown agitator and presently it has become an avalanche.

## PUERTO RICO ALSO.

Even little Puerto Rico feels the influence of the rising tide of restoration of the land to those who must live by it. "Justicia" of October 11 prints the Governor's reply to the demands of the Free Federation of Workers of Puerto Rico, and it contains the following passage: "Among the evils mentioned are the increase in the price of goods since the great European war, the unemployment of many working people, absentee landlordism, the high house rents that laborers have to pay, and exorbitant rates of interests charged for money loans. All these evils do exist here in the island, and they hurt and pinch most grievously the working people who are those least able to endure them." The movement is world-wide.

## RANGEL AND CLINE

Up to the present writing, nothing we know about the trial of Cline and Rangel, who were to be tried on the 1st and 7th of this month.

What the results of their trials has been, if such trials had taken place, we do not know, but we know that our brothers are suffering and that it is our duty to do everything in our power to get them out of their suffering. If Rangel and Cline are convicted, and we are sure that the prostituted courts of Texas will try their utmost to convict them, their cases will be appealed and to do that we must have some money. Agitate in every way possible, and collect funds for their defense and be sure that you send all collections to Victor Cravello.

A. L. F.

## Rangel-Cline Defence Com.

(Continued from issue 203.)

Workmen's Circle, Br. 295, Brooklyn, N. Y., $2; Workmen's Circle, Br. 30, Paterson, N. J., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 22, New Britain, Conn., $1; Mike Plus, Napa, Calif., Box 49, R. F. D. 2, $2; W. C. Owen, Hayward, Calif., $1; Socialist Local Oakdale, Louisville, Ky., $3; Workmen's Circle, Br. 322, New York City, $1; W. C. Hat & Cap Makers, Local 6, Philadelphia, Pa., $3; Workmen's Circle, Br. 320, Albany, N. Y., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 25, New York City, $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 112, Scranton, Pa., $10; Workmen's Circle, Br. 200, New York City, $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 46, Youngstown, O., $1.25; Workmen's Circle, Br. 185, New York City, $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 176, Pittsfield, Mass., $1; Lumber Workers' Indust. Union, 304, Starks, La., $5; A Friend, Easton, Pa., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 494, Ft. Worth, Texas, $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 178, Chicago, Ills., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 442, New York City, $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 102, (Ladies), Newark, N. J., $4; Max Lipsitz, 41 Henry St., Stamford, Conn., $1; Vollner Y. M. Workmen's Circle, Br. 418, Toronto, Ont., 50c; Ernest Trebeljahr, Sec. 1. W. W, Wallace, Idaho, $2.75; C. L. Lilligno, for Marine Trans. Workers, I. W. W., New York City, $3; A. K. & S. K., Br. 232, Chicago, Ills., $5; John L. Bardsley, Dayton, O., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 23, Newark, N. J., $1; C. B. Stone, Avon, Colo., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 304, Seattle, Wash., $2; Workmen's Circle, Br. 63, Kansas City, Mo., $2; Workmen's Circle, Br. 16, Paterson, N. J., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 65, Chicago, Ills., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 268, Yonkers, N. Y., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 13, Paterson, N. J., $2; Club No. 581, Gordon, Texas, $2; N. Karsinsky, 64 E. 110th st., New York City, $1; Radical Lit. Center, 2618 Harrison Ave., Cincinnati, O., $5; A. K. & S. K., Br. 58, Worcester, Mass., $2.30; Workmen's Circle, Br. 92, Washington, D. C., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 382, New York City, $1. August—B. Model, 119 E. 96th St., New York City, $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 7, W. Hoboken, N. J., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 394, Johnstown, Pa., $1; Tailors' Union, Local 67, Erie, Pa., $2; Workmen's Circle, Br. 212, Norfolk, Va., $4.25; B. & M. Union No. 12, Galesburg, Ills., $2; Workmen's Circle, Br. 125, Kingston, N. Y., $2; Workmen's Circle, Br. 427, Dayton, O., $3; Workmen's Circle, Br. 362, Camden, N. J., $1.25; Workmen's Circle, Br. 264, Chicago, Ills., $1; Barbers' Union, No. 75, Portland, Ore., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 393, Macon, Ga., 50c; Workmen's Circle, Br. 312, Memphis, Tenn., $1; Sec. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn., (collection), $5.50; Agnes Warbasse, Woods Hole, Mass., $10; Oran Burk, Local Sapulpa, Okla., R. F. D. 1, $2.60; Local 390, I. W. W., De Quincey, La., (Clarence Edwards), $20; Workmen's Circle, Br. 28, New York City, $1; Fernando Balsa, Local 4, 434 Union St., Norfolk, Va., $11; Workmen's Circle, Br. 72, New York City, $2; Local No. 84, I. W. W., St. Louis, Mo., (R. J. Robinson), $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 39, Bronx, New York City, $1; Joe Wm. Kley, Denver, Colo., $2; Coalville Socialist Rada, 1408 W. 19th St., Chicago, Ills., $8; Local 396, I. W. W., Rosepine, La., $2.50; Casper Richman, 3123 Thomas Ave., N., Minneapolis, Minn., $5; Workmen's Circle, Br. 426, Manchester, N. H., 50c; Amal. Sheet Metal Workers, Local 269, Meriden, Miss., $1; South Slavonian Socialists, West Allis, Wis., $1; Workmen's Circle, Br. 185, Brooklyn, N. Y., 50c; F. L. Rhoda, Box 750, Tacoma, Wash., $1; M. B. Eyre, 1771 Pennsylvania St., Denver, Colo., $3; Workmen's Circle, Br. 307, Galveston, Texas, $1; Socialist Party, Hiteman, Iowa, $1; Charlotte G. Hubert, Santa Ana, Calif., 26c.

(To be continued.)

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Subject,
Evils of the Christian Missions in the Far East,
by Dr. D. K. Shastri.

ELSIE RICHARDSON BELL
Secretary.

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