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We Want Democracy; A Real Democracy.

Charles W. Eliot, for many years president of Harvard University, is entitled to serious attention, however greatly we may differ from him. He is a noted scholar and it has been his life—business to study the evolution of society and unravel, so far as possible, the tangle of civilizations still in the making. We are foolish if we do not listen to such men. They may be prejudiced by their social position, but who is not? They may be timid opportunists and believe that society should "rather bear the ills it has than fly others it knows not of." They may counsel a patience which to the man in a life-or-death struggle with poverty seems ridiculous. But, however much we may dislike it, life is governed by large, general laws; and he who devotes himself to the discovery of those laws is better worth listening to than he who merely guesses at them, as do usually the discontented.

Dr. Eliot has been discussing "Preparedness" and calling our attention to the fact that the real struggle now being fought out in Europe, in Mexico, and throughout the world is, at bottom, simply this: Can Democracy show itself as efficient as Autocracy? My "Land and Liberty" subscribers will remember how persistently I emphasized that as being the essence of the European war. On the one hand I regard it as impossible that Europeans and Americans can go back on that great Democratic movement which began with the Renaissance and Protestant revolt, and under one form or another, has been raging ever since. On the other hand I am convinced that Democracy, for the moment, has missed its aim completely, is showing itself utterly incapable of satisfying the just aspirations of the people, and is following paths that lead directly back to despotism. Autocracy, therefore, is able to put up a killing fight.

On the subject of "Preparedness" Dr. Eliot said: "If the free governments cannot organize and maintain as effective armies and navies as the autocratic governments can, and fight as well as the autocratic governments do, they will not survive the attacks of despotic governments which possess as great natural resources as the free government and use them with more skill and greater concentration of purpose. Such attacks on free institutions must be expected and provided against, for it has been demonstrated that there exist in Europe strong autocratic governments which are ambitious to rule not only their neighbors but the world." To which he added: "It has been made plain, by the great war in Europe that industrial, financial and civil efficiency are all necessary to military efficiency. If then, the free governments are to continue to live in Europe, or in the world at large, they must prove themselves to be at least as effective as autocratic in developing industrial, commercial, financial and military efficiency." He then criticized unsparsingly our Postoffice Department, which is run on the "spoils" principle and is a mountain of loot for the possession of which contending parties war. The vast machine that distributes the correspondence and literature of the country, and on which, therefore, its whole education hangs! The power that

can crush at will such publications as it chooses and jail their authors!

For all this, of course, the man in the street cares nothing, and never would he dream of kicking against our alleged Democracy if this was all he had against it. His complaint is not that our governmenta bureaus do their work inefficiently, but that he himself too often can get no work at all to do; efficiently or otherwise. His complaint is that Democracy promises him an equal show, but gives him actually no show at all. If Autocracy bids fair to better by him to Autocracy he will turn; as the Germans and millions of Trades Unionists and Socialists in both Europe and America have turned. We left the dealer across the street when we discovered he had been robbing us for centuries, but to many the store they now are patronizing seems even worse. At this moment the crowd stands undecided in the middle of the street, with both sides bidding for its trade. God knows Porfirio Diaz was bad enough, but was Madero and Carranza really better? William and his antiquated Junkerthum are ridiculous, but will the Rothschilds give us a square deal? It's fine to be able to talk freely, but sleeping out in a London park is worse than being spied on, and often it is even harder in New York, Chicago or out here in the Golden West.

Look at Democracy as we see it on its native heath, here in America. Winter is with us once again and winter is always tough. Perhaps it will be a bit better this year, thanks to this European war. Nevertheless the breadlines will be long and, anyhow, who wants to pass his life in making stuff for other people's murders? On the Stock Exchange millions are being made daily, but where do we come in? The rent is just as hard to raise as ever, and if you cannot raise it out you go. Prices are rising, and they always rise more quickly than do wages. War orders can't last, or ever, and where shall we get off when the inevitable slump sets in? Thus argues the man in the street, and what is there to answer? What?

Of course it calls for a little money—which probably you haven't—but 1901 is repeating itself on Wall Street today, though on a vastly larger scale, and the papers are full of the killings made, out of the European killing, by bell-hops, waiters, conductors and all sorts of people. The figures as to the Morgan tribe defy computation, and anyone who wants to get an idea of what is going on cannot do better than read "Shoestrings," by Edwin Lefevre, in the "Saturday Evening Post" of Dec. 4. Lefevre is reliable and he considers the boom of 1901 a mere bagatelle as compared with that now on. What that means may be judged from his 1901 reminiscences, one of which I quote. "In our office, to my own knowledge," he says, "one of the prominent figures in the Carnegie Steel Company sold part of his holdings and received for them \$52,000,000 in cash. The Moore-Reid-Leeds combination received something like \$140,000,000 in United States Steel stocks in exchange for their holdings in subsidiary companies, and everybody knows the story of how Andrew Carnegie's nation had been permitted to sell to J. P. Morgan: 'I wish I came with their ill-gotten swag,' had asked \$300,000,000 for my but I should have spared no effort interest instead of the \$250,000,000 I got. 'Well,' Mr. Morgan is reported to have answered: 'I would have given to

you.' Always the proof of the pudding is in the eating; always, after the spellbinders have finished orating and made the excuses have been made, things are judged by their results. Unfortunately the public, and especially the workingman portion of the public, does not know how the trick is turned, the pea manipulated, the rabbits brought out of the apparently empty hat. But it knows very well that it is tricked, and it has become a proverb in this country that to get rich you mustn't work. You must scheme; you must get a pull; you wriggle your way into the inside circle that you may be on hand when the melons are cut.

Nothing could be more demoralizing than these conditions. They poison the entire social body, for they exalt the gambler and bring the productive worker into disrepute. They set up for general adoption the infamous military standard that conquest and the resulting loot are the only things worth striving for; and thereby they debauch the whole conscience of the nation, just as the successful raids engineered by Bismarck debauched the conscience of the whole German nation and caused it to pray fervently that France as well as Belgium might be looted and forced to pay another swinging indemnity for the further enrichment of the Fatherland. They render inevitable those remorseless reprisals that are yet to come, as surely as the day succeeds the night. Never will I believe that the modern proletariat, knowing the origins of these colossal fortunes, will let those fortunes stand intact. Never will I believe that this ill-gathered loot will escape desperate and finally successful attack. To think otherwise would be to ignore all life's experience, and in saying this I am only repeating what many a rich man has said to me. The rich are expecting trouble, and especially in these United States. They expect the European war to have a widespread and powerful psychological effect, and calculate that the policy of violence on which Europe's military masters embarked soreck lessly will be copied by the proletariat. How can it be otherwise? What the governments do today the governed do tomorrow. Who sets the fashions? Are not lackeys always echoes of their masters? Some twenty-eight years ago this country was thrown into hysterics by the explosion in Chicago of a single bomb. Today the paper would be voted stupid if it did not bring us news of some dynamite explosion, some attempt to wreck a factory or scuttle a passenger steamer.

For my part I do not worry my head about these happenings. Only a full will regret that cause is followed by effect, and the man who does not feel that kingly assassins and gilded traffickers in flesh and blood deserve no better treatment than they themselves have meted out must lack the sense of justice. Had I lived during the French Revolution the death of Marie Antoinette would not have stirred me, but I should have been eager to demonstrate that the philosophy and tactics of Jacobinism could end only in another man on horseback. Had I been a Mexican under Porfirio Diaz I should have regretted most profoundly that the systematic murderers of my story of how Andrew Carnegie's nation had been permitted to sell to J. P. Morgan: 'I wish I came with their ill-gotten swag,' had asked \$300,000,000 for my but I should have spared no effort interest instead of the \$250,000,000 I got. 'Well,' Mr. Morgan is reported to have answered: 'I would have given to

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about peace while those responsible for the massacre of millions are still in the heyday of their power. If Germany is to continue steeped in adoration of her Kaiser and his war-mad following, Germany is a country no one man would wish to save. If the United States is to worship permanently its plutocratic gamblers, and the politicians who render that gambling possible, the United States and it is spurious Democracy should pass out of existence. If it is to remain for ever the hotbed of Monopoly, as it is today, no honest man should wish it to endure.

Trouble is coming of itself, and fast enough. To foment it is a needless task. What we need, far above all else, is an understanding of its causes; a comprehension of the real meaning of Democracy; a firm grip of the fundamental fact that militarism and governmentalism are twins, hatched out of the same barbarous nest, since both exist only to conquer power and kill equality by placing some in authority over others; a clear insight that will show us the past we must shake off and the future we must embrace unhesitatingly.

They talk as if we had emerged from feudalism. It rules us still and with a rod of iron; for feudalism has always rested on monopoly of natural resources, and that monopoly our Government itself practices and encourages in others. They talk as if we had emerged from militarism; but militarism has its root in the delusion that man's chief duty is to get the better of his fellow-man, to run him out of business, to decline to trade with him; to get on top ("Ueber Alles") and to make for yourself an exclusive place in the sun, that you "may be alone in the midst of the earth."

It is the philosophy of the trenches; but, as it seems to me, it is even more the philosophy of Wall Street. It is the philosophy of barbarism and no man really care for civilization who is not eager to destroy it with whatever weapons promises to do the work most thoroughly and expeditiously. For my part I still cling to the conviction that knowledge is the key to power, and that what we want above all else is clear understanding and that simple honesty which does not care to speak at all unless it tells the truth. Hysterics and uninformed passion get us nowhere.

WM. C. OWEN.

Such Is Life

"Pick your men: Fire!" Forty Mexicans slain. Americans pour lead into Villa snipers at Nogales on Colonel's orders. Such is the head one found in the "Los Angeles Times" of November 27. It now appears that the men shot down were not Villa but Carranza soldiers. One American soldier was killed and two were wounded. Brigadier-General Bell reported that 1700 men had been entrained at Douglas and were on their way to Nogales. Officially we are still at peace with Mexico.

According to Carranza, Huerta, while Provisional President of Mexico, was in the pay of Germany, and his attempt to start another insurrection, using United States territory as a base, was financed by Germany. The object was, as Carranza alleges, to force the United States to intervene, which would have kept this government's hands full while Germany was making her fight in Europe. Of all these plots and counterplots, the American public naturally has had no inkling, for our diplomacy also is shrouded in secrecy and guided by an omnipotent few.

riete," organ of la "Casa del Obrero Mundial" (International Workmen's Home), a well-printed twelve-page paper. While apparently leaning toward Socialism and Sindicalism it has some revolutionary articles, and a long citation from Proudhon, the great French Anarchist. But the front page is given to an article by Octavio Jahn on the Eleventh of November, 1917, in which he describes Parsons as "a governmental Socialist." It is the oldest of all Socialism's many tricks to claim as its own whoever has suffered in the cause of revolution and become thereby one of its worshipped heroes. Poor Parsons! If there was one thing he hated more than any other, and regarded as most deadly, it was Governmental Socialism.

The "Boston Transcript" is much worried over the fact that modern immigrants come to the United States to make money and not for the sake of enjoying "the rights and powers and privileges and immunities of American citizenship." Well; the money, if they can get it, is real.

Inasmuch as our army of 100,000 can't be kept up to its full strength by voluntary enlistment what sense is there in talking about one of half a million? There could be none were not this campaign for "Preparedness" meant to be followed by an even stronger one on behalf of conscription. Then the fur will fly.

Gompers has been visiting Los Angeles, and the "Times" is foaming at the mouth. However, its exceedingly expert reporters evidently kept close track of his movements from the moment when he stepped from his special car, and noted down the guzzling that ensued, as it always does when "Labor Leaders" get together. In this the "Times" is unquestionably right, and its untiring exposures of their venality are a true service to the cause of Labor and of Revolution. These alleged "Labor Leaders" are not playing Unionism but politics, and they are as close and corrupt a political ring as ever brought a noble cause to total and most disgraceful wreck. There is nothing dirtier than Labor politics, and the officials of the American Federation of Labor are steeped to the lips in it. Some day American Labor will discover that, and personally I am convinced that the dawning of that day is plainly visible to all who care to look.

So, at last it is coming out. Huerta, now in jail, was backed by Germany! According to the "Providence (R. I.) Journal," which has taken the lead in exposing German intrigues in the United States: "The Government has conclusive proof that the entire Huerta conspiracy which was hatched in Barcelona, Spain, last year, was engineered through Captain Boy-Ed and Captain Von Papen, conjointly with Dr. Dumbas; and that Captain Boy-Ed met Huerta several times in his rooms in New York City and practically directed the entire plot by which Huerta was provided with several hundred thousand dollars and assured support of both large numbers of men and great quantities of ammunition as soon as he reached the Mexican border."

Diplomacy was never more secret than it is today, and never, even in the Darkest Ages, were 4,033,000 members, having gained the people more helpless pawns 104,000 during the past year, in the great chess tournaments governments conduct. And the record. Virtually every Socialist have been telling us church denomination that has for years that the masses were made recent report shows the waning steadily by constant "same healthy growth." And, quest of new political power! picking up the "Los Angeles

Huerta has been found out simply because Germany has carried things with so high a hand that the position has become intolerable. But who, outside of Washington, has any knowledge of the bargains into which Carranza must have entered in order to obtain the official backing of the United States?

Fifty union-labor men have been indicted for conspiracy in Chicago, and the prosecuting attorney says he has never known of evidence more convincing than that in his possession. It is charged that "blackmail, levied by unscrupulous business agents of labor unions for more than three years, had totaled at least \$250,000, and perhaps more." We shall see. However this special case may turn out it is certain that the organized labor, and indeed the whole so-called revolutionary movement in the United States is honeycombed with graft. Until that cancer is cut out the movement will remain what it is at present, a laughing-stock, ridiculous in its impotence. To the cleaning out of that Augean stable every true revolutionist will gladly lend a hand.

No less a personage than former President Taft has been addressing the State Teacher's Association and has told them bluntly that "American schools are inefficient, our teachers in many instances are incompetent, our children only half educated, our college students inferior to those of Europe, and our whole educational system superficial and inadequate to the requirements of real scholarship."

Incidentally he illustrated his criticism by citing the fact—well known in England—that the Rhodes scholars at Oxford, who are picked men sent over annually from the United States and supposed to be the best representatives of her school system, habitually make a wretched showing.

What else could one expect? To quote Herbert Spencer, our people get only "that which the State, with more than papal insolence, is pleased to call an education;" are turned out like peas in a pod by a machine run exclusively by politics; are fed on dry bones of United States history, dry bones of United States geography, dry bones of political economy dressed up to suit the special interests that uphold our protective tariff and other monstrosities; are drilled assiduously into the creed that nothing outside of America counts. Yet the actual fact is that the United States record is disgraceful; that, in proportion to population, it has more crime, more insanity and more suicides than any so-called civilized country, and that nowhere is Labor in more bitter and violent revolt. At this very moment, when really great ideas are being fought and died for in other lands, our Eastern States are confessedly talking only stocks, while, according to that best of all political reporters, Samuel G. Blythe, "the average man in the West, when discussing Mr. Wilson, is for him because 'he kept us out of the war.' " "I envy you," said a great but pessimistic English writer, Thomas Carlyle. "We are headed straight for Niagara, but you (the United States) are going over first."

"The Methodist Church," writes the Tacoma Daily Tri-Cret, "is today, and never, even in the Darkest Ages, were 4,033,000 members, having gained the people more helpless pawns 104,000 during the past year, in the great chess tournaments governments conduct. And the record. Virtually every Socialist have been telling us church denomination that has for years that the masses were made recent report shows the waning steadily by constant "same healthy growth." And, quest of new political power! picking up the "Los Angeles

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Daily Times" of November 30, I find an editorial which begins:—"The people of the towns of Taft and Maricopa on Sunday, without distinction of creed, sect, sex or previous condition of servitude to baseball pitcher, flocked to the Taft Methodist Episcopal Church to pray for divine intervention to prevent the government from availing itself of a technicality and taking the oilfields away from those who have developed them." The "Times" writer naturally makes fun of this display of medieval credulity, but it is typical of thousands and thousands of our small towns, and presents us with a picture of spiritual and intellectual death far more tragic than any to be found in Europe's shrapnel-riddled trenches. If there is a dollar in it we will go down on our marrowbones before any shrine. If only he will keep us from being bothered at our money-making we will clothe any political leader with autocratic power. Harry Carr, of the "Times", who does not give a rap which way the war goes, and replies "Rats!" when they talk of Belgium's violated neutrality, is about the general level.

Therefore revolutionists in the United States have still some little work ahead of them, and Mexico will do well to insist on managing her own affairs, and very badly if she hands them over to the Colossus of the North. The Colossus at present has feet of clay, and pretty poor clay at that.

WM. C. OWEN.

IN BEHALF OF CASTILLO

Comrade William Love, Secretary Treasury of the Defense Committee of Maximo Castillo, the gallant fighter for Economic Freedom in Mexico, and who is at present in jail at El Paso, Texas, threaten with deportation in the hands of Immigration authorities, wants us to publish the following comrades have sent their contribution to the defense fund of Castillo: From this city, O.E. Mink, 25c., and Pedro Paulet, \$1.00; and from Agnew, Cal., Frank Fox, \$1.10. Total, \$3.35.

Those willing to help may send their contributions to Wm. Love, 413 S. Stanton St., El Paso, Tex.

E. F. MAGON.

To Subscribers of "Land and Liberty."

When we started again the publication of this paper last October, we asked comrade Wm. C. Owen to take charge of the English Section of REGENERATION, and he gladly accepted. At the time, he made us the suggestion of making a consolidation of this paper and his monthly LAND AND LIBERTY, our obligation been to send REGENERATION to all LAND AND LIBERTY subscribers and print a monthly sheet of LAND AND LIBERTY as supplement of REGENERATION, suggestion that we accepted hoping to be able to meet the financial end of the proposition, and had comrade Owen to send us the mailing lists of LAND AND LIBERTY.

Most unfortunately, hard economic pressure had forced us to begin to keep our promise until this present issue in which we start to send REGENERATION to all LAND AND LIBERTY subscribers with the hope that if we get enough financial support from our readers, we shall be able to print the monthly sheet of LAND AND LIBERTY during this hard winter months.

In the back issues of REGENERATION, from October to this date, comrade Owen has written a series of articles that shall appeal to LAND AND LIBERTY readers. Therefore, those comrades willing to get such issues may order them to these offices.

In order to avoid any difficulty, with the Post Office, please send all money payable to the Editor of this paper: Enrique Flores Magon, P. O. Box 1236, Los Angeles, Cal.

The comrades willing to communicate with comrade Wm. C. Owen, may address their correspondence to him at Lakebay P. O., Wash., where he is residing at present.

Enrique Flores MAGON