

This Agitation Does Not Concern Mexico Alone.

The fact that the Magons and I have been indicted for abuse of the United States mails is no reason, so far as I can see, why I should modify or change at all my conduct of this section. Week after week, and for some four years, this page has been filled almost exclusively with my own writing, because, from the first, I considered it my business, to explain. I had, as I conceived, to explain the whole business of land monopoly, and to show that the fight of Mexico to overthrow that greatest of all human curses is not a national but an international fight, in which the disinherited of this and other countries should be as deeply interested as are the Mexicans.

I had also, as I conceived, to explain that in Mexico, as everywhere, the government is not the people but an entirely separate machine; operated, to all intents and purposes, independently of the people's wishes; consecrated to the maintenance of things as they are, and actuated, as are all organism and organizations, by the ambition to increase its power and sphere of influence. That pure Anarchism, but it happens to be the type of Anarchism expounded so eloquently by Herbert Spencer in his well-known works "The Great Superstition" and "Man versus the State." It was the Anarchism of Thomas Jefferson when he declared that the best form of government was that which governed least, and it was the Anarchism of the Democratic party in its earlier and purer days. Elzbacher is the leading authority on Anarchism, and the one American Anarchist he took as representative was Benjamin R. Tucker, who always declared that Anarchists were "simply untried Jeffersonian Democrats," following Jefferson's thought to its logical conclusion. I have always agreed with that, and I notice that, month after month, the "North American Review" is reproducing Herbert Spencer's works named above, with comments, quite in the Tucker vein, by men prominent in America's life.

The land question was comparatively easy to explain, for people quickly understand that he who owns millions of acres owns those who have to live on them. The true relation of the governing machine toward the ordinary citizen was, however, difficult. It was also more necessary, both because, as I hold, there is no one at once so corrupt, inefficient and powerful as is our modern politician, and because his power is not understood. The public looks on him as plutocracy's tool. I, on the other hand, regard him as the matter of us all, the moulder of laws to which the proudest plutocrat must bend; the arbiter of peace or war, as the case may be, and the man who has our lives and liberties more completely under control than have even the monopolists. Were the distribution of mail, for example, in private hands—and it has been shown a hundred times that private citizens can distribute mail more cheaply and efficiently than does the government—no employee would dare to open my mail or would have the power to haul me into court and ruin my business because I wrote what did not suit his individual brand of thought.

To these considerations, which Mexico there can be no peace, generally involved criticism of there, and that such an exposure, politicians from the President down, I devoted most of my space only to Mexico but to the world.

In "Regeneración," as I did in my one paper, "Land and Liberty." Then came along the European war, a huge mirror in which, as I considered, I could show the reflection of what is going on in Mexico and this country, together with the reasons. For more than a year past, therefore, I have harped continually on the war, showing how, despite the vaunted progress of Democracy, power has become so concentrated that the merest handful of men have been able to force twenty-five millions into slaughtering one another; showing how land monopoly and the entire fabric of special privilege rest on the military philosophy that the weakest should be driven to the wall; showing that slavery is the child of invasion, and that freedom means simply the being immune from invasion; showing that between Industrialism and Democracy, on the one hand, and Militarism and Aristocracy, on the other, there is necessarily a struggle to the death; a struggle now being fought out alike in Mexico and Europe, and one in all probability only now in its first stages. In this connection I have had to deal with the Monroe doctrine, which was in reality a British-American policy and has committed us to a military program vastly more far-reaching than is generally understood; I have had to deal again with Panama, with our actual intervention in Mexico—for it is today very actual; with, as I conceive, the imperial ambitions that lie concealed beneath the Pan-American League, and so forth. If I may be allowed to judge I should say that this work, which has occupied the last eighteen months, has been by far my best. It has been also the boldest, for I have found myself running counter to avalanches of prejudice, not merely among the German but also among thousands of Socialists, Communists, so-called Anarchists and Trades Unionists, who are at heart, as I have discovered, just as invasive as is the average military Junker, be he German, Austrian or English.

All this has not been pleasant, for it has made me many bitter enemies, and lost me some cherished friends, besides disillusionizing me greatly. But I cannot think of any thing to which I could more usefully have given my pen. It is all-important to stamp on as many minds as possible the stern conviction that peace and freedom are impossible so long as the sword and the purse are allowed to pursue their campaigns of invasive conquest and place their label of sole proprietorship on what should be for the use of all. It is all-important to show that he who condones the invasion of Belgium will condone, even more readily, that of Mexico. It is all-important to show that what we call Industrialism and Democracy today are shot through and through with the invasive spirit of Militarism, inherited from a barbarous past; and that they can come to true life only after they have won freedom by the overthrow of militarism and aristocracy, with the entire system of special privilege they uphold because without them they would perish. No; I have nothing to retract. If I could I would make my statements and arguments even stronger, but I am a disbeliever in big words, which seem to me usually to mean so little. I am a believer in clear statements of facts and their clear explanation, to the best of one's ability. I consider that the Magons and I have shown conclusively that until land monopoly is extirpated in

at large. I consider it imperative that there should be men who can and will show that the fundamental changes now needed, if civilization is to endure, must come from the rebellion of the people themselves and will never be ground out by the governing machine. I consider it absolutely imperative that some persons should undertake the task of making the public understand that emancipation from gigantic evils now acknowledged freely on all hands lies along the path of freedom, and that freedom can be won only by resistance to invasion and abstention from invasion. That does not mean prayers and pious sentiments. It means active resistance to the aggressor; to those who trample human rights under their feet; whether that aggressor be a land monopolist who gathers into his clutches the power of compelling thousands of workers to pay him tribute, a politician who imprisons those whose published opinions injure him, or a scheming Napoleon who herds nations to murder.

I speak of politicians, and I repeat here what I have written time and again in this section, viz. that President Wilson KNEW; knew well that there could be no peace in Mexico until vast regions, stolen most deliberately from the people, had been restored to them. I know that President Wilson knew, and I know that in suppressing that great and incomparably important truth, while giving the public to understand that Mexico's troubles were political, he lost the opportunity of his life, threw away the explanation that would have justified his policy—subsequently abandoned—of non-intervention, and left the public in dark when it was his duty, as its chosen leader, to have enlightened it. The legal maxim "suppressio veri expressio falsi," (to suppress the true is to express the false) is old as the hills. All honest and courageous men recognize that there is no more dangerous and unpardonable form of lie.

I have read Lincoln, landing penniless in New Orleans, strolled into the slave market and saw, for the first time, human flesh and blood sold on the auction block. There and then he exclaimed: "If ever I get a chance to hit that thing I'll hit it hard, by the eternal God." He had to wait for that chance thirty years, but then he got it and hit hard. His reminder that this nation could not exist half slave and half free expressed the conflict in a nutshell and sounded the doom of chattel slavery.

Does anybody doubt that there has been slavery in Mexico? I tell you the Magons have hit it hard. Does anybody doubt that there is slavery in this country, as there is in Europe; as there must be wherever the privileged few climb to wealth and power over the corpses of the many? I know that we have tried to hit it hard, and if our blows have missed the mark it is because such slavery is of a more elusive and and less self-evident kind than that which wrung from his immortal vow. I do not believe that our prosecution is due to any special misuse of language which has shocked the sensibilities of our sensors; but because we have hit hard, and at the root; because somehow, whether we have contributed to it or not, a serious shaking of the temple has begun. In the eyes of governors that temple is sacred, but how many temples are today in ruins!

It happens that none of the passages from REGENERACION on which this indictment is based was from my pen. That does not matter. That doubtless is due to the

fact that on my language it was more difficult to make a case, and my choice of language is due to the fact that I believe, mainly in explanation, that I believe in a movement that is like the tide, "too strong for sound or foam." Mine is not the effervescent Latin style. But, also the Magons and I differ on many points that I have never thought it necessary to emphasize or thrash out, such as Communism—for I am not a Communist save in the sense that free men, if they choose, should be allowed to live in Communism—I am with them on the points that, it seems to me, make their agitation effective and dangerous to the privileged few. I would not, even if I could, force any people to overthrow land monopoly, but I would do everything in my power to encourage them. I would not, even if I could, force them to overthrow their government, but I would do all in my power to show them that between being run as they are today and running their own affairs there is all the difference between night and day. I would encourage the Mexicans to resist intervention at all cost, and this I would do not because I love the Mexicans but because I hate the invasion of the weak by the strong, because I consider that all people should be allowed to manage their own affairs without uninvited interference; because I think that if we begin with the invasion of Mexico we shall go on and on, farther South; that Democracy and industrialism in this country will be killed and that the United States will become an imperial, military Power. For my worst enemy I could wish no worse a fate. I have been fond of history, and all my reading of history has convinced me that empires rush to ruin, carrying unspeakable misery in their train. Whatever confidence I have in the future of Great Britain rests on my belief that their face seems set away from Imperialism and toward Democracy, as shown by her attitude toward Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other countries which were, once dependent colonies and are now practically independent of her. Whatever anxiety I have for the future of the United States rests on my fear that she is setting her face toward empire; an empire that today relies on diplomacy and the might of the long purse, but will be upheld tomorrow by the gun in the hands of the conscript.

All these things enter into the Mexican problem; not only the question of the huge estates conferred on American millionaires and influential politicians by the robber hand of Diaz, but the question of that ambitious Monroe doctrine by which we arrogate to ourselves the guardianship of countries even larger than our own and utterly different from us in tastes and views of life; not only the question of whether we shall raise a huge army and try it out on Mexico, but the question of whether we shall undertake the policing of Central and South America, to the end that henceforth there shall be no more revolutions. This is the program to which President Wilson has committed himself in advocating Pan-Americanism, and it is a program I have attacked most bitterly. In the first place, revolutions are often needed and confer a true blessing not only on the country in which they occur but on all mankind. For example, the French Revolution, despite its crimes, was a necessity and blazed the way for an advance the correct measure of which is even today beyond us. In the second place, if Pan-Americanism is really to become a concrete fact it must be preceded by the accumulation of a much more powerful army and navy than this country constitutionally opposed to militarism, hitherto has contemplated. That will mean conscription, and, as I have pointed

out repeatedly, conscription is a reversion to chattel slavery, inasmuch as the individual is no longer regarded as master of his own life but is compelled to dedicate a portion of it to a new master, the State. This, in my opinion—and I have not formed it rashly—marks the true partitioning of the roads. Adopt conscription and you turn aside from Industrialism and commit yourself, perhaps for centuries to come, to Militarism and all that Militarism implies. What that means we may judge from the European news which for the last eighteen months has almost monopolized the front page of our daily papers. To what further abysses it will carry us we can but tremblingly surmise.

Nevertheless, in my judgment, these are but the surface manifestations of an even deeper disease; a disease that has taken hold of us to an extent we do not yet appreciate. That disease is State Socialism; the philosophy that man, instead of aiming for freedom should resign himself to being governed; should continue to admit himself a child who needs a guardian; a sinner who must be protected against his sinful inclinations; an inferior to be tutored by the chosen few. To me that is a revival of the aristocratic past; a rebalancing of the pretensions of the infallible priest and ruler by the divine grace of God; a transfer to the secular field of ideas which formerly dominated only that of religion. As such it appears to me far more dangerous than were the claims of the Roman Catholic church in its palmiest days. I agree with Herbert Spencer in considering the greatest evil that could befall us; and its triumph is exactly what the politicians are working for, since it means their triumph, the omnipotence of the machine their guide and control. I am quite sincere in that belief. It is some twenty-five years ago since I wrote a book on Herbert Spencer, and I held then the opinion I hold today. Believe me, I have had under review since then a thousand proofs of its correctness. Of late President Wilson has been my chief source of

supply.

I am trying to explain what I personally have seen in the Mexican Revolution, and why I became interested in it. I saw in it a real revolt against land monopoly; a real obstacle to the onward march of that imperialism which threatens to destroy the struggling Democracy of the United States; a real enemy of those aristocratic-militaristic institutions and modes of thought which seem to me our gloomy inheritance from a barbarous past. I don't suppose I have seen into the heart of it, but I think I have seen much that most people did not see, and this has been my excuse for monopolizing so largely this English page. As it appeared to me I had to explain; had to co-ordinate; had to show how the upheaval in Mexico linked itself with large thought-movements now agitating all the world; just as I hope to show, through the agitation this trial should beget, how intimately it is associated with the tremendous struggle which, under the name of "Preparedness", is now about to rend this country as it has not been rent since Anti-bellum times. Besides that, as I think, the guerrilla warfare between Labor and Capital, which hitherto has absorbed so much of our attention, will sink into insignificance. I do not mean that the clash of interests will not still be there. I do mean that Labor will enlarge its fighting ground; will have to include those great questions which concern us all—our right to share equally in our natural inheritance, the earth; the superiority of industrial freedom to military compulsion; the superiority, if only from the standpoint of efficiency, of true self-regulation as opposed to rule imposed from above. If I could have found writers capable of welding together these links of what is one huge chain most gladly would I have given them all my space, but none undertook the task. My business has been and is to explain that the Mexican Revolution has raised enormous issues and those issues will not be settled by imprisonment of devotees like the Magons or humble individuals like myself.

Wm. C. Owen.

POSTPONED

The Magon mass meeting announced in last week's REGENERACION to be held at Labor Temple, Saturday March 18 at 8 p. m. has been postponed to Wednesday March 22, 8 p. m. at Blanchard Hall.

Among the English speakers will be Sam Atkinson, of the Rationalist Association; T. W. Williams, of the Socialist Party and Luke North, Editor of "Every Man"; Chaim Shapiro will speak in Yiddish; Raul Palma and Mrs. Enrique Flores Magon in Spanish.

Bill B. Cook will be Chairman.

ADMISSION FREE.

Notes On The Magon Case

As announced before, the preliminary hearing of Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon came before the Federal court on March the 13. An appeal by attorneys Kirk and Ryckman that the charges be annulled was denied by the court and no date has been set for the next hearing. An idea of the strength and the arguments of the prosecution in the case can be had by reading the following, extract from the press reports of the hearing:

"At the conclusion of the hearing, Judge Bledsoe, before whom the arguments were made, overruled the demurrer as to all three counts of the indictment. In deciding the case, following the argument Assistant United States District Attorney Gallaher, Judge Bledsoe stated that there was no doubt about the third count of the indictment, but that the language quoted in the first and second counts might not be considered as creating a tendency to

murder and arson under ordinary circumstances, but that with Mexico torn with insurrections and revolutions, there was no doubt but that, at this time, the articles came under the purview of the law that prohibited such writings to be sent through the United States mails."

The courtroom was well filled with a crowd mostly of Mexican friends and sympathizers.

No bail has yet been secured for Ricardo and Enrique, but efforts are still being made in this direction with the expectation that the necessary bond will be made up before long.

A very encouraging telegram was received in jail by our imprisoned comrades Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon from the I. W. W. of San Francisco. The message reads as follows:

"San Francisco, Cal., March 8. Ricardo F. Magon County Jail, Los Angeles, Cal. Congratulations, you have drawn the enemies fire. Mass protest meeting in San Francisco sends assurance of support. Your cause is our cause. Death rather than suppression. Be of stout heart for we stand assisted behind you."

I. W. W.

The radical press also continues to give some mention to the case of our comrades, and it is to be hoped those publications, organizations and individuals seriously interested in fundamental thought and revolutionary principles, will give the wide publicity that such cases as this merit.

Beginning with next issue of REGENERACION we intend to start publication in serial form in the English section, of the articles, in whole, on which the charges against the Magons and Wm. C. Owen are based. The translation are now being made.

We ask many of our English readers who have written us not to expect a personal answer, as since the arrest of our comrades, those remaining with the paper have been overwhelmed with work and can take care of but a very limited portion of our correspondence. We hope that all those waiting be kind enough to take REGENERACION as an answer.

R. B. GARCIA.

TO REBEL PRESS.

Besides the exchange for "Regeneración" we ask to all the labor and radical papers to send each issue an extra copy to the Magon Brothers, Los Angeles county Jail, Los Angeles, Cal.

Shall Cline Be Abandoned?

BY COVINGTON HALL.

I have recently received a letter from Charlie Cline saying that the court of appeals had denied him another trial and had confirmed his "sentence of ninety-nine years at hard labor in the penitentiary."

This inhuman sentence was pronounced on Cline, not for any "conspiracy to murder" a "white supremacy Democratic Mexican gunman," but for the splendid work he did in the Grabow trial and Merryville strike. It was for this work that Cline has been doomed by the landlordocracy of Texas to a felon's cell for life, and it is up to the social rebels to say whether he is going to stay there and the "Democratic" party be not put to the slightest bother over his case, which is loaded with trouble for the Robberland of Dixie.

Ricardo Magon states that already one of the Mexican boys doomed in these famous cases has been murdered by a penal guard and that they have started out to assassinate still another. If the Socialists and revolutionists in this country allow this evil to be done without a strong protest, then the sooner they disband the better it will be, for no great movement can come out of those who abandon their militants to the enemy with a struggle.

The only thing I see to be done just now is for every Socialist, labor and revolutionary local organization to pour in protest to the Governor of Texas DEMANDING the immediate release of Cline, Rangel and the other twelve boys railroaded with them. I appeal to you to have your local act at once. Address all protests to Governor James E. Ferguson, Austin, Texas.

Drop Cline a note or postal card, care the county jail, San Antonio, Texas, cheering him up and telling him we will do our level best to see him through.

This little you can do for these rebels and they all deserve all you can do for them.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We need not say that REGENERACION is traversing rough seas these days, and it is with no little effort that its existence is made possible.

For a long time this paper has been sent to a number of people who have not cooperated or supported it in any way. Under present conditions this cannot continue and we hereby notify the above mentioned subscribers that after three weeks their names will be stricken off our lists if they do not signify their WILLINGNESS to support the paper.

REGENERACION GROUP.

