

HOW CAN STATE-OWNED

Minds Run Straight?

At 9 o'clock, as was his daily habit, Johnny Atkins hoisted the Stars and Stripes and, seating himself at a jingling piano, marshaled his scholars to the tune of the "Star-Spangled Banner." Then he proceeded to teach them a geography that began and ended with the United States, and a history designed to impress on them that no event outside its boundaries was much worth noting. Years before he had indorsed what Herbert Spencer says about "that which, with more than Papal insolence, the State is pleased to call an education," but time had rubbed that out. The system owned him, and, taking the State's pay, it had become his settled occupation to boost the State.

At his desk in Washington the tenth-assistant secretary in the Secret Service Bureau gazed with satisfaction on the pile of clippings with which he hoped to clinch his case against the heretics who had dared, in the "Morning Earthquake," to criticize that Authority to whom he owed his bread and butter. Years before he himself had been somewhat of a rebel, one of his favorite books being that "Essay on Liberty" in which John Stuart Mill insists that the morality of long-killing is a subject that must be discussed. Time had changed all that; and, pledged by his monthly salary to the support of Authority, he had ended by regarding rebellion against officialdom as the one unpardonable crime.

"To the Day!" cried the colonel, as he lifted his glass; and Lieut. Jenkins, in common with a dozen other young fellows seated at the mess table, gazed reverently at the regimental flags that decked the walls, and flushed with martial pride. Years before he had committed to memory the noble passages in which Ruskin reminds the soldier that his honor depends on his fighting for the right, and is stained eternally when he draws his sword for a cause his conscience brands as wrong. But Jenkins soon forgot all that.

The parson habitually shrugged his shoulders when he thought of Christ feeding several thousand people to repletion with a couple of loaves and two small fishes, but he still preached it unctuously from the pulpit; for it was part of the organization's ceremonial, and the organization owned him.

Although Pat Flynn, secretary of the Boilmakers' Union, being an exceptional young man and having read "Progress and Poverty," didn't really believe that Labor could do anything until it got its hands on natural resources, he still whooped it up for organization as the sovereign remedy. That was the union dope, and Pat wasn't quarrelling with a salary.

So it goes all round, and when some hardy rebel suggests that progress depends on getting at the truth and sticking to it, that rebel is apt to be taught a lesson he will not forget. In Labor's ruder circles he may simply get his head punched. The gentler and more cruel middle class will show him the door politely and invite him to make his living elsewhere. The Government, having the strongest arm of all, since it reaches into every pocket and compels the people to support it, may clap him into prison and, if he talks too straight, may hang him. Nobody ever found out who threw the Haymarket bomb, but Spies and Parson talked what might have made a fanatic do it. At

this moment numbers of our leading citizen are talking war. That too may end in bloodshed and, by the same logic, should be suppressed.

In Germany the State has really succeeded in crowning itself with the halo of a religion, and shabby bureaucrats in threadbare broadcloth—surely the least romantic Gods as yet invented—sternly execute decrees which seem to be regarded as divine. There the schoolmaster appears to have ground out of his tender charges the instinct of rebellion and to have made obedience to discipline their second nature. There, as the result of a most rigid system, on the "efficiency" of which the nation actually has learned to pride itself, the moulding process is continued into later life by the State-endowed professors, who are its modern priests. And from these so-called scientists, who claim to know, art takes its note; the well drilled chorus blending finally in one harmonious pean to the State and the Olympian Jove who is its topmost pinnacle. It is the acme of Government, which is incontrovertibly the opposite of freedom. Its one aim is the enforcement of an iron discipline, and the more I am under the discipline of others the less I am master of myself. If progress depends, as hitherto supposed, on free and untrammelled investigation and comparison, through the medium of free speech, it must be fatal to all progress. If thought is the great lever by which our race lifts itself, it must bring all our climbing to an end, for thought cut to order is not thought at all.

I, a convinced Anarchist long before the war, and since its outbreak ten times more so, insist that our race is having the life crushed out of it by these thought-murdering, conduct-fashioning machines called Government; and for proof of what it ends in I need only point to the battlefields of Europe—perhaps the sternest lesson ever taught us. But I wish here to dwell more particularly on the assassination of straight-forward thought and honest expression to which the systematized ordering of governments inevitably leads; and here Germany, where the system has reached its highest "efficiency," must supply me with examples.

Do you remember that, shortly after the outbreak of the war, ninety-three Germans, whose names have been heralded far and wide as representing her highest culture, issued a letter which they entitled "An Appeal to the Civilized World?" Have you forgotten what they said, pledging to it their "names and honor," and clinging on the shadows of Goethe, of Beethoven and Kant, to witness their sincerity? The letter consisted mainly of short paragraphs, which began respectively as follows:—"It is not true that Germany is guilty of having caused this war," "it is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium," "it is not true that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without the bitterest self-defense having made it necessary," "it is not true that our troops treated Louvain brutally," "it is not true that the combat against our so-called militarism is not a combat against our civilization, as our enemies hypocritically pretend it is." And the letter concluded with the declarations that "were it not for German militarism, German civilization would long since have been extirpated," and that "the German army and the German people are one."

Since that letter was issued the official documents in the case have been published by the various governments, although neither Germany nor Austria has dared to publish the correspondence that passed between them—a highly significant fact noted carefully by leading American publicists. Since then France has published photographic reproductions of the diaries found on the persons of killed and captured German soldiers, and these also tell a story no indignant denials can refute. I have no space here to discuss the "it is not true," and it is needless to do so, for those who have studied the evidence have formed their judgment, and the opinions of these who have not studied it are worthless. What I wish here to note is that Ernst Haeckel was one of the signers of that letter, and that Haeckel has now come out with a book, entitled "Eternity: World-War Thoughts." Therein he does not hesitate to describe himself as "standing on the high watch tower of pure reason," and he commits himself to the following statements:—

First, he characterizes the war as "the greatest crime in history," and declares that it was "recklessly brought upon the world by England." Her he denounces with the bitterest invective, and he singles out for special attack "the unparalleled mass murder she has been practicing." Secondly, he exults over the fact that "we (Germans) now hold firmly in our hands as valuable security considerable territory—Belgium and the North of France in the West, Poland and the Baltic Provinces in the East."

Thirdly, he lauds "the alliance we have succeeded in making with the Orient," and says that "at all events, when the treaty of peace is concluded we must demand a considerable extension of the German empire." Fourthly, as to the provinces captured by Germany in her first unexpected rush, he writes: "The new provinces which we are going to annex are energetic and reckless, but with cautious and intelligent treatment they can be Germanized, or at least be made accessible to German culture, education and civilization."

Fifthly, he praises the military activities of Frederick the Great and Bismack, which, he says, were carried on "in face of persistent opposition from many short sighted politicians."

Sixthly, he declares that the possession of Belgium will give Germany not only the excellent port of Antwerp but also the rich Congo State in Africa; and he gives it as his opinion that "of the various proposals recently made for the extension of the colonies which we have already acquired, the one that holds out the best promise is the foundation of a great German colonial empire in middle empire."

As to his charges judgment may be left to those who studied the evidence,—but what strikes one as indisputable is the appalling stupidity Haeckel displays. All over the world, Germans are today declaring vehemently that, from the very first, they have fought only because their national integrity was attacked. Everywhere they are disclaiming the charge that they were influenced by lust of territory. Everywhere they are vowing that the Kaiser and the militarists were not invaders but resistors of invasion; and the cold fact is that unless they can convince the world of that they cannot expect their sympathetic backing. And now, at this late hour, their foremost scientist, talks of empire extension; of the conquest of previously-independent nations; of the shaping them to Germanic thought and culture, through

the medium of the sword!

Men who have sold themselves to the service of a machine cannot think straight; and men who can not think straight cannot have any message of service to us in the solution of the problems we have to solve. I would rather have the opinion of a simple Mexican peon, who neither wishes to rob or to be robbed, than that of the most learned Haeckel who, sworn to the service of an emperor, has to express himself in terms of emperors, which are not the terms of equal rights for all men. Herbert Spencer described the State as being invariably "slow, stupid, wasteful and corrupt," and I take much pleasure in pointing to the case of the illustrious Haeckel as proving, at least, the stupidity of State-owned minds. Do you suppose that a prosecuting attorney, drilled to the conviction that it is his duty to secure as many convictions as possible, can take a just view of such an upheaval as the Mexican Revolution, or that anything better can be expected of a judge trained rigorously to the worship of written law as superior to ethical right?

No; a thousand times No! Without just thinking we cannot reach just action, and just thinking is an impossibility to those who, as their first duty, must protect the selfish interests of the governing machine. In this lies the conclusive and eternal condemnation of all that State Socialism which, devoted fanatically to the enlargement and perfection of the governing machinery, is crushing the heart out of humanity and strangling it in blood.

WM. C. OWEN.

CARRANZA

And Other Shams.

REGENERACION has ever been the avowed and unremitting foe of all shams and myths that eternally accuse the gullible and easy mass. It has ever been the policy of this paper to speak out in plain and straight terms what in its estimation is the best solution of the ills and wrongs that afflict mankind and at the same time exposing all frauds and quacks that continually parade as Messiahs and professional saviors.

In this work particular attention has been paid to Mexico, of course, as the interests of the ruling class are as strong and "sacred" there as anywhere else, and as these interests are being seriously threatened by the great progress of the present Revolution, REGENERACION has, as usual, received its full share of the rath from the gods for its indiscretion in telling the Mexican peons to throw their masters off their backs and help themselves to the table of Life.

This has been the mission of REGENERACION and for this its editors have been hounded, chained and imprisoned, on both sides of the border, ever since they raised the cry of Rebellion against tyranny and despotism. And this shall ever continue to be its mission so long as it manages to see the light in any way.

While ever ready to curtail anything that makes for greater freedom, the Powers That Be, never look very seriously upon any movement, however radical, that does not go to the roots of things as They Are, and that fail to propose the proper solution.

But just as soon as a movement of any significance quits fooling with delusion and cries, CON-FISCATION, it makes all the difference in the world, and it immediately has all the machinery of Authority at its heels. That is why the Magon brothers and REGENERACION have become eternal targets for the hand of the Law. That is why the big Jeffersonian at the White House is so busy these days suppressing all papers that have given up the chase for rainbows and are actually proposing the overthrow of

this insane and criminal aberration called civilization.

EXPROPRIATION! This is the nightmare and terror of the diones and parasites today. This has been the keynote of REGENERACION and the Magons' to the peons of Mexico, and it has done its work. They have made it a practice to show the peon that all the wealth of his master has been wrung from him and that it is now his turn to take it back. It is high time that this word should become very popular, for if we really expect to ever be economically free we must realize that the producing class, have been despoiled of all we have created and the only way to recover it is to go after the thieves and get it, and to let them know that exploitation and blood-sucking of man by man HAS to stop; that all those who care to associate with self-respecting people and share the Banquet of Life have not only to cease exploiting human life but MUST work for a living if they are not decrepit.

The fact is that this high act of plain and simple justice should not be either regarded as expropriation or confiscation but as the natural and common restoration of something that has been stolen from society. Those who dare have been profusely rewarded by Authority for this kind of propaganda and the same reward awaits all those who may care to continue this work.

The Magons thru REGENERACION have expounded and cried this doctrine aloud in season and out of season, and have paid the price. They have untiringly repeated to the peon that with the same effort and sacrifice made to overthrow a tyrant and put another one in his place they can uproot the whole rotten structure and take possession of things for themselves without the need of politicians, leaders or saviors of any stripe.

These are the shams that REGENERACION has always and shall ever strive to expose. At the present time the Carranza fraud needs it badly, and it has been very fairly exposed in its Spanish

section but not so in the English page. However, we shall hereafter pay more attention to this and from now on expect to treat the subject in every issue of the paper.

We have said before, and one perhaps cannot repeat it too often, that the way a cheap fakelike Carranza can hypnotize even a lot of radicals into the belief that the working class has anything to expect from a political huckster, is really a puzzle. Here is a politician posing as the champion of labor while at the same time he is overanxious to assure the exploiters and profit mongers that their booty will be protected by his government.

Carranza is not only a decided humbug, as naturally every politician must perforce be, but he is an arch hypocrite and betrayer of the people and of all the promise worth while he has made to them. Like all his predecessors and would-be rulers, he, of course, has personal ambitions and longing for power, and has taken advantage of the misery, discontent and desperation or the outraged proletariat to accomplish his ends.

With his ear ever to the ground for the popular issues, Carranza knows that the implacable cry of the Mexican people is for the land, and he has proceeded to promise them its restoration, only to cheat and turn against them when he has gained enough strength to carry out his promises.

All the difference between Carranza and Diaz or any other tyrant is that Diaz was out for the service of the high aristocracy whereas Carranza is for a lesser set, but he, the same as his high rival is strong for the rights of private property the people's property—and the privilege of the ruling class to exploit and live off the toil of the laboring masses. Palpable as all of this is, there are those who still have some hopes for some "good" government to come along and establish a paradise on earth.

In coming issues details of Carranza's doings shall appear.

R. G. COX.

Address By Enrique Flores Magon Suppressed

by The Federal Court Of Los Angeles, June 22, 1916.

[NOTE—This speech was prepared by Enrique Flores Magon to be pronounced when asked by the Court if he had something to say as to why sentence should not be imposed upon them. But when the proper time arrived the Judge did not allow Enrique to address the Court, alho he demanded such right, granted to them by the same laws that the Court pretends to uphold.]

(Continued from last issue),

This Court should not pass sentence on us, for it would mean, too, a denial to us Mexican people of the perfect right we have to revolt against the unbearable conditions that have kept us in slavery through very long, long years; awful conditions that even Dante's Inferno cannot surpass, and under which we found ourselves stripped of all our belongings, our lands, our forests, our rivers, our mines and everything else that we once owned in common or individually from time immemorial. We saw all our belongings being taken away from us by Porfirio Diaz by means of violence through his soldiery and legal machinery. Diaz robbed the Mexican people in order that he might grant concessions to the Otises, Hearsts, Rockefellers, Morgans, Guggenheims, Pearsons and various foreign interests. And these concessions were granted for a mere song in order to perpetuate the Diaz regime.

After we were dispossessed of our natural heritage, we found ourselves held in bondage, in real chattel slavery, forced to work our own land, lands that were now no longer ours; we were forced to work 16 and 18 hours a day for from 18 to 37 cents Mexican money, that is equal to from

9 to 18 cents American money. We were compelled to trade with the "tienda de faya" which is the same as the commissaries in your mining and lumber camps, where everything was sold to us at exorbitant prices. Under such conditions we gradually found ourselves in perpetual debt with our masters and without the liberty of moving from their domain. In case we succeeded in evading the vigilance of the hacienda bosses and escaped from our bondage, we were caught by the authorities and once more returned to slavery.

We found that our wives, our sisters and our daughters were at the mercy of the lascivious appetites of the rich men, the authorities and the clergy, for when they pleased they took away from us our women and shot, imprisoned, mustered into the army or otherwise got rid of any man who would protest.

Whenever we went on strike for better conditions and wages, as in Rio Blanco and Cananea, we were shot down enmasse by the hired murderers of Diaz, his soldiers his policemen and rangers. If we still held a small piece of land that excited the greed of the authorities, the rich or the clergy, it was taken from us by hook or crook. They even resorted to cold blooded murder. Our freedom was trampled upon. Our speakers were arrested and shot in dark of the night. Our papers were suppressed and their writers imprisoned and vanished from the face of the earth. Many of our brothers who still believed in the ballot and the right of voting, met their death in front of the polls at the hands

of the Diaz' soldiers. Many of our brothers were sold for—\$200.00 a head to the slave-driven of Yucatan and the Yalle National. They were sold into actual chattel slavery, and there forced to work under such horrible conditions that their health was soon broken, and when they no longer could stand on their feet they were buried alive in order to save bother and medical expenses. It was a common sight to see our brethren benton to death for the slightest motives.

We endured those condition for thirty six years, that comes to prove that we are peace-loving people. But we found ourselves so cornered and driven up against the wall, that finally had to revolt against those damnable conditions in order to save ourselves and to gain Bread, Land and Liberty for All.

This was the cause and the source of the Social and Economic Revolution which has for over five years shaken Mexico; of this Revolution of the down-trodden masses against their oppressors and exploiters; of this Revolution that chiefly aims to get control of common of the land and thereby aims to free the Mexican people. These aims and aspirations are set forth in condensed form in our battle cry of "Land and Liberty."

We Mexicans are striving to get back the land because we know that the land is the source of all social wealth and, therefore, that he who owns the land owns all and, hence, becomes economically free. A people who enjoy economic freedom are free socially and politically as well; that is to say, economic freedom is the mother of all freedoms.

(To be continued.)

FROM EMMA GOLDMAN.

Collected at meeting in San Francisco for the Magons \$20.00. Notwithstanding the tremendous odds met in consequence of the excitement and depression resulting from the reign of terror created by the "Law and Order" gang of San Francisco after the bomb explosion in that city, where comrade Emma Goldman is lecturing at the present time, she has not ceased her activities in behalf of our comrades, as can be seen by the above remittance. It certainly takes real grit and determination to do such work under the present circumstances.

R. G. C.

Don't Forget

THE SOCIAL AND DANCE To be given Saturday, Aug. 19, 8 p. m. at Burbank Hall.

The management will endeavor to make it a very enjoyable and lively affair, and all those seeking a good time will do well to attend. But above all don't forget that our comrades Caplan and Schmidt are behind the bars and that the Magons will soon be in again if we do not raise the necessary funds to keep them out.

What Conscription Means.

Conscription does not mean that those responsible for war must do the fighting. It means that men must be forced to fight, who are denied any voice in determining whether or not there should be a war. And in the case of every existing nation it means that they must fight for a government that denies their right to opportunities to earn a living, and to the full product of their labor.

—THE PUBLIC.

"LAND AND LIBERTY. Mexico's Battle for Economic Freedom and Its Relation to Labor World-Wide Struggle." Selected from writings of Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio de P. Arango and Wm. C. Owen—the copy. In order to see 25 copies. To be sent.

All money for REGENERACION should precisely be sent to Enrique Flores Magon, P. O. Box 1236, Los Angeles, Calif.