

Regeneración

English Section
Edited by WM. C. OWEN

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Do You Suppose Mexico

Will Suffer Most?

Today a situation has developed that may prove extremely grave for the United States. For Mexico, menaced by the continuous expansion of her Northern Neighbor, it has always been most grave, and always in these columns it has been discussed that Mexico, if let alone, would prove equal to the task of rescuing herself from that slavery to power which has plunged Europe into the bloodiest and most destructive war on record.

That hope has fled, for even events have a weight of their own against which our President's honeyed assurances are light as this—down.

At last the invasion of Mexico has begun. At last what Hearst and others of this kind, have striven for so long is an accomplished fact and another great cause has been transferred from the arena of argument to that of force. Yes, I know that force has been much used in Mexico, but I know also that the real blood-letters have been her ambitious politicians, greedy for power. The lust for power! There, as in the still greater European cataclysm, is the real fountainhead of all this bloodshed.

In the circular letter put out by the "The Workers' International Defense League," I find this sentence concerning the Magons: "We may have our differences of opinion as to the wisdom of our comrades' Do propaganda, but we must admit that they have been fearless upholders of the ideal of free land and free men in Mexico." Whatever I may think of the first part of that sentence the latter part has the strength of truth. "REGENERACION" has always stood for free land and free men; simply because it has been, and will always be, the only thing worth doing. On this no hedging, no playing for safety or popular support, can be permitted. Here no middle ground can be occupied by any man who values his mental integrity. Slavery has only that side—the determination to shake off oppression. He who is not frankly on one

side or the other amounts to nothing.

Our soldiers are today in Mexico; and in Mexico there is also today the same old economic problem, still unsettled. Will the soldiers settle it? What a question! The soldiers are not bothering their heads about social righteousness. Hearst isn't troubling himself to explain how it is that he, who certainly does no work in Mexico, is able to draw from her a princely income. Hearst is explaining how grim our fighters look; how doggedly they hold up their chins despite the awful heat; how fiercely they clench their hands and mutter vengeance. It must be some three years since I wrote, in "Regeneración", an article headed, "will somebody give Mr. Hearst a gun?" Lots of people seemed to enjoy that article, but I haven't heard, as yet that Mr. Hearst is suffering from alkali water, from blinding dust, or striven for so long is an accomplished fact and another great cause has been transferred from the arena of argument to that of force. Yes, I know that force has been much used in Mexico, but I know also that the real blood-letters have been her ambitious politicians, greedy for power. The lust for power! There, as in the still greater European cataclysm, is the real fountainhead of all this bloodshed.

It is an indefensible monstrosity that any man should own a million acres in, and draw huge revenues from, a country in which he never sets a foot. But Hearst is not the only sinner. Speculators have hawked about the streets of Los Angeles properties far larger than are his. Speculators today are busily at work urging American investors to gobble up what is still left of Mexico, regardless of the Mexican people who have to do the living there. That is the actual, the real position. That is the untenable position our American soldiers will be called on to hold. Do you doubt that it is untenable? Do you?

Several years ago the "Los Angeles Times" — unless my memory plays me false—had a long article on Terrazas, as practically owner of Chihuahua. It described not only his enormous holdings but also, and still more eloquently, his enormous power; showed how he controlled, with a rod of iron, the politics of the State; made it clear as crystal that the very lives of countless peons lay literally in the hollow of his hand. I reproduced that article in "Regeneración", and showed that this was the very thing Garrison had first to attack with pen and tongue, and the armies of the North had to abolish finally by force of arms. What is the role United States troops are be-

ing sent to play today? Villa, with others, broke up that particular infamy: drove Terrazas and his family of leeches into exile, and, to some extent at least, divided up their huge domains among the workers of Chihuahua. Therein, as we considered, Villa did well, and we applauded him. Therein I personally still applaud him. But Villa, the politician, seeking to down the rival politician, Carranza, I condemn unstintedly. Napoleon the restorer of the lands of France to the French people all history honors. Napoleon as the politician, drunk with personal ambition, all history condemns. That is the situation, as I see it, now reproduced across the border.

Perhaps I may be wrong, for in this chaos it is hard to judge correctly. To me, however, it appears that Villa has challenged intervention for the sake of rallying to his personal banner all patriotic Mexico. To me, therefore, he now appears no longer as the representative of the disinherited but as the representative of Pancho Villa, which is quite another thing.—And once again I see a great cause crucified by lust for power.

But how about the politicians on our side of the border? How about the aid our own President extended to Madero; the opposition to Huerta, which cost some twenty American marines their lives and, incidentally, involved the slaughter of some 400 Mexicans at Vera Cruz; the invaluable assistance rendered to Carranza, with the obvious intention of crushing Villa? Dare any truthful American deny that intervention started here; that the White House was untiringly at work years before Villa decided on bringing matters to a final head? What should we have said or done, I wonder, if Mexican politicians had decided that Wilson was unfit to be President of the United States, as he took it on himself to decide that certain Mexicans were unfit to govern Mexico?

The Magons have charged President Wilson with being the real instigator of Villa's raids, and the real center of Villa's popularity and power. I think the charge is true. I think that Wilson, with his mouth full of peace, has been leading us steadily in'war. I think that Wilson's studied and persistent interference was certain to arouse the animosity of every patriotic Mexican, and engender suspicion in all Latin-American countries, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. I don't see how any reasoning mind can question that. "Regeneración" has worked always, to the best of its ability, against intervention; and every reader of this English section knows that from the moment I assumed its editorship, some four years ago, my opposition has been unrelenting. In reality at one time, and for reasons it is now needless to explain, I resigned the editorship and stood aside for months. I resumed it only at the urgent solicitation of those who convinced me that intervention was more threatening than ever, and that I had no right to drop my pen when it was needed most. I had no right to. You have no right to. None of us has any right to look on indifferently while this country deserts its post as guardian of Industrialism and plunges headlong into the bottomless abyss of militarism.

Do Americans really believe that Mexico, if conquered and annexed to the United States, will be the greatest sufferer? I tell you, her agony will be as nothing when compared with that we, in our thoughtlessness, shall have imposed upon ourselves. We may succeed in fastening our neck what will be always an unstable yoke, but it will be at the cost of riveting on our own a chain of iron. By the conquest of this new dominion, and this new labor-market,

plutocracy will get a fresh lease of life it could obtain in no other way. Under the shadow of this new sword, now being forged to the accompaniment of unctuous philanthropic homilies, American labor will have to cower submissively, and many a new Lazarus will have to cringe to Dives for the crumbs that save him from starvation.

Militarism—ever the shield and buckler of special privilege and tyranny—is the enemy we have to fight today in these United States, just as Germany, insane with military pride, has to be fought in Europe. Compromise is impossible. Either we side with Might, and endorse the Bismarckian philosophy of "blood and iron", or we stand by the Right, regardless of the temporary cost. To Europe the test came with the invasion of France and Belgium. For us Mexico has been the touchstone.

One has to be very definite, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding and on loophole for evasions. One has to tell the people of the United States, that they were called on either to indorse or to condemn as rapacious a band of speculative vultures as ever gorged themselves on the carcass of a prostrate nation, and that they have chosen to indorse those vultures. No fine words will palliate that damnig fact. No smooth speeches will placate the Nemesis that dogs the steps of those who turn their backs on their responsibilities.

Do the people of the United States really know what they are doing? Has this country any adequate conception of the flame it has bit and sent abroad wherever the Spanish tongue is spoken; wherever the great Latin family gathers to shake its head and clench its fists over the final confirmation of suspicions it has been harboring for years? Do men of that race believe us when we say that our present invasion of Mexico is only a punitive and temporary excursion? I am sure they do not. I am sure I do not. I am pretty certain you yourselves do not. The still, small voice of conscience tells you otherwise. With a candor to which your politicians are incapable of rising, your own military authorities confess it openly.

Before me is the report of an address delivered recently by Brigadier General William L. Sibert before the Oakland Chamber of

Commerce. Similar addresses are being delivered constantly applauded by your commercial leaders. Hearst, as usual, played up the address and gave it a big head. Gen. Sibert spoke on the Panama canal, and said, in part: "It will ultimately come to this, that this country will have to operate railroads through Mexico and the Central American republics for military purposes, so that we will be able to transport supplies and men to the zone without depending entirely upon the sea lanes." After which he dwelt on this country's military unpreparedness and pleaded for conscription.

I say his language was infinitely more dangerous than any ever used by the Magons, for he was inciting influential citizens to invasion. He, like all the other military agitators at whose feet our venal press is kneeling, was doing all he knew to seduce our people from the paths of peace and tempt them to the fatal road of conquest by the sword. Our money-makers—that is to say, our pillars of society, our leading citizens—may always be counted on to uphold these suicidal policies, and from them the poison seeps its way, from rank to rank, until it reaches the "down and outs" who crowd to our recruiting stations to yield themselves up, in their despair of life, as food for powder.

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wants no more private property, nor Authority, not Clergy.

The poor, the real pariah, the disinherited that has not a stone where to lay his head, has nothing to gain by carrancista reforms, because he needs money to start work on a piece of land, but let us suppose that he had something for provisions, implements for work and the most indispensable things that would enable him to subsist while he raised the first crop, and supposing, furthermore, that the crop was good, the markets being controlled by the capitalists, the farmer would be subjected to sell his products at a paltry price to the grabbers, that for which he had worked more than any laborer for a mean pittance, and misery and sorrow would continue to reign over his home, while happiness and plenty would reign in the homes of the bourgeoisie, in the same way that it occurred before the Revolution.

The carrancista reforms are the most bloody jokes that the proletariat could have ever received. His agrarian reform is a slap on the face of the disinherited.

ENOUGH OF REFORMS!
Enough of reforms! What we hungry people need is entire liberty based on economic independence. Down with the so-called rights of private property, and as long as this evil right continues to exist we shall continue under arms. Enough of mockery! Poor people, whoever speaks to you about Carrancismo, spit in their face and break their jaws, liberty and well-being, because it

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

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AGAINST THE LABOR PRESS.

This issue of Regeneración, and probably the next, may yet circulate as second class mail matter, as the fate of the paper was not decided on the 4th of this month.

The Postal Department at Washington has decided to give us an opportunity to demonstrate that the paper should enjoy the franking privileges of the second class mail matter.

The General Postal Department says that Regeneración is not a newspaper that can be considered as such, because it professes incendiary and destructive methods.

This is as the postal authorities officially communicate it to us, and we at the same time communicate it to the labor press in general and the I. W. W. and the Anarchist press in particular, because all the Papers that work for the betterment of the total emancipation of the working class, may sooner or later be bureaucratically suppressed, if Regeneración is suppressed at this time.

The American capitalist class is restless. In any direction it looks, it observes unequivocal signs of popular discontent; the air is surcharged with protests; in their cars still resound the discharges of the West Virginia miners; the echo of the musketry from Colorado has not yet died out, and the flames of Youngstown uncover the clenched fist of the proletariat that shakes over the heads of the tyrants.

Popular discontent grows, and with it increases the restlessness of the bourgeois lords, and the process against Regeneración, the hostility towards "Revolt", the chicaneries to suppress "Alarm" and the attempts against "The Blast", prove the masters have initiated a period of repression that has begun with the incarceration of those who denounce the crimes of the capitalist system and with the persecution of freedom of thought, and which may end with the legal or illegal, (it is the same for that matter) assassination of those audacious enough to see the enemy face to face.

anxious to show the reasonableness of it to us anarchists who affirm that government is tyranny.

The postal authorities place themselves above the law, because they have no reason for curtailing freedom of thought. If the postal authorities empower the Postoffice employes to pass judgement upon freedom of thought, those laws are unconstitutional; as is inferred by the letter and spirit of the constitutional precept that safeguards the free emission of ideas. The first article of the reforms to the constitution of the United States is explicit enough, and it says: "Congress shall not pass laws... that shall abridge freedom of thought and the press."

The General Postal Department, therefore, neither has the right to cause the arrest of the comrades Magon, nor has it any authority to revoke the right of Regeneración to circulate thru the mails as second class matter, basing its claim on the fact that this paper professes incendiary and destructive methods.

If Regeneración is beaten in this unequal fight that it is sustaining against tyranny, its defeat shall be a death warrant to all the labor papers that both the diggerdiggers of the masters, for it shall be enough that any Postoffice employe, with less brains than an oyster, take it upon himself to declare their literature incendiary and destructive to initiate proceedings against them, and the second class privileges revoked which means prison for its editors and economic death for the publications.

We hope that all the labor press, without distinction of creeds, shall take note of the machinations against Regeneración. We shall not tire of repeating, one and a thousand times, that no personality is involved in this case; it is something larger than that: it is freedom of thought in danger of dying in this country in the hands of a bureaucracy incompetent to judge the conceptions of the human mind.

The case of Regeneración is a case that concerns all.

Colleagues: to the fight! Let us not allow that freedom of thought be at the mercy of the narrow criterion of a postoffice employe.

We all must defend freedom of thought. Disinherited; that is our weapon! If we allow it to be snatched from our hands we commit suicide.

CELSO MARQUINA.

To Save Both, Freedom of Thought And The Magon Brothers.

Through the present persecution of "Regeneración" and Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon, of its editorial staff, the American authorities contemplate to set a legal precedent with the already fixed conviction of the Magons, that afterwards might be used to persecute all the labor papers and, therefore, suppress freedom of thought and freedom of press. All the comrades, sympathizers and liberty-loving people most avoid that such crime be committed, for it shall drag North America back to chattel slavery. We invite all of them to sign the following Coupon of Protest, to get many others to sign it, and to mail it to Woodrow Wilson.

COUPON OF PROTEST

Woodrow Wilson.
Washington, D. C.
Considering as a vicious attack on freedom of thought, and as an unprecedented and tyrannical attempt to muzzle the press, the arrest and persecution again initiated against Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon, now in jail in Los Angeles, California, and branding such procedure of your Administration as a shameful effort to help your Mexican pet Venustiano Carranza to reestablish the Diaz regime, with which you create among the Mexicans ill feelings against the American people that should not exist, I protest against the said persecution to the Magon brothers and demand their immediate release from jail.

Signed.....
Address.....
Dated.....

The Third Indicted Article.

(This is a translation and reproduction of the third article involved in the Magon and Owen case. We reprint these articles to afford our readers a chance to judge for themselves.)

THE CARRANZA REFORMS.

Venustiano Carranza has succeeded in attracting followers by making good his promises of distribution of the land and public land grants to the towns and communities.

Seeing that the people no longer has faith in promises to be carried out "after the triumph", he is making those promises effective, he is putting in practice the reforms he added to his program when he realized that the people fights to acquire the material things that shall give them economic independence, without which individual liberty is impossible.

supporters will also live: the Church and the State, that is, the priest and Authority, without which Capitalism could not exist.

It would not be so bad if those land grants were made by free title, that is, if nothing was charged for them to the beneficiaries; but it is not so: the farmer who receives a piece of land, has to pay its value to a landlord thru the government. He has to pay, besides, contributions so that the President of the Republic may live and amuse himself, and also the Ministers of his cabinet, the deputies, the senators, the judges, the magistrates, the functionaries of the denominations, the soldiers, policemen, jailers....

....., to say nothing of the consulate and diplomatic representatives, to whom enormous sums must be paid to represent the country, and the thousand and one canonries and grafts that they divide among themselves and favorites of the rulers, and the immense sums that besmear the hands of functionaries; big and small, apart of their legal salaries.

Poplar discontent grows, and with it increases the restlessness of the bourgeois lords, and the process against Regeneración, the hostility towards "Revolt", the chicaneries to suppress "Alarm" and the attempts against "The Blast", prove the masters have initiated a period of repression that has begun with the incarceration of those who denounce the crimes of the capitalist system and with the persecution of freedom of thought, and which may end with the legal or illegal, (it is the same for that matter) assassination of those audacious enough to see the enemy face to face.

We forcefully call the attention of the labor press of all shades, to the declaration of the postal authorities that Regeneración is not a periodical that can be considered as such by the law, because it advocates incendiary and destructive methods. Are the postal authorities even within the law, when they so audaciously assault the right that all human beings have to express our ideas? No; as authorities that they are, they place themselves outside the law, they climb upon the law, as if they were

All of this has to be paid, besides the fabulous sums of money invested in war materials, in public buildings and a thousand other things, all costly because all want to extract profit from them, and besides, also, the national debt which amounts to sums almost inconceivable to the imagination.

Wm. C. OWEN.

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The Magon Brothers
Continue in jail; Shall they again be railroaded?
Shall free speech and press be suppressed?
International Protest MEETING.
Under Auspices of Latin Groups to be held
Saturday April 29, 8 p. m. at
Symphony Hall, 232 S. Hill St.
Speakers in English: Sam Atkinson, E. E. Kirk (att'y for Defens)
In Spanish: Raul Palma, Mrs. Marie Magon, Gabriel Tudela.
Bill B. Cook, Chairman. Chorus of children will sing.
Admission Free.