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Who Is Wright? Wilson Or The Indicted?

Under date of March 25 President Wilson issued a most definite statement as to the expedition sent into Mexico by his administration. No statement could be more definite. The document has all the weight of a Presidential proclamation on the vital question of peace or war but unfortunately, as happens so constantly in the United States, it must be considered also as a political manifesto; as the hoisting of a standard around which the main battle at the forthcoming conventions is to rage. Obviously that is the meaning of the assurance that there will be no intervention in Mexico "so long as sane and honorable men are in control of this government." Our daily press instantly gave the statement that interpretation, and none notices that Roosevelt's reply is described as "the opening gun of a vigorous campaign which will be waged without cessation from now until the assembling of the Chicago convention." Thus the Mexican war becomes, like that now despoiling Europe, the football of American politics.

President Wilson's message—for it is really that—has impressed me, and most gladly would I believe that it was written in the purest of good faiths. He opens with the declaration that the expedition has been despatched "for the single purpose of taking the bandit Villa, whose forces had actually invaded the territory of the United States."

He acknowledges the "sovereignty" of Mexico and her right to immunity from invasion. He speaks of "the distressed and sensitive people of Mexico, who are very susceptible indeed to impressions received from the American press," and he states that he has called on the several news agencies to refrain from issuing stories which give this merely punitive expedition the color of war. Above all—and this has raised immediately a hurricane of protest—he asserts that it is his "duty to warn the people of the United States that there are persons along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sort which are wholly unjustified by facts." In this connection he

adds that "the people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot, and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border."

Let me dwell for a moment on that last sentence, that I may impress on our readers its seriousness, coming, as it does, from the President of the United States at what is probably one of the critical hours in this country's history. Let me remind you that to millions of our citizens this message from the White House has that stamp of infallibility which good Catholics attribute to a Papal Bull; that such citizens consider that their President must know, because he has at his command a thousand sources of information inaccessible to the ordinary man; the spying eyes and ears, and letter and telegram-opening fingers of the Secret Service; the reports of countless experts and special envoys; in a word, all the gigantic machinery of a federal service that costs us billion and more than billion dollar appropriations.

Apart from knowledge of the gigantic financial interests depending on the part our government shall play in Mexico, it would be impossible for me to doubt the existence of those "sinister and unscrupulous influences" of which President Wilson speaks. What a private individual can find out is necessarily an infinitesimal part of the huge and complicated whole, but in my efforts to get at facts in connection with the last trial and conviction of the Magons, Rivera and Figueroa, who then composed the Mexican Liberal Party Junta, I found out some things. I myself took down the confession of a conscienceless soldier of fortune, one Capt. Smith, who had been released from prison by the authorities and paid such a salary as few newspaper men receive, that he might travel from San Diego to El Paso, collecting, or manufacturing, the evidence that would insure conviction. I myself obtained, and with difficulty, the Senatorial report which acknowledged how materially Otis and his son-in-law, Chandler, had assisted the government in its prosecution, and how eagerly they had worked for the conviction that resulted. So, I can well understand that President Wilson knew what he was talking about in making a charge so serious, Roosevelt, who probably will

be Wilson's adversary in the coming presidential struggle and certainly hopes to be, has taken up the cudgels. His statement, given out March 29, consists in the main of a series of pointed questions to President Wilson, in which he asks Wilson, if he really believes that American or other property owners in Mexico have been the instigators of and responsible for the loss of life and property which have marked the last five years of revolution. He charges furthermore that Wilson, with his perpetual imposing and removing of embargos on the export of arms, is responsible for the fact that Mexicans today are armed to the teeth; that Wilson, not encouraged in the least by property owners, actually started the war when he ordered our forces to attack Veracruz, in the vain effort to force Huerta to salute a flag he never did salute; and that "he is now engaged in a second war with Mexico." In Roosevelt's own words: "He is waging war against Villa, with whom but a little more than a year ago he concluded what was in effect a treaty of peace and friendship formally entered into through one of the highest officers of the United States army, Gen. Scott, by President Wilson's direction."

Observe, in the first place, that it is quite impossible to deny these charges. It is quite impossible to deny that the great government of the United States, which now speaks of Villa as a bandit, did treat him with the profoundest reverence; General Scott, of whose diplomatic abilities so much fuss was made, being photographed with him, exchanging presents with him, and so forth and so on. Villa has not changed; Villa was then exactly what he is today, a bandit with any amount of notches on his gun; a government-manufactured outcast who, observing how wealth and power has skinned his countrymen and would have ground up their skeletons if they could have found a profit in it, retaliated in kind. To men of Wilson's stamp; such men as Villa are social lepers. But Wilson did not hesitate to hug him—by proxy. He did not hesitate to slobber all over him; to accept from him rugs which were the product of the toil of half-starved Mexicans; to stamp him with the official seal of the approval of the great government of the United States.

Subsequently Wilson switched again, having come to the sapient conclusion that Carranza would prove the winning horse. So he took sides with Carranza in his open war with Villa, giving him special privileges in the shape of permission to import arms and ammunition, and to transport his troops across United States soil. Was not that making war on Villa? What else can you call it? And what else could you expect of such a man as Villa than retaliation in kind, on the very first opportunity? What else, in the name of all that is reasonable, COULD you expect?

Now observe. The man who has done all this is President of the United States, and, going back directly on his solemn pledge, is seeking re-nomination. On the other hand, the Magons are in prison, and I myself, presumably as having been associated with them in the editorship of this paper, am under indictment. I ask you to contrast our course with that pursued by the President of the United States. When all this lovmaking began we—nobodies, but straightforward nobodies—looked on astounded. We had no armies or governmental resources at our back, but we had our intelligence and consciences. We had upheld Villa as a man who was working for the over-

throw of that land monopoly which has been the curse of Mexico, as it is the curse of all the civilized world. When, judging him by these connubiations, we were forced to the conclusion that he was simply another of the endless procession of intriguing politicians, we repudiated him, as we had been compelled to repudiate Madero, and as we subsequently were compelled, and for the self-same reason, to repudiate Carranza. It was never to our interest. It was always directly against our personal interest, for that would have led us to alliance with those who commanded money, who had influential friends at court, who could have furnished the backing we needed so pitifully. But thereby we should have sold our souls. Thereby we should have surrendered our manhood and betrayed a great cause we had in trust; and there is no form of betrayal so base and deadly as that of obscuring the face of truth and blinding the people for the sake of political expediency. That is assassination of the meanest and most despicable type. Compared with that, open war—we Americans are supposed to be "too proud to fight," you know—is a

message of love sent directly from the throne of God himself. Our great crime is that we have, without any beating about the bush, accused the President of being the creator of Villa and the real author of all the unspeakable trouble Villa is now causing. Roosevelt now says the same, and—Oh! Irony of ironies!—Oregon, Carranza's minister of war and the very man on whom the United States is now relying for assistance—openly reiterates the charge. The El Paso despatch of March 29 which conveys this information describes him as "the most powerful man in Mexico towards the United States," and his statement begins thus: "The United States alone is responsible for the trouble along the border." Again I invite you to contrast the conduct of us, criminals in the eyes of the authorities, with that of the great President of the United States. Which of us occupies the most dignified position? Is it he, the towering Goliath, with all the resources of the United States government back of him, or we, petty Davids, with only our sling shot of a "Regeneración?"

(To be continued.)

WM. C. OWEN.

The Second Indicted Article

This is a translation and reproduction in whole of the second article denounced by the Federal Grand Jury and for which the Magon brothers and Wm. C. Owen were indicted. The original title of this article is "The Texas Uprising". The other two articles are now being translated and we expect to publish them in succession.

"Regeneración" No. 206, of Oct. 2, 1915.)

For several weeks the capitalist press has been giving accounts of battles between Mexicans and United States forces in territory comprising the Texas counties of Hidalgo, Cameron, Starr, and others adjoining those mentioned above.

Naturally, the real causes of that conflict are not mentioned. They want to make it appear that the uprisings of the Mexicans in that section of the United States is due to an understanding among Mexicans to carry out a Plan of San Diego, which advocates the independence of the vast territory grabbed by the United States from Mexico at the middle of the last century. As time passes, the real cause of that movement is appearing.

It is not the desire to put under control of Mexico the territory covered by the States of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, California and part of others, which has impelled the Mexicans residing in Texas, to rise in arms against the authorities of the United States, but a very distinct one: the desire to save themselves from the attempts of which people of our race are so frequently victims in this country.

Here is how a capitalist paper, "El Presente" of San Antonio, Texas, explains the origin of the uprising. It says:

"The origin of this revolt is found in the following facts: A Mexican was dancing in a house in a small town near Brownsville and an American tried to grab the woman that danced with him. The Mexican opposed this and as he stepped out on the street was treacherously killed by the American. The Mexicans immediately avenged the death of their countryman and this forced the avengers to leave the village already armed and disposed to defend themselves from a certain lynching or hanging. The precarious situation of several men presented them the opportunity to rise in arms, and they took them to earn their bread in this violent form."

How distinct is all this from the lies propounded by the rest of the capitalist press!

As is seen, the movement in

Texas began with the rebellion of a handful of men that refused to be the victims of the ruling justice of that state against people of our race, and which handful of men was joined by all those who, tired of offering their arms to the rich to be exploited, without getting the work sought, found in the attitude of the rebels a good opportunity to wrest by force from the hands of the capitalists, what these always deny to the poor; a piece of bread for themselves and families.

Naturally, those rebels were the victims of a ferocious persecution, because that is the way Madame Authority is: immutable and ferocious to the extent that, instead of seeking peace among men, with its obstrusive acts excites them to war. Instead of approaching those men and in a well-meaning way trying to quite them and assuring them

the tranquility and liberty to which every human being is entitled, its representatives, those barbarians called rangers," a sort of rural police of the American territory on the Mexican border, fired upon the rebels as soon as they sighted them. The rebels returned the fire and this was the beginning of the state of war in which that portion of the United States finds itself.

However, even then the movement could have been confined to the conflict between the original rebels and the rangers; but Authority is not a shield or a shelter of the poor, but its lash, therefore instead of protecting the poor inhabitants in the region in which it persecuted the rebels, it began to hostile them in a thousand ways, pretending to find a rebel in each Mexican baron the minions happened to come across, and then the rangers began an infamous manhunt against the Mexicans. The rangers, reinforced civilians, hordes of police-thugs and mercenaries of all descriptions, would enter and trample the humble habitations occupied by the Mexicans; for Authority never bothers the bourgeoisie, of whom it is the watch dog, and there they would deliver themselves to veritable orgies, only proper of cannibals, discharging their arms upon men, old men, women and children, trying to avenge on innocent people the losses that in open combat the rebels had inflicted upon them.

One of the many houses assaulted, was that of comrade Aniceto Pizana, man of honesty, who resided with his family near the Talitos rancho, adjacent to Brownsville. The house was assaulted on August 3 by a horde of savages, representatives of Au-

thority, firing indiscriminately upon the inhabitants regardless of age or sex. Aniceto is not a man that allows being trampled upon; he is a man conscious of his rights, and with three more comrades that happened to be in his house at that time, returned the fire of the bandits who numbered from 30 to 35. And hard was the battle that ensued. Our four comrades demonstrated prodigious valor, as the assailants were well fortified, and notwithstanding the fact that all the advantages were on the side of the lackeys, our heroic brothers held them at bay for over half an hour, killing and wounding several of them. Unfortunately a little boy, Pizana's only son, was wounded on the leg by a shot from the bandits, and it was necessary to amputate it. Ever since then Aniceto also is under arms, and according to the capitalist press, his activity is very intense.

The case of Aniceto is not an isolated case: The same thing happened in other places of the Brownsville region. Similar outrages were committed by the representatives of Authority on persons who perhaps never thought of rebelling; but who were forced by circumstances to take up arms to defend themselves from the savage assaults, to save their lives and that of their dear ones; or, at least, to have the satisfaction of exchanging a laborious and honest life, for the life of a criminal "ranger", of a minion or volunteer of the savage State of Texas.

Here is how a spark of rebellion was propagated, and what started as a vulgar persecution to a handful of persons, has been transformed through the stupidity of Authority into a veritable Revolution. There is no such thing as Plan of San Diego or any schem of that kind; what there is, is a movement of real defense of the oppressed against the oppressor. Those under arms are not as the prostituted capitalist press tries to make it appear, but men who find no protection in Authority, seek it in the rifle; men who prefer to sell their lives dear rather than permit being killed like muttons by bandits without conscience or honor.

The crimes committed by the "rangers" in this last two months, and particularly in this last two weeks, twitches the nerves of the dullest man. Hundreds of innocent Mexicans have been killed by those savages, among the victims being men, young and old, women and children. The houses where the Mexicans live have been burned, their crops razed, and such attempts have contributed to extend the revolutionary movement. A local paper, "The Los Angeles Tribune", says in its issue of the 8th of last month, referring to the zone involved in the Revolution of the State of Texas: ".....territory as large as the State of Illinois is fearfully apprehensive of midnight attacks, burning of fields and death."

In another part of the same issue, the same paper says: "more than five hundred Mexicans have been killed on the Rio Grande within the last three weeks, according to reports from the rangers today,—September 7—to police officials in the counties affected by the Revolution."

This is what the "rangers" confess; but knowing the criminal instincts that integrate the mercenary bodies of those ferocious beasts in the State of Texas, it is to be presumed that they have been short in their information, and that the victims of Authority must ascend to a higher number. Here is how "El Presente" speaks referring to the victims of the "rangers": "No body knows who killed those found hanging to trees or riddled with bullets; but everybody points to the "rangers". And it adds: "Men have been killed under a bed and in their houses, notwithstanding their plea for a moment of peace to explain. They have been dragged from jails to be hung

and mostly to be shot from the back after they have delivered their arms and surrendered." [Shot from the back after they have surrendered! Can better proof of felony be extracted from a "ranger"?

This is, very strikingly, what happens in Texas. It is not a movement of bandits as the capitalist press tries to make it appear, but a natural uprising of man that seeing his very existence menaced, defends himself as best he can.

(DENOUNCED ITEM)

Justice and not bullets is what ought to be given to the revolutionists of Texas, and from now on we should demand that the persecutions to innocent Mexicans should cease, and, as to the revolutionists, we should also demand that they be not executed (shot).

The ones who should be shot are the "rangers" and the band of bandits who accompany them in their depredations.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

Statement Of The Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required By The Act Of Congress Of August 24, 1912.

Of Regeneración published weekly at 2325 Ivyhoe Ave Los Angeles, California for April 1st 1916.
State of California
County of Los Angeles

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Enrique Flores Magon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor, Publisher, Business Manager Owner of the "Regeneración" and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Name of— Post office address—
Publisher Enrique F. Magon, Box 1236
Editor Enrique F. Magon, P O Box 1236
Managing Editor E. F. Magon Box 1236
Business managers E. F. Magon Box 1236
2. That the owners are:
Enrique F. Magon P. O. Box 1236
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:
None.....
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.
5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is.....
(This information is required from daily publications only.)
Enrique Flores Magon
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29 day of March 1916
[SEAL] N. Treosti Notary Public (My commission expires June 3d 1917.)

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

Trough 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.....