

On Their Heads The Blood Must Lie.

All the signs point to intervention in Mexico at an early date. President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan have given us many fine-sounding words, as to constitutional liberties, a free ballot, and the like; but they have been only fine words, limited most cautiously to non-essentials. Not once has either dropped so much as a hint that the economic demands of the Mexican peon will be considered; never have they ventured to suggest that the paper titles by which absentee landlords and usurers still claim the right to hold Mexico's masses in wage slavery will be respected no longer. Yet that is the one central point around which the whole battle rages. The White House's studied silence is proof positive that the causes of Mexican poverty will be left untouched; that United States guns will ultimately defend those monopolistic privileges which, and which alone, have led to all the trouble. In his "Barbarous Mexico," written some four years ago, John Kenneth Turner began chapter XIV, with the following words: "The United States is a partner in the slavery of Mexico. After freeing his black slave, Uncle Sam, at the end of half a century, has become a slaver again. Uncle Sam has gone to slave-driving in a foreign country." His whole book was a triumphantly overwhelming demonstration of the truth of that great, central statement. The position still holds, and the United States government is intending to maintain it.

Intervention means war, and on so serious a subject as war I, for one, desire to cherish no illusions. I have not the confidence expressed by so many champions of Mexico, who assert that in the long guerrilla fight which must ensue the Mexicans will prove invincible. Although Mexico has a population more than double that of the Philippines, I think it quite possible that, by blockading their ports, seizing their cities, lining their railroads with troops and diligently hunting down the guerrillas with which the country will swarm, the remnant of the Mexicans may ultimately be brought to terms. But those terms will mean their practical extinction as a race, for the Indian of the South will not abandon his quest for freedom and submit himself to the industrial yoke we hear so meekly any more than did his brother of the North. Therefore the fighting will be long and bitter; war of the meanest type; Indian fighting, with no quarter shown on either side; wherein every device will be exhausted to ambush the attacker and trap him into localities where he will perish, from lack of water or from drinking poisoned water; where the torch and the bomb will be in constant use, and it will be impossible to furnish medical aid to those whom the climate catches in its deadly grip. There will be nothing glorious about it. It will be savage butchery on both sides.

The result, should United States arms finally triumph, will be that oligarchy will have acquired another enormous and enormously rich domain; that the wage system, against which the workers are now beginning to protest, will have received an enormous extension and have been strengthened enormously; that the fiercer and more virile element among the Mexicans will have been wiped out, and that such as still remain will be the pliant, docile, capitalist. It does not look like a result for which we should be content to pay a price so heavy. It looks, indeed, like the sort of thing we should avoid at almost any cost. It is, undoubtedly, a consummation against which the proletariat of this country would rise in revolution—if they understood the question as it actually is. If they understood the importance of the land question, even standing by itself; if they understood that the peon, in driving the Terrazas and other great land monopolists into exile, has been by that very fact fighting the battle which, some day, they themselves will have to fight; if they understood that in burning the monopolist's title deeds the despised Mexican peasant has been destroying chains from which, some day, they will have to wrench themselves loose; if they understood that in overthrowing military dictatorships and bringing to utter confusion all attempts to establish a strong, centralized government, their brothers in Mexico have been initiating the work which, some day, the disinherited of all the world will have to carry to completion—if they understood these things, and others I have not the space to enumerate, their present indifference on the subject of intervention would form as black a page in the history of treason as time has yet recorded. But they do not understand. They continue to be blind. They continue to be hoodwinked by the diplomacy of the ruling class, and even more by the racial prejudices and economic delusions with which today, as for so many past centuries, they still enslave themselves.

Throughout the Labor world a great division has arisen; and amid all the discouragement surrounding us, the very fact that such a division has arisen is the one inextinguishable ray of hope which assures us of the coming dawn. I refer to the struggle, now fairly launched, between the advocates of centralization and decentralization; between servile government and rebellious self-assertion; between the spirit of revolt against authority and that slavish herd philosophy which, drunk in with our mothers' milk and fed to us every moment, still dominates the masses. Of that struggle as imminent I had been aware for many years, through the studies to which I naturally incline. All this I knew theoretically,

but it has been my fortunate lot to be associated, in this Mexican upheaval, with the very thing that has driven the abstract lesson home and furnished me with an arsenal of practical illustrations no argument can shake. For nearly three years I have been watching the play, as I might watch a game of chess. For nearly three years I have been corresponding with authoritarians and anti-authoritarians, trying to induce them to place themselves, that we might test the conflicting forces and find out, by actual experiment, precisely where we stand. The result has been always the same. The authoritarians are always against revolt, wherever it shows its head, and the leaders are always on the side of authoritarianism. It matters not whether they call themselves Anarchists, Socialists, Syndicalists, I. W. W.'s, Trades Unionists or what not. The leader always wishes things to remain as they are; seeks to stifle revolt; strives to alienate sympathy from those who really try to alter things; strains every nerve to keep his followers safely together by urging them to continue traveling along the same old ruts; trembles instinctively at the thought that untried paths may develop new professional guides who may thrust him into discredited obscurity. Against this he fights with all his power. To dodge this danger he brings all his resources into play; publishes literature that reeks with stupefying sophistries; appeals from the platform and through his party press to all the most cowardly timidities; invents and elaborates what he calls historical philosophies; talks of the great constructive role Labor is called on to play; wheedles his audiences with the basest flattery, and twists and turns with an agility no old party hack can equal. I do not wish to indulge in rhetoric. I wish to speak coldly by the card.

When the Mexican Revolution was in its earliest stage, the enthusiasm among the workers was so great that none of their leaders dared to throw cold water on it, openly. We wrote to Gompers, and received one of those gushing, non-committal replies for which he is infamous. His emotions were stirred most deeply, but he had his doubts—the timid note. We wrote to Debs, and Debs was still more sympathetic—for the "Appeal to Reason" had profited mightily by the crusade against Diaz—but Debs also had his doubts. Again the appeal to fear. We wrote to St. John, and St. John outdid the others in sympathy and showed only a small modicum of doubt, for St. John was then a good deal of a rebel and his policy was to counsel boldness. We tapped the Socialist movement all round, and, at first, it seemed to the Socialists that Karl Marx was right, and that the revolts of the struggling proletariat should be assisted always and everywhere; for which you may consult the "Communist Manifesto." We appealed to the Anarchists, starting with Emma Goldman, and nothing could have been more satisfactory than the replies received. Then the leaders got to work. Today Gompers shelves resolutions aimed to warn the workers against the crime of intervention, and by imploring them not to embarrass our benevolent President. Debs sheltered long ago behind the staple argument that the Mexicans, not having passed through the orthodox economic evolution demanded by orthodox Socialism, are not ripe for revolution. The same note comes from St. John's sanctum; is making itself heard through I. W. W. journals that ought to be ashamed of themselves, and has been voiced to me personally by a member of the General Executive Board, who trotted out all the stale old dope about Mexico having still to develop into Capitalism, and fell back on the vile aristocratic argument that the Mexican is racially and industrially inferior to our noble American workman, who has allowed himself to be cheated and robbed and outraged as probably no proletariat has ever been, and today, in the mass, is simply snivelling, whining and dragging himself with big words to excuse his arrant cowardice.

To the last number of "The Wooden Shoe," an I. W. W. weekly, Albert Petzen contributes a letter headed, "A proletarian view of the Mexican Revolution," in which he says: "Picture yourselves the Mexican peon, who is not able to read or write and never heard of such a thing as a war between capital and labor, with no understanding of the present or future society, has by some miracle all at once grasped the ideals of a modern proletariat to abolish the existing system of exploitation," etc. He writes of those who believe in and are trying to explain this Mexican struggle as a "howling middle-class" which "adopts the fine phrases of Land and Liberty just like the middle-class of the U. S. A. in time of the civil war was howling against slavery of the South." In reply to which I ask: Is it not monstrous that workmen, who are never tired of preaching "Solidarity" should be the first to shout out from the house-tops that their fellow-workmen are too ignorant to strike for liberty? Is it not infamous that birds should be eager to foul their own nests, and that in "La Huelga General" Spanish organs of the I. W. W., published in Los Angeles, caustic articles should appear week after week, all with one burden, viz., that their fellow-countrymen are too unlettered and undeveloped to revolt? When the natives of India rose against British rule, as they will have to rise again, their struggle would have met with the bitter opposition of such writers. The Russian peasant, trying to make his revolution, as he must try again, would have had them for his enemies. They would have sympathized with the feudal nobility of France by declaring that the French peasant was an uneducated clown. The Irish peasant, warring against absentee landlords, would have had no kind word from them, and from the passage quoted, it is evident that they would have opposed the Abolitionists in their agitation for the overthrow of chattel slavery. Am I not right?

Is not that the position in which these I. W. W. men today deliberately place themselves? How can they escape the conclusion I draw? They cannot. It is the only one logically possible.

When I voice my astonishment to other I. W. W. men, they reply that this is the stuff diligently peddled out by the General Executive Board, which is anxious to keep its followers down to shop organization; to what it calls a "constructive" program; to the so-called "practical" demands, which are expected to increase membership, bring in dues and consolidate power in the hands of most unpractical managers. I believe the explanation is the true one. We find ourselves today fighting, against supposedly revolutionary Socialists, of whom Debs made himself the mouth-piece. Everything they are saying, as to the necessity of passing through the regular stages of capitalist evolution, through long and slow processes of industrial education and so forth, Debs said more than two years ago. It is the message of narrow, hidebound, pedantic German Socialism, transplanted to this soil and welcomed eagerly by all leaders, and also by those who have in them that base streak of snobishness which would make them leaders if they had the opportunity or talent. It is not revolutionary but reactionary to the core. It is not true to life but only to sophistical abstractions written into books by men saturated with that spirit of aristocracy which always makes for leadership. It is always welcomed by those who rule, or aspire to rule, by playing on the timidity of the masses, and bidding them look up to their leaders as infinitely wiser than themselves. There never yet was a master who did not meet the threatened rebellion of his slaves with the argument that they were too ignorant for liberty. Every French or Russian noble, every English landlord and every tyrant since history began, has always pleaded that he believes in freedom, but that the people are not ripe for it. Those who gather to themselves power, and thereby reduce the masses to powerlessness, always defend their course by criticising the deficiencies of the many; by asserting that the mob is incapable of governing itself; by emphasizing their own intellectual superiority. It is the note common to leaders in every age and clime; and from them it filters down to the world-be leaders, to the natural snobs, to the Better-and-Better-than-Thous who are to be found everywhere, appealing to craven fear, playing on that conservatism we have inherited from centuries of slavery and doing, usually without pay, the very work for which the master class would pay most highly.

Times are changing, greatly and rapidly. We are becoming saturated with distrust for politicians and grow restless under the leader's rein. Gompers is still president of the American Federation of Labor, but no earnest radical can be found who has the slightest confidence in Gompers; and the radicals are the driving force. Debs and Berger have lost all influence. St. John faces a revolt which is branding him as an authoritarian, and if the rank and file become convinced that charge is true, to the scrap heap St. John must go. It all makes for Revolution. It is all in the fight to break away from that slavish instinct we must cast off. It all tends to brush aside the mental cobwebs with which slavish submission to the slave-herding teachings of doctrinaires has blinded us. "Open thine eyes, to see. Slavel and thy feet are free. Thy bonds and thy beliefs are one in kind; And of thy fears thine irons wrought Hang weights about thee Fashioned out of thine own thought." W.M.C. OWEN.

BRAVO! BRAVO, PEREZ!

We take the following from a despatch to the "Los Angeles Times," dated Phoenix, Dec. 19, and giving the account of the trial of two Mexican rebels, charged with violation of the neutrality laws by transporting munitions of war across the border: "Denegri offered evidence of good character in support of his prayer for mercy.

"Perez, in contrast, boldly stepped out before the judge and, in English, defiantly proclaimed he not only did that which he was charged, but that he would do it again a thousand times, could he thus serve to liberate his country.

"Willingly would I throw also my life into the scale," he cried, and he reminded the judge that Washington, too, had been a rebel until he had succeeded in his fight.

"With fervid eloquence he demanded that the judge appreciate the righteousness of his cause and the fact that he desired not mercy, but justice.

"Each man was fined \$200."

"The 'Times' played that up on its front page, which is one of the reasons why we prefer the 'Times' to Mr. Hearst's hypocritical publications.

HARD TIMES? YES, INDEED.

Last week we were compelled at the last minute to cut the paper down to two pages. For this reason our "Mexican Notes" were omitted. The fact of the paper appearing in diminished size will, we hope, sufficient hint that times are very hard with us, and that remittances from subscribers in arrears will be a most welcome Christmas present. We have sent, from this office alone, some \$400 for the defense of our Texas comrades. The trouble is that our sympathizers, contributing to defense funds, giving their quota at protest meetings and buying "Land and Liberty" for propaganda, find themselves at the end of their resources. Then naturally the poor paper suffers. Yet the paper is obviously the backbone of the agitation.

Mexican Notes To Socialists.

For days the papers revelled in word-painting of the march to Ojinaga—in Chihuahua and on the Texas border—of the 6000 refugees, of whom some 4000 were federal soldiers, from Chihuahua City. It gave great opportunities for fine writing, and the figure of Terrazas surrounded by nearly 100 relatives and 1000 soldiers, was thrust constantly into the foreground. "Terrazas headed for Los Angeles with \$400,000 in silver" was typical of numerous headlines descriptive of the flight of the man generally spoken of as the richest man in Mexico. Amid all the riot of language we searched vainly for the word that should suggest the question—"How did he get it?" That does not interest our plutocratic press, although the correct answer to the question would explain the whole Mexican situation to a puzzled world.

Mercedo, Orozco, Salazar and other federal officers, are reported as busily fortifying Ojinaga against Villa's expected attack. It is believed the federal rank and file will refuse to defend the place, being thoroughly disheartened and disgusted with the fact that they have been long without pay. Ojinaga is the last town of any importance still held by the Federals in Northern Mexico, apart from Pacific Coast ports.

According to the latest despatches, Tampico was attacked the morning of Dec. 10 and there was hard fighting throughout the day. The United States has three men of war and a supply ship anchored off Tampico, and Great Britain has two cruisers. Two additional cruisers, the Lancaster and Hermione, have left Jamaica for Mexican waters.

The Constitutional attack on Guaymas and Mazatlan is reported as having been strengthened by the accession of some 1500 to 2000 Yaquis. The Mexican Congress has nullified the recent Presidential election and named July as the date for a new one. This gives Huerta, if he can last that long, seven months of dictatorial power, for Congress confirmed him in his office as Provisional President. It seems significant that the Catholic members absented themselves from the session at which this was done, but probably it is still more significant that at the following session, when Huerta asked for full power in the departments of War, Finance and the Interior, Francisco Pascual Garcia, leader of the Catholic party, spoke strongly in favor of the proposition, declaring himself convinced that the country needed a dictator.

The Hearst papers in particular have bristled with sensational reports to the effect that Zapata, at the head of 18,000 well-armed men, was within twenty-eight miles of Mexico City, and that all efforts to check his advance had proved fruitless. He was represented as racing against Villa for possession of the capital, the intelligentsia being, of course, that the Zapatistas wanted to be in first at the starting. The truth appears to be that Cuernavaca, some seventy miles from Mexico City, has been once more the scene of great Zapatista activity.

It was reported that federal artillerymen in Mexico City had revolted and seized an arsenal, and the government took occasion to make a parade of military strength, marching its troops for hours through the capital's streets.

There have been constant rumors to the effect that Villa no longer recognizes Carranza's authority, but the latter has denied this most specifically, announcing that he himself will be in Chihuahua shortly. It appears probable that Villa himself will advance shortly to the attack of Ojinaga, represented as having nominally a garrison of 4000.

Gen. Obregon, Constitutional commander of the northwest division, has issued a proclamation of amnesty to all federal privateers, but officers are excluded. He states therein that in the territory comprising his command, viz., Chihuahua, Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango and Lower California, the only Federals now left are isolated in Guaymas and Mazatlan, or fleeing South along the Californian peninsula.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of Dec. 11, "Observer" discusses the probability of Carranza being able to retain authority over the forces nominally under his control, and decides against it. He places the white population of Mexico at only 1,000,000, and of the vast residue, composed, as he calculates, equally of full-blooded Indians and mixed-bloods, he says: "Their intentions are too often limited to nothing more than a desire for revenge for injuries suffered and a prevention of the repetition of these injuries. They will be discontented with any government which does not immediately redress what they consider their wrongs." That seems to us a most healthy and practical state of mind, and we can only hope that the robbed and outraged proletariat of so-called civilized countries will eventually attain it.

In his latest letter, "Observer" admits, more frankly than hitherto, the peon's economic grievances. He writes: "These people have borne practically all the burdens of Mexico and reaped none of the rewards. Large numbers of them are discontented with the unjust social, economic and political conditions, and will not be contented nor abstain from disorder until existing conditions are remedied."

As syndicalists we declare our neutrality to all religious and political parties. We are proletarian warriors on the economic field. In that war alone can we unmask our enemies, giving each other perfect freedom to believe in any and all things. All we ask is that they stand by us to fight for economic justice, to build upon a non-bureaucratic basis the foundation of a new society.—(Caroline Nelson, in "The Voice of the People.")

Comrades: In San Antonio, Texas, U. S. A., next January, the curtain will rise on a legal drama in which you OUGHT to be profoundly interested. Eleven of YOUR fellow-workers will then be placed on trial, charged with murder, and the prosecuting authorities announce their intention of sending six, at least, to the gallows. Of the group of fourteen arrested originally three have received sentences of life imprisonment, twenty-five years and six years, respectively.

We are pleading for the lives and liberties of high-minded men who, seeking to return to their country that they might answer an imperative call to duty and do their share toward winning that economic liberty for which Mexicans are striving, were betrayed most basely. Out of that betrayal arose a fight in which an American deputy-sheriff, one Ortiz, was killed by a man named Guerra, who himself lost his life. Under the legal fiction that YOUR comrades were also guilty of that killing, because it took place while they were engaged in the commission of an illegal act—the endeavor to cross the international frontier with arms in their possession—two of YOUR comrades, young men in their earliest prime, already have been deprived of life, for that is what their sentences amount to. The other eleven will fare no better unless we come actively and unitedly to their assistance; giving them both the aid of able counsel and that public indignation which a comprehension of the true facts should arouse.

Your fourteen comrades, with others, were fired on without one word of warning while on their peaceable journey toward the frontier. They were making camp when their sentry was shot dead. They took their assailants prisoners, but subsequently released them on receipt of what they accepted as a "safe-conduct"—a written promise that they should not be molested further. Then the assailants, despite their sacred pledge, went back for reinforcements and your comrades found themselves again attacked. One of them, Juan Rincon, was shot and left to die in agony, his piteous appeals for water being disregarded. Two others were wounded. Guerra shot Ortiz and he himself was killed. Overwhelmed by superior numbers your comrades were bound and marched fifteen miles under the most merciless conditions. They were laid in the burning sun while their captors debated the advisability of lynching them. Then they were railroaded to trial, with the result, as to three of them, described already. The capture dates Sept. 13, 1913, and the convictions were returned, and sentences passed almost before we in Los Angeles knew of the trouble. Only by exceptional alertness were we able to obtain sufficient time in which to turn ourselves.

You must know well that Texas, originally the property of Mexico, still swarms with Mexicans. They work by thousands in the cotton fields and at other useful occupations in which they produce untold wealth for the master class which despises and ranks them with those other workers, the negroes, whom it lynches repeatedly, guilty or not guilty. You must recognize that, under such conditions, your comrades need all the assistance you can give them, if they are to obtain that justice to which every worker is entitled. You must recognize further that, owing to the revolutionary fighting across the border, racial prejudice at this moment runs higher than ever, and that if your comrades are to be driven to the gallows, like sheep to the shambles, the most deplorable reprisals may result. Win justice for these men and all will be benefited. Allow them, by your influence, to be victimized and, in the long run, you yourselves will suffer.

Relations between this country and Mexico are strained at this very moment to the breaking point. At this very moment the great question of peace or war, fraught with such an infinity of weal or woe to millions of workers, hangs trembling in the balance. If the Hearsts and other Wall Street vultures can have their way, blood will flow like water on behalf of as heartless a crew of absentee landlords and usurious leeches as ever breathed. And there is much danger that these prosecutions may result in a most inhuman tragedy, which, lighting a powder-train of righteous passion, will plunge us into war. The lives and liberties of your comrades are at stake, but with these also is involved an even greater issue which comes home to every one of us.

We call them YOUR comrades, and emphasize the fact. They have been fighting the great battle to which you have pledged yourselves. They were marching to risk their lives for the millions of disinherited Mexican peons, whose blanket is their only home, because, from the cradle to the grave, they have been robbed by the rich against whom you agitate; because the unproductive and destructive speculator whom you denounce has swept the land from beneath their feet, as he has done with the millions of all nationalities who tonight fill the breadlines and crowd the municipal shelter-houses in all our modern cities; because this fight must be fought out, and mankind put once again on a footing of equality of opportunity, before we can begin to talk of peace.

Do you remember, only three years ago, when you were all reading and circulating "Barbarous Mexico," then fresh from your press? Do you remember how your blood boiled then at the story Turner told so truthfully? Your party organs then were aflame with indignation, and at all your meetings the crime committed against the Mexican proletariat were the theme of every speaker. The main situation still remains unchanged. The causes still continue, though their active operation has been checked for

the time being by the energetic resistance of the Mexicans themselves. Upheld by the bayonets of Privilege the institutions that condemn the peon to hopeless slavery still stand; and, save when he takes possession by the force of his own rifle, the peon is still barred from that access to the land which to him, as to all of us, is the only escape from economic dependence on the employer.

YOUR comrades must not be slaughtered. Poor, ignorant of our language and customs, with all the forces of Monopoly and racial prejudice ranged against them, they must be defended by competent counsel. Appeals must be taken. There will be considerable expense and it cannot be avoided. We must shoulder it as a necessary incident of this cruel struggle, and we feel very strongly that when the Socialists of this country and of the world understand how closely these cases touch both their honor and self-interest, they will not rest inactive.

Those whose names are signed to this appeal are all resident in Los Angeles, and, almost without exception, they have been active in the struggle for many years. They are of many nationalities, but it happens that there is not a Mexican among them. They have been drawn together by the consciousness that the cause of these Mexicans, among whom there is one American, Charles Cline, is their cause. As such, as the cause of each and every one of us engaged in the life-or-death contest with capitalism, we submit it to you.

Our treasurer and financial committee are well known here and above suspicion. Receipts and expenditures are acknowledged publicly in "Regeneration." We have taken all possible precautions for the safe-guarding and economic administration of the funds confided to us, and we feel justified in asking your earnest co-operation. Enclosed are literature and a subscription blank, and we ask you to circulate them freely and do what you can in these cases, which we commend to you as meriting honestly your every effort.

Fraternally,
Rangel-Cline Defense Fund.

The Men in Jail.

Two protest meetings were held in Los Angeles, Sunday last, Dec. 7: that in the afternoon being at the Plaza and that of the evening in Mammoth Hall. The first netted \$9, all of which goes to the defense of the Texas prisoners. The second, under the auspices of the International Workers' Defense League, netted \$13.92, the collection being \$29.92 and the expenses \$16, of which \$10 went to the landlord. The profits of this second meeting have to be divided among the various defenses in which the league is interested: Jack Whyte, Jaime Vidal, Odilun Luna, Luke North, O'Byrne, Genaro Alegria and the editor of this section spoke.

In addition to the \$89 previously mentioned the Rangel-Cline Defense Fund reports the receipt of \$36.21 for the past week, made up as follows: San Francisco, Boechio, 25c; Lawrence, Mass., Italian Branch, I. W. W., Local 20, \$4; New York, Italian Union, Bakers, \$3; Jessup, Pa., by Caminita, \$3.91; Old Forge, Pa., by Caminita, \$7.60; Arbeiter Franken und Sterbe Kasse, Branch 37, \$10; Branch 68, \$2; list \$21, \$3.45; San Diego, R. H. Johnson, \$2. This gives total receipts to date of \$195.16, as the total published in last week's paper should have read \$149.95 instead of \$147.95.

The Fund remitted \$75 to Attorney R. W. Hudson, Dec. 10. We are sending out a good deal of literature explaining the title these Texas cases should have to the support of the workers; but the quantity is not as large as we should wish, owing to our insufficient clerical staff. The comrades we have sent to represent us at San Antonio have held conferences at Tucson, Phoenix and Tucson, Ariz., and has just about made his travelling expenses, by collections and the sale of "Land and Liberty." We realize that times are exceptionally hard, but wish we could see money coming in faster for the stiff fight that has to be made.

We are getting some good orders for "Land and Liberty" and are eating our way well into the additional 10,000 ordered, but individual orders for single copies have slackened up greatly. This we regret, as the great thing is to have a widely-scattered circulation. We would urge our comrades, most strongly, if they wish to assist the propaganda, to get this booklet noticed in papers with which they are in touch. Every such notice, however simply it may be written, registers its effect immediately in the shape of enquiries and sales. It is by voluntary effort of this kind that propaganda is made, and it can be made in no other way.

- ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE.
- The Women's Economic League will give a benefit entertainment and dance on the evening of Friday, December 19th, at the auditorium of the Young People's Socialist League, 116 1/2 East Third street.
- There will be a high-class program of recitations, music and fancy dancing.
- The admission for men will be 25c; ladies free. The proceeds will go to the Rangel-Cline Defense Fund. This is an entertainment for old and young. Come and help swell the fund for securing justice in the case of our fellow-workers whose lives are in jeopardy in Texas.

Boss Liberty is very nicely illustrated, at the present time, in Mexico. There we see half a dozen or more powerful foreign bosses in a great struggle to determine as to whether an American, an Englishman, a German or a Mexican Boss shall have the sole liberty of robbing the work-

ers of Mexico. And in this struggle these bosses, in their lust for gold, would involve not only the Mexican people, but those of other countries in the terrible ravages of WAR. In Mexico many brands of politicians (the office boys of the Boss) talk loud and long of liberty, but the workers there are getting on to the game and large numbers are carrying on an extensive fight for the liberty of the working class. "Land and Liberty" is their battle-cry.—(The Unionist.)

STRONG GOVERNMENT.

"Observer," whose articles in "The Chicago Daily Tribune" have attracted so much attention, has summed up. Because it points unmistakably to intervention at no distant date, and because his articles seem to us just such as President Wilson himself might have written, the summary deserves a special notice. Nevertheless, although looking only to political changes, "Observer" has been compelled to make fatal admissions as to the economic slavery against which the peon is in rebellion; admissions on which we commented last week. This is more than President Wilson has done: for he like Madero, appears to believe that fine words about political freedom, fair elections, etc., can take the place of bread. It is the delusion of the bourgeoisie of the world over, and is preparative a universal conflagration.

First, "Observer" says that "Mexicans as a whole have not yet reached a point where the maximum amount of political and civil privileges can be allowed. A strong central government is a necessity." No mention of economic liberties is made, although the entire trouble is over lack of them—and political and civil rights are treated as "privileges" to be "allowed." But, above all, it is to be noted that, while the great libertarian champions agree that the remedy for liberty misused is added liberty, our rulers insist that liberty is to be attained only through the suppressive agency of a "strong central government." There is the broad dividing line; and we, for our part, assert most stoutly that the Mexican Revolution itself has been the best of proofs that only Liberty can pave the way for Order. Give the peon that economic liberty to which all men should be heirs and these disturbances will cease automatically. Deprive them of economic liberty, by the mailed hand of a "strong central government," and civil war, open or concealed, is ever with you. Between the bourgeois philosophy of "Observer," which is the philosophy of President Wilson and the capitalist interests he represents, and that of Liberty no harmony is possible. The duel is to the death.

Secondly, "Observer" considers that a Huerta government is incompatible with constitutional rights. We let that pass, making only the criticism that constitutional without economic rights are never worth the paper wasted on them.

Thirdly, he holds—and it is a confession of the wrongs imposed on Mexicans by past strong governments—that no administration will be able to endure in Mexico unless it better the condition of the masses. Again the bourgeois philosophy, credulously confident that government will free the masses, is in direct conflict with the revolutionary doctrine that they can rely only on themselves.

Fourthly, he hopes that Carranza or some other Constitutionalist may be able to establish the "strong central government" he favors.

Fifthly, he declares that, if they cannot, the United States must intervene.

Can You Locate the Pea?

There you have the milk in the coconut. There you have the set purpose that underlies these diplomatic mouthings, which hide bitter curses over the stoppage of rents and dividends. We have said that President Wilson might have written these "Observer" letters, for they express his policy to a dot. Read all he has written on this question, down to the annual message just delivered, and you will find not a line suggesting that a tremendous economic issue is up for settlement; not a word respecting the disinherited peon's right to the soil; and his fathers have watered with their sweat. Never has he dared to touch the great central problem which the holders of the paper titles—the absentee landlords and usurers—keep constantly in view. He has evaded it persistently, and his handling of this most vital issue has been characterized from the first by studied concealment of the most disingenuous type.

Months ago our editorial began with the statement that, like a thief in the night, Wall Street would try to creep into Mexico by the back window of the border States. What happened in those conferences between Huerta and Carranza, at Nogales? What pledges were given that if Carranza could not restore order in Sonora and Chihuahua and Coahuila—the territory most coveted by our plutocracy—the United States would help him to police these districts? All in the plausible name of law and order; which, being translated literally, means that the disinherited peon will not be allowed to set aside the paper titles; will not be allowed to take possession of those lands over which foremen of absentees assert a claim; will be suppressed and thrown into jail and shot down by United States troops, doing police duty for plutocracy, if he endeavors to assert his rights. Thereupon, from Woodrow Wilson to the patriot country constable, all will unite in thanking heaven that order has been restored and constitutional liberty established!

Boiled down to a few words, the whole trouble with Mexico, so far as the United States is concerned, is that dividends from Mexican investments to American capitalists have practically ceased, and the real question is how to get them started again at the earliest possible moment and the least possible expense.—New York Call.