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ONLY MORAL STAMINA Finally Wins Out.

If I knew that any man with whom I had dealings believed sincerely that Might is Right, I should sever relations immediately; for I should feel positive that he would feel justified in breaking any agreement, and that he would rob or murder me the moment he thought it to his interest to do so. I should feel positive that, if he had it in his power, he would start war unexpectedly on helpless nations, violate treaties, blow up passenger steamers, bombard defenceless cities, drop bombs on innocent crowds, rape women, bayonet children, and spread fire, famine and pestilence broadcast, with scientific efficiency. Thereby he would demonstrate his Might, and he would justify himself by declaring his Might his Right. Such a man would be, of course an arch-demon, but apparently he would find plenty of people eager to acclaim him the Superman.

This is the revolutionary question of the day, "par excellence." So far as the revolutionary movement is concerned everything else pales into nothingness as compared with the fact that it is today leaning toward and, at least, coquetting with this antiquated sophistry that "Might is Right." If that continues all confidence will be destroyed, all solidarity shattered, all possibility of co-operation buried in the abyss of one of the oldest and shallowest delusions that ever tricked the human mind. Without mutual confidence there can be no solidarity, and men unite only with those on whose sense of honesty and justice they hope, at least, they can rely.

The revival of this dogma is, indeed, a most serious revolution within the revolutionary movement itself; for it contradicts, directly and violently, the teachings of all the great revolutionary writers. Hitherto our entire attack has been on Might, for the brutality with which it tramples Right beneath its despotic feet. Hitherto our criticism of the Church has been that it canonizes triumphant Might. Hitherto our indictment of the State has been that the only article in its moral code has been, "Get. Might, no matter how you get it." Hitherto the seats of the Mighty have been regarded as the goal of our attack. Hitherto the Might of money, the Might of land monopoly, the Might of the great primary wrongs that reduce the masses to helplessness, and thereby still hold humanity in chains, has been our special target. But today, if Might is really Right, our movement is meaningless, our agitation an absurdity and our occupation gone.

If Might is really the only Right, Pope, Kaiser, King, the territorial magnates and the great lords of finance and industry, are the truly righteous, and we should raise no sacrilegious hand to pull them down. If Might is really Right we should reserve all our admiration for the successful millionaire and treat as lunatics those who "scorn delights and lead laborious days," that they may acquire knowledge and be of service to their race. If Might is really Right we should all turn Militarists.

I myself have done only what any man of ordinary industry can do, in making myself well acquainted with the works and philosophy of the great revolutionary writers. I know Tolstoy, Bakounine and Kropotkin, Proudhon, Tucker, Henry George and Herbert Spencer—to name only those that seem to me the greater ones, although I should certainly add

Buckle to the list. For some forty years their study has been my special delight; and this I say only because it may lend some weight to my statement that all these writers specifically denounce this dogma that Might is Right. They denounce it as being a Military dogma, and they declare that man's evolution is from Militarism to Humanism. Most of them declared themselves Anarchists precisely because the State rests on this military dogma and is, therefore, destructive of human solidarity. They announce themselves as advocating a free society, in which no man shall be under the coercion of another and affairs shall be regulated by mutual agreement.

You denounce the Church as sacrificing Humanity on the altar of her own invented God, and she replies: "I represent the Almighty, and his Might is Right."

You denounce the autocratic State as immolating Man on the altar of unquestioning loyalty to itself, and the State replies: "My Right rests on my decrees the highest moral duty."

To these proud statements of Authority what is the reply of developing human thought but this?—"You imprisoned Galileo, in your Might, but he was Right, in your Might you may imprison those who expose injustice, but they are Right. You may suppress free enquiry and throttle free speech, but free enquiry and free speech are necessary to progress and, therefore, Right, whatever the Might of Authority may say."

Mr. Clarence Darrow is now telling his audiences that Nietzsche, who wrote that "a good war hollows any cause," is the man for us to study; and he, who once starred as the eulogist of that stern moralist, Tolstoy, is now repeating the patter of the Greek "Sophists," more than two thousand years ago, and declaring morality a myth. My writings have a very small circulation, but I hope they will have a more lasting influence than Darrow's cynicism can ever win.

Darrow is far cleverer than I am, and vastly more popular; but his is the teaching of an indifferent fatalist, whose chief aim is to amuse, whereas I preach eternally that moral stamina is the one thing that finally wins through. There is the difference—a difference too great for words to measure. In my judgment the man who has convictions and will stand by them, even at the sacrifice of life itself—as millions are doing today in Europe—is always a force; whereas I consider the apparently learned philosopher, who shrugs his shoulders at all convictions and is all things to all men, no force at all. It was Napoleon who said that what he dreaded most was the "conscience" of the British soldier, and Napoleon was a far deeper man than ever Darrow can hope to be. Napoleon knew: Napoleon understood that, however stupid he might be, the British soldier would go into the jaws of hell itself for what he was convinced was Right, and that there lay the force that would ultimately win.

What Darrow scoffs at is precisely the thing the revolutionary movement in this country lacks and has to get—moral stamina. Precisely the very thing it has to do is to stop amusing itself with quick-change artists and come down to the serious business of acquiring principles and standing by them. Then, and then only, can it expect to win the confidence and co-operation of the great outside world. Then, and then only, can it advance one inch toward that solidarity which is its goal.

Tolstoy, who was Darrow's former deity, defined degeneracy as

the incapacity to distinguish Wrong from Right; and when a nation, or a movement, reaches that unhappy stage it falls immediately under the rule of the sword and is finally expunged from history. For individuals, as for nations, it is better to be Right than to be President; and, speaking for myself, I refuse to surrender to the sword or accept its barbarous doctrine at any price. I will not, if I can avoid it, bow the knee to authority imposed by force. I cling to the struggle for Human Justice as being the true ideal, and consider that we should not make justice an abstraction but should battle untiringly to clothe the ideal with the reality of accomplished fact. At present the lady's nudity is shocking, for such scanty apparel as she once boasted is being torn into shreds by Authority's mailed hand.

Profound moral conviction is life's driving force and to that all history testifies. Great must have been the moral stamina required to face the appalling terrors of the Inquisition; but men with that moral stamina were found, and they drove that fiendish institution howling into the abyss. Great moral stamina was demanded of the English fishermen who, in their cockleshells of boats, faced the great Spanish Armada; but they scattered it to the winds, and where is the Papal Empire of Spain today? Great moral stamina was needed to face the slave power of the Southern States, but Garrison's and Phillips' were found, and that institution fell to their attack.

It will not be otherwise with that great struggle in which we have the good fortune to act, to some extent at least, as pioneers. If we strive conscientiously to ascertain the Right, and stand bravely by it, we shall attract to our support all those great forces which have been steadily raising mankind from the slough in which it originally wallowed and fitting it for the heights it should today be occupying. But if we enthroned Might as our one and only God, we shall fall inevitably into the power of the Military State, and we shall have only our own mental indolence and own moral cowardice to blame.

Within the last four centuries the world has had to grapple with and crush four separate attempts to bring about, by the sword, the power-intoxicated dream of Universal Empire. The first was by Philip II of Spain, and, if successful, would have made the Pope this world's great arbiter. The second was by Louis XIV, of France; that Louis who arrogantly proclaimed the State as supreme and himself as constituting the State. The third was by Napoleon, and in the vortex of the fourth we now are struggling. Every one of these attempts has been defeated from official pulpits and excused by official writers on exactly this sophistical plea that the only criterion of Right is Might. But, even in this time of agony and stress, the world has not gone wholly mad; and today, as in the past, the masses recognize instinctively that war does not represent the normal life, and that its maxims are fatal to industrial peace and human liberty.

WM. C. OWEN.

Democracy At Work

After all, that greatest of all pantomimes that is pulled off every four years, the presidential election, does not come wholly in vain. It is the time when politicians, the big ones, tear at each other's hides and expose to view one another's dirty linen in an effort to outdo the other fellow in the mad scramble for the flesh pots and easy pickings that the dear people has provided for them.

Just now the pious Woodrow is

having some very unpalatable things being uncovered by his political enemies with regard to his partnership, or rather his stewardship, of Carranza. The Los Angeles "Times" not being interested in the election of Wilson, has carried of late an expose of the methods he used to bring about the recognition of Carranza and his policy in dealing with him, which makes a mere figurehead and vassal of the "First Chief." It is well to remember that Wilson is as strong in his protestations that the Mexicans should be let alone to settle their own affairs, as Carranza is in claiming that he allows no one to meddle with his business. However, the following summary from one of the articles in the "Times" tells a different story:

"The campaign to secure the recognition by the United States of Venustiano Carranza as provisional President or Mexico was engineered by Richard H. Cole of Pasadena, at the request of Carranza, who sent three personal representatives here. Mr. Cole employed the services of Richard L. Metcalf, righthand man of William Jennings Bryan, to convert Mr. Bryan to the Carranza support. He also engaged the support of other men, well known in Washington and governmental affairs to advance the Carranza cause, and the ramifications of the campaign reached into many quarters entirely unsuspected by the general public, but with the result that President Wilson accorded to Carranza the desired recognition.

"The proclamation of Carranza, setting forth his purposes and policies, was prepared at Washington by Mr. Cole and an attorney of that city, entirely without the knowledge of Carranza. It was then submitted to President Wilson, who made some changes in it; then it went back to Mr. Cole, who telegraphed to Carranza, and receipt acknowledged, and Carranza agreed that he would issue it as his manifesto at the proper time, which he did. Carranza's evident domination and control of Mexican policies at Washington, with the apparent prospect that the credit of the United States is to be placed back of Mexico, burdened with the prospect of hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage claims from European countries and citizens of the United States, prompts Mr. Cole to give some of the history of the campaign that brought Wilson's recognition of Carranza."

Speaking of an interview in a report to Carranza, Cole says: "On the 17th day of March, 1915 at the Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., I introduced Mr. Metcalf to Mr. Pesqueira (one of Carranza's envoys) which interview was fruitful of results.

"Among other of my influential friends at Washington was the Hon. J. W. Folk, former Governor of Missouri. At that interview Sr. Arredondo (Carranza's representative) asked of Governor Folk just what the United States government wanted or expected Gen. Carranza and the Constitutionists to do."

PREPARES PROCLAMATION.

"On April 16, 1915, at the office of Gov. Folk, a meeting was held between Sr. Arredondo, Gov. Folk and myself, in which after the conference of the previous days, we had prepared substantially the draft of a proposed proclamation intended for you to issue as to the character and objects of your government in Mexico, and it was at this time when the matter had reached this stage, that I considered it only proper and courteous that your attorney in Washington, Mr. Douglas, be taken into conference. I therefore, requested that this be done. Gov. Folk telephoned to Mr. Bryan to ask whether he had any objection to another person being admitted to the conference. Gov. Folk reported the answer over the telephone, to be, that we should use our own judgment.

"In consequence, at my suggestion, Gov. Folk telephoned over to Judge Douglas, requesting him to come over to his office.

"Mr. John W. Lind was then in Washington, and he was later called into the conference, with the result that finally, through the conferences had with Gov. Folk, John W. Lind, Judge Douglas, and myself, there was formulated the first draft of the proclamation which was subsequently issued by you.

"This first draft of the proclamation was then taken by Gov. Folk to Secretary Bryan, who took it to President Wilson for his approval, who expressed himself as highly pleased and gratified with your noble plans as outlined in this proclamation. The President made some minor changes and suggestions and returned it to Secretary Bryan, who in turn gave it to Gov. Folk, who in turn gave it to Sr. Arredondo, Mr. Douglas and myself and it was then trans-

mitted to you. This may be considered as the first occasion when President Wilson became seriously interested in you personally, in you and your cause. And this may be properly termed the genesis of your recognition by President Wilson.

"Your sincere friend and obedient servant.

"RICHARD H. COLE."

On May 24, 1915, I received the following telegram:

"VERA CRUZ, May 23, 1915.

"Richard H. Cole,

"Care of Mexican Embassy, Washington, D. C.

"Your attentive message received. Proclamation will be issued at opportune time.

"I salute you, very affectionately,

"V. CARRANZA."

The articles are rich in data dealing with secret diplomacy, the veracity of which can hardly be doubted, since such assertions could not escape the libel laws, put space forbids a broader outline.

R. G. C.

THE REAL CARRANZA.

(Continued from last issue.)

And the mass is the eternal prey of these magicians, always requiring a succession of real hard knocks before beginning to wake up. The lesson of Madero was not enough, terrible as it was. And who ever expected that from the mild and benevolent Madero? But he was made a ruler, the power of the people surrendered to him and vested with supreme Authority. The result? The same old story: He went to work and used it. He was human and followed the logical course, just as naturally as water runs down hill. Authority has no other mission than to protect the spoilers from the despoiled, and they found this out with Madero, but too late, for, when they refused to be trampled down, the benevolent Madero sent his soldiers to show them that he could do it, and he proved that old Diaz had nothing on him, as demonstrated when the people of the south, and in particular of the State of Morelos, refused to give up the lands they had won at the price of their blood, and at the very instigation of Madero, who had promised it to them if they followed him. He sent his soldiers, Wyler's style, on a mission of extermination, sweeping every thing before them, killing every man they encountered, burning every thing in their path and ravishing women, leaving them in desolation to starve and perish with their children.

But all of this was not enough, for they had to give Carranza a chance to repeat it. And he did, and is doing it yet. Some time ago when the people of Durango City were on the verge of starvation they paraded thru the streets as a protest against their condition while the graneries and warehouses were full, Carranza sent his soldiery and mowed them down like weeds to learn them the art of respecting private property, since their hunger might drive them to molest the food that surrounded them.

Very little is known about these things, as the mercenary press is never interested in making such disclosures known until forced to it by sheer pressure and the enormity of these outrages, as demonstrated by the recent attempt of Carranza to massacre the strikers of Mexico City.

All such cases as the above are not isolated by any means, and such practice is very much a matter of policy with Carranza. For instance, his press, the only press in Mexico now, only spoke of the Mexico City strike and of his death decree as solely applying to the strikers there. This of course he did not suppress because happening as it did in the metropolis, the news could not be hushed, even if given out all distorted.

But the Carranza press never said that his policy and death decree against the strikers were in force all over the portion of the country that he controls, and this we only have learned thru private letters from our

friends in Mexico, which goes to prove that the benevolent chief has undergone a trifling change from a paternal savior to a terrorist; the only logical thing for a "good" man in power.

Another common practice of Carranza is to shoot down any poor fellow for taking anything he needs, and in this way his soldiery have killed thousands of poor, destitute people who sought to avail themselves of a piece of bread to appease their hunger or a rag to cover their nudity when the chance presented itself. But the crying shame and outrageous part of it is that Carranza rewards his brass-button lackeys and parasitic favorites with the loot he takes, while the poor unfortunates who give their life-blood in the hope of bettering their condition, are shot down like dogs by this monster for taking a crumb of what is theirs.

One of Carranza's latest decrees is to punish petty thievery and the like with the death penalty. So, this is no more a casual thing but an official practice.

One particular case is related to us by a friend from Mexico in a letter in which he describes a poor, starved and ragged peon who was discovered by Carranza soldiers in the act of taking a shirt. He was immediately grabbed and led to the nearest wall where he was stood and shot like a wild beast. The same friend says that he has witnessed numerous instances where men have been seized and shot when heard muttering anything against Carranza. Shades of old Diaz!

Another of Carranza's practices is to shoot men for refusing his money, which is almost worthless, and in this way many unfortunate workingmen have paid with their lives for refusing to take bogus money for their sweat and toil. Not long ago a dispatch from Mexico in the Los Angeles "Tribune", stated that a number of men had been shot for refusing to be paid with Carranza money, which took ten dollars to make 25 cents in gold. The report said that this was becoming a practice.

And yet we still find those ("radicals" too) who go about boosting the Carranza fraud, apologizing for his duplicity and propagating his bunce. Such travesty can only be taken as idiocy run mad or knavery undisguised.

(To be continued.)

R. G. COX.

Here and There

The Wilson campaign for the suppression of a free press continues unabated, and that famous "Section 211 of the Criminal Code", is still working overtime.

We regret to be unable to print a letter that has just reached us from "Rabochaya Rech", (Worker's Voice) organ of the Russian workers branch of the I. W. W., Chicago, where the Editor states that he has received notification from the Postmaster that his paper is "unavailable". "Golos Truda", another revolutionary organ of New York is under the same process, and god knows how many more, the list is growing hideously long to mention. At this pace we will soon be stripped of the last semblance of independence and will be at the mercy of a Czar for our slightest utterance.

The fact that this vicious onslaught has been allowed to go almost unchallenged speaks badly for present day manhood, but it is history that we always wait to be tortured before calling a halt. Fortunately, on the other hand, the Gods are always blind and do not see the danger ahead, and before they realize it the THING bursts. They play with fire, at present they are crushing every form of just and virile resentment that arises against the fast-encreaching monster of despotism and oppression.

Let the power-drunk tyrants remember that the pen has ever been substituted by the sword

when it has been silenced.

The trial of Carlos Tresca and his fellow workers has been set for the 5th of December. Owing to the hostile atmosphere against them at Duluth, the case was transferred to Virginia. Minn. All motions by the defense in their favor were denied in corporation-ridden Duluth. This case is another good sample of the growing arrogance of the ruling class; think of men being charged with first degree murder for participating in a strike where a gunman killed one of his breed while trying to murder a striker and his family.

Will the god of mirth and hilarity ever give us a layoff? Here we have the Carranza commission at Atlantic City, protesting that agitators, and especially Mexican conspirators "of the Magon type" are allowed too much leniency altogether. In a recent issue, "El Pueblo", Mexico City, emits a mighty groan on this line, about which we may have something to say later. Think of these "social revolutionists", as they call themselves, complaining of too much freedom in this benighted spot. The next thing Carranza may order Wilson to issue a death decree to strikers here.

A big social and dance is to be given November 25th, 8. p. m., at Labor Temple for the benefit of the defense of David Caplan.

Enrique Flores Magon, Editor of REGENERACION, is to speak at the great mass meeting to be held in Frisco, Carpenter's Hall, Sunday November 12th, 8. p. m. Alexander Berkman, Wm. McDeyitt, Robert Minor, and speakers in French and Italian will also address the meeting, in commemoration of the 29th anniversary of the martyrdom of the Chicago ANARCHISTS.

R. G. COX.

Caplan's Trial.

Comrade David Caplan is again facing a court of the land. His second trial began on the 23rd of this month, having been postponed from the 18th.

The most impressive thing at the opening of Caplan's trial was the venire summoned to select a jury. That hoary jest of "a jury of his peers" is never in a more farcical contrast than at such trials. Looking over those faces one was struck with the impression that the panel had been picked from the soldiers' home and from some business men's clubs; a workingman, or even a type of such, was something foreign to the question, and all in all, the gray hairs and gray beards were easily predominant.

To this writing, seven jurors have been selected, but they are yet to be further challenged. The trial is being conducted at the Hall of Records, 8th floor, Dept. 12.

Caolan's case has been very much neglected by the labor element, and he has gone to trial with no funds for his defense. It is not necessary to emphasize that he is one of the stalwarts in the ranks, and therefore most deserving of the support of labor and of the rebels in particular.

The fate of Caplan is in our hands, and the outcome of his trial lies in our activity or negligence. Nothing but the aroused toilers and immediate action will save him, and now is the time to get busy.

The International Workers Defense League of Los Angeles has taken up Caplan's case and it needs the immediate assistance of all those who want to see him free. Send all the money you can at once. If you have a good list of some organization or individuals, send it to the League at once to mail out appeals. Act now, or soon it may be too late!

Send all money and communications to KATHERINE L. SCHMIDT, Gen'l. and Fin. Sec'y, Int. Workers Defense League, P. O. Box 935. Los Angeles, Cal.

R. G. COX