

Give Us Anything But Chloroform

Beyond all question there now exist large and rapidly increasing numbers of people who understand that our entire social system is radically wrong and must be revolutionized from its lowest roots. They understand that it ignores the claims of life, which it renders subservient to the dollar. They understand that civilization must be judged, not by the triumphs of any one section, or even of the majority, but by the extent to which it preserves and promotes each individual life; guaranteeing to the humblest, security and his full share of life's great feast. They understand that existing institutions are in fierce and unceasing conflict against the individual's rights; since the entire machinery is so constructed as to select automatically the weakest for its victims. All this is more evident in the United States than elsewhere, because here the effort, from the first, has been to form combinations against the individual; to obtain, usually by the foulest means, a majority against him; to clothe that conquering majority with special privilege and wipe out the defeated. There was a time when I myself believed in this so-called "conquering democracy," and was a victim of that mob hysteria which intoxicates men into the delusion that they can determine right, or get their rights, by counting noses. It took years of bitter experience, gained largely in the Socialist movement, to teach me that any philosophy, however labelled, which has the PRIVILEGES OF THE MAJORITY for its cornerstone, must carry ruin in its train.

The United States has been dominated, almost from its birth, by this infamous doctrine of the divine rights of majorities; a doctrine which is nothing less than a sanctification of brute force, by our new Gods, the politicians. That modern but barbarous religion has colored all our history, which has been one of unspokeable cruelty. With the divine right of the majority as our watchword we exterminated the Indian, and since then we have been working with fiendish energy to exterminate ourselves; loading the conqueror with spoils and urging him on to wider and more devastating marches. Hence Rockefeller, Carnegies, Morgans, and all the ugly breed; hence also rates of murder, crimes of violence, insanity and suicide which shock the outside world; hence the most violent contrasts of wealth and poverty on record; hence all the materials for a terrific conflagration.

At heart our plutocracy believes only in brutal force; as is proved by the feverish energy with which, at every opportunity, it multiplies its police and strengthens its military arm. It became a plutocracy through our force philosophy, and all its teaching has been that life's main object is to despoil the weak. At heart our proletariat probably the most militant and bitter in existence believes only in brutal force; for politics, which is a military art, has taught it that. But it has discovered that in politics, as in actual war, the plums fall only to the generals, the rank and file being used merely to hold the bag. So it is throwing politics overboard, and starting campaigns in which it is hoped, each private will get his share of loot. Utter skepticism as to politics is today the prevailing note, but the principles instilled by politics viz., that to the victor belong the spoils, will continue to flourish rankly. It is the Socialist principle; or, rather, it has been the Socialist principle ever since what started as an idealistic agitation fell into the clutches of the majority-mad American politician.

American Socialism today is the faithful image of the politicians who dominate it; just as they themselves are the children of the political families amid which they got their training. The Socialist politician today is exactly what the American politician has been for generations past; a creature with no principles save one, viz., that when he gets a majority and climbs into power the rest of us will have to toe the mark. An absolute traitor; an embryo boss, eagerly awaiting the day when he can run the steam roller over those who differ from him. The Socialist politician mouths freedom and gags discussion; preaches internationalism and tries to exclude the Oriental; denounces superstitions and courts the Roman Catholic church; professes revolution and whoops up every ridiculous palliative that gives the slightest promise of capturing a stupid vote. A party of profound, Jesuitical hypocrisy; of Napoleonic ambitions masked beneath a sensational propaganda in which it poses as the people's friend; a party that attracts the tenth-rate lawyer, parson and journalist as surely as the flame attracts the moth. A party fundamentally dishonest, and, therefore, a party most dangerous to progress, which depends, first and far above everything else, on honesty. We suffer as a mass because we have not seen clearly, and we have not seen clearly because we have trusted politicians who find it pays to blind us.

The mental confusion thus engendered in our minds is a part of the system in which truths are shirked and cowardly subterfuge substituted for virile straightforwardness—these are far-reaching evils no human brain can estimate. They shatter confidence and put into the hands of our enemies weapons far more deadly than any they themselves could forge. I do not like to minimize by localizing, but, since Los Angeles Socialists have been among the principal sinners and I am well acquainted with that city, illustrations from its present history may be excused. Less than two years

ago the bourgeois hypocrisy of the Good Government Party, against which Job Harriman was running, furnished Socialist Party orators—and most justly—with a never-failing theme. Today the two parties are hand in glove. Until recently the Socialist Party was bitterly opposed to the combination-at-large plan now in use, for it considered that it would rob them of certain districts. Today they have eaten every one of their previous arguments, and have made proportional representation the issue of their campaign. These, and similar acrobatic stunts, naturally give such enemies as Otis the ammunition with which to rake them fore and aft; it being pointed out remorselessly, for example, that in their own party affairs proportional representation is (ahoo, rebellious majorities being regarded as having no right to live. The helplessness of Haywood's eleven thousand supporters is a case in point.

It is impossible to reconcile such contradictions, and when sincere men call them to our attention we have to hang our heads in silent shame. This essentially political party poses as the representative of revolutionary principles, and its shameful bargaining, reflect, of necessity and most disastrously, on the entire revolutionary movement. They weaken us all along the line, and emasculate our influence by spreading broadcast the delusion that we have no principles and are but greedy charlatans, hungering for office. Above all, they are infamous treason to the noble army of martyrs who have faced and mounted the scaffold, passed long years in jail and courted that poverty from which these prudent politicians habitually shrunk; who have sacrificed everything that they might set clearly before the people principles whose propaganda seemed worth the renunciation of life itself.

Nevertheless, in this issue I give much space to those sympathetic notices of the Mexican Revolution which begin once more to crowd the columns of the Socialist Party press. I play them up because they are a tribute to the measure of events, and some proof that the heart—though not the head—of the ordinary member of the Socialist Party is sound, and that the editors have the sagacity to scent revolt. Otherwise the appearance of these articles does not interest me at all. I have no idea that the political leaders of the Socialist care one rap about the rights or wrongs of the Mexican Revolution; indeed, I am positive they would knife it again tomorrow if they thought it would help their game. I regard them as having been whipped into line, and most unwillingly; as having discovered that by their lack of sympathy they missed a trick; as trembling lest they should split their party and jeopardize their vote. For my part, I am thoroughly convinced that their present attitude is merely that cold-blooded political calculation which is, to me, at once the most subtle and contemptible thing in life.

If Hearst or Otis say anything worth while about the Mexican Revolution we quote it, and we give the Socialist Party an equally square deal. When Standard Oil exploits the tragic struggle of a starving people we expose the dastardly crime, and we hand out similar treatment to such political sheebs as "The Appeal to Reason," which once more is trying to boom itself at the Mexican peon's cost. In the first place, we know all its articles will be colored, to suit its politics; in the second place, we prefer to be true to the great international revolutionary movement, which the Mexican upheaval is doing its utmost to foment, while the Socialist politicians are doing all in their power to estrate it. As between Otis, the chronic irritant, and Berger, the professional chloroformist, we prefer the former.

Since the foregoing was written Los Angeles has held an election, with the usual unsatisfactory results. Both sides claim a victory, but the one thing certain is that the Good Government Party, with which the Socialists had allied themselves closely, has been routed utterly. An entirely new set of city officials is to be chosen, and, as the primaries are to be held almost immediately, there is such a scurrying to and fro of office-seekers as this city has never seen. Furthermore, proportional representation, which the Socialist Party made its one great issue, was badly beaten, securing only a trifle over 17,000 votes. On all the eighteen measures submitted to it the public showed the greatest apathy, only about a fifth of the registered vote being cast. Perhaps, after all, the Socialists are the true revolutionists; for what party has done more to make the workers sick of politics and thus remove one of the most formidable barriers that hitherto has blocked the way?

Also, since the foregoing was written, Clarence Darrow has spoken on "Land and Labor" to a Los Angeles audience that packed the large auditorium. "Throwing my memory back to days when I heard George, McClynn, Most and many other of the world's great orators. I can think of no address that impressed me as presenting bottom truths with greater power or clearer logic. It made mincemeat of the petty palliatives with which Socialist politicians fish for votes, and represented the Single Tax as a great revolutionary war for recovery, instead of a chilling fiscal debate. In fact it indorsed most specifically all struggles for the retaking of the land, Mexico being given as a leading example of the bloodshed that would inevitably lead. It sounded bravely the battle cry of "Land and Liberty," and might well be made the signal for that general charge which is needed in the United States quite as much as it has been needed in Mexico. How dangerous was the attack is proved by the fact that the Los Angeles press greeted the address with silence, although it

had sent an army of stenographers to report it. Even papers which habitually gush over Socialist political meetings shut up like clams. The great landed interest had been attacked—and really attacked—at last.

WM. C. OWEN.

REMEMBER THE MAINE!

The same group of capitalists who brought about the war with Spain fifteen years ago, for their own profit, are now demanding intervention in Mexico, and for the same reasons.

The working people of Mexico, who have been driven from their lands, enslaved and unmercifully exploited by American and Mexican capitalists, are in revolt against their oppressors. The profits of our Wall Street pirates are being interfered with by the unsettled conditions south of the Rio Grande and they want the government of the United States to intervene and suppress the revolt of their rebellious slaves.

Troops and ships of war are being massed on the Mexican border. When Wall Street is ready for war we may expect another stunt to furnish an excuse for the armed invasion of Mexico, similar to the one pulled off in Havana harbor in 1898.

Mexico is seething with revolt against capitalist oppression. The Mexican workers have suffered many outrages at the hands of American exploiters, and any American who remains in that country does so at his own risk. Even ex-President Taft has warned them to leave the country.

The working people of the United States must be on their guard and refuse to be drawn into a bloody war for capitalist profits.

Do not be deceived by any capitalist plot to inflame the people and provoke war. The capitalist class of the United States destroyed their own battleship, the Maine, in Havana harbor in 1898, and murdered hundreds of workmen who composed its crew, in order to create a pretext for war with Spain.

The capitalist class will stop at nothing. Whatever happens to Americans or American interests in Mexico, "Remember the Maine." ("The World," Oakland, Cal.)

HANDS OFF!

In a long front-page editorial, "The Rebel," a leading Socialist weekly published at Hallettsville, Texas, reviews the series of events that culminated in Madero's death, and sums up the situation thus, in part:

First, the millionaire, Madero, reached the presidential chair in Mexico City by the aid and support of countless peasants to whom he had promised the restoration of the land that had been stolen from them. Dominated by his cunning elder brother, Gustavus Madero, who was the connecting link between the national palace in Mexico City and the headquarters of the oil, railroad and money kings of Wall Street, he broke his promise and the revolution started afresh. The scientific party, or old regime, seized upon the dilemma that the new revolution had caused to put through a counter revolution and restore the power of the Diaz group of military leaders and political adventurers.

Second, if the U. S. government keeps its hands off, the Mexican peasants, who represent ninety-five per cent of the people, will keep on fighting until they have wiped out the land owners, restored the land to the people, developed a Democratic Republic and enjoy the blessings of an advanced civilization.

Third, intervention of the U. S. into Mexico must be stopped at all hazards. That, in this day of light, hundreds of thousands of young men should be sacrificed to glut the gold mines of a few Wall Street money kings, shocks the feelings of civilized man. That it will be a five-year war, with the destruction of millions of property and untold numbers of lives, is certain, if intervention takes place. "The Rebel" cannot imagine any cause, except that of freedom itself, worthy of such a colossal price. That such a war should take place in the interest of debauched scoundrels like Hearst, Guggenheim, Rockefeller, Morgan, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the Spyer Bros. and other financial rascals that have debauched our judiciary, corrupted our legislatures and run a trail of oil over the halls of Congress, is unbelievable, unless we can imagine the people of the U. S. have become degenerate through the spirit of graft of which these fellows are the symbol and the sign.

Fourth, we must cry out against war everywhere. The U. S. must keep its hands off. Let the Mexicans settle their own affairs.

SHOWING WHO IS WHO.

The Mexican Revolution is producing everywhere those splits which force discussion and do more to promote healthy growth than all other agencies combined. In the Socialist Party ranks we have the old Berger crowd on one side and the rapidly increasing rebel contingent on the other. Among the Anarchists the same story has to be told. Emma Goldman and the veterans sticking to their old lines of propaganda, as against the newer blood which sniffs the battle and prefers to see theory taken on the flesh and muscle of actual life. As for the Single Taxers, the staid editors of "The Public" would have a fit if they could see our correspondence.

President Wilson has sat down hard on the bankers who wish to tie up the new Chinese Republic with what is known as the "Six Power" loan. He declares that "Dollar Diplomacy" shall not be the mark of his administration. Again the thermometer of our hopes soars high, since to attack High Finance is to strike at the heart of our now intolerable economic system. More and more the pillars of Mammon's temple tremble, inasmuch as, from one quarter or another, they are always under attack.

THEIR HAND EXPOSED.

Do you remember about three years ago, when Madero's revolution, after languishing for a long time and being the laughing stock of the paragraphs, suddenly boomed up and became formidable and swept rapidly to success, being obviously well supplied with men, money and munitions? So provided, you may recall, it went on as if it were cutting through an egg shell until it drove out old Diaz and made Madero president.

What made the change? The explanation of both of these mysteries is in this report of the Senate sub-committee—900 printed pages.

Madero was transformed from a bushwhacker and sage bush adventurer to a successful leader by the money supplied to him by great American Financial Interests.

They gave him millions, and millions on a bargain by which he agreed that when he should become president he would deliver to these interests the most valuable coal, ore and railroad concessions in Mexico.

When he had become president he threw over his part of the bargain, refused to deliver the concessions, and kept the money for himself and his relatives.

Whereupon the well-financed counter-revolution ending in the merciless murder of the man that had failed to deliver the goods.

This is the plain and obvious conclusion from the work of the committee, which covers the ground up to Madero's failure to keep his promise and the beginning of the counter revolution.

The names of some of the corporations that are involved in the Mexico story are given in the committee's report. They are all names perfectly familiar in our industrial history. Many of them have had strikes and have hired professional thugs and gun men to shoot down strikers. All for the sake of profits and more profits. The story of their bloody dealings in Mexico only supplements the story of their bloody dealings in the United States.

From the body, blood and sweat of labor these fortunes are made in the United States and in Mexico, as everywhere else, and will be so long as this system endures. And with part of the money so secured more power will be gathered to get more money and more power until the day when labor awakes to all this. And in no other way but by the revolt of labor will the thing cease to walk this vicious and steadily enlarging circle. (Charles Edward Russell in "The Coming Nation.")

ALL GOVERNMENTS ALIKE.

The United States government is apparently inclined to favor that despot as the fittest ruler of Mexico who will most drastically establish peace with an iron hand in that country. Washington holds that General Huerta must be given time and opportunity to bring order out of the Mexican chaos. Verily a most fitting man—did he not initiate his career as President with treachery and murder? The Federal government echoes the opinion of Ambassador Wilson, the sponsor of Huerta. What if the latter has conspired for the overthrow of "an established government, with which this country is in friendly relations?" Huerta is enthusiastically supported by the American "interests," eager for greater concessions than they were able to secure from the Madero régime. This financial species, whose loyal representative in Mexico is Ambassador Wilson, will favor for the Presidency of that country the most successful wholesale murderer who will offer them the greatest opportunity for unlimited exploitation.

But the real revolutionists of Mexico will not be deluded by any political chicanery and change. They will continue their brave and determined struggle for the social and economic emancipation of the oppressed people of Mexico, whatever the hue of the chameleon of State. ("Mother Earth.")

MAGONS REFUSED PAROLE.

The board of parole refused to grant to the four Mexican rebels, serving twenty-one months in the federal prison on Puget Sound, the ordinary benefits of the law extended to criminals of all shades.

By the law they were entitled to parole when one-third of their term was served. The board says that not for the "crime" of "aiding and abetting a revolution against a friendly power" can the privilege of parole be evoked.

Revolution is the worst crime in all creation—in the eye of the government—and strange is it, or is not?—the most glorified performance in history.

No effort should be spared to get these rebels released. The new administration should be urged to pardon them. Write the new president, urging him to release them. ("The Syndicalist.")

FRANCE'S EXAMPLE.

Majorities are too inegalate to express their wishes in legal or parliamentary parlance. When they succeed, now and then, in expressing a wish and vote into Parliament a "friend of labor" his morals are very soon corrupted by political dickering and entanglements.

The example of Briand, once an uncompromising anti-militarist and direct actionist, compelled much against his desire to wield the militarist club above strikers and beat them into submission, will for many years supply Syndicalist orators and pamphleters with evidence as to the uselessness of Parliamentary action. If a President du Conseil, the most powerful temporary ruler in Europe, supported by a solid majority, was unable to carry out any Socialist measures, and had to abandon the workers' cause for fear of national and international complications, what inducement is there for the workingman to finance electoral and educational campaigns of long duration, or a continued propaganda? ("Wilshire's.")

DEMAND INTERVENTION.

The "Vossische Zeitung," of Berlin, declares that "the United States must now intervene and put in action forces so promptly gathered to the land and sea borders of Mexico."

The "London Daily Express" says: "The English government should urge the government at Washington to intervene in Mexico in the interest of British capital invested there."

The London "Pall Mall Gazette" also advocates American intervention in Mexico on the same grounds, and the London "Westminster Gazette" goes on record for the same program.

Many other leading newspapers in England and other countries in Europe, reflecting capitalist interests in those countries, with capital invested in Mexico, are insisting that the United States should not hesitate, but should cross the Rio Grande to protect the precious dollars of the capitalist class for the purpose of exploiting the cheap labor of the enslaved peon.

The vultures of capitalism, with their brooding places in Wall street, Lombard street, and other financial centers of Europe, have plunged their greedy beaks into the vitals of labor. In Mexico the tobacco trust, the corage trust, the sugar trust, the copper trust, the oil trust and other combinations of American and European capital, have reduced the working people of that oppressed country to a condition of slavery, the brutality of which beggars description.

The story told by John Kenneth Turner in his book "Barbarous Mexico," as an eye-witness, of the atrocities practiced on the Slaves of Yucatan and Valle Nacional, fills one with horror. Against these conditions the Mexican workers have been in open revolt for the past two years. This has disturbed the vultures in their feast of profits and therefore this crop from their dripping beaks; this call for intervention.

In order to re-establish the conditions for the ruthless exploitation of the workers, now in revolt, the capitalist class will send hundreds of thousands of American workmen into Mexico to slaughter their fellow workers and be slaughtered by them.

This clamor for intervention means that, unless the working people of the United States make it evident that any attempt to invade Mexico will be followed by a revolt against the capitalist class and its government in this country, we may expect to see a war forced upon us in which rivers of working-class blood will be spilled for the protection of capitalistic profits in Mexico.

The people of the United States have nothing to gain by such a war, but much to lose.

The answer of the working people to the demands of the capitalists for armed intervention should be, "Let the capitalist class fight for their property! We have no quarrel with our brother working men in Mexico, and refuse to take one step across the border." ("The World," Oakland, Cal.)

OUR MUZZLED PRESS.

"The Rebel," being the only Socialist paper of large general circulation published near the border, has been in a position to point out, months ago, that this situation was bound to develop with the passing of the days. It is not in a "I told you so" spirit that I record this fact and point out that, so far as telling the truth about the Mexican situation, all the other southern papers might as well have been published in Tinbuctoo. We merely record the fact, so that our statement as to what will occur in the future in Mexico may be carefully studied by those who are thinking of buying land in Mexico or expect to have financial dealings of any character across the Rio Grande, and also to those thousands of people in the South who desire to learn the whole truth from an unbiased source.

The first bed rock fact to assimilate, if we would understand what is going on in Mexico, is this: 7,500 families own the land upon which 18,000,000 people dwell. Ninety-five per cent of these millions are no more to blame for what is going on than an unborn child. The vast majority of the Mexican people are the most amiable and peaceable creatures on earth. Their wants are few; their aspirations are dim; their ambitions are slight; and they will never fight until they are lashed into doing so with the iron thonged whip of hunger. Those who foment the trouble in Mexico are of an entirely different character. ("The Rebel," Hallettsville, Texas.)

If we damned foreigners will only keep our hands off, the peon will make good his claim; he will re-establish a natural law.

While our single-tax friends and all the rest of us prate glibly about the natural relations of man to the earth, these peons put the idea into practice; and the demi-respectable single-taxers especially flatter and boast this direct application of their theories by a silence so absolute that one can hear it. The reason? The single-taxer is a respectable politician; the peon is a direct actionist. ("The Syndicalist.")

Syndicalist action has nothing to do with government or majorities. If we obey the will of the majority, we allow ourselves to be led by the spineless ones, by the standpatners who are always willing to be exploited. Keep your eyes open and you will soon notice that only the men of strong will, the rebels, those who are impervious to the influence of a mobile majority, are doing work that counts. (Pouget.)

The strike situation in the Kanawha coal fields of West Virginia is very serious. Practically a revolution against constituted state authority is in progress. In three days, sixteen lives were lost in strike riots. One hundred and twenty-five strikers are out in full force. It is a condition of anarchy. Portions of four counties are under martial law. Those arrested will be tried by a military court and summarily punished if proven guilty. ("Los Angeles Daily Times.")

Mexican Notes

According to the latest El Paso despatches, dated March 28, Gen. Ojeda, the Federal commander, having 3000 men under him, is surrounded by twelve hundred rebels a few miles below Naco, Sonora, and a battle is in progress, both sides using machine guns.

Despatches from Piedras Negras of the same date represent the Constitutional movement as having been formally launched, following a meeting at Hacienda de Guadalupe, State of Chihuahua, in which representatives from the various Northern States participated. An agreement was reached and will be published as a manifesto. It appoints Venustiano Carranza, governor of Coahuila, general-in-chief, authorized to organize the Constitutional forces throughout the country against the Huerta-Diaz dictatorship; and states that all States will be given thirty days from the date of publication in which to withdraw from allegiance to the existing regime. The signatures of several hundred representatives are said to have been appended. Both from Guaymas and Mexico City come reports that a steamer carrying 400 federal soldiers from Manzanillo to Guaymas has been blown up near the latter point. The report lacks confirmation.

Mexico City despatches of March 28 claim that relations between Huerta and Diaz are badly strained, and that the friends of the latter are urging him to take control and end the reign of terror which, they say, prevails in the capital. The reports have it that Diaz' friends say they are on a war footing and are preparing to seize the arsenal. Government troops are said to be parading all approaches to the arsenal and palace.

Huerta has been reported as hurrying 400 men from various points on the Pacific coast to Guaymas, and it is believed that the necessity of facing an advance thence on Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, is responsible for the fighting and renewed activity near Naco, where hitherto the Constitutionalists have been content to play a waiting game, believing they could starve the government troops into surrender.

The week appears to have been one of unusual inactivity, with the censorship on the Mexican press more severe than ever and the interest of the United States papers absorbed by the calamities at Dayton, O., and Indiana and Nebraska points. The discovery of an alleged plot to assassinate Huerta was the signal for numerous arrests.

MUST HAVE LAND.

Poor Madero! Another idealist gone wrong! Madero was the son of a wealthy Mexican land-owner, who saw the misery of his countrymen under the despotism of Diaz and set out to remedy it and create a revolution by combining exploiters with exploited. He united capitalists who had not received their share of the Diaz graft, and the starving peons who had never received a living share of the product of their labor.

Madero was successful enough in dethroning old Diaz and in retiring the Diaz ring of capitalists in favor of his own family and his capitalist backers, but when he started to carry out his land promises to his peon supporters his trouble commenced.

Mexico is controlled by an oligarchy of 10,000 land-owners; the rest of the people are poverty-stricken and illiterate, 80 per cent being pure Indians. Hence, when Madero tried to put in force his program of "divide the land," although he had the vast majority of the people on his side, yet they were completely unorganized, and hence helpless to back him up. His own capitalist backers naturally gave him no support in his land program; in fact, his own family went back on him. He was a puppet. He never did have the sympathy of his capitalist supporters; and it was not long before the peons, seeing nothing being done for them, deserted him. His fall became an absolute certainty.

However, the assassination of Madero will not solve the land problem in Mexico, and it is quite certain that General Huerta has no intentions in that direction.

Zapata is the only hope of the peons, and he seems unable to do much beyond conducting a guerilla fight.

Sooner or later the United States must intervene, but even so there is no possibility of peace in Mexico unless the peons are given much land now held by Mexican and American landlords.

We probably shall see a plan finally adopted somewhat after that by which the Friars' land was restored to the Filipinos.

Such a plan would combine a measure of justice to the peons together with economy for nothing is as costly as war. ("Wilshire's.")

ATTACKED ON ALL SIDES.

"Mother Earth" for March, only just received, is exceptionally strong. Emma Goldman is always at her best when writing on woman's enslavement by the fetiches of morality, and the article on John Most pays fully-deserved tribute to the task that great pioneer of Direct Action faced. Naturally the German Socialists, dazzled by what thirty years have shown to be a veritable mirage, homed him with the untiring cruelty of which only fanatics are capable. An even more noteworthy article, however, is that entitled "The Troubles of Socialist Politicians," by M. B., which deals caustically with Hunter's labored efforts to arouse prejudice against Syndicalism by identifying it with Anarchism—a tactic the more contemptible because so manifestly out-of-date. The notice of recent developments in the Mexican Revolution is preceded by a good historical sketch of the part played by peasant uprisings in the evolution of Europe.

"The Social War," New York City's latest revolutionary paper, devotes the greater part of its second issue to a scathing review of the damage

wrought by the lawyers' and preachers who have swarmed into the so-called revolutionary movement. It says, and surely with justice, that these people always have axes to grind; and that their superior literary and platform attainments, the comparative leisure they enjoy—which enables them to get up stales and frame combinations in a manner impossible to the ordinary worker—and the influence they thus acquire over party machinery and press, render it inevitable that such axes will be ground successfully. Furthermore, it emphasizes the devotion to orators—a weakness inherited from centuries of priestcraft. The writer of the article, Gustavus Myers, might well have added that nowhere is this more lamentable the case than in these United States; since with us the platform is a pulpit, from which orators assassinate the truth and logic with impunity, no interruption or criticism being allowed.

Harry Kelly sarcastically congratulates the workers on Wilson's admission to the cabinet, and trusts that he will labor for the proletariat as ardently as have John Burns and Millerand. He sizes up Haywood's expulsion from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its proper value, hailing it as an oncological and a cheering sign of progress.

The attack on politicians—above all, on the Socialist politicians—has fairly begun, and it should be pressed unremittingly and remorselessly, for "it is astonishing how long a rotten state of things will hang together, provided you do not handle it too roughly." This country is full of earnest men and women who have sacrificed everything for the revolutionary cause, only to see the movement they started so painfully side-tracked by profit and notoriety-hunting schemers. On their own individual account they have a right to feel bitter than gall. For the sake of the revolution they have a duty which calls on them to war unceasingly.

THE REAL CRIMINAL.

The times through which the unfortunate Mexican people are passing are indeed terrible. The downfall and death of Madero have cost them dear, but so also did his administration. All the time, in fact, the people suffer and still suffer, while the great lying international capitalist press writes about the virtues of this or that great man whose "strong rule" is doing such wonders for his country. So Madero is being praised by some, Diaz by others, while none will tell us the truth of what has been happening these past days, viz., that all the vile treachery, the ruthless bloodshed, the callous cruelty that is reported to us, is simply an instance, in all its naked hideousness, of the establishment of government. It is an example clear as day of how governments hold their power, and by what methods they are brought into being. The process may extend over centuries, as has been the case in England, or it may last but a few days, as happened in Mexico. But the fact remains, in these as in all cases: Governments, rest on barbarous, unmitigated brute force, and only maintain their power so long as that force is effective.

"Law and order!" The sacredness of human life! Rubbish. Guarantee the financiers the interest on their loans, and you can have any sort of government you like, from a French Republic to a Russian Autocracy; and human life will be valued as it was in the Lena goldfields, or in the streets of Mexico City. What are the crimes of all the social outcasts compared to the crimes of government? ("Freedom," London.)

PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR.

So much gush is being uttered against "direct action" nowadays that one is delighted to hear something really great said about it. Job Harriman, the high mogul of the standard Social Democrats of California, flung a fine bonnet at it recently. "Direct action," said he, "is the philosophy of despair." Then he rested, while the hats went high in the air. I wish I had been there to add my new cap to the fling-up. I wouldn't have cared if it never came down. For Job gave vent to a mighty truth: "Direct action" is indeed the philosophy of despair. It is the philosophy of those who despair of achieving their emancipation by electing jawnsmiths to office. (Jay Fox in "The Syndicalist.")

Set Them Free

The indisputable facts, now coming out in all the leading papers and magazines, show conclusively how correct were our imprisoned comrades in their contention that the Maderos were cheating their country out of the revolution for which it had poured out its blood.

Seldom, if ever, has history justified a group of men so quickly and completely. All the world knows today that they are not criminals, but all the world does not know, as we do, that perjury was employed against them.

Not for the sake of the Maderos, or of Rivera, or for the sake of the inconceivably important principles at stake; for the sake of standing loyally by our own men, who themselves stood loyally by us; for the sake of vindicating those who faced power and privilege; for the sake of liberating humanity, we should act late unceasingly for the liberation of the members of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party now imprisoned in McNell's Island.

Parole has been refused. It should not discourage us. It should make us work the harder for absolute pardon.