

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES**  
Single copy, 5 cts.  
One dollar a year—6 months, 50c.

No. 231  
Saturday March 25, 1916

Send money payable to  
**ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.**  
P. O. Box 1236, Los Angeles, Cal.

## The Way I Judge Invasions.

How is one to judge? On the one hand it must be recognized that the masses, as always, have become excited by the possibility of war—an excitement our sensational press fans industriously. On the other hand, however, I have been astonished by the number of people with whom I have talked who take an entirely different view. And it happens that, almost without exception, these have been people in no way connected with any revolutionary movement, not in the habit of attending agitation meetings, in fact conservative country-folk. These experiences tend to confirm once more the opinions I have expressed repeatedly that our strength will be found in the sober-minded country rather than in the nervously-distracted city population, and that the propaganda of explanation on the land question has gone far deeper than we supposed.

Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that there is anything but universal condemnation of Villa, or that any doubt exists as to this government being in duty bound to resent invasion and protect its citizens against any repetition of the offense. On that head opinion is unanimous and no amount of talking could alter it. I welcome that, indorse it, concur in it with all my heart and soul. For nearly five years I have devoted my pen chiefly to the attempt to head off what I considered the imminent danger of invasion of Mexico by the United States, and assuredly I should not be the one to condone invasion of the United States by Mexico. During the last eighteen months I have denounced, in season and out of season, with every atom of eloquence I could command, the invasion of Belgium by Germany, which I regard as one of the most brutal and indefensible crimes recorded by history—a crime that has led to the slaughter of millions of German and other workmen. Furthermore, and above all, I have utilized this huge historical crime to point the lesson that all tyranny is nothing but invasion of the weak by the strong, and that without a clear distinction between invader and invaded there can be no such thing as social science; no adequate conception of what justice means and what civilization should signify. To grip this, and to grip it firmly, seems to me of incomparably greater importance than is a knowledge of what Karl Marx taught or capacity to discourse learnedly on the materialistic conception of history.

No; the invader should not look to me for support, and I am cordially at one with those who condemn the Villa outrage. But what delights me especially is the skepticism with which these simple country-folk view the repeated assurances that we have intention of invading Mexico; their grasp of the fact that, if we go to war, it will be to defend the indefensible titles of Hearst, Otis (these names in particular bob up all the time) and other land monopolists; their clear-cut comprehension of the undodgeable truth that at the bottom of all this trouble in Mexico is the land speculator, and if some victim should be punished it is he. That sentiment I find almost universal, and it is a sound and healthy sentiment, in accordance with the facts.

What these people, who naturally have not been able to make

any special study of the Mexican question, do not know is that enormous sums have been invested in options on Mexican lands—options purchased for a song but certain to become immensely valuable if our government, by force of arms, renders the speculator's title secure. I tell these people, and tell them truthfully, that I personally know men who are being urged at this moment to scrape together every cent possible and invest it in Mexican lands, playing for a certain rise.

The problem of militarism, of "Preparedness", is evidently worrying all these people, and is a hard nut for them to crack. What, by the necessity of the case they do not see is how the military program dove tails in with the gigantic-ambitious policing scheme which is the kernel of Pan-Americanism. This has to be explained to them; but, on the other hand, a most intelligent man, back recently from a long tour through Mexico, spoke most emphatically on a subject respecting which I have seen only occasional hints in the daily press. His decided opinion was that, if it comes to fighting, we shall not have to fight Mexicans alone, for Germans and Japanese have worked themselves into the country in steadily increasing numbers and are bitterly hostile, as is to be expected, to the United States. This man is a great admirer of the Mexicans whom he describes as being, under normal conditions, the most peaceable of peoples, anxious only to lead their own simple life unmolested.

Another man, whose literary work I have known for years, and whose powers of observation I should not dream of questioning, had been recently in Juarez, and had taken special note of the Mexican cavalry. He thinks them extraordinarily fit, hard as nails, exactly the type best fitted for guerrilla warfare. He also laid stress on their capacity to endure heat, from which American soldiers, especially at this particular season, are sure to suffer greatly. Personally he is a good deal of an American patriot, with imperialistic tendencies,

but he considers that we are judging the Mexican soldier by the out-of-work poor we see loafing along our city streets, and that a most unpleasant surprise awaits us. Perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that all the points made by this man I elaborated, four years ago, in my pamphlet, "The Mexican Revolution."

Problems so large and grave as this should not be belittled, as a rule, by the intrusion of personalities. However, in the special circumstances arising out of the prosecution of the editors of "Regeneracion," it seems to me permissible to say a word about myself. Forewarned not by telegraph from Los Angeles but by a telephone message from the sheriff's office in Tacoma, Wash. I evaded arrest. All my friends express the opinion that I acted wisely, but as to that I have still the gravest doubts. On the one hand, I know that my writings have been devoted exclusively to explain the causes the Mexican upheaval, and that my one object has been to do what I personally could to keep the United States from going to war with Mexico. In that, and in the publicity of a trial, I might find enlarged opportunities for propaganda and a certain notoriety which would be beneficial to me. On the other hand are considerations which influence me greatly.

First: I have no love for the martyrdom of prison, and an even greater abhorrence of troubling others to furnish bail or funds for my defense.

Secondly: I am opposed, on principle, to surrender. We should fight. We should not surrender.

Thirdly: In my opinion the ordinary jury is quite incapable of rendering an equitable verdict in political cases. To do so presupposes an adequate education on the subject. This the ordinary juryman does not possess, and he cannot acquire it in the short time a trial occupies.

Fourthly: Outside the jail I can write. Inside I cannot.

Wm. C. Owen.

## THE ARTICLES IN QUESTION.

With this issue we publish the first of the articles upon which the indictments against Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon and Wm. C. Owen are based: the others will appear as soon as the translations are made.

Our purpose in reproducing these articles is for our readers to have a full grasp of the case and judge for themselves.

For lack of space we refrain from a more extended introduction, but as to the "incendiarism" contained in these articles we ask the reader to compare it with Jefferson's "God forbid that 20 years pass without a revolution," and "It is error alone that needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself"; Phillips' "If there is anything that cannot bear free thought let it crack." And even the mild Lincoln's: "Whenever the people shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right to amend it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it."

All this is piffle, we know, but don't you feel red with shame to live under an aberration called civilization that grows backwards instead of forward?

"TO CARRANCISTA SOLDIERS."

"REGENERACION", of Nov. 6/1915

"Carrancista soldiers, listen:

very soon, your First Chief, shall remain almost master of the situation, and I say almost master of the situation, because there are rebels that will not submit to the authority of Venustiano Carranza, but who will prefer to remain arms in hand, expounding a worthy existence for the cause of humanity, before surrendering his arms to a government, which like any other government on Earth, shall not be anything else but a prop on which capitalism relies to continue its exploitation of the working class at leisure, that is, to have the poor perpetually under the domination of the rich.

Those rebels that shall continue on foot, are your brothers, they are poor like you, and like you before shouldering a gun shed their sweat in the furrow, leaving with it a land that was not theirs. They, like you, and also the anarchists who form the Mexican Liberal Party, do not fight to obtain an increase in wages, or a decrease in the hours of labor, nor for the indemnization of accidents, or for old age pensions, nor for any such things, but for the abolition of the right of private property which makes possible the gathering in a few hands of the social wealth. We want the social wealth to be the common patrimony of all the inhabitants of Mexico, men and women,

foot; they grazed the cattle, to live on herbs and roots; they chopped wood to shiver with cold.

Those rebels are your brothers. They are also awaiting in the shack by a melancholic mother casting anxious looks along the dirty road; by a sad wife, by the loving sister, by the beloved daughter, the elderly father, the tender children, and those dear ones that make existence enchanting, the family, in a word, without whom we seem to lack something, we don't seem to be complete.

Those rebels are your brothers, only more intelligent than you are, they don't sacrifice themselves or their families to elevate a man to the Presidency who shall make the happiness of the humble, for experience, observation and the teachings of history, have demonstrated that never in the life of humanity has the rare phenomenon been produced of a government that concerned itself for the well being of the poor classes, but all to the contrary; it has always been seen that governments support the rich as against the poor. You don't know why is that, you Carranza soldiers; but I will explain it to you in a few lines.

In the beginning, human beings had no government, then everything belonged to all; at that time the land was free for anyone who wanted to work it; the forests supplied with wood and meat all those who cared to take the trouble to go and look for such things so necessary to life; the springs had no owner; all had an equal right to extract from the river, the lake or the sea, all the fishes they wanted. In that happy time there was no government, because there was no private property to protect, and people understood each other so well, that the greater part of all work was done in common, consumption was done in fraternity, everyone taking what he needed. But wars came of bribes against tribes, and the vanquished were reduced to slavery, having then to work for their conquerors, who, naturally declared themselves owners of everything in existence. Then, Authority was born, there were privileges to protect: those of the conquerors over the conquered.

Here is how was born the principle of Authority, that had not as its origin, as generally supposed, the necessity of the weak of defending themselves from the aggression of the strong, but the necessity of the strong to keep their riches safe from the possible aggressions on the part of the dispossessed.

If you, Carranza soldiers, have no material wealth to lose, it is bad for you to sacrifice yourself and those dear to you to elevate a man to the Presidency, who, as a ruler, will be your lash and your executor, as he shall do nothing in your benefit, because his mission is not to protect you from the aggressions of the strong, but to keep you subjected by means of the law that the strong has made for his own protection, and not for yours.

The strong have the earth, the machinery of production, the houses, the means of transportation and distribution, of the prime material (materia prima) and of all manufactured things, and transportation, also of persons. All of that is what is called social wealth, and the possession of that wealth gives power to him that has it to play at his whim with the fate of him that has it not. That is why we, the anarchists who form the Mexican Liberal Party, do not fight to obtain an increase in wages, or a decrease in the hours of labor, nor for the indemnization of accidents, or for old age pensions, nor for any such things, but for the abolition of the right of private property which makes possible the gathering in a few hands of the social wealth. We want the social wealth to be the common patrimony of all the inhabitants of Mexico, men and women,

without distinction of race or color. All that as to salaries, more or less high, of indemnizations and soforth, can be easily acquired, because such things do not attack the right of private property, which is the right to exploit and to keep the people in slavery. As long as the right of private property remains on foot, the same wrong that compelled you to take up arms will stand: misery, because it would do you good to have your wages raised and to be "benefited" by the other reforms, such as the diminution of the hours of labor, and others, if you have to pay a higher price for the necessities of life, and more for house rent, to say nothing of contributions, which, if the government does not exact them from you in person, it will exact them from your masters, who reimburse themselves by raising the prices of everything. You are the one who, in reality, pay the contributions, or taxes, not the bourgeoisie.

### DENOUNCED ITEM.

"So you see, brother carrancistas, the problem which is going to be solved by the rebets who retain their arms, when Carranza becomes President, is the problem that you will have to decide because it affects you in the same manner.

Your duty is to help and for this purpose do not surrender your arms when the troops are ordered disbanded.

What you should do at such a time, or before if possible, is to rebel, turn your arms against your chiefs and officers and without trembling pulse open fire with your rifles, because they are your enemies and are concerned in having these conditions last forever, so they can have a life of privilege.

A strong heart, a firm pulse and steady aim is all you need to exterminate your immediate oppressors.

If you surrender your arms you will return to your home in poverty, ready to sell your blood and strength to the rich at their own price.

You will have accomplished nothing, but in the meantime your chiefs and officers will enjoy, in the city, all kinds of pleasures and honors, and display on their breasts crosses and medals. If you remain in the Carranza army as a permanent soldier you will be a bad man, an executioner of your brothers of your class because you will help to serve the rich.

Honor points to the road you should take; rebel against the government until you attain the triumphs of the principles comprised in the declaration of the 23d of September, 1911, expedited by the Mexican Liberal Party, principles that advocate the death of capital, of authority and of clergy of all religions.

Decide to follow this road. Don't be deceived by the specious arguments of alleged wise politicians; these same arguments were used by the enemies of the great French Revolution to prevent the people from obtaining their political liberty.

It was the argument of Porfirio Diaz to prevent you from obtaining your liberties; it is also the argument of the Carranza party used to prevent you from obtaining your economic liberty, which is the foundation of all liberties.

This means the privilege of earning your living by working for yourself and being independent, and this can only be obtained, understand, by expropriation of land, houses, machinery, means of transportation and merchandise becoming common property without distinction of men or women, race or color. He who tells you to the contrary, spit in his face and even kill him, because it is necessary, it is absolutely necessary, to initiate a revolutionary campaign of house-cleaning.

We, the disinherited, must

rid ourselves of those who are in our way, if we can, by hook or crook, the same as we get rid of tiger, as we annihilate the rattlesnake, as we crush the tarantula. Those who tell that they are not prepared for this or other conquests which benefit you, are the ones who have interest in delaying your emancipation, so that in the meantime they can live at your expense."

Now, carrancista soldiers, to act as men convinced that there is nothing in common between the poor and the rich, unless it be the hatred that they mutually

profess for each other, a hatred we must not try to lessen, but which precisely must be deepened, exasperate it, increase it if it is possible, enliven it, poke it so that it shall not be extinguished, for the existence of that hatred between the two social classes, that of the exploited and that of the exploiters, is a guarantee of struggle and hope of emancipation for those who today are found in the last rung of the social ladder.

Long Live Land and Liberty!

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

## Villa Or Wilson—Which Is The Bandit?

VILLA

WILSON

PANCHO VILLA is the descendant of a long line of peons whose lives were spent in hard toil, cultivating the soil of Mexico and helping to produce food-stuffs for their fellow countrymen and profits for their exploiters.

Villa followed the same calling. His childhood was dark and dreary. The son of a peon, he passed his early youth in hard farm work, helping to support his family. The hand of greed lay heavy upon the people of Mexico. The hardest toil barely sufficed to keep the Villa family alive.

As a young man, Pancho saw an opportunity to improve his condition by securing work in a neighboring town. He took his widowed mother and younger children with him, he the chief support of the family. It was a garrison town, and one day Pancho learned that his oldest sister, a beautiful girl of 15, was seduced by an army officer. Pancho set out to find the man. He demanded that he make amends. The officer scorned the low peon, and young Villa shot and killed him.

The authorities ordered the arrest of Villa. Pancho knew that he, a despised peon, could expect no justice at the hand of masters. He fled to the mountains. The government set a price on his head and declared him an outlaw.

But the towns people knew Villa and the story of his wrongs. They admired him for challenging the right of an officer to violate the daughter of a peon. They aided Pancho and by their help he was able to avoid arrest. He gathered around him a circle of other peons embittered by the injustice and oppressions they suffered. From time to time they made excursions to neighboring states expropriating rich land sharks and sharing the spoils of victory with the needy peons. He was an outlaw, but the people loved him and blessed his name.

When the Revolution broke out, Villa joined forces with peons fighting for a chance to live, for a little land and liberty. He has kept up the fight against tremendous odds. Nor has Wall Street been able to corrupt him and buy him off, as they did with Carranza.

From "THE BLAST" issued March 15 1916, San Francisco, Cal.

Unlike Villa and his hard-working progenitors, Wilson comes from a long line of exploiters. His forefathers did neither spin nor sow. Yet, they always enjoyed the good things of life, parasites on the back of labor.

Wilson himself, unlike Villa, has never filled the ground nor worked in mine or factory. He has not helped in any productive or otherwise useful work. On the contrary, as teacher and college professor, he used every effort to poison the young minds with the dogmas and dominant views that support present institutions and make more secure the bondage of the people. As President, he has proved himself a menace to the welfare and peace of the country, a weather cock constantly swayed by the breezes from Wall Street, a puppet of the money magnates, his attitude on important issues has been dictated by Big Business.

Preaching peace and sanity a few months ago, he has suddenly veered into the camp of mad militarism. The compelling hand of the munition and steel trust is dictating his policies. And now he cries loudest for the biggest navy of the world. The priests of Mammon got him, body and soul.

At this very moment Wilson is preparing to invade Mexico—poor, bleeding Mexico, for years torn by inner strife and weakened by the long struggle. He has ordered a "punitive expedition" against Villa. It is no secret that back of this outcry for the punishment of Villa are the American political and commercial pirates eager for the invasion of Mexico in the holy name of greater profits.

Villa killed a Mexican officer to avenge the ruin of his sister. Wilson is preparing to kill thousands of Mexicans on the pretext of avenging the death of some Americans. Which is the greater bandit—Villa or Wilson?

There is only this difference between them: Villa had the courage to do his own vengeance, taking the risks and profiting nothing himself.

Wilson sits safely in the White House and orders others to do the dirty work.

## TO REBEL PRESS.

Besides the exchange for "Regeneracion" we ask all the labor and radical papers to send each issue an extra copy to the Magon Brothers, Los Angeles county Jail, Los Angeles, Cal.

### THOUGHTS.

BETWEEN a priest who kills with impunity a million of tender minds, and a soldier who in cruel battle kills ten adversaries and then gets kill himself which is the most criminal?

P. C. Paulet.—Los Angeles, Cal.

All social agitation arises from the persistence of right against the obstinacy of law.—Victor Hugo.

### TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We need not say that REGENERACION is traversing rough seas these days, and it is with no little effort that its existence is made possible.

For a long time this paper has been sent to a number of people who have not cooperated or supported it in any way. Under present conditions this cannot continue and we hereby notify the above mentioned subscribers that after three weeks their names will be stricken off our lists if they do not signify their WILLINGNESS to support the paper.

All money for REGENERACION should precisely be sent to Enrique Flores Magon, P. O. Box 1236, Los Angeles, Calif.

REGENERACION GROUP.

"LAND AND LIBERTY. Magon's Battle for Economic Freedom and Its Relation to Labor's World-Wide Struggle." Selected from writings of Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio de P. Arango and Wm. C. Owen.—10¢ a copy. In orders of great quantities, 75¢ per copy.