

DEBS

FREEDOM MONTHLY

Vol. 1



NOVEMBER, 1921

No. 4

Among Other Features

LION HEARTED RUSSIA

EUGENE V. DEBS

AMERICA'S ONLY SAINT

JUDAH MAGNES

THEY MUST FREE DEBS

IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

RUSSIA'S NEW POLICY

INTERVIEW WITH CHITCHERIN

HEROES' PLEA FOR LIBERTY

UNITED WAR VETERANS

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CHAIN OF FREEDOM

Lovers of Liberty in America can make no greater mistake than to place too much credence in the many newspaper reports about the release of Debs and all political prisoners.

Too often the Administration has issued these statements that have no other purpose than to divide the workers in their fight for Freedom. There are comrades who say "Debs never will get out." There are others who say, "What is the use of our protesting any further; they will let them all out Christmas."

Comrades who really want the freedom of Debs and the other prisoners will not assume either attitude, as it is just what the masters want you to do, so that they can keep them confined indefinitely.

To the end that a stronger, and more powerful protest may be made than has been made as yet, Debs Monthly is making a drive for circulation. Circulation means Readers. Enough readers means the liberation of these comrades.

We have started a Chain of Freedom. The letter to forge the chain has been sent to all of our subscribers. We sincerely hope that each one will earnestly assist in this work by immediately sending their quota of ten letters to their friends, that the Chain may grow rapidly and enable us to do the work as outlined.

No Lover of Freedom will break this Chain. Act Promptly.

DEBS

FREEDOM MONTHLY

A HERALD OF THE DAWN

Volume 1.

CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER, 1921.

No. 4



LION HEARTED RUSSIA

By Eugene V. Debs

(Written in the United States Prison at Atlanta, Ga.)

The Soviet Republic stands impregnable as Gibraltar!

The Russian Soviet Republic is battling for its life with a heroism that has no parallel in history.

Arrayed against these dauntless liberators are all the imperial powers of the world.

If Russia triumphs capitalist imperialism is doomed in every land on earth.

It is the mightiest stake over which a conflict was ever waged.

Russia is fighting, as men, women and children have never fought before, for the overthrow of tyranny and the liberation of the race.

She is fighting with a valor unmatched, for proletarian emancipation.

For six long years these heroes have stood their ground and held their own against the fiercest assaults ever launched against a struggling people.

Army after army have been beaten back by these intrepid warriors of the revolution, who fear no foe and know no defeat. Invasion, starvation, conspiracy and counter-revolution have all been tried in vain.

Lenine and Trotsky and their ragged, half-starved battalions have achieved immortal fame, and the triumphant advance of this mighty host of liberation is inspiring the nations and shaking the world.

Behold her! Russia in her glorious dawn! Her heroic sons have crowned her with the diadem of freedom and she stands forth, holding aloft the inextinguishable torch—the inspiration of the toiling masses and the hope and promise of mankind.

They Must Free Debs

Debs will not be set free, says a message from the President; his name is not on the list of Thanksgiving pardons.

But be not cast down, old warrior of the dauntless heart; nor give up hope, lovers of mankind; for as long as the lion's paw is strong he is held by his keepers; and until the tiger is tamed and meek he is kept fast bound.

Debs is still dangerous to evil enthroned—therefore he is still in jail!

His clear and dauntless brain, his voice of matchless power, his heart filled with the inspiration of unquenchable truth—these are still potent for the right; and as long as the embattled forces of treachery and wrong are in power, they fear his freedom with tremblings of soul.

Do not mistake—it is not Harding who keeps Eugene Debs a prisoner, nor is it Harry M. Daugherty who fears to turn the key that will release him.

It is the forces of plunder and destruction, still bent on outrage, which force the hand of the President: and not until the forces of decency and honor shall raise the louder cry, will the old lion of the people be set free.

If his fangs were broken and his claws shorn, if his power were weakened and his spirit gone, then long ago he would have been at liberty.

Von Bopp and Rintelen, Papen and Boy-Ed, and all the horde who planted bombs and destroyed ships—these have long ago been released.

Dorsey, the cattle king, who sold diseased cattle and spread the poison of tuberculosis far and wide, was released almost before he had begun to serve his prison term.

Murderers and swindlers, mail thieves and dope fiends—these the Government sets free with an easy gesture; for of such it is not afraid.

But those strong souls who dare proclaim the truth when truth is perilous; those fearless voices that are raised to defend the life of the people, when that life is preyed upon from within their borders; those heroic hearts that shine but the brighter as the firmament grows dark with storm and horror—these the power of Evil fears; and these are chained tight until the hour of redemption is past—unless the strong voice of the people themselves is raised, crying "Set free!"

Debs is still feared; therefore he is still a prisoner. Feared not by the President nor by the Attorney General, but by those sinister shapes that hover behind and above these men, lusting for yet more blood; for not yet are they satisfied.

* * *

But why should they fear him? What has the huge power of world wealth, organized and con-

solidated with the might of armies and navies to uphold it—what has it to fear from a solitary man, locked for three years behind stone walls?

His is the only power they fear! For the voice of Debs is a trumpet, waking echoes that will not die; and the soul of Debs is a blazing fiery torch, kindling far reflections that cannot be obscured. Whenever he speaks millions listen both in this land and beyond the seas. And with those strong vibrations spreading the hold of greed is shaken and the power of ignorance grows weak; for the people are ripe and overready to hail the Truth-bringer and follow him as their guide.

* * *

One year ago the name of Harding was greeted with salvos of rapturous applause. Today men regard his likeness with a cold and sullen silence: his name calls forth hisses and not cheers, and the pledges which he made are recalled with a sick feeling of betrayal.

Yet it is not the fault of Harding that six million men ask for work, nor is it Hoover's fault that the wheels of industry have come to a standstill. Giant forces of destruction have been loosed, and they are but its toys.

Calvin Coolidge is silent as a clam, where Thomas Marshall chattered like a canary; but neither has any effect upon the world situation, for the tremendous play of cause and effect takes small note of pygmies.

Charles E. Hughes is a man of silent power, where Bainbridge Colby and Robert M. Lansing were flatulent nitwits; but Hughes is powerless to arrest the collapse or to avert the conflagration which impends, for it is rooted in the nature of the CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

Bewildered and impotent like children confronting a blackening whirlwind, these men in high places run hither and yon with conferences and agreements, with burials of unknown soldiers and with wild welcomes to generalissimos; but none can arrest the coming storm, for they know not what they do.

The voice that could call "Peace, be still," knowing that winds and waves would obey, is the voice of Socialism; but not yet are the hearts that are terrified by the storm enlightened enough to call upon that voice to save them.

* * *

They that would bear witness to the truth are called upon to suffer many things; for of them it is written:

Continued on page 14

AMERICA'S ONLY SAINT

By Rabbi Judah L. Magnes

The fact that the political prisoners are still in jail means one of two things: either that the Government is afraid of the influence of this handful of men and the movement for freedom that is behind them, or that the American people are so little concerned with political and spiritual liberty that the significance of political prisoners is lost upon them.

Can it be that both of these motives are operative at the same time?

If the Government is afraid of this handful of men and the movement for freedom in this country, I want to assure them that they need have no alarm for the present at least, because, unfortunately, the reaction is victorious all along the line, and liberal and radical movements are much weaker than they were during the war and immediately after. It would, after all, show that the Government valued the liberal and radical movements in this country at their real worth, if it opened the prison doors and said, with a *beau geste*, "Go, we are not afraid of you!"

That this impotence will continue forever is, of course, something that not even the present administration of our Government can be altogether sure of; but, for the duration of its own lifetime, that is, probably, eight years, they may rest assured that they have the upper hand and that nothing will happen to them.

We ought therefore to ask them in their own language, and in words that they can understand, "Why not be 'good sports' and let the political prisoners go free?" I should think that our kindly, well-meaning, "human" President might make this added contribution to the era of good feeling which he preaches with touching sentimentality. I am thoroughly convinced that it would please and receive the applause of even some of the bitterest enemies of the political prisoners and the ideas for which they stand.

Much more serious, of course, is the failure of the American people to understand the depth of their political servitude. The war has robbed them of almost the last vestiges of independent political thinking. Their teachers and preachers and writers and all the organs of public opinion were bludgeoned or seduced into acquiescence during the war. It is questionable if the generation that has lost its spiritual freedom and its intellectual integrity can ever regain them, except through a mighty act of religious conversion which seems barely possible for them. The political prisoners still in jail are the symbol of the political servitude of the American people and the spiritual slavery of the American nation. The very fact

that Debs is among these prisoners makes the portent all the more startling in the heavens. He is the one authentic Saint whom American life has produced. It is not the first time in the spiritual life of mankind that a saint is stoned and martyred.

Write on your doors the saying wise and old,
 "Be bold! be bold," and everywhere "Be bold";
 Be not too bold, yet better the excess
 Than the defect; better the more than the less;
 Better like Hector in the field to die,
 Than like a perfumed Paris turn and fly.
 —Longfellow.

President Harding says he has always believed in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Good, Mr. President. Maybe you will be glad to push a bill thru Congress providing that "those who will not work shall not eat."

"Woe unto them that lay field unto field till the poor have no place to lay their head." This is the sentiment and motive of Christianity. Yet most of the laws championed by Mr. Harding since his entry into public life, have been to enable the propertied classes of America to lay field unto field, until verily today the poor have no place to lay their heads.

We might go on, calling the President's attention to the real inspiration of the Scriptures and the principles advocated by the young revolutionist of Nazareth. But what is the use? If the Carpenter were here today he would probably be a cellmate of Debs in Atlanta, providing of course he was not immediately shot for treason.

"For \$10 and other considerations" a Texas mother has sold her baby. No doubt this is the American Plan we hear so much about; 100 per cent ignorance, starvation and brutality.

Under Socialism the children would be the most precious treasures of society. No pains would be spared to provide them with everything necessary for them to develop into noble, beautiful men and women.

Of course this is Bolshevism, Anarchy and everything else but "loyal Americanism." Whatever interferes with the worship of the almighty god of gold, is sedition, and must be crushed.

Current Comment.

With three rousing cheers we greet the announcement that Congress on Nov. 14 passed a bill extending the time limit for the prosecution of profiteers for three years more. The time limit of three years after the Lever bill was declared void expires within a few days. That is to say, the Government has three years more in which to make up its mind whether it will or will not begin to commence to make a start at prosecuting the men who robbed the country blind under cover of the war. Debs, for making a speech, has been in jail already for nearly three years. But about the time his term is over, the Government begins to think whether it would not be a good thing to make some sort of a face at the profiteers.

On November 16 the Government ordered the case against Rose Pastor Stokes dismissed. Mrs. Stokes was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for writing to the Kansas City Star, "A government cannot be both for the people and for the profiteers. I am for the people, while the Government is for the profiteers." This was a private letter written to the editor. It was published by the Kansas City paper and circulated among millions of Americans. Mrs. Stokes' sentence was reversed by the Court of appeals and remanded for trial.

But meanwhile Debs had been tried and found guilty. One of the principal counts in the charge against him was that he said, "If Rose Stokes is guilty, I am guilty too." The court held that this was a confession of guilt, and so Debs has spent three years of his glorious life in prison.

We hope he will soon be released. That is, that his body will be freed; his soul has never been in prison. It is not Debs who has been punished; it is in truth the American people who have been imprisoned. For while a country condemns its best and bravest souls to prison for speaking the truth, it is the country itself that has become a prison and the only free spot in it is the prison cell, where free souls would rather be than surrender their right to speak the truth as it is given them to see the truth.

Russia, with 180,000,000 people; Germany, with 70,000,000; South China with 200,000,000, and India, with 400,000,000 people, are unrepresented at the Conference. Russia has sent word that it will refuse to be bound by any decision reached by the Conference. Two-thirds of the human race are being disposed of by a small fraction thereof. This is all very well as long as the omitted two-thirds will agree to be led.

But word comes from Europe that Russia is arming against Poland. Germany is hot with indignation at the cynical refusal of the Allies to abide by their own word in the matter of Silesia. South China is in armed rebellion against the Peking Government. India is seething in rebellion against the British Raj.

Suppose they all start together? Suppose Russia arms Germany for a joint attack on outrageous Poland? Suppose Russia, Indian and South China agree to a concerted act of self-assertion? Who shall stop them? It is easy to play cards on the rim of a volcano as long as the volcano is quiet. But suppose the lava explodes?

Bill McAdoo thinks that Hughes is a piker. "Let's abolish all the navies completely, except for patrol craft," says McAdoo. "Hughes' plan will save a little on taxes, but will leave the menace untouched—the menace of continued naval armaments." McAdoo was Secretary of the Treasury during the war. He knows that continued naval armaments mean the bankruptcy of capitalism.

Ten coal miners have leased the Home Coal Company mine No. 2 of Macon, Mo., and will run it cooperatively. The lease money will cover the cost and depreciation of the electric equipment, and all they get will be paid to the actual workers. If only the railroads do not strangle the enterprise!

A thirty per cent cut in wages of Colorado miners has been followed by a strike. On the same day the John L. Lewis machine dominating the United Mine Workers announces that Alexander Howat has been permanently expelled from the Union, although the miners of Illinois and Kansas are up in arms against the treatment of Howat.

Alexander Howat once explained the way Lewis and men like him hold on to their jobs. Elections are held in the local union, and the result sent in to the International Headquarters at Indianapolis. Local members have three weeks only in which to challenge the Secretary's report. But it is six weeks before the ballots are opened and counted. If the Secretary, then, proves to have certified 200 votes for Lewis and 10 for Howat, instead of the actual count of 150 for Howat and 60 for Lewis, there is no possible means of rectifying the error. In such ways is union labor tied hand and foot to the power of

those who, like Lewis, have on every occasion betrayed it.

Six large pieces of artillery were captured from Hindu rebels by the Gurkha British garrison at Pandikkad. Where did the rebels get them? For generations all native Indians have been punished if caught carrying any weapon, even a club, which could be used to hurt an Englishman. It looks as though the Khyber Pass, through which Alexander's conquering armies came, is letting occasional bits of Red Army equipment through. England needs the Japanese Alliance to keep her hold on India.

France declines to renew negotiations of any sort with Russia, although Foreign Minister Chicherin has announced that Russia will recognize the debts contracted by the Czar's government, unless all propaganda in foreign countries for the overthrow of their governments is abandoned.

The Rev. Bill Sullivan, formerly a Paulist (Roman Catholic) missionary, now a Unitarian Pastor in New York, said to a congregation in St. Louis "Christianity can no more solve the unemployment problem than it can set a broken leg." The Gospels seem to indicate that the Founder of Christianity could do both. Rev. Mr. Sullivan explained that Christianity's sole contribution to the unemployment problem was in making men willing to be of service to their fellows. This seems to mean that Christianity's function lies in producing strike breakers willing to take anything they can get from the masters of production.

But the central theme of the Gospel of Christ was that all things belong to the children of God. God, he proclaimed, was a worker; consequently the children of God are the workers. One who toils only one hour, if unable to obtain employment for longer than that, is entitled to the same pay as those who have toiled since dawn.

It is a complete abandonment of the genius and mission of the religion of Christ to proclaim that it can neither heal the hurts of the body nor the dislocations of society. Rev. Mr. Sullivan is a society pet. He earns his pay.

Eight members of the World War Veterans who won Congressional medals of Honor or Distinguished Service Medals during the war, asked President Harding for the release of Debs and 140 other political prisoners, on November 14. These men were Carl Parsons of Minnesota, who was a delegate to the Socialist convention of 1920 which nominated Debs for President; A. G. Cooper and John M. Levitt, National Chairman and chairman Eastern Division of the World War Veterans; George H. Mallon, C. K. Slack, Burger Loman,

John J. Kelly, Sam Dreben, D. C. Poindexter.

How gloriously the World War Veterans shine up on every issue, in contrast with the shabbiness of the American Legion! Backed and petted by the Press, the American Legion receives the fullest support of publicity; but it is anti-labor, anti-liberty, anti-American in every performance. It is the pet child of reaction. Long live the World War Veterans!

Japan readily accepted "in principle" both the proposal of Hughes and the plan of China. Beware of Japan when she yields. The chief trick of jiu jitsu is to give way suddenly, throw your opponent off his balance, and then trip him. Japan is fighting for her life, economic, artistic and moral. And Japan knows how to fight to win.

America, England, France and Italy paid the supremest honors of the war, not to their victorious generals, but to a dead unknown chosen out of the ranks of the unidentified corpses. It is a fitting recognition that there are no heroes in the great conflict, no victors, no crowns of undying glory. The warriors were the common people; the defeated were the common people of all lands; the mourning is theirs, and such glory as there is pitifully to be gained, belongs to them.

Tribute to the unknown soldiers is an admission also that the causes of the war were hidden and the gains of it still more unrecognizable.

Debs, for a few bold words, is in Atlanta prison. Kaiser Karl, for an attempted revolution, is given the run of the sunny vineyards of Madeira.

Lloyd George's government faces the loss of England's export trade with a novel plan for trade insurance. Forty per cent of all England's manufactures are for foreign markets. But the currency of all foreign countries except the United States is jumping about like an acrobatic troupe, so that British merchants cannot take orders or fill them without facing the prospect of heavy loss on every contract. So the British Government has set aside one hundred million dollars to insure orders from abroad to British industries, by guaranteeing with British gold the stability of bonds issued abroad to pay for British-made goods. By this means the British Empire will virtually incorporate all the countries whose currency is unstable. It means that the Bank of England will extend its protectorate over the world.

If successful, American industries will clamor in vain at the gates of such countries for their export trade. And one more drop of gall will have been added to the bitterness of the conflict between English and American business for the conquest of the world.

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THE AWAKENING

The recent elections give great encouragement to the perpetual campaign that all Socialists have been waging for the education of the masses.

There is every reason to believe, from the returns at hand, that the people are awakening from the mesmerism of war propaganda directed against everything liberal and are realizing that the Socialists were just about correct in their appraisal of the motives and aims of the big war.

There is the most widespread unrest from coast to coast. No one that earns his living is in any sense satisfied with conditions that surround us. Everyone is asking why, and people who seek to know the reason for their affliction make very good listeners for an answer to their troubles.

It behooves the radical movement once more to bend every effort to the end that the workers may be thoroughly organized on the political and industrial fields. The time for empty cant and meaningless phrases has long since passed. The radical parties in Sweden secured an overwhelming victory by casting aside their petty differences and pooling their political power at the polls. This should be a lesson to the American Radical Movement.

One political party representing the workers on the political field is enough. United, the workers would be able to do many things to lessen the burden of the system and prepare for its final overthrow. It does not matter what the name of the united party may be, the main point is for all the radical forces to UNITE, on a basis broad enough to give every shade of radical thought its rightful expression and representation on the governing committee.

Comrades, there is the utmost good cheer in the way the tides are turning our way again. Let us take advantage of it to the fullest. Debs Monthly stands for an immediate union of all forces to the end that this idiotic warfare of workers against workers may be forever ended in the United States, and hand in hand we again pursue together our historic mission of instituting a Socialist Republic, of, by and for the workers.

PEACE PARLIAMENT

On November 15, at 3:30 p. m., President Harding signed the proclamation of peace with Germany. The war came to a close November 11, 1918. Almost exactly eighteen months after its commencement. But it was just twice as long before peace was declared. Think that over a while. We were at war eighteen months, a year and a half. It took that much time to reduce to the ashes of desolation the once proud German Empire and its magnificent civilization. But it took just twice as long to conclude the terms of peace, and many more years, decades, even, will be required to bring about an actual peace.

* * *

There is food for thought in this. A house may be burned to the ground in a few hours. But it will require weeks to clear the ground of the debris before another house can even be begun, and it will require months before the new structure is completed.

One can jump from the top of a 17-story building to the ground in four seconds, but it will take a much longer time than that before the results of the fall are overcome.

Such is the nature of war. It is essentially destructive. It tears down in a few hours what humanity required weary centuries to build. And with each successive war the area of destruction becomes more frightfully extended and the period needed for recovery becomes greater and greater.

* * *

If civilization is to endure there must be no more war. And yet as long as surplus value accumulates, and requires a foreign market, so long will wars continue. There is no price for peace but Socialism, which means that they who produce shall receive the full value of what they produce; thus being enabled to consume its equivalent. Then there will be no problem of surplus value to be disposed of at the point of the bayonet; but all foreign commerce will be exchange, not exploitation. There is no price of peace but Socialism.

T.

UNDERGROUND TACTICS

Revolution by stealth is not an idea which appeals to the American mind. The "underground operations" of the ultra-revolutionary parties formed within the past three years have accomplished nothing except providing a great deal of innocent amusement for the childish minds which engaged in them. They have, indeed, almost destroyed the political movement toward Socialism, in which they have had the heartfelt and enthusiastic cooperation of the private detective agencies, subsidized by merchants and bankers.

This theory of perfect innocence on the surface and devilish ingenuity underground reminds me

of the darky who wanted chickens. He crept into a white man's henhouse late one night and began to pick out a nice fat hen. The uproar created by the hens attracted the attention of the owner, who dashed out with a shotgun in his hand.

"Who's in that henhouse?" he demanded.

The startled chicken-thief replied, "Dey ain't nobody in here, boss, 'ceptin' us chickens!"

Does a dodge like this convince any one? Does it accomplish anything? Certainly not. Least of all does it fool the chickens.

* * *

Of course there is danger in open avowal of one's intention to alter the structure of our government so that the workers shall control their own industries. There is danger of prison, of violence, even of serious injury and at times of death, in becoming known as a propagandist for Socialism. But unless one is convinced that death for a cause is preferable than living in slavery, one should not become a crusader for the life more abundant, which Socialism seeks to bring about. Should the servant be above his master? If they have done such things to the master of the house, shall they not do even so to the servants?

PUMPKIN-HEADS

We Americans celebrate the month of November in a curious way. On the night before the month begins, that is on Halloween, everybody makes a pumpkin-head and puts it in the window. A pumpkin-head is made by scooping all the insides out of a pumpkin, leaving nothing but the hollow shell. Eyes and nose and grinning mouth are cut in the shell, and a lighted candle is put inside. We gaze at these pumpkin-heads so intently on Halloween that a few days later, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of the month, we go to the polls and elect a set of pumpkin-heads to office. Then on the last Thursday in November, after we have slightly recovered from the shock, we go to church and say "Thank heaven it is no worse."

* * *

But for all the criticisms that we level against the conduct of affairs under Capitalism, we must remember that one cannot run a government on phrases. A good many Socialists remind us of the man who bought a new Ford car. He took it out on a trial trip the first day he had it, and all went well until far out on the country road the machine coughed a few times and then stopped dead. The owner got out and scratched his head, looked at the front, then at the back and scratched his head again. Another car hauled up alongside, and its driver said, "What's the matter, friend?" He replied, "The car won't go."

"Well, don't you know what's the matter with it?"

"No," said the owner. "I don't know a thing about a Ford car but a few jokes."

You can't run even a tin Lizzie on jokes, and you can't run a government, either working class or capitalist, either industrial or political, by a few revolutionary phrases. Many a man who can't even keep his own house clean and his own front walk swept undertakes to give lectures on international affairs. It can't be done, friends; it can't be done.

* * *

MACHINISTS TO PREVENT WAR

The Eighth Congress of the International Metal Trades Workers Federation, meeting at Lucerne, Switzerland, on August 10, 1921, adopted a resolution against war reading as follows:

"We invite the wage earners of all countries to demonstrate their solidarity towards each other by refusing to manufacture arms, munitions and other war materials of any kind; and that they consider it their solemn duty to watch any order of such materials; and furthermore that the workers everywhere shall support the railroad employes of their respective countries in their determination not to transport, or permit to be transported, any more of such arms, munitions or war materials."

The Amsterdam International Federation of Labor, representing more than 35,000,000 members in 25 countries, unanimously endorsed this resolution. It is to the eternal glory of the American Machinists Union that this resolution was formulated and pressed through. Now the question is, Will they Stick? Will they stick?

WHY BLAME HARDING?

I saw a moving picture of the burial of the Unknown Soldier in a crowded vaudeville house at St. Louis. President Harding was shown several times; marching in the procession, laying a wreath on the coffin, and delivering his memorial address. There was not a ripple of applause—not a single handclap. Then Woodrow Wilson was shown, and immediately the audience broke into a roar of applause.

How do you explain it? A year ago everybody was applauding Harding, and preserving a deathly silence at the picture of Wilson. What has happened?

Harding got in under false pretenses. He promised a return to prosperity and happiness, with plenty of jobs and high wages, and with a general underlying thought of free beer. In the year since his election, things have grown worse and worse. Everyone remembers that under Wilson wages were high—they have forgotten that food prices were even higher. It is a fickle world. Neither high wages nor high prices were the fault of Wilson; neither low wages nor low prices are chargeable to Harding. Both men were simply indexes of social pressure, scapegoats for the sins of the world system.

RUSSIA'S NEW POLICY

By Special Permission of the Christian Science Monitor

Moscow, Russia—George Tchitcherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, is certainly one of the most interesting personalities I have so far met during my stay in Russia. The sacrifice of position and wealth which he made before the war—when he left the Tzarist diplomatic service and became a champion of Russian trade unionism—has not curiously enough altogether dissipated the suspicion with which his origin—he belongs to the Russian nobility—has caused many Communists to regard him.

During the long talk which I had with him, I was much impressed by his very real sincerity and enthusiasm for the Communist movement; unlike many of the lesser Bolshevik leaders, Mr. Tchitcherin is clearly a man who believes in the cause which he champions. Like the other Commissars of the People Mr. Tchitcherin is a tremendous worker, arriving at the Foreign Office at 6 o'clock each evening and rarely leaving it before noon on the following day.

* * *

In the interview which he readily granted me he answered with evident frankness all the questions which I put to him; the fencing and hesitations which one expects to meet in interviews with statesmen did not mark his answers. I noticed with interest that he talked quite frankly of the "terror" which certainly characterized the early stages of the Bolshevik regime and admitted that a vast amount of discontent with the government was manifesting itself among the workers.

"You do not then suggest the Soviet Government is popular?" I asked.

"By no means," replied Mr. Tchitcherin. "But what government is ever really popular? But a government as you well realize may be unpopular in two ways—the people either grumble against it and abuse it—but rally to its support when it is endangered—or their attitude is so fundamentally hostile toward it that they are ready to join in any movement, armed or political, to overthrow it. I claim that the Soviet Government, in so far as it is unpopular, is unpopular only in the first sense. I confess quite willingly that sometimes when we address public meetings, particularly, in the remoter towns and villages, the attitude of the audiences is cold, sometimes openly hostile, but I am not surprised at the fact nor are my colleagues.

* * *

"Are you surprised? What government could be really popular when conditions of living are so difficult as they now are in Russia? On the other

hand a very small percentage of the grumblers and critics want the overthrow of the Soviet Government. On the contrary they would rally to its support if it were threatened—a knowledge which justifies me in declaring that the government's position has never been as strong as it is today. The defeat of Koltchak, Denikin and other reactionaries was mainly due to the opposition they encountered from the peasant population—that population which as our enemies abroad declare are longing and languishing for the return of the Tzar and the landed proprietors."

"You don't then think there is much chance of a monarchist restoration in Russia?" I asked.

"None at all. The people may criticize us but they know they are much better off under a Soviet than under a Czarist Government. The hostility, which the Russian masses still entertain toward the old regime, is much deeper and more bitter than people abroad imagine. Chaliapin, our great actor-singer, was loudly hissed at the Moscow Opera House just before he left for his world tour when he appeared in the role of the Czar in a well-known Russian opera. The demonstration, the rudeness of which, so far as Chaliapin was concerned, was indefensible—was nevertheless significant as indicating the vigor and vitality of anti-monarchist sentiment in Russia."

* * *

"Do you then suggest the hatred and distrust of the old government give the measure of the present government's popularity?"

"Not entirely. At the same time I claim that our position is daily growing stronger. The whole body of the workers—in spite of the discontent caused by the prevailing economic conditions—are behind us, the peasants are rallying to our support and the intellectual classes are beginning to collaborate with us. The peasants are rallying to us because for one thing we have given them the land, and for another we are putting an end to the requisitioning system which has so greatly irritated them in the past. Moreover the new decree authorizing private trading to a limited degree has greatly pleased the peasants for it enables them to send their produce to the towns and sell it there."

"But this new decree is represented abroad as an admission of the bankruptcy of Communism," I interrupted.

"Nonsense," retorted Mr. Tchitcherin with warmth. "It simply means that we now realize that integral Communism cannot be introduced

by one stroke overnight in any one country. Even if the vast economic and political transformation which Communism implies had taken place first in the industrial countries of the West—notably England and America—it would still have been difficult to turn the agricultural and relatively backward country which Russia is into a complete Communist state.”

“But did you not intend, as you phrase it, to introduce Communism overnight?”

“Never,” replied Mr. Tchitcherin. “It is true that we did not see the world political situation quite so clearly at the beginning of the Russian revolution as we do now, and that as a consequence we made serious tactical mistakes. The failure of the world revolution to take place has obviously compelled us to modify our program. Three years ago—you see I am prepared to speak quite frankly—it really seemed that a big revolutionary movement was developing in European countries—notably in Germany and Great Britain—and we held optimistic views regarding the immediate triumph of the Communist ideals, which we have since had to abandon.

* * *

“We see that our deductions from the then prevailing unrest were too hasty: in other words we now have a clearer view of the world situation. Again as in capitalist countries during the war the Soviet Government, attacked from outside and intrigued against at home, had to concentrate, as a sheer war defense measure, all food and fuel and industrial control into government hands—a fact which rendered private trading quite impossible. Now that the dangers mentioned are past we feel able to make concessions in the matter of limited private trading.”

“Is the government going to proceed still further along the path toward what one might call modified capitalism?”

“I do not accept your phrase of ‘modified capitalism,’ ” replied Mr. Tchitcherin, “but I understand your point. It is not easy to say whether we propose to go further in the new economic policy which we have adopted. You must not forget that the concessions we have made in the matter of trade have greatly irritated large numbers of workmen.

“Much grumbling is being heard in the factories about the alleged betrayal of the government in the matter of those concessions. Happily we have been able to convince the mass of the workers that the new economic policy was absolutely necessary, but I mention the fact of that discontent to show how slowly the government must move along the lines indicated.”

* * *

I frankly told Mr. Tchitcherin, when later in the course of our talk he expressed the hope that Great Britain and the United States particularly would soon formally recognize the Soviet Govern-

ment, that allied statesmen had very little confidence in the pledges of the Russian Communist leaders. “Take the cardinally vital question of propaganda,” I added. “What guarantees have capitalist countries that in the event of such recognition being accorded the Soviet Government will cease the propaganda which it now carries on?” That remark apparently nettled Mr. Tchitcherin, for he replied with some emphasis.

“Of course we shall cease any such propaganda, if we are recognized,” he said. “There is too much confused and loose thinking about this question. People outside Russia confuse the aims and policy of the Third Communist International with those of the Soviet Government. The Communist International has now very little influence over the policy of the Soviet Government alike in this question of propaganda as well as in other questions, and is likely, let me add, to still have less.

“Capitalist governments may rest assured that once we are recognized by them, we should observe to the letter all the international customs which govern the relations between sovereign states.”

Mayor Moore of Philadelphia has set aside Nov. 27th as Better Citizens Day. He urges that citizens gather at their places of worship “to discourage those things in our public and private lives that are debasing, and to uphold those things that tend to exalt and elevate us in self-respect and citizenship.”

More power to you, Mayor! If you can get your neighbors to really do this, it will mean the scrapping of our entire social system and the inauguration of a new order of society.

Truly there is nothing more debasing in our public and private lives than the Republican and Democratic Parties and the vicious policies they uphold. Socialism will humanize humanity.

The Swedish Academy has again awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature to a Socialist, Anatole France. We cannot remember when this prize was carried away by any standpatter, let-well-enough-aloner, or supporter of this bandit system. Literary prizes are won by people who know, people who know are Socialists every time.

The material interests of the capitalists are fast triumphing over their ethical scruples against trading with the Bolshevik. One hundred and twenty-five oil tank cars, part of an order of five hundred cars, has just arrived in Russia. One case at least where “business policy” makes for righteousness.

THIS WAY AND THAT WAY.

The price of hogs on the market has reached its lowest point in several years. Recent prices in Buffalo were quoted at seven cents a pound. This is no indication that the price will fall for the consumer, it is more apt to fall on the consumer and grind him to powder. There is little hope that the Hogs of the Stock Yards will reduce the price of their fellow hogs offered on the block of your local market.

Three years was not enough time to prosecute the profiteers who have so flagrantly violated the Lever Act, so Congress has extended the time three years longer. Not that Congress has the least intention that these monsters be brought to justice, no indeed. But the Attorney-General has been hard put to account for jailing so many freedom loving citizens and letting these robbers run loose.

The General's excuse is that he has not had time to bring these thieves to account and passes the blame to Congress. Our worthy mis-Representatives squirm out of the dilemma by extending the time three years more. The General is correct. Three years is not long enough for him to act, nor will thirty-three years see these greedy, financial gluttons any nearer justice than they are today. The law is for the poor.

With the rise of a strong socialist movement in Egypt which threatens British power in that long robbed country, England is asked to remove the armed forces stationed there. King George has not forgotten the fate of his notorious namesake and is much inclined to comply. Perhaps it will be settled by recalling all forces except a nominal garrison at Suez to protect the Canal. Verily Socialism is sweeping onward to Victory.

A parley is now taking place between Chicherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, and Branting, Prime Minister of Sweden, regarding the final disposition of the Aland Islands, which lie midway between the two countries. It will be interesting to watch the outcome of this diplomatic discussion between two great Socialist governments. Neither being skilled in the science of lying, we should receive a fine example of genuine service to both nations concerned. Already Socialists are solving the world's greatest problems and the end is not yet.

The Labor Movement and the women together made such a racket for representation on the War Conference that Harding appointed an Advisory Committee especially for their benefit. So far

they have had nothing to do, as Wall Street has not yet been reduced to the necessity of taking advice from either the Labor Movement or the women of the country. However, these elements have been quieted quite, by this master stroke.

The Anti-Lynching Bill is a step in the right direction. It is very inconvenient and sometimes unpleasant to be lynched. There is only one fate equally delightful, that of slow starvation in a land of unrivaled plenty. The first bill passed by a Socialist Congress would be an Anti-Starvation Bill. This bill would automatically emancipate 60 million wage slaves and restore all of the nation's wealth to the people.

The fact that all the Non-Partisan measures in the recent North Dakota election were carried while the Non-Partisan candidates were defeated, is not at all queer. The average voter goes into the voting booth armed with a lead pencil and impenetrable ignorance. He marks right and left in a wild endeavor to fulfill his duty as a citizen tho he has failed utterly in enlightening himself as to what or for whom he is voting.

Recently Bernard Shaw was asked, "What is a good practical doctrine for Socialism?" "Shoot idlers," tersely replied the great playwright. Shooting those who work the workers is not a very drastic method of dealing with such a situation. Those who live in ease from the sweat of their fellows are deserving of a crueler fate. Why not put them to work?

Quite different from the bombastic speech of our President on Armistice Day was the simple and effective message of Baron Byng of Vimy, now Governor-General of Canada, to the people of the Dominion. "Honor the dead by helping the living." A greeting of few words which if carried out might be of dire consequence to the ruling class. Bing! Bing!

The order of the Moscow Soviet to "Shoot all robbers on sight" has made that great city safer than a country village. Such a policy would not do for our American cities, as it would soon deprive us of our most eminent and highly respected self-made-dollar-a-year, 100 per cent financiers.

Many a wage slave who does not understand how we could possibly get along without the "kapilas," and who insists the "sokalists" want to divide up, knows to the minutest degree the exact percentage of Al K. Hall in vebo and every fluid distract from sham pain to real pain.

HEROES' PLEA FOR LIBERTY

Former service men are taking a most active part in the movement for the release of all political prisoners. The resolutions presented to the President of the United States recently are so lofty and inspiring, and reflect so clearly the nobility of the boys in the ranks of the World War Veterans that we are glad to publish them in their entirety. When the final history of freedom is written in burnished rows of steel the action of this organization of unknown heroes will be given the full credit it so fittingly deserves.

"The World War Veterans, representing almost 500,000 former service men who participated in the world war, many of whom bear the scars of battle wounds, appeal to you for the release of those prisoners now in federal prisons who were convicted of opposing the war.

"We understand that there are at the present time about 140 such prisoners in Atlanta, Leavenworth, and McNeil's Island prisons. We ask for their release as a matter of simple justice, since no possible purpose can be served by imprisoning them longer. Most of them were sentenced to terms ranging from 10 to 20 years, and unless they are pardoned by your order now, the last of them will not be out for years to come.

"We realize, Mr. President, that some of these prisoners belong to unpopular and sometimes misrepresented movements. Most of them are radicals, some militant, others merely passive. We ask no distinction between them. We ask the release of all of them without discrimination, because they were all convicted of the same offense—that of opposing the war by spoken or written words, or by activities construed as interfering with recruiting and enlisting. We can find no single instance of any of these prisoners having been convicted of committing an act of violence. Not one was a German spy.

"In making this appeal we are conscious of speaking not only for the majority of the rank and file of ex-soldiers, but for millions of plain people throughout the country. Practically every Labor union in the United States has repeatedly urged the release of these prisoners, because they felt their imprisonment was a reflection upon American democracy. Not only Labor unions, but organizations of the people everywhere, have passed such resolutions."

Boys who have received the Congressional Medal of Honor at the same time presented the following appeal to the President:

"It was no easy task for them to risk unpopularity and prison to maintain these ideals against the majority of the people in time of war. Their loyalty of the interests of humanity as a whole, even against their country's decision to join in

the war, was what moved them to express the opinions which sent them to prison. We disagree with the methods of the men in prison. We followed, ourselves, the opposite course. But we respect them for their opinions and their courage.

"We understand that every country in the world which engaged in the great war has long since released from prison those who like these prisoners opposed the war. May we ask, Mr. President, why America, with her democratic ideals, should wait so long to do an act of justice and good will?"

We have long been told that it was the overseas heroes that were keeping the liberal citizens in jail. The World War Veterans and the boys with the Medals of Honor have forever nailed that vicious lie and have proven beyond dispute that it is the \$\$ patriots, swivel chair heroes, and the profiteers of the nation that are torturing these men and women so inhumanly. The Administration may continue to sidestep the wishes of the American people for a season longer, but it is only piling up wrath against the day of wrath. The time is near when Harding will have to give account of his stewardship to an awakened populace.

A bill is now pending in Congress to create twenty-three more Federal Judgeships. It has been warmly recommended by Chief Justice Taft. (How the letters in his name ever became transposed is hard to account for, as anyone can see they should read F-a-t-t.) Anyway, it is to be hoped that labor will rise in its might and prevent this dastardly action.

What have Federal Judges ever done but defend the capitalist class and assist them in oppressing labor? That was the purpose of the bourbons in creating the Supreme Court and its various lesser branches. After labor wins on every other field of political or industrial action it has still to reckon with this Court of Supreme Idiots.

Write to your Congressman and Senator today. (We use the word your to denote location, not possession.) Demand the immediate release of Debs and all political prisoners and instruct him to vote against this last insult to American Citizenship by extending the power and prestige of Court Rule in this nation. Torpedo these judgeships now!

Labor wide as the earth has its summit in heaven.—Carlyle.

Continued from page 4

"In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings;

"As deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed;

"As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things!"

* * *

What shall we do then? Shall we who are footloose and free forget those who bear the cross for us all?

Shall we be content that they shall suffer, while we go carelessly on our way?

It is not the fault of Harding and Daugherty that Debs remains in bonds; IT IS OUR OWN.

When we demand with voice of thunder that America shall set her imprisoned soul free, then shall those chains be stricken off.

For it is not the body of a man which is at stake, but the soul of a nation; and as long as America's best and bravest are imprisoned for speaking the truth, America's own soul lies betrayed and bound.

Gene Debs' body lies in black Atlanta's jail, while his soul goes marching on; but what of the soul of the nation that keeps him there, and the people who are content to have it so?

* * *

Let us give thanks, on this Thanksgiving Day, that there are souls yet brave and strong enough to refuse to purchase the freedom of their bodies at the price of their souls.

Debs would have been free long ago, if he had apologized, and begged pardon, and destroyed his life's work by repudiating his life's principles.

His dauntless soul refuses to buy freedom at such a price.

Let us rejoice, and give thanks; for the forces that are with us are stronger than they which are against us; and the soul of God beats visibly in the breasts of men.

And to fight on the right side—yea, even though we seem to lose—this is the victory!

WHERE WE STAND

We have been asked many times, "Where does Debs Monthly stand on the factional fight in the Socialist Movement?"

We believe that there is nobody so radical that he does not belong to us; we believe that there is nobody so conservative, that he is not our comrade, just so long as he is for labor in its struggle with capitalism.

The struggle is not between Labor and Capital; it is between Labor and Capitalism.

Capital is the fruit of Labor. It is that part of labor's product which is utilized in further production. Labor and capital cannot be enemies, any more than the pot can be the enemy of the potter; any more than the trunk of a tree can be the foe of the life of the tree which called it into being.

Capitalism is that theory of life which holds that ownership of the product gives a rightful power over the producers.

It is a theory that the thing created is greater than the creator.

It is a system which gives all rewards and honors to the accidental possessors, rather than to the elemental producers of wealth.

If you are with us in the struggle to return to the creative power of labor the full value of all that it produces, you are our comrade, and we refuse to admit that you are or can be our foe.

You may be faster than we are; you may be slower than we are; but if you are with us on this issue, we claim you as our own.

TWO HORSES

Author Unknown

On a cold and frosty morning,
Up a steep and icy hill,
Two work-horses pulled their burden
With an equal strength and will.

One kept steadily ascending,
On the smooth and slippery ground,
Until it stood triumphant
On the summit, safe and sound;

While the other, though as stalwart
And as willing to do well,
In its strain to pull its burden,
Slipped upon the ice and fell.

One received its master's praises,
One its master's curses got;
But this secret tells the story:
One was shod, and one was not.

Some who climb the hill of labor
In these wintry days of greed
Reach the summit of achievement
By the force of stalwart deed.

Others, just as strong and willing,
Just as mighty in their strain,
Stumble on the icy pathway,
Fall, and never rise again.

Oftentimes we spurn the fallen
With a touch of selfish scorn,
When the system that we vote for
Curses them before they're born.

Not the true man's part to chide them,
Or to blame them if they fall;
But to learn this social precept—
Fall of one is fault of all.

RECENT ELECTIONS OF INTEREST

SWEDEN

Social Democrats	633,001
Conservatives	448,968
Liberals	332,800
Farmers	192,290
Communists	89,087
Left Socialists	45,377

The Social Democrats, Communists and Left Socialists all voted in one group, electing 106 members to the Riksdag. The bourgeois parties combined elected 124 seats. Branting has formed a Socialist Cabinet.

NORWAY

Conservatives	298,879
Communists	184,351
Liberals	176,475
Farmers	114,432
Socialists	80,060

CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA Seats

South African Party	74
Nationalists	47
Labor	12
Independent	1

NORTH DAKOTA

R. A. Nestos, for Governor.....	111,423
Lynn J. Frazier, for Governor.....	107,333

NEW YORK CITY

Jacob Panken, Socialist, received 85,000 votes for Mayor against 142,178 for Morris Hillquit, four years ago.

TOLEDO, OHIO

For Mayor

Republican	26,000
Socialist	21,000
Democratic	16,000

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

Socialist Candidate for Mayor received 2,000 votes, against 640 votes for the Socialist Ticket two years ago.

MARION, IND.

For Mayor

Republican	3,547
Democratic	3,477
Socialist	3,169

ACTION! ACTION! ACTION!

Now that the people are again ready for the message of Socialism every Socialist and radical sympathizer should be on the alert to spread the good news concerning our aims and objects. What are you doing now that the people want our message? Are you passing out any literature? Are you taking any subs to Debs Monthly or other radical papers? Comrades, we must get busy! The future is ours! Wilson has failed most miserably! Harding is doing his best to make things worse! The masses are sick and tired of the whole political and industrial mess. Go out tonight and get those subs for Debs Monthly! why put it off longer? Act! Today!

DEBS AND HOWAT

Consider me on the Firing Line for Freedom from Industrial Autocracy. Another real man who stood for human rights opposing industrial slavery; stood by the working class and now behind prison bars; Alexander Howat. Future posterity will gaze upon his photograph with tears, and understand why he is persecuted and jailed, like Debs, for the working class. Let the workers respond to the teachings of these noble men.—Pat McKenna, Lexington, Mo.

CHEER UP COMRADE!

Harding is going to let the RULERS cajole him and he will let Gene rot in jail so far as he is concerned. There may come a time when we will have an inning, but unless it comes in the next few years our civilization will be eradicated and we will have another period of the dark ages. The future looks blue to me. The present Disarmament is being held for the purpose of scrapping out of date ships.—C. W. Chandler, Newton, Kans.

I did not get my copy for September. I do not want to miss a single copy.—J. H. Anderson, Branscomb, Calif.

I wish to correct an error in a paragraph under the heading Put and Take in your magazine for October. You refer to the King of Sweden as Oscar the Last. His name is Gustav the Last.—Ellis Anderson, Chicago.

We hear much favorable comment for the magazine and hope you continue to make it a "Freedom Monthly." Send us thirty-five for November.—Max Moore, Secy. Local Terre Haute Soc. Party.

I like the little magazine very much indeed. You have succeeded in gathering together some of the best of our writers, and the arrangement is good.—Ruby Herman, Everett, Wash.

We elected two councilmen and tied the third one. The election was so close that the Democrats and Socialists have started proceedings to demand a recount. We also feel confident that we have elected the Mayor, Clerk and two Councilmen-at-large. The vote was: Republican, 3547; Democratic, 3477, and Socialist, 3169.—M. M. Confer, Secy. Local Marion, Ind. Soc. Party.

We need Debs. Every Subscriber for Debs Freedom Monthly should send in at least five new subscribers each month, then in 1924 we can put Debs in the White House. So let us take a high ball and never look back for a stop signal until Debs is in the White House.—E. R. Noidin, Los Angeles, Calif.

Things are just about the same as they were before the election here, as the Henry Dubbs did not wake up in big enough numbers. We will have to hammer away for the next four years again.—Conrad J. Schoen, Dayton, O.

I am sending my subscription which I wish to have begin with the first number.—Florence S. Hall, Lakeside, Calif.

I feel thankful that I may in some small way aid the worthy cause. I would certainly be glad if the comrades throughout the country rallied to the assistance of such a noble enterprise. The first and foremost necessity among any people is the cause of the freedom of the expression of opinions and convictions. The chief instruments of oppression and tyranny is the denial of this most sacred and inalienable right.—J. H. Kallmeyer, Los Angeles, Calif.

**WHY NOT
DEBS MONTHLY
TO YOUR FRIENDS
FOR CHRISTMAS?**