

SLAVERY OR SOLIDARITY — EUGENE V. DEBS



DEBS

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No. 9

Solidarity Number

MINERS FIGHT TO FINISH

ALEXANDER HOWATT

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST UNITY

MORRIS HILLQUIT

MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE

JAMES H. MAURER

THE GIANTS UNITE

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DEBS MAGAZINE LEGAL FUND

Police Suppress Militant Propaganda

The widespread popularity and increasing demand for Debs Magazine over the nation has struck terror to the hearts of the capitalist politicians and they are making every effort to crush out the street sales of this periodical.

Debs Magazine has been selling more rapidly on the streets of Chicago than any other magazine of its price. Not only do regular news stands handle it to big advantage for themselves, but the distribution of the Magazine has given work to many out-of-work soldiers and men who have no other source of supply.

The police of both Chicago and New York are doing all in their power to make life miserable for the boys who have the courage to handle a radical Magazine carrying Debs' name.

There is no legal excuse for police interference with any publication that goes through the mails. Besides our general right to circulate Debs Magazine through street sales the City Ordinances of Chicago expressly state that "all periodicals published in Chicago may be sold upon the streets without permit."

As the fall election draws nigh the police will become more antagonistic and endeavor to prevent the message of Debs reaching the people. The only alternative is for us to raise a defense fund with the aid of our friends, to keep the Magazine on the streets.

For the first time in the history of the American Socialist Movement, Debs Magazine is making the subject of Socialism popular to the masses and the Movement cannot afford to let this big opportunity pass because of a few dollars to defend our legal rights.

Debs Magazine has never asked for donations. It does not now except to protect the sale of American Socialist papers, on our American streets, to the American People.

Sufficient funds must be raised immediately to secure injunctions against the police in Chicago and New York City. We have Socialism on the Streets! Let us keep it there!

Make all remittances to

DEBS MAGAZINE
Legal Fund

59 East Van Buren Street

Chicago, Illinois

FOR A UNITED WORKING CLASS ON EVERY FRONT

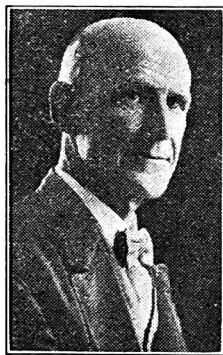
DEBS MAGAZINE

A Magazine of Militant Socialism

Vol. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., MAY, 1922

No. 9



SLAVERY OR SOLIDARITY

By Eugene V. Debs

These are crucial days in the American labor movement. In the aftermath of the war organized labor flounders impotently while the master class boldly threatens to annihilate the unions of the workers.

When the Wall Street rulers and their allies and retainers howled for war, how readily the labor movement wheeled into line, and gave its services with enthusiasm under promise that when the war was over the patriotism of the workers should be rewarded with the richest returns! Nothing would then be too good for the horny-handed American patriots.

Well, the returns are coming in, and if the workers will examine them closely they will observe that their rich rewards for services rendered in the war that would "make the world safe for democracy" consist of frantic attempts to destroy their unions via the open shop, injunctions handed down by federal courts restraining labor from further organizing its forces, unemployment on such a national scale that the man with a job is an object of envy and admiration, further encroachments upon personal liberty, the continued denial of the right of free speech in industrial communities where it is most needed, and almost universal stagnation and starvation and their attendant miseries.

The first thing on the program was a sweeping slash in wages; next in order was the shutting down of industry and the curtailing of working forces to the limit. This program was reinforced by the Chambers of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association, the Citizens' Alliances, and eighteen other distinct aggregations of powerful capitalist high-binders backed by Wall

Street and the international bankers who have declared open war on the whole labor movement, and brazenly declared their purpose to destroy it.

This is the golden reward of Wall Street and its administration at Washington to the American labor movement for its "patriotic" services in the international human slaughter.

The few loyal leaders of labor who knew that the capitalist masters were lying to the workers and making false promises to them in the crisis with which they were confronted, and who had the courage and fidelity to stand up and tell the truth, went to prison while their class was being betrayed to the enemy.

Now it is all coming out precisely as they predicted. The war is over and the promises are being fulfilled in the way that capitalism always redeems its pledges to labor. But that is past and I recall it only that we may not forget its lesson, or at least that it may not prove entirely a vain and fruitless sacrifice.

Industrially speaking, the workers, to the extent that they are organized, are subdivided among a myriad of more or less inharmonious, if not antagonistic, craft unions.

Politically, the overwhelming mass of working men and women are not organized at all, and the few who are organized are squandering their strength in disrupting one another instead of combining their forces for the constructive action so sorely needed.

I know perfectly well how worse than useless it would be to attempt to unify and harmonize fundamentally discordant elements; but notwithstanding the issues which have been raised be-

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International Socialist Unity

By Morris Hillquit

In the early part of this month accredited representatives of the "ultra radical" Communist International, the "ultra conservative" parties of the "Second" International and the Vienna Working Union composed of the Socialist parties of the middle ground, met in the building of the Berlin Reichstag, exchanged the compliments of the season and some others, and adjourned with a program of common action.

The program is by no means comprehensive. It is practically limited to a world-wide demonstration against the reactionary tendencies of the Genoa Conference. But by far the more significant action of the conference was the appointment of a standing joint executive committee charged with the task of convoking an all-Socialist International Congress and of averting clashes between the rival Socialist and Communist parties in the meantime.

To the Socialists of America the truce thus concluded came as a startling surprise. It occurred in the midst of violent controversies and embittered partisan quarrels, practically without transition or preparation, and above all—the move was initiated in Moscow. The Communist International which only yesterday proclaimed it to be the sacred duty of the proletarian revolution to divide the proletarian forces, and effectively succeeded in splitting the Socialist parties of the world, with its characteristic contempt for consistency suddenly espoused the gospel of a "united front" and with the sense of irresponsibility of a mischievous child proceeded to the attempt to put together the fragments of the precious vessel it had just wantonly broken.

The road to a re-union of the great Socialist forces of the world thus seems to have been opened, but it would be a dangerous self-deception to assume that the progress towards the much desired goal will henceforth be smooth and uninterrupted. The seeming reconciliation has been too sudden to be real. The sores of the fratricidal feud are as yet too fresh, the divergence of views is as yet too wide and the mutual sense of injury and resentment is as yet too deep and poignant to yield fully and unreservedly to the superior need of union and solidarity. There is suspicion on the part of the European Socialists that the sudden Communist zeal for proletarian unity is not entirely sincere, that it is largely a manoeuvre to save the vanishing influence and prestige of Moscow. And unfortunately the suspicion seems to be but too well grounded. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has taken pains to

make it clear that the policy of "exposing" the leaders of the Socialist movement, i. e., the policy of abuse and villification will not be abandoned and that the true object of the "united front" is to steer the Socialist workers into the Communist camp. The Moscow International also proposes to continue the practice of organizing Communist "nuclei" within the unions, i. e., to maintain germs of discord and disruption in the economic movement of labor.

But in spite of all that, the Berlin Conference may yet prove the beginning of a new and important era in the history of the international Socialist movement. Doubtful motives may cause great results and wily sorcerers have been known to evoke spirits which they were powerless to banish. Many, if not most, of those who assisted at the Conference were probably in dead earnest in the desire for ultimate Socialist unity, and the large masses behind all of them undoubtedly are. The increasing urge of the workers and the compelling force of the intensified world-struggle of the classes may brush away the obstacles in the path of real and complete unity sooner than present indications warrant in hoping. Weak and doubtful as the beginning may be, it is a beginning.

The American Socialists are not as directly and vitally concerned with the results of the Berlin gathering as their comrades in Europe. The radical parties of most countries in Europe represent the bulk of the workers in those countries. In their case, united action of the Socialist and Communist parties means a united front of the workers against the capitalists. In the United States a union of a weak Socialist party with much weaker Communist groups, even if it were possible, would accomplish but little. The supreme need for the American Socialists is a "united front" with the American workers.

But while the Socialists of the United States are not vitally affected by the first move looking to the resumption of all-Socialist co-operation, they are by no means indifferent to the progress of that movement. Insignificant as the organized movement of American Socialism may be at this time, it is still a member of the international Socialist family. In the present situation the position of isolation which has been forced upon our party is no longer maintainable. Next to the overshadowing task of building up a powerful Socialist movement at home, our imperative duty is to join hands with our struggling comrades in all lands.

NOTE—Leaders of every faction of the radical movement was asked to write their views on "unity" for this number. Only Debs and Hillquit complied with the request.

Miners Fight to Finish

ALEXANDER HOWAT, President District No. 14.

The coal corporations of America are today organized in all parts of the country, and are making another fight to try and crush the life out of the Miner's Union.

They are trying to force the miners back to starvation wages, and to put us back where we were twenty-five years ago. They refuse to meet the representatives of the miners in the Central competitive field, as provided by contract. They say the wages of the miners "must be reduced" in order to "stabilize" the coal business. On that same theory, if one substantial reduction in wages is not sufficient to stabilize the coal industry, then, more than likely they will request the miners to take another reduction in wages, and in that way, further stabilize the coal industry of the country.

The coal corporations and the corporation press would try and lead the miners to believe that if they will only agree to have their wages reduced, that the people of America will receive their coal a few cents cheaper on the ton, and because they may receive their coal a few cents cheaper, they will buy the coal when they are not in need of it, and burn it just to see it burn, merely because they may receive it a few cents cheaper on the ton.

Of course, the miners know that the people of this country are not going to use any more coal than they need, merely because they may be able to purchase it a few cents cheaper than in the past.

The coal operators, as usual, are playing for public sympathy by telling the people, through their mouthpiece, the corporation press, that if they are successful in reducing the miner's wages, that the public will receive their coal at a greatly reduced price. This is their policy to gain the sympathy of the public, and to prejudice the minds of the people against the United Mine Workers of America.

The facts are, however, if the operators were successful in reducing the miner's wages, the Dear Public would find themselves paying just as much for their coal as they have in the days gone by, and probably a little more. The coal corporations are not now, and never have been so sympathetic or so much concerned about the welfare of the dear public, that they are going to engage in a prolonged conflict with the United Mine Workers of America, to reduce their wages for the benefit of the American people.

They are not making the fight to reduce the

wages of the coal miners of this country through any concern for the general public. Their desire is merely to increase their own profits at the expense of the men who are slaving their lives away in the coal mines of America, doing their best to earn an honest living, trying to provide for themselves and their wives and children, with the hope that they might be able to give their children the proper education, and to have a decent living three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

The coal corporations of this country, if they had any self-respect, or had any consideration for the men who work in the mines, would be ashamed to look an honest man in the face, when they talk about reducing the wages of their employees. The coal barons are living in luxury today, and living on the fat of the land, and have become rich and are worth millions, as a result of exploiting the coal miners of this country for many years. While the coal barons, who never performed a useful day's labor in their worthless lives, live in their mansions and have millions at their command, the coal miners, the men whose labor made them rich, are required to live in miserable shacks.

Many thousands of miners and their wives and children are in hunger and starvation today. And now, while thousands of miners in all parts of the country are living in poverty and destitution, they are told by the coal corporations that they must suffer a "substantial reduction in wages."

The miners, like all other people, are required to earn enough to live decently three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. Under the present system in the coal industry, this is an impossibility on the wages that the miners are now receiving.

Knowing this, as we do, let us all put our shoulder to the wheel and stand firm in the fight for justice for the coal miners of this country. They have fought and suffered and struggled for years, trying to improve and better their conditions. Let there be no backward step. Let the Labor Movement of America, assert itself. Let us serve notice on the coal barons once and for all, that the miners are going to fight on and on for a brighter and better day, and that we are not going back to the days of old.

Regardless of the opposition and the obstacles that may stand in the pathway of justice, the United Mine Workers of America will make no

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Current Comment

There is a rumor afloat that Herbert Hoover has advised the President that all of the appropriation of \$20,000,000 for Russian Relief will not be needed for the sufferers in Russia. If Hoover has made such a report to the President, there must be a "nigger in the woodpile" somewhere. There are about fifteen different reliable relief organizations collecting funds for the relief of Russia's starving millions and sending out authentic reports concerning the conditions there. It was understood when this appropriation was made that food and supplies to that value would be hurried to Russia to succor the starved and dying in that stricken land. America unanimously commended this action and many demanded that the sum be increased, not only to feed the hungry but to provide them with seed wheat to guarantee plenteous crops this fall. No one could wish that Hoover is reporting truly more than we, but being acquainted with Hoover's record in the past concerning Russia, we would much rather have a statement from some one more reliable. All friends of Russia will continue to give and give generously to our Russian Comrades. Do not be swerved from this purpose by one who has proved his enmity to the Soviet Government as this tool of Wall Street has. Keep the ships moving toward the East where the Dawn of a New Day emblazons the sky. When help is no longer needed we will be duly apprised by Moscow itself.

* * *

The Steal Trust gained much advertising and some unwarranted commendation when it built the town of Gary, sometimes known as a model city. The idealism did not reach much farther than the newspapers. With the construction of the National Tube plant at Gary almost the entire lake front is covered with industrial prisons having a water front of eight miles. The town has grown rapidly indeed, for the workers must congregate where the jobs are gathered. But all the model features are concentrated on the one purpose of coining shining gold from the sweat and blood of the myriads of men, women and children forced to live there. The Universal Portland Cement Works, the Stockton Storage Yards, the American Sheet and Tinplate Company, the United States Steel Plant and the Gary Tube Mills, all subsidiaries of the Steal Trust with \$200,000,000 capital invested, completely shut out Lake Michigan from the slaves who inhabit and work in these hells. The Lake can only

be reached by going out to Miller Beach, which is several miles away. Great indeed is American Industry and the industrial hogs that fatten on the blood of the toilers. Under Socialism the comfort and pleasure of the workers would be the first consideration of those developing town sites or social service and not for private profit.

* * *

An inquiry in the British House of Commons reveals the fact that the English workers are still paying a pension of \$22,000 a year to the heirs of Lord Nelson for his distinguished services at the Battle of Trafalgar. This has amounted down the years to nearly \$3,000,000. It would be interesting indeed to know what easy money is being paid from our own Treasury for service, fictitious or real, to spooks who have long since outgrown the need of physical assistance on this plane.

This recalls the fact that the books of the United States Government have never been audited, and reports have never been made to the American people as to how their money has been expended. It is openly known that untold millions of dollars have been stolen from the Treasury and other Departments by those in charge during the time since the Republic was born. The first thing the workers will do when taking control, will be to have a thorough auditing by experts of all branches of the Government, since the time of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury. That startling facts will be revealed, goes without saying, and if the offenders of our own day receive their dues very few of our Industrial Barons will remain outside of prison walls.

* * *

Whether Diogenes could find an honest man in this day and age is hard to decide. We think it sufficiently startling that a fair and reasonable court has been found in Minnesota. John Meintz of Rock County was tarred and feathered and otherwise abused, during the war, by a masked mob because he would not contribute financially to the wholesale murder. He sued the leaders for damages, and was granted the tidy sum of \$6,000 to cover his claims.

This is the first case coming to our attention where patriotic mob members have been brought to justice and made to account for their crimes against law and order. It is not too late for the many thousands of Socialists who were treated in many cases more outrageously, to bring civil

suits for damages sustained at the hands of these dollar patriots during the war hysteria. All such action, if not successful financially, would tend to make these brutes act more civilly should another emergency arise of like character.

* * *

We predicted, during the height of publicity for the Ku Klux Klan outrages and the defense of the order in Congress, that the matter would soon be hushed up. It has been. The bill introduced in Congress for an investigation of all secret orders, including the Masons and Knights of Columbus as well as the Ku Klux, proved to be very effective. This ingenious Congressman, possibly a member of that infamous organization, deserves great credit for his perspicacity if nothing else. We do not infer that there is anything unlawful in the methods of organizations other than the Ku Klux, but the truth can hurt no one, and a fair and impartial hearing in such an investigation of all secret orders would only be just to those who defend their right to belong to the Ku Klux or such organizations as they may choose.

* * *

There is nothing so absolutely ridiculous in the history of American diplomacy than the continued recognition by our State Department of Boris Bakhmetieff, as Ambassador from Russia. Nearly five years have elapsed since this impostor lost his job representing anyone in Russia except the counter-revolutionists. Not only have all efforts of the American people failed to secure recognition for the Soviet Government, but this impudent scoundrel has been provided with almost a hundred million dollars by the American Government to carry on propaganda against the accredited Russian Government. Senator Borah is calling for an investigation of our State Department and its support of this notorious mountebank. All friends of Russia should write to Borah assuring him of the full support of the American people in ousting this enemy of Russia from his soft berth under Hughes' protection.

* * *

Concerted action often results in great good to the community even though the participants are not in accord. Both the radicals of America and the American Legion are making life miserable for Gen. Semenov, who recently landed on our shores seeking aid for another attack upon the Russian People. So far he seems to have gotten nowhere except into jail and there is no chance whatever of him being successful in his mission. Times are changing fast and for the better.

* * *

That the Civil War in Ireland is growing immensely unpopular with the masses and proving

to be only a contest between rival politicians aspiring to place and power, is definitely emphasized by the calling of a general strike in that long suffering country by joint action of the Labor Party and organized workers. As a protest against the exploitation of the Irish Cause by a few self-seeking leaders, it is planned that every wheel will be stopped in the industries by the workers throughout the nation, for twenty-four hours. All hail the true Revolution in Ireland, that is to bring peace and justice to all through the ownership of industries by the workers who produce the wealth.

* * *

We take much pleasure in calling attention to the new radical organization for young people known as the Famine Scouts, with headquarters at 201 W. 13th St., New York City. It is high time that the workers are giving some serious thought to the proper education of the coming generation. The bourgeois have acted long since in crystallizing the natural gang spirit of young people into an enormous organization to teach militarism and uphold the present order. The Famine Scouts provides more amusement than any like association and as well trains the young folks to love and cherish the highest ideals of justice and freedom for all. Encourage your children to join the Famine Scouts!

* * *

It now transpires that aside from our big loans to the Allies, which can never be collected; aside from the criminal extravagance exercised by the Government during the war; millions of dollars in silver bullion was given to England at a great loss to our own Treasury. British gold and silver was at a low ebb, especially in India, so our philanthropic near-English administration melted Two Hundred and Seventy Millions of American silver dollars, each one having the Goddess of Liberty and the indomitable eagle stamped thereon, and sold them to Britain for the sum of \$203,000,000. This no doubt was done at a great profit to the silver mine owners of the west, but it was a poor business venture to the workers who are supporting the American Treasury. How much was actually lost in the deal we cannot say. To get accurate figures on this outrageous transaction we might have to page Billy Bryan.

* * *

A New York lawyer confessed that a client of his has been in the penitentiary for eighteen years, although innocent, because he was misrepresented at his trial. Eighteen years is a long time; but think of the captivity endured by the working class through the ages on account of "misrepresentation."

The Giants Unite

BY IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

Russia and Germany have shaken hands!
Across the petty jealousies and puerile schemes of the Genoa conference, this tremendous economic fact sweeps like a thunderblast.

Card houses neatly pasted together by the childish hands of political diplomats are whirled away by this elemental and epochal accomplishment. Treaties and ententes are puffed into nothingness; for the giants of Europe are allied.

To the hundred and eighty millions of Russia, to all the limitless wealth of Russia's mines and forests, her copper and coal, her gold and platinum, is added the exhaustless technical skill of German science. Chemists and engineers, the best in the world, will join their tireless energy and their matchless ingenuity to the patient wisdom of the Russian millions.

And over this greatest block of territory on the globe, from Eastern Siberia to the North Sea, floats the red flag of human brotherhood.

Lenin and Tchitcherin have shaken hands with Ebert and Rathenau; and the pale and startled statesmen of the Allied powers utter frenzied shrieks and run around in helpless circles. For the thing they feared is come to pass, and the end of all their dreams is at hand.

The little nations, scouted and ignored by the Five Allies, have turned eagerly toward the new combination.

Scandinavia, still smarting with humiliation at her treatment during the war, turns her face to Germany. The Slavic nations, Jugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, turn their faces toward Russia; and the huge power thus formed dominates the world as the Himalayas dominate the northern plains of India.

In the hands of this great new power will lie the infinite resources of Central Europe. Austria and Hungary, impoverished and embittered by the treatment given by France; the little Bal-

tic nations, depending for their very existence on Russian trade—these will join.

India, stirring and seething with unrest, look towards Russia as her liberator. South China, headed by Sun Yat Sen, exchanges greetings and hopes.

If German skill and Russian resources, India's latent power and China's countless millions shall join hands, the rest of Europe will be but a suburb to that huge unity.

The world's history began anew on that Easter Morning when Russia and Germany became allies.

While they unite, shall we remain divided?

While they forget, shall we not also forgive?

Let us follow the call of this insistent hour, Comrades in America; and joining hand with hand and heart with heart, stand together with them for the liberation of the world!

TOO LAZY TO VOTE

In the last six presidential elections, on the average, not over fifty-five per cent—and in 1920 not over fifty per cent—of the qualified voters cast a ballot. The development of our natural resources, unemployment, the high cost of living, the problems of our railroads, our farming interests, the encouragement of our manufacturers, the extension of territory, the furtherance of foreign trade, the establishment of our national financial policy, foreign relations, peace and war, the doubling of the electorate, were from time to time directly or indirectly involved in the issue. Even in the presence of such momentous questions, one voter in two did not take the trouble to go to the polls!

And yet we kick on crooked politics.

SLAVERY OR SOLIDARITY.—EUGENE V. DEBS

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tween these quarrelling groups, the fact of the identity of interests of all workers remains, and upon that basis we may confidently expect that all these differences will be overcome and that we shall see a consolidation of the economic and political forces of labor without which its doom is sealed in slavery, and with which it may conquer the world.

There are distinctly encouraging signs in the gradual abatement of the bitter antagonisms

which were aroused when the war tore the movement from its moorings and drove it headlong, as it did all else, into the maelstrom of chaos and destruction. But with the subsidence of the madness and the return of sanity there are healthy indications that the differences which have driven Socialists apart and pitted them against each other in factional warfare will soon be composed, to an extent at least, that will admit of a joining of forces and a concert of action for building up the revolutionary movement for the fulfillment of its mighty mission.



My Country 'Tis of Thee

By James H. Maurer

President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor

The United States, where the workers, who produce everything, own nothing and those who produce nothing, own everything.

The United States, where those who work the hardest are the poorest and those who don't work at all are the richest.

The United States which rewards Prostitution with silks and gold and Virtue with rags and poverty.

The United States where the workers build palaces for the drones, parasites and barnacles to live in, while they, themselves live in rented, disease-breeding tenements and shacks.

The United States that spends millions to give free and unrestricted knowledge of how to breed animals and, at the same time, outlaws the science of human motherhood.

The United States that stands ready to spend billions of dollars and employ millions of men for war and destruction, but not a dollar for the millions of unemployed, peace and construction.

The United States that lavished billions of dollars upon its silk-stockinged slackers who profited during the war, but is too poor to reward its soldiers who fought the war.

The United States where millions of dollars are squandered by the idle rich on dogs and cats while thousands of poor babies are dying from starvation.

The United States, where wages are being screwed down and rents jacked up.

The United States, where men are forced into idleness and then arrested for being idle.

The United States, where the wages of the employed bread-winner of the family average a thousand dollars a year, less than the standard set by government experts for a family of five to decently live.

The United States, where the workers receive \$3.50 for mining a ton of anthracite coal and must pay \$15.00 a ton when they buy it.

The United States, that sentenced little Mollie Stimer to prison for twenty years for distributing a circular in behalf of suffering Russia.

The capitalist uses his head and the worker's hands. When the worker uses his head, the capitalist will use his hands.

The United States, where the fate of a hungry man who steals a loaf of bread is a ten-year sentence behind prison bars, while the reward for a man who loots a bank or railroad, is a seat in Congress.

The United States where duly-elected legislators were unseated because of their opinions or party affiliation, while Millionaire Newberry was permitted to buy a seat in the United States Senate.

The United States, where the workers must pay fifty per cent more for a single pair of socks than they receive for making a dozen pair, including the material.

The United States, where the workers receive \$1.25 for making a pair of shoes which sell for \$15.00.

The United States, that boasts of its constitutional right of free speech, yet has more than a hundred of its citizens behind prison bars, because they dared think and express an opinion.

The United States, where we look down upon the poor and honest and up to the rich and, morally, dishonest.

The United States, where defenders of the American constitutional rights are sent to jail, while its violators, "jingoists," boot-leggers and all go free and are hailed as one hundred per cent Americans.

The United States, where the people are well-informed on the science of baseball and ignorant about the science of their own economic lives.

The United States, where the oppressed and protesting toilers are branded as "criminals" and shot while their assassins are hailed as one hundred per cent patriots.

The United States, where the people's natural resources, now even the air, have been turned over to the corporate interests.

The United States, where this kind of stuff could be dished up by the yard, but what's the use?

And now, brothers and sisters, let us pray!

You must pass a grilling examination to become a postal clerk, but the less you know the better postmaster you can be.

Wisps From Timothy Hay

By C. L. D.

The bridle path leads but to the h-altar.

The operators must renig before the miners will dig.

If time is money, the days must be long in Russia.

Max Oser may have to curry favor with John D. yet.



We would not hear so much about "arms" except for the nations wanting oil for elbow grease.

The initiative in matrimony isn't so bad, it's the neverendum.

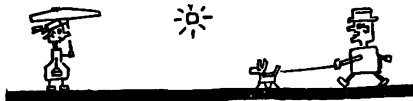
Banker says four holdup men had colds. Quick, Watson, the Four Hoarsemen.

When we do away with lingos we shall not be troubled with jingos.

"Four Communists Killed by Facisti." The Communists were not so Facisti others.

When Dubs listen to Debs they will disappear in the light of their own intelligence.

Coal operators say they are not making money. Perhaps they will anthracite their reasons.



The earth's population is dense in spots, but we haven't seen many square people to the mile.

Since prohibition many prominent citizens spend the evening in their cellars. Proving that a "man may be down but he is never out."

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the debts.

"Society Girl Ejected from Ball-room." Probably caught dancing with her feet.

Too many sleek grafters in fat berths at Washington. People might use a little berth control.

Armour has again raised the price of fruit. Trying to make both ends meat.

Our idea of peace is when all work for what they get, and all get what they work for.

If the farmers want to get in the political band wagon, why don't they horn in? They have their corn-yet.



According to Darwin the human race sprung from monkeys. Many folks did not spring far.

If the people would coalesce at the ballot box, they would not need to coal less in their cellars.

Our idea of a proper naval ratio—Great Britain, 00000; United States, 00000; Japan, 000; France, 0; Italy, 0; other nations, () each.

Suspicion points to the suggestion that the first bootlegger may have been Hippocrates.

General Semenoff may be an ataman, but few will regard him as "attaboy."

"Two Sinn Feiners killed in County Kerry." It is queer how the Irish insist upon kerrying on.

"British to Stay in India." Lloyd George. Some may stay 'til Gabriel sounds retreat.

"Grain Growers Organize." Sort of a farmerger.

The only way to destroy battleships is to build comrade-ships.



The corkscrew might have been here yet had it not been so crooked.

"Milk Men Hold Convention." Yes we'll gather at the river.

"Riding master breaks into Four Hundred." Anyone that can keep a horse these days is eligible.

"New Pie Line from Texas to Whiting." Pipe the missing "p."

"Several Killed in Sugar Strike." One result of raising cane in Porto Rico.

"Lillian Russell scorns Parisian Gowns." Not enough rustle for Russell.

"Counterfeiting Gang All Workingmen." It's a mistake! No workingman ever made money.



While the profiteers are merging the farmers are submerging.

People wonder what Russia wants with a minister of trade—well, all ministers deal in futures.

The white man's burden, like that of every race, is carrying the parasites.

Way Back in Indianer

Eugene Debs, never saw him?
Well, I jist cant make yer see
All the wealth that ther is to him;
Sich a friend he's been ter me.
Way back ther in Indianer,
'Member dont you—'93,
Secmed like all o' hell was turned on;
Mortgage—Debts and Sickness—Gee!
But I was plum discouraged,
Couldn't see which way to turn.
Hitched the old bay to the buckboard,
Fetched what little she could churn;
Started out to drive to Princeton.
Ever been there, Pal? Well say,
Cant begin to make you see it
If you haint been that-a-way.

Just down and out, completely broke.
Took the milk the kids had cried fer;
Lord—how their puny faces haunt yer!
But no credit at the store.
Them ther eggs and pounds o' butter,
Every cent that we could raise.
Say but that was uphill pullin'
Them was dark and gloomy days.
Wife was sick, poor girl, and homesick,
Said she couldn't stand the abuse—
I was jist a reg'lar monster,
And ther wasn't any use
Ter try to get on any longer;
Said she'd take the kids and go
Way back home to pa and mother,
'Cause I was treatin' of her so.

"Hello, Sam! Good Morning, Hannah!
How's the little tads? At play?
Sick, you say—why what's the matter,
What's the doctor got to say?
Haven't had one—you have no money?
Wouldn't come without his pay?
He is one damned hard up rascal,
Call him up without delay!
What's that, Hannah—Sam's abusive,
Isn't like himself at all?
Don't you know, my dearest Hannah
It takes two to make a quarrel?
I'm sure Sam has been impatient,
Hard to struggle on and try—
And have the wife who ought to help yer
Jist mope around and blame and cry!

Yes, I know it's been tough pickin;
Scared you was going to lose the place;
Enough to make you both homesick—
Enough to make you fall from grace.
And Sam, poor feller—hard luck—Brother,
But this wife, so good and true,
Wouldn't think the worst of hardship
Could come between the likes of you!
Remember, Sam, the day you took her?
Yours to share both weal or woe,
How you promised to protect her;
How she vowed she loved you so!
Now's the time you need each other
Take her in your arms, there—Sam,
She's your helpmate—she's a mother,
She wouldn't think of leavin', man."

Hanner's head sank on my shoulder,
Tears were streamin' from our eyes;
I was tellin' how I loved her—
Gosh! A fool a feller feels that cries!
Well, that is Debs, whole-souled and genial;
Just the sort that makes you say,
No difference to whom he's a talkin'
All the trouble's swept away.
Mortgage lifted—babies doctored;
Wife went singin' 'round the room.
Heaven's veil seemed to have lifted—
Sunshine chased away the gloom.
That is Debs just as I know him;—
Angular, and rather long,
And that face—though wreathed in sunshine,
Wasn't meant for any song.

But sometime when you're near him
Just you look into his face,
And there's something that shines from it
That gives any man a brace.
Just so kind; so tender; lovin'—
Such a staunch and mighty soul,
That in that last long game of silence
He'll be first to reach the goal.
For there'll be no great long slumber—
God'll 'scort him on his flight
Straightway from this land of sorrow
To the portals of Delight.
No, Eugene is not a slacker;
Loved by all, as well as Hanner
When he brought us two together,
'Way back in Princeton, Indianer.
—Mrs. Clyde Condron Jeffryes.

DEBS MAGAZINE
A Magazine of Militant Socialism

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MAN; AND MANY OTHERS.

DAUGHERTY'S DILEMMA

The Federal Council of Churches has smoked out Attorney General Daugherty, exposing to an incredulous world the manner in which the business of the United States is conducted.

Daugherty signed a letter to the Federal Council, upbraiding them for asking for the release of political prisoners. In it he made a statement, on the authority of the State Department of the United States, which the Federal Council knew to be false. A representative of the Council went to Washington, interviewed Daugherty, and demanded to know why he had said, in an official statement of the United States Government, that no other nation had released all its political prisoners, when as a matter of historic record every nation in the world except the United States has done so.

Daugherty finally admitted that he had no knowledge of the facts, but had made the statement on the authority of a subordinate. This subordinate was called. He also knew nothing of the matter, and referred it to a clerk. The clerk was called, and said that he had received a telephone message from somebody whom he could not identify, who claimed to be a clerk in the State Department, whose name he did not know and whose number had not been traced.

On the strength of this anonymous telephone call, received by a subordinate in a Department permeated with ignorance, the Attorney General of the United States had signed a vicious insult to the Federal Council of Churches.

Formal statements to this effect were sent out by the Federal Council to every member group. Resolutions are being widely adopted by the local Councils as a result, demanding the freedom of political prisoners.

Any Socialist who allows inherited prejudice to blind him to the fact that the Churches in America are awakening to the call of the gospel of Social redemption is an enemy to the cause. The freedom of Kate O'Hare and of Eugene Debs, and of the other political prisoners who

have been released, was tremendously aided by the championship of sincere souls in the churches. Let us rally to aid all who help the cause along.

WEST VIRGINIA'S CRIME

If anyone still believes that justice governs the courts in America, West Virginia should forever cure him of such a ridiculous fallacy. Nine of the leaders and one hundred and sixteen of the union men are being tried for "Treason, Murder and Conspiracy," growing out of the battles in Logan County during the miners' war about a year ago. This is a fair example of American jurisprudence; and will end as all labor troubles end in our courts. The union men will be sent to long years in jail, while those who are responsible for class strife continue to clip coupons and occupy the front pews in fashionable churches.

This Magazine cannot say a word for the idiocy that prompts labor, crushed and despised as it is by the masters, to resort to physical force while the pathway to power lies open and unobstructed via the ballot box. Yet after the Industrial Barons have been tried for their many crimes against the State and the workers in general there will be plenty of time to inquire into whether the producers have gone too far in resorting to arms when the courts have refused them protection in the least degree.

After Rockefeller has been tried and sentenced for the murder of twenty-six women and children at Ludlow, Colo.; after the Steel Barons have been brought to justice for their many crimes against the workers; after the Coal Operators of West Virginia have given account to society for the miners killed during the last few years; after the masters of industry have given some satisfaction, all along the line, for the thousands of workers murdered in cold blood that their profits might be protected, there will still be time to consider if the workers have acted unreasonably in defending their homes and loved ones from the gun wolves that have been loosed upon them.

Cause always comes before effect. The cause of industrial strife is private ownership and management of our means of life. The remedy is social ownership and operation, by, for and of the people. This is the path to peace and tranquility for all,—there is none other.

HOMELESS TOILERS

Startling figures concerning the ownership of homes in the City of Chicago, just issued by the Census Bureau, should be in the pockets and in the minds of all workers for a new day. Of the 623,912 homes in this great city, 73 per cent of them are owned by the Landlord Trust and only 23 per cent are owned by those who dwell in them.

These figures are more than startling! A logical deduction could be made that these 23 per cent of the population who live in their own homes are also the owners of the 73 per cent in which the workers live and are members to a certain extent of the gouging Landlord Trust. Even if we concede that a few workers, after many years of slavery can be counted as home owners, we have no figures to show how many of these 23 per cent of homes are under mortgages. When we allow for mortgages and landlords we might easily find that the workers do not own any homes at all, although they build all the houses and beautiful mansions along Lake Shore Drive and Sheridan Road.

Can anything be more ridiculous than that the 65,000 members of the building trades alone, after building all the structures in the city both business and residence, cannot make enough showing to get their names on the list of home owners? We are approaching that season of the year when sleek gloved politicians will be coming forth to advise the workers to beware of Socialism, for it will "break up the home." Ye gods and little fishes, how long!

OKLAHOMA COMES BACK

The Socialist State Convention in Oklahoma, repudiating the efforts of the Oklahoma Leader to fuse the Socialist party with the Democrats, has nominated a full straight ticket. Hector M. Sinclair was elected Secretary, and O. E. Enfield, a war-time prisoner, was nominated for Governor.

No pen can describe the sufferings endured by the Oklahoma Socialists for their championship of the cause of human freedom. Slavery in an extreme form is the portion of countless families of tenant farmers. Driven to desperation, they were punished with armed strength in the early part of 1917. Oklahoma went Republican in 1920 out of bitterness against Wilsonian democracy. But the chances were never brighter than now for a Socialist victory.

TCHITCHERIN AND THE KING

We have been severely grilled by a few ultra-revolutionary fanatics for commending the action of Lenine and Branting for getting together and settling the Aland Islands question in a peaceable manner. These misguided friends contended that emissaries of R-r-revolutionary Russia could not possibly stoop so low as to discuss matters of common interest with the bourgeois Branting of Sweden. What will happen in the small minds of these paper revolutionists when they hear of the Crimson Tchitcherin shaking hands with the unspeakable Barthou, representative of the Rothschilds, and even going so far as to dine

with the King of Italy on his man-o-war, we dare not even hazard a guess. When representatives of both the capitalists and the workers can set aside their prejudices and sit down and talk things over like men, to settle their class differences, the world will be well along toward the happy day of peace and plenty for humanity in general. All roads lead to Socialism, but all do not lead over the barricades.

FIGHTING THE GOVERNMENT

"We can not fight the Government," said John L. Lewis, when he surrendered the cause of the miners to Judge A. B. Anderson two years ago. But the coal mine owners can fight the Government to a standstill. They have refused to allow the Government even to find out how much it costs to mine coal. They have flouted and ignored the Government's requests for conferences with the miners. They have formed a combination to smash all coal miners' unions, and reduce the level of existence in every coal field to the miserable conditions existing in non-union West Virginia.

Nationalization of the mines is the only possible solution. The mines nationally owned and operated by the miners themselves selling the product at cost, would reduce the price of coal to every consumer and greatly increase the level of comfort and happiness among the miners.

DEBS' SCATHING REPLY

Eugene V. Debs wrote a kindly and sympathetic letter to J. O. Bentall, who is undergoing imprisonment in Leavenworth. Instead of delivering the letter, the mail clerk at Leavenworth returned it with a curt note stating that "Inmates of this institution are not permitted to correspond with inmates or former inmates of this or any other penal institution, except by special permission of the warden."

Debs replied with the following:

Terre Haute, Ind., April 7th, 1922.

Mr. Jas. Driscoll,
Mail Clerk U. S. Penitentiary,
Leavenworth, Kans.

Dear Sir:

Your note of the 5th inst., furnishes additional proof that the brutal and idiotic rules that govern the average prison, stamp the officials who control these institutions as being intellectually and morally the inferiors of the hapless human beings in their custody. Of course I do not blame you in the least, for you are simply executing, as you are paid to do, the stupid and heartless orders of your "superiors."

Quite respectfully,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Russia's Great Riches

By Isaac McBride

Russia has been devastated by seven years of war and blockade, and now there is the famine, but nevertheless it is potentially the richest country in the world; probably richer than any three countries, including the United States of America.

Russia contains vast sources of wealth as yet untapped, coal, oil, gold, copper, silver, manganese, platinum, and practically every known mineral with great agricultural belts comprising millions of acres of land as yet untilled. Its vast water power still awaits development. The forests are practically untouched.

Under the czars for 300 years no effort was made to exploit the resources of this vast land. The most primitive tools were used by the peasants, from the sickle to the wooden plow.

In spite of this handicap the hard-working peasants of Russia had already made the Volga valley the granary of Europe. It has been stated time and again by competent agricultural economists that given modern machinery in sufficient quantity Russia would be able to feed the world with grain.

Russia stands today, in an economic sense, where America stood 100 years ago. Its people have been chained to a feudal system that had been already thrown off by practically every other country in the eighteenth century. This system has now been thrown into the discard and Russia is in a position to make giant leaps forward.

Progress cannot be made, however, without the necessary importation of capital in the form of modern machinery of all kinds, both agricultural, and industrial. Once Russia obtains the necessary agricultural machinery, its farming activities will develop probably faster than any other country in the world. The Russian peasant is hard working, thrifty, and has the natural genius and enthusiasm for exploiting the land. His centuries of existence have been rooted in the soil, and with proper tools to work with his enthusiasm to assist nature in producing wealth will be unbounded.

There are almost one hundred thousand villages in Russia. The peasants live a miserable existence in these villages. Generally speaking, a flickering candle light is the only illumination of their thatched roofed dwellings at night. On the village streets there are no lights whatever. Because of the great poverty of the peasants under the czars, in spite of the fact that they

worked from sun-up to sun-down, and produced the food and fed not only their own country, but part of Europe, the candles were snuffed out early and conversation was held in the dark before retiring. The candles had to be conserved.

Two years ago the word went through the villages of Russia that when peace came, the blockade lifted, and Russia permitted to enter into commercial relations with the rest of the world, electricity would be brought to the peasants' homes and the streets lighted. The best technical minds in Russia on the government's supreme council of national economy had gone into the problem thoroughly, and said, although electrification would require a vast amount of labor and take 15 years, the work could be done.

To carry out this program, the undeveloped water power would be harnessed, and great power houses built. All this work was predicated, however, on the lifting of the blockade and the possibility of new Russia going into the markets of the world. To purchase the needed equipment, credits would have to be extended by other countries and concessions granted to outside capitalists.

There is a wonderful market in Russia today for United States goods. In spite of the allied blockade and war against the country, isolated Russia still looks to the United States of America as its best friend. Concessions are awaiting the coming of American business men in Russia. There is not a doubt in the world that proper guarantees can be arranged on both sides so that two great countries can get together to the natural economic and commercial advantage of each.

The response of American people to the starving in Russia will assuredly result in a permanent reconstruction over there. Certainly reconstruction cannot be successful, unless the hand of fellowship, sympathy and co-operation is extended.

"Bread upon the waters"—call it that if you like—will result in a market for the surplus agricultural products of America right now, and eventually for the output of our factories. Unemployment, as we now have it, will vanish.

There is much satisfaction and good profit in selling Debs Magazine. If you are out of work, or have extra time, get busy! Write for our Big Offer to hustlers.

MINERS FIGHT TO FINISH.—ALEXANDER HOWATT
(Continued from page 5)

surrender. The time is here when the miners are going to stand up like real men. We can no longer be satisfied with the half loaf; for labor is hungry, and we are going to have the whole loaf. If anyone is to get along with the half loaf in the future, let it be those who never work.

Let it be made clear and distinct for all time to come, that the coal miners and the entire American Labor Movement, are not going to be satisfied with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

Let it be made known, once and for all, that we are going to insist on justice at the hands of the coal corporations of America, and that we shall be satisfied with nothing less.

Let us serve notice on the coal barons, that the time is here at last when the rights of the United Mine Workers of America must and shall be respected.

And, by the Eternal God, with the full knowledge that our cause is right and just, let us resolve that the miners of America shall no longer be used by the unscrupulous coal corporations, and let us proclaim to the world, great though the opposition may be, that there shall be no surrender, and that the fight shall go on and on until, in the end, the great principles of justice shall triumph over all!

I am hastening my subscription to you. Please start it immediately.—R. J. Robinson, Kansas City, Mo.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of Debs Magazine, published monthly at Chicago, Illinois, for April 1st, 1922.

State of Illinois, County of Cook—ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles L. Drake, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the owner and manager of the Debs Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Freedom Publishing Company, 59 East Van Buren St.
Editor—Irwin St. John Tucker, 59 East Van Buren St.
Managing Editor—Charles L. Drake, 59 East Van Buren St.
Business Managers—None.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) Charles L. Drake, 59 East Van Buren St.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

CHARLES L. DRAKE.
Owner.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of March, 1922.
(Seal.) Mabel Annis.

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Address:
City: Age:

Debs' Appeal for Russia

Dear Comrades:

Where the bravest of our comrades have fought and suffered and sacrificed their all with a sublime heroism that has no parallel in history; where the embattled Russian revolutionists have staunchly stood and held their ground against the combined powers of the world's despotism and reaction in the war of the workers for liberation, there too are millions of men, women and children stricken with gaunt hunger and writhing in the skeleton clutch of starvation. These Russian comrades of ours whose matchless valor and self-sacrifice have thrilled and inspired the workers of all nations and challenged the plaudits of the whole world now look to you, American workers, to come to their rescue in the desperate crisis now upon them and save them to humanity in the rebuilding of a ruined world.

These heroes in Russia who have immortalized their cause, our cause, who have paid in overflowing measure in blood and tears and agony unspeakable, the price of their fidelity and devotion to the oppressed and exploited toilers not only of their own land but of the whole world, now appeal to us for the food that shall save them from perishing as hostages to starvation, and shall we now fail to return in small part what we owe them for what they have suffered in the awful years of the revolution to break the fetters of labor everywhere and set humanity free from the curse of the ages?

In Russia our comrades have suffered and endured beyond the power of words to express to save us suffering; they have gone hungry and naked that we might be fed and clothed; they have bared their heroic breasts to the bayonets and bullets of a hostile and heartless ruling class world to give liberty to the human race, and shall these martyr spirits, these glorious souls and their helpless children now be permitted to die ignominiously for the want of the bread we hold in our hands?

No, a thousand times no! We should merit eternal reproach for our recreancy if we failed in this crucial hour to give and to give promptly, and to give again and again to the full limit of our power.

The starving workers and peasants of Soviet Russia cry aloud to us in the throes of their desperation and agony, and unless our hearts are of stone we can hear them by day and by night, and I appeal to every member of the American working class, to every man, woman and child with sympathy for starving fellow-creatures, to every human being responsive to human suffering within reach of my voice, to give and give at once and give freely and to the last dollar and the last penny that may be spared to the Friends of Soviet Russia, swelling the present contributions an hundredfold, for the relief as far as possible of the awful famine in the struggling Soviet Republic and for the rescue of the millions of its threatened victims whose cruel and shocking fate would forever shame our common humanity and leave a foul and damning blot on our vaunted civilization.

Eugene P. Debs

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