

DEBS ANNOUNCES HIS DECISION

# DEBS

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No. 14

## CONTENTS

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THE END OF CRAFT UNIONISM

---

THE PRICE OF COAL

EUGENE V. DEBS

---

RUSSIA DOMINANT

IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

---

CURRENT COMMENT

---

WISPS OF TIMOTHY HAY

---

EDITORIALS

# **“WE’LL STICK”!**

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## **SENTIMENT OVERWHELMING TO PUSH DEBS MAGAZINE**

During the months of July and August, along with others, “Debs” suffered acutely from the general depression. It was difficult indeed to get any response from those who have worked long and faithfully to carry Debs’ message to the workers.

In this situation desiring to act only for those who have made the Magazine and kept it going, we sent out a referendum to our readers to ascertain their pleasure regarding our work for the future. We are glad to say that replies are rapidly coming in and every one of them asks that we keep the Magazine going at all hazards. We will do so!

If you have voted “yes” we are glad. But this is not the end of your work. We must have more than passive support. Do something Today for Debs Magazine. Send in that new sub you have been putting off so long. See your newsdealer about placing the Magazine on sale. These are little things to do for the Cause but only you can do them.

If you have not voted, let us hear from you. If you do not like our first year’s work tell us what is the matter. Fill out and mail your ballot at once. The time has been extended so that you may give your opinion. We will check up on Nov. 1st. If we have not heard from you we must consider you as voting against the work.

The entire office force of Debs Magazine is serving voluntarily! If they can give their time for a year can you not give an Hour a Month to work for “Debs” and Socialism?

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***One Hour a Month From Each  
Subscriber Means A Million  
Circulation!***

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**Put Your Hour In Now!  
Send In Your Ballot!**

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**“DEBS” AND THE CAUSE NEED YOU  
WILL YOU STICK?**

FOR A UNITED WORKING CLASS ON EVERY FRONT  
**DEBS MAGAZINE**

*A Magazine of Militant Socialism*

Vol. 2

CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER, 1922

No. 14



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**THE VOICE---**  
**---OF DEBS**  
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**THE END OF CRAFT UNIONISM**

**E**VERYTHING in and about us in the objective world, including the process of evolution itself, is subject to the unceasing and never-ending changes decreed by the inexorable law of evolution. The social organism as well as the human organism of our day is the product of countless ages of evolution, as every one knows except William Jennings Bryan, and the law which governs it and the process which determines its trend and character are essentially in active and continuous operation, else all progress would cease and life itself would become extinct on our planet.

The modern craft union had its origin in the rise of modern industry about a century and a half ago. It was built upon handicraft—the individual tool used by the individual craftsman in pursuit of his trade.

In the evolution of industry the tool became a machine, the shop became a factory, and the trade became an industry. If unhampered the craft union in America, as elsewhere, would long since have evolved into the industrial union embracing all the workers in a given industry, regardless of their trades or occupations, in one and the same industrial organization, thus developing a higher degree of power and efficiency and enabling them at all times to make common cause in their common defense and for the promotion of their common welfare.

But a vast army of salaried officials, national, state, and local, whose pay roll annually mounts up to millions of dollars, have intervened and arrested the evolution of unionism, which should

have followed the evolution of industry, with the result that we have today hundreds of more or less impotent craft unions in which the workers are divided into numberless groups, each selfishly and therefore blindly seeking its own advantages, and not infrequently pitted against each other by the shrewd designing bosses to their mutual undoing, and to the utter defeat of their legitimate aims and ends.

This lamentable fact has had another convincing demonstration in the strikes of the miners and shop crafts of the railroads, which were recently settled without settling anything whatsoever.

The feeble claim has been put forth by their leaders that these were won but everyone knows the claim is utterly denied by the facts.

Never have men fought the battle of labor more valiantly and never was the struggle of a body of workers sustained by greater courage and fortitude than the miners and railroad shop workers displayed in their strikes against the combined banking, railroad and mining power of the nation. But they were not industrially organized and their leadership was weak, vacillating and without definite aim or purpose. It was another case of lions led by asses.

It is true that the miners' union has the external form of industrial organization but it confines itself to haggling over hours and wages, seeking as its final aim to make wage slavery tolerable—instead of having as its goal the abolition of the capitalist system and industrial freedom—and this is fatal to its vital ends.

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The railroad shop workers were walled in by their craft unions, the leaders of which were muddled and befuddled by the maze of perplexities and complications which sprang up all about them as the inevitable result of their forces being separated into craft unions (?) instead of being united in one compact industrial organization representing a power that would have brought the railroad oligarch to their knees before the strike had gone a week.

There never was a time in that strike when it could not have been completely won in a decisive victory for the whole body of strikers, but craft unionism with its consequent division and dissension lost the day in ignominious defeat.

One of the jokes of the strike, if there is anything to joke about in a strike, was the newspaper report that the railroad executives had divided into bitterly antagonistic factions, one of which was eager to settle with the strikers, and the other as determined to fight it out. As if all these railroads were not under the control of the same unified banking and railroad power! It was this clever ruse that led to a settlement (!) between the "good" railroads and the strikers.

On some of the roads the strikers have returned to work and on others they are still out. The situation is more hopelessly muddled than ever and after the first great rush is over the active participants in the strike, the real union men, will be weeded out to make room for the weaklings, those who were "loyal" to the company, as they have always been after every strike.

On some of the roads, the Pennsylvania, the Rock Island, Burlington, Union Pacific, Erie and others, "company unions" have been organized of the same ilk as the "union" organized by Rockefeller in Colorado, consisting of his mine slaves after he had defeated their strike and crushed their union.

As a striking illustration of how the railroad owners are protected by the present craft unions and made secure in their tyranny and exploitation, the Pennsylvania System, dominated largely by British money lords, furnishes a classic example. At the very time the despotic officials of that system were strangling and suppressing the shop craft unions on their lines by organizing their beaten and intimidated shop slaves in a "company union," the high officials of the train service brotherhoods negotiated and effected a settlement with the company under which they were bound to be loyal to the company no matter to what extent the rest of the employees might be crucified.

If that is not the very climax of organized scabbing and strike-breaking, I do not know how it can be fitly characterized.

And this classic example on the Pennsylvania of dislocating the body of employees and using the dis severed parts to cut each other's throats and keep the whole of them in slavery, is of the very essence of craft unionism. This fact is made plain as a pikestaff when even the hardboiled Pennsylvania, that has always despised and fought organized labor, recognizes and supports that brand of unions among its army of slaves.

The miners as the sum total of what they get out of their costly strike, will have the privilege of digging coal until the depleted stocks are restored and then they will be just where they were before with the added experience of realizing the benefit derived by them from voting for capitalism, as they nearly all do, and following the leadership (!) of labor politicians who stand for capitalism and wage-slavery and are opposed to revolutionary unionism.

(Continued on page 14)

#### A VICTIM OF THE COAL STRIKE

Editor of Debs Magazine:

I am sorry to say I haven't got a dollar to buy bread for my wife and seven children at this time. I have mined coal all my life in the Georges Greek coal field in Maryland. J. L. Lewis, the union boss, called all the coal miners of the country to quit work, union men and non-union men, and they responded to the call. He said that we wanted a national agreement. But Lewis signed up with a few operators at Cleveland and a few operators will sign up later. Lewis left the rest of the miners in the cold. Debs writes about "scabs." Who is a scab? Lewis is about the biggest scab I know. I have done about all the striking I care to do for the Lewis ring.

A Coal Miner, Frostburg, Md.

This letter from the Maryland miner is heart breaking. God, how one feels for those poor betrayed, homeless, famishing slaves of the pits and their half-naked wives and babes! I have seen them again and again, and they stand vividly and appealingly all about me. It is they who have to suffer the sad and torturing results of betrayal and not the smug, well-fed and well-groomed leaders (God save the mark!) who are responsible for it.

Eugene V. Debs.

# Debs Announces His Decision

**T**HE capitalist world-war had long been over when I entered prison in April, 1919, to serve a sentence of ten years for protesting against this country being dragooned by its plutocratic arch-enemies into that monstrous and disgraceful massacre of the human race. I gave my hearty approval and my loyal and outspoken adherence to the ringing manifesto issued by the St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party, which boldly challenged the blood-thirsty American plutocracy and declared the war a crime against humanity.

At the time I entered prison the Socialist Party, though shaken violently in the general upheaval and shattered by the fierce and relentless persecution its anti-war attitude had precipitated upon it, was still a united party. It is true that internal strife and dissension, added to the bitter persecution from without, had wrecked many of its locals and decimated its membership, but the party was still intact until the convention was held four months later at which the split occurred which rent the party asunder and divided its membership into several conflicting and hostile factions.

During the period that followed all socialist, radical and liberal publications, of whatever kind, were withheld from the prisoners convicted under the so-called Espionage Act by the prison authorities under orders from Washington to destroy the same as fast as received, which orders were faithfully executed.

In these circumstances we were kept in the dark as to the conflicting claims of the various **FACTIONAL FIGHTS** factions, save only as an occasional paper ran the gauntlet of the vigilant censorship and brought us a ray of light, or as information reached us through such letters received from comrades as the censors did not consign to the waste basket. In these letters from comrades, once standing at elbow-touch in the Socialist Party, but now torn apart, dissevered, and pitted against each other in bitter fratricidal strife, all kinds of charges were made, the various writers each pleading the legitimacy of their own particular faction and urging an avowal of allegiance in its behalf.

At this point I wish to pause long enough to say that I have never had any heart for factional warfare. I simply cannot and will not engage in it. I can argue and reason with comrades, but I cannot and will not give way to anger and resort to vituperation over my differences with them. They are as honest as I am and if I cannot agree with them I can let them alone, and they cannot quarrel with me if I refuse to quarrel with them. All the time, strength and resources I have, limited enough at best, are needed to fight capitalism, the common enemy, and there is not one moment to spare to abuse and

vilify my own brothers, and I absolutely refuse to degrade myself by descending to that level.

Due to the conflicting reports and claims that were made to me at Atlanta and the meager information of a reliable nature **RELEASE FROM ATLANTA** that was allowed to reach me, I determined to remain non-

committal until I should be released and able to investigate for myself, hear all sides, and arrive at an intelligent conclusion, and I gave my pledge to various comrades to that effect. Shortly after my release, unfortunately, I fell ill from prison starvation, mental as well as physical, and from over-strain due to the brutal persecution preceding my prison sentence. From the time the war was declared our trouble began and it waxed fiercely after we were criminally pitched into the seething, bloody maelstrom. We were pursued by the sleuths of the profiteers and hated by their dupes as traitors, threatened with assault and assassination, and outraged in every manner the malignity and mendacity of capitalism could devise. We were, in short, the legitimate prey of the brutal patrioteers, their politicians, preachers, editors, not a few labor leaders (?) and their whole vast army of other mercenary hirelings. Following this nerve-testing ordeal came the prison sentence, covering in all nearly five years, and under such circumstances it is not strange that my health and strength were sadly impaired and that month after month, with all the power of will I could bring to bear, I was physically unable to resume my usual activities, and this must be my apology for this belated statement which otherwise would have been made long ago.

Let it not be supposed that I attach any importance to this statement as I am speaking for **MY PERSONAL VIEW** myself only and for no one else, and it is of consequence only in that it is in fulfillment of my pledge to many comrades that when I felt qualified to do so, I should state my position and give my reason for it, and this statement is issued to redeem that pledge.

After taking time enough to personally see and hear comrades representing the various sides to the factional controversy, giving them equally fair and impartial hearing; after reading carefully the literature of the several factions and weighing carefully their arguments for themselves and against each other, and after studying the complicated situation as best I have been able to do under the circumstances, I have arrived at the definite conclusion that my place in the future as in the past is in the Socialist Party, and in its ranks and beneath its banner I shall continue to serve the working class and the social revolution as soon as my shattered strength is restored and I am able to resume my former activities.

Twenty-five years ago I stood at the cradle of what is now the Socialist Party, the child of the American Railway Union, and I have marched with its comrades in sunshine and tempest ever since. I have enjoyed in its advance and kept the faith in its retreat, but always has my heart been in the party born of the union in which I fought the battle that first sent me to a prison cell, and in the darkness there opened my eyes to the light of Socialism and its radiant ideals, which caught and held captive my imagination and have claimed my soul's allegiance and every red drop of my heart's blood ever since.

I see no reason why I should desert the Socialist Party now. I have spent the better part **NO REASON** of my active life in its service and **TO DESERT** why should I now turn upon it and rend it; seek to tear down and destroy what I have devoted all these years of struggle and persecution helping to build up? I admit the party has made mistakes and that it is not today what I should like to see it, but the same would be rue of any other party I might join. If the Socialist Party is not the revolutionary working class party it should be, it can be made so, but if it is held that this is impossible then how is it possible to achieve that result with the same material, the same comrades, the same ultimate aims, merely adopting another name and marching under another banner?

We all admit that in the struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism we must have a political party as well as an industrial organization, and if after twenty-five years of the best effort at our command we should confess that we have failed and that we cannot make the Socialist Party the true political expression of the class struggle, then I should have to conclude that the same melancholy failure would mark our efforts to build up such a party under any other name.

The splitting up of the party and the splitting of the splits has reduced us all to weakness and impotency at the most crucial time when we should present a solid front, and the disastrous condition has invited the contempt of our capitalist masters expressed through repressive legislation under which our lips are gagged and our bravest comrades are either in prison or under indictments and about to be sent there. Let us rejoice that the splitting era has ended and that there are now increasing signs of returning sanity and of an era of reaction that will drive us into unity from the sheer necessity of self-preservation.

Let me here add that if I were inclined to desert the Socialist Party, which I am not, I should **NEEDS STAUNCH** not do so in the hour of its **SUPPORT** weakness, after being shot into shreds and tatters in the struggle. It is then I should prove my allegiance

to its principles, whatever its mistakes and shortcomings, by standing staunchly by it as I do now and shall in its future struggles, with all the strength I can command.

It has not been an easy matter for me to arrive at this conclusion. There has been many a heartache in the ordeal that led to it. To see comrades I know to be equally loyal to the cause, equally faithful and efficient in its service, and whom I have been in the trenches with and love equally well—to see these comrades arrayed against each other in hostile camps seeking to discredit and destroy each other to their common undoing, has been to me a saddening spectacle and has given me pain and regret beyond expression.

I know many of the members of the Workers' Party and of the Proletarian Party and I know that in taking the position they have they were actuated by the best of motives and that they are as honest as we are in the choice they made and in their efforts to build up a party to serve the working class in the revolutionary struggle. These comrades I respect as I do our own and I shall treat them accordingly, confident in the belief that in good time the differences that now separate us will be ironed out by the stern logic of events and that we shall be once again united and marching shoulder to shoulder into battle together for the overthrow of capitalism and the emancipation of the workers of the world.

The world of capitalism is today in a state of physical collapse and moral bankruptcy and only Socialism can save it from lapsing into the barbarism of the dark ages. How infinitely important, therefore, that we should muster all our forces and conserve all our energies for the herculean task that confronts us!

This year is of especial historic importance in the United States. The supreme opportunity **THIS YEAR** challenges our fitness and capacity **VITAL** to profit by it. The twin political parties of capitalism are disintegrating from their own sheer rottenness and corruption. Thousands upon thousands of decent voters are deserting both in disgust and seeking another fit for their allegiance. That other is the Socialist Party and in the campaign now in progress that fact must be made manifest in every way in our power.

Think for a moment of the present condition of this country and what it might be if the working class but made intelligent use of its organized industrial strength and its political voting power!

Let us all realize the challenge to our loyalty, our courage, our capacity to think and act, and set to work to rebuild the party. The shattered ranks can be restored to their former strength if we but will it. The locals that have been de-



stroyed can be reorganized and the thousands of members who have gone out from us can be brought back once more.

To work, comrades, in every state, and all along the line! We have a party to rebuild, a press to restore, a campaign of supreme account to wage, and in this great work in the service of the working class there is room and need for us all!

Let us at once provide the means to place every available speaker and organizer in the field!

Let us rally to the support of our press which has been all but strangled in the foul clutches of **REORGANIZE** capitalism and renew our sub-  
**ON ALL FRONTS** scriptions and secure others who are ready now and waiting for our literature as never before!

Let us start our locals going again, attend meetings with eager enthusiasm as we used to do, and begin at once in every locality a thorough canvass for new members to add to our rolls. Thousands are now ripe and waiting for Socialist Party membership!

Let us pay our dues at once, local, state and national, and put money enough in our treasuries to finance our propaganda activities and make our vicinity resound with the ringing battle-cry and the joyous shouts of advancing socialism!

Let us organize meetings everywhere, on the street corners, on the commons, in public halls, school houses, churches, anywhere, and see that they are attended by the people who are sufficiently alive to wish to hear the only live message that will be hard in this campaign!

Let us plan a methodical and continuous campaign of literature. Leaflets, tracts, pamphlets, books galore are now available at small cost and tons and tons of them should be spread broadcast among the people!

Let us get into our local papers to the extent that we have access to their columns. Hundreds of these papers are open to us and will gladly give space to such articles as we send them if they are brief and to the point. The columns of all these papers should bear daily evidence that there are Socialists in the community and that Socialism is the issue of the day.

Let us resolve here and now that the fight is on in dead earnest and that we are going to win.

**WE ARE GOING TO WIN** Ours is the cause of the people and ours is the task of waking them up and lining them up for action in the world-wide struggle for their emancipation. Fifty thousand members on our rolls on election day and a hundred thousand soon after the New Year's sun blazes upon the world!

Let us as a party stand staunchly for the industrial organization of the workers and aid them in every way in our power, not only to achieve their industrial solidarity but by standing solidly be-

hind them in every fight they have with their cruel bosses, in every struggle with their exploiting masters, giving them and their wives and children all the moral and material support at our command. We are their fellow-workers, their interest is our interest, our party is their party and we are bound to fight with them in every battle they wage everywhere and every day in the year!

Let us above all things remember our class war prisoners and swear by the Eternal that they shall go free. Let us renew and intensify our agitation in their behalf **POLITICAL PRISONERS** until the infamy of their imprisonment is blotted out. There must not be one exception. The last of them must be rescued from the cruel clutches of their capitalist keepers. As long as Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, Ralph Chaplin and scores of others fester in the black-holes of capitalism we are all in disgrace, and my share of it accuses me and keeps me awake at night. The working class prisoners in the penitentiaries of California and Texas since long before we entered the war must not be forgotten. We must prepare a list of them all, and wherever they may be and whatever their affiliation or non-affiliation, if they are in jail or prison for fighting for labor they are our comrades and we are false to ourselves as well as to them if we fail to put forth every effort in our power to secure their release. Nor must we ignore or betray cowardly indifference toward those under indictment in Michigan, California and other states, and those out on bail who were either arrested, indicted or tried under the infamous black-hand gag law against "criminal syndicalism," the miserable pretext of the thieving patrioteers to silence protest against their plunder of the people and their criminal abuses and murderous misrule. Each of these victims is our comrade whose persecution is his credential and claim and our obligation and duty!

The subject of international affiliation is of course an important one, but in my opinion need **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS** not and should not be decided at this time. The bitter contention between the several internationals is gradually dying out and in time will disappear at least to the extent of making possible a united front and a harmonious working agreement, and until that time is reached I believe we should hold aloof and give our time and energy to the reconstruction of our shattered party. That will occupy us fully for a time and once we have a party of power and standing there will no trouble about affiliation.

It is my opinion that our party policy should favor harmonious relation with all other parties and organizations which stand for the working

(Continued on page 15)

## CURRENT COMMENT

**WAR CLOUDS** loom black and ominous in the Levant. In endeavoring to maintain her route to the Indies free from interference Great Britain prepares for a fight to a finish with the Turks. Which goes to prove more than ever that the great continental war was never ended. The Versailles treaty settled nothing. The wiping out of entire empires has settled nothing. The brutal slaughter of 40 millions of people has settled nothing. And the most shameful thing of all is that the great labor movements of the world that suffered most from the loosing of hell on humanity have as yet settled nothing. War bigger and crueller than ever is again at our doors. What will the answer be?

\* \* \*

In the midst of the world wide chaos and destruction the U. S. Navy Department rushes battle ships to the war zone to protect our citizens. Yes indeed our citizens, Morgan and Rockefeller! And we are ready to jump into the big war right off the reel to defend the interests of American capital and uphold our national policy of imperialism. And why not? Business is business and that is what the Washington Government is being run for. It has been a long time since the American people have had a representation in the Government and judging by present indications they do not intend to take any part in it for some time to come. And the dance of destruction goes merrily on!

\* \* \*

Washington cannot avoid taking part in the war drama now being staged for the freedom of the "seize." Our policy, a nation run for Big Business, has been to grab all we can and can all we grab. Witness our conduct in Cuba, the Philippines, Panama, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Nicaragua, Hayti, Santo Domingo, to be followed by the same system of plunder in Mexico, Liberia and the Near East, if we can obtain a hold there with our slimy tentacles of Standard Oil. In the midst of this policy of piracy and rapine abroad and starvation and slavery at home, the sons and daughters of Patrick Henry and John Hancock dream on, making not the slightest effort to avert the gigantic catastrophe hovering over the Nation. The Republicans are in and they are stealing everything in sight! The Democrats are making a strenuous effort to get in so that they may steal a great deal more, if that is possible. And the people who could make a change over night and establish justice in our domestic and foreign relations if they would, are interested only in baseball, jazz or the Battling Siki. Please go way and let us sleep!

\* \* \*

Secretary Denby says that our ships are being sent East for the moral effect it will have on the

Turks. Denby should be on the vaudeville stage where his sense of humor would bring him a much larger income than he now enjoys as office boy for John D. "Moral effect"! Ye gods and small potatoes! If the blundering, brutal, corrupt, thieving ring that is running this country has the least scintilla of morals to show we would like to have Old Harry point it out to us.

\* \* \*

It may seem strange to some how the small, poorly trained and worse equipped army of Kemal Pasha, numbering less than 100,000 men, can create such a furore in Asia Minor and cause Johnny Bull to throw seventeen fits. Well, it isn't the half starved legion of Kemal at all that worries Britain. Even New Zealand alone could send enough troops to wipe him out. It is the power behind the Turk. Russia with the biggest and best trained army in the world stands ready to see justice done. Even if Lloyd George could succeed in calling to the colors the colonial heroes that bore the brunt of the fighting in the late war it is hard to believe that they would perform the same earnest service as in the struggle just closed. Labor's ranks the world over are badly shattered but individually the workers have learned their lesson and it will not be lost. It is difficult to imagine an English or American army of workers even entering a conflict with the Red workers of Russia. The Red Army battles for principle not for gold, and with might and right for once on the same side the workers of all Europe would arise in revolt and the rule of the working class would be established from London to Tokyo. This and not the idle talk of a holy war is what causes Bully John to shake like an aspen leaf. "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword" may yet mean the utter destruction of capitalism and the rise of the "United States of the Workers World."

\* \* \*

The American Plumbers in convention assembled issued the statement that there are 17,000,000 American homes that do not enjoy the convenience of a bath. Allowing five persons to a family this means 85,000,000 of our people who are deprived of the means of keeping clean. This is indeed a scathing indictment of our economic condition. It is not the pampered parasites of Lake Shore Drive and Fifth Avenue who suffer all the ills of filth and dirt. Not by any means. "They toil not neither do they spin," yet their bathing boudoirs rival the splendid baths of Cleopatra and they loll around in luxurious ease that would shame old Croesus himself. Yet the millions of miners, railway men and farmers who do the work of the nation and without whom our commercial power would soon perish must return from their day's slavery without the cleansing



comfort of an ordinary bath. Many a time the writer has seen a coal miner return from the underground hell to his filthy shack on the river bank and endeavor to restore his human like appearance by bathing in the good wife's dishpan. Eighty-five millions of people are not dirty because they want to be, but for the reason that under the Christian (save the name) conditions that exist in this nation the common slaves of our industrial lords cannot provide even bread for their crying babes let alone paying enormous prices to the plumbing trust for the simplest kind of sanitary supplies. Instead of collecting the children's pennies to send missionaries to Togoland our Christian civilization could be much better expressed in fighting for proper conditions for those who do the work of the world pending the time when full justice shall be established for all. Yes, the workers of America must clean up and if they start with a good cleaning of the Government in Washington it will be a small matter to put modern sanitary conveniences in the homes of our citizens.

\* \* \*

The Government is very lax in according justice to our neighboring Republic of Mexico. For many years now a stable government has been in power there, proving that the present regime is authoritative, but because a satisfactory deal cannot be made that will please Standard Oil the State Department still withholds recognition. Very little has been said by the labor press about giving Mexico a square deal. Yet in a few short years revolutionary changes have been made there that equal and in many cases surpass those made by the Soviet Government in Russia. Wall Street does not hope for peace as it still has its mouth set for complete conquest and annexation. Obregon and the Mexican people are not for Wall Street and the workers of America should give them their fullest support at Washington. We have had enough war, and with Mexico we would surely find that Juarez hell.

\* \* \*

The king graft is getting pretty slim in Europe. Constantine has exceeded the speed limit getting out of Greece and the good work goes on. Still he got his graft and will not have to work for a few days to come. No doubt he has seen the handwriting on the wall for some time and has put aside a few pennies for this rainy day. Well, the workers always pay and though Tino has taken nearly two million plunks in his little carpet bag the workers of that much oppressed country may well be rid of him. They have their opportunity now if they will but use it.

\* \* \*

Now Senator Pepper comes forth with a plan to vote on strikes. He probably means to vote "off" strikes as the conditions can be trusted to bring them on. Well, that is a good plan and if the workers will register intelligent protest at the

ballot box during the next few elections there will be no need of strikes. Strikes will cease when the workers own the industries and put the parasites to work. The industries can be captured by political action whenever the workers wake up to their power. You are right, Pepper! The Socialists have long wanted to vote "off" strikes and not only that they want the workers to vote "off" all the industrial shackles that have bound them since the rise of capitalism, the system of master over man. Work for the Workers' Republic and vote as you work!

In a statement published in The Freeman, Mrs. Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, widow of one of the founders of the Sinn Fein movement, explains why the Irish Republicans are in arms against the Treaty. The election which returned a parliament which favored it was based, she explains, on the old electoral lists made under British law, by which most of the Republicans were disfranchised.

Plural voting is still in force. Persons who hold property in four or more different parts of the country have four or more votes, which gives an overwhelming advantage to the propertied classes.

Two hundred and eighty thousand women between twenty-one and thirty are disfranchised, as are all the soldiers who fought the Black and Tans. No male who has reached the age of twenty-one years within the last two years is allowed to vote. One name in six on the old register is wrong, according to experts who have examined it. In many districts the voting register consists of blank pages, marked "no information available." During the terror no man who was being pursued by the Black and Tans could register, since he would pay for his vote with his life.

It was the election based on this grossly unfair voting list, by which all republicans were excluded, which accepted the Free State Treaty, Mrs. Skeffington explains. In order to make their protest against such an election, the Republicans excluded from the ballot have taken arms and Ireland is now in civil war.

#### IT KNOWS NOT ITS POWER!

The people is a beast of muddy brain,  
That knows not its own strength, and therefore  
Stands loaded with wood and iron;  
The powerless hands of a mere child  
Guide it with bit and rein.  
One kick would be enough to break the chain,  
But the beast fears and what the child demands  
It does, nor its own terror understands.  
Confused and stupified by bugbears vain—  
Most wonderful! With its own hands  
It ties and gage itself, gives itself, life and war  
For peace doled out by kings from its own store.  
Its own are all things between heaven and earth;  
But this it knows not, and if one arise  
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgetting.

—CAMPANELLA.

# RUSSIA DOMINANT

By Irwin St. John Tucker

Ever since Constantine in the year 313 founded Constantinople to be the Christian capital of the Roman empire, it has been the center of world politics. And even long before possession of the straits has been the prize for which a continual series of wars has been fought, since Homer's Greeks took Troy, a thousand years before Christ. It was the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II, in 1453, which led Columbus to cross the Western Ocean and discover America. Had not the Turks blocked the way to the Orient, so that the ships of Genoa and Venice could no longer make huge profits out of that commerce with the East, the Pinta, the Nina and the Santa Maria would never have started on their trip to San Salvador that shook the world to its foundations.

Turkey has thus held Constantinople for a longer time than America has been discovered. But for the past fifty years the Turks have held it only because of the rivalries of the nations of Europe. In 1878 Russia defeated Turkey and seized the key city of the Dardanelles, but England drove her out and renewed the Turks in their possession. In 1908 Germany won the Turk away from England. After the world war Turkey was driven away; but France became the Turk's champion, in the war between Greece and Turkey that was in reality a war between France and England for control of the road to India. Now France is dominant again, but is reaping from that victory nothing but ashes and bitterness. For it was not the aid of France, but the aid of Russia, that frightened England.

Lloyd George sent a frantic appeal to the dominions of the British Empire for troops and ships in his new war against the Turk. But their reply was a flat refusal.

Canada, Australia, South Africa, repudiated the adventure which had led England into so profound a mess. Lord Curzon was sent to Paris to patch up the Entente as best he could, and came out of the conference with a complete yielding to the demands of Turkey.

British Labor bulked large in this decision. "Not a man, not a ship, not a dollar for war," was the ringing slogan of many labor mass meetings held throughout Britain. Italy, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, all alike refused to back up the demand for a war on the Turks. And why? Because the huge Red Army loomed in the background as the dominant fact in Europe. Russia came to the aid of Turkey, and the world trembled.

In spite of all this, England and France and Italy still refuse to recognize Russia politically. They recognize her as a military power—they are compelled to. But they will not adopt the

sane and intelligent method of dealing openly with the Russian Government as among equals.

Standard Oil and Wall Street and British capitalists have bought up a great many of the holdings of dispossessed Russian capitalists and landholders at a song. They hold paper securities, purchased from refugees for next to nothing, which would give into the control of speculators priceless properties in Russia, if the Soviet Government would only recognize the securities as valid. But this the Soviet Government will not do; and until this is done, the Wall Street investors and their associates in England and France refuse to deal with them.

Why is possession of Constantinople the goal of ambition and the test of empire? Simply because it controls both the sea trade and the land trade of the Eastern Mediterranean. The long way down the valley of Belgrade and across to Asia Minor at the Dardanelles was the goal of Germany's Berlin to Bagdad drive which brought on the world war. Now it has become the goal of France, working for the Paris to Bagdad railroad in order to ship the output of French factories to Oriental markets.

It is no cynical nor unworthy interpretation, which teaches that the struggle for empire is a struggle for markets. For in the exchange of commodities is the origin of civilization. The more civilized a nation is, the more its wants become, the greater is its volume of traffic, and the more imperative it is that its shipments be protected on foreign seas.

Let us not be led astray by the flaming out of the old cry "A holy war." There is nothing holy about war. If Islam fights, it is because the commercial exploiters who are financing the recrudescence of Islam expect to use the brown bodies of Moslems as stepping stones to exclusive world plunder. If the call is sounded from a million Christian pulpits urging a new crusade to chastise the Turk, it is but the cloak of religion used to cover the designs of another group of commercial giants for exclusive control of the world's waterways and tariffs.

The Turks have treated the Greeks in Smyrna barbarously. But the fleeing Greek army treated every Turk village and town they passed in as barbarous a style, and every wave of soldiers that ever ebbed and flowed above that million-times inundated strand has left the debris of blood behind.

As long as nations strive for commercial advantages, so long will their people be called on to die under the lash of impassioned slogans for the benefit of commercial adventurers. Not the expulsion of the Turks, but the overthrow of the capitalist system will bring peace.

# Wisps From Timothy Hay

By C. L. D.

Strike while the workers are hot!  
\* \* \*

We will be lucky to get even a  
piece of coal from the coal peace.  
\* \* \*

If there were less fiction between na-  
tions there would be less friction.  
\* \* \*

The Kaiser is safer sawing wood in  
Holland than Bingen on the Rhine.  
\* \* \*

Europe must raise the cash or take  
the crash.  
\* \* \*

A drink in time will save nine, if  
it's wood alcohol.  
\* \* \*

The war seems to be all over, over  
there!  
\* \* \*

If marks go much lower they will  
soon be rubbed out.  
\* \* \*

"Railway Strike Lost." Every  
knock is a caboose!  
\* \* \*

Johnny Bull refers to Uncle Sam as  
"The 'kin I love to touch."  
\* \* \*

Some people make moonshine and  
moonshine makes some people.  
\* \* \*

Flapper: A being with little heart,  
less clothes and no sense.  
\* \* \*

To die for liberty is to be a hero, to  
live for it an "anarchist."  
\* \* \*

Some folks think they have pep  
when they only have the pip.  
\* \* \*

"Mayo Irish Fight!" Certainly, but  
why ask permission?  
\* \* \*

"Where Does President Harding  
Stand on Bill Bonus?" Right on his  
neck.  
\* \* \*

Now some one rises to remark that  
Henry Ford's money is tainted. Sure,  
'tain't mine!  
\* \* \*

If the workers get much hotter un-  
der the collar they won't need any  
coal this winter.  
\* \* \*

Injunction! A court writ posted  
all over the railway yards that nobody  
reads.  
\* \* \*

To be fashionable you must have  
money and belong to an old family,  
old and rotten.  
\* \* \*

War would soon cease if it were  
placed on a cash basis. "Pay as You  
Enter."

If Greece is not more discreet she  
may be entirely dis-Crete.  
\* \* \*

Judge Gary has long had a degree  
in the Workers' University, R. O. B.  
\* \* \*

"Public Gouged by Bootleggers."  
Well, still water runs steep!  
\* \* \*

Lenine seems to have John Bull  
doing the Turkey Trotsky.  
\* \* \*

The Massachusetts workers have  
refused to dislodge Lodge.  
\* \* \*

Daugherty means he'll allow no  
one to attack the Government but the  
profiteers.  
\* \* \*

Many people will have to be content  
this winter with coal in their has  
beens.  
\* \* \*

"U. S. War Debts 21 Billions." This  
does not include the cadets at West  
Point.  
\* \* \*

A stylish ladies booze club calls it-  
self the "Mollie Pitchers." Pretty  
hot to Mollie?  
\* \* \*

Long Island is a nice place to live!  
On one side you can see the sound  
and on the other sound the sea.  
\* \* \*

Britain can always be depended  
upon to fight for the "Freedom of the  
Seize."  
\* \* \*

"Big Strikes Are Settled." There  
has been nothing settled but the strik-  
ers.  
\* \* \*

De Soto has much unearned credit  
for discovering the "Father of Wa-  
ters." How could he Mississippi?  
\* \* \*

This war for the freedom of the  
Straits will end with freedom for the  
crooks.  
\* \* \*

We hope Ford will decide to die  
rich rather than try to give it away  
by building public garages.  
\* \* \*

A big holdup was staged in front of  
the Capitol recently. The thieves got  
back into Congress before they could  
be captured.  
\* \* \*

The Scots Guards sailed for the  
East with the pipers merrily playing  
"The Kemals Are Coming. They may  
all be kilt."

Super-patriot: One who received his  
full share of the war graft.  
\* \* \*

The coming Thanksgiving Day may  
find the Turkey wielding the axe.  
\* \* \*

Why are things so quiet with the  
United States Sipping Board?  
\* \* \*

Prohibition Jokes ruled off stage.  
Sort of a bar to the Volstead Act.  
\* \* \*

"Polish Politicians Play the Piano."  
American politicians are playing h—l.  
\* \* \*

No, Clarence, you can not go bare-  
footed in the Army. Uncle Sam wants  
you to bear arms not to bare legs.  
\* \* \*

"Morgan to Build Luxurious Pal-  
ace." The house the workers' jack  
built.  
\* \* \*

"Smyrna Taken From the Greek."  
First time to our knowledge that any-  
thing has been taken from a Greek.  
\* \* \*

"Bumper Crops All Over the Coun-  
try." A sure indication that the work-  
ers will go hungry this winter.  
\* \* \*

Current events seem to suggest  
that the Open Door in Asia may be  
closed with Islam.  
\* \* \*

It is highly fitting that so many  
crooked nations should be fighting  
over the Straits.  
\* \* \*

Latest reports are very convincing  
to the effect that Turkey is winning  
in Th-race.  
\* \* \*

People are voting in several states  
on the liquor question. At the very  
best they will be rum referendums.  
\* \* \*

Many a tenant farmer that raised a  
thousand bushels of wheat is unable  
to raise his rent.  
\* \* \*

While Kemal Pasha is winning in  
Europe, O. Bey has suffered a severe  
defeat in our marriage courts.  
\* \* \*

Capitalism is highly efficient. In  
ante-bellum days they drove men to  
work with a whip. Now they drive  
them with a whistle.  
\* \* \*

It is no mere play on words when  
we say that The Brotherhood of  
Locoed Engineers helped to throttle  
the Railway Strike.

DEBS MAGAZINE  
A Magazine of Militant Socialism

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Contributors: Isaac McBride, Rabbi Juda L. Magnus,  
Alexander Howat, Emil Herman, and many others.

THE AMERICAN PLAN

Attorney General Daugherty's injunction was upheld by Federal Judge James Wilkerson of Chicago, successor to Kenesaw Mountain Landis, a week after the strike had been settled.

In spite of protests that rang out in the halls of Congress, in every newspaper in the land, in every organization of labor or of liberals, in spite of bitter criticism everywhere, the injunction was made permanent.

Every constitutional guarantee of free speech, free press or assembly, every principle of the common law safeguarding the right of public expression of opinion, is swept away by Judge Wilkerson's decree. A new mark in judicial power is set by this injunction. A new level of assumption of power, far more extreme, drastic and far reaching than any judicial decree ever issued by any court in England or in the United States.

What was the purpose of continuing with this injunction fight after the dispute was over? Why go on with the battle, after the decision has been made? The answer is plain.

The Government of the United States has gone into the fight to destroy labor unions, with all its forces armed and prepared for the combat. The "American plan" of compelling every worker to go pit his strength, singly and individually, against the giant power of industrial combinations, has been adopted by the Harding Administration as the settled policy of this government. If the great unions, the coal and rail and steel workers organizations, can be destroyed, the little unions can in their turn be crushed, and all labor organizations be reduced to mutual burial associations of meek and humble slaves.

We rejoice at the step. We rejoice at the cleavage, so clearly and distinctly made, between capitalism and labor. There is no possibility any longer, of failing to perceive that it is all or nothing for the working classes. The workers must either control the government as a whole or they will lose control of themselves as individuals. Organized finance is in the saddle of industry and

of government, and is using that power mercilessly to cripple, wreck and destroy every effort of the workers to organize.

Labor has no recourse other than to capture the government or throw up the sponge. To capture the government it must have a political expression of its own. It must enter the political fight, not as an humble suppliant seeking for favors but an antagonist seeking a complete victory. There is no other course.

WAS THE HERRIN MASSACRE PRE-ARRANGED?

The Editor, Debs Magazine.

Sir:

In the September issue of your publication there appeared on page eleven an article entitled "Miners Win." In the third paragraph of the mentioned article you make a statement to the effect that the massacre at Herrin, which was the subject of much discussion by the public, was arranged beforehand by the coal operators of that city. This is a very grave charge to make, and if true deserves the condemnation of every citizen. No proof is advanced as to the truth of this charge. As a subscriber of your magazine, I would appreciate very much your enlightening me as to the merits of this statement. To put it bluntly, "prove it."

IRVING OKLIN, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Ten days before the Herrin massacre, Dr. F. C. Honnold, Secretary of the Coal Operators of Illinois, notified the Chicago newspapers and the Associated Press that there would be "something doing" in Herrin, as the Southern Illinois strip mine was going to operate in spite of the strike and was prepared to defend its workers.

The Hargraves Detective agency was enlisting gunmen in Chicago for two weeks before the battle and sending them down to Herrin prepared for "business."

New York papers had men on the ground before the storm burst.

The report of the grand jury, just returned, blames the owners of the Herrin mine for precipitating the disaster, although it does not mince words in dealing with the horror of the massacre itself.

Debs Magazine does not defend the massacre of the strikebreakers at Herrin. When the armed stoolpigeons shot down two union officials on the public highroad passing close to the mine, the miners of Williamson county and the adjoining counties stormed the defenses and cleaned out the nest of imported gunmen. This was plainly inevitable. But when the captives, after having surrendered, were shot down in cold blood, this became massacre, and has dealt to organized labor in this country a blow from which it will be long in recovering.

On the strength of this slaughter, the Illinois Manufacturers Association is raising a fund to prosecute the miners involved, to the limit. The Attorney General of the State will spare no ex-

pense in seeking to break up the miners' union, on the strength of it.

Striking for hours and wages and piecemeal betterment will not solve the problem of mining coal. Nothing short of national ownership of the coal industry will end the ceaseless conflict between coal miners and coal thieves. "The Coal Mines to the People!" When the coal miners nail this slogan to their banner, and unite in a political organization to achieve it, they will command the wholehearted sympathy of the American people, which the Herrin massacre has grievously alienated.

### DAUGHERTY CONVERTS GOMPERS

Three cheers for Harry M. Daugherty!

What twenty years of Socialist agitation have failed to do, Harding's Attorney General has accomplished with a single appearance in court. By the injunction secured from the newly appointed Federal Judge, James H. Wilkerson, Daugherty has broken through the crust of solid ivory surrounding American Federation of Labor in Washington.

He has, as by a blast of dynamite, shattered the four-ply wall of selfish numbskullery that has sheathed the mental processes of the \$10,000 a year labor leaders who surround Samuel Gompers.

By the injunction against the shopmen he has forced the American Federationist, hidebound in its tradition of solemn stupidity, into a shrieking howl of terror. In its most recent issue that journal declares that only by united political action can labor defend its life.

"The workers' weapon is the ballot. It is an effective and all-powerful weapon. Wielded with intelligence for a righteous cause, it can not fail to win." This, by Robert M. La Follette, in the Labor Day issue of the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, marks the first result of the Daugherty Injunction.

Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, secretary of the department of Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in a ringing sermon in Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, said, "It is a disgrace to the state of California that Tom Mooney is in prison today; and the responsibility rests with the people of California."

### THE VETO

Congratulations, soldiers of the nation!

You are vindicated. The President has crowned you with the full glory of heroism. He has swept your escutcheon clean of any lingering suspicion of a stain, and presented you with deathless honor.

In his veto of the bonus bill, he made it plain both to you and to all others that such patriotism as yours cannot be paid for; and that to seek to

force upon unwilling veterans a cash payment for their services is to offer them an unforgivable insult.

Take that!

The soldiers who risked their lives in the trenches must not be allowed to make money out of their sacrifices. Gosh, no! The heroes who manfully defended the swivel chairs of Washington got paid good and plenty. The dollar-a-year patriots cleaned up billions in graft. The National Council of Defense got theirs, to the tune of hundreds of millions in excess profits. The stay-at-home patriots wore silk shirts and bought ten thousand dollar limousines. But YOU—why, soldiers dear, you were honored in being allowed to starve and die for your beloved country! Pay you for that? Perish the thought!

Yes, dear soldiers, you voted for a business administration. You voted for Harding. Millions of you. You tarred and feathered Socialist speakers. You threatened Nearing and Foster and me with lynching and beatings. You ran us out of town after town. You howled and hooted at our meetings. The American Legion would permit no man to speak in the streets or in the halls "unless he had the approval of the United States Government written all over him." Oh, you were heroes!

Well, you got what you voted for. We told you that there was no chance of getting any "adjusted compensation," or "back pay," or "bonus" from a business administration. Nothing but a workers' administration, which would conscript war graft, take over national industries and turn the huge profits now reaped by private owners of national necessities into channels of public service, could possibly raise enough money to make good your losses. But you howled and cursed and swore and damned all Socialists, because they were not patriotic enough to suit you.

Oh, you've got your lesson. But will you learn it? Cold and hungry and out of a job, broke and hopeless, will you learn it? You still have a vote. Will you cast it for a bunk-artist who tells you how he will work for you? Or will you cast it for a party which has proven how it will work for you?

The Socialists are and always were opposed to war. They are and always will be opposed to profiteering. They are for the victims of war, as for the victims of capitalism. They hold out the only hope of rescue and protection, through their purpose to remove the profit from industrial war as well as political war, and to give the world to the workers.

Georges Carpentier was knocked out in the sixth round by a negro battler from Senegambia, Siki. Now if Siki will only meet and vanquish Jack Dempsey, the laurels for the world's chief bruiser will be back in barbarous Africa where it belongs.

# THE REAL PRICE OF COAL

[By Eugene V. Debs]

There has been much discussion during the prolonged strike of the miners against starvation wages about the price of coal.

As a matter of fact, the miner alone knows the price of coal. No one else!

The real price of coal is not computed in terms of money. The paltry pittance paid the miner to keep him alive so he can enter the mines and dig the coal has little to do with its price.

The real price of coal is human life and that is what the miner has to pay for the benefit of those who consume it.

Every time the miner enters the pit, every moment he spends there his life is at the forfeit of fate, which, thousands without number have paid in being buried alive or blown to atoms.

How many think of this when they talk glibly about the ages of miners and the price of coal?

How many operators make allowance for the fact that they are perfectly secure against harm, that they take no risk beyond getting rich in skimming their huge profits from the coal for which the miner pays with his life?

I am led to these reflections by the appalling catastrophe in the Argonaut mine at Jackson, California, where forty-seven miners, trapped like rats and surrounded by roaring flames, have just met a most shocking and heart-rending fate imaginable.

It is true this happens to be a gold mine, but gold or coal makes no difference to the miner, for the price of both is to him the same.

He gets no gold and barely enough coal for his barren hearthstone, yet he digs every ounce of gold and every ton of coal, and pays for both with his life.

Forty-seven miners entombed alive in a mine nearly a mile deep, horror-stricken, the remorseless flames roaring and crackling above their defenseless heads, the eternal rock beneath their quaking feet, every possible avenue of escape cut off, strong with the strength of giants yet helpless as weakling babes, death staring in their terror-stricken eyes, each second an eternity, who can imagine the thrice terrible torture these slaves of the pit endure and the infinite horror of their calamity?

The heart stands still and the blood freezes in the veins at the thought of these grimed, desperate, hopeless victims huddled together in their frightful sepulchre in the infernal regions, awaiting in dumb submission the mercy of death, while their heart-broken wives and babes wildly shriek out their grief and despair at the mocking mouth of the pit.

And that, dear reader, is the price the miner pays for the gold that glitters in the plumage of the parasite and for the coal that keeps the frost

from the firesides, arms and equips the black cavalry of commerce, and drives the industries of the world.

And now what is the price of coal and what shall the miners' wages be?

Not for all the gold ever mined, not for the whole world and all its boundless wealth and glittering prizes would a mine owner among them all share the frightful fate those forty-seven miners in California had to invite to earn the pittance that provided the crusts and rags for their wives and babes.

I invite you operators who have been hag-gling for months over the wages of your slaves to take one look into that seething mining hell out yonder and another at the shaft above ground where the pitiful lamentations of the widowed wives and orphaned children cry to heaven, and tell me then what you think of the wages of miners and the price of coal?

I say to you that only the man who faces the dangers of the pit and is conscious every moment of its hidden treacheries and its horrors in ambush, and who finally pays for them all with his life, only he knows the price of coal and only he has the right to a voice in fixing the miner's wages.

Some years ago while on a speaking tour in Colorado I was on a train that was wrecked in a tunnel and for a brief time it seemed we were to perish in the fumes from the engines that choked the narrow passage. Not long before the crew of a freight train met death in that awful way in the same tunnel. The horror of those few moments, the unearthly shrieks that pierced my ears, the thousand swift-flying thoughts that rushed through my brain have haunted me ever since, and I can at least faintly imagine the unspeakable agony and torture of men buried alive, and what their frenzied thoughts are of their horrid fate and of the loved ones at home as the seconds are slowly tolled in the death-knells in their living tombs.

The miner meets the cost of living by paying the price of death.

And such a living and such a death!

The price of coal is paid in the crimson blood of the miner that digs and dyes it, and in the wailing and lamentation of his stricken wife and babes.

---

In the year 1900 the purchasing power of the average wages of all railroad employees was \$567 a year. In 1913, \$522. In 1921, \$599. An increase of \$32 in twenty-one years. The railroad men are accused of profiteering. There were 20,000 new millionaires made between 1913 and 1921. Yet the railroad workers are accused of profiteering!



DEBS ANNOUNCES HIS DECISION

(Continued from page 7)

class as far as this may be possible, whether they are revolutionary in the full socialist sense or not, provided our party integrity is zealously safeguarded and is not compromised in any degree under any circumstances. There is a certain degree of common interest between all these parties and there are times and situations when unity of action is possible and may be fruitful of good results which can never be garnered by a policy of rigid and exclusive isolation.

I have reserved for the last the infinitely important question of the Russian revolution to which I have given my enthusiastic allegiance from its inception and to which I now pledge my unqualified support until this stupendous historic event is triumphantly consummated. It matters not what its mistakes have been, nor what may be charged against it, the Russian revolution, in what it expresses for the Russian people and in what it portends for the oppressed and exploited peoples of all nations, is the greatest, most luminous and far reaching achievement in the entire sweep of human history. Considering the unimaginable opposition, the violent and implacable hostility, the endless plots and conspiracies, the malice, hatred and brutal revenge of the whole capitalist world, including its armed invasions and assaults, that the revolution has encountered, it is the marvel of the ages that it has heroically withstood all attempts to undermine and destroy it and that it is today farther advanced and more certain of achieving its high destiny than at any time since it first shook the capitalist pirates of the world out of their dream of universal empire.

I have said that Lenine as the incarnation of the Russian revolution is the greatest thing that came out of the world-war and that is still my positive conviction.

The Russian revolution under the leadership of Lenine and Trotsky is the historic beginning of the international revolution that is destined to sweep capitalism and militarism from the face of the earth. The Russian comrades today are fighting heroically to free, and starving stoically to feed the workers of the whole world. What they have suffered and endured in their sublime struggle for human liberty and for the progress of the age and the happiness of future generations, is beyond human speech and will be chronicled only in the ultimate liberation of mankind from the cruelty and crime of all the centuries in the scroll of time.

The Soviet government is the beginning of the self-government of the people throughout the world. It has withstood the combined assaults of all its foes from without and from within and its red flag of freedom still floats in triumph

**RUSSIAN  
REVOLUTION**

**PEOPLE'S  
GOVERNMENT**

in the face of all the black flags of capitalism and piracy that surround and threaten it.

The Soviet government is the beginning of the revolution, baptized in its precious blood and consecrated to its high ideals, is invincible. It stands and will stand monumental of the revolutionary spirit in which it was born, of the cruel despotism it has conquered and destroyed, of the sacred blood so freely poured out by its valorous defenders, and of the peace, freedom and happiness it is destined to achieve for the whole of mankind.

All hail then the Russian revolution and the Soviet government, the crowning glory of the twentieth century!

Let us all unite, East and West, North and South, over all the earth, and pledge our loyal and unqualified support to our Russian comrades until the irresistible revolution they have inaugurated has run its triumphant course and achieved the peace and freedom of the world!

*Eugene P. Debs*

**MEN OF STEEL**

Awake, stand forth, ye men of steel,  
Bend not beneath oppression's heel;  
Stand firm, like men, to show your might  
In battling for the Truth and Right.  
See,—Justice stands with blinded eyes  
The scales unbalanced fall and rise.  
Awake, ye men, the time is now,—  
To tell the people why,—and how  
The world can be a place for all  
Who listen to Truth's clarion call.  
Peace, Freedom, for me and you,—  
The world's not here for just a few  
Awake, ye men, and take your place  
A glorious symbol of this race.

—Pauline J. Fredley.

**THE LABOUR MONTHLY**

A Magazine of International Labour.

Published in London, England.

"It is edited by the same able group which has given the Labour Research Department in London its international fame, and which edited that extraordinary useful encyclopedia of the world labour movement, The Labour International Handbook. The LABOUR MONTHLY will be the indispensable guide to those who have hitherto sought in vain to keep up with the development in the international labour movement."—The Nation.

Subscriptions are accepted by American representative PHILIP NOVICK, 192 Broadway, rm. 15, New York City. Six months, \$1.00; one year, \$2.00.

# WHAT THEY THINK OF "DEBS"

Republique Francaise,  
Paris, 16th of August.

We will be very happy to give a place to the collection of Debs Magazine in the Library and Museum of the War. Accept Messieurs the expression of my most distinguished sentiments.  
Minister De Instruction Publique  
Et Des Beau-Arts  
Bibliotheque Et Musee  
De La Guerre

Le Secretaire General:  
P. Fontaine.

The Magazine is a dinger and needs no compliments from me as it will speak for itself when once read. Sure I will "stick."—R. H. Salter, Couer de Alene, Ida.

Sorry I did not see Debs Magazine sooner, I am much impressed with it. Send me all the issues.—H. M. Statz, Washington, D. C.

I am worked to death but will fight on as long as I can breathe.—W. J. Rogers, Battle Creek, Mich.

Start my subscription with Number One if possible.—Martin Lacher, Naturita, Colo.

Enclosed find my subscription to Debs Magazine. Send me all the back issues soon as possible.—Fred Stanley, Cupertino, Calif.

We will always help to better the conditions when we are able. Yours for Debs Magazine.—E. G. Filbert, Marysville, Kans.

Keep Debs Magazine coming. Success for the New Year.—Louise Wernette, Remus, Mich.

I have just found Debs Magazine. It is hot and decidedly right. I am an old Civil War Vet, but send five subs herewith.—Wm. C. Green, Soldiers' Home, Calif.



If you have three or four more of the September issue to spare will you kindly send them to me? When the October issue is off the press please send me 20 copies as I can use that number to advantage.

—Eugene V. Debs  
Elmhurst, Ill.



You have done fine for a yearling. Come again!—E. F. Everitt, Redlands, Calif.

Send me eighty Debs Magazines for the month of October.—W. J. McMillen, Huntingburg, Ind.

I am rendering every possible aid to you and to the Cause you represent.—A. O. Grigsby, Toloboro, Ky.

Please send me two hundred Debs Magazines for October!—Robt. Bruner, Portland, Ore.

Send me One Hundred Debs Magazines. Enclosed find \$5.00. I am going out to get the subs.—Chas. W. Noonan, Schenectady, N. Y.

Enclosed find One Dollar. Start my subscription with the first number.—Fred W. Feihl, Cleveland, O.

I thank you very much for the Magazine. Enclosed find \$5 to help in the good work.—N. A. Wilson, Lost Creek, Wash.

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