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FOR A UNITED WORKING CLASS ON EVERY FRONT
DEBS MAGAZINE

A Magazine of Militant Socialism

Vol. 2

CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER, 1922

No. 16



**DEBS AND
LONGUET**

THE BIG CHICAGO RALLY

THOUSANDS STRUGGLING to gain an entrance into the Carmen's Auditorium: thousands standing around on Ashland Boulevard for four hours in a bitter cold wind, seeking to get a glimpse of a beloved form and face; hundreds jammed in the marble corridors and wide stairways of the magnificent temple of the Street Car Men; and then three flights up five thousand persons crowding happily together, cheering, applauding, laughing in an outburst of joy— . . . Gene Debs had come back again. After four long and terrible years of imprisonment and sickness, Debs made his first public appearance on Sunday, November 26, to extend the greetings of the American movement to Jean Longuet, representative of French Socialism. The soul of France and the soul of America touched hands.

At the same time that Clemenceau, the Tiger, is touring America to awaken the bloodlust and war hatred, Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx is touring it to rekindle the fellowships sundered by the war. "Unity" is the keynote of his speeches, and everywhere he is greeted with enthusiasm. But nowhere was there so wonderful an outpouring as that which witnessed the encounter of Longuet and Debs.

How strangely they contrast! One is accustomed to read of Frenchmen as emotional, 'excitable, overflowing; Americans are pictured as

cold, reserved, businesslike, practical. Yet Debs the great American spoke in a whirlwind of impetuous and passionate emotion, his hands fluttering around his face in a cloud of gesture; he stretched out his arms as if to sweep his audience bodily to his bosom. Longuet, the French man, spoke with clear and calm eloquence, with few gestures, with little emotion and no passion, building up an illuminating discourse that will never be forgotten.

A banquet was tendered to five hundred guests at the Douglas Park Auditorium that night where greetings were offered by unions and labor organizations. Debs and Longuet spoke again: at George Goebel's appeal, a thousand dollars was raised for the New York Call and the Chicago Socialist. Old timers were there, men and women who have seen little of each other since before the storm broke, but who are knitting again the ancient fellowship. New faces were there, men and women brought into the circle of the movement by their experiences and disillusionment of the great conflict.

And there was one dominant feeling over all, a feeling of reborn enthusiasm that expressed itself in the phrase, heard again and again through the crowded day, "The Socialist Party has come back."

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America's Greeting to France

DEBS' WELCOME TO LONGUET

RIENDS AND COMRADES: It has been long, and it has seemed very much longer, since last I stood in such an inspiring presence and witnessed such a magnificent demonstration. This splendid ovation is tendered, I am sure, to our distinguished guest, the noble son of an heroic sire, the grandson of our immortal Karl Marx, who honors us with his presence today.

LONGUET It is to extend a greeting to our beloved comrade, as I understand it, rather than to make a speech myself, that I am assigned a place upon this program.

I am just recovering from the effects of a speech I made about four years ago. That must have been a very telling speech. It was begun at Canton, Ohio, and completed at Atlanta, Georgia. But there is nothing to regret. I opposed the war. I still oppose war. I said then, and I say now, that I would not go to war at the command of any capitalist government on the face of the earth. The American people were not in favor of that war. But they had no voice in its declaration.

The people never have had a voice in the declaration of war. Wars have always been declared by the ruling classes, and the battles have been fought and the victims furnished by the working class. I would have saved the lives of those 60,000 young Americans who perished upon the battlefields of France.—Sixty thousand American corpses in France, to produce thirty thousand new millionaires in the United States. I stood at that time where President Wilson stood. He then was opposed to war and was elected by an overwhelming vote because "he kept us out of war." But when the **FURY OF HATE** profiteers of Wall Street issued the command, the press at once responded, and began to fan the public sentiment into a fury of hate. Over night the German at our side became a Hun.

The politicians at Washington declared the war, the editors of the country yelled for war. But when the call came there were no volunteers. Only one out of fifty volunteered into the service. Forty-nine out of fifty were conscripted, drafted, forced to go to the front and to fight in a war in which they had absolutely all to lose and nothing whatever to gain. I spoke at that time from a deep sense of conviction, and ten years is a very moderate sentence for having an opinion of your own in the United States of America.

If I believed in war I would have the honesty, the courage, the manhood to go to the front and

have my share in it. I abhor war. I am opposed to the capitalist system under which we live, because the capitalist system breeds war, and war is the negation of civilization, and an outrage upon humanity. But out of the war at least one great good has come,—quite unexpectedly to the ruling classes of the world,—and that is the Soviet Republic of Russia, in my estimation the greatest achievement of human history.

All the powers of capitalism combined have arrayed themselves against it. They recognize that republic as a menace to their miscalled civilization. But the Soviet Republic has stood for five long years and defied them all, and will continue to stand until other capitalist nations follow its example and establish a government of the workers. It is coming, coming, coming, just as surely as I stand on this platform. They may hasten or retard it, but it is coming as certain as the sunrise on the morrow.

In this great upheaval that has ruined the world, for which the ruling classes are solely responsible, there also came a disruption of that great emancipating movement of the masses, the Socialist movement. But since that time there has been a reorganization of **VICTIMS RISE AGAIN** forces, to a very large extent. And now all over the wide world the victims of that system, the victims of war for which the system is responsible, are again lifting up their heads.

All over the world the toiling and producing masses, the men and women who do the world's work,—all over the world they are lifting up their bowed bodies from the earth; they are beginning to stand erect; regardless of nationality or color or creed or sex, they are recognizing in each other their common kinship; they are moving across all boundary lines, and grasping hands and calling each other "comrade"; recognizing their common interests, their common identity. They are beginning to take an inventory of their own resources, to develop their own capacity to control their own destinies.

Through the ages they have struggled, from slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to wage slavery. Under **FREE MEN AND WOMEN** Socialism they will become free men and free women. Millions of them everywhere are beginning to ask why it is that they must press their rags still closer to their bodies lest they brush against silken garments their own hands have fashioned, but which they must not touch.

They are asking why they must gaze hungry through plate glass windows upon the banquets their labors have provided, but of which they may not partake. Why they must live in the shadow of palaces they have erected but may not enter. They are beginning to think, they will soon begin to act; they are uniting their forces and developing their powers. They are beginning the work that is to emancipate them from the thralldom of the ages.

This great change is anticipated by the ruling classes of the world who declared war eight years ago, a war that was to make the world safe for democracy, and to destroy Prussian militarism. That militarism has since been transferred to France, and is now seeking to establish itself in the United States. They were going to save civilization. And now look across at Europe, a vast armed camp. All of the so-called Allies are ready to fly at one another's throats. That is the way they have kept faith with the people, and made the world safe for democracy!

SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY And now in anticipation of that great inevitable change, the rise of the masses, that great movement that is changing the face of the world, they are enacting laws, especially here in the United States to strangle free speech, to prevent agitation. They are doing everything in their power to prevent the organization of the working class for its emancipation. Here in the state of Illinois there is a law that is a disgrace to a state of this nation, the Espionage law, the so-called Criminal Syndicalist law, criminal in itself and idiotic as well, the one purpose of which is to stifle free speech, to prevent the expression of an opinion that is inimical to Wall Street, to the pirates who bled this nation white.

JOLIET MARTYRS Nineteen men have just gone to Joliet, nineteen of our comrades, nineteen martyrs to free speech, nineteen men who had the courage of their convictions, nineteen real leaders of the people. We protest against this outrage. We must stand by these men. We must also stand by those men who were arrested in the state of Michigan under the same idiotic law. In California there is another such law, and other such prisoners; and let me be candid enough to admit that I am almost ashamed to be out of prison while those men are still behind prison walls.

Why should a penalty be imposed upon the expression of an honest opinion? Is it because the ruling class fears to have the truth told about its criminal and corrupt misrule? Is it because they cannot bear the light of truth? It must be so.

There are still in prison in this country sixty-eight men whose only offense is the expression of an honest opinion. They are members for the most part of the despised I. W. W. I wish now

to raise my voice against their continued imprisonment.

The United States Government unwittingly pays these men a very great compliment. It is in fear and dread that 68 men will overthrow the government of the United States. What a cowardly government it must be! Think of the United States Government with its great army and General Pershing at the head of it, afraid of 68 men!

General Pershing is even now going about the country raising his voice for a greater army, and preparedness for war. Have we learned nothing from the great conflict? Germany was prepared for war; did that prevent war? To prepare for war is to invite war. To prepare for war is to make war inevitable. The time has come for the world to prepare for peace.

As long as we tolerate an industrial and social system in which less than two per cent of the people own and control the nation's industries, the sources and means of life, as long as relatively few have it in their power to exploit the great masses, to appropriate to themselves the fruit of their labor, and to become fabulously rich while the great masses remain in poverty and dependency, we will have war and all the horrors of war.

WAR IS BUSINESS Every war for trade sooner or later becomes a war for blood. All of these capitalist nations are pitted against one another; and for what purpose? To achieve their own industrial and commercial supremacy. In order to accomplish this they must be prepared. They must have a great army, a powerful navy. They must pervert all human ingenuity to the cause of slaughtering human beings, and to the destruction of property. And that is capitalism—the private ownership by a handful of people, of all the sources and means of our common life.

We propose a great organic change. And it is for this change that I am going to plead with you briefly this afternoon. We make our appeal primarily to the workers, of all nationalities and creeds. We say that your interests are identical. It is your duty to unite upon the industrial field and upon the political field, to develop the forces that shall finally lead to your emancipation from the slavery of this age. Ours is an educational movement. It bides its time, it does not compromise, it realizes the masses can only be emancipated by themselves. And so in the name of the Socialist Party I appeal to you this afternoon. If you believe in freedom, instead of slavery. If you believe in peace rather than war: if you would rather that you and I and all of us stood side by side in the true spirit of humanity, than that we should be arrayed in rival hostile groups; if you believe in love instead of hate, in construction instead of

SOCIALIST PARTY (Continued on Page 14)

France Cheers American Workers

LONGUET'S REPLY TO DEBS

FRIENDS AND COMRADES: It is a marvelous spectacle to me and one never to be forgotten, this which greets me in your great city of Chicago. It is an audience such as I have seen but few times in my life. And while you do not wear black suits, like the people who greeted M. Clemenceau in the Metropolitan House in New York (Cries of "Boo! Boo!") while you are of course not of the higher classes, the so-called four hundred, who received the Tiger of France, I am much more honored to be received by you than I would be to be received by the people who greeted him.

But what makes my joy and what makes the honor greater, is that for the first time since he was released from the prison at Atlanta our great beloved Comrade Debs honors us with his presence here.—Debs, a name honored and loved by all the fighting proletarians of the world. Our great French writer, Anatole France, whom is at the same time one of the men we are proud to count among us politically, a Socialist and an internationalist, our great Anatole France has said, "When you are not slandered, when you are not denounced, when you are not put in prison, it is because you are not doing your duty." Your magnificent demonstration here today is proof that our friend Debs has been doing his duty.

I am going to speak to you today on a most important problem, the problem of the situation in Europe after the war. A subject which is not only of tremendous importance for all the people of Europe but for your people also; for at the present time no nation however powerful and however rich she may be, can pretend to live for their own life alone, without feeling the consequences of the misery and the suffering of the other peoples of the earth. And you have felt here in America, in the tremendous economic crisis through which you have been passing during the last year, you have felt the result of the sufferings and the unrest of Europe. Why, how can the people of Europe buy the products of your industries and of your farms, when they are all starving, and when the terrible problem of exchange raises the value of your money to such a rate that it is impossible for them to buy any product coming from your industries?

A typical illustration of this difficulty is given in an anecdote that is told in the funny papers about the conference at Genoa. When that conference broke up, the premiers asked for their bills at the hotel. Premier Lloyd George paid his account with a handful of English banknotes, and the proprietor was highly satisfied. The French delegates paid with some hundreds of francs,

which pleased them less. The German minister brought in a portfolio full of banknotes, which they were compelled to accept under protest. The Austrian minister gave them a check entitling them to the contents of a train load of Austrian banknotes standing in the yards. The Russian minister gave them a neatly engraved plate, from which they could print as many million rubles as they liked.

But this situation is not comic. The terrible sufferings which lie behind it render it a huge tragedy. It is the starvation of women and children in all the countries of Central Europe which gives this story its meaning. The misery which is going on. For after the awful slaughter of the war we have not obtained peace. We have war which continues under another form. And we have the direct menace of a military war again.

What are the causes of this terrible situation? It is above all because the war was continued, according to the phrase of Mr. Lloyd George to the knock-out blow; or as our jingoes phrased it, to the bitter end. I am not going to discuss the responsibility for the war, who brought it on. For that point, we have not yet all the information in our hands. The victorious revolutions in Germany and Russia have placed in our hands all the documents which show us the criminal conspiracies of the courts of Berlin and of Petrograd. But in France, in Italy, in Great Britain, we know only what the capitalist governments of those countries have been desirous to publish and so to give to us. So we have to wait.

But there is one thing that is clear. Until the last moment all the Socialists of the world fought to avert war. As our friend Debs has told you, I had the honor of being seated by the side of our great beloved leader Jean Jaures when he was assassinated. He had just returned from a great conference of the Socialists of Germany, of England, and of France and of the other European nations, called to bring about some concerted movement against war. When he came back to Paris he went direct to the foreign ministry, and told the secretary, M. Fery, that if the French Government did not accept the proposals of arbitration of Great Britain at that time, that if he was going to act in conformity with the will of the Russian Government, he would denounce them; and he announced "I will do this even though I may be shot at the next street corner." And, my comrades, three hours later—three hours after he had uttered these words in the French foreign office, he was assassinated in a cafe while I was sitting next to him, while we were dining peacefully, while we were giving all our hearts to a supreme effort to prevent the great slaughter.

Your great Lincoln was assassinated, but before he was murdered he had emancipated the black slaves, while Jaures was killed when Europe and the world needed him most.

At any rate we had to continue with our weak means. We went on and at the beginning I must say the task was very difficult. Because when the war broke out many of our people had lost their sense, they had become crazy with the war psychology.

The great cry which at the present time is still having its terrible effects, the great cry after the declaration of the war, was to continue the war to the so called bitter end. During those hours of cruel slaughter there were possibilities of ending the war, and the war continued because of the imperialistic desires and ambitions of the governing classes in France, Italy and England.

At the time of the call to the great Stockholm conference there was an immense desire among the masses of the suffering people and among the very men who were in the trenches, for peace. Among the men who were standing in the French parliament as representing the peace by negotiation party, we were receiving letters by the hundreds and by the thousands from soldiers saying that all their hopes were with the Stockholm conference and with the Socialist movement against war.

At the same time in the diplomatic and governing circles there were possibilities of peace. Proposals of peace were brought to Paris by the son-in-law of the Austrian Emperor, proposing the cession of Alsace Lorraine. But these proposals were contemptuously brushed aside because our imperialists, our jingoes, wanted to go on. They wanted to conquer, to take again the old traditional policy of dismembering the German Empire, to annex the left bank of the Rhine, which had been the dream of centuries. They continued the war because Italy wanted the Adriatic sea, wanted Dalmatia; because the British Government wanted the colonies of Germany and wanted to destroy the German fleet.

At that time we believed that it was possible over the heads of the governing classes to appeal to the people of Germany, and by their concerted efforts to oblige their own government to accept the desired peace we all wanted. But this failed. The Socialist movement was not strong enough, although at each moment we thought we were going to win. And that is why we have the sort of peace treaties that we have. They could not be different from what they were, because it was the direct outcome of the war psychology, of the great hatred that was brought about by the war, and of that great idea was established as a consequence of the war psychology that we must crush our en-

emies and that there can only be peace by crushing him.

Maynard Keynes, in his most remarkable book, the Economic Consequences of the War, has given a number of very typical scenes of the negotiations between the so-called Big Four, who will in the future appear as a very small size indeed. He shows how they were dominated by this very man who is now coming to this country to seek to convert it to his own military imperialism—M. Clemenceau.

Mr. Keynes describes him as a dry, bitter and tired person, having no confidence in any one but himself, hating all the people of the world more or less and seeing everything from the narrow point of view of French nationalism. Against this man, the diabolic trickery of the so-called Welsh wizard, Mr. Lloyd George, to whom the British people have just been giving such a fine lesson, the similar tactics of the Italian nationalist, what could Mr. Wilson do? He did not know much about European politics. Some people have said because he could not make them bargain with his demands, he bargained with his principles. But I will say that he appeared in this affair as absolutely weak, as absolutely un-

able in the face of clever people who were before him and he has put his signature to a treaty which was trampling upon all of the fourteen principles which he had flaunted to the eyes of the world.

This peace treaty was exactly the same kind of peace treaty we have had in the past. From the point of view of territorial arrangement there are a certain number of improvements. As again Mr. Keynes said, these were based upon the Wilsonian dogma which insisted upon division by race, territorial and national groupings, and entirely ignored the natural and necessary economic relationships, and thus plunged Europe into a sea of chaos.

But even this principle was not truly followed. The division of Poland for example was one of the great crimes of history, when the emperors of Austria, Russia and Prussia seized upon and separated its fragments among them. All through the 19th century the radical movement has been fighting against that crime, and perhaps you may remember that the great first International was founded by Karl Marx in 1864 at a meeting called in favor of the unification of Poland.

But the sort of Poland that was established by the peace treaty is made up of large populations which are not Poles at all; millions of Russians, Ukrainians and Germans have been included in the Polish state against their will, and millions of Jews are now being treated absolutely as enemies and not as citizens.

(Continued on Page 12)

The International March to Victory

Debs' Address at Banquet

HOW DEEPLY I thank our comrade here who has come all the way across the water at the psychological moment to resurrect and rejuvenate the Socialist movement in the United States! I am more wholly, more enthusiastically a Socialist than ever before in my life. (Applause.)

I received a letter the other day asking me if my fighting days were over. They have just fairly begun. My fighting days will never be over as long as capitalism curses the earth. Either capitalism or I will have passed away before my fighting days are over. I was in a cell down in Atlanta for awhile, and they thought they had me buried alive; but here I am with you tonight, more thoroughly alive than I ever was in my life before.

In the electric thrill of the noble, splendid, enthusiasm which springs from your hearts, so absolutely pure and sincere, I feel as if I had had a rebirth tonight, a fresh baptism, another consecration. I feel as if I were breathing out the spirit of spring time. I shall not grow old. An old Socialist is a contradiction in terms. A Socialist is perpetually young. We have found the spring of youth, and I feel as if I were a boy again tonight, just beginning my crusade against capitalism, just beginning to give myself to the greatest cause on earth.

What a time to live! In this situation after the great upheaval, the ruination of the world, we find ourselves confronted by a stupendous task, that staggers the ordinary mind; the task of rebuilding our ruined and destroyed world; the task to which only the International Socialist movement is equal. So I appeal to you tonight, whatever our differences may have been in the past, let us face the future as a unit. Let us unite the toilers on the industrial field in the bonds of industrial unionism. Let us make the Socialist party the true revolutionary expression of the working class on the political field.

The spirit of prophecy is upon me tonight. There are some things I know with a certainty which admits of no doubt. Tonight is the beginning of the recreation of the labor movement and the Socialist movement in the United States. It has come through the fiery baptism of war. And we may not know, some of us, that when the profiteers in the United States decided upon war, and when the war tocsin was sounded and the prostituted press began to inflame the minds of the public, and when politicians and preachers and time servers began to yell for war, then the Socialist Party stepped forth in its majesty and with a courage that amounted to heroism declared the war a crime against humanity.

Its ranks were decimated and its members persecuted, its meetings broken up, its halls invaded, its advocates sent to prison and some actually

murdered; but the party has held its ground staunchly from that time to this; and now the time has come for us to unite once more with those who temporarily left us, when the tempest broke, to win them back where they belong, because they belong nowhere else.

The development of a true revolutionary expression of the working class of America is a great task, and the greater the task the greater the privilege and duty of serving it.

The Soviet Republic of Russia still stands. I have differed with some of my comrades in this. While upon the one hand I have been and shall be for Soviet Russia against all the powers that menace and oppose it, I am not trying to build a Russian Soviet upon an American foundation.

As I look in your faces here tonight you inspire me with a confidence that admits of no doubt. I am not foolish enough to believe that from now on we shall sail upon perfectly smooth waters. We have combined against us all the powers of capitalism in the world. We do not know to what extent it is possible for them to make our work disagreeable, to obstruct our progress. But the struggle stimulates us to greater activity, inspires us to be more firm, more steadfast. To the extent that we are tried and tested, to that extent our powers are developed and strengthened. We stand together, side by side. We are class conscious, true to ourselves and each other, without reference to where we were born or what our color may be; simply recognizing the fact that we are in the same class, that our interests are identical. We rise or fall together, and our salvation depends upon our union and solidarity.

Karl Marx is to me something more than a towering personality, a great apostle. He was not only the founder of the International Socialist movement, but the incarnation of the spirit of the oppressed, of the downtrodden of all the earth. The world does not yet know that great intellect, that towering genius, that colossal man. When I mention his name I feel a thrill of inspiration. His grandson is here tonight.

His grandson is not great simply because he has the honor of being his descendant. He is great because of his own achievements in the Socialist movement. Ever since I heard of him years ago I have associated his name with the great cause to which we are all committed. He has been faithful in every hour of trial, true in every crisis. When he came he walked straight into our hearts. We are indebted to our comrades in Europe for having sent us this magnificent representative.

How very small the very great are.—Thackeray.

* * *

The love of liberty is the love of others; the love of power is the love of ourselves.—Anon.

Europe Rising from War

Longuet's Speech at Banquet

I CANNOT EXPRESS in my feeble words how moved I am by your warm and most fraternal greetings. Since I have been in this great country I have had many magnificent meetings, especially in New York; but what I have seen and heard and felt since I came to Chicago is even better. This is of course not the fault of the comrades in New York; it is that in their great city I had not the great honor and joy of having by my side our most beloved friend Debs.

Of course, I knew how much you love him; what an inspiration he was to the working class movement of this country. But when I saw today your reception at our big meeting this afternoon, when I saw how the beating of your hands was expressing the beating of your hearts, I have understood all of what he means for you, what he means for the labor movement, the Socialist movement, of this country. His devotion and his sufferings have of course increased even more that love you had, and which we all have for him.

In our country we do not know much about what is going on on the other side of the Atlantic, and I must say that generally speaking, the European movement knows little about America: but the name of Debs is everywhere loved and respected and revered by the labor movement of our country and of the world.

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

Our friend Branstetter has said some very kind words about the things I may have done, about what part I had to play during the trying times of the war. But I must say that if I was inspired by the right spirit, while so many of our comrades and friends at that time failed to see their duty, it is because I was perhaps more intimately than they in contact with the international movement, and because I saw what was being done on the other side of the great conflict by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Haase, Eisner and Ledebour in Germany, while at the same time in England by Smilie, Keir Hardie and MacDonald and the other members of that staunch band who remained faithful to the flag of International Socialism. Never for a moment did they betray our cause. It was also in some large degree because on the other side of the Atlantic I had seen the magnificent stand taken by the American Socialist Party.

And those whom I had seen so true to our flag standing were the great minds of the Socialist Party in this country, and at their head stood Debs. These have been certainly my great inspiration.

BITTERLY DENOUNCED

But you must not believe that I was alone. From the beginning in the French chamber of Deputies we have always been from 25 to 30 members strong, our group who stood firm for

International Socialism. I was more bitterly denounced than others, perhaps, because I happened to be the grandson of a great philosopher who was born in Germany.

Of course it was easy to appeal to the blind prejudice of people who did not know, making them believe that my attitude was not the result of my intimate convictions, and would have been the same whether we had been engaged in a war with Japan or China. This was, of course, the argument that was constantly used, and at the same time made my situation more difficult, when I was waging that battle for International Socialism in my country.

But by a most remarkable consequence, the more I was attacked, the more these workers of my country supported me all through that struggle. While I was insulted and menaced by those great "patriots" who were remaining safe hundreds of miles from the firing line, I had the great honor of receiving every day and every week, hundreds of letters from soldiers who were bleeding and dying; and who wrote to me over and over again that all their hopes and all their hearts were with those who were defending humanity against barbarism, against war! (Applause).

BITTER DIVISION

We have come through terrible trials. Our movement was bitterly divided, first of all by the question of war; in a perfectly fair and just way, our country of France, where we had ten of our departments invaded, there was a stronger appeal to patriotic sentiment than in any other country except Belgium.

Our Socialist movement in France has not been the direct outcome of the industrial conflict. It has been to a large degree the continuation of the traditions of our first revolution, which was a movement of our peasants and petty bourgeoisie, as much as of the wage workers.

DEMOCRACY SINCERE

And the result was that the mind of our Socialists is swayed by that tradition, which always combined during the 19th century until that dominant ideology of democracy. What was said in a spirit of mockery in your country about "making the world safe for democracy" was with our own people perfectly sincere. And it went on for a long time in that direction.

But when the end of the war came, many who had served for four years and three months in that most horrible slaughter came back extremely bitter. Many of them entered our party knowing nothing about Socialism, but only in a certain spirit of revolt because they had suffered very much. Having no just conception of Socialism they were at the same time imbued with a strong bitterness against those who had favored the "war to the bitter end."

The result was that they conquered the majority in our party in October, 1918, so that we had a majority composed of very enthusiastic and well meaning comrades who nevertheless had very little Socialist experience or knowledge. It was that new majority that gave us the leadership of the party in October, 1918. The direction of our great daily paper L'Humanite, which we have been building up by many years of strenuous effort, to a circulation of 100,000 daily, is controlled by the majority.

SPLIT ON RUSSIA

Whereas before the war we had only 70,000 members, at the 1920 elections we had 180,000 members, and our daily paper had a circulation of 200,000. Most unfortunately it was at that time that the split came. Those who had led the movement during the war were prepared to remain in agreement with our Russian comrades. We admitted, of course, the magnificent effort the Russian movement had put forth in the Russian revolution. We were all agreed that while the world wide capitalist system was trying to overthrow the Soviet Republic of Russia, it was the common interest of all the working classes of the world to see that it should not be overthrown, but that they should be able to continue their work.

TOO FAR AWAY

But at the same time we felt that it was not possible for the comrades in Russia, three thousand miles away from our country, to know better than we ourselves how we should conduct our movement.

We felt that it was necessary for us, before joining what was called a new International, to know that it should be really an international, with a real international spirit, and not dominated by the spirit of one nation alone. Now when we felt—those of us who really had lived through the world war, leading the battle against nationalism and militarism—when we saw that our Russian communist comrades felt that they knew better how to lead the movement than the French, British, German, and American comrades who were actually in control, we felt it would not be possible for us to agree. And at that time what happened?

JINGO COMMUNISTS

Comrades who during the war had not done their duty, who during the war had been among the most extreme jingoes and militarists, comrades like Marcel Cachin, who had gone to Italy to bring Italy into the war; who like nearly all the members of the communist block in the chamber of deputies had been on the side of militarism, decided that it was a good course to always say "yes" to those who shouted the loudest. So we had a split under most unfortunate conditions, especially unfortunate because while we did not want to do anything that would hurt the Russian Soviet Republic, we could not accept the dictatorship of the Soviet Republic. (Applause).

In France when our majority declared itself in favor of the Third International, the great majority of comrades did not decide the question on the merits of the case, but wanted to do two things: first to protest against our pro-war Socialists. The funny thing is that many of them had been among those very pro-war Socialists. Those most vigorous in denouncing their former stand had been the most prominent in the pro-war movement. That was one object.

LOYALTY TO REVOLUTION

And the other one was of course, an object that existed in the labor movement of every country, the desire to demonstrate their loyalty to the Russian revolution. They wished to do so all the more because our government was playing the most infamous part against the Russian revolution; because it was our government which had supported with most bitterness Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and the other adventurers who were trying to strangle the Soviet Republic. Our comrades felt it was so much more their duty to show their protest against this course of our government by accepting whatever was demanded by the Russians. The result was a split in which I found myself like many of our former minority comrades, with a certain number of our comrades of the right wing, which we had opposed during the war.

MINORITY RIGHT

The majority desired to exclude not only the right wing, the pro-war Socialists, but all the best comrades in our party, if they did not accept every syllable and every word that we received from Russia. Now that was, of course, impossible for us to accept. The result was the split—a most unfortunate condition. On their side was a majority of two-thirds of the Congress, and after the Congress a great majority of the members, who said "Where the majority is, there is the party." That section had at least 120,000 members, and we were left with less than 30,000 members. Our daily paper went, of course, with the majority; while we had a small evening paper, which we made a morning paper, with a circulation of 25,000.

Since then what has happened? Our German communist comrades, the largest section in the world outside of Russia, as a result of constant intrusions from Moscow, has dwindled and shrunk. Every month they expelled, and expelled, and expelled. They remind me of the Presbyterian priest of a very strict sect, who purified his congregation by constant expulsions until none were left but himself and his wife. He said "At least we are sure that we are saved." And his wife said "I am sure for myself, but not for you."

EXPPELLING ONE ANOTHER

Then comes the story of constant expelling, constant denouncing, constant splitting. At the last congress, the comrades of the Communist Party of France had destroyed itself according

(Continued on Page 16)

Wisps From Timothy Hay

By C. L. D.

The pen is fightier than the sword.
* * *

The mandate crop in the Orient is not turning out very well.
* * *

Marriage ties quite often are love-nots, sometimes three-in-hands.
* * *

British Royalty is celebrating the late elections in the bawl-room.
* * *

Everything changes but small change. It remains small.
* * *

Socialism will take the dollars off the eyes of Justice.
* * *

Profits from bootlegging are not always called boot-jack.
* * *

Anyway, who threw the mud in Mudania?
* * *

President Harding changes his mind on the Bonus Bill. Small change!
* * *

"Moonshine Slays Many." Just before the bottle, Mother!
* * *

The first citizen of France came a Longuet to greet Debs.
* * *

Many a politician will be compelled to eat crow this Christmas.
* * *

A prominent reformer claims the movie is the mother of crime. No one will deny it is the cinema.
* * *

It would be easy to settle the Dardanelles question if the nations were not all Balkan.
* * *

Should a train of thought crash through the mind of the average Congressman he would be left a mental wreck.
* * *

If your shirt front rattles against your backbone it is the echo of your vote falling into the ballot-box.
* * *

The average citizen is as far behind the times as the profiteers were behind the firing line.
* * *

Everyone should lie on the right side, says a physician. When you are on the right side you do not have to lie.
* * *

Until the Allies make peace with the Russian Bear there will always be trouble Bruin.
* * *

No, Clarence, you shouldn't call your little boy "Weather Strip" just because he kept you out of the "draft"!

Illinois' Governor may be Small but he is fair.
* * *

A government that cannot stand criticism has no right to exist.
* * *

"Kaiser Wedded at Doorn." Justice is hardly so blind as she is pictured.
* * *

The German Cabinet was not Wirth much.
* * *

While the rich control the brains the poor will have the chains.
* * *

Why trouble to go to the dogs? The wolves will come to your door.
* * *

The world may owe us all a flivving but only a crank can collect it.
* * *

Paderewski has given up politics. The Poles have probably installed a pianola. Machine!
* * *

Another election in England and there will be no royalty left but the Prince of Wails.
* * *

The British workers can endure a monarchy some time yet but they will stand no jo-king.
* * *

Give the scrapping nations enough Eu-rope and they will yet hang themselves.
* * *

A man paid \$2,500 for one-half interest in a honey bee. Some candidates were stung much worse.
* * *

Science should be able to remedy the world's ills but not with trigger-nometry.
* * *

The Government will collect for Wall Street in Hayti, Santa Domingo and Nicaragua. Three shears for Uncle Sam!
* * *

A Yankee was arrested in Paris for trying to sell a hotel he did not own. That's the American Plan.
* * *

Radical preachers still have their troubles though the Great War was fought for the "Freedom of the Sec."
* * *

The fur craze has struck Japan. Every japflap will now have her Eskimono.
* * *

It is encouraging to note that the "wets" did not elect many candidates to the boot-legislatures.
* * *

"Seek Invention to Neutralize Bullets." It would be the next best thing to shooting the shoots.

"Armour Defies Government in Beef Merger." The slam what am!
* * *

Daugherty and his Department will hardly be able to survive their Burns.
* * *

Cupid seems to have exchanged his dart for a harpoon.
* * *

Oil does not seem to smooth the 'roubled waters of the East.
* * *

Why not hold a consortium and see if we can't arrange a moratorium.
* * *

In the final vote on long and short skirts the eyes seem to have it.
* * *

The workers of Pennsylvania should learn something after being both Peppered and Pinchot.
* * *

Wall Street has a new Butler on the Supreme Bench.
* * *

Under Labor's influence Brittania may decide to waive the rule instead of rule the wave.
* * *

Kemal is ordering foreigners out of his capital; Lenin is content with ordering capital out of his foreigners.
* * *

The Kaiser's marriage is strongly reminiscent of the famous words of Captain Hull: "I have just begun to fight."
* * *

"King of Hedjaz May Resign." Might as well. That kind of jazz isn't the rage anyway.
* * *

"Ford Erecting Mammoth Plant in Germany." It is far better to rattle a Ford than a saber.
* * *

"Cost of Clothing Coming Down." It is high time prices had a clothes shave.
* * *

The screen beauty hailed as a "comet" quite often turns out to be a shooting star.
* * *

Many a candidate dreamed his goose was "hanging high" but woke up to find himself a lame duck singing a swan song.
* * *

On all shipments from branch mills the Steel Trust adds the shipping rate from Pittsburgh. The irony of freight.
* * *

Europe can now choose between the black or the red. Black hand, black shirts, and black troops, or red freedom.

FRANCE CHEERS AMERICAN WORKERS
(Continued from Page 7)

They gave back Alsace Lorraine, a reparation of a crime which had been denounced by Marx, Liebknecht, and Bebel, who suffered eighteen months in imprisonment for having denounced it in 1871. But we Socialists believed that it would have been more just to ask the people of Alsace Lorraine what they wanted, asking their consent. What Bismarck did not do in 1871, what we ought to have done at that time if we had been faithful to that promise.

But whatever we may think of that, those territorial decisions are perhaps the least to be blamed. But what about the population of 600,000 Germans in the Saar Valley, who have been taken away from their own nation under the pretext of giving the coal of the basin for reparation for the French mines which have been destroyed. Are they to be considered as only a part of the coal or are they human beings to be given the rights to decide to whom they belong?

The treaties with Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey are open to the same objections. But after all the territorial arrangements of these treaties are not the worst. The economic decisions are the worst. It is the fixation of huge indemnities, which to be paid would reduce the whole of the nations to absolute slavery. The great crime from that point of view has been to include in the peace treaty and in the indemnity not only the payment of devastated regions of France, but also payment for all the war pensions of France, England and Belgium.

The result is to bring the total to such a huge sum that it is impossible for the German nation to pay it. At the same time it is absolutely contrary to the interest of the French nation, because if it had been only reparation for the devastated area of France, we should have had 92 per cent of the indemnity, whereas we bring in this enormous sum that cannot be collected, of which France is paid but 52 per cent.

But what is worse than all this, is the hatred that has been established between the nations of Europe. Huge military armaments during the war, when our boys were dying by the thousand, were justified by our jingoes, who used to say, "Let us go on, not for a military victory but to end forever with war, so that our sons shall never more see what we have seen; gas bombs thrown over our cities, whole provinces reduced to a mass of ruins, 1,400,000 of the sons of France alone fallen on the battlefield, out of a population of 38,000,000. Now if you don't want to see this again," we were told, "if you want to have a real peace, we must continue the war." And that was the only thing which gave courage to a lot of those poor boys who believed that they were not

fighting for a military victory but for the establishment of a world safe for democracy and secure against war.

As a matter of fact we are in France at the present time saddled with a huge army of 700,000 men, and that in a nation which has been so cruelly affected by the war while the population is decreasing. Where all the powers of labor and of intelligence should be employed for rebuilding the nation, we assign all young men for eighteen months to the barracks for military drill, because we still have a compulsory military system. And that is the system which Mr. Clemenceau established. Yet he says it is an insult to call him a militarist.

Clemenceau—and let it be understood that it is not a personal quarrel with him; the quarrel is with the capitalist jingo party to which he belongs, and not with him—has been denouncing the German nation as wanting war again; and in his speech, in a mass of extraordinary contradictions, he tells us "Germany wants war," and at the same time he tells us that it is the Pan-German party of Ludendorff and Hindenburg which is fighting against the German Republic who want to overthrow the republic, who want the war. It is, then, not the German people; and how can we reproach the whole German people for the crimes of these military conspirators?

He speaks of the armed menace of an alliance between the Germans and the Russians. Now the very man who has no right to reproach the Russians with having come nearer to the Germans during the recent years, it is certainly this Clemenceau—the man who sent the sailors of the French fleet to the Black Sea to turn their guns against the cities which were flying the red flag of international Socialism. Those sailors were not Socialists and did not know much about our theory, but they readily understood that their government had no right to make a war against a nation with whom war had not been declared; and so one morning the spectators on shore were astonished to find the red flag flying from all the battleships of the French fleet. The sailors who had done this under the leadership of a young engineering officer, Leon Matti, were brought back to France under formal pledges that they would not be prosecuted, and that no war would be declared against Russia. But by means of the censorship Clemenceau suppressed all news about this great event, and even today there are many among you who do not know of it. The sailors were promised that they would not be prosecuted; but in spite of the word of honor of the administration, sixty leaders of the sailors were court-martialled and sentenced to from ten to twenty years at hard labor.

Immediately, when this thing was known a tremendous agitation began among our people, and at all the local municipal elections and state elections those men were put up as candidates of the Socialist Party.

We had no particular hope of having them elected, but did this as a way of showing our protest. Matti was elected at least ten times; three times he was elected municipal counsellor of Paris; to the local legislature of ten different departments. On last July the government felt so uneasy with this great protest of the common people that they decided to pardon all of those men. Only a week ago, in the first district of Paris,—not a purely proletarian district—we have written in once more as one of the counsellors of Paris the name of the officer Matti.

Now M. Clemenceau, who has brought about this situation, has no right to reproach Soviet Russia that it has tried to find some helping hand in Germany or with Turkey. One thing is quite sure: Mr. Clemenceau either does not know what he says, or does not believe it, when he tries to convince us that Soviet Russia would be prepared to make an alliance with Ludendorff. The very idea of such an alliance is an absolute absurdity.

We have for the maintenance of the people of the world only one great hope; it is in the growing class consciousness of the masses, in the growing force of the labor and Socialist movement of the world over. At the present time we have from that point of view some good news. We have all read a few days ago of the magnificent results that our comrades in Great Britain have achieved at the polls. One hundred and forty-two labor members have been elected to the House of Commons.

And among them there is a great and growing section of Socialists, and not of merely labor men. They are men who were denounced, as I have been in my country and as Debs has been in your country; men who have been denounced during the war as traitors, as pro-Germans; and those men have been even sentenced like our beloved Debs, and thrown into prison.

E. D. Morel, who had written a quite harmless and inoffensive note to Romain Rolland in Switzerland, was for that very little and inoffensive thing sentenced to nine months at hard labor. One of the finest things about the election is that Winston Churchill, who organized with Clemenceau all the dirty tricks against the Russian Soviet Republic, who sent money and men, the money of the toiling poor in England and France, to support Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel—Churchill was badly defeated by this same E. D. Morel in Dundee. Ramsay McDonald, Philip Snowden, all the men who waged a fight in England in favor of a just peace by negotiation and against continuation of the slaughter, who were among the

most bitterly denounced a few years ago, have been triumphantly elected to the House of Commons.

Now in our country you must not believe that all our people share the views of Mr. Clemenceau. He does not represent France, any more than Mr. Schwab and Pierpont Morgan represent America. They represent the "sword of France," which is made by the war profiteers and who expect to prevent the rising of the working classes and the victory of the Socialist by exciting the hatred of one section of the working class against their fellow working men in other countries. He represents that France, but there is another France, as there is another England than that of the Churchills and another America than that of the Schwabs and the Morgans. It is that France that I am speaking for today, and for which I am able to bring to you a message of complete understanding and love for our great common battle against our common enemies of all the world.

We do have difficulty; we have been going through divisions, and all the miseries of constant splits; but at the present time the rank and file understand one great and tremendous thing; that these divisions only help our common enemy. A few weeks ago I was taking part in a big demonstration of our miners. And over their heads were the red flags that had written on them this slogan:

"All that unites is revolutionary; all that divides is reactionary."

It is under those ideas that we are preparing for the big fight we shall have in our next general election in 1924. Now we can see already in the most recent elections, the local and by-elections, that the present so-called "national bloc" will be overwhelmingly defeated by the advanced parties, and that our Socialist Party as such will be again at least 120 members strong in our chamber of deputies.

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A Magazine of Militant Socialism

Chief Contributor
EUGENE V. DEBS

Editor Managing Editor
IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER CHARLES L. DRAKE

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Meanwhile our comrades the Germans are uniting. They have now accomplished again their re-grouping into one great Socialist Party with 14,000,000 members. They have behind them

REDS WILL WIN nearly twelve million voters at the last general elections. And when

Mr. Clemenceau tells you that the workers of Germany want war he has never yet faced any of those twelve million workers who are uniting against all slaughter, against all war.

The greatest trade union in Germany, the greatest union in the world in point of numbers, is the German metal workers union, with eighteen million members. And at their recent convention they voted unanimously for the declaration of a general strike in case of another war.

A resolution to the same purpose has been passed at the recent congress of all the trade unions of the world; I am sorry to have to say, with the exception of the Americans only.

PEACE PACIFISTS The bourgeois pacifists—I am not speaking of those who are only for peace in time of peace; but those who were with us shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart in time of war; even if they do not believe with us, let us welcome them in rallying our forces for peace of the world. They are welcome when they fight against militarism, against imperialism, against the recurring threat of a world slaughter.

But we expect from you, friends in America, the support of a big and powerful Labor and Socialist movement; because whatever may be the good will of progressive liberals and pacifists and bourgeois, it is only by the united forces of our socialist and labor movement that we can face the terrific future which Comrade Tucker who spoke here just before me, has outlined. The next year, if it comes, will be twenty times worse than all that we have seen during the four years and three months of the misery and suffering we have known. It would nearly kill civilization,

GREAT SOUL and throw us back into the dark ages of barbarism. One force alone can prevent it. It is the great force of the international working class.

We have in this country great possibilities for the labor movement. It is now as our friend Hillquit put it, "The American Socialist movement has been until now a great soul with a small body." We must build up that great body; and I see already in the remarkable victories of the Farmer-Labor Party all over your country the hope of a new world and of a better day.

Our friends the bourgeois revolutionists took as a slogan, and wrote everywhere, even upon the walls of our prisons, those fine words, "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality." Now we know that these can only be accomplished by the victory of the labor and socialist movements of the world. Let us work for it.

AMERICA'S GREETING TO FRANCE

E. V. Debs

(Continued from Page 5)

destruction, if you have faith in the destiny of the human race; if you would like to see this nation and all nations transformed, humanity humanized, and civilization civilized, so that we might begin to march to a diviner state, to a higher and nobler civilization—then join this conquering movement, and do your share in the service of our glorious ideals unto their ultimate and complete triumph.

ULTIMATE TRIUMPH The workers are responding to this call in ever increasing numbers. Their hosts are moving toward the sunrise. But there are many opponents of the new day. So often we are misunderstood, so often maligned; now persecuted and imprisoned, now put to death.

We have paid and are paying the penalty for having ideas in conflict with the established order of things. It is so easy to belong to the unthinking majority, to drift with the tide. It is a difficult thing to develop initiative enough to have an opinion of your own, and to have moral courage to express it even if you have to stand alone.

I can understand all the sacrifices that have been made in the cause through all the ages, all along the highway from barbarism to civilization, by men and women who bore the burden that you and I might enjoy some degree of liberty today. We can to some extent discharge that

CROWN TYRANTS debt by doing all that in us lies to further their work. Is it not strange that mankind is ever ready to crown its tyrants, deify its exploiters and oppressors, and to crucify those who would liberate it from thralldom!

But I am not a pessimist. I believe in the ultimate destiny of mankind. I feel, I know that in this struggle, however fiercely it may wage, all those latent powers within us are being developed; that we are expanding to our true proportions. I would far rather be in jail with my self respect than in the street with a gag upon my lips!

I despise and I defy their despotic laws. It is a rather curious citizenship we have at present. We are supposed to have certain guaranteed rights under our constitution. I am not speaking of myself in this connection. I have no such

NOT A CITIZEN rights, because while I was born in the state of Indiana, I am not a citizen of the United States.

(A voice: "You are a citizen of the world!")

My conscience cost me my citizenship. It is better than if my citizenship had cost me my conscience. Our capitalist masters have great ingenuity for doing things to preserve and promote their own interests. They have a happy habit of converting their corporation attorneys into

federal judges. We have one hundred and twenty-one of them in the United States, and every solitary one of them was placed in power by corporate capital. Every one of them is responsible to the interests that placed him where he is.

And when a Federal Judge exercises his powers in any issue between the corporations and the workers, he is obedient to the masters who seated him on the bench. You never heard of one of them issuing an injunction restraining the masters from starving their workers, did you? No, and you never will.

We are very largely today under the rule of federal judges. Every Federal Judge has power to set aside the Constitution of the United States.

DEFY THE JUDGES

We had an instance in Chicago just recently, when a Federal Judge issued an injunction which absolutely deprived the working class of every right guaranteed them under our constitution. And if I had been here, I would have stood up like a man and defied his injunction.

When a Governor issues his call to the state militia to march forth with guns in their hands to deal out their messengers of death, it is always in one direction that they are ordered. You never heard of a governor calling out soldiers to shoot capitalists! (Laughter.) And you never will. It is simply because we live under a capitalist class government, and the real capital of this nation is in Wall Street. Congress is its standing committee. It appoints the Federal Judges, who not only administer the laws, but also make the laws. They are not elected by the people, and are not responsible to the people, and cannot be removed by the people. They are under no obligation to the people. They hold a life tenure. President Jefferson said of them, "There are no vacancies by resignation, and few by death."

LIFE DESPOTS

Only this week a notorious corporation lawyer was appointed to the United States Supreme Court, a man whose appointment is even now being protested by the people of the state in which he lives. The administration in all its branches is in favor of the few who have all and produce nothing, and against the great masses who produce all and have nothing.

Capitalism is seeking by all the means at its command to keep the people in subjection. But in spite of that there are those who have the courage to be rebels, and I am proud to say I am one with them, however few they be, until at last the people are awakened all over the country and move forward in one solid phalanx to take possession of the nation and its industries, and to operate them not for the enrichment of the few but to produce happiness for every man, woman and child in the land. (Applause.)

And when that day comes we will have the universal republic. We will have real self-government for the first time in history. Mankind will be free, and it will begin the march to the divinest civilization that the world has ever known.

I want to say a word about the recent **BRAVE MAGON** death in prison at Leavenworth of Ricardo Flores Magon, who was deliberately put to death by the Department of Justice of the United States Government. I have known this man for many years. He was a Mexican who was educated, cultured, who belonged to what are called the better classes, who turned his back upon all his personal interests and stood forth as a champion of the peons of Mexico. With a courage born of true heroism he fought their battles. Driven from his own country he came to the United States, and at once the blood hounds were placed upon his track; he was arrested and imprisoned.

Ricardo Magon opposed the war, as I did; and for the expression of his opinion in his little paper he was sentenced to 21 years in the Federal prison at Leavenworth. It is incredible, this absolute savagery on the part of the Government. He was threatened with blindness. His friends appealed for clemency and it was denied, although the man was dying. All his life he had been a martyr, completely forgetful of himself. He stood forth in the spirit of the Man of Galilee, and espoused the cause of the suffering poor. And this might well be carved as his epitaph: "This hero, this martyr of humanity, was put to death by slow torture by the Government of the United States."

I plead for Tom Mooney and for Warren K. Billings. All the world now knows that Tom Mooney is an absolutely innocent man, convicted upon perjured testimony, imprisoned for his incorruptible honesty. As long as he stays in prison the State of California stands disgraced before the nations of the world.

I appeal to those of you who are with us who believe in our principles, who are in harmony with our ideals, to join the Socialist Party and help us on with our work. Don't wait until it is popular. We won't need you then. But join us now, when the going is hard, when it is difficult to make converts, when the task is certain to call forth the best that is in you.

FINAL VICTORY Help to spread our literature, help to disseminate our arguments, help to bring others into our ranks. Come with us. Join with us. We need you now. Step forward with us in our march toward the divinest civilization the world has ever seen, the glorious fellowship of the Brotherhood of Man! . . .

EUROPE RISING FROM WAR

(Continued from Page 10)

to their own secretary's report, until out of 130,000 members that they had only 15 months ago, they had only 70,000 left, and those 70,000, I am sure, are much over estimated.

Since that time the communists have gone absolutely mad, denouncing each other and threatening wholesale expulsions. When the majority would pronounce itself with Cachin, an emissary would come from Tchitcherin and pronounce the majority wrong and the minority right; and now the minority of that minority is appealing to Moscow to have action taken against the majority of the minority. They are going to pieces.

The pity of it is that of those 120,000 members which have been lost since the split in France, nearly nine-tenths of them have not come back to us. They are utterly disgusted and remain cold. It is that apathy, that discouragement which has thus been brought about which is the worst thing and the most to be regretted.

COMING BACK

Meanwhile our movement has grown. We are at the present moment nearly 60,000 members strong, which means that we are as far as members are concerned nearly on the same footing as our comrades the communists.

It is now our task to rebuild and reunite the

Socialist Party of France. I do not say that all is wrong with our comrades on the other side, and all is right with us. I think the good of the Socialist movement is in the unity of all elements. When we are divided, naturally every party thinks it is in the right. There is no doubt that our right wing is too strong. But I expect that in the near future we shall see the end of these tactics. All over Europe at the present time there is a great demand from the rank and file for ending our splits and divisions, which only help our common enemy, the capitalist system.

"UNITE"

My friends, if your country has given me, as our friend Debs was good enough to say, the opportunity to bring a new inspiration, a new ardor, a new enthusiasm and desire for propaganda and for the victory of the Socialist movement to this country, it will have been a great reward for all my labor and travail.

I want to tell you again how blessed I am to be among you, how hopeful I am for the future of Socialism in this great country, and how much more I feel that whenever the Socialist movement advances in one country the world over, the movement progresses everywhere. More than ever that great battle cry rings out that was first given to the world more than seventy years ago "Workers of the world, unite!"

From the Field

I feel so decidedly that Debs Magazine must go on. I am 82 years old but circulate the magazine wherever I find willing readers. Enclosed find \$5.20.

—Patience W. Kent, West Grove, Pa.

I am hard hit by "Normalcy" but your list of editors cannot be resisted. If we never see the better day we can at least read some of its message. Find a dollar bill herewith.

—J. W. Barr, Neosho, Mo.

Send me "Debs" for one year. It is one of the greatest periodicals published for the emancipation of the producers.

—Wm. Blansett, Mahank, Tex.

I am going to "stick" and I beg and hope that you will.

—Sig Dan, Los Angeles, Calif.

I want to tell you how much I appreciate the copy of Debs Magazine No. 1, you sent me. I consider it more valuable than the rest. Will send in a bunch of names soon.

—H. M. Statz, Washington, D. C.

The November sample was a little small but I know it will grow. I will do all I can to boost Debs Magazine.

—Dick Ward, Depew, Okla.

Do I want "Debs"? I'll say I do! Anything that bears the name of that Trojan of the Cause, with his endorsement, I want with all my heart.

E. F. Strickland, Benton Harbor, Mich.

Debs Magazine is superior to all other magazines, and I have read all that money can buy. Enclosed find One Dollar.

—Harry B. Hoch, Green Island, N. Y.

There is only one remedy for Capitalism and that is for us to win. I want to work for the Cause of Freedom and die for it if necessary.

—Lillian H. French, Burlington, Ia.

A WORD FROM McBRIDE

Berlin, Germany.

Comrades:

I just came out of Russia and expect to remain here for at least a month before returning to the States. Something may happen here soon. I am going to write some stuff in the next week and will send you articles for Debs Magazine. I went through the Industrial Center of Russia this time and have something to tell that I think is new.

Kind regards, Isaac McBride

PUBLIC SPEAKING

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