

LINCOLN NUMBER

DEBS

10¢ a copy Magazine \$1.00 a year



Vol. 2

FEBRUARY, 1923

339

No. 18

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PLEASE TAKE NOTICE

A few changes made for the good and welfare

After February 1st, the Subscription Rate of Debs Magazine in the City of Chicago and to foreign countries will be \$1.25 per year. This increase is necessary to cover extra postage.

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In remitting funds to Debs Magazine, please send currency or postal order, when possible. If personal check is forwarded, kindly add the price of exchange at this end.

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Debs Magazine needs circulation as well as money. Therefore we suggest that comrades wishing to push the good work along, instead of renewing their own subscription several years ahead, take the time to enlist a few of their neighbors, who in turn will spread the glad tidings, thus rolling up the big army needed to make Debs Magazine a power for the Cause.

* * *

The most convenient way to secure new readers is with the use of sub cards. Send for a bunch, \$1.00 each.

NAMES NEEDED

One great obstacle to rolling up the circulation required in the educational campaign of Debs Magazine is the lack of names of the Socialists and workers we want to reach. These are difficult to obtain because of the disorganized condition of the radical ranks. Therefore, we earnestly request all of our readers to send in all the names of neighbors and shopmates who are now, or were interested in the propaganda of Socialism. This will take but a few minutes of your time and be a great help to the cause. If you belong to a Socialist local or radical union, send in all the members' names. However, we do not want the names of those who are not interested. So please send live names only. SEND THEM NOW!

DEBS MAGAZINE

59 East Van Burent Street

Chicago, Ill.

FOR A UNITED WORKING CLASS ON EVERY FRONT
DEBS MAGAZINE

A Magazine of Militant Socialism

Vol. 2

CHICAGO, ILL., FEBRUARY, 1923

No. 18



**A WORD WITH
OUR FRIENDS**

Eugene V. Debs

"The need of a working class press was never so urgent, never so imperative as it is today. Help us build up this Magazine and make it a power in the great, liberating movement of our time."

IT has been a hard struggle on the part of the editor and manager of this Magazine to keep it alive through the war and its aftermath in which so many Socialist and other radical publications were forced to suspend on account of the reign of terror inaugurated by the "dollar-a-year" thieves and their mobs of dupes and sycophants in their vulgar, cowardly and degenerate exhibition of "one hundred per cent Americanism." But the storm has been weathered and the battle won.

The Magazine lives in spite of the persecution to which it has been subjected and it must therefore have a mission. Else it would have perished. The brave spirit, the intrepid courage, the unfaltering fortitude which sustained and carried it through vindicated beyond question the right of the Magazine to live and to serve the cause to which it is committed and consecrated.

This Magazine is published to help to the extent of its ability to overthrow the despotic, oppressive, and corrupt capitalist system and to establish a real republic based upon socialized co-operative indus-

cation of the workers which also means their industrial and political organization. To be more specific it stands for the industrial union as against the craft unions and for independent political action in a working class party with an uncompromising working class program.

try and the freedom of the workers. To this end it stands primarily for the edu-

This Magazine therefore urges all workers without regard to nationality, color, creed or sex in a given industry to unite in one and the same union so that all may make common cause in the struggle for emancipation. The country today is filled with the wreckage of craft union failure while at the same time the high salaried leaders are crying vociferously for the perpetuation of the outgrown and corrupt system of craft unionism which keeps the workers divided and pitted against each other, playing directly into the hands of the corporation bosses.

The same appeal is made to the workers to sever their relations with capitalist parties and to unite in the Socialist party which stands for their interests as against the interests of their capitalist exploiters.

Published Monthly by Freedom Publishing Co., 59 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill

"Entered as Second Class Matter August 6, 1921 at the Post Office, Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1897."

In the Socialist party, standing together with a united front, they can develop political power and use that power to destroy the capitalist system in which the workers are enslaved and robbed, and to establish a real republic in which the workers shall be free.

This briefly is what this Magazine was established for, and what it has struggled and is now maintained for. Its sole purpose is to serve the workers, the toiling and producing masses, and point to them the way to freedom and help them in every way in its power to achieve it. It has no other mission, no other claim to the right to live.

In the name of the class struggle we make our appeal to the workers of America and the world. We wish our position made perfectly clear and unmistakable. There are demagogues who claim to stand for "all the people" in this struggle of the workers against the class that robs them and keeps them in subjection with the gunman, the bludgeon and other forms of force and violence. They are hypocrites, full of deceit and duplicity, who prey upon the ignorance of the people and as a matter of fact are the enemies of "all the people."

We do not stand for "all the people" in the class struggle that is shaking to its foundations the rotten fabric of the world's capitalist "civilization." We stand for the workers and producers and therefore against their exploiters and oppressors.

We propose that the workers, relying upon themselves, shall arouse from their help to some extent in widening our circlethargy, their indifference, their stupor; that they shall wake up and feel the stir of the twentieth century spirit that is making its appeal to the world; that they shall recognize their common identity and kinship in all lands under the sun; that they shall read the awakening literature of their class, think for themselves, realize the conquering power of unity and soli-

arity, clasps hands across all boundary lines regardless of race or creed, unite and present a solid front industrially, politically, co-operatively and in every other way, and together wage the class struggle for the overthrow of wage-slavery and for their own emancipation.

With this candid statement we feel that we have a right to appeal to our readers to help us build up this Magazine and make it a power in the great liberating movement of our time. Each reader can culcation and therefore making more effective our appeal to the people.

The need of a working class press was never so urgent, never so imperative as it is today. During the war the voice of the working class, except in so far as it echoed the voice of the master class, was all but strangled. In the recent railroad and coal strikes, both of which were disastrously lost and left thousands of workers and their families stranded and starving, the workers had no press worthy of the name. The people were fed up daily, hourly, with the falsehoods and calumnies of the capitalist papers, the corporation organs, but the feeble voice of labor could scarcely be heard while the capitalist courts bound and gagged the strikers with their infamous injunctions and literally lied them into disrepute and disaster.

Yes, dear reader, the working class needs a press of its own; an honest, clear-cut and fearless press to fight its battles and to blaze the way to peace and freedom.

The working class needs this Magazine and if you have interest in the working class to the extent of wishing it to conquer in this great struggle upon which depends the freedom of the race and the salvation of the world, then we have a right to ask you to set to work at once and see how many additional subscribers you can place upon our rolls and thereby do your share to reach and educate the people and hasten the dawn of humanity's triumphant emancipation.

"Only By Your Aid Can This Magazine Fulfill Its Mission! Can We Count Upon You?"

LINCOLN WAS HUMAN

By John M. Work

ON A BALMY autumn day in 1862, it is said, a farmer boy, who had run away from home, to enlist, but found himself up against an obstacle because he was under age, was sleeping on a bench in a park in Washington.

When he opened his eyes he saw a homely man with a lined face and awkward drooping shoulders sitting on the other end of the bench. This man was reading aloud from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, and talking aloud to himself about what he had read. Soon he noticed that the boy was awake, struck up a conversation with him, and learned his story. He tried to dissuade the boy from enlisting, but, failing in that, walked with him to the recruiting station and stood sponsor for him. There the boy found out who he was, and tried to express his astonishment at the commonness of the man, but was dumb. Lincoln read his mind and said, "Yes—just folks, sonny, just folks." He gave the boy his autographed copy of *Cymbeline*, shook his hand, and walked slowly and thoughtfully away to his absorbing duties.

I am an admirer—not a worshipper—of Lincoln. All great men are great only in some respects. They all have their faults. It is not in order to use superlatives about them. No one can be called the greatest, for one would have to know everybody in order to tell. Some unheard of person might be greater. You know what Thomas Gray says in his *Elegy*, "Full many a gem of purest ray serene the dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear; full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air."

The incident related above indicates that Lincoln was quite human, a man of sympathy, a brotherly man. It is this that I admire most in him.

In recent years there has been a tendency to dehumanize Lincoln—to idealize him—to make of him a superman.

This tendency is to be deplored. I wish we could keep him as he was—with all his fine qualities and with all his faults. I want him to remain the intensely human being that he was—completely in sympathy with the common people.

In order to appreciate him, it is not necessary to maintain that he always said or did the right thing. He was more interested in saving the union than in abolishing slavery. I am sure that I would have been more interested in abolishing slavery than in saving the union.

At the present time it is not certain that the final verdict of history will justify the civil war.

I shall not attempt to settle that matter, but would call attention to the fact that it has been questioned.

Ernest Crosby seriously questioned it. He said the North measured greatness by bigness, implying that the South had a right to secede if it wanted to. He said also that the incidental good—the freeing of the chattel slaves—was an illusive, unsubstantial freedom at best, freedom by law but not from the heart—and he asked whether it quite balanced the scales.

W. E. B. DuBois, well known Negro thinker, rather sadly refers to the fact that he who was called the great emancipator was willing to save the union without emancipating the slaves, if that could have been done.

It is historically true that, although slavery brought on the war, the North went into the war for the purpose of preserving the union, not for the purpose of abolishing slavery. Slavery was abolished when its abolition became desirable as a war measure.

Yet the abolition of slavery was the only moral justification for the war. Clearly it was not in his stand on that point that Lincoln was great.

In my judgment, his greatness consisted in his accurate knowledge of human nature—his genius for working successfully with all sorts of people—his kindness—his patience—his poise—his appreciation even of his enemies—his lack of malignance toward the rebels and toward his personal enemies and critics—above all, his deep love of and sympathy with the common people.

He sprang from the commonest of the common people. He endured all the hardships known to the common lot. He knew the psychology of the common man by innermost experience as well as keen observation. His sympathy with the common people was of the utmost sincerity. He was a real democrat. He never was more serious at bottom than when he made the oft-quoted whimsical statement that God must love the common people because He made so many of them. He said this because with his great heart he loved the common people himself.

It was because of his deep sympathy with the common people that he was a real democrat. On account of that sympathy, and on account of his expressions regarding the menace of corporations and his expressions regarding labor and capital, it is safe to say that if he were now living he would be a Socialist. The years that have elapsed since his death have been filled with exactly the kind of industrial evolution that would

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COMMENT

THE BALTIC DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE called by the Red Republic at Moscow has fallen flat. Lenin well knows the gigantic cost of modern war is borne on the bare backs of the people. Lenin speaks for the people and he wants to quit. They won't let him.

* * *

Poincare, smug capitalist militarist of France, also knows who pays for the savage military program of France. He is not ready to stop the killings in Europe. Therefore Poland is not permitted to sign up with Russia and neighboring nations.

* * *

Russia wants 75% reduction in forces, Poland, under France's domination, will only agree to 25%. "Barbaric" Russia strives to follow the road to peace and good-will in Europe. "Civilized" France insists upon war, war, war! Russia will go ahead with disarmament, anyway. Which proves that the "red hordes" of Darkest Russia are at least a thousand times ahead of enlightened France in the scale of progress.

* * *

Stefansson says that the climate of the North Pole is warmer than that of North Dakota in winter. He wants people to go up there to live. That may be necessary some time, but not now. No doubt it is far more pleasant than many places the workers live at present. Still there are millions of acres of land here at home that belong by right to the people and we are going to have it.

* * *

All we need is a presidential proclamation restoring the immense tracts of land, stolen by railroads and land speculators, back to the people as Lincoln restored the slaves to nominal freedom. This has been done in Russia and Mexico and it can be done here when the dispossessed get a little horse sense and vote for their own interests as the capitalists vote for theirs.

* * *

Dr. Percy Grant is off the reservation. He claims among other things that the church should serve the people and not cling to age-worn phrases, rituals and ceremonies such as the heathen use. The church has always fought within itself and will continue fighting. Yet Dr. Grant has made some good points or they would not resent it so. In fact he has a full program of "points" all his own. One of them is that the two billions of church property in America should be used throughout the week and not just a few hours during services. You are quite right, Dr.

Grant, and the socialists have long fought for this very idea. Buildings, of a social character, should be always ready for the use of those who have built them.

* * *

When all the churches were yelling for the blood of the Huns and the sane, peace-loving people wanted a shelter to organize and strengthen their ranks to follow the humble Nazarene they were refused at every point. They had no place to congregate. Their leaders were jailed and mobbed, some were even lynched, for objecting to the murder of their fellow men. Where was the church then? Crying for the blood of the Huns at the command of the war profiteers. The church deserves little sympathy. It failed in the crucial hour. "As ye sow, so shall ye reap!"

* * *

The financial program just adopted by Mexico provides 45 million pesos for education and only 32 million for the army. This is indeed atrocity carried to the extreme. Any country that spends 50% more to enlighten its citizens than it does to kill its neighbors is too far down on the ladder of civilization to be a fit associate for our fat, oily dippyplomats in Washington.

* * *

So Mexico must continue unrecognized while the buccaneers in control of America and her immediate destinies are busy scheming a thousand ways to loot the public treasury and feather their nests for many years to come. At least until the workers take charge of their own affairs and put these members of the plunderbund to earning their living on the rock pile.

* * *

Compare this, with our program which allows 86% of all federal revenue to be spent for war while only 2% goes for education. We will have to make some radical changes in our governmental methods before we can claim to be half as intelligent as the "Greasers" below the Rio Grande. Under socialism there would be no war burdens. All the revenues would directly benefit the workers who always pay the bills, and peace would reign supreme.

* * *

One hundred per cent ignorance and national bigotry reign supreme in America. Else not having any sense of our own we might learn a few lessons from Russia and our progressive neighbor to the southwest. But we can't think, and what is more we can't see, or to paraphrase Lord Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar, we put the telescope to our blind eye and say, "We see nothing! Starve on!"



It is stated on good authority that for every \$1,000 cleared by the banks there is only \$1.78 of real money on hand. This means of course that all the business is done on the people's credit for the benefit of a few bankers. The money is seldom in sight. It takes the promise of one man to pay, represented by a piece of paper and backed by his hogs, and uses it to finance other men at figures that may in a year mean 2000% or more.

* * *

Banks are necessities, but bankers are not, by any means. The people's credit should be owned and controlled by them and all benefits should be conserved for them. Nearly all business today is done on the credit of the workers. Yet we often hear the complaint, "What can we do without any money?" We have all the credit and therefore all the potential capital of the country in our power. All that is needed is to organize it. We must own and control our own banks. Put an expert in charge that will serve us, as we have a man in the post office that "sometimes" serves us. Socialism will enable the people to finance themselves and abolish the grafters now sucking their blood.

* * *

Stanley Baldwin, sleek office boy of the British financiers, returned home much chagrined because he could not make his own terms with those who own America. He says Congress stood in the way of settlement and claims the Senate is composed of men who raise hogs and hominy. Better look 'em over again, Stan; if you can find ten men in the 500 that can raise anything but hell for the people we will stand the treat.

* * *

Outside of a group of men and women that can be counted upon your fingers and toes, Congress is made up mainly of fat politicians, petty grafters, lame ducks, silly geese and jackasses. With profuse apologies to the animals herein libeled it is our opinion that Congress as it stands fairly represents the people who elected it to work for the corporations. Until the people themselves develop some horse sense we should not expect to see any used in Congress.

* * *

Department of Labor reports wholesale flooding of industry by children since the Supreme Court set aside the Child Labor Law. Why not? That is precisely the reason the corporation tools were placed in their high position and naturally they are delivering the goods. So long as the people support at the polls parties owned body and soul by the profiteers so long can they expect to have their tiny tots ground into bloody profits in the maws of Mammon. Don't blame these flunkies! Wake up and use a little judgment in the use of your ballot. Their blood is on your head.

The U. S. Coal Commission says that 8 operators control 70% of the hard coal mines. Well that is much better than having each mine owned by a single operator with all its attendant waste and higher cost of production. All mines should be under one control, but that control should be of, by and for the people. We should then get coal at the cost of production instead of \$20 or more a ton. Also the miners would be enabled to live like human beings instead of like rats in the ground. But that would be "arnaky and so-shulism!"

* * *

There is much satisfaction in the acquittal of the Herrin defendants. After the Chamber of Commerce made every effort to railroad them to the gallows simply for being union men. Everyone deplors the means used to eliminate scabs and gunmen in the outbreak last June. We also object to the same tactics on the part of big business at Centralia and in Arkansas. Class war is class war. Both sides are wrong and deserve the severest criticism of sane and well balanced minds.

* * *

Class war will cease when and only when classes cease. The workers will always be pitted against the shirkers that are robbing them, and justly. Socialism will abolish classes by putting the shirkers to work and thus put an end to class war forever. If you are honestly for the workers then you are for the Socialist program. What are you doing to bring about the new day? Class war or Socialism, which?

* * *

A share of stock in Standard Oil Company originally worth \$25 is today worth \$37,500 according to testimony before the Senate sub-Committee on Oil Investigation. These revelations are nothing new. Nearly every school child knows how the people have been fleeced out of untold millions by the big corporations. These gigantic profits have been made since Congress ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company.

* * *

Why investigate what we have all known for years? Let us take some sensible action to restore to the people the big industries upon which the people depend for their living. Industries that have been built up by the people, stolen from the people and must in time be restored to the people. Why put off the day of accounting? The parties in power are owned by the plunderbund and operate for more plunder. The Socialist Party alone proposes to take over all the industries and operate them for the people. It is time to line up. The big industrial robbers on the one side. Socialists with the workers on the other. Where do you stand?

FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By Nikolai Lenin

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia

A verbatim report of the address delivered on November 18, 1922, before the Eighth Session of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International at Moscow. Because of many requests the address is printed in full. It should clear up many false impressions regarding the practicability of the Communist Program in America.
—Editor.

COMRADES, I am on the roster as the chief speaker, but you will understand that after my protracted illness I cannot make a long speech. My subject, "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Outlook of the World Revolution," is too vast to be exhausted by one speaker in a single speech. That is why I select but one insignificant portion of the subject, namely, the problem of the new economic policy. I purposely choose this phase of the situation in order to acquaint you with this very important problem—important at least to me, inasmuch as I am now at work on it.

To tell you of how we came to inaugurate the new economic policy, I must first of all refer to an article which I wrote in 1918. Discussing the problem of our attitude toward State capitalism, I wrote: "State capitalism would be a step forward, considering the economic conditions prevailing in our Soviet Republic. If State capitalism were to be established in our country in, say, six months, it would be a great triumph, as well as the surest guarantee that in a year we shall witness the definite victory of socialism."

Thus in 1918 I held the opinion that under the circumstances then prevailing State capitalism was an advance. That sounds like a strange and perhaps absurd statement, for already in those days our republic was a socialistic republic. Precisely then, however, we were hastily, perhaps too hastily, adopting various economic measures which cannot be termed anything but socialistic. Even then, however, I believe that State capitalism meant an advance over the economic system under which the Soviet Republic existed in those days. To explain my view I simply enumerated the basic elements of our economy: (1) The patriarchal, i. e., the most primitive form of agriculture; (2) small mercantile production (the majority of the peasants who trade in grain belong here); (3) private capitalism; (4) State capitalism; and (5) socialism.

All these elements were then represented in Russia. I set myself the task of finding out what was the mutual relationship of these elements, and also whether one of the non-socialistic elements, notably State capitalism, was not more valuable than socialism itself. I repeat: It appears odd that a non-socialistic scheme of things should be valued higher than socialism in a republic calling itself socialistic. You will cease to be perplexed, however, if you

remember that we were fully aware of the fact that Russia's economic system was not a homogeneous and highly developed whole, that it held the socialistic form as well as the most primitive form of agriculture.

What role can State capitalism play in such a setting? I asked myself. I asked myself further: Which one of these economic elements is prevalent? It was clear to me then that the petty-bourgeois element prevailed; I could take no other view of the situation. My answer to the first question, therefore, was as follows: Although State capitalism is not a socialistic form, for us in Russia it is a more favorable one than the form now prevailing. Thus we did not overestimate either the beginnings or the foundations of socialistic economy, although we had already effected the social revolution. Even as early as this, we felt to a certain degree that it would have been better for us if we had first arrived at State capitalism and only afterward arrived at socialism.

I must particularly emphasize this matter, because I believe that it will materially assist us, first, to explain the nature of the present economic policy, and, second, to draw important practical conclusions for the Communist

NOT A RETREAT International. I do not mean to say that we had so early a completed plan of retreat; far from it. Those brief polemical lines were not by any means a plan of retreat. There was no reference yet to freedom of commerce, a point of the highest importance to State capitalism. And yet the general, vague idea of retreat was suggested. I believe that this matter of retreat merits attention not only from the standpoint of Russia, which is still a backward country, but also from that of the Communist International and the advanced Western countries. It is a matter of practical importance that all parties which are preparing to attack capitalism in the near future should give the subject their utmost attention. This is one of the most useful lessons which the experience of our revolution can teach us.

Let me now pass to the results of our new economic policy. I repeat: in those days it was a very vague idea, but in 1921, after we had gone through the most important stages of the civil war unscathed, we met what was in my opinion the most difficult internal political crisis in our recent history. This crisis brought forth the discontent not only of a considerable portion of the peasantry, but also of the workers.

For the first, and, I hope, the last time in the history of Soviet Russia, the broad masses of the peasantry were against us; not consciously, but instinctively.

What occasioned that very unpleasant situation? It was this: in our economic attack we ventured too far afield without
TOO HASTY having a sufficiently secure base.

The masses grasped instinctively what we were still unable to formulate consciously, but what we acknowledged several weeks later, namely, that the immediate transition to a purely socialistic scheme of things, a purely socialistic form of distribution was beyond our powers, and that if we were not in a position to retreat and content ourselves with less strenuous tasks, we are threatened by destruction.

The crisis began, it seems to me, in February, 1921. As early as the Spring of the same year we decided unanimously—I did not notice any serious disagreements on the subject—to adopt the new economic policy. I believe that now, after the lapse of a year and a half, we are already in a position to draw several comparisons. What did we go through during that period?

ACID TEST What are the results? Has the retreat been useful to us, and has it really saved us, or is it too soon to speak of any definite results? These are the main questions we can ask ourselves. In my opinion this question of our success is of the utmost importance to all communist parties, for if the answer is negative then everything is doomed to destruction. I believe that with a clear conscience we can answer that question in the affirmative, namely, to the effect that the past eighteen months have shown with absolute certainty that we have stood the test. Let me pass to the proofs. I must briefly touch upon all the component parts of our economic system.

Let me first of all deal with our financial system and the notorious Russian ruble. I think that the Russian ruble is really notorious because the number of these rubles now exceeds a quadrillion. This is an astronomic figure, and I am sure that not everybody here knows what it means. But we do not consider these figures too important, and in this we are upheld by the science of economics. Zeros may be crossed out, and we have already learned that the art of doing this is a rather insignificant one. What is really important, however, is the problem of the stabilization of the ruble. Our best men are now coping with this problem, to which we ascribe a decisive economic importance. If we succeed in effecting the stabilization of the ruble for an extended period of time and in the end permanently, we shall win out.

SOUND FINANCE

Then all these astronomic figures, all these trillions and quadrillions, will mean nothing, and our economic system will have a firm foundation. I can cite here quite important and decisive facts. In 1921 the period of the stabilization of the rate of exchange of the paper ruble lasted less than three months. In the current year of 1922 this period lasted over five months. This, I believe, is proof enough. It would be insufficient if you demanded from us scientific evidence that in future we shall solve this problem completely. Such proof is, in my opinion, impossible at this time. The figures which I gave you show that since last year, when we inaugurated the new economic policy, we have learned to make progress. And if that is so, I am sure that in future we shall make further progress in this direction, provided we do not commit any egregious blunder.

The most important thing, however, is commerce, notably the exchange of commodities which we need so much. But we have somehow managed to take
SELF SUFFICIENT care of it in the last two years, in spite of the fact that we were at

war (as you know, Vladivostok was occupied only several weeks ago), and are only now able to carry on our economic activities without interruption. With the raising of the period of stabilization from three to five months, I believe that we have ample ground to say that we are satisfied. We stand alone; we have not received a single loan from any of those powerful capitalistic States which are so "brilliantly" carrying on their capitalistic activities. By means of the Peace of Versailles they have created a financial system of which they are unable to make head or tail. If that is how these great capitalistic States are getting on, I believe that we, backward and uneducated as we are, can be satisfied with the way we stabilized the ruble. This is proved not by theoretical analysis, but in practice, and practice, I consider, is more important than all theoretical discussions. Practice shows that here we have obtained decisive results, namely, we are beginning to adapt our economy to a stable ruble. This is of the greatest importance for commerce, and the free exchange of commodities, for the peasants and the great mass of small producers.

I shall now deal with our social aims. The peasantry is the main concern. In 1921 we were undoubtedly facing the discontent of an overwhelming portion of this group. Then came the famine. It meant a most trying ordeal for the peasants. Naturally enough, the whole outside world raised the cry: "Look, this is the result of socialistic economics!" It was equally natural that the outside world did not say

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WHAT NEXT?

By Emil Herman

WAR broke out in Europe because—Well, Statesmen told us it was because an Arch Duke had been assassinated. We socialists did not believe them and said so. Moreover we insisted that it resulted from the commercial rivalry for markets, between competing sections of the Capitalist-Class in different nations. For that, people called us foolish, impractical, visionary. Now, however, these same people admit that the socialist interpretation was correct—they have to, the facts boldly stare them in the face and can no longer be disputed.

In 1916 the Socialist Party issued a call to the American people to “Starve the War and Feed America,” to demand of Congress that they place an embargo upon all goods from this country to any of the belligerent nations. The people, inspired by the Morgan controlled kept press, declared—“What! Cut off our market and cripple our industry? We should say not, you are unpatriotic!” Now they realize that while that bloody market brought us a few million dollars it has since cost us many billions, much suffering and privation, 50,000 of the flower of our young manhood killed and 200,000 shot, bayoneted, gassed and in other ways mutilated.

What a terrible price it was to pay was forecast by Irwin St. John Tucker when he wrote “The Price We Pay”—and for warning our people of disaster what happened to Tucker? He was later convicted and sentenced under the Espionage Act, to serve twenty years in a Federal Prison—a tribute to him, but a sad commentary on the intelligence of the people whom he sought to protect. Now they are paying in full but still deny their support to the Socialist Party which offers them the only relief from still worse, impending, disaster.

In the fall of 1916 the people (including some socialists) re-elected Woodrow Wilson, President because “He Kept Us Out of War” and promised us “Four More Years of Peace and Prosperity.” In the spring of 1917 he gave us war and told us it was to be a “war to make the world safe for democracy,” a “war to end war,” a “war to guarantee the integrity of small nations,” a “war for the self-determination of all peoples” and a “war to crush the Kaiser.” The Socialist Party, understanding the hypocrisy of our Imperial Capitalist Government and the smoke-screen of high-sounding phraseology behind which it sought to obscure the issue, tore the mask from off its pretensions by adopting the now famous “Anti-War Proclamation” at the Party convention held in St. Louis, Mo., in April of 1917. Again led by the “Brass Check” press the people denounced us as misguided cranks, as being unpatriotic, un-American and disloyal. But history is made rapidly these days and a few short years have proven the correctness of our position. Instead of a

world made safe for democracy we still have Political Prisoners in the United States. Instead of an end to war there is more war than ever, with still bigger ones in sight. Instead of securing the integrity of small nations they have been reduced to pawns to do the bidding of the so-called victor nations. Instead of self-determination of peoples they have been divided and parcelled out, arbitrarily, to suit the notions of Imperialistic Diplomats representing the interests of the power-drunk and money-mad capitalists. Instead of crushing the Kaiser, he has been, an is, permitted and encouraged to live in happiness, peace and prosperity—and his asinine ravings about who started the war have been purchased by an American publishing house for one million dollars, and multitudes who not long ago shouted “hang the Kaiser” now hang onto his words with the same tenacity that they do to Diamond Dick and Black Cat detective stories.—And the end is not yet.

Yes, the Socialist Party was right. But what is more to the point is that it is still right. And, while, because of our scientific understanding, we were able to predict what has taken place we are now in a position to predict (with reasonable certainty) what will take place. And that is:—More war in Europe and Asia with former allies fighting one another.

As the result of French invasion of German territory, England, Germany and Russia will clash with Belgium, France and Italy, while the dispute in the near east may also flame into war, with France and Turkey on the one side and England and Greece on the other with Russia aiding Turkey while fighting France.

Out of it all may come civil war in Germany, revolution in France, England and Italy, resulting in a free Ireland and the sweep of Bolshevism over all of Europe—with the necessary dictatorship of the proletariat until the danger of invasion from without and counter-revolution from within is past—to be followed by the order, peace, good will among men and industrial and political democracy of the Socialist Commonwealth, so clearly depicted by Marx and Engels in their “Communist Manifesto of 1848” and by Engels in his “Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.”—A common-wealth where wealth will be produced by a free people for the use of those who work.

As to the part to be played by the United States in this international drama “it doth not appear what shall be,” but we know that no one nation (no matter how powerful it be) can live unto itself. So it seems likely, that next year we may look for a great political and social upheaval in this country also.

“WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE, YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS, YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!”

**FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION**

(Continued from Page 9)

a word about the fact that the famine was in reality the monstrous result of the civil war. The landowners and capitalists who attacked us in 1918 created the impression that the famine was nothing but the result of the socialistic system.

The famine was indeed a great and serious calamity, which threatened to undo our entire achievements along the lines of organization and revolution. What is the situation at present, I ask, after this unprecedented and unexpected disaster has occurred and after we have adopted the new economic policy and granted the peasants freedom of trade? The answer is clear. In the course of one year the peasants

**PEASANTS
CONTENTED** have mastered the famine situation. Furthermore, they have paid up the food tax, so that we have collected millions of poods of grain, and that practically without using coercion. The peasant uprisings, which before 1921 determined, so to speak, the general character of the Russian situation, have almost completely ceased. We can confidently assert now that the peasantry is content with its present condition. We believe that these facts are more important than any statistics. That the peasantry is the decisive factor in our country no one doubts. The condition of the peasants is now such that we do not have to fear any hostile movement on their part. We say this with the full consciousness of the import of the words, and without exaggeration. This is an achievement. The peasantry may dislike this or that side of the work of our Government, and complain against it. This is possible, and indeed inevitable, for our governmental apparatus and our State economy are far from running smoothly. But any serious discontent with us on the part of the peasantry is in any event absolutely out of the question. This we have achieved in the course of one single year. I think this is a great deal.

Let me now deal with our industry. We must distinguish two kinds of industry, "light" and "heavy," for their condition is different. As regards light industry, I can say with assurance that here a general improvement is noticeable. I shall not enter into details; it is not my intention to cite statistical data. This general impression, however, is based upon facts, and I can assure you that there is nothing either approximate or misleading about it. We are witnessing a general improvement of light industry, and in connection with it a definite betterment of the condition of the workmen both in Petrograd and in Moscow. In the other regions the amelioration is less pronounced because there heavy industry prevails, so that we must not make hasty

generalizations. At any rate, I repeat: the improvement in light industry and in the condition of the working population of the two capitals is beyond a doubt. In the Spring of 1921 discontent prevailed among the workers of both cities. This has at present entirely subsided. We who from day to day follow the condition and the frame of mind of the workmen cannot go wrong in this matter.

The condition of the "heavy" industry is different. Here, I must say, the situation has not cleared up. A change did take place in 1921. We may, therefore, **IMPROVE-
MENT NEAR** hope that an improvement will occur in the near future. We have already collected a part of the funds which are necessary to effect such an improvement. In a capitalistic country a loan of hundreds of millions would be imperative to carry it out. The economic history of capitalistic States shows that only large loans in gold coin can assist in the development of heavy industry in a backward country. We have obtained no loans at all.

Whatever is now written about concessions is negligible. Lately we have written a great deal on that subject and especially on the Urquhart concession. Nevertheless, I believe that our concession policy is a very good one. Still, so far no concessions have actually materialized. I beg you not to forget that.

Thus the condition of heavy industry is unsatisfactory, for we have not been able to count upon loans. At the same time our commercial activities have already yielded us a modest capital. It is still a very modest sum, somewhat exceeding 20,000,000 rubles in gold. In any event, the beginning has been made, and our commerce will furnish us the means necessary to improve our heavy industry. The decisive factor here is the circumstance that we are already in a position to save. True, this is often done at the expense of the population, but it is imperative for us at the present moment to economize and to reduce our State budget, our State apparatus. We are now economizing on everything, even on schools. Why? Because we know that if we do not save and restore our heavy industry we shall have no industry at all, and without it we shall not be able to exist as an independent country.

We know that a good crop alone will not save Russia. Nor shall we be saved by the prosperous condition of light industry, **HEAVY
INDUSTRIES** which furnishes commodities for the present. What we require is heavy industry. To improve it several years are needed. State subsidies are required. If we cannot furnish these subsidies, we are lost as a civilized State, let alone as a socialistic State. We have taken a decisive step in this direction, namely, we have begun to accumulate

the funds necessary to set our heavy industry on its feet. So far we have only over 20,000,000 rubles in gold at our disposal, but we shall spend this sum exclusively upon the improvement of our heavy industry.

From this brief survey of the chief elements of our national economy, I may draw the conclusion, it seems to me, that the new economic policy has already resulted in a gain. We have the proof that as a state we can carry on commerce to maintain the strong positions of agriculture and industry, and at the same time make further advance. Practice has proved this. For the present this is enough for us. We shall have to learn a great many other things. We know that we must constantly be studying.

For five years now we have been holding the power, although during all this time we have been at war. We have been successful for the

STRATEGIC POSITION

reason that the peasantry has been siding with us. No one could have been more devoted to our cause than the peasants have been. They understand that behind the Whites stand the landed gentry, whom they hate more than anybody else on earth. It was not difficult to induce the peasantry, which previously hated war, to defend us in the war against the Whites, the landowners. But that was not all, for, as a matter of fact, it was a question of who should hold the power, the peasants or landowners. This did not satisfy us. The peasants understand that we seized power for the workmen, and that our purpose is to create a socialistic order by this means. The most important thing for us was the economic preparation of a socialistic regime. We could not do this by taking a straight road to socialism, and so we were forced to take a roundabout way. State capitalism, as we have inaugurated it, is a peculiar form of State capitalism. It

STATE LAND

does not fit the usual concept of that system. We hold all the strategic positions. We have the land; it belongs to the State. This is a matter of great importance, although our adversaries choose to represent the situation as though it mean nothing at all. The fact that the land belongs to the State is exceedingly important from a practical and economic standpoint. This is our achievement, and our future activities must develop along those lines.

We also have in our hands the most important industries. We have leased only a portion of the small and medium-sized industrial establishments. The rest is in our hands. As regards commerce, I wish to emphasize the fact that we are endeavoring to establish mixed corporations, part of the capital of which is owned by us, the rest belonging to private financiers, and foreigners at that. In this way we are learning the business of commerce and gaining the sort of

FOREIGN OPPOSITION

knowledge which we sorely need. Furthermore, we shall always be able, should we find it necessary, to liquidate the corporation, so that we are not running any risks. We are trying to learn from private entrepreneurs how to trade and develop industries. Of course, we have done a great many stupid things. No one knows this better than I. Why do we do stupid things? First of all, because we are a backward country; second, because we are uneducated, and, third, because we have no outside help. Not a single civilized State is helping us. On the contrary, they are all working against us.

Then, again, our governmental apparatus is to blame. Our misfortune is that we have taken over the old State machinery. This machinery up, the Government machinery is functioning somehow, but in the lower ranks, where the personnel was left without our control, the machinery often works against our own measures. At the top we have several thousands or, at the most, very often works against us. In 1917, just after we had seized power, the Government personnel indulged in sabotage against us. That frightened us and we begged the old functionaries to come back to us. They came back, and that was our misfortune. We have now an enormous number of clerks, but we do not have enough educated men to manage them efficiently. Higher

STILL CZARISTS

several tens of thousands of our own people—that is, Communists. Below, however, there are hundreds of thousands of old functionaries bequeathed to us by the Czar and the bourgeois society, who either consciously or unconsciously work against us. Only time can remedy matters here. We shall have to labor for years in order to change and improve the machinery, and to find new men to fill the positions. We are doing it rapidly, perhaps too rapidly. We are opening Soviet schools, workmen's colleges, and so forth. Several hundreds of thousands of young men are studying. Perhaps their studies are not sufficiently thorough, but at any rate the work has been started, and it will no doubt bear its fruits. If we are not too hasty we shall in a few years have a large number of young men able to make a radical change in our State machinery.

I said that we have to our discredit many stupidities. I must say a word also about our enemies. They, too, have done a great many foolish things, but their stupidities are of a different nature. We have barely begun to study, but our studies are so systematic that we

NEED OF KNOWLEDGE

are certain that we shall obtain good results. To draw a comparison between our own stupidities and those of our capitalist enemies, I

(Continued on Page 14)

Wisps From Timothy Hay

By C. L. D.

The swag follows the flag.
* *
Who put the dent in president?
* *
Hamid Bey got his hide well sultan-
ned.

* *
Friendship-Courtship-Hardship!
* *

* *
The dogs of war are boodle dogs.
* *

* *
The surplice serves the surplus.
* *

* *
The flag slips along on the oil.
* *

* *
Tight men and loose women have
few friends.
* *

* *
We should have more railroading
and less railrobbing.
* *

* *
"The flapper has come to stay."
Perflaps so.
* *

* *
Money talks. And it generally con-
verses in sterlingo.
* *

* *
European Chorus: "Then up the
river we will row, row, row!"
* *

* *
The geese are going north again.
Wish the profiteers would be as kind.
* *

* *
"Eskimo Colony Needs Relief." We
might supply them with a few Red
Cross seals.
* *

* *
Stefanson says North Pole is
warm. He must have strayed into a
Federal Court while it was trying a
labor case.
* *

* *
With a poet in the new Congress
let us try to be calm. The verse is
yet to come.
* *

* *
A man may work all his life in the
stock yards and never save a scent.
* *

* *
If we could only communicate with
Mars we might be able to find out
what damn fools we are.
* *

* *
An investigation should now be
made as to where Noah obtained his
ship subsidy.
* *

* *
"Profiteers Will Lose Out in the
End." Many hope they will lose in
both ends,—also the middle.
* *

* *
Women are entering the merchant
marine. They have long been the best
navigators sextant.
* *

* *
America must do away with scrub
stock, says farm expert. Let us do
away with scrub women first.
* *

* *
The New York Zoo may issue a
bulletin. It should easily rank as the
world's greatest gnu's paper.

The English bulldog is no longer
an Irish terrier.
* *

* *
A bill may run a long time and not
get away.
* *

* *
"Hen Found Setting on an Axe."
Probably thought she could hatchet.
* *

* *
John Barleycorn by any other name
would smell as wheat.
* *

* *
"Every Nation is Doing Its Bit."
And doing it to the bitter end.
* *

* *
Judge Gary says, the people must
"Work, work, work." If the Judge
will work once we shall all be satis-
fied.
* *

* *
"Chicken Products More Valuable
Than Automobiles." The hen is
mightier than the Ford.
* *

* *
Many undertakers seem to be fol-
lowing the moonshine business.
* *

* *
The Chicago bootblack who lost
\$1,500 to confidence men will have to
brush up before he can shine as a
high financier.
* *

* *
It may be all right to sit in the
game but the "ace" in peace has not
taken many tricks.
* *

* *
The wet speaker who said prohibi-
tion interferes with the people's
morale probably meant "more ale."
* *

* *
Germany's solution of the repara-
tions difficulty seems to be absolution.
* *

* *
The lust for gold is the only yellow
peril.
* *

* *
Public opinion on the high freight
rates is often well expressed.
* *

* *
If England can't sell her debts why
does she think Uncle Sam cancel
them?
* *

* *
France should not be in such a big
hurry for her money. Germany must
have time to print it?
* *

* *
Poland should have known when
she elected Wojciechowski president
she would be in for a hard spell.
* *

* *
Physician says all feeble minded
people should be locked up. Then the
socialists would have to run the
country.
* *

* *
To be a republican in Ireland is to
be a candidate for a harp and crown.

Peace be steal.
* * *

* * *
It will serve France right if she
starts another war and wins it.
* * *

* * *
The hand that rocks the ladle spills
the beans.
* * *

* * *
Germany at least should be given
credit for what she says.
* * *

* * *
Prices are still ballooning. The
housewife trying to buy a mattress
finds that even the price of down is
up.
* * *

* * *
"Nervous Burglar Caught in the
Act." He will probably be charged
with shaking the jimmy.
* * *

* * *
Gen. Lord, head of the budget, says
"U. S." means United States, not
"US." Good Lord, tell it to Morgan,
not "us."
* * *

* * *
It seems like a lie can travel round
the world while the truth is getting
out of bed.
* * *

* * *
Plow deep while the profiteers sleep
and you will have neither corn to sell
or corn to keep.
* * *

* * *
Some folks are so lazy they must
have yeast make their home brew.
* * *

* * *
For want of a nail the shoe was
lost, for want of a shoe the cobbler
went hungry.
* * *

* * *
"Millionaire's Kin Cut Off." Why
don't they then?
* * *

* * *
Of course palmistry is not a science
but many a poor devil's hand shows
the bread line.
* * *

* * *
Speaking of midnight concerts,
didn't the Versailles Treaty make
some provision against atrocities on
the high C's.
* * *

* * *
Well you almost have to be a
profiteer these days to keep out of
the poor house.
* * *

* * *
The country will dry up long before
Billy Bryan will.
* * *

* * *
The reason the plutocrats get more
out of government than the workers
is because they know what they want.
* * *

* * *
Judging by the drinking vessels un-
earthed in the Egyptian tomb, King
Twotankhamen kept something
snappy in both tanks.

**FIVE YEARS OF RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION**

(Continued from Page 12)

shall paraphrase the words of a famous Russian writer: "When the Bolsheviki do something foolish, it is as though they said: 'Two times two is five.' But if their enemies do a stupid thing, it is as though they said, 'Two times two is a candle.'"

You do not have to go far for proof. Take, for instance, the pact with Kolchak entered into by America, England, France, Japan. I ask you: Are there any more enlightened and powerful states in the world? And what did they do? Blindly and thoughtlessly they promised Kolchak assistance. From the standpoint of human reason this is an incomprehensible act. The Peace of Versailles is another example, a weightier and much more important one. How could the "great" and "glorious" powers have perpetrated it? How can they now find a way out of the chaos and confusion created by it? It is not an exaggeration to say that our stupidities

**WORLD
REVOLUTION**

are nothing in comparison with the foolish things which the capitalistic States are doing. That is why I believe that the outlook of the world revolution, a subject upon which I must briefly touch, is favorable. It will be even more favorable, if we fulfill a certain condition.

In 1921 the Third Congress of the International adopted a resolution dealing with the organization of Communist parties and with the substance and method of their work. It is an excellent resolution, but it is Russian through and through; that is, it is dictated by Russian conditions and permeated with the Russian spirit. Should some exceptional foreigner master the meaning of the resolution he will find himself incapable of carrying it out. We have failed to understand how to present our Russian experience to foreigners. The contents of the resolution have remained a dead letter. Before we can go on we must grasp that.

The most important lesson that the five years of the Russian revolution have taught us is that both the Russian and the foreign comrades must study and learn. We have just

**FOREIGN
DIFFERENCES**

obtained the opportunity for study. I do not know how long this possibility will last; I do not know how long the capitalistic States will let us study; but every movement snatched from the fighting activities, from war, we must utilize for the purpose of study. This is our main task. The whole Communist Party, as well as the rest of Russia, show that they understand this by their eagerness to study and learn.

This is also the task of the foreign comrades, though in a different sense, for, unlike us, the foreigners do not need to learn how to write and read and understand what they read. They need

something less elementary. For example, they must learn to understand the resolution relating to the organization of Communist Parties, which they signed without reading and without understanding. That must be their first task. That resolution must be carried out. It is absolutely impossible to do this overnight. The resolution is too Russian, reflecting, as it does, Russian experience. That is why it is incomprehensible to foreigners, who cannot be content to

**NOT PRAYERS
STUDY**

hang it up in the corner, like an icon, and say their prayers before it. Our foreign comrades must assimilate a part of the Russian experience. We Russians must try to explain to the foreigners the principles of this revolution. Otherwise they will be unable to carry it out. I am convinced that we must say not only to our Russian, but also to our foreign, comrades that the coming years are above all a time for study. We are studying in the general sense of the word. As for you, you must study in the special sense of the word. You must learn the organization, the planning, the method, and the substance of revolutionary work. If you do so, then, I am convinced, the outlook of the world revolution will be not good, but excellent.

MEN DO NOT FIGHT!

They Leave It to the Kids

The following is an official report received from the war department of our enlistments of the Northern Army in the Civil War:

At the age of 10 years old and under.....	25
At the age of 12 years old and under.....	225
At the age of 14 years old and under.....	1,523
At the age of 16 years old and under.....	884,801
At the age of 18 years old and under.....	1,151,438
At the age of 21 years old and under.....	2,159,798
22 years of age and over.....	618,516

In Napoleon's war they ranged from 17 to 23 years of age—in the Civil War much less.

—H. T. BIRD.

DEBS MAGAZINE

A Magazine of Militant Socialism

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DO IT NOW — W-O-N

Debs Magazine is consecrated to the education of the workers that they may emancipate themselves from wage slavery by the abolition of the present system of private ownership. To be successful in its mission Debs Magazine needs above all, a means of reaching the workers it would enlighten. This cannot be furnished by the workers here in the office. It can only be supplied by "Debs Army" in the field. We want you to become an active member of this Army. Each day, each hour you can do something to speed the good work along. Pass your magazine to your neighbor. Ask him for his subscription. One Dollar is nothing for a year's good reading—yet a hundred thousand militant readers of Debs Magazine will have power to shake the foundations of the plunderbund in America, and bring many years nearer the day when the earth and all that therein is shall belong to all the people for their use and enjoyment. Are you just a talker of Socialism or are you an active worker? Then see that each day you have done something to build up Debs Magazine. Most of the pre-war periodicals of radicalism have disappeared. Debs Magazine is about the only magazine of a national scope left to carry forward the Torch of Freedom. It needs the constant support of every militant Socialist in America. Help us carry Debs message to every working man and woman in the nation. Start on your friends now and enroll them for the Cause. Get one sub today, another tomorrow and keep it up. Constant dripping wears the stone and constant building of an educational machine will bring freedom. Let us hear from you, NOW—WON!

"BON VOYAGE, LONGUET!"

Jean Longuet, who recently closed a ten-weeks' speaking tour of America, sailed recently for home. His impressions may be best given in his own words:

"I found that while the organized Socialist Party in this country," said M. Longuet, "is not as large and as powerful as it is in other countries it has a vast influence. The sentiment in the country that can be called Socialist, and the radical sentiment that clearly has been affected by Socialism, is remarkable."

BEAUTIFUL PICTURE OF DEBS FREE

Debs Magazine has secured a limited number of photographs of 'Gene in five colors, size 12x18. This inspiring picture should be on the walls of every home. To every worker who sells 15 Magazines and remits \$1.50, a picture will be given. The Magazines can be sold in a few minutes. Send no money. Just say, "I want a Debs Picture, send me 15 copies." We Trust You. Order Today. Debs Magazine, 59 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.

LINCOLN WAS HUMAN

(Continued from Page 5)

have landed him in the ranks of the Socialists—and he was possessed of precisely the right kind of temperament to become a Socialist. It is impossible to imagine him lined up on the side of the exploiters of labor, the parasites of society. His heart and his intellect combined would have prevented any such development on his part.

If he had lived, the story of the reconstruction of the South after the civil war would have been different. The emancipation of the slaves might not have been so barren and fruitless. The bitterness between the North and the South might have been saved from the intensification which it received at the hands of carpetbaggers, cheap politicians, and military repression. The problem might have been worked out in a reasonable manner. We might have been spared the cruel and unjust race prejudice of today. Who knows? At any rate, the loving kindness of Abe Lincoln would have been brought to bear upon the problem, and it would without a doubt have eased the situation, no matter whether he could have surmounted all the difficulties or not.

Because of these human qualities that I have mentioned, I feel that in a very special sense Lincoln belongs to the Socialists.

The world is in desperate need of similar qualities at this hour—and it is for the Socialists to furnish them. May we have the same profound sympathy, the same tenacity of purpose, the same humbleness in victory, the same fairness to the defeated.

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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.

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The North Pole may be a place fit for human habitation, but the workers have built up this great country and we intend to stay here and own it. Let the profiteers and the parasites go North.

THE FIRING LINE

"EACH READER CAN HELP IN WIDENING OUR CIRCULATION"

—Eugene V. Debs

The glory of Debs' Magazine is that it throws no stones.

—Charles Bonsall, Salem, O.

I am a friend of your brave little Magazine—I will prove it by a check.

—Frieda A. Meyer, Aurora, Nebr.

I have learned a great number of interesting facts from your wonderful Magazine for the Cause.

—Walter Schrieber, Milwaukee, Wis.

Send me Debs Magazine beginning with January.

—Tom Ring, Sheffield, Eng.

Feeling great joy to become a reader of great Gene's Magazine.

—M. Nakauchi, Tokio, Japan.

Please enter these two subs at once.

J. Levitt, Macon, Ga.

Here are \$6 for five subs and a bundle of 15.

—Isidore Cohen, W. C. 264, Chicago.

Find enclosed one dollar for which please send me Debs' Magazine.

Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif.

Enclosed find \$2 for thirty copies.

—S. Shafir, W. C. 59, Jersey City, N. J.

Ten dollars for a bundle of 15 ten months.

—M. Dubinsky, W. C. 244, New York City.

Enclosed please find \$2. I want to read the message of Eugene V. Debs.

—G. Hummer, Alma, Nebr.

I just got my milk check. Send me five sub cards. Long life for the Magazine

—W. E. Hamilton, Whitehall, Mont.

I am greatly interested in your magazine and take pleasure in enclosing \$5 for the following addresses.

A. M. Todd, Kalamazoo, Mich.

Please send \$2 worth of Debs Magazine, December Number.

F. J. Lavanier, Covington, Ky.

Send 15 copies ten months.

R. Levy, W. C. 725, Brockton, Mass.

For the \$5 send us as many copies as you can for ten months.

—I. Passamaneck, W. C. 1920, Richmond, Va.

Find enclosed check of \$6 for five sub cards and bundle of 15.

—Olive Reddaway, Salem, Ore.

Here is \$5 for two subs and the Cause.

—Kate C. Gartz, Altadena, Calif.

Wish I could do more. Enclosed is \$5 to help promote the interest of the Magazine.

—A. N. Bates, Pomona, Calif.

It is a privilege to have it come within one's power—this passing along of Gene Debs' truth. \$5 for five names.

—Helen Gardner, New York City.

Send "Debs" to these five names for the \$5 herewith.

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