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the Cause
of the
Left Wing
Socialists

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL



Workers of the
World, Unite!
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a World
to Gain

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

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NEW YORK, MAY 16, 1917

5 cents a Copy

The Conscientious
Objector

THE MENACE OF CONSCRIPTION

by HENRY

Confusion and
Compromise

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which the development of productive
well as mental and moral forces is in-
compatible with the latest forms of the
capitalist organization of society and the

imperialism means the armed struggle of
representing national economic groups for
financial supremacy in the world, for the

as the war against the enemy across the
Moreover, while war in itself is

Proposals for no-strike
changes have been forgotten
conscription was introduced.

country is to-day largely at the stage of
internal expansion characteristic of the
The com-

were supposed to stand in that center
and state any prin-
ciples that a Socialist could be expected

In what measure the revolution depends largely upon the numbers involved, but even as a powerful protest it will weaken the imperialistic forces and strengthen the tendencies toward a proletarian revolution. This is the more important, since a revolutionary period is developing in Russia and since the greatest danger to this revolution comes from the American money kings.

This feeling, although social and political in its origin, has become so deeply rooted in our conscience, is such an integral part of our thoughts and feelings, that to betray these principles is against our conscience and our self-respect.

the wastage of human life and the vital factors which have been concerned. Economic exigencies of the vast industrial requirements of modern warfare in guns, munitions, and shells, and to offset the withering effects of

the strikers gained their ends and reputation, which not all the rain of heaven can wash out, the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to betray

imperialism is dominant in America today, and imperialism means the end of all democratic traditions and of democracy except what may be given the people as a concession. It is this development that answers the claims of the advocates of conscription

the Socialist Party had here a splendid opportunity to make itself popular with

preposterous nonsense, as they probably would put it.

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Published Every Two Weeks by THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

J. F. MULLEN, Secretary 61 Woodrow Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.

LOUIS C. FRAINA Editor

Press Committee A. S. EDWARDS S. FREEMAN S. J. RUTGERS J. C. ROVITCH

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BUSINESS AND EDITORIAL OFFICE, 326 Kingsbridge Avenue, New York

This paper temporarily is issued every two weeks. But really effective propaganda requires a weekly. This paper will be issued every week as soon as your financial support makes it possible.

Registration and After

THE statistical conscription of the youth of America was a great success—according to the press of the enemy. There is rejoicing over the "patriotism" of these men, who had to be taken by the scruff of the neck in order to compel them to fight across the seas.

A Trial for the Czar?

THERE is an insistent demand in Russia for the trial of the former Autocrat of all the Russias. Originally proposed by Lenine, this demand is assuming formidable proportions.

The Great Crime of War

THE great crime of war is that the courage, enthusiasm and idealism of the people are used for the monstrous purposes of conquest and death.

there anything more appalling than a young man, full of courage and spirit of adventure, looking upon the world with the enthusiasm of youth, prepared for love and life and achievement, laying down his life for a cause that is reactionary and oppressive?

The Judgment of Pilate

IN an editorial on the Conscientious Objector, the New York Globe says: "Their cry is the old one of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'"

The Expulsion of Russell

THE expulsion of Charles Edward Russell from the Socialist Party is a merited expulsion.

But if the expulsion is just, the sincerity of certain groups responsible for the action is highly questionable.

In our opinion, Victor L. Berger is much worse than Charles Edward Russell.

It was Victor Berger, in the Milwaukee Leader, who a year ago carried on a campaign for the conquest and annexation of Mexico by the United States.

Victor Berger's support of the majority report against the war is insincere and based on non-Socialist grounds.

a menace to the integrity of our movement. And yet Victor Berger is still a member of the Socialist Party!

The party bureaucracy in New York that expelled Russell are dominated by Lee and Hillquit.

The Message to Russia

IF the Russia of the Czar was a rebuke to the Allies' claim to be waging an unselfish war for democracy, the Russia of the Revolution is tearing the claim to shreds.

The Allies are in this war for brutal purposes of conquest. Russia has repudiated these purposes, and the Allies are stooping to cajolery and intimidation to force her on the firing line.

The issue in controversy is peace and its terms—not a separate peace, but a non-Imperialistic peace.

What is the attitude of our government in this controversy?

Two months before our declaration of war President Wilson urged a "peace without victory."

America, according to the president, went into the war without any selfish motives of its own.

The complete change in the president, the assertion of this country's Imperialistic purpose, is amply expressed in President Wilson's message to Russia on terms of peace.

This message strikes directly at the aspirations of Russia's revolutionary democracy.

What "effective readjustments" does the president propose except readjustments of territory?

The president's peace formula meets all the requirements of the Allied purposes, and may be used for aggression and reaction.

The message frankly comes out in favor of the overthrow of the status quo ante. Very justly, the president points out that "it was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth."

The revolutionary democracy of Russia and President Wilson are in accord in desiring an alteration of the status quo ante.

Retain the fundamental causes of the status quo ante, and no amount of tinkering with its effects will abolish the menace of war.

The president has not stated what America expects to gain from its support of the Allies and a defeat of Germany.

"From all entente powers we should now receive a definite acknowledgment of the Monroe doctrine and a definite acknowledgment of our paramount interest in the Mexican situation.

"This is nothing more than the Monroe doctrine developed to fit changing conditions. If now, during war, we attain this recognition from our allies, we can, at the peace conference extort this recognition from Germany also.

And, incidentally, the Mail proposes that Great Britain cede to the United States its Caribbean possessions.

This, accordingly, is the "unselfish" programme of America.

Socialism During Peace and War

THERE is no complete break between war and peace—each is equally the expression of determinant economic and political forces.

In other words, to understand adequately the politics and economics of Capitalism during the war its development and tendencies during the era that preceded it must be borne in mind as a basis.

The action of the Socialist, or of Socialist groups, during the crisis of war is determined by their general conception of principles and tactics.

war were equally existent before the war, if less apparent. The International did not collapse during the war; it collapsed before the war, the war simply registering and emphasizing the collapse.

The International did not collapse because of traitorous instincts, accident or cowardice. All these are strictly incidental factors.

Socialist policy, whatever apparently startling changes it may show, is not at all breaking with the past; the break with the revolutionary traditions of Socialism was made many years ago.

The revolutionist, accordingly, must reject a "civil peace" within the party. As the Imperialist seeks to put through his plans by pleading "national unity," so the Socialist majority seeks to perpetuate its policies and control by pleading "party unity."

All our action during the war will bear scant results unless we proceed on the principle that our struggle is the identical struggle waged before the war, and that will be waged after the war.

Moreover, Bernstein and Glasier are at least sincere and aggressive in their action against the war.

The underlying conceptions, the motives, of one's opposition to the war are an essential factor in the problem.

The struggle against Capitalism can be waged effectively only on the basis of the class struggle.

These are important facts, vital in the coming reconstruction of Socialism. Peace and war—they are fundamentally identical and each require an identical general course of revolutionary Socialist action.

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Brutalizing the World

By ROBERT H. HUTCHINSON

THERE is an unfortunate fallacy in human thinking, characteristic of class society, which consists of believing that reality of human relations can exist entirely apart from the people.

This disease is now taking a firmer hold in this country. We believe in democracy; and I venture to say that there are really very few people who openly and frankly oppose this belief, but we are not always sure what we mean by that word.

For my part I know this, that if I had to go over to the trenches and stick bayonets into men's guts, I could probably do it. If I saw the necessity for it I could probably grit my teeth and set myself to the job and gradually get used to it.

I can see the future. I have returned from war, I am quite used to horrors. There is industrial unrest in the land, and I am ordered to go and put down the disputes.

It is precisely the sort of thing the churchmen of the middle ages did. For the sake of the holiness of the church they sacrificed the people who made up the church.

MORGAN takes fifty million "Liberty" bonds and other billionaires advertise their patriotism in a similar way.

It certainly would be a very poor sacrifice to grab hundreds of millions of war profits and allow a couple of those millions to squeeze "only" 3 1/4 per cent. interest out of American labor.

Any capitalist, no matter how big, has to invest a part of his property in such a form that it can be realized at short notice. This part of his capital in the form of bonds yields no more profit in any case than 4 1/2 to 5 per cent.

—S. J. R.

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there anything more appalling than a young man, full of courage and spirit of adventure, looking upon the world with the enthusiasm of youth, prepared for love and life and achievement, laying down his life for a cause that is reactionary and oppressive? It isn't the loss of life that counts most, it is the circumstances. And that is the great crime of war.

The Judgment of Pilate

In an editorial on the Conscientious-Objector, the New York Globe says: "Their cry is the old one of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' They are fundamentally anti-social. They lack the development of beasts, for beasts are far enough along to realize that they cannot take themselves outside their group."

A menace to the integrity of the movement. And yet Victor Berger is still a member of the Socialist Party in New York. The party bureaucracy in New York that expelled Russell is the same party that expelled Berger. And yet they are cheek by jowl with Victor Berger, and recently were instrumental in expelling Berger from the party. This is the N. E. C. for flagrant hypocrisy and Socialism.

The Message to Russia

IF the Russia of the United States is to be a bulwark to the Allies, she must be an unselfish war for democracy in the Russia of the Revolution, and not the claim to shred.

The Allies are in this war for the purposes of conquest. Russia is repudiated these purposes, and the Allies are stooping to cajolery and bribery to force her on the firing line. One day, actual threats of reprisals and punishment were made, and the threat of a Japanese invasion is being used to hold Russia in line. The Allies, morally and diplomatically, are encouraging and strengthening the reactionary forces represented by Milyukov, and not by a perpetual policy to the revolutionary democracy.

The issue in controversy is not all its terms, not a separate peace, but non-Imperialistic peace. The Allies do not wish to accept the Russian formula of peace. They desire victory. They wish to crush German territory, and conclude a general Imperialistic peace. Great Britain wants the German colonies and Mesopotamia, France, Alsace Lorraine and Syria, Italy, Epirus and the Dalmatian coast. Their programme is the Imperialistic programme of Milyukov, which has been repudiated by the Russian people.

What is the attitude of our government in this controversy? The entry of America into the war was considered by some people as strengthening of the democratic aspirations of Allies. On the contrary, it strengthened their Imperialistic purposes. The United States, to-day, is the great menace to democracy in Russia, and consequently throughout Europe.

Two months before our declaration of war President Wilson urged a "peace without victory." To-day, it is determined to impose a victorious peace.

America, according to the president, went into the war without any selfish motives of its own. To-day, the American programme is brutally selfish and reactionary.

The complete change in the president, the assertion of this country's Imperialistic purpose, is amply expressed in President Wilson's message to Russia on this peace.

This message strikes directly at the aspirations of Russia's revolutionary democracy. It is an expression of the identical Imperialistic proposals of Milyukov. It is a complete acceptance of the Allies' plans, and the weight and authority of America's power and prestige are being used to promote the Imperialism of Great Britain, France and Italy, and incidentally of this country.

The acceptance of the President's terms by Great Britain and France is a sufficient demonstration of their reactionary character. They differ in no essential way from the purposes covered in the phrase "reparation and guarantees." Their general character may cover all sorts of plans for conquest.

What "effective readjustments" does the president propose except readjustments of territory? "No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty—but that will be decided by the Allies. Readjustments of territory have never promoted peace. Readjustments of power to-day cannot promote peace. These "readjustments" simply mean the aggrandizement of the victor. The destruction of Germany's "Berlin to Bagdad" programme would injure German Imperialism and profit the Imperialism of the Allies. The indemnification of Belgium and others can in no sense be the exclusive punishment of Germany, but of all the major belligerents, since all are fundamentally responsible for the war.

The president's peace formula meets all the requirements of the Allied purposes, and may be used for aggression and reaction.

The message frankly comes out in favor of the overthrow of the status quo ante. Very justly, the president points out that "it was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth." But that status quo ante consisted alone of German power and plans of aggression. It was made up equally of Allied power and plans of aggression. That status quo ante could be altered only by the cessation of this clash.

The revolutionary democracy of Russia and President Wilson are in accord in desiring an alteration of the status quo ante. But the president's programme would simply alter the effects in favor of Allied Imperialism; while the Russian programme would alter its basis by annulling the Working Class against Imperialism and for a general revolutionary peace.

Retain the fundamental causes of the status quo ante, and no amount of tinkering with its effects will abolish the menace of war. Nor would the President's proposal that "the free peoples of the world draw together . . . to secure peace and justice, promote peace and freedom." The "free peoples of the world" are all in the clutch of Imperialism, as much as the peoples of Germany and Austria. The rapidity with which America is acquiring armed power and Imperialistic aspirations, the way in which our government acquiesces in Allied purposes, all this proves conclusively that no "covenant of free peoples" can promote peace and freedom.

The president has not stated what America expects to gain from its support of the Allies and a defeat of Germany. But it is being stated for him: "Our War Aims," June 11, says:

"From all entente powers we should now receive a definite acknowledgment of the Monroe doctrine and a definite acknowledgment of our paramount interest in the Mexican situation. We must have from all our allies an acknowledgment of our right to economic and military hegemony in the territory between the Panama canal and the Canadian border. That acknowledgment must come from Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan. They must specifically renounce the right of interference in Mexico and delegate to us whatever interference in that land may be necessary."

"This is nothing more than the Monroe doctrine developed to fit changing conditions. If now, during war, we attain this recognition from our allies, we can, at the peace conference extort this recognition from Germany also. Thereby the defenses of America would be immeasurably strengthened for all time."

And, incidentally, the Mail proposes that Great Britain cede to the United States its Caribbean possessions.

This, accordingly, is the "unselfish" programme of America. Our country is becoming a danger to a just and equitable peace. Moreover, it is using its influence against the new democracy of Russia. "The world must be made safe for democracy."

Socialism During Peace and War

THERE is no complete break between war and peace—each is equally the expression of determinant economic and political forces. The war marks a new epoch in Capitalism only in this sense, that it is the sharp, definite, catastrophic expression of forces operative in society during peace, and that precipitated the war. Through the process of war these forces are being transformed into dominant forces, where previously they were latent or insufficiently developed. The assumption, accordingly, that war marks a complete break with the past is without a shred of sociologic truth. The fundamental tendencies dominant in peace are dominant in war.

In other words, to understand adequately the politics and economics of Capitalism during the war its development and tendencies during the era that preceded it must be borne in mind as a basis; and to understand the conflict of policy in the Socialist Movement to-day, we must appreciate the fact that it is the continuation of an identical conflict before the war. The form changes, the fundamental issues are identical.

The action of the Socialist, or of Socialist groups, during the crisis of war is determined by their general conception of principles and tactics. Whatever defects or short-comings have marred Socialist action during the

war were equally existent before the war, were equally existent before the international did not collapse during the war; it collapsed before the war, the war simply registering and emphasizing the collapse.

The international did not collapse because of traitorous instincts, accident or cowardice. All these are strictly incidental factors. The international collapsed during the days of peace when it made its first compromise with Capitalism. It collapsed because the majority that dominated it compromised with the menace of war, and accepted the fact of war; it collapsed because it placed national interests above international interests; it collapsed because it refused to fight aggressively in peace the conditions latent with the menace of war. In short, the international collapsed because it abandoned the class struggle, nationally and internationally—an abandonment that, begun in peace, was completed during war.

Socialist policy, whatever apparently startling changes it may show, is not at all breaking with the past; the break with the revolutionary traditions of Socialism was made many years ago. Socialist policy to-day is a direct result of our policy of yesterday, and can be considered only in that light. We may couch our criticism of the majority in different language, and cite different facts; the fundamental issue has not changed.

The revolutionist, accordingly, must reject a "civil peace" within the party. As the Imperialist seeks to put through his plans by pleading "national unity," so the Socialist majority seeks to perpetuate its policies and control by pleading "party unity." The revolutionist rejects both—our principles are supreme, and alone vital.

All our action during the war will bear scant results unless we proceed on the principle that our struggle is the identical struggle waged before the war, and that will be waged after the war.

A Socialist may be against the war, but that is not sufficient for our purposes; the test is that plus his general principles and tactics. The circumstance that Edward Bernstein, J. Bruce Glasier and others of their type in Europe are against the war does not alter their essential character as liberal democrats and reformists. And the circumstance that an element of our party bureaucracy, captained by Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee and Victor L. Berger and the conservative forces they marshal are against the war does not alter their character as opportunists and reformists of the worst type.

Moreover, Bernstein and Glasier are at least sincere and aggressive in their action against the war. Our bureaucracy is not. To their general shortcomings, they now add the crime of saying one thing in theory and virtually repudiating it in practice. Their dominant concern is to perpetuate their power for purposes of their own after the war. And it is precisely because of this circumstance that we cannot suspend our struggle against the majority and their abandonment of revolutionary Socialism.

The underlying conceptions, the motives, of one's opposition to the war are an essential factor in the problem. We are organizing not alone for the immediate, but for the general fight against Capitalism. And our immediate action must square with this general purpose.

The struggle against Capitalism can be waged effectively only on the basis of the class struggle. The struggle against war can be waged effectively only on the basis of the class struggle, which means on the basis of revolutionary action. But as the majority abandoned the class struggle in their fight against Capitalism, so they are abandoning the class struggle in their fight against war. They refuse to adopt aggressive tactics. They are losing their Socialist identity in bourgeois movements and bourgeois peace propaganda. They are pursuing the identical general course they pursued in the days of peace.

These are important facts, vital in the coming reconstruction of Socialism. Peace and war—they are fundamentally identical and each require an identical general course of revolutionary Socialist action.

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Brutalizing the World

By ROBERT H. HUTCHINSON

THERE is an unfortunate fallacy in human thinking, characteristic of class society, which consists of believing that reality of human relations can exist entirely apart from the people. In the middle ages there was a long controversy between the Nominalists and the Realists, the former maintaining that there was no such thing as the church aside from the people who made it up, and the latter holding the opposite, that the church was an entity, which existed over and above its changeable parts. Naturally the latter was the belief of the churchmen and their supporters, for it meant that whatever happened to the people, whatever were their lot in life, whatever was done or not done for them by the church, it mattered very little so long as the ideal which the church held up was maintained.

This disease is now taking a firmer hold in this country. We believe in democracy; and I venture to say that there are really very few people who openly and frankly oppose this belief, but we are not always sure what we mean by that word. Our tendency is to hold on to the word rather than maintain the fact. It is this evil worm in our minds that allows us to send men over to the battle lines to fight for freedom while we at home are rapidly Prussianizing ourselves, that allows us to talk about liberty while we suppress free speech.

For my part I know that, if I had to go over to the trenches and stick bayonets into men's guts, I could probably do it. If I saw the necessity for it I could probably grit my teeth and set myself to the job and gradually get used to it, for I know that people can do get used to things and that I do, too. But I know this also, that in doing it I would be giving up something in me that I believe is more valuable to civilization than any good which I could possibly do in killing people. I would lose my hatred of blood-shed and viciousness and oppression and horror, and I would also lose what appreciation I have got for the finer things of life and for beautiful social relations. I don't see how the two can live together, and I am erring enough, some say, to think that the latter of these things is more desirable. How on earth can you separate happiness and freedom from human beings, and how can you have these things if human beings, one by one, are going to brutalize themselves?

I can see the future. I have returned from war, I am quite used to horrors. There is industrial unrest in the land, and I am ordered to go and put down the disputes. At the scene of action I see women and children starved and diseased and without homes, but I merely light my cigarette, for to me that is nothing. Then I am ordered to shoot like a crowd of men, mere trouble makers like those Germans were. I shoot with pride and sleep peacefully when I go home and find myself in an agony of conscience.

It is precisely the sort of thing the churchmen of the middle ages did. For the sake of the holiness of the church they sacrificed the people who made up the church. It is a terribly dangerous thing to do—to brutalize members of the community with the idea that the community will be better.

MORGAN takes fifty million "Liberty" bonds and other billionnaires advertise their patriotism in a similar way.

It certainly would be a very poor sacrifice to grab hundreds of millions of war profits and allow a couple of those millions to squeeze "only" 3 1/2 per cent interest out of American labor. But the fraud is far more shameless.

Any capitalist, no matter how big, has to invest a part of his property in such a form that it can be realized at short notice. This part of his capital in the form of bonds yields no more profit in any case than 4 1/2 to 5 per cent. The war tax on incomes over one million dollars will be 80 per cent, and the liberty bonds are exempted from all taxes, including war taxes. The investment in liberty bonds means to the billionaire masters of Wall Street and of the country a year, profit of at least 1 per cent, per year, and this profit has again to be burdened in some form upon the smaller incomes to which the liberty bond may mean a kind of sacrifice.

—S. J. R.

Socialist Propaganda League



MOTHER AND DAUGHTERS

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

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...the party and its future is ours. In the meanwhile, the minority must... The Socialist Propaganda League... wherever it is, is driving the party on toward aggressive action. It is organizing the minority. It is striking hands across the seas with our revolutionary Comrades.

struggle, and the party and its future is ours. In the meanwhile, the minority must... The Socialist Propaganda League... wherever it is, is driving the party on toward aggressive action. It is organizing the minority. It is striking hands across the seas with our revolutionary Comrades.

old maid," she mumbled, more to reassure herself than her giddy daughter. "You are no longer a child. It isn't as if you had rich parents. You're not getting any younger."

Beatrice hurried to the hall where she... "I wish I had another car, then I'd show you around," he boasted as a loud knock... "I don't need it mama. I'll buy a new one."

And ahead still... "I wish I had another car, then I'd show you around," he boasted as a loud knock... "I don't need it mama. I'll buy a new one."

allowed Beatrice. Her reserve was gratifying to him, it confirmed her modesty. "I wish I had another car, then I'd show you around," he boasted as a loud knock... "I don't need it mama. I'll buy a new one."

...the world to get... "I wish I had another car, then I'd show you around," he boasted as a loud knock... "I don't need it mama. I'll buy a new one."