

**THE NEW INTERNATIONAL**  
Published Every Two Weeks by  
**THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA**  
J. F. MULLEN, Secretary  
41 Winchester Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.  
LOUIS C. TRAIANA, Editor  
A. S. EDWARDS, S. FREEMAN  
S. J. RUTGERS, J. C. ROVITCH  
Subscription—One Year, \$1.00; Six months, 50 cents; Three months, 25 cents.  
Single Copies—5 cents.  
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. Get subscriptions! Order a bundle! Contribute to the sustaining fund! Your Cause and Paper Need You!

### Mooney Again in Danger

THE Mooney case again comes forth to eloquently denounce the pretensions of the ruling class of this country to be fighting for democracy and civilization. While the country is asked to fight to make "the world safe for democracy," Mooney and his wife and others are languishing in jail, in imminent peril of being hanged. In spite of the exposure of the plot to frame-up the defendants, the Grand Jury exonerated Oxman, and Mooney is again in danger. The conspiracy against the liberty and lives of our comrades is brazen and unafraid, and is going the limit to secure a conviction. The organized Socialist and labor movements must come to the rescue. Act immediately, else it may be too late!

### Democracy and Civilization!

THE New York Globe, an ardent enthusiast for the war, cannot stomach some things. In a recent issue it says: "In the presence of ten thousand spectators a self-confessed Negro murderer, chained to a tree, was yesterday roasted to death in Tennessee. Women and children looked on while the unmarked mob went about its revolting work unmolested by the authorities." "In all the black history of lynch law there probably has been no more shocking case than this. Because one man became a beast, committed a vile crime, ten thousand citizens wreaked beast-like vengeance on him. That the man's crime was monstrous does not make the crime of the mob one whit more defensible."

"Billy Sunday yesterday told his congregation that the American Indian with his tomahawk and scalping knife was a gentleman compared with the Prussian soldier. Could Prussian savagery go further than that of Tennessee?" "One account of the lynching says a Negro close to the pyre, unbalanced by the excitement, caught up an American flag as the last of the flames died out, and, waving it above his head, shouted: 'We're all through here, boys! Let's join the German!'"

Will President Wilson now write a note to the government and citizens of Tennessee holding them to "strict accountability" for this outrage? Oh, yes, the Negro also is to fight for democracy and civilization—in Europe!

### Out with the Traitors!

THE expulsion of A. M. Simons and W. R. Gaylord from membership in the Socialist Party should be the beginning of a campaign to throw out all the traitors. These two men were particularly infamous in their actions. They wrote a letter to Senator Hustling, asking the government to take action against the party for circulating the majority report on the war. They acted as spies of the vilest sort, and they seem to take a pride in their vile behavior. They made a denunciation and committed treason against their Socialist principles. We cannot blame a man for holding principles different from ours, but we can insist upon character and decency. The *New York Mirror*, the Socialist daily in New York, has coined a phrase that applies to these men, and Wallingford and the rest—"social informers." Let us get with them all! And do not let the traitors that skulk about try to hide the indecency of their actions. The Socialist party must be a party of men and women devoted to revolution, not a prowling pack for moral and intellectual degenerates.

### The Negro and Conscription

AN interesting feature of the conscription issue in Congress was the opposition of certain southern politicians to conscription because it would confer equality and power upon the Negro! They do not object to the Negro shedding his blood for democracy, but they fear the Negro might turn around and demand democracy for himself. Democracy is all right for the Belgians and Serbians, and others abroad, but, of course, it is unthinkable that the Negro should be given the democracy supposedly granted by the Republic and the Sixteenth Amendment. Imagine, the Negro might compel the whites to give up the gentle sport of lynching! And isn't lynching characteristic of the honor and chivalry of the South? But still—it is a war for democracy. Don't forget that!

### Fraud of "National Liberation"

IN the news recently appeared the following highly significant item: "A congress of the Swedish political party, representing a majority of Finland's wealthiest and most influential classes, yesterday passed a resolution favoring a complete separation of the Grand Duchy of Finland from Russia." This is a reactionary move instigated by the industrial and feudal aristocracy of Finland. The workers and peasants have nothing to gain and everything to lose by separating themselves from revolutionary Russia. The people of Finland should fight with the revolution, and not for their aristocracy against the revolution. Imagine the rivalry and incitement to war should Russia be split into half a dozen nations! There are situations in which the phrase "national liberation" hides the most reactionary and infamous motives. The task of the peoples of Russia is to fight for a democratic federated republic as a preliminary to the Socialist Revolution.

### Courage!

THE claws of the reaction are seizing its prey. While their lips make the motions of freedom and democracy, the actions of their claws are destroying the freedom and democracy that existed before the war.

They cannot do it! They cannot crush our spirit, they cannot maintain their tyranny. Their success shall be only a temporary success.

They imprison a man? A hundred spring up to take his place. They imprison a woman? A thousand devote themselves to the cause—you cannot crush a woman! They build new jails? They can never build enough. And if they do, it won't matter anyway. They shall be opened, and their inmates again bask in the light of the sun and of freedom. Even the Bastille was compelled to give up its victims.

### Courage!

The terror can never succeed. Not even in Russia did it succeed. And the spirit of the Russian Revolution throbs throughout the world. It will prevail!

We are not blind. Our eyes are open. We go into this fight with courage in our hearts and a song upon our lips.

They may imprison, and they may kill. What matters it? Life is not life if used in the service of death. Death is sweet if it comes in the cause of life and freedom.

Life is precious to us. But freedom is still more precious. Courage! They dare not—they shall not.

### Wealth and Productivity

IN all the discussion of the war's "higher strategy" and such high-falutin' matters military, the one fact that sticks out is that the life of a nation, including its military power, lies in its work-shops. The mobilization of the strictly military forces depends upon the mobilization of industry and the whole civil population. The greater the industrial power of a nation, the greater its military power. The military weakness of Italy, Austria and Russia, contributing factors aside, is the result of relative industrial inefficiency; the military strength of Germany, France and Great Britain is the result of industrial strength.

Bourgeois economists have stressed these facts. Some of them are going further, and emphasizing that the life and strength of a nation lies not in its wealth, but in its productive capacity—which means in the bone and sinew of its Working Class. H. L. Gantt, an efficiency expert and a shrewd observer of things industrial, says:

"Soon after the breaking out of the war it was recognized that the life of a

nation was to depend not upon the wealth it had stored up, but upon its productive capacity."

Exactly; wealth is a symbol, productive capacity a fact that dominates all other factors.

When the war broke out, it was freely predicted that its course would be run in six months, or less. Many a Socialist, whose economics should have taught him better, indulged in the same illusion. "The financial argument ran, 'will stop the war.' The wealth of the belligerents will be rapidly consumed, and this drain on wealth will induce exhaustion and compel peace."

But six months passed, and then a year, and now three years. And not only does the war go on, but each of the belligerents increases its effort, equips more men, spends more money, and new nations are drawn in.

The war would be over to-day if it depended upon the accumulated wealth of the belligerents; but it does not; it depends in an economic sense upon the productive capacity of a nation, upon its industrial resources and its working class. Even an apparently purely financial transaction such as a loan is not a transaction in wealth, but is based upon the productivity of a nation—is a lien upon the future labor of the workers.

Grant a government control of production, and it could fight practically indefinitely. The hope of peace, of immediate peace, lies in the activity of the revolutionary Working Class, particularly in Russia and Germany.

Will the fiction that wealth itself is power become apparent to the mass of the people? The Working Class is the great productive factor in a nation; it controls the process of production. The Working Class is dominant, economically; all the wealth of the world would shrivel into nothing, war would cease and Capitalism collapse, if the Working Class used its economic dominance in its own revolutionary interests and against the interests of its masters.

The Great War brought along with it the collapse of Socialism as an organized movement; but it has demonstrated, in a new way and emphatically, that the Working Class holds the future of the world in the hollow of its hand.

### Fighting for Liberty

"The real fruition of life is to do the things we have said we wished to do. There are times when work seems empty and only action seems great. Such a time has come."—President Woodrow Wilson.

THESE are lofty sentiments. To-day, action alone is great, but to be great it must have a great purpose.

It is a habit of the President to indulge in lofty sentiments, but their interpretation usually dispels the loftiness and reveals them as the ideological expression of gross capitalist interests.

In this same Memorial Day address the President said:

"In one sense the great struggle into which we have now entered is an American struggle, because it is in the sense of American honor and American rights, but it is something even greater than that: it is a world struggle. It is a struggle of men who love liberty everywhere, and in this cause America will show herself greater than ever."

American honor! We are jealous of the honor of the American people, but it is precisely the forces that engineered this war that sully this honor. The Congress of the United States has refused redress to Colombia, and thereby approved the stigma placed upon American honor by the brutal and illegal action of Theodore Roosevelt in "taking" the Canal Zone. To-day, the government of the United States is trampling upon the rights of small nations in the Caribbeans and Central America. Is this American honor?

For two and a half years, according to the sentiments of the president, liberty was in danger. Germany raped Belgium, destroyed Serbia and Rumania, devastated Poland; for two and a half years France was bleeding to death. Did the American government rise to defend liberty? No! Apparently it cared not a snap of the fingers what happened to the liberty that they now claim is being menaced by Germany.

For two and a half years the sole interest of American Capitalism and its government was to protect its commercial interests, to coin profits out of the blood and agony of Europe. It refused to affiliate with the European neutrals

for the protection of neutral rights, because it considered itself safe from attack after the Sussex pledge by Germany.

Only a month or two before the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, this government instituted what was virtually a peace campaign—in the President's historic phrase, "peace without victory." And then—and then Germany resumed her ruthless submarine campaign, menaced the profits of American Capitalism, and this country declared war.

The American people has never wanted to do these things—to shed its blood to protect the profits of its exploiters.

The men who love liberty everywhere are being shot, tortured, imprisoned—in Germany and Austria, in Italy and France, in Great Britain and the United States. If these governments are fighting for liberty, why deprive its people of their liberty? We are fighting for liberty! The other fight for liberty is a fraud!

"Work seems empty and only action seems great"—but it must be action for liberty, and not against it. This war is a war against liberty. It is trampling upon the people. It is crushing democracy. It is imposing the burden of an odious tyranny to-day, and for the future.

The war is empty, its consequences horrible, and only our action for liberty and international emancipation is great.

### America Preparing

THE reactionary interests in America are using the war as a means of preparing their forces for aggression in the future.

A comprehensive plan of action is being mapped out. The events that throng faster and faster upon us may be rightly interpreted only by relating them to this fundamental fact: *American Imperialism is preparing its social, economic and political forces for aggressive action in the days to come.* And this potential menace is graver than the immediate menace involved in the triumph reaction.

The great menace of the future will be an armed and aggressive American imperialism, backed up by the tremendous resources of the country.

It is only by bearing this in mind that certain events may be understood and fought intelligently. Conscription, for example, was not at all necessary for the war. But the cornerstone of an active imperialistic policy to-day is universal military service, and the purpose of conscription is to accustom our people to the idea of universal service.

It is a move in the campaign to develop a mighty militarism that shall hold the world in awe.

To-day, America has two great tasks before it, according to the *New York Mail*, in an editorial on "American Policies": "One is to successfully meet the emergency of this war. The other is to formulate a broad policy for the future, a policy into which we must fit our present emergency efforts." This is preceded by the statement that "no great thing can happen in the world, after this war, which will not affect us and our vital interests." A frank avowal of the real purposes animating America in the war!

The most significant feature of the *Mail's* editorial is its analysis of the things needed to make America prepared:

"The policy of making America ready must include, first of all, the principle of universal military service. This means that all the male youth of the land, upon reaching a specified age, nineteen or twenty years, will be required to spend one year preparing themselves to defend their country."

"Second, we need a navy that is second to none in the world. We have two great exposed coast lines, connected by that vital but vulnerable link, the Panama Canal."

"Third, the policy of this new world empire that we call America must include the creation of a great merchant marine. We shall have at the close of the war a foreign trade with which no other nation's foreign trade will compare. Our ocean carriers must not fall behind the demands of the nation's commerce."

"Fourth, our policy of preparedness must include the co-ordination and development of our transportation system. The American railroad net must not stop at the Mexican border. It must stretch down through Mexico to the

Panama Canal, to be that canal's sure defense.

"Finally, we must develop and maintain a consistent foreign policy, co-ordinated with our policy of domestic preparedness. The inevitable development of American farm, field, mine, industry, finance, demands new markets, new fields for our enterprise, our investments, our products. To hold open these fields is the main task of modern diplomacy. We are used to calling it 'dollar diplomacy.' We must have done with the vacillations which the last few years have seen. We must never again induce our investors, industrialists and traders to go into Central and South American fields and then abandon them to whatever fate handit governments choose to put upon them. Mexico is a landmark, and will long serve as a warning to us. The country must demand a foreign policy that endures, no matter what may be the fate of political parties."

"These are the things that will make the future of America secure. Policies like these look to an extension of America's sphere of influence in the world. They guard our safety and our growth. But their enforcement can rest upon nothing except our own strength. Even if Germany is defeated in this war, we cannot hope to ride into a great future in the triumphant war chariots of others. Others will guard their own interests. With those interests, particularly the interests of England, Germany and Japan, our industrial and commercial future will inevitably be in rivalry. Upon the balance of power, of potential striking force, will depend that balance of influence and opportunity which will mean peace and justice between us and our great rivals among the world's leaders. The mailed fist of military power is behind the velvet glove of diplomacy. But where the mailed fists are of equal size, the velvet gloves are not drawn off."

Exactly! And this is a war for civilization and democracy! The hypocrisy of it all is vile.

What does it all mean? War, and aggression, and conquest. Economic and political expansion, and its inevitable reign of terror.

One point alone will express the spirit of the whole programme. America is to build railroads through Mexico to the Panama Canal. But Mexico is—as yet—an independent nation, and in a war of the United States against another power might declare that the railroads would be nationalized. The only recourse would be to violate the neutrality of Mexico—as Germany violated Belgium.

Oh, yes, citizens; this is an unselfish war for democracy and civilization!

### Industrial Unionism and Mass Action

THE phrase "mass movements" in the majority resolution's declaration on conscription is making Mass Action an issue in the Socialist movement of this country. And it is fortunate that, just at this juncture, the Russian Revolution has provided the movement with a vivid demonstration of the meaning and power of Mass Action.

The central feature of Mass Action lies in its emphasis on the action of the Working Class independent of the parliamentary machine. It means the action of the workers themselves, organized and unorganized, as mass groups fighting for a particular purpose. It means that the Working Class depends primarily upon its own action and power, and not upon parliamentary machines or representatives. It means, moreover, a true appreciation of the historic fact that the emancipation of the Working Class must be the task of the Working Class itself.

It was the Mass Action of the Russian people that drove on the revolution, transformed it from a clique revolt to a social uprising. Behind the declarations of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates stands the power of the workers; the power of their action en masse that makes good the declarations.

The general theory of Mass Action is one, the concrete application and emphasis differ according to different conditions. It is important, accordingly, that we do not accept Mass Action without considering the historical conditions of its European origin, and adapt it to our particular needs and revolutionary practice.

We did not do this with Syndicalism, and it proved more of an injury than a benefit. Syndicalism contributed nothing of value that was not implicit in Industrial Unionism, except Sabotage. And even in this we did not relate Sabotage to our own conditions and industrial development.

It is different with Mass Action. This practice contributes an important idea,—if we interpret rightly.

Mass Action means more revolutionary action against Imperialism, against war, against Capitalism. But, apart from this program, Mass Action is indefinite. It is indefinite—that is to say, incomplete—because it does not emphasize the ultimate revolutionary mission of unionism. It is indefinite because in Europe it is used primarily to fight the conservatism of the Socialist movement. When rebels in Germany urge Mass Action upon the party, they mean more aggressive action and not a comprehensive program of revolution.

Mass Action, precisely as does Industrial Unionism, urges the extension of Socialist activity to conscious and aggressive action on the economic field. This activity stimulates the independence of the working class and warms its idealism into aggressive action. It "puts a bone" into the parliamentary struggle and compels it to become revolutionary. The fight against Capitalism becomes an active mass fight, not merely an electoral and parliamentary debate.

But Industrial Unionism goes much further: it bases the whole Socialist movement upon the economic action of the Working Class, organized and unorganized; it sees in the immediate economic struggles of the workers a preparation for the revolutionary strike that will overthrow Capitalism; and it organizes the Working Class in a way that provides the means of assuming control of society,—builds in its organization the structure that will function as the administration of the new society.

Karl Kautsky, in an article in the *International Socialist Review*, April, 1901, said:

"The trades unions . . . will constitute the most energetic factors in surmounting the present mode of production and they will be pillars on which the edifice of the Socialist commonwealth will be erected."

But trades unions are not working for the revolution; they are working as a caste for a place in the governing system of the nation,—making for State Socialism, and not the Social Revolution. Nor does the structure of the trades unions admit of their assuming possession and management of concentrated industry. Industrial Unionism alone provides the means, the theory and the practice of the new society.

All this isn't emphasized in the program of Mass Action; nor does it project a new and more effective form of union organization. Moreover, Mass Action, without a definite industrial organization around which to coalesce, has a tendency to disintegrate, to be taken unawares. It is strategically strong, but tactically vulnerable. Industrial Unionism would rally around itself the mass actions of the Workers, unify and organize them. *Industrial Unionism integrates Mass Action.*

Accordingly, Mass Action and Industrial Unionism are not antagonistic: they are supplementary.

Industrial Unionism, alone and in itself, is compelled to abstain from action until the future, or to indulge in small action. On the whole, it may preach, but as yet it cannot always act. Through the practice of Mass Action, however, the revolutionist may participate in all the struggles of the Working Class, organized and unorganized. We come to them with a program of immediate action, and in this way emphasize our propaganda.

Industrial Unionism without the practice of Mass Action may be doomed to propaganda alone; Mass Action without the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism neither builds for the future nor develops the maximum power of the proletariat.

The two must fuse: our movement must accept the practice of Mass Action. May our European comrades fuse their Mass Action with the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

It is an encouraging fact that in different European countries the members of Young People's organizations are among the most active in opposing the war. In Sweden, the leaders of the Young People even went to jail for their conviction.

The recent party convention in Stockholm practically decided to expel these young revolutionary Socialists. It passed a resolution inviting the "disrupters" either to withdraw their former criticism of the Party or withdraw from the Party. The Social Patriots will everywhere soon be in control of the sinking vessel of the Second International.