

Devoted to
the Cause
of the
Left Wing
Socialists

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Workers of the
World, Unite!
You have
a World
to Gain!

A JOURNAL OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION

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The I.W.W. in Action

BY CHARLES MARTEL

THE Far West and the Middle West are in revolt. In Minneapolis, St. Paul, Detroit, Indianapolis, Cincinnati and St. Louis great movements against Conscription have been in action, with the Socialist Party as the center of it all. Hundreds of members of the party in those sections are under arrest or in jail because of their revolutionary activity.

Instead of abating, the activity is increasing in scope and intensity. Discontent in the West is exceptionally strong. And it is organized discontent. This may seem peculiar, in view of the fact that the western states are about the only ones that have filled their quotas for the regular army and the National Guard. But the enlistments are not so much a result of a sentiment for war, as of an adventurous spirit among the youth in that section. The proletarian West is emphatically and actively against the war.

Now we have an industrial revolt, apparently directed by the I. W. W. But it does not seem to be confined wholly to the I. W. W. It is an extensive and spontaneous revolt against unbearable prices and industrial conditions generally. In the mines, lumber camps and on the farms strikes are developing rapidly and the workers organizing. In its genesis the activity seems to have been of purely industrial origin. But the employers, using the war as a pretext, have made charges of German money, etc., and the strikers have been most brutally treated. They have been deported out of strike zones by the thousands, and left to starve in the wilderness. In one case, among a batch of deported strikers were found men who owned their own homes and who had invested in Liberty Bonds. What a delicious satire on the liberty that we are asked to sacrifice our all for! So brutal and high-handed were the actions of the minions of the employers, including public officials that President Wilson was compelled to censure the authorities—mildly, it is true, but a censure none the less.

The strikes originated in Butte, Montana, and it is significant to note that President Moyer of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers expelled the local there because it was dominated by the I. W. W., and accused the I. W. W. of being financed by German money.

But the most important feature of the whole situation is that the strikes are a splendid example of mass action. While thousands upon thousands of men are involved, the name of no single individual stands out in the reports,—the workers have organized and directed their own revolt. In that fact lies equally its strength and its importance. Everywhere the officials of the labor unions are lying down miserably, and it is only the action of the membership itself that can stir things up for their own advantage. The day has gone by when the American working class will tolerate being misled by its officials.

The action is spreading. Montana, Arizona, New Mexico and Washington are the scenes of the most intense activity. By the time the harvest is ready to be reaped, the strikes will cover the whole West, as the I. W. W. is steadily at work organizing the harvest hands. And the workers are falling rapidly in line, determined to strike a blow for better conditions against their oppressors.

Strikes in this crisis inevitably assume a political character. The employers will use patriotism as a means of bludgeoning the workers into submission. The Socialist Party particularly, and revolutionists generally, should use all their power to support these and all other mass-movements of the workers.

THE safety of democracy is an accomplished fact in America. Completely safe! If you keep your mouth shut, if you don't stray on the streets, if you realize that the first duty of the citizen is to obey the mandates of the governing powers and attempt absolutely no criticism of the hypocrisy of pretending to fight for democracy in Germany and crushing democracy in America,—then all is well and the safety of democracy an accomplished fact. But if you don't, then you are ruthlessly crushed, for in order to make the rest of the world safe for democracy, we must submit to autocracy in America.

The process of imposing autocracy to promote a mythical democracy seems illogical—and insincere! But it isn't, really. The age of miracles is again in the world. It is a miracle that the ruling class is performing, and a miracle is a thing that passeth understanding. Accept, and doubt not!

The situation is serious. Socialist and radical papers are being denied the mails—among them the *International Socialist Review*, the *American Socialist* and *The Masses*. Denial of the mails is a preliminary step to complete suppression. Moreover, the distribution of often perfectly harmless leaflets is being curbed by the simple agency of arresting the distributors on preposterous charges of disorderly conduct. The owners of halls are being intimidated into refusing to rent them out for Socialist meetings. In New York City it is virtually impossible to secure a hall in which to hold a meeting for the repeal of the Conscription Law.

Not satisfied with this, the representatives of Law and Order are raiding meetings, provoking disorder and riot, freely using their clubs and making indiscriminate arrests.

The most outrageous case of this sort occurred this month in Boston. A parade held by the Workingmen's Council was stormed by soldiers and sailors in uniform, men, women and children beaten, their faces smashed and their clothes torn to shreds. The revolutionary flags in the parade seemed particularly to arouse the ire of the ruffians. The assault was general and unprovoked. It was a reign of terror. And the police did not interfere. When the parade got to the Common, in spite of the assaults, the police charged upon the crowd of 30,000, stopped the meeting and indiscriminately used their clubs in dispersing the people. But the fury of the soldiers and sailors that are to make the world safe for democracy was not satisfied. They marched to the local headquarters of the Socialist Party, broke into the rooms and smashed all the furniture they could lay their hands upon, the books from the library being hurled into the street.

Nor is this campaign of terror sporadic. It seems to be general and organized. The government is shaky. The people are not at all enthusiastic for the war. Frenzied demands are being made upon the president for a declaration that will "stir up" the people, and councils are held to determine upon a campaign to "educate" the people into the meaning of the war. A really significant sign of the times was the dismal failure of "recruiting week." The president issued a call for volunteers, 70,000 volunteers, to fill up the regular army; and less than 20,000 enlisted, in spite of the president's call and the insistent appeals of posters, newspapers and portly patriotic gentlemen. The country is not against the war, nor is it for the war; it is disinterested and apathetic. This is the danger for the government. Apathy may be turned into active discontent by agitators, especially when people begin to

feel the burden of conscription and the sorrow of the casualty list. The agitators and their agitation must be crushed.

And it must be crushed particularly at this time, when the draft is only a few weeks away. The governing powers are nervous. The sentiment against conscription may be gauged by the fact

resolution of the Socialist Propaganda League, and I know that Hillquit's interpretation was not in my mind, nor in the mind of the comrades who favored the resolution, nor in the mind of Louis B. Boudin who was responsible for its introduction into the Majority Report at the St. Louis Convention. The phrase

worth while. Demonstration should be piled upon demonstration. Our determination will answer the assaults of the soldiers. They cannot conquer determination: it is invincible. And if they go too far, we shall still not give up our rights. The democracy that once was America was created by resistance to tyranny and wrong.

No, we cannot "passively accept the war as an existing condition." That was the animating spirit of the miserable Minority Report, and it was humiliatingly defeated. There is no way of achieving "ultimate Socialism" except through immediate action. The masses can be organized only through education and action. Of what value is "ultimate Socialism" if we compromise our action to-day? It was in the interests of "ultimate Socialism" that the German Social Democracy justified its abandonment of revolutionary Socialism, an abandonment that led straight to the disastrous collapse of 1914.

Moreover, the issue is deeper. Demonstrations develop the spirit of mass action in the proletariat. And mass action develops independence, integrity and fighting spirit. The proletariat must develop its own action, in its own way, through its own mass activity. Decades of wrong tactics, of making the proletariat rely on forces outside itself, may be righted by fitting action to-day. Our action may not achieve immediate tangible results, but it will set a precedent and develop moral and physical reserves for the future. Is it, then, only for to-day that we are fighting?

Demonstrations in the streets, without any violence (except perhaps the violence of the representatives of law and order), are a revolutionary form of action. They create an impression. They arouse enthusiasm, and the spirit of action and solidarity. Do the soldiers, sailors and police disperse the demonstrations? Splendid! They are emphasizing our ideas. They are contributing mightily toward destroying the apathy of the people which is the great obstacle to action.

Crowds are not cowards. I have seen conscription riots, and it is ominous the way a crowd refuses to disperse in spite of the brutal behavior of the police. Crowds may not act, but at least they do not run away. An outrage doesn't frighten them, it angers them. The action of the crowd develops out of outrages.

I am not preaching violence. I am not urging retaliations. *Peace is the great power, moral and physical, that crowds possess.* Against a crowd that does not retaliate and still refuses to disperse, the violence of soldiers, sailors and police is helpless. *Moral resistance is itself an aggressive act of resistance.* The individual alone is helpless; in a demonstration *en masse* the individual becomes a moral and physical giant.

Out upon the streets, men and women of the proletariat!

They cannot crush you. They cannot destroy the ideas you represent. They dare not push things too far—they fear revolt!

The strength of the mass is the fear of the tyrant. The German autocracy has the mightiest engines of force in the world, yet it prohibits proletarian demonstrations in the streets of Berlin. In France, in Italy, in England, the power of militarism trembles for the future when the workers organize demonstrations in the streets. The revolution in Russia was made in the streets of Petrograd.

At any moment, the apathy of the American people may transform itself into active discontent. Our action to-day contributes toward that transformation. Organize and act!

RESIST THE TERROR!

By LOUIS C. FRAINA



BAPTIST SHELLS

that apparently a million eligibles did not register and that 60 per cent. of the registrants claimed exemption. Resistance is anticipated. The draft riots of the Civil War may be repeated and extended to-day. This is not imagination. It is fact. And the government is preparing itself by arresting the agitators, terrorizing the people, and crushing the revolutionary press.

It is the task of the Socialist movement to resist the terror. There is no alternative. Acquiescence would be ethically unjustifiable and tactically suicidal. Thousands upon thousands of men and women have become members of the Socialist Party since the declaration of war. They have joined the party primarily because they see in the party an instrument of protest and action against the reaction. They want to fight. If we do not fight, we shall not only lose these new members but our own integrity. Principles and expediency equally impose a course of action upon the Socialist Party. And since the Majority Report has been accepted overwhelmingly by the party as its program on the war, there can be no equivocation based on the assumption that the party has not yet spoken. The party has spoken, and in unmistakable words. It is now our task to put through the program of action by all means in our power. No compromise!

We should not, however, ignore the fact that there is a tendency to compromise in the party. A portion of the bureaucracy is satisfied with a "magnificent gesture" in the form of a documentary declaration against the war. Moreover, Morris Hillquit, in an article some time ago, declared that "all means in our power" includes only lawful means and those means that the government allows us to use! This interpretation is absolutely wrong. The phrase is taken from a resolution I introduced in Local New York, subsequently adopted by Local Kings County, and incorporated in the

means exactly what it says, and nothing else.

Another discouraging manifestation is an editorial in the *New York Call* of July 3, on the Boston outrage. It is an extraordinarily pessimistic editorial, typical of the *Call*, the only consequence of which can be discouragement and paralysis of action. The *Call* says:

"Can we do nothing more than denounce these performances as an 'outrage'? Is it possible to get the protection of the law that is theoretically due us, or are we, and all people who advocate a general and speedy peace, to remain as outlaws? Is there any machinery we can set in motion to curb these riotous mobs? If so, the sooner we discover and apply it the better.

"And, if not, what then? Are we to go along, offering ourselves as sheep to the slaughter? Are we to expose ourselves constantly to the fury of riot that, to all appearances, may pass over into murder, unchecked by the law? Are we to voluntarily offer our headquarters to pillage, destruction and incendiarism? Is this the duty of every Socialist, to go right ahead as we are going and take the consequences, which already we have seen and which, apparently, will follow in every similar case?"

"Or shall we abandon this form of propaganda as impossible? Shall we passively accept the war as an existing condition, against which we can do nothing in direct opposition, and turn our attention to other phases of those results, which we may, perhaps, use to advantage for ultimate Socialism?"

"We frankly confess that we cannot answer these questions. It is the Socialist party that must decide, and that decision, one way or the other, must be made as speedily as possible."

Instead of a clear call to action, the *Call* miserably offers pessimism, equivocation, and the hint of compromise!

There is only one answer: *We cannot abandon this form of propaganda. It is*

The New Party in Germany

BY S. J. RUTGERS

THE April Conference in Gotha resulted in a new party: The Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Does this mean that the Left Wing forces in Germany have united on the basis of a common program, declaring war against the traitors within the old party and an uncompromising fight against the new forces of Imperialism and against all Capitalist wars? On the contrary, it means that the radical Left Wing forces have split into two groups. It is not true that only the rather insignificant group of the International Socialists of Germany (I. S. D.) did not join the new party. The Left Wing groups in Bremen, Hanover and Hamburg, which find their expression in the *Arbeiterpolitik*, strongly opposed unity with the Center group or "swamp" into one party, and they decided to remain independent. Other groups, i. e., in Duisburg and Berlin VI, also opposed, but finally submitted to the majority of the "International Group." Our Dutch Left Wing Paper, *The Tribune*, states, moreover, that Franz Mehring and Karl Liebknecht did not join or approve of the new party.

And those who remember the letter of Liebknecht printed in issue No. 7 of the *Internationalist* will understand this position. Liebknecht specifically warns against combining with the eighteen of the "neither flesh nor fish" policy: "The formal combination of all kinds of indefinite oppositional feelings and motives is always a great danger, especially so in a time of world changes. This means confusion and dragging along on old lines, it sterilizes and kills the militant elements which get into this mixed company."

We should not overlook the fact that the group "Labor Community" tried its best to stay in one party with the Scheidemanns and that they only decided to initiate a new party after they were thrown out of the old Socialist Party. The opinion of the members of the "International Group" towards the Center generally is one of contempt, and even the *Kampf*, the weekly published in Duisburg by members of the International group and in favor of joining the new party, considers this only a temporary measure. The feelings of good will of these Left Wingers towards the Ledebour-Haase-Kautsky group with whom they now unite into one party, may be learned from the way the *Kampf* writes about the "political impotence, helplessness and hopelessness of the so-called opposition, of which the latest peace manifesto of Kautsky is a classical example." The *Kampf* goes so far as to call this the refutation of Socialism.

Although joining into one party together with the Center, the members of the "International Group" will continue to carry on their own propaganda and claim full liberty to criticize the "swamp" policy of the "Labor Community."

One may wonder what arguments could be used to defend the getting together into one party of such heterogeneous elements, especially in view of the fact that the new party did not accept any program of principles or action, which might appeal to the radical Left Wing. In fact, the old by-laws and the program of the old Socialist Party were endorsed and readjustment postponed until after the war. International disarmament and compulsory international arbitration, considered both utopian and reactionary by the followers of Liebknecht and Mehring, were picked up from the dumpheap of bourgeois phraseology, and no definite stand was

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First Issue

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The New Party in Germany

(Continued from Page 1)

taken in favor of uncompromisingly rejecting defensive wars. A general statement of relentless opposition against the Majority Party does not make a big impression after you have tried hard to stay in that party as long as possible, and have been thrown out against your will. A relentless opposition against the government lacks force as long as you do not explain by what means this fight has to be carried on. Even the Majority Party now votes against war credits and the Center group did absolutely nothing to encourage the strike movement and develop it into a more general class action.

The two main arguments given for a united party at this moment are as follows: The revolutionary Left Wing puts its hope in mass action and expects to reach greater masses of workers through the new party, because a great part even of those workers who are in opposition to the old methods still look upon the Center as their spiritual leader. This argument may as well be used for any affiliation with even the most reactionary groups of labor, and overlooks the fact that under the present conditions of readjustment clarity of purpose and sharpness of demarcation are most needed.

The second argument is, that mass action will develop only under certain historical conditions. As long as these conditions do not arise, the radical Left Wing is bound to remain a rather small group, criticizing and educating without a fair chance for action. As soon, however, as mass actions develop, the Left Wing will become the natural leader anyway, no matter what the form of organization. The form of organization, therefore, is considered of minor importance and we might as well join the "swamp" to get a broader hearing. This argument seems not very strong, because if the organization of our present forces is not considered very important, we might as well form a clear-cut revolutionary group, unhampered by the poisonous gas emanating from every "swamp." But the whole reasoning is utterly false, because you cannot make this sharp distinction between periods in which mass-movements develop and periods of relative calmness. It may be perfectly relevant that more revolutionary periods sometimes break out with elemental force; this does not do away with the fact that such periods to a certain extent are the outbreak of accumulated influences gathered during a period seemingly barren in developments. In certain revolutionary periods the leadership may fall automatically to the Left Wing, but the results of this leadership greatly depend upon the achievements during the previous period. Results will be influenced by the self-consciousness of the Left Wingers and by whether they are considered reliable, and both of these elements are greatly injured by opportunist coalitions with middle-group Socialists.

The majority of the "International Group" evidently thinks that it can have this freedom within the new "Independent Party." Another part and probably the most active part is convinced that under present conditions affiliation with the Center in a regular party without any half-way acceptable program is bound to become a failure, even when accepted only as a temporary measure.

This means a regretful split in the Left Wing, and developments in Germany since do not show an increase in revolutionary spirit or action. It is a specific feature of any "swamp" to swallow whoever struggles to keep his head above the general level, and it is to be feared that the hope for the future now rests with a reduced number of fighters outside of the new party. *Arbeiterpolitik* holds the banner of this group and there may be a ray of light in the decision of the group in Hamburg, which not only refused to join the new combination, but decided that the time was ripe to constitute a new Socialist organization in which the economic and political struggles will have to be fought as one and inseparable. Here is the dawn of the new hope, of new forms for the new struggle.

The "Independent Social Democratic Party" does not constitute a unit, neither of thought and principle nor of action, and it leaves outside of its organization groups of the most active elements for the reorganization of the Socialist forces of the future.

COMMODITY CONSEQUENCES

By AUSTIN LEWIS

LABOR power is a commodity. In peace times we hear no objection to the statement; on the contrary, the employers and their economists strongly uphold it as the corner-stone of the system. The modern system depends upon this fact, and it is a fact, all sentimental vociferation to the contrary notwithstanding. The fact that organizations of labor do not come under the provisions of the Sherman Act means no more than that labor is such a commodity as does not come under the Act, and is no victory over the commodity conception of labor-power, as many of the labor leaders have claimed. It is merely an admission that the enforcement of the law against labor organizations would be practically impossible, as indeed must be the case, in view of the numbers violating, the difficulty of prosecution and the political effects of convictions.

At the sitting of the Industrial Commission in San Francisco one of the leading Federation of Labor officials was very angry because it was testified that the A. F. of L. took the commodity view of labor-power, and pointed out with much emphasis that the A. F. of L. spokesmen had taken quite the other view in the debate in Congress. Superficially, that is true, but in reality it is untrue, for the whole argument of the Federation exponents rests upon a ridiculous and obvious fallacy. They contended that labor is not a commodity, for labor is life. As if life itself could not be a commodity, could not be bought and sold in the market, and as if it were not the glaring and atrocious fact of modern social and industrial arrangements that life is just that sort of a commodity. Labor-power is life in that it is inseparable from the person of the living laborer, and just because it is so inseparable, with the sale of labor-power we have coincidentally the sale of life, upon the same terms as any other commodity is sold, the best price that can be had for it in the market at a given time.

The exclusion of the organizations of labor-power from the operations of the Sherman Act was something vastly more important than the affirmation of a mere untruth, or of something which could only be true as far as the operations of that particular Act might go. It was the raising of labor from a commodity to a status as far as the Act was concerned. If Organized Labor cannot grasp this, if it is so victimized by the liberal tradition that it cannot comprehend the significance of the result, so much the worse for Organized Labor. Make no mistake that the intellectuals of organized labor see it, and have made the air hideous with their ululations that the unions have constituted themselves superior to the law and have won for their commodity, labor-power, a position transcending that of other commodities (i. e., have acquired status). And the practical importance of this lies in the conclusion that the path of labor is not to be the old-fashioned liberal path of the old and now comfortably dead social democracy, but the new path which leads to status, call it syndicalism, guild socialism or what you will.

But this by the way; granted that labor power is a commodity and that the laborer is the seller of the commodity, now is the time to insist upon an abiding by that doctrine which is so persistently preached in the piping times of peace, when men are only quietly murdered by means from which the gentle pacifist does not shy. War has raised the value of the commodity labor-power. Why should not the owner of that commodity insist upon having the benefit of the increase and the market doing its duty by him in times of prosperity? We are familiar with the reply of the outraged employer when confronted with an agitation for higher wages or when rebuked for the inhuman standards prevalent in industries exploited under the *laissez-faire* practice. He washes his hands of all responsibility, maintains that the matter is none of his; says that he does not make the labor market; holds that if workers do not like a job they can leave it; argues that there is no compulsion, that the market is an open market and that there is plenty of material at current prices.

The employer has always insisted upon this commodity aspect of labor, and the workers themselves have not done otherwise. "A fair day's pay for

a fair day's work" has been the slogan, and in the last half century millions of tired slaves have passed through the streets of our cities behind banners bearing this significant device. They made it perfectly obvious that the commodity position was good enough for them, and that all they asked was a free market and the right of all dealers to organize for their own benefit.

So far there is little doubt that among the workers capable of organization, at least, there has been little tendency to quarrel with the commodity concept. Occasionally, of course, humanity has transcended the commodity concept. The human heart has refused to bear the pain of conditions into which unregulated *laissez faire* plunged large bodies of helpless workers, and the politician has legislated for the perpetuation of the race, as they legislate about the preservation of forests. But Organized Labor has not viewed these encroachments of the state upon the free market with any marked approval, or it has more or less indifferently seconded the efforts of the philanthropist and the practical statesman. And now we get the quite horrifying demand of the State Federation of New York that those legislative enactments passed for the benefit of the helplessly unorganized sections of labor should be allowed to lapse during war time. This is the crudest and most diabolically cruel resolution of any body of organized labor in the history of the modern world. Even the capitalistic agents have not contemplated any such perversion, and the whole experience abroad during the war has required the extension rather than the diminution of such protection in the interests of mere efficiency.

For better or worse the organized labor bodies are wedded at present to the commodity concept. They have the mind of the dominant class and their contribution to the problem ethically and economically is nil. But we know that the "servile state" will have something to say at the end of the war which will make the ears of the labor leaders burn. For the present, however, we are justified in demanding that the labor leaders stand by their idols and that they should employ their commodity concept for the advantage of the labor movement and the development of organization.

Our capitalistic economists are very insistent upon the supremacy of the law of supply and demand, which applies equally to the human and material elements of production and exchange. They will act on their theory to the full, at least their employers will, and will demand for all the commodities which they control at least the full market value, even where they do not make artificial combinations and surreptitiously corner the market. We know that all the governments have been obliged to take extraordinary precautions against fraud and extortion on the part of the business groups, and that they have had to accede to unreasonable demands under the pressure of conditions. In spite of all their precautions, the war profits mount in the most horrific fashion; and the government of Britain, to save its face, has been obliged to impose war-profit taxes to the amount of sixty per cent, which it is now proposed to raise to eighty per cent. In spite of all this, however, profits constantly pile up and new millionaires, conspicuous for their arrogance and extravagance, spring out of the chaos of the war. Commodity prices are maintained and the market will not be baulked. Even in Germany, where the organization is supposed to be complete and where the government is credited with an approach to evenhandedness in its control of the "interests," where Holy State can impose its decrees impartially on capitalist and proletarian alike, even there the industrial capitalists have taken the bit in

their teeth and the dividends of the manufacturing firms bear witness to the weakness of mere political government in dealing with such implacably obstinate things as commodities.

The scarcity of commodities incident upon the war places the industrial and commercial exploiters where they cannot avoid making great profits. The general misfortune is their good fortune. They draw inordinate profit from the public misery. Even the sums which they advance in the form of bonds are excellent investments and tend to secure their own position and that of their children. They are in the happy position that everything they touch must turn to gold whether they will or not. They must profit by the war unless the government took the only logical step of confiscating all profits in excess of average profits before the war. But governments are not like that, and could not afford to be so. The reply of the owning classes to such a measure would be a refusal to advance capital or to use their workshops; for capitalistic patriotism has its limits, and these are reached directly business is interfered with, since business is more holy than Holy State itself. The only reply of the government would be confiscation, that is the abolition of the capitalist class; and no government will commit hari-kari, even for the sake of victory. The exploiters must be humored if the system is to continue and commodity values must be realized.

The commodity labor-power, like others, rises in value during the period of war. It is destroyed in large quantities and the demands for it are constantly increasing. We know that all labor is fully occupied in all the countries at war and that the demand is so great that the apparently insuperable margin of unemployed has been destroyed and that most of the crimes incidental to poverty have disappeared along with the poverty. But we know also that there has been no attempt on the part of the laboring people anywhere to realize upon the increased value of their own commodity in the labor market. Wherever the least tendency in that direction has become manifest the governments which have submitted in silence to the most shameless capitalistic robbery have turned loose their journalistic and platform pack in pursuit of the unpatriotic laborers who have dared to declare that labor being a commodity, they will demand for labor a return such as all other commodities receive, its price in the market.

For labor to constantly submit to this sort of governmental dragooning is fatuous folly. If anyone thinks that the possessors of other commodities, patriotism notwithstanding, are going to emerge from this war poorer by sacrificing the economic values of the commodities which they control, he is very much mistaken. The entrepreneur may send his sons to the war, and submit to taxation, he may grudgingly invest his surplus funds in national securities, but he will never surrender his claim to the full value of the commodities which he controls. To do so would mean his ruin; it would imply the speedy termination of his economic superiority.

Such a surrender on the part of labor is no less ruinous. The rise in the prices of necessary commodities means an essential reduction in the actual wage unless such wage is raised to meet the new conditions. And how is the wage standard to be raised except by combined effort to raise it? Such effort will be met with indignation and vituperative insult by the dominant class, and they will pour out on that portion of the working class which first takes up the burden of the fight the vials of their most violent wrath, as in the case of the South Wales miners.

Only by combination to raise wages to realize the value of the commodity labor-power, can the economic position of labor be so preserved that the horrible reaction after the war will not drag it back into the abyss from which it has with difficulty extricated itself. The very economic position of labor as a whole is dependent upon the action of Organized Labor in this respect.

As for the moral effect which is after all much more important in the long run—that does not belong to this discussion.

Lenin on the Russian Revolution

AFTER his departure for Russia, Lenin wrote a letter to his Swiss comrades, in which he reaffirms his position that if the Revolution in Russia brings a republican government and the government should be willing to carry on an imperialistic war, together with the imperialistic governments of France and England for the conquest of Constantinople, Armenia, Galicia, etc., he will uncompromisingly fight this government and the war "for the defense of the fatherland."

Lenin had been asked what would be his position should the Socialists would get into power now, to which he answers: 1.—We would offer peace to all people involved in the war on the following peace terms: a) Immediate deliverance of all colonies of all countries; b) immediate deliverance of all suppressed people. 2.—We would start immediately with the deliverance of all people suppressed by the Russians.

"We do not doubt for a minute that these peace terms would be unacceptable not only to a monarchial Germany, but also to a republican Germany, and not only to Germany, but also to the capitalistic governments of England and France.

"And in that case we would be compelled to wage a revolutionary war against the German Bourgeoisie, but not only against the German Bourgeoisie, and we would take up that fight.

"We are not pacifists, we are against Imperialistic wars waged by capitalists for profit. But we always did consider it nonsense that the proletariat should reject revolutionary wars, which may be necessary in the interests of Socialism."

Lenin realizes that this task would be a stupendous one and would mean a series of class fights all over the world, but he points out that it is not our impatience, our desire to confront this issue, but the objective concrete conditions resulting from the world war that put before us this dilemma: either to sacrifice more millions of men in the destruction of European civilization, or to conquer the governments of all civilized countries for the Socialist Revolution.

"Historic conditions have made the Russians, perhaps for a short period, the leaders of the revolutionary world proletariat, but Socialism cannot now prevail in Russia. We can expect only an agrarian revolution, which will help to create more favorable conditions for further development of the proletarian forces, and may result in measures for the control of production and distribution.

"The main result of the present Revolution will have to be the creation of more favorable conditions for further revolutionary development, and to influence the more highly-developed European countries into action."

"When in November, 1914, the Russian Party demanded: 'Transformation of the imperialistic war into a civil war of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism,' this demand was considered ridiculous by Social Patriots, as well as by those who constitute the 'Center.' Nowadays even a blind man can see that this demand was correct.

"The changing of the imperialistic war into a civil war has already started. Good luck to the proletarian Revolution in Europe!"

This letter, of which we publish the most essential parts, was written in accordance with instructions of a group of members of the Russian Social Democratic Party, traveling with Lenin from Switzerland to Petrograd, and was adopted at a meeting on April 8, 1917.

The International Movement

A SPECIAL convention of the Swiss Socialist Party affirmed its adherence to the principles of Zimmerwald and Kienthal. It decided in favor of a New International, excluding the Social Patriots. A resolution to arrange mass-meetings of munition workers, to discuss the possibility of a strike in munition factories in co-operation with comrades in other countries, was lost with 86 against 113 votes. A resolution condemning the "defense of the fatherland" as against the principles of International Socialism, was passed by 222 against 77 votes. Platten spoke in favor, Muller and Greulich against the motion.

THE labor conference in Leeds (England) showed a remarkable change in the minds of the English workers under the influence of the Russian Revolution. Not only was the general opinion in favor of immediate peace on the conditions of the Russian Council of Soldiers and Workmen, but a growing opposition against the English Government was evident. Robert Smillie, speaking in favor of one of the resolutions, mentioned the English Government as "our provisional government, and it was acknowledged that Ireland and Egypt should also have a right to decide their own destiny. A suggestion to ask indemnities from Germany for families of submariners sailors was shouted down with the remarks: "Let the ship owners pay for their victims," and "our enemies are the English ship owners, not the German sailors."

RAKOWSKY, the Rumanian Socialist who was liberated from prison by a mass-demonstration in Jassy, in which 15,000 soldiers participated, has been welcomed at a meeting of the Russian Council of Soldiers and Workmen. Rakowsky denounced the demands for annexations of the majority of the Socialist Party in Bulgaria, and favors the establishment of a federative Republic of Balkan peoples, as advocated by the minority Socialists in Bulgaria, as well as by the Socialist Parties in Serbia, Rumania and Greece.

THE Americans are certainly not losing sight of their business interests, and their Allies may find out some day that their new associate has the best part of the bargain. Think of the millions and millions which France and England have loaned to Russia, practically without security, even without gaining a solid foothold in the economic system of the Empire of the Czar. Comes the United States in the game with a few millions and takes hold of the mines and other concessions! They evidently want to try out their methods of Ludlow, Butte and the Mesaba range in Russia, but it is doubtful whether the Soldiers and Workmen will accept this new form of democracy, even at the hands of Charles Edward Russell.

OUR intrepid Comrades Liebknecht and Friedrich Adler have been elected honorary members of the Council of Soldiers and Workmen. We may expect that the liberation of their honorary members, as well as of other victims of the opposition against Imperialism in different countries, will be made a peace term of the Russian Council. The Left Wing Group with Lenin, as well as the Left Wing Socialists in Holland, have already made this demand a condition for participating in any International Socialist Congress.

THE Left Wing group of Socialists in France, of which Loriot is the best known representative and which endorses the resolutions adopted at Zimmerwald, decided at a conference that Alsace-Lorraine should not be in the way of a general peace. They accept the "no annexations" in the sense as proclaimed by the Russian Council of Soldiers and Workmen.

A COMMITTEE has been formed in England on the initiative of the Independent Labor Party and the British Socialist Party, to work for a speedy peace on the basis of Zimmerwald. Labor unions will be represented and Ramsay MacDonald has been elected Secretary.

SOME of the Russian social democratic papers in France have been suppressed, evidently to make the world safe for democracy.

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
3246 Kingsbridge Avenue, New York City

Russia, Germany, America

(Continued from Preceding Page)

If the dynasty cannot secure victory, then it becomes a useless tool. If the people break down the power of Kaiser and Junkers...

At the same time that in Europe the hand appeared on the wall writing its warning in bloody letters, America plunges into the world war as a fresh power...

Seemingly there is no advantage to result from this war. The American capitalists supplied at high prices enormous quantities of war material to the Entente...

But imperialism is not moved by petty narrow greed; it is the profit-lust raised to the height of energetic world politics...

But there is more. As a result of the general exhaustion of Europe, America will become the leading capitalist country in the world...

A new period, says the American labor movement, America enters the arena of the world revolution.

THE PLACE OF THE SKULL

By MILUTIN KRUNICH Lieutenant in the Serbian Army

DARKNESS came on rapidly. The old cemetery under the lindens was entirely dark, but around it was still twilight...

"Cheda, take care that the soldiers are through soon, and I will go to the other trench to see how much they have done..."

"Yes, sir." "Mirko, I have nothing to say to you. You alone know what is your duty..."

"I know you are a brave man. We shall trust in God!" "Slowly I returned to the other position..."

"Yes, sir." "Have you put them as I said—two at the right side of the trench, and one at the left?"

"Yes, sir. What do you think of to-morrow?" "If they have enough artillery, it will be bad. But if they do not, then we will kill them as the hail kills field-mice..."

"There he is in the trench, sitting on the coffin." "What?" "Sitting on the coffin, dreaming as usual..."

"What! are you sitting on a corpse?" said Cheda grimly. "I tell you it does not feel, and the heart in my breast does not feel..."

"I sat down on the coffin, trying to be calm, but I felt a cold shudder run from my feet up my back and stiffen my neck..."

quickly. She bent often, as though looking for something. Once in a while she would straighten herself, and we could hear her moan...

"It is dug up—it is broken down, destroyed!" exclaimed the poor creature, writhing with grief, stretching her arms over the mound...

And not knowing what she was doing, she stumbled into the trench. We caught her and put her down near the coffin.

"Here is the coffin," said Cheda, almost audibly. She knelt on the ground and quickly felt over the coffin with her hands, whispering many times, 'Here it is, here it is!'"

"Bora, drew in his breath with a sharp hissing sound. 'Dead!' he whispered. Cheda ran to the woman first and raised her. Her shawl fell from her head and we could see her gray silvery hair..."

"I took a canteen and bathed her forehead and temples. The soldiers crowded round us, I could hear them whispering, 'That's a mother!' 'Poor woman!' 'Poor mothers—all of ours!'"

"The night dragged its endless length along. The first streaks of dawn were appearing, when suddenly, over the river, somewhere in the blue mountains, there rang out a shot, then another, a third, a fourth..."

"They have set the town on fire, the black devils!" said Bora. "We're their sure victims, but the people in the town might fly, and so they want to finish them first..."

"No! good mother, we will not take out the coffin. On the contrary, we are here to defend it. We love your son too..."

worry too much, for he felt that my love defended him. "One day—O God, God! One day, when I came to the hospital, I found another wounded soldier. His head was bandaged and he was lying perfectly still..."

"One morning I went into the bandage-room when they dressed his wounds. He had no hair; his beautiful hair was shaved entirely off. Around his head was a wide-open gash from which the blood was running..."

The poor woman ceased speaking, and began to weep sadly. We were silent. The hush of death fell.

The night dragged its endless length along. The first streaks of dawn were appearing, when suddenly, over the river, somewhere in the blue mountains, there rang out a shot...

At first I laughed at their wild shooting, for the shower of shells exploded far from us. But it grew serious. It seemed to me as if a muddy, turbid river, a raging flood, was rising up to swamp us...

"You see now that it is better that I remain here," said the mother with a sad smile. Suddenly, before we expected, they turned their fire on the hills at both sides of the pass...

At the same time a black line rose from the bed of the river. The Bulgarians had crossed the Morava. Perhaps they had crossed last night and were hidden somewhere along the shore of the river...

"Hello! Fourth battery!" It seemed as if a hundred men had spoken at the same time at the telephone. "I cried as loudly as I could..."

"Don't worry," answered the same voice. After a few moments something thundered terribly behind us and whistled over our heads...

and looked into the valley. Two little white puffs of smoke showed there—one of them just over the black line. "Again I took the telephone..."

"Another line rose from the river. It appeared to me that the Bulgarians had directed all their cannon toward our Peaceful Hill, trying to find our battery..."

"Quick firing! eight hundred metres!" I shouted. "Bora ran along the trench crying the same. An unspeakable booming and crashing began..."

"Go tell the men at the machine-guns that I cannot come to give the order to fire." The soldier crept away. Presently the machine-guns began firing...

"I ran through the trench encouraging the soldiers. Oh, the unspeakable scenes that I faced! One of my men lay in the bottom of the trench..."

"Still farther, a soldier raised his left hand from his gun. It was fearfully burned by the red-hot barrel. He looked at his black and swollen hand, smiled indifferently..."

"Shoot!" I said and shook him. He fell. He was dead. The wounded were the most heartrending. There were so many, and they were everywhere!

Still the battle raged on and came to its culmination. The air had become close and dark as in a cave, through which ran a fiery river of melted iron in which terrible explosions boomed and thundered...

Stepping over the dead and wounded, crying I know not what, I returned to the old place and looked for the mother. Why had I left her? The thought flashed through my head...

Bora was at the right wing of the trench. When he saw me coming through the smoke and dust he ran toward me. He was, as always in battle, smiling, singing, but very pale. He waved his hands to me, shouting something I could not hear...

"Bora!" I cried. I leaped to my feet and ran down the trench. Through the smoke, dust, and ruin I saw him. There are moments in our lives so horrible, so incomprehensible, so unspeakably terrible...

Bora was lying in the arms of the poor mother. A soldier held his head, which was nearly severed from his body. A dreadful wound gaped upon his neck; his whole body seemed so crushed, so shattered...

"Shoot! Kill, kill!" I cried hysterically. Then I seized a gun, but it seemed so little, so small before my rage, pain, desperation, and horror that I threw it away...

A strange sound came to me. For a moment I stood like a stone, then turned quickly. In the same moment the mother let go of Bora and fell. I ran and lifted her. From two places on her head ran blood, red blood on the white hair!

"Mother, mother, are you wounded?" A happy smile passed over her face. Then, in a weak voice, "I am happy! I knew that I would not be separated from my son for long! Now we will be again together forever..."

I leaned my head against the wall of the trench and was silent. I do not know if I breathed, I did not feel. After a short time the mother lifted herself with great pain. Then slowly she unbuttoned her dress and put her hand in her bosom...

I felt my teeth chatter. The mother said, in a wonderfully clear voice, "I have given—to this world my greatest sacrifice, my only one. But it was not enough. Now I give my blood, my life. Oh! I give them very freely, but only, I beg you, kill each other no more!"

With one leap I was out of the trench. There is no more trench, no more shelter, no more world, no man, no humanity! Nothing but raging lions waiting, and beasts, who, growling, are ascending the hill...