

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Published by

THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

5c A Copy

\$1.00 A Year

LOUIS C. FRAINA - - - Editor

Press Committee:

S. J. Rutgers I. K. Davis
J. Axelrod S. Freiman

Address Communications

3246 Kingsbridge Avenue
New York City

THE I. W. W. ON THE FIRING LINE.

THE I. W. W. is becoming the centre of the revolutionary stage in America. It has succeeded in making the reaction show its claws. It has struck terror into the hearts of the capitalist powers. "Suppress the I. W. W. with bayonet and rifle," urges the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. Everywhere the representatives of law and order are using the most brutal, contemptible and conspiratory methods against the I. W. W. The Federal government, engaged in waging an unselfish war for democracy, refuses to use its power to maintain the rights of the people, and, moreover, uses its power to assist the terrorizing of the I. W. W. The remarkable thing about the whole situation is that the strikes of the I. W. W. in the West are industrial uprisings, and not against the war; and yet, *ipso facto*, they are of a political nature. It is a confirmation, if any were needed, of the revolutionary theory that the effective way to prevent war is by using industrial power of the proletariat. The I. W. W. is on the firing line, in the front line trenches, and is acquiring revolutionary strength of great significance. Every class conscious worker must throw his support to a group that is intelligently and effectively waging the class struggle against Capitalism.

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

THE provisional government of Russia has definitely proven its bankruptcy as a revolutionary force. In its compromises it has steadily drifted toward reaction. Premier Kerensky's declaration of a republic is an empty thing in itself, a move to strengthen his hands and secure an apparent mandate for his acts.

The Korniloff rebellion is a dark mystery. Kerensky apparently had yielded to most of the demands of the militarist Korniloff, and the rebellion, whether the responsibility lies upon Kerensky or Lvoff, or both, was a sinister move against the revolution, the purpose of which was to crush the revolutionary power in Petrograd and thereby strike at the revolution throughout Russia. The failure of the plot and the expose of its real animating purpose as a conspiracy has strengthened the real revolutionary forces.

The most significant recent development is the control of the Petrograd Council of Soldiers and Workmen secured by the Bolsheviks. This, more than anything else, shows that Russia

is revolutionary. And this new development is all the more significant in that it comes only a few months after an uprising of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd was suppressed. That uprising, which the American press at the time described as riots, now appears from later information to have been a formidable revolt that went far toward preserving the revolution from being directed into reactionary channels, that in its temporary defeat assured ultimate victory.

Moreover, the development is significant in that it shows that the revolution is finding itself. The Petrograd Council has made a number of almost fatal mistakes through its tendency to compromise. It allowed its members to become ministers in the provisional government and thereby assumed responsibility for its acts. It talked, while the government acted. While it issued manifestoes instinct with the revolutionary aspirations of the Russian democracy, the provisional government acted in a contrary manner and struck at the revolution. The council compromised, hesitated, apparently saw clearly but was afraid of what it saw and did not act. The resignations of Tscheydse, Skobelev and Tseretelli from the council and the election of Leon Trotsky as president of the Council in place of Tscheydse marks the definite defeat of compromise.

The reactionary character of the provisional government's actions is shown in the composition of the Moscow conference which it sponsored. It was a hand-picked affair and was in no way really representative of revolutionary Russia today. The delegates to this conference were divided as follows. 15 from Petrograd and Moscow Town Councils; 7 from other town councils; 100 from the Council of Soldiers and Workmen; 100 representing the peasantry, 400 the Zemstros; 300 the co-operative societies; 120 from industry; 200 from science and 400 representing the three Dumas. This alignment represents the conservative-revolutionary and bourgeois forces, and in no way was it typical of Russia today. It was out of this reactionary mass that Kerensky tried to snatch the power of imposing a dictatorship upon the revolution.

The situation in Russia is shaping itself definitely, and the immediate future will tell us the decision. It is clear that only the Bolsheviks can save the revolution from disaster, only a complete tearing up of things. Revolutions are dead if they pursue the legalistic and compromising methods of Kerensky and Tscheydse. There can, moreover, be no compromise with representatives of the bourgeois in a coalition government. The program of the Bolsheviks, the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat, is the need of Russia. And this dictatorship would not be for the purpose of establishing Socialism, but of using Russia as a revolutionary factor in the war, creating revolution in the rest of Europe, and assuring Russia the most liberal reconstruction possible at her stage of economic development. That is the program of Lenin and the real revolutionary forces.

The Stockholm Betrayal

By S. J. Rutgers.

THE proceedings in Stockholm are showing all the signs of weakness and decay of the Old International. Originated by Huysmans and Troelstra, representatives of the past, it was bound to be a failure.

From the very beginning, it used diplomatic methods and means of intrigue. Troelstra even travelled to Berlin and had a conference with the secretary of war, who gave him some secret information which led Troelstra to publish the statement that the world would be surprised about the liberal terms of a German peace. Troelstra and Huysmans from the very start intended to cooperate also with the German majority Socialists, the traitors of the Scheidemann type, the servants of the German Kaiser. Stockholm was not only bound to become a Congress of Social Patriots, it was essentially to become a tool of German diplomacy, not only to further its imperialistic world interests, but still more to deceive its own working class into the belief that the German Government wanted a peace acceptable to the workers.

The refusal of the Entente Governments to grant passports to their respective Socialists, for the first Stockholm Conference, tended to cloud the issue still more. The fact of this refusal was so outrageous, so brutal, that the fight for freedom to participate in whatever International Conference we might wish to hold overshadowed the issue whether this special conference served our purpose. If the Governments had not interfered in their usual despotic way, most likely the Left Wing Socialists all over the world would have refused to participate in this Stockholm Intrigue. Even as it was, the German minority Socialists through a letter written by Mehring protested most emphatically against any conference, in which the majority Socialists should be represented. Lenin, for the Russian Left Wing, and the minority party, the S. D. P. in Holland, also flatly refused to acknowledge the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee as representative of Proletarian interests. Under these circumstances, there never was held a Stockholm Congress, but the failure served the German interests as well, because it strengthened the arguments of the Imperial Government, that the failure to get peace is solely due to the attitude of the enemy. No doubt, the lull in the labor strikes and riots in Germany, which in April of this year looked quite promising, is partly due to the plotting of the Stockholm social diplomats.

It is to be regretted that the Russian Committee of Soldiers and Workers did not denounce more emphatically the Huysman-Troelstra-Branting diplomatic move. Instead they concentrated their energy in forcing the Entente Governments to grant passports to Socialist delegates.

In this they were partly successful, but at the same time fell into another trap. In their endeavor to convince the Governments that the peace term "no annexations and no indemnities" was acceptable, they degraded their formula to a new diplomatic scheme.

Although the Entente powers are utterly opposed to "no annexations and no indemnities" in the sense of the Russian Socialists they accepted the phrase, as being sufficiently vague and flexible to suit any purpose of conquest and humiliation. Once the Russians made an appeal to the Governments of the Allies, they lost the sound foundation of proletarian class-power, and the diplomatic intrigue turned against their own efforts. Stockholm turns out largely into a diplomatic move in the struggle for the support of the Russians, and chances now become more favorable to the Allies. For this reason we may expect in the near future cooperation from the Entente Governments in granting passports, and no doubt the United States will then have to give up its stubborn refusal.

But this new phase in the Stockholm business is doomed as well by its diplomatic character. It may not turn out an Imperial German Conference, but it cannot escape being essentially a tool of Imperialism in some form. At all events it will have nothing to do with the proletarian New International of the future.

We sincerely hope that the Russian Council of Soldiers and Workmen will give up its attitude in favor of a general International Congress, including Social Patriots and diplomats. As long as it leaves the organization of the International Congress into the hands of the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee, the diplomatic character of the Stockholm International guarantees failure in so far as proletarian interests are concerned. Left Wing Socialists should denounce and expose this new fraud and demand the exclusion of Social Patriots of all shades.

But we may still hope that the pressure of Left Wing Socialists in Europe and particularly of the group Lenin in Russia will induce the Committee of Soldiers and Workers to take this thing in their own hands and to issue a call to unite delegates in Petrograd, representing those workers who stand uncompromisingly against war and in favor of proletarian mass-action for the overthrow of Capitalism.

REVOLT IN AUSTRALIA.

Australia is experiencing a general strike of soldiers and workers. Neither boats nor trains are running. Australia is demanding peace at once and has forced the release of some of the political prisoners who have been convicted in the last year. Some of these are members of the I. W. W. In July the government declared the I. W. W. an illegal organization in Australia. Now soldiers and workers are singing their songs and selling their newspapers.

Although Frank Little was hanged, the strike in the copper mines of Butte are still unbroken, and victory expected. And if they hang them all, who will do the mining.

Neither silk gloves nor the hangman's noose will bring labor down if once aroused to the realization of its strength.