

**THE NEW INTERNATIONAL**

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### American War Policy

IN the New York Times of January 4, "An American Jurist" says: "It is not compatible with the safety of America that there should be only one great power in Europe, and that power unfriendly to America." This expresses America's war policy in a nut-shell, the same sentiment expressed by President Wilson one year ago in the phrase, "Peace without victory"; it is the same old game of the "balance of power." To-day, "peace without victory" has become transformed into peace with victory, not because of different purposes but because of different conditions. The peace terms enunciated recently by the President, in a general way, are terms in accord with the balance of power, terms that subtly promote Imperialistic purposes. And these are the terms that representatives of the "People's Council," either through stupidity or poltroonery, have hailed as its terms of peace! Imperialism moves in a mysterious way its purpose to perform. Neither an aggrandized Germany nor an aggrandized Britain; neither a crushed Britain nor a crushed Germany: either eventuality would menace American imperialistic interests. Our Imperialism would secure world power by having its rivals neutralize each other. It is the game that Britain played for centuries in Europe—a game that cost millions of lives and immemorial agony. Also, American Imperialism is strengthening its hold, while the war lasts, on the investment and other markets of the world.

### The A. F. of L. Convention

THE recent convention of the A. F. of L. at Buffalo emphasized the reactionary character of Gompers and his bureaucracy, and equally emphasized the cowardice and treachery of the "Socialist opposition." The Gompers war policy was approved, and the "Socialist" delegates dared not express the courage of their convictions. Or it may be that their convictions exist only on paper, and not for practical use. The misleaders of labor who cloak themselves in the idealistic garb of Socialism in order better to betray the workers are becoming more and more numerous, and dangerous. The N. Y. *Volkzeitung* says: "The unbelievable cowardice of the majority of the Socialist delegates at the A. F. of L. convention seems to us the most revolting and disgusting phenomenon imaginable." And to cap the climax, "the Socialist delegation at the convention of the A. F. of L." officially publishes a lengthy statement in the *Call* ending with the announcement that they will defeat the reactionary leaders "next year." Cowardice before the enemy is had enough, but to boast afterwards of future bravery is too much. The one really vital expression of revolutionary sentiments came from Delegate Fischer, of Montana, representing the Laborers' Local and a member of The Socialist Propaganda League. The appearance of Presi-

dent Wilson at the convention was evidently to strengthen Gompers; and certain passages in the President's address were construed by the Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* as meaning a contemplated attempt to get unorganized labor within the A. F. of L. or under its control, so as to simplify the problem of dealing with it, meaning betrayal, by dealing with it through the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The country needs a new, a radical labor movement. The constituent elements for it are at hand: the vast mass of unorganized unskilled workers, a large group of independent, secession and opposition unions, and the unions in the A. F. of L. which consist of unskilled workers or those whose skill has been expropriated by the machine process. The need and the conditions are here: action is necessary.

### The Bolshevik Policy

THE newspapers and the lackeys of Imperialism generally, which have been viciously and contemptibly slandering the Bolsheviks, are on the verge of trying a new trick. That is, of pretending friendliness for the Bolsheviks and cajole them into carrying on the war. These are the moral perverts. Others, more sincere, seem to imagine that the Bolsheviks are changing their policy because they are preparing to fight German Imperialism, if necessary! To these good souls, one's attitude is determined by the answer to the question, "Will you, or will you not fight?"

The circumstances are these: German and Austrian Imperialism tried to perpetrate a fraud on the Russian Revolution, by enunciating the formula "through gritted teeth" of no annexations, and then by means of characteristic duplicity trying to annex Poland and the Baltic provinces. The Bolsheviks, who want a general and revolutionary peace, and not a fraudulent, imperialistic peace, immediately protested. The correspondent of the London *Daily News*, describes this session of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk as follows: "The Russian delegation, acting on unequivocal instructions from the Bolshevik authorities, took up an uncompromising attitude. They said self definition [of nationalities in Poland, Lithuania and Courland] was impossible until the last German soldier had left the country. Further, they jeered the Germans, asking what they proposed to do. They asked whether they intended to take Petrograd and feed 3,000,000 starving folk or to disarm a revolutionary country in which every workman had a rifle. They also asked what the Germans proposed to say to their own democracy, which protested a couple of months ago against the proposed annexation of Poland and Lithuania." The Bolsheviks demanded the evacuation of territory occupied by German and Austrian troops as the only way of ensuring a real plebiscite.

The Central Committee of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council, after hearing Leon Trotsky repudiate "Germany's hypocritical peace proposals," and his declaration that it might be necessary to defend the Revolution, adopted a resolution denouncing "the dominant parties in Germany," which, "compelled by a popular movement to grant concessions to the principles of a democratic peace, nevertheless are trying to distort this idea in the sense of their own annexationist policy." The resolution further said:

"We now declare that the Russian Revolution remains faithful to the policy of internationalism.

"We say to the people of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria: "Under your pressure your Governments have been obliged to accept the motto of no annexations and no indemnities, but recently they have been trying to carry on their old policy of evasions. Remember that the conclusion of an immediate democratic peace will depend ac-

tually and above all on you. All the peoples of Europe look to you, exhausted and bled by such a war as there never was before, that you will not permit the Austro-German imperialists to make war against revolutionary Russia, for the subjection of Poland, Lithuania, Courland and Armenia."

In spite of all this, the infinitely vile moral perverts of the New York *Times* insist that the Bolsheviks "have from the beginning been committed to a German peace."

More important, however, is the belief that Russia will again fight. In view of these developments, it is hinted that the Allies may recognize the Bolshevik government—but only and if it is willing to fight!

Revolutionary Russia may fight. But, gentlemen, it won't be your war, but a revolutionary war waged by a revolutionary government for revolutionary purposes. The magnificent appeal of the sailors of the Baltic fleet, printed elsewhere in this issue, indicates the spirit and purposes of such a war.

If the newspapers and the lackeys of Imperialism were not miserably stupid, they would understand that the new developments are in perfect consonance with the purposes of Imperialism and the purposes of revolutionary Socialism.

Weeks ago, Trotsky said: "We did not overthrow Czarism in order to bend the knee to the Kaiser." Again: "It is all the same to us how the allied and enemy imperialists treat us. We shall carry on our independent class policy, whatever they do." And Lenin has again and again emphasized that he was in favor of a revolutionary war against Germany and all Europe, if necessary.

The Russian Revolution is pursuing to-day its independent class policy, nationally and internationally. This policy imposes the necessity of a struggle against all Imperialism, and the conclusion of a general, non-imperialistic peace.

The Imperialism of the Allies has as much to fear as the Imperialism of Germany and Austria from a war waged by revolutionary Russia.

It is precisely this policy of the class struggle that is the strength of the Bolsheviks. They represent revolutionary Socialism because of cleaving to the class struggle, and they cleave to the class struggle because of representing revolutionary Socialism.

The Bolsheviks, representing the revolutionary Socialism of the Left Wing, are proving and emphasizing the bankruptcy of moderate Socialism. They are not simply a product of the temporary situation in Russia, but Socialists who have always been revolutionary, the same Left Wing Socialism that, organized in small or large minority groups, operates throughout the world. The great achievements, the magnificent spirit of the revolutionary Bolsheviks will not contribute all that they should to the reconstruction of Socialism unless their policy is related to Socialism everywhere, equally during peace as during war, and in accord with conditions.

### NEW BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE

A Harlem Branch of the Socialist Propaganda League has been organized in New York City, with more than forty new members.

The Branch has opened permanent headquarters, ordered 500 copies of each issue of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, and is making plans for intensive propaganda.

Comrades and sympathizers are urged to call at our headquarters—

237 Lenox Avenue  
New York City  
(Bet. 121st and 122nd Sts.)

### Baltic Fleet's Appeal to the Workers of the World

THE German fleet some months ago threatened to attack Petrograd.

The Second Congress of the Baltic Fleet, the sailors of which are an intensely revolutionary force and united with the Bolsheviks, was in session at the time, and decided to defend Petrograd as the centre of the revolutionary forces. An appeal was adopted, which will become a classic of revolutionary literature:

To the oppressed in all countries,

Comrades:

In the fatal hour in which the signals of war and of death ring in our ears, we repeat and emphasize our appeal to you. We send you our greetings and our last testament.

Attacked by the powerful German fleet, our warships are doomed in an unequal struggle.

Not one ship will refuse to fight, not one sailor will desert his ship.

Our much-abused fleet will do its duty—toward the great Revolution.

We consider it our duty to defend Petrograd. We will fulfill our self-imposed obligation.

Not because of the request of a pitiful Russian Bonaparte (Kerensky) who retains power simply because of the unlimited patience of the Russian Revolution.

Nor because of the treaties made by our government with the Allies, treaties intended to smother the Russian Revolution.

We follow the call of our revolutionary sentiments.

We go into death with the name of the great Revolution in our hearts and on our unflinching lips.

The Russian fleet has always stood in the front lines of the Revolution.

The names of its sailors are written in the book of the history of the struggle against the Czarism.

In the earliest days of the Revolution the sailors marched in the front ranks, our ultimate aim being deliverance from all misery.

And this life and death struggle with our own oppressors gives us the right to appeal to you, proletarians of all countries, with a strong voice, with the voice of those who look into the eyes of death in the revolt against the exploiters.

Break the chains, you who are oppressed!

Rise in revolt!

We have nothing to lose but our chains!

We believe in the victory of the Revolution, we are full of this belief.

We know that our comrades in the Revolution will fulfill their duty on the barricades to the bitter end.

We know that decisive moments are coming.

A gigantic struggle will set the world afire. On the horizon the fires of the revolt of all oppressed peoples are already glowing and taking definite shape.

At the moment that the waters of the Baltic will become red with the blood of our comrades, will close forever over their bodies, at this moment we call upon you.

Already in the clutch of death, we send our warm greetings and appeal to you:

Proletarians of the world, all, unite!  
Rise in revolt, you who are oppressed.  
All hail, the International Revolution!  
Long live Socialism!

### Argentine Strikes

STRIKES continue in Argentina and the capitalists use the same methods as their colleagues in the United States. Shooting in La Negra, near Buenos Ayres, resulted in one person killed and several injured.