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# THE INTERNATIONAL

THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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# THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE.

WHERE IS IT?

There is an ominous silence reigning regarding the Stockholm Conference since the compromise resolution carried by the British Trades Union Congress postponed participation for the time being on the part of the British Labour movement, buk endorsed the principle. That does not necessarily mean that the Conference is postponed? If the declaration of the Russian Couneil of Workmen ständs for anything it will be held in any case, whether the Majority sections wish to attend or not. One thing is certain, the mail papers indicate a great swelling of the International movement in the rank and file of the Trade (Enions in England. The expression of it is being thwarted by the executives and officials, but it is bound to burst through. The movement for International solidarity is undoubtedly greater every month—greater this month than when the Trades Union Congress met.

The "Merthyr Pioneer" gives great significance to a conference of South Wales miners which by a huge majority vetoed an arrangement come to between the Executive of the Coal Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the Government to comb out 24,000 men from the mines to the army. The South Wales miners will down tools as soon as any more young men are drawn from their ranks to the slaughter house of Europe.

Not content with that, the conference, on a mandate from the rank and file, against the opposition of the executive, passed a resolution to take action on the question of getting the working class of Britain to arrange peace terms with the workers of the belligerent countries and to force them on their respective Governments. This represents 150,000 miners whose votes went against Stockholm at the Labour Party Conference! That does not look as if Stockholm was off!

The Scottish workers generally, however, are numerically greater, and about as revolutionary. If a single man is taken out of the mines under the latest conscription regulation, a mass meeting of Lanarkshire miners has decided to "down tools" at once. Resolutions galore come from the Scottish branches, not merely fighting the class war as it affects themselves, but as, it affects the whole world, gladly acclaiming the Russian Revolution as

the liberator of Europe. That does not look as if Stockholm was off!

What is significant all over England is the manner in which the Labour officials, whose word has hitherto been law, have been flouted by the rank and file.

Says the mail issue of "Forward": "And when, later still, the news came to us that the Steel Smelters had decided unanimously for Stockholm in defiance of John Hodge, and that in the Engineers' Executive George N. Barnes could not get a solitary supporter after a speech against Stockholm, and that the Railwaymen polled for Stockholm, and the Shop Assistants polled for Stockholm, and that three-quarters of the Workers' Union votes went for Stockholm in defiance of Mr. Charles Duncan. M.P., and that the Carpenters and Joiners were solid for Stockholm—all to meet German. Socialists and discuss terms of peace, remember that!—well, it was the cheeriest and most hopeful news for three long and weary years."

Stockholm is off. They won't stand any shilly-shallying among executives to thwart their will. The International is resurging grandly, and no Government will be able to withstand it when it comes.

#### TRULY REVOLUTIONARY.

And the terms on which it has been called is true to the International class struggle. "The Call" quotes from "Avanti" an interview with the Russian delegation that is touring Europe:

"The Russian delegate explained that the I.S.B. no longer really existed and no longer possessed any moral authority whatever for speaking effectively in the name of the working-class International. On that account, when considering the Dutch initiative for calling together an International Conference, the Council of W. and S. Delegates was only concerned with the proposed aims of the Conference, which they found to be unacceptable. The Dutch thought of elaborating a project of peace capable of persuading the Governments to end the war rapidly and honourably. The Council, on the other hand, was, and still is, entirely opposed to diplomatic methods and to a peace haggled by the Imperialist Governments.

"After referring to the invitation of othe Council to all the majority and minority sections, the delegate said: 'Should the minorities be prevented from attending the Conference by their Governments, then we shall affuse to convoke the Conference, but we shall call it together all the same in the majorities refuse to attend. Weswish to do everything possible to Resistab-Jish the international struggle against Imperialism and to dissipate all misunderstanding between the proletariat of the various countries who have succumbed to the influence of a nationalist ideology."

after recent happenings it will take some months longer than the fixed date to convene the "International," in order to allow the Governments to save their faces, but admits that it is sure to be held sooner or later. And what is happening among the English workers is with still greater force making way among the German and French. The silence of the capitalist press regarding Stockholm s sufficient evidence that all is well with the International Working Class.

#### A Rowdy Sunday.

Last Sunday evening our meeting in front of the Town Hall was again harassed by the Cohen gang of hooligans. Comrade Bunting was as usual in charge of the platform. He had been speaking about fifteen minutes when the gang broke up the ring and threatened violence. Inspector Symes finished it off by giving his "protection" to Courade Bunting, who protested that it was his duty to prevent the disorder of this small clique of hooligans rather than shift the responsibility on to those who are exercising their right to free assembly and free speech.

In the Trades Hall, where Comrade Davies Smith was the speaker, the hooligans also invaded the meeting and made the proceedings impossible by their rowdyism. Unluckily more members than usual had simultaneously taken a night off duty, which made things easier for the wreckers. All members are urgently requested to turn up at the outdoor meeting at 7.30 and at the indoor meeting to give their moral support to the I.S.L. speakers.

We have some interesting items of Spanish news to publish next week, thanks to Comrades Lee, and Silva, Durban.

#### Famine, the Great Revolutionist.

The spectre of famine will soon be stalking through Europe. Russia is seeking to lay the spectre as one of its cardinal problems. But the rest of the belligerents are pursuing their mad aims and apportioning their after-thewar spoils regardless of the Terror arising above and behind them all. The Revolution in Russia was precipitated by famine conditions created by the withdrawal of vast masses of the peasants into the army, aggravated by the Czar's regime. The same conditions are looming up in the rest of Europe.

"Forward" quotes "The New Republic," alteged to the mouthpiece of of President Wilson. In North America, it says, the granary of Europe, they can plan upon a billion bushels of wheat this harvest. With strict economy that will leave 300 bushels for export to Europe. The paper assumes that the whole lot is landed in Europe, despite submarines. But France and England and Italy, even paring down their consumption to the lowest level, need at least 500 million bushels over and above their own production.

In other words, America MAY has able to supply them with 60 per cent. of what they MUST have. Where is the other 40 per cent. coming from?

South America has not surplus owing to bad crops. Australia is too far, they cannot spare the shipping. Russia has not enough of her own, though generally an exporter. Roumania, the granary of the South East, is in German hands.

Let profits soar, let victories be won, let wages rise as they never rose before, but what will it benefit the peoples of Europe if their chinks and their paper money won't buy bread? They will soon be in the position of the traveller dying of thirst in the desert coming to a bag, which he hopes will be full of figs and dates, but, alas, contains only damonds and other "precious" jewels. This desert, however, which the famine-stricken peoples will travel will be covered with corpses of the slain, as well.

It may be thought that the Governments will cope with the danger. But capitalist government is not constituted to cope with the overwhelming consequences of the 'profit system.' It is only made to regulate and preserve that system. Was not the last Food Controller in England the principal in the firm of Kearlev and Tonge, a provision firm? And did he not hold back Danish butter from England so that his firm should benefit from the scarcity? And the present Food Controller, Lord Rhondda, besides being a Steel and Coal King, has big interests in food concerns, and will not interfere except so far as the Food Companies' depredations prejudice the interest of steel, the predominating interest. Thus, not capital governments, but the proletariat in political control, as in Russia, alone can deal with the situation when the death's head of famine arrives.

# A Socialist Conference at Durban.

On Sunday last (30th) a conference of all organised and unattached Socialists was called by the Social Democratic Party at the Trades Hall. A good gathering assembled, including many members of the Indian Workers' Union (Gow, Esquire please note). (Mr. Sigamoney was elected vice-chairman of Conference.)

The fight centred around pure polity cal or pure industrial action.

Mr. Sigamoney put a facer by blandly enquiring how the pure politicals proposed that his disfranchised countrymen and fellow wager slaves should raise hell at the ballot-box.

After long discussion, which at times became quite heated, the following significant resolutions were carried by good majorities:—

It was moved by the S.D.P.: That the policy of the Social Democratic Party in relation to working-class organisation be accepted by this Conference."

An amendment was moved: "That as the present method of organisation of the workers is out of date and tends to perpetuate the wage system, the time has come for Class Unionism, organisation of the workers as a class, for the abolition of the wage system and to put in its place "Industrial Socialism."

The amendment was carried.

It was moved: "This Conference reasserts the Socialist attitude of continued opposition to war which the movement has held since its; starts. The Conference therefore re-asserts that national struggles are merely conflicts between sections of the capitalist class, and that war is always harmful to the workers. As Socialists we must, therefore, oppose war, conscription, economic conscription, and all other forms of militarism. We oppose specifically the inculcation of jingoism and militarism into working-class children in schools and otherwise."

This motion was carried after long, bitter debate.

It was further carried that "This Conference pledges us moral support to the first International Socialist Conference that it shall become possible to hold."

Thirty-eight delegates were present, representing the S.D.P., I.S.L. (Comrades Haynes, Rich, Pettersen, Silva, Goodenough), I.W.W., Indian Workers' Union, and unattached Socialists, mainly Typos, A.S.E. and S.A.L.P. men.

H. W. H.

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# The Republican Red Herring.

No issues are allowed publicity in the capitalist press except the issues which capital wants to raise. That is a safe enough axiom for Socialists to go upon. The issue of Capitalism v Socialism which the L.S.L. is here to raise; this the capitalist press dare not give publicity to.

Then it follows that the Republican propaganda of Pirow, Visser and the other Nationalists is an issue tolerated if not welcomed by top Capital since the papers give it screaming head-lines on their cable pages.

Visser let the cat out of the bag the other day why they want a Republic. It is the Indian traders and native population. If they retain the Imperial connection, how can they refuse justice to these after their contributions to the war? And where will the shopkeepers be? And where will the farmers be with a far more "cheeky" and independent native labouring class? Therefore, cut the painter and let's deal with this double menace in our own fashion.

And Visser is right, from the petty bourgeois viewpoint. Petty Nationalism is petty bourgeois. All the petty traders should say "Yea," if they dared, whether English or Dutch. Because the Republican propaganda is petty hourgeois, that is why it can be tolerated. The petty bourgeois is a vanishing factor, and Top Capital can allow a vanishing class to raise hell, if it creates an issue for the after-thewar election. That is why Home Rule is nursed by Lloyd George. When he has to go to the country he will go on Home Rule. It must not be settled until he is ready to go to the country, when he has a party chest hig enough, then Home Rule will be the issue, not Socialism, or the war, not if he can help it.

So with our petty bourgeois; they are extremely useful to swell their swan songs by the megaphone of the capitalist press to sound like imitation thunder that will drown the real thunder of the class war.

#### Stockholm Fund.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. — A. J. W., 5s.; F. C. H. (iList 10, B. S., 10s.; F. C. H., 10s.; P. N., 1s.; R. A., 10s.; T. W., 5s.; C. R., 2s. 6d.; total, £2 8s. 6d.; M. J. (Randfontein), 5s.; F. G., 2s. 6d.; H. G. (Germiston, Lists 51, 7, 8, 9), J. D., 5s.; M. S., 6s. 6d.; S. F., 5s.; H. S., 3s.; M. S., 2s. 6d:; C. G., 2s. 6d.; E. K., 2s. 6d.; S. Z., 2s. 6d.; L. A., 10s. 6d.; Friend, 5s.; J. C., 10s.; P. S., 5s.; J. M., 5s.; J. L.'s List, J. L., 10s. 6d.; G. M., 2s. 6d.; M. V. R., 2s. 6d.; R. L., 2s. 6d.; J. K., 1s.; R. B., 2s. 6d.; H. W., 2s. 6d.: M. F., 2s. 6d.; A. P., 2s. 6d.; L. E., 2s.; M. H., 2s. 6d.; J. N., 2s. 6d.; total H. G.'s Lists, £5 1s.; Mrs. H.,

## Not in the Cables.

We are not allowed to know much of what happened in the All-Russia Conference of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. Terestchenko, the last remaining bourgeois Minister, having resigned his post, the Russian Ministry became purely Socialist in personnel. The one sure thing we are allowed to gather is that the Maximalist wing of the Social Democrats are growing in power, that Lenin is not in jail, as previously cabled, and that the Councils of Workmen and Peasants dominate the situation.

This in itself is of revolutionary significance. The Council has been tried and found impregnable. The tremendous problem confronting it is the tangled knot of the world war, which keeps for the time being the International proletariat from moving.

In the economy of the Social Revolution no one people can steal a march on the rest, even where the material conditions exist for the overthrow of capitalism.

Deep calls unto deep, and the echo must come ere the next word is given. But the tramp of the oncoming proletariat is beginning to resound, and it requires no posts or telegraph poles or wireless or generalissimo.

Nor is it hindered by submarines or passports. By its own inherent law of solidarity, by one common aim, without Stockholms even, every section is converging to the International rendezvous.

The British Labour Party Conference which voted for Stockholm did not sing the 'Red Flag,' as the cables said, but the 'Internationale,' and that stodgy, conservative, unimaginative organisation was compelled by the time's needs to endorse, not an International Socialist Conference.

There is no alternative that presents itself to the war mongers but sinks them deeper into the mire, and no defeat or disappointment to Labour but ensures the speedy coming of the whole revolution instead of the verisimilitudes of revolution which temporary victories offer.

For the night of capitalism is far spent, and the day is surely dawning when the only relation of man to man in human society shall be that of comrade and fellow-worker.

F. I. R.

Some more secret treaties are leaking out. The cables recently hinted at some "revelations" of French designs made by the German Chancellor. It seems that at a recent secret session of the French Chamber of Deputies. M. Ribot, the Premier, declared a secret arrangement had existed by which France would, after victory, get a slice of German country on the left bank of the Rhine, "to act as a buffer State." So it is not the liberation of Belgium, after all!

#### A Mine Officials Craft Union.

Not to Fight but to Scab.

Br B. H. E.

At a specially convened meeting of Mine Officials recently held in Johannesburg it was decided to form the "Mine Officials' Association." Organisers were appointed for the various mines. The following is what took place at a meeting convened on a certain mine with the object of forming a branch:—

Attendance: About one dozen.

The organiser apologised for not having the constitution with him owing to the Underground Manager having it in his possession to suggest any desirable amendments, etc.

The following questions were asked by the ubiquitous I.S.L. agitator, and answers given:—

- haven't the constitution here, could you tell us briefly what the objects of this organisation are:
- A.—Yes. The objects are: Firstly, educational. We propose to hold lectures and have a magazine of our own, which would contain articles of educational and general interest to mine officials. Secondly, we wish to organise so as to further the interests of the officials. Subscription, £3 a year.
- Q.—Who are you going to organise against?
  - A.—Oh: Anyone who opposes us.
- Q.—That is rather vague. Could you be more definite?
  - A.-Well, the Unions, for instance.
- Q.—You say one of the objects is to further the interests of mine officials. Do you mean by that shorter hours and better pay?

A.-Yes.

- Q.—Well, to gain these improvements you will have to fight the Chamber of Mines?
- A.—Oh, not This is not a fighting organisation.
- Q.—How, then, do you propose to better our conditions?
- A. When we are once organised we could try and get better conditions through Parliament, such as better compensation for phthisis.
- Q.—Well, don't you think you are in the same boat as the Mine Workers' Union? By getting Parliament to grant you higher compensation the mining industry will have to be taxed, and the Chamber of Mines will have to suffer. Therefore, the real people you are up against is the Chamber of Mines?

No answer.

Q.—Are you of the opinion that the stronger an organisation is the better able you are to further your interests?

A.-Yes.

Q.—If that is so, don't you think it is better for us all to get into one Union such as the Mine Workers' Union?

A.—Oh. no! This is an Officials'

- Q.—In the event of the mine workers coming out on strike, what would be the position of this organisation?
- A.—Well, as officials and bosses it is our duty to keep the mines running.
- Q.—Does the formation of this Union meet with the approval of the Chamber of Mines?

A.—No. It has nothing to do with the Chamber of Mines, but the Minister of Mines is taking a great interest in its formation.

MORAL: If the Minister of Mines considers sectional Unions so good for the bosses that he wants to make more of them, is it not evident that the existence of the present sectional Unions, splitting up the workers on the mines into carpenters, miners, engineers, boilermakers, white Unions, black non-unionists, is not this a great danger to the workers and pleasing to the sight of the Chamber of Mines? One Union for all workers on the mines from cuffs and collars down (or up) to the hammer boy, that's what we want!

#### Kerensky's Colleagues.

Messrs. Erlich and Russanoff, two members of the delegation from the Russian Council of Workmen sent to England, writing to the "Manchester Guardian," makes the following point clear regarding Kerensky's affiliations:

The Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Council of Peasant Delegates, acting with them in full accord, form the principal force which supports the Provisional Government. Without their determined and energetic support the Provisional Government would not be able to fulfil its tremendous task.

Chernof, Skobeloff and Avksentieff would decline to form a part of the Government. People in England do not, perhaps, know that in the new Russian Cabinet are included four Vice-Presidents of the Councils of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates, namely, Kerensky, Chernof, Skobeloff and Peshebonoff, and that another influential member of the Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior, M. Avksentieff, is President of the Council of Peasants' Delegates."

The meeting of the Industrial Committee adjourned till next Sunday has been postponed owing to arrangements for a new meeting hall not being complete. It will be remembered that the Trades Hall Society refused the use of rooms in the Trades Hall because the Industrial Committee admitted coloured fellow-workers to its last meeting.

#### The Necessity of Stockholm

#### Russia's Appeal.

The "Cambridge Magazine" quotes
the following striking paragraph from "
"Isvestia," the organ of the Russian
Council of Workmen:—

"The Stockholm Conference must become the turning point in the history of Socialism and in world history. Either a common struggle for peace is possible, or each country must receive à free hand to seek salvation from the furnace of the world war independently and without connection with other parties. This point of view about the Conference is not found at present among all our European comrades. Up to the present it is still undecided whether our English and French comrades are coming, nor are we aware that the English and French comrades are carrying on a determined fight on this question; from time to time one receives the impression that the hand of world Imperialism is secretly wrecking the work, the work of the joining together of the labouring masses of all countries for the struggle towards peace, and also that this process of wrecking is not meeting with a sufficiently determined opposition. With the greatest possible decision do we declare that the revolutionary 'democracy of Russia, which has inscribed on its standard the struggle for universal peace, cannot allow this to remain so. If the Conference is undermined by being deferred or otherwise, then before the whole world the guilty must bear responsibility for the injurious consequences which must inevitably follow.,... It is indeed high time to think of the way out of this bloodstained kingdom of unreason... With whoever fails to understand this, with him the Russian Revolution can make no common cause.",

The "Novaya Jisn," Maxim Gorkey's daily, says that the Russian
Revolution is in the throes of a great
problem. Unless the Stockholm Conference meets, to continue the war and
to conclude a separate peace are both
equally ruinous to Russia. "It is not a
separate peace, but a separate war,
which the salvation of the Revolution
demands of us, a war for freedom, not
against German Imperialism, but
against all Imperialism."

This is what Lenin demands as the only way out, "a Socialist war against the whole world."

A French clerical Royalist paper, quoted also in the "C.M.," calls attention to the "increasing activity of the revolutionary party against nationalistic ideas. This movement, which started with the Russian Revolution, threatens to capture the whole of French Socialism."

Thus, slowly, cumbrously, the International proletariat is responding to the cry of the Russian Revolutionists.

#### Cape Notes.

#### The Cape Waking Up!

The writer was questioned at the S.D.F. business meeting concerning the non-appearance of Capetown news in the "International." "What news are there?" said I. "Write about the Capetown movement." said another. So here it is:—

For activity in this direction Comrade Stuart heads the list, now organising secretary of the Federation of Trades, since which there are few occupations in the industrial field that have not a Trade Union organisation. Some of the investigations into the conditions of employment by these organisations resulted in the appearance of about a dozen master barbers before the Court with a fine of 10s. each, and in one case £1, for violating the Shop Hours Act by exceeding the hours for employes.

Another unique and welcome appearance in the ranks of the S.D.F. of late are several naval men from His Majesty's (sic) ship --- quartered at Simonstown, recently returned from an escort trip as far as Sierra Leone with our comrade, "Billy" Andrews, sent, of course, to guard his special personality (?), as Sydney Büxton is guarded in South Africa. Why not? However, the language of these fine naval comrades showed revolutionary association in an uncompromising form. They all declared it was unnecessary to go to Germany to find the common S enemy, they found them on their own ship. After a long and heated debate they went off loaded with ammunition to fight them. The only query raised was whether the said ammunition would not be considered too "explosive" to take on the boat. They were all conscript sailors, one an erstwhile miners' organiser.

The latest item under discussion is the Russian Revolution at the S.D.F. This is to come on again next week. A resolution suggesting a meeting of all Socialist and Labour organisations in Capetown to discuss, and if possible to endorse and form local bodies for the purpose of carrying on similar revolutionary tactics here, also to send messages of encouragement and endeavour to incite revolutionary activity in other captres of South Africa or elsewhere. Johannesburg excluded, of course! The result of subsequent deliberations has yet to come, so more anon.

WILFRID H. HARRISON.

#### League Notes.

JOINT MEETING.—There was a good rally of comrades at the joint meeting of Rand Branches held last Friday. The main discussion of the evening gathered round the advisability of contesting the forthcoming Municipal Elections. The pro and anti-political comrades had a full dress debate on the principle of political action, just like old times. While many

wished to take advantage of the occasion for Socialist propaganda, others not averse to the principle felt that there was more important work for the League at present, also that it is wellnigh impossible in a municipal election to impress on the people when asking for their votes that the I.S.L. is not just another boodle-hunting organisation like the rest. It was decided therefore not to take part, unless the M.C. wished to take the initiative in the matter. Further useful discussion took place on the International Printing Press and Building Fund Scheme, and administrative provisions made for its furtherance.

WESTERN DISTRICTS BRANCH,

The branch held a good meeting last
Tuesday night, and the attendance
showed that the members are putting
new life into the organisation. Various administrative items were dealt
with, delegates appointed to the Ten
Thousand Shilling Fund Committee,
and also decided to request the M.C. to
sanction the holding of a Picnic by the
branch on behalf of the Stockholm
Fund.

BENONI.—We omitted to mention last week that the branch held a very successful dance in the Hotel Cecil on Saturday. September 22, and the result, both financially and socially, has given the branch a fine lift up.

This week's mail brings us a letter from Mary Marcy, associate editor of the American "International Socialist. Review." She explains the difficulties attending the issue of the "Review" owing to the stringent censorship. Only censored editions are allowed the use of the post. This is the "free nation" that Lincoln boasted about. Mary Marcy flatters us with the following remark: "We want to tell you how good it is to get your "International" these times." which compliment, with Mary's "kindest good wishes." all comrades may take to themselves.

We are asked to announce that a meeting of Shop Assistants will be held in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, next Sunday at 2.30 p.m. to form a Distributing Local. All workers in the Distributing Industry, roll up!

## Boys and Girls,

The Day Schools are doing their best to turn you into

## Snobs and Jingoes!

Are you (or your parents) content to leave it at that?

IF NOT, come to the SOCIALIST SCHOOL, C/r Fox & Maclaren Streets, (Near Stock Exchange)

EVERY SUNDAY at 11 a.m.

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