THE INTERNATIONAL

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

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FRIDAY, 6th JULY 1917.

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The Stockholm Congress.

An International Socialist Ambassador from S. Africa.

The Management Committee of the I.S.L. has decided to call a special delegates' meeting of its branches to discuss the advisability of the League sending a representative to the Stockholm Conference or to any such conference whenever and wherever held. The object of the promoters of the Conterence would seem to be twofold: first to enable the Socialist minority or antiwar organisations of the world to assert their views collectively; and secondly, to assemble accredited representatives of the mass of the organiscu working, class of the various countries, which is still predominantly patriotic, in order to har perole them meir bigin enoice—either to seize this mistoric obportunity and take control of the world "Mich a liam to mankarapher para pocial resolution they am projess to desile, or ko im mim meir hierent noheiesz game of mass murder and suicide, beneving that they can give but one answer when it is but to them. Conformably to this second object, it may be proper that such as tireswell should attenu: but the mist object equally demands the presence of a Revulutionary International Socialist envoy from this country—provided the Lascars will navigate his ship!

The M.C. recommend that all Socialist bodies and sympathetic groups or organisations in South Airica be also invited to send delegates to the meeting. It is further suggested that unattached sympathisers should as far as possible meet together and appoint delegates. The League, which is in touch with practically every Socialist in South Atrica, 18 111 a position to atford apecial assistance to this end, and will use these facilities to the best pur-D086.

The question of ways and means will of course be dealt with at the meeting. A number of of members of the League have already given, and many others. have promised, donations towards the expense of the journey: but it will require all the financial resource of the meeting to raise the necessary sum.

Pending the meeting being held, any suggestions and donations will be gladly received by the Treasurer, I.S.L., 6. Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Box 4179., Johannesburg.

Troelstra on the Peace Movement.

In connection with the Stockholm Congress, we are indebted to the Johaunesburg "Star" (of all papers) tor some meresting observations by mr. Troelstra, the well known thren 20ciailst, mr. Proelstra "wants to deal a death-blow to Frussian and other militarism by a general disarmament on land and at sea.". . The Socialists, ne says, are striving for a general peace, and would only be able to accept a separate peace with Russia if this-would beclikely to lead to a general peace, but would reject it it it would cause the coming into existence or a new combination for the purpose of continuing the war. . . lireat stress is also laid on the necessity of having the minorities among the Socialists represented, because the latter, on account of their international character, were to be the connecting link between the various majority groups, which represented the various Governments... At the congress of Labour and Soldiers' delegates held in April in l'etrograd, M. Tcheidsche, the president, who is the power behind the throne, made it clear that only revolutionary democracy should have the right to decide on peace or war. The giving up of the idea of conquest was only the first step... The Kussian democracy would support all movements for such a peace policy in any other country of the world. This attitude explained their opposition against the decision of the Duma to resume the offensive. Not the Duma had to decide, but according to this view the revolutionary democracy. Mr. Troelstra further explained that it was the Dutch Socialists who, after the Russian Revolution, decided on the Stockholm Congress. (But, it might be added, it is the Russians who hold the key to the situation: if the Germans will not not come into line, the Russians can fight; if the Allies, they can refuse to tight.

The capitalist outcry against profiteering, even if sincere, is of course nut directed against the profit system of robbing the worker at the point of production. It is a sidetracking attack on merchants' profits made off consumers, quite a different thing. Even this attack would not be made if the offenders did not, by overdoing it, call attention to the scandal and so risk further scrutiny into the whole basis of the capitalist system.

Sidelights.

O. H. M. S.

Once more our 'Socialist' bitter enders have declined to meet their enemy counterparts for any purposo whatsoever. In the international disunity of labour they find the salvation of the world. Not so their lords and masters, who, unlike those silly tools, can relax the bow at pleasure. When there was money in it, the belligerents early in the war met face to face to exchange armament shares, and now, "to save diplomatic delays," envoys of England and Germany are daily conferring direct about exchanging prisoners. No doubt at banquets they will dig each other in the ribs over their respective scores in the great Kriegspiel; and though the welfare of a few thousand prisoners is doubtless far more important than the mere slaughter or mutilation of a few million no-surrenderers, yet it would be unnatural if over their champagne they entirely abstained from exchanging views, quite unofficial of course, on how and when they are going to stop winning victories over each other. But get thee behind me, Satan, our Spartan Labour diehards must intone for ever; and Creswell, reported already bound for Petrograd, will have to coof. his heels in London, singing the Hynn of Hate, to the tune of the Red Flag, and pressing the claim of "the wor. kers" to German West and East: with perhaps an uneasy apprehension of the swift coming Day of Judgment-when. with all the Hendersons and Scheidemanns and Briands and Herve's, he will be called upon to answer for his treasonable career in King Capital's service.

Gaol Delivery.

In last week's issue it was questioned whether the release of Maclean of Glasgow was a purely voluntary act of clemency. It now appears that on the contrary it was a compliance with the demand of a demonstration of 100, 000 workers in the city where Lloyd George is reported a few days ago to have achieved one of his greatest "triumphs." The spirit of the Clyde is unbroken. Now then, Berlin, get Liebknecht out!

"Friends of Russian Freedom."

A Swiss paper, quoted in the "Cambridge Magazine," of 5th May, says: "The Russian revolutionaries who have arrived in Stockholm from Switzerland have published a manifesto in the Swedish Social Democratic paper,

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"Politiken," in which it is stated that England did her utmost to prevent the establishment of the political amnesty in Russia. The British Government they say, is detaining all Russian revolutionaries living abroad who are opposed to the war. On this subject material is to be published in a resolution adopted by Socialists of all parties." Land of Hope and Glory! Russia complaining of British oppression!

Social Revolution.

By J. M. G

All past revolutions have been in the interest of minorities, minorities that climbed to power by the aid of the workers, but the revolution that will change present day society to the Sociulist lucul, to succeed, will require to have the sanction of the majority. The ideal of Socialism will have to permeate the mass of the people composing Society. They as a mass will have to be imbued with the brutality of the present degrading system of individual exploitation, and recognise that any form of society that does not assure. to every individual the right to live must go. The modern worker, more especially the unskilled in all industrial countries, has sunk lower and lower. Pauperism has become more intensified as the industrial system has developed along the lines of concentration of capital into fewer hands. This natural development of capital, with all the restrictive class laws made to enforce the property relations, has intensified riches in the hands of the few, entailing poverty conditions for the masses. It has proved itself bankrupt morally, it has broken down in everything essential to the maintenance of society as a whole. The lives of the masses are a mere bagatelle when they stand in the way of profit for the capitalist, and are hut fodder for cannon when fighting the battle of the ruling class. The lives of voung and old are offered up to the God of mammon, compelled to live in slums, uneducated, with no incentive to be human beings. the dull monotony of their existence leading to criminality and vice of the most revolting nature, and family life being impossible in hovels not fit for

Such is life for the mass of the people under our present system of society, a passing phase of civilisation that must go, as others have gone, and give place to another phase, the elements of which are being created today.

All past phases of society had one thing in common, viz.: that one part of society was exploited by another. They have all had as their basis private ownership of property, leading to those economic and social antagonisms that have been and are the root of class wars. But the elements forming in and rapidly permeating society to-day are antagonistic to the continuance of the exploitation of the mass of the people in the interests of the few, and when

these ideas permeate all sections of society, then we shall have a Social Revolution that will succeed, a revolution that will not be side-tracked by political mountebanks or self-seeking industrial leaders and so become an abortion.

These ideas are spreading with lightning rapidity, and will permeate society more rapidity owing to the war.
The small capitalists, as a result of
this war, will be largely crushed by
taxation, in addition to being to a
great extent eliminated by the larger
combinations of capital. The middleman and theose with fixed incomes and
annuities are going to be compelled by
increased cost of living and reduced
taxed incomes to look to Socialism, or
organise a revolt as a relief from the
burden.

The debt being piled up by this war, and the pensions that will have to be paid to mained soldiers and the dependents of those killed, will be of such mægnitude that it will force these people to rise in organised revolt and repudiate the debt, a debt that hus reached the enormous amount for Briain of 4% thousand millions in addition to the millions that will have to be raised for pensions. This revolt must lead to revolution and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth, as a growing consciousness of Socialism amongst the masses with the repudiation of such an enormous debt cannot he accomplished without inevitably leading to the expropriation of the capitalist class in the interests of society as a whole.

All revolutions in the past have led to confiscation and to that extent the coming social revolution will be similar, but it would be a mistake to think it will be exactly alike, for history never repeats itself in details, the conditions never being quite the same. The economic conditions, the ruling factor in present society, and the social environment, mainly the product of those economic conditions, are different from any that have ever existed in previous societies. For the first time in human history we are confronted with a form of society giving political freedom, with democratic institutions and resources such as never. before have been seen. We have the big financial capitalists dominating and ordering monarchs, who are mere puppets, controlling governments and making them subservient to their ends, having control of the political machinery, the reins of government, and able to organise and use their forces recklessly and successfully against those organisations in opposition to their exploitation.

The coming struggle will be a struggle not of a minority using a majority to gain control of political power, but of one portion of the people against another. It will be a struggle on the part of the workers as a whole, with the assistance of those members of the middle class who realise that their interests are identical with the workers', to abolish all class distinctions by the abolition of the present system of exploitation, and in its place to establish a system of mutual aid, the cooperative Commonwealth.

Mastir Thoughts.

The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence; on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.

The work of a Hindoo weaver is very complicated compared to that of a manufacturing labourer. The muslins of Dakka in fineness, the calicoes and other piece goods of Coromandel in brilliant and durable colours, have never been surpassed. Yet they are produced without capital, machinery, division of labour, or any of those means which give such facilities to the manufacturing interest of Europe.

It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist.

The accumulation of capital presupposes surplus value.

Primitive accumulation plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam hit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one; the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal elite: the other lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotons living. The legend. of theological sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat. his bread in the sweat of-his brow: but the history of economic original. sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential: Never mind! Thus it came to mass that the former sort accumulated wealth. and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell but their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has un to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work.

The Entertainment Committee announce a

Cinderella Dance

WEST'S ACADEMY, Pritchard St.

Wednesday Next,

---- ON ----

July 111b, at 8 p.m.

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ALL COMRADES AND SYMPATHISERS

INVITED.

The Reptile World.

Sir Lionek Pullips has been appoint en chariman fig. a commission po nelsiof fig. militian resoultes or one onten mugicum; by a mappell to know bu Livuili alimbara the anes not phom as. MINE MAKE, PREM DEIOM, MIM TIM. know the extent of ms knowledge in that direction. Mis 'expert' knowleuge of mine management is on a pur with that of the average hamr mille labourer. No, the money thugs of Lugiand have appointed Luillips to look atter their financial-interests, knowing tun well that he is the man for the job. We know that they are right, He will no doubt exploit the white workers of Lugiand as successiully as he has explosted the black workers of Africa. lus question is what can be done with such a genius. Why! put him in the House or Lords of course.

Compared with such oleaginous schemers the feudal baron who rode forth to pillage, murder and rob was a man of mental and moral fibre who at least, like Milton's Satan, commanded respect through his demoniacal force of character.

Fellow workers, ou know that back in geological history nothing lived on this globe but crawling reptiles. The present breed of money barons are the natural descendants of those slimy monsters; the methods of which were "mellow music" compared with those of the dehumanised snakes of capital. How long will you allow those imposters, and their lackeys of the middle class who, as Priests, lawyers, journalists, politicians and commercial sharks, are the professional prevaricators of society, to stand between you and economic freedom?

For a generation they instilled into your minus the idea that the working class of Russia were a horde of barbarians. To-day we find that the Russian workers are in advance of ourselves in tue struggie for freedom. They have solved the problem of working class solidarity. They do not allow a military unitorm to obscure their proletarian character. Soldiers' delegates and wuikmen's delegates work traternally against the common enemy, the landlord and capitalist class. When are the proletariat of the English speaking countries to follow their example? The day that the army and the workers combine the plutocrats of money are doomed, and they know it. L'ellow workers, your enemies are not the people of Germany but those who hold a monopoly of the earth and the tools of production and so consign you to wage-slavery, phthisis and death.

If you save money and put in the Bank they take it out and exploit you with it. If you spend it they call you thriftless. If you are out of a job they call you vagrants. If you steal the wealth which they have stolen from you they put in jail. Meanwhile they look down upon you; but they make a mistake in thinking that you look up to them.

They riot in wealth which your labour has accumulated, but they forget that the misery inflicted upon the workers through thousands of years is elso accumulative, that it is at last crystalising in your minds as class consciousness, class hatred which is welding the workers of the world into one solid mass, the international revolutionary movement to which we of "The International" have the honour and are proud to belong and to which you, reader, should also belong.

W. McLEAN.

Notes and Queries.

July the 4th.

On the "Glorious Fourth" we had a great Win-the-War recruiting powwow. It is a bit of an insult to Rand workmen to say the 4th is of glorious and happy memory, for on that and the following day 4 years ago did the capitalists of the Rand and the capitalist Government of South Africa shoot down in cold blood the people of Johannesburg who wanted no more than the right of public meeting. The workers are very forgiving. Perhaps it is well. Perhaps it is because their gaze is to the future. Then let the annual commemoration be dropped rather than that it should be shelved till the eighth to please the Recruiting Committee. For it is worse than indecent to see men still declaiming against that local atrocity who are now egging on their fellows to participate in the world atrocity, or harping on the enmity of the military caste to the workers, when they are now inciting the workers themselves to join the military caste.

No Separate Peace.

"The Sunday Times" cannot understand why the Workmen's and Soldiers' Committee at Petrograd proclaim at the same time the gospel of International Socialism and that of "no separate peace." The two things are not contradictory. The Internationalism of the Russian workmen gives them a sense of European, nay world responsibility. They are not satisfied with a separate peace. A separate peace would be easily obtainable, but would probably breed new perils. for the revolution so long as standing ermies waged war in Europe. How easily the whole of the Western belligerents could send all their armies. German, American and British, shoulder to shoulder in Holv alliance to smother the great spirit of revolutionary Russia. It is therefore Russia's true course to gain beace in all Europe; and towards this the Workmen's Committee is persistently forcing the pace.

Niggers, Not Men.

Mr. Fichardt raised an alarum in Parliament last week that the thousands of natives now in Flanders are being treated too much like men; and that the compound system is not being everywhere adhered to. He painted in yellow others the dreadful caled

amities that would ensue when these natives return to South Africa, their heads chock full of Paris fashions and Luropean airs. No doubt they will not be so amenable to Uom Klass' slambok, or the kicks of the Rand miner. But they will be better men than those who went. And General. Botha refers to them as "men," for the first time in South African politics. Prepare we then, white and black, for the great advance. Let the Nationalists, instead of preaching the ostrich gospel of race prejudice to their poor followers already blind with poverty and cheap labour pressure, adept a little of that liberalism whose badge they so much affect. For the honour is to him that toils; hats will go off to the labourer, be he black as boots; and power is in the hands which do the work of society. The hate which the Afrikander spits at the native labourer is no sign of superiority. It is a sign of corruption. Beware. In the solidarity of labour irrespective of colour lies. the only justice.

Men, Not Roubles.

The tremendous slump in the value of the Rouble means that the European investor can no longer rely on recovering his investments in Russia. As the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates rise in power the rouble declines in value. The Russian people are none the worse. It is the small investors in Britain and France who rushed by. the thousand to finance the Great. Russian loans with which alone the Czar squashed the revolution in 1905, it is they who lose. That is one way of repudiating a war loan. And Henderson, that champion of militant labour, what does he do? Why, whine to the British. Government to protect the British investors' interests in 'Russian industrial undertakings."

Lionised Labour.

The S.A. Typographical Union have concluded their 'labours' in Johannesburg, having easily beaten in pomp and circumstance the lion and lamb record set by other Craft Unions in the recent past. No taboo of official functions for them. Feted at clubs and banqueting halls by Mayor, Magistrate and Master-printer, the burden of their weighty pronouncements is complacent self-congratulation at the "excellent relations" now established between capital and labour, masters and men; a triumphant solution of the class. war. Here's beace in our trade, O. Boss; because there is none other that. we fight for, but only thou, O Boss. "Moderation is now the rage." We shall soon see our labour leaders aspiring, and being welcomed, to membership of the Rand Club. Good God! Has patriotism brought the movement to this?

Holders of subscription lists for the recent election fund are requested to return their lists, with the amounts collected, forthwith to the Treasurer, 6, Trades Hall, Rissik St., Johannes-burg.

The "White Labour Policy."

With the White Labour policy in the sense of opposition to indentured labour importation, pass laws and other special native disabilities, tor what it is worth, no one need quarrel. But many of its exponents, regarding it as a policy for the benefit of whites only, construe it to mean that our White Parliament should forbid the coloured man to do certain "Skilled" work, which, it is urged, must be reserved for the white workers—"the working class" as some of them sublimely call themselves. The game resolves itself into an undisguised scramble of one section of workers against another for monopoly of the best jobs, to which each section has just as good a right as the other. Each must thus discard all pretence at fairness or impartial consideration for the interests of all; an indefensible position by any standard; but in any case, not even remotely capable of being considered a part of the Labour Movement.

There is no way of suppressing coloured or native workers or preventing t.cin f.om working. I'ne present laws admittedly do not prevent them from competing with whites except within very narrow limits, which will certainly never be extended. Organisa tun by white workers to refuse to. work where coloured men are employed at a cheaper rate, only leads in the long run to tue dismissal of the white workers in favour of the coloured; and statistics show that this is going on. The only alternative, dictated both by the self interest of the whites and by the lundamental principles of the wording crass morement, is to ignore Commi or land Mobilicanno and rate my mo kommen morres min fre morrmone and ter olangamizarion; interpet, eq anamon the divisions of industries orgausation according to pay, and recogmos that the morsinship chimno mair po be an embracily (as it must be to will) until everyone gets stanuard pay, but that on the contrary everyone will nevel der stangaka had antit ene mokement empraces his graves (it men, loi equal wages all lound is not tue job-Jecuve); and certainly the class struggre, walle it is on, compers night paid and low paid alike to take builgs as they find them and co-operate as they are; insisting nevertheless as they go along on the whole-hog application of tue principle, now only sporadically acknowledged as between male and female workers, and only tentatively in the case of certain A.S.E. and Typo branches, as between white and coloured, of equal pay for equal work.

The European mechanics at a certain up country shop in Natal refuse to work side by side with Indian mechanics. The management point to Durban, where Europeans at 17s. a day work with Indians at 13s. Surely it would be no great feat, were the whites only to organise with the coolies in one union, to screw that 13s. up to 17s. The transition stage, the bridging of so small a gulf, will be far less difficult than in other cases it inevitably must be.

But it is said by coloured men that it they demand white men's pay the employer will always employ whites for preference. As a matter of fact, given equal skill, he may quite as likely prefer the voteless and more or less defenceless coloured man. Let both sides boldly grasp the nettle, and the thing is done. Let us get it over as smoothly and rapidly as we may.

S.P.B.

Branch Notes.

Johannesburg Central.

Comrade Davies Smith of the Management Committee made his debut at the Trades Hall on Sunday, explaining "Why I became a Socialist" by his observations of different countries, Russia under a Tsar, England under a Queen, America under neither, and so on. An animated and prolonged discussion followed on the value of "freedom," merging later into the now hackneved dialectic on "political action." Outside W. Reid and S. P. Bunting filled the bill.

At a branch meeting last night the agenda included the proposal to send a South African Socialist Delegate to the International Socialist Conferences a canvass for new members among the "possibles" discovered in the election campaign, and a certain charge of treason.

This Sunday the anester inside will he Androw Watson with Chas Dones at the open-air meeting.

Benoni.

"Labour" Inexactitudes.

The Benoni "Sentinel" recently reported an electioneering speech by W. Madeley, M.L.A., alleging that he had voted against the G.S.W. expedition, but that Mr. W. H. Andrews had voted for it; and that Mr. Andrews left the Labour Party because he desired to oust Mr. Creswell from his position as "leader of that party," and had tried to obtain Mr. Madeley's assistance to that end. Com. Andrews' reply, published in this week's "Sentinel," proves from "Hansard" that Mr. Madeley neither spoke nor voted for or against the expedition, but walked out, shirking the issue; and that he himself, then still obedient to the Labour caucus, and on Gen. Botha's solemn assurance that "there was no desire whateer to acquire fresh possessions," "nor was it their purpose to capture more land," reluctantly voted with the Government; but that at the next session, when speaking and voting against the Indemnity Bill (this time in defiance of the caucus which, in the middle of the debate reversed an earlier decislion), he said, "I voted last session for the G.S.W. campaign under a misapprehennion. I regret that vote: I would brecall it if I were able to do so." As for

and or provide the copy of

the "desire to oust Creswell," Mr. Andrews of course repudiates it with contempt, and challenges Madeley to particularise, adding that he (Mr. Andrews) was Chairman of the Party and could hold no higher office.

[In any case, the very last tactics a man would adopt if that were his object, would be to espouse a definitely "minority" and unpopular cause like International Socialism. Ed.]

I.S.L. Literature.

To understand the tremendous developments of our times, the War and its origin, the Russian Revolution, read the works of the great Socialist writers. Send for list of readable pamphlets.

"THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" of Marx and Engels.

"THE CLASS STRUGGLE," THE WORKING CLASS," "The CAPITALIST CLASS," "THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC," by Karl Kautsky.

"INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM," by Debs.

"THE PREAMBLE OF THE I.W.W." De Leon.

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