## THE INTERNATIONAL

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

P.O. BOX 4179.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street.

Johannesburg.

No. 95



FRIDAY, 3rd AUG., 1917.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

#### STOCKHOLM CONGRESS DOMINATES EUROPE.

OUR CONFERENCE NEXT SUNDAY.

So far the organisations outside the League who have signified their intention of participating in next Sunday's Conference are the Tailors' and Tailoresses Union, the South African Peace and Arbitration, the Social Democratic Federation of Capetown and the Social Democratic, Party of Durhan. Comrades Hicks and Harding have also written to say that they will come up to represent Kimberley, although as yet there is not definite Socialist organisation there. Comrade Pettersen will represent the Durban. I.S.L. and Comrades Andrews and Campbell are also expected?

All sympathisers with the movement to send a delegate are invited. Those who are not members of any Socialist organisation will be required to elect a voting representative by arrangement with the Credentials Committee. In signing the attendance book, all unattached visitors to the Conference will be deemed to have endorsed the following declaration. "I support the proposal that the workers of the world. take joint international action to bring the war to an end." The right to speak will be extended to all present at the Conference. The right to vote confined to the delegates.

The Conference will be held in the Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg. Proceedings will open at 10 a.m. Comrade Andrew Watson will preside as League Chairman, and after the Credentials, Committee has reported and delegates seated, the Conference will proceed to discuss the advisability of sending a delegate to Stockholm or elsewhere, in the same motion being included the policy on which the delegate will be instructed. Recommendations from the Management Committee will form the basis of the various items of discussion. The M.C. will issue with the agenda a report on the general situation.

On Saturday evening a Social Evening will be held at West's Academy to welcome the delegates and visitors to the Conference. A hearty welcome is extended to all Internationals. Invitations obtainable from the League Office. See advertisement.

Indeed, we are holding our Conference under the wing of great events in working-class history. This week's cables indicate that. Arthur Henderson, the Labour member of the War

Cabinet, has followed the French Socialist deputy, Cachin.. That Deputy went to Russia a Jingo and came back an International. But Henderson besides being in the War Cabinet, is Secretary of the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, and he has used his position in the Government for once in the service of the working-class by arranging passports for the minority Socialists to go to the preliminary Conference of Allied Socialists in Paris. The Russian delegation was sent abroad by the Russian Council when it first called the Stockholm Congress. It seems as if the whole Labour and Socialist movement of the Allied Countries have fallen under the brilliant spell of these thoroughgoing fighters of the class struggle from Russia.

#### A Message from Henderson.

This week the following cable was received by the League from Arthur Henderson. We have punctuated it according to our interpretation:—

To Jones, Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

On initiative of the Labour Party Executive the British Section of the International has decided to convene a Conference on the War situation of the Labour and Socialist Parties of the Allied Nations, including America, at London, on August 8th and 9th. The Russian Council of Workmen will be represented. The imminence of the Stockholm International compels the early meeting of the Allies Socialists. It has been found impossible to delay. The British Section will allow you delegation, and shall be glad to receive your party views.

#### Creswell Gone to England.

At first sight the references to a delegation gave the impression that it was intended for the Labour Party, the League Secretary having been the S.A.L.P. Secretary before the split. A word with Mr. Gow, the S.A.L.P. Secretary, cleared up matters, a similar cable having been received by him. This showed the hand of the Russian Comrades, who tolerate no partiality towards the "Majority." The information was elicited from Mr. Gow that the Labour Party has telegraphed home instructions appointing Colonel Creswell its delegate at the Stockholm Conference. Colonel Creswell, it seems

left this country in June on board an Army transport, and is now in Eng-land. We can safely leave it to the Russian delegation to judge as to his claims. He will 'voice' the demand of the workers of South Africa that the German Colonies shall not be returned. But Colonel Cresswell's departure has been kept a strict secret from said workers. And the Labour Party's mandate has been equally clandestine. The Labour Party no longer represents organised labour, all the important Unions having seceded. Neither have the workers in their organised capacity expressed any opinion about German Colonies. Do they care a fig what becomes of them? Whether Colonel Creswell will be allowed a vote at the Allied and Stockholm Congresses in the absence of the Socialist delegate is very questionable. Apropos of that, it appears from this week's cable that the Allied Conference mentioned in the cable will not be held till August 28th.

This Conference of Allied Socialists will have a very different purpose to the old fashioned ones. They were conclaves of mutual encouragement in apostacy. This one will be for common action and policy as a result of Stockholm—let us hope in united opposition to the War Governments. We wish to warn the Labour Party against the possibility of Creswell returning a convenced International!!

Thus our Conference is being held with International Socialism sailing into ken as the one hope of an otherwise doomed working-class, the one hope of a humanity otherwise in despair, the one hope of the bleeding soldier and the tired worker, the one hope even for "bankrupt statesmen" of escape from terrible vengeance. It is the workers of the world entering to take charge not merely of peace and war, but of the world. Viewed thus, small though our Conference, we represent a great potential power.

With reference to 'Beronia's' article in last week's issue forecasting the aeroplane to be the final phase of militarism and the instrument of its self-destruction: A cable this week recounts an aerial tragedy in which a German aeroplane came to earth. While 600 feet up, the pilot had forcibly ejected his passenger, a military Lieutenant, in self-defence. The Lientenant, being the military superior took upon himself to direct the pilot. But the pilot, his hand on the pulse of the throbbing machine, asserted his sole mastership, and proved that mihtarv orders ever him in the air were both inadvisable and impossible.

#### Philanthropists.

By J. M. G.

The dictionary meaning of a philanthropist is 'one who tries to benefit nankind" by good deeds and service. to others. Taking the meaning in its literal sense the workers! are the greatest philantropists. The activities of other charitable organisations and philanthropic societies are mere bagatelles compared to the amount of and extent of the operations of the wor-'ers' philanthropy. In fact, these charitable societies and organisations, existing to give fat billets to secretaries and organisers, and incidentally to hide the chronic poverty of the dwellers in slumdom, could not exist if it were not for the milanthropic gifts of the workers to the individuals who subscribe to the various funds. The workers are, (admittedly unconscious) so imbued with the spirit of charity that they allow the capitalist class to have four-fifths of the amount of the product of their labour. By doing so they enable these individuals to have all the good things of this life contenting themselves with a mere subsistence. Some even think that the less they have in the world, will be compensated by an inflated reward in mansions in the skies.

The self denial of the workers is beyond all question. Their good deeds cannot be denied, and their whole life practically from the cradle to the grave is one long servitude to supply others with everything to make life worth living; whilst they deny themselves of everything but the bare necessaries of life and in many instances deny themselves even that.

We have heard of the "stately homes of England," those mansions that for beauty of architecture and construction are unrivalled in any part of the civilised world. We have all s read a description of, and many have seen the beautiful decorations and artistic fittings of these mansions with elaborate furniture, upholstered with the most costly fabrics, beautiful to look upon, for the use and enjoyment of a section of the community that toil not nor spin, but who accept all these gifts from the workers, who are content to abstain from using the work of their own hands, the creation of their own brains, and are willing to live in hovels more or less filthy, without any of the conveniences that are essential to the life and happiness ofthe individual. The workers abstain from wearing decent clothing; are content to wear shoddy, so that the master class and their female hangerons may have the finest and most elaborate materials to decorate themselves with.

They load the tables of these people with the most costly and finest produce of the land and supply them with the rarest beverages and choicest vintages, contenting themselves with the humblest and coarsest fare.

They have built motor cars to enable these idlers to go enjoying themselves without the fatigue of walking. The workers are content to get about on shanks' mare.

They have built railway carriages "models de lux" of elegance and luxurious comfort to enable other people to move from one part of the country to another with the greatest ease, reducing the fatigue of travelling to a minimum, while they are content to use vehicles that are no better than horse boxes; or they may steal a ride in a goods train.

Palatial steamships have been built to take these parasites to all parts of the globe, sight seeing, whilst the workers are compelled to travel like penned cattle.

These people are able, by the philanthropy of the workers, to send their children to colleges and universities, built by the workers and endowed by the surplus value of their labour. The children of the workers being compelled, owing to the generosity of their parents, to accept an education that is not an education in any sense of the word.

This philanthropy of the workers has about reached the limit. There is a growing consciousness amongst them of the injustice of the present system. They are beginning to realise that the mental kinks inherited from the past have misled them and made them too generous in handing over to an idle parasite class four-fifths of the product of their labour. They are beginning to see the grinning deaths head, the hideousness of our present phase of society, covered over with all the drapery and showy splendour of the ruling class, to captivate the emotional imagination of the unthinking. They are awakening to the hollowness of a form of society that enslaves the many in the interests of a few. They are becoming conscious that they in the mass are denied all participation in those essentials that go to mark the difference between human life and the beasts. They have been denied the right of education, have been compelled to live in slums without any chance of cultivating or knowing anything of that superior culture that the Allies contend they are fighting for against the inferior culture of the Central Power.

This growing consciousness on the part of the workers is receiving a forward impetus since the war began. It has straightened out many of the mental kinks of the workers and compelled them to ask questions as to the righteousness of a system that compels them to give their all in the prosecution of the war whilst the capitalist class are piling up huge fortunes. The environment created by the war has created a consciousness amongst the workers, which must grow as the war goes on, that will force them to realise that their unconscious philanthropy of the past was a state of imbecility: that society as now constituted must go and give place to a form of society under which the workers will not produce for an idle class of paralabour, but will enter into and he the inheritors of the knowladge and culture of the ages.

#### How War Profits are made

The Facts about the Johannesburg Tailors' Strike.

The facts about the Tailors' dispute have been misrepresented in the Press. Here is the workers' side of the case:

On the occasion of the last strike, 3s. a tunic was granted provided breeches were made for 2s. 3d. (2s. 7d. was the price two years ago). On trial, this only yielded 10s. a day (working from 7 a.m. to 7. or 7.30 p.m.)—the sample on which the 2s. 3d. was based not having been adhered to; and it is untrue that more than 5 tunics could be made in a 12 hours day, or that the lowest weekly total paid was £5. So the men have demanded 3s. for breeches, and Allbrett has declared a locktout. The men have not even been paid off for all work on hand or even finished. It is not true that two men drew £10 12s. 6d. for a week's work—that was drawn by three partners together. Allbrecht's have highhandedly instructed Singers to take away the machines which the men had taken on the hire purchase system from Singers and brought on to Allbrecht's premises. Allbrecht's alleged statement that the men's pay is the affair of his foreman Schraga is absurd: Allbrett deals with all disputes with the workers, and it is to them they look. Good luck to the Tailors' Union in their fight for a living wage. The men have refused to be bribed by offers of separate work to take home, and the prospects of a victory are good.

#### Our Old Nobility.

When a big Lord or Statesmen resigns, it is generally because he pleads the toothache or corns. They frequently resign owing to ill-health and get kicked upstairs to a better job.

This was the case with Lord Devonport, who resigned Food Control owing to illhealth, some disarrangement of his food control possibly. But there were other reasons. A question was asked in Parliament if it was true that an importing firm in Sweden received a cable from an English firm to hold up butter as the market was not firm.

The answer was, "yes."

The question was then asked, was the name of the firm "Keresby and Tom." "Yes"!

And was Lord Devonport still head of this firm? "Yes"!

N.B.—Lord Devonport's name is Mr. Keresby!

#### WHITE SLAVERY ON THE TRAMS.

#### PRUSSIAN MILITARISM AT HOME.

The general conception of the conditions prevailing in the Tramway service is that of a contented, highly paid, and independent class of workers. Why, there is a Tramway Committee with a "Labour" chairman, and a "Labour" majority. There is a Tramway Union whose president writes to the papers. There is the nice, smart uniform, and some of the men have stripes as a sign of promotion.

All this but helps the illusion. The "Labour" majority are quite content to lay about them in open Council, with their hands on their hearts telling how they bleed for the workers. But that is all stage play. Once they interfere in the intimate routine of "discipline" and in the powers of the martinet Inspector, Barry, the Capitalist Press will stop adertising them.

As a matter of fact, of late the life of a man on the trams, especially if he is a "casual," is the life of a dog. The public are too prone to take the rate of wages as the standard. That is almost secondary. In the Tramway Regulations there is one word, "suspension," which can outweigh all your rates of pay. Strange to say, while there are definite provisions for everything else, you only know of this one thing, "suspension," by indirect allusion, as if it were a thing taken for granted. But in that word the institution of wage-slavery is made doubledyed.

When you see a trolley-pole slipping off the wire, that means "suspension" for the conductor. That is why you always see a conductor hanging on the trolley rope, when turning round corners. He is hanging on to two of three days' pay. At junctions and corners the trolley is very prone to come off. The conductor must be at the rope no matter what work he has to do. Else martinet Barry will say at the end of the trip, "I suspend you for two days," and the conductor goes home with the news of the loss of 25s. to his wife and children.

The other day a motorman was trying to make up speed. He had lost time on the road through unavoidable delays. In rounding the corner of Eloff Street he just shaved the paint off a milk cart. It was reported. Martinet Barry suspended him off-hand for SEVEN DAYS. He has a wife and nine children, and a pinched look on his face.

A new motorman the other day bumped a freight car. Besides being new at the job, the freight car had no lights, and it was dark. Barring a scratch of paint there was absolutely no damage. "Two days suspension" from the Martinet!

These suspensions are of daily occurrence. The fear of them holds the men in its grip. It degrades them. You see some of them salute Barry as if he were a military dictator: They are

no longer men. This daily punch of Barry's at their stomachs is taking all the independence out of them

Things are made worse by the fact that so many men are returning from the front. They have been fighting German militarism! Their wives and children at home have been through a hell of a time. They themselves have been regimented and made docile. They are the very stuff that Barry wants. There are 50 or 60 of them just now learning tram work and filling the jobs of the stronger back bones who are getting fed up and leaving. The other day Conductor Kruger was insulted by an Inspector. It was more than flesh and blood could stand. When the tram returned to town and he was free Kruger gave the Inspector what for. But while you must fight for the "honour" of your country a wageworker must not presume to battle for any self-respect of his own. So, after a mock-trial by the 'Labour' Tramway Committee, Kruger was fired, although his offence was committed off duty.

Where is the Union? The Union is only a name. The device of splitting up the workers by grading them is carried out to perfection on the trams. There are the "Casuals," who are the lower ranks. The "special shift" men, the relieving" men, and on top, the "regulars," the old standbacks who get no suspensions, have regular shifts, get top pay, and can be depended upon to stand "loyal" in any trouble.

Thus every grade is craning its neck forward to the next grade, and solidarity is impossible. Tale-telling is the result. If a slight accident occurs "suspension" comes. If it is not reported some one else will report, and the sack is given instead.

The Union is thus only an Executive of favoured hands, with the most favoured hand as president. By this means guerilla outbreaks are avoided, and the whole of the men are settled with on the "collective gaining" principle with friend" the president. It avoids a lot of trouble, and Trades Unionism is a fine thing. The men pay, sometimes, to the Union, but no longer hold any meetings; because to get a proper meeting they need to stop the trams for a couple of hours as the Capetown men did. Failing that the management influences meetings by arranging shifts for "agitators."

Nor is this all. The "casuals" must report for duty at stated hours. Sometimes they hang round all day for a shift. If a "casual" is five minutes late in reporting he forfeits his right to the £3 10s. a week minimum. He is then at Barry's service at one and sixpence an hour for as many hours as God sends, and not till he has made 63 hours in the week is he entitled to overtime rate. And regulation 10 says

that he must undertake duty as long as called for.

In short, the men on the trams are as defenceless against tyranny as if there were no Union and no Labour men on the Council. While Labour men rave on behalf of the skilled artisans, they seem absolutely incapable of bringing in any thing like decent conditions into the trams. The first reform necessary is to abolish the monstrous power of 'suspension' entrusted to the Chief Inspector, and secondly to bring in equality of pay, so that the men's interest may become identical, and thus solidarity will ensue. The servile conditions on the trams are a menace to the whole working-class movement.

### The Indian Proletariat Organising.

A Forward Move in Durban.

The Indian Workers Industrial Union, on the lines of the I.W.W., was formed by Comrade Lee in March last. An inaugural meeting was held in the Durban Trades Hall under the chairmanship of Comrade Hoggins of the S.D.P., at which twenty Indian workers were present representing several Industries, who decided unanimously to band themselves into an Industrial Union. As it was impossible to obtain a Hall for the purpose of the Union a series, of open-air propaganda meetings were commenced and have been held regularly to date at the corner of Grev and Victoria Streets, thus bringing Industrial Unionism home to the Indian wage slaves. The Union grows surely, and the progress made by Indian speakers under the tuition of Comrade Lee is a thing to be noted by those who talk of the mental inferiority of the coloured community. Indian delegates to the International Conference to be held on August 5th will be Comrade Sigamoney, and it may be said that the interests of this section will be well represented. The Union Officials have got so good a prip of the class struggle that it is safe to say that the Union can stand alone to-day under it's own elected leadership. Meetings are now being called of the various Industries in which Indian wage slaves are employed and new locals will be formed on the one big Union idea. The movement is causing a flutter in Caritalist dovecofes and a detailed member of the C.I.D. attends all meetings. Members have been warned by their employers to leave the Union or get out of the iob and several meetings have been broken un by Khaki warriors, whether inctigated or not we cannot say but—The movement has come to stav and von have only to come along and hear Comrade Lee and his Indian chair sing the Red Flag. International, and the whole of the I.W.W. songs to learn how the Indian worker has nut his heart into the new idea which we repeat HAS COME TO STAY.

RAMSAMFY.

#### The Russian Drama.

Some Facts and Personalities.

In our note on the Russian Cabinet last issue we made the error of referring to a bourgeois majority in the Russian Mhistry. After the resignation of Lvoff and the other bourgeois Ministers the position rather seems to be that the Socialists are in sole possession. The dictatorship of the Council of Workmen has so aroused the misgivings of the bourgeoisie that they have either been forced to resign, or have done so as a move in the game. to place the Socialists in the impossible job of administering capitalist society while at the same time retaining their class loyalty.

The Socialists do not want to be responsible for the Political State, especially at a time when that State has piled up overwhelming world wide disasters, until they are in a position to destroy that Political State in step with the world wide movement of the working-class. The Russian workmen are waiting on us!

Capitalist development, that is, the development of the large industry, is backward in Russia. This is the weak point to the Socialist position. But the peasant class have been prepared and enlightened to an extent unknown in any other country. This is the compensating advantage. Whether the large industry will grow by tree exchange under the joint political control of Capitalists and Socialists or under the method of State Socialism and Land Co-operatives, the results of the forthcoming general election alone can tell.

Dr. Sarolea of Glasgow University, writing from the bourgeois point of view, marvels at the restraint and magnanimity of the Russian Workmen when they had the power to wreak wholesale revenge on their persecutors, perpetrators of decades of intolerable wrongs. Of the 2,000 casualties in the Revolution, the big majority were of the people. Comparatively few poltce were killed. Now, however, when the bourgeoisie and their regiments on the Eastern front have it in their power, the "agitators" and Socialist soldiers, are executed and slaughtered down by the hundred, and the Capitalist Press gloats over it. That is why the Socialist movement dare not look back in Russia. As in 1848, as in the Paris Commune of 1871, let the bourgeoisie, its soul athirst for profits, but have one chance, and the blood of the Russian Workmen will flow in thrrents such as are unparalleled even by the horrors of this unparalleled war.

And now about the Socialist Ministers. Skohelov we all know! He will meet the devil or his grandmother in order to restore the International. He is in charge of Posts and Telegraphs. Tseretelli, another Minister, has the following words to his credit which

show how he regards his Ministerial function. They were delivered to the Council of Workmen, and much applauded.

a stage towards a Social Revolution, and it was the task of the proletariat to guide it in this direction. The army of Revolutionaries must be able to control the Provisional Government in order that such measures may be enforced as the eight hour day, the redistribution of the land among the peasants, and the constitution of a Representative Assembly, which will declare a democratic Republic and confirm all the conquest of the Revolution."

Then there is Tchernoff. The Cadets and other bourgeois parties are hot after this man's blood. They refuse to have anything to do with the Government until he is out of it. He is Minister of Agriculture. We recognise this comrade as Cernov, described by "Avanti" as leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, that is, the party of the revolutionary peasants. Viktor Tchernoff has been "the principal promotor of the most extreme agrarian policy: of the Socialisation of land, the expropriation without indemnity of large or medium-sized properties and the assignment of all cultivated lands to the workers alone." No wonder they want his blood!

Tchernoff, like Skobelov and Tsere-telli, is a convinced internationalist, indeed, took part in the Zimmerwald Conference. "Tchernoff believes in the wide education of the masses in city and country on Socialist lines, and he considers that the end of the war must initiate a new era of political and social revolution throughout Europe."

These are the men in control. We can only gather that the wholesale massacre of the revolutionary workmen at the front is the work of the Press Bureau, or will have to be sternly accounted for to the Council of Workmen. What imperishable deeds of working-class heroism must not be written of in Russia when the workers finally triumph.

And what about Lenin, who is depicted as a fugitive from justice, and a pro-German spy. Pass the salt. A Russian Socialist paper in Paris has this about him:—

"He is represented as a new man, suddenly risen to the surface, while in reality he is better known in Russia than Jules Guesde in France. He began his militant life in 1910. He organised the "Union of liberation of the Working Class." It was he who wrote the valuable work, "The Evolution of Capitalism in Russia." From 1903 he was the undisputed leader of that tendency of Russian Marxism known as "bolshevism." Lenin has hehind him 25 years of labour, self-denial and struggle against oppression. Lenin is a revolutionary... who goes to the very end and does not stop half way. . He has an iron character, and is a born leader of men."

#### "Our Fellow Workers, the Natives."

Chas. Dones, of the Management Committee, discoursed last Sunday to. good effect at the Trades Hall on the above topic. The speaker, following the lines now made familiar in the "International," added a good deal of original form and illustration of his own. 'Organise and educate' is a more practical thing applied to natives than to white workers in South Africa. At the very first of a series of gatherings of natives to study the workingclass movement the point was seized: asked what they wanted, they replied "Si funa konke"—"we want everything." What White Union ever aimed so high or so true? "Jim Sixpence to tea" indeed! Why plenty of Johannesburg hosts would never ask a single one of that (white) audience to tea; every man in the audience itself can think of plenty of whites he would not ask to tea; but few are above asking Jim Sixpence to bring them tea into their bedrooms! As for "education." the blacks without it have a better chance of grinning essentials than the whites with it. To understand the servile positon of your class shows more real education than all the classics and mathematics. The I.S.L. could unfortunately not take the credit of having incited Tarry's natives to strike, but who said German gold? Com. Dones' first appearance should encourage him to make an early reanpearance.

# The Conference Social. A SOCIAL EVENING

will be held at :

#### Prof. WEST'S Academy,

Pritchard Street,
on Saturday Evening, August 4th,
at 8 p.m.

To welcome the Delegates to the Special Conference.

Admission free.

All Internationals are cordially invited.
Songs, Short Address, etc.

Box 2659.

Phone 4521.

#### J. BACHARACH.

Tradesmen's and Commercial Books kept.

Balance Sheets Drawn.

Income Tax Returns Prepared,

84/97

Printed by the U. P. & P. Co., Ltd. for the I.S.L. Box 4179, Johannesburg