THE INTERNATIONAL

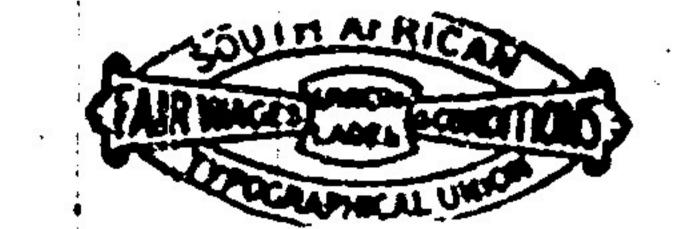
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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THE STAR IN THE EAST.

A CLEAR CALL TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Contrary to expectation, a unique significance attaches to the coming Provincial Elections. The wonderful proletarian revolution begun in Russia, but destined to encircle the civilised world, has completely thrown in the shade the parochial topics which Capitalism has hitherto allowed a Provincial Council to play with. It is a trumpet call to the nations of the earth to which South Africa too, backward though her Labour Movement is, cannot long be deaf. Just as we seized the coincidence of the 1914 elections to protest against the deportations and Commissioner Street murders, so on a grander scale to-day we have the glorious opportunity by voting Socialist on June 20th of associating ourselves unmistakably with the magnificent lead of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Committees. Bhall we let it slip?

The dramatic and triumphant rapidity of the revolution indeed takes our breath away. Socialists themselves never hoped for so early a fruition of their movement: they even feared that the war would set it back indefinitely. But in one respect they are vindicated to the letter. They have ever urged that as the modern capitalist system inevitably meant war, there was only one way to end war, and that was, not to scream pacifism but to end the capitalist system—to show the master class the door and establish "the dictatorship. of the proletariat"; all or nothing. Now. Russia of all countries, clearsighted, audacious, unfaltering, with magnificent contempt for the bogies and fetishes that capitalism would have us dread or revere, has suited the action to the word. The seeming miracle is taking shape at her hands. The people have already begun to seize the land, factories and machinery of production. In a twinkling they have opened the grandest chapter in history, the chapter of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Our look-outs have suddenly sighted the New World. From our Pisgah we descry our First Army already crossing the frontier and occupying the territory of the Promised Land.

Not without a prolonged and colossal struggle, however, will capitalism capitulate. Not avowed capitalist parties only, but Liberals, Radicals, Labour' parties and backsliding patriotic 'Socialists' in all lands still seem bound to Kapital's chariot, ready to fight,

aye,, even to call in the Kaiser, against the Revolution. It is a moment of crucial anxiety, of grave responsibility on every working man. Will the working class continue so to fool and betray itself? Will it fall divided or united stand? Will Labour in Central and Western Europe, in America and the British Dominions, scab on Labour in Russia? Will the workers sell their birthright for a mess of Imperialist pottage which only the master class after all will eat?

"Workers of the World" cry the Russian revolutionaries to all nations, "for verv shame arise! Unite! Assert yourselves! Shake off the besotting fumes of your mad patriotic carouse. Be free men! Help us! Carry on forthwith throughout the earth what we have begun here! Already we are gripping the ruling class by the throat. The hour has arrived for us, all together, to fling away our chains! Thus alone shall we 'stop the war,' rid the world of all its Kaisers and secure the only victory worth having. For all your dearly bought war 'gains' and the enemy's alike must inevitably, as by a stroke of the pen, become neutralised and of no avail once man's Empire over man is swept away, and real liberty, transcending parties, frontiers, races and nationalties, is won at last."

Workers under the Southern Cross, will you not respond to this one clear call from Eastern Europe, whence cometh our salvaton? Do not be distracted by passing trifles from realising the historic occasion, and the part that is yours to play in it. And do not wait, like the French and German patriotic 'Socialists,' to be forced to come in." Be in it now, instead of being left behind, only to be swept in at the finish -for you need not expect to keep out of it for ever. Emulate as far as you can the Russian initiative. Be up to date. Bury the past and, as the least you you can do, voice your support of the regime of the future—the only alternative in the long run to universal militarism and hooliganocracy. Think of the day when your children wil ask. "Daddy, what did you do in the Great Revolution?"

S.P.B.

A great Russian revolutionary said a few years ago while in exile in Paris that the Russian Government was the dark shadow across the world, but that the Russian people would become the light of the world.

Karl Marx becomes John Smith.

It is a sign that the Capitalists are getting into difficulties when they offer the position of Food Controller to Smillie, the leader of the Miners in Britain. When there was a full cupboard Lord Devonport was good enough, but now that the job is calculated to bring public odium it is offered to a Labour man. Smillie refused the fat job of administering lean rations, and is getting to work with a British Workmen and Soldiers' Committee instead.

There is no surer sign of the unconquerable nature of the Russian Revolution than the fact that the English workers are moving to copy. Hitherto everything coming from the Continent has been taboo by the English workingclass. Karl Marx's great crime was that he was not John Smith. To-day we see the English workers gladly following the lead of their Russian comrades, and no other lead is possible as a way out of the wilderness. It is the beginning of the great end that we see. Even men like Macdonald and Snowden, who have hitherto deprecated talk of class war, and have preached Socialism as a fight of words in the Parliamentary talking shop, are to-day compelled to participate in the great Leeds Conference for bringing about peace by means of working class action. It is again demonstrated that the emancipation of the working class must be the task of the workers themselves. More and more is it becoming probable that the end of the war means the beginning of the Social Revolution. The workers of Russia organised to overthrow Czarism, and then quietly remained in the saddle to abolish capitalism. The war is the Czarism of the British and German workers. If they organise to bring it to an end, they will have to go on and straightway take control for the abolition of the whole system that breeds war. Every alternative that presents itself to the ruling class of Europe to-day leads to disaster. Every alternative that presents itself to the working class leads to victory. To-day we cannot ut win. Capitalist conquests to-day turn mouldy and unprofitable. Even workingclass defeats blossom into gain for mankind. The message of Europe to backward South Africa is, prepare ye the way, make ready the minds of the people for the greatest event in human history. Down with war and militarism, bring in the era of international working class solidarity!

Criminals?

13v J.M.G.

A criminal is, broadly speaking, one that is accused and convicted of breaking some law made by the ruling class,

These laws, when examined in the light of past history, have been changed, modified and obliterated, and replaced by others, as societies change, so that the criminal of one phase of society, may be the hero of the next, or the accepted of this age be the rejected of the next.

The laws for ned in any period or phase of society are made to enforce the form which the possession of property takes. To-day the basis of society is private ownership in land and the tools of production. Material gain and possession is the hall mark of individual respectability. The laws are made and administered to maintain those relations, and property in the hands of the few, being the basis of society, becomes more and more valuable than the lives of the mass of the people.

These laws made to enforce the morality of the system give riso to antagonisms which create various moral 'codes. These codes not having the sanction of the laws, the holders of them are declared criminal. The landlord class declares the poacher criminal. although the poachers are perfectly justified in declaring the landlords selfish persons, who have the police on their side. If the respectable shareholders who neither toil nor spin and render no social service to society dub the workers common fellows who frequent pubs and indulge in other low practices such as disturbing law and order by striking for better conditions of labour, the workers from their standpoint retort that the shareholders are sneaking thieves who rob the workers and batten upon their vitals.

Society stigmatises those as criminals who break their laws, not because they violate any eternal code of morality—there exists no such thing,—but bebecause they violate the ruling code of the time.

The ruling class in all ages have crucified, burned, stoned, slain and deported so-called criminals, yet they have failed to eradicate these criminals. They have failed to read the lessons of the past; they are unable to see that these criminals are performing a service to society; it is their protest against the exclusive domination of a passing phase of society.

To-day the accumulation of private wealth is the ideal of society. This ideal is looked upon as coil by the dispossessed: they fail to see the morality of the system, which to them is immoral, formed as it is in the interests of a few to the exclusion of the many; denying the many that justice which should form the basis of society.

It is recognised by all authorities that 90 per cent. of the crimes in our present society are crimes against property. "Thou shalt not steal" declares the Decalogue. Exactly; but who is to decide what stealing consists of? Are—the persons holding the tools, that are required to produce the necessaries of

life the best judges of what is criminal? The dispossessed say no. Unfortunately those in possession have the material means to enforce their conception of right and wrong; their might is right.

These varied conceptions of right and wrong, moral and immoral, are inherent in any system founded on class interests and ergating class antagonisms, and have always existed right down through the civilisation period. In the pre-civilisation beriod the much discussed question of morals practically did not exist. Under the old tribal system the individual in all his actions washneved ameouseionsly by the larger life of the tribe. The break up of this communistic basis form of society gaves place form of society based on private proposty in land, slaves, and, as in our present day society, ownership in the tools of production, giving rise to the State with class made laws, leading to all those antagonisms that are inseparable from societies founded on class.

The ideals of Socialism when realised will eliminate these antagonisms. Man will again realise that he is a unit of humanity as a whole; he will consciously realise his oneness with society, and he merged in the larger life of the fellowship. The questions of criminals, morality and immorality belong to civilisation, which is only a passing phase after all in the life of humanity. They are part of the forward evolution which will ultimately lead us to the communism of pre-historic times, but on an infinitely higher plane.

The I.S.I. Election Fight.

Benoni did well läst Saturday with the open air meeting at Perry's corner. After the I.S.L. meeting had been advertised, the Recruiting Committee announced a recruiting meeting at the same time and place. Compades J. Forrester Brown and Barendregt were advertised to speak. A rough house was anticipated owing to the clashing of the two meetings. But we were not intimidated, although the great Mr. Benson, with the melodramatic and the clutching at the heart appeal to the slacker, was brought from town to deliver the recruiting oration. Ivon Jones on the box duly opened and got the crowd together, after which Comrade Forrester got going. He stated that a deputation from some local members of the Mineworkers' Union had approached him with a view to preventing him from speaking on an International Socialist platform. He said that when he sold his labour to the Mineworkers' Union he did not sell his soul to it. He claimed freedom of speech just as they all claimed freedom of speech from their capitalist masters. A couple of drunks and one or two soldiers kept up an harassing fire of interruption. But the bulk of the crowd. which soon grew to large dimensions. were impatient and wished to hear. Ivon Jones followed again with an attack on capitalist war mongers in general, and William Reid, all driving home the great issue before the electors. the unavoidable issue of the war. A good hearty cheer was accorded Comrade Andrews at the end, and the success of the meeting gave an extra spur to the outhusiasm of the comrades.

The prospects of victory are good. If we could only command the press publicity and treasury of our opponents, our great message would do all the rest. The comrades are putting their backs in the work, and it will not be' our fault if International Socialism does not take a big stride forward in Benoni. And it is undoubtedly gaining adherents daily. The great events in Europe are helping us, and confounding the enemies of the workingelass movement. The Unionist candidate spoke at Perry's gener this week to a crowd mainly of Socialists and Labourites, who gave a good hearing, but also plenty of hanter. Blackwell, M.I. spoke tearfully of the terrible events in Russia! Poor Capitalists this is indeed a terrible time for them, when the workers of Russia wont fight nor work any more for Capitalist masters.

Johannesburg Notes.

A capital open-air election meeting was held last Sunday afternoon at the traditional corner of West and Commissioner Streets. The meeting was allnounced by a Jewish manifesto which was distributed all over the district on. the Sunday morning, and an attendance of several hundred was the result. The speakers, except the candidate, all spoke in "Yiddish." and with the humour peculiar to such vernaculars, created a deep impression on the audience; indeed the campaign has brought forward four excellent new speakers aho will certainly be called upon again Comrades Righthouse, Israelstam, D. Smith and J. Adler.

Practically every suitable hall in the constituency, including all theatres, and bioscopes under the control of the African Theatres Trust, Ltd., and the West End and Zionist Halls, has been refused to our canditate for the whole election period. Such is the fear of a "handful of insignificant faddists!"

Before nomination Comrade Bunting was approached by divers parties, one in close touch with the orthodox Jewish Board of Deputies and others being alleged "Socialists," to desist from proceeding with the election or at any rate from holding public meetings, on the ground that the result would be a riot, or, worse still, a pogrom of shopkeepers' windows. The inference can hard-Iv be avoided that such rumours originally emanated from the camp of one or another of the rival canditdates. They have of course been ignored. A careful canvass now proceeding shows unexpected support and realisation of the great issue now before the world.

The meeting outside the Town Hall on Sunday night was addressed by Comrades Reid, Stanton, and Bunting, and was unusually well attended. Indeed it has for some time past been clear that these outdoor meetings offer better opportunities for propaganda than those held indoors. That is why the hooligans are incited to break them up.

Indoors Comrade E. H. Becker made his debut with an address on The International is dead; long live the International, discussing the reasons for the failure of the old and the tactics necessary to the success of the new International. A number of new members and subscribers to the paper were enrolled.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE.

When we made our notes on this matter last week it did not enter our minds to refer to South African representation at the Stockholm Conference. The main reason for this perhaps was that no member of the League was looking for a cheap trip. We are too busy carrying on the fight here. Moreover, I.S.L. members have a sense of perspective, and realise that our contribution to the Congress at Stockholm is not to send a delegate there who will not be able to speak for the workingclass of the Rand. but to bring the workers of the Rand up to the class conscious level of our European comrades. The significance of the Stockholm Conference is that the Socialists who will deliberate there speak for the vast bulk of the European workers. Our contribution is to carry on the fight in South Africa, and remain faithful, as enjoined by the Secretary of the Italian Socialists in his letter to us, remain faithful to the end. The idea of a cheap trip did not kitiate in the least our great joy at the coming together of the workers of Europe at Stockholm.

Further, it should be pointed out that this coming Conference is a Conference of action. It is an executive Conference called at comparatively short notice for immediate steps. For such purpose the British Dominions are lumped in with the British delegation. When the far ends of the earth are required in international conclave, a year's notice will be given, and that Congress will be a Congress on general policy.

However, the organised Socialist movement in South Africa (and by the organised Socialist movement is meant the movement that carries on the fight for Socialism day in and day out, and not a handful of more or less unattached individuals who only come out of their holes when oversea palaver is in sight), our movement is not unrepresented at Stockholm. We are affiliated with the International Socialist Commission at Berne. We are a section of "The Zimmerwaldians" who are leading the fight against war in Europe today. Comrade Grimm, the Secretary of the Zimmerwaldians, informed us not long ago that our I.S.L. Conference resolutions had taken a prominent place in the agenda of the second Zimmerwaldian Conference held at Kienthal. This agenda, like many other communications from Comrade Grimm, never reached us. But the comrades can rest satisfied, knowing as we do that a quite recent report of ours has reached the Berne Commission, the the Berne Commission will be able to speak for the I.S.L. of South Africa at Stockholm, and speak with a full knowledge of the facts, of the conditions under which we labour, of the men who have been carrying on the fight, and of the state of the movement in South Africa and its strength. The letter from Con. Lazari published last week shows that "The International", has regularly reached him, and no doubt through him, the Berne Commission.

Therefore, comrades, that as far as South Africa is concerned, our duty is here. Let us not pluck up the seed to see if the plant is growing. Let us not hanker after cheap. glory, and mislead the European comrades with a delegation that will represent more money than men. Here is the fight. The eyes of the fool are to the ends of the earth. Internationalism does not mean running away from insoluble difficulties at home to an international conclave of cranks, but summoning the workers here at home to international unity with our fellow workers elsewhere, aye, and at home too; and, to the extent that we succeed, collaborating internationally. Mr. Arthur Henderson sent by the workers themselves is of far greater significance than the "purest" of pure Socialists representing no one but his own ethereal opinions. Let us produce the international class conscious working class constituency that will send the delegate of its free accord. That is our job. Our hest immediate message to Stockholm will be to return Comrades Andrews and Bunting at the head of the poll on Wednesday week.

Since the above has been set up ince type the cables announce that the Russian Socialists have sent a call to the Socialist parties and trade unions throughout the world to come to Stockholm to end universal slaughter by international action of the proletariat.

Thus the situation changes from day to day. So far we in South Africa have not received this call, neither has the Trade Union movement. Nor are we likely to. We live in a corner of the world where the censor has full pówers, and can use them with impunity. Nevertheless our previous remarks still hold. We can act internationally without delegates if need be. The proletariat of all lands can unite without telegraphs, telephones, or elaborate network of Socialist inter-communication. Indeed these things may be barred to the Socialist movement as the fight gets fiercer. The proletariat is international because it has one common enemy, one common aim, one faith, one great goal, and one battle cry of emancipation.

The Russian workmen, in the tremendous power of their Socialist solidarity are forcing the Governments of Europe to grant passports for the Stockholm Conference. The Governments of Europe are making the best of a bad job by getting reactionary delegates sent to sway the Conference their way. Similar influences are evidently at work in South Africa to swell the number of mugwumps or worse, and Colonel Creswell's name was mentioned in an inspired paragraph in the "Rand Daily Mail" yesterday as the most suitable delegate!!! The shedder of blood at the Conference of the Socialist anti-militarist workingmen of the world!

The I.S.L. has been carrying on alone in South Africa the same fight that the Russian Socialists have waged—the international class war. Those who are endeavouring to manipulate the present "cheap trip" on the pretence of sym-

pathy with the Russian Socialists are averse to the class struggle and, being bourgeois pacifists, have not been heard of in the War on War struggle in South Africa. Beware of the side-tracking designs of the bourgeois pacifist!

What does sympathy with the Russian Revolution imply, comrades! It implies the solidarity of labour irrespective of race or colour. That phrase may be hackneyed, so let us be precise. The Russian revolution in South Africa means the welcome hand to the native working man into the fullest social and economic equality he is capable of attaining with the white workingman. This is the bedrock on which we split in South Africa. How farcical to manipulate international delegates to sit with those who have abelished all; Pales and call that Socialism which places the bulk of the workers of this; country outside the Pale of workingclass emancipation! Hands across the sea to the Socialists of Russia, their feet upon the neck of Czardom, from the "Socialists" of South Africa—their feet, upon the neck of the nigger. Given a, mugwump delegate, money will be easily forthcoming, and newspaper publicity to speed him hence. But mum's. the word from Bain, Lucas and Co. when the fight has to be waged here and now against war, and colour prejudice, and militiarism and the industrial disunity of the working class.

The fight of the International is greater and more urgent than ever. Good were it to have a workingclass delegate at Stockholm, but we are doing our duty by calling upon the workers to return to their international fealty at the present Provincial Council Election. Let us send Andrews and Bunting to victory at the present election, and then talk about sending them further. If we do send one let it be by the organised International Socialist Movement or the organised Industrial Movement of South Africa or both; but not a delegate of a scratch meeting.

The Public Meeting.

The public meeting called by Messrs. Bain and Lucas was held in the Council Hall, Trades Hall, last night, "to make arrangements for sending a delegate to the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm in support of the movement for obtaining peace, by negotiation." There was a packed house, but it was evident that a meeting of "Rand Socialists" meant a meeting of the I.S.L. as our members dominated the meeting from the start. Mr. Bain was chairman, Mr. F. A. W. Lucas, secretary.

Remarks dropped by the chairman soon betrayed the fact that the movement initiated by these nondescripts was designed to mix up things. Creswell was suggested as a possible delegate, and this led to uproar. The motion having been moved and seconded by Lucas and Clark, IvonJones took the floor to propose the following amendment:—

"That this meeting supports the movement to send a delegate to the Stockholm Conference, and (2) affirms that such delegate must be an undoubted champion of international working class unity, and (3) that the delegate must bear credentials from

South Africa, and the industrial movement of the workers in South Africa, (4) that one delegate only be sent, and that such delegate be Comrade W. H. Andrews.

A prolonged struggle ensued between the chairman, who refused the amendment, and Ivon Jones supported by the meeting. Eventually the I.S.L. Secretary was allowed to make his statement, shewing how the appointment of a delegate by nondescript committees was a danger to the working class movement, and was designed to help the capitalist governments in their scheme to pack the Stockholm Conference with reactionaries. The representation at the Stockholm Conference was vital. On it depended whether the Peace should be a Capitalist Peace or a Proletarian Peace, which would be the immediate prelude to the world-wide Social Revolution. He questioned the right of the movers to speak for International Socialists, they had shirked from the great fight right through. Comrades McLean, Israelstem, Dones, Dunbar, and others too numerous to mention supported the amendment. Suffice it to say that the chairman persisted in refusing it, and he and Mr. Lucas ended up by leaving the meeting, the whole gathering singing the Red Flag and giving repeated cheers for the Social Revolution.

The big majority of the meeting then resumed their seats, Comrade Ivon Jones taking the chair officially on behalf of the I.S.L. The amendment was now carried with acclamation, with an addendum "that it be a recommendation to the I.S.L. that the delegate's instructions be that the International Socialist Congress at Stockholm calls upon all workers to organise in their industries for the sole purpose of abolishing capitalism!!

Great enthusiasm prevailed among the comrades as a result of their triumph over reaction, and the Red Flag was again sung, with cheers, and promises and donations there and then given (which for lack of time and space cannot be acknowledged this week) to equip the delegate.

The question of obtaining passports and getting into touch with the industrial side of the movement will be proceeded with right away.

An I.S.L. Delegate. Demanded.

Comrade,—The hour has struck. The period in history described by Jack Londen in the Iron Heel has arrived. The capitalist class stand dumfounded at the magnitude of their own criminality. Shortly the slogan will come from Stockholm with a force that it has never before attained. "Workers of the world unite," the enemies of your class stand in fear of giving passports to the conscious representatives of the workers, assisting the Hendersons and Creswells so that their doom might be delayed.

The Russian comrades are asking the assistance, not of Kings or Statesmen, but of the class conscious representatives of the workers. What will Africa do? Send a Cresswell or a jingo to insult the intelligence of the Russian down-trodden? No, a thousand times Not. It is the duty of the International Socialist League to send a man to bring back a true report of the wishes and aspirations of the Stockholm Conference. and that man is Andrews. Time is short and every effort must be put forth. Make up your minds that Andrews must o to Stockholm and send him what financial aid you can as soon as you can. Comrades, we must not be unrepresented or misrepresented at Stockholm.

Yours fraternally,

J. P. Anderson.

Germiston, 7th June, 1917.

Sol Plaatje's Outburst.

Sol Plaatje's outburst of indignation at the Bloemfontein Native Congress had good manly spirit in it, although to us the hitting was a bit wild. He denounced segregation, the Native Affairs Bill, and especially General Smuts for his anti-native speech. His criticism of the Native Affairs Administration Bill was mainly an attack on the Dutch people, as against "that wonderful sense of British justice."

The natives should understand that the Dutch system of treating natives as a slave caste ruled by sjambok was here as in the Southern States of America, the only way of exploiting cheap labour effectively. North America abolished chattel slavery because they discovered that under capitalist industry wage slavery, with its concomitants of political rights and equality before the the law, was the most effective and economical method of exploiting labour. The two systems gave rise to two mental outlooks.

To-day capitalist industry is endeavouring to return towards the serf systme because it has won the day against small production. Do. not therefore blame the Dutch as Dutch. What has happened is that their surviving slave holding outlook suits big capital to-day. What are the hundreds of thousands of natives compounded and indentured on the Rand but serfs of a more enslaved kind than any that work for the Boers? It is gratifying to see a native leader standing up fearlessly without. mincing words. It is a sign of awakening in the native workers generally. But that is the whole point that the teachers of native opinion should bear in mind: the natives are exploited and oppressed, not really as a race, but essentially as workers. Not the Dutch. nor the English, nor the white, but the exploiters of labour, the capitalist system of wage slavery, that is the oppressor. The remedy is for the workers, leaving out accidents of colour, to organise industrially for their common emancipation.

Hyndman and Kerenski.

G. Tchitcherine, the Secretary of the Russian Socialist groups in England, sends the following letter to the "Labour Leader," which well explains the character of Kerenski and Miliukoff:—

Sir,—Among the nauseating flood of misrepresentations of the Russian revolution in the British capitalist press, which systematically presents to its readers a jingoist caricature of the popular movement in Russia, one of the most outrageous examples is Mr. Hyndman's article in the "Evening News" of March 16. The real facts cannot be unknown to him. Everyone who has the slightest knowledge of Russian affairs will laugh at hearing from Mr. Hyndman that Mr. Miliukoff-Professor Miliukoff—is an ex-Social-Democrat," Miliukoff was always the most typical of Liberals. Kerenski, in Mr. Hyndman's article, is "the Social-Democratic member of the Duma." How can it be unknown to Mr. Hyndman that Kerenski is the leader of the socalled "Group of Toil," which represents the interests principally of the small peasantry, and is not Social Democratic in the least measure? The ordinary reader will receive the impression that all, including the Social-Democrats, in Russia are full of the jingoism which permeates Mr. Hyndman's article. It is impossible that Mr. Hyndman should not know that the predominant forces in Russian Social Democracy are internationalist and antiwar, and that the great majority of Social-Democratic workers in Russia have again and again most clearly dissociated themselves from nationalist patriotism...

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