# THE INTERNATIONAL

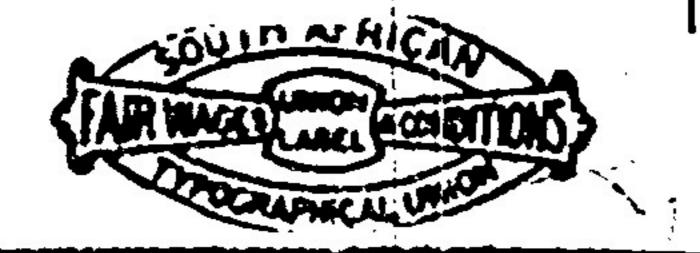
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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FRIDAY, 13th JULY 1917.

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### Stockholm Congress.

The I.S.L. special Conference to deal with the above has been called for Sunday, August 5, at 10 a.m., at the Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg.

As mentioned last week, Socialist organisations other than the I.S.L. are hereby invited to send delegates, one for every 25 bona fide members, advising the General Secretary in advance.

Unattached Sympathisers should communicate at once with the General Secretary with a view to their attendance or representation at the Conference. Their voting power will be decided by the Conference.

Donations towards the cost of sending a delegate should be forwarded to the Treasurer, at the Head Office of the League, 6, Trades Hall, Rissik Street (Box 4179), Johannesburg.

# Leeds' Message to Petrograd.

The Leeds Convention on June 3, about which the Capitalist Press would fain have had us learn little more than that it occasioned a street riot (which it didn't, despite patriotic efforts) was made up of the following delegates:—

	1
Trade Councils and Local Labour	r
Parties	Commence of the commence of th
Trade Union Organisations	
Independent Labour Party	294
British Socialist Party	88
Other Socialist Organisations	16
Women's Organisations	
Organisations, including the Un-	
ion of Democratic Control, Na-	7.
tional Council for Civil Liber-	•
ties, Cooperative Societies, etc.	118

together with about 150 more whose credentials had not been analysed at the time of mailing.

1148

In reply to a message from the Russian Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, the Convention cabled: "The largest and greatest Convention of Labour, Socialist and Democratic bodies held in Great Britain during this generation has to-day endorsed Russia's declaration of foreign policy and war aims, and has pledged itself to work through its newly constituted Workmen's and Soldiers' Council for an immediate democratic peace."

#### Stockholm the Unifier.

Stirring Scenes in Paris.

The National Council of the French Socialist Party unanimously decided on May 28 last to send delegates to Stockholm. How it came about is reported by the "Manchester Guardian," quoted in the London "Call":—

"When the Council met yesterday morning the two sections of the party held to their old positions. But yesterday afternoon the Council had a dramatic surprise. M. M. Marcel Cachin and Moutet, who arrived from Petrograd only yesterday morning, appeared quite unexpectedly at the Council. They had been sent to Petrograd, with the approval of the French Government, to convert the Russian Socialists to the views of the French "majority"; but instead of converting the Russians they have been converted by them. . . Their speeches yesterday afternoon made a profound impression on the Council and shattered the unity of the "majority." A proposal for a sub-committee to draw up a resolution was rejected, and the Council adjourned till next day. Then a Paris deputy, a recent convert to the "minority," supported an Alsace-Lorraine plebiscite, which seemed to meet with general approval. Finally the minority moved acceptance of both the invitation to Stockholm and that of the Russian Socialists. The session was suspended to allow the two sections to agree on a wording that could be accepted unanimously, the effect being the same. The resolution was put at the evening session. A vote by mandates was demanded, but M. Renaudel made a moving appeal to his friends not to break the unity of the party, and the resolution was carried nem. con. on a show of hands, about a dozen abstaining. The scene was a very moving one, and the delegates were evidently conscious of the gravity of the moment. Outside a large and impatient crowd had been awaiting the decision. Cries were raised of "Go to Stockholm," "Down with the war," etc., and an officer was maltreated for calling out "Vive la guerre." About 7 p.m. the delegates within heard the refrain of the "Internationale" being sung by the crowd for the first time in the streets of Paris since the war, an example which they too followed before separating. M Longuet, addressing the crowd, said: "We are going to Stockholm to make peace,' and the declaration was received with tremendous cheers."

Thus the unity of the French Socialist Party is restored, and it resumes its

place in the International. Yes, and it is a victory for Socialism against Liberalism. Ten weeks before, Herve, in La Victoire, still wrote, "Sympathetic observers at the beginning of the war looked forward to a revision of the basis of the French Socialist Party on the lines of the patriotic abandonment of the Class war, cooperation with capital, and the replacement of the collectivist ideal by one of industrial organisation with a share in profits and control. . . . But alas, the minority cling to the old dogmas and formulae, and the majority give way for fear of a rupture. It is the suicide of a party!" No, it is the suicide of Herve, and the funeral of traitorous patriotic "Labour."

# The "Recognition" of Slaves!

Railwaymen and Postal Servants crave for some vague, mysterious thing called "recognition." In order to get "recognition" they will whittle away everything in their composition that is worth recognising. They will kiss the big toe of pope Burton for recognition. They will whine like any mendicant for "recognition," until finally the recognition they get is the contemptuous recognition of a master to his slaves who have grovelled in the dust for the favour of his countenance.

That is speaking collectively. These smart office men who look at you loftily from behind their counters would not dream of begging. An ordinary railwayman, although the "sirring" habit is getting obnoxiously rife among the porters, yet would rather give one a punch in the nose for recognition than beg of you please to look sweetly on him. Then why do they adopt this whine in their collective capacity?

Burton spoke to a deputation of railwaymen on June 21 in the manner of a chop-off-his-head Chinese Mandarin to a lot of trembling cowards. If the fear of the sack did not hang over the heads of those "free born" British railwaymen they would have gone out of the "presence" with curses unspeakable.

Burton told them: Yes, they could have a Union, but they must not be obstreperous. They must submit their Constitution to him. They must not interfere in matters of discipline. They must not interview members of Parliament. They must not criticise the administration. They must not follow in the footsteps of the other Union under Poutsma. They must have noth-

ing to do with politics. They must not merely not affiliate to political parties, they must be more non-political than that (perhaps support Burton's Party). Yes, if they were good boys they could have a Union.

Such a Union, fellow-workers on the Railway, would be nothing better than a tool in the hands of Burton. The only way to get recognition is by way of the big stick. Organise, organise every man. Teach them what they have organisad for. Get their consent for every step. Then march in one solid band, and knock on Burton's door like a bum-bailiff, and don't ask for 'recognition," but demand his unconditional surrender. Do what Burton is afraid you will do: Organise industrially, but organise also in one great political party of the workers and give his fat job to someone who knows how to speak respectfully.

#### Evolution.

By J. M. G

The theory of Evolution has shown that everything changes, that everything in nature is the resultant of thousands and thousands of incessant changes, that the present is different from the past, and the future must necessarily be different from the present.

The universal evolution does not allow the economic phenomena, the fundamental basis of all phases of societies past and present, to escape the operation of this scientific law.

The varying material and economic conditions prevailing in past societies have led to all the variability in the mode of thought, the ideas of the masses of the people forming those societies, and has been the basis upon which has been reared the superstructure, the moral codes, religious creeds, civil and criminal laws, political organisations and other regulations to enforce the economic powers of the class in control of the material forces operating to produce the necessaries of life

The history of the past is a continuous change, a kaleidoscope, passing through evolution and profound transformation, and gives the lie to the orthodox apologists who contend that the present form of society is governed by immutable and eternal laws, that property as a monopoly in the hands of a few cannot change, but will remain petrified in its present form subject to certain slight modifications and reforms that will alleviate the distress of the many, and diminish certain abuses that may have been incidental to this form of property.

The theory of evolution contradicts this contention of the operation of such an immutable and absolute 'natural' law. No such law exists that can be applied as operating in favour of individual ownership in the land and the tools of production necessary to the life and social welfare of the community.

By the natural process of evolution humanity has evolved from primitive savagery to barbarism, and to our present form of civilisation. In the course of development it passed from the old primitive form of founded on mutual aid within the tribe, through the many phases of civilisation based on private ownership in land, slaves, and the tools anl machinery necessary to the needs of society; and the indications in modern society point to a reverting back to the old communism of our primitive ancestors but on an infinitely higher plane. This law of apparent retrogression is common to all life and is of constant recurrence, and is operating in human society to-day.

The history of past societies is a history of social evolution from the simple to the complex, a gradual development that has during the past century propeeded with lightning rapidity, a shifting of the economic power into fewer hands by the process of combination of commercial and financial interests, in the form of corporations, limited liability companies, combines and trusts, giving rise to social production for the markets of the world, eliminating the individual craftsman, divorcing the workers from the ownership of the tools of production, and collecting them into centralised workshops and factories to manipulate the scientific machinery of modern industrial capitalisms.

This combination of a group of individals within society, holding the machinery necessary for the production of the social necessaries of life, who perform no social service but are parasites who make use of the organising ability of specially trained managers to supervise the industries for a wage, is the necessary and inevitable product of the economic development of the forces inherent in modern industrial capitalism, and never existed in any former phase of civilisation.

This development is pointing the way and demonstrates the possibility of using these forces for the use of society as a whole and not as at present to the ruin and degradation of the mass of workers, condemning multitudes to enforced idleness and to the ruthless iron law of minimum wages barely sufficient to prevent them from dying of hunger.

The instinctive impulse of the workers of the early portion of the 19th century was to destroy the machines. They could see in them nothing but instruments of torture; but we socialists recognise them as triumphs and permanent conquests of the natural forces which man is always struggling against in order to subject them to his will, and under socialism these scientific achievements will be utilised for society as a whole and will lighten the labour of the workers.

The substitution of social ownership in the means of production for the present ownership is now possible for the first time within the civilisation period. The taking over of the tools of production will create a form of society founded on mutual aid and social service; it will be a return to the old tribal life of our primitive ances-

tors. This apparent retrogression to the old communism will not be a repetition of the simpler form of ancient society, but will be more complex, embracing as it will the modern ideas of humanity founded on the accumulated knowledge of the past, and creating an environment infinitely higher and more humanitarian than any that has existed during the civilisation period; ensuring to the individual that liberty, fraternity, and equality which under past forms of society as under the present are mere jingling words without any meaning.

# The Great Strikes in Germany.

And the Boy Scout in S.A.

From various sources it now appears that the strikes, mainly in munition works, in Germany during April assumed great political significance. As the English strikers were accused of being subsidised by German gold, the Berlin strikers were actually accused in the Reichstag of being engineered by English gold! 300,000 workers were on strike.

Although the immediate cause was hunger, the neutral papers say that the strike assumed also a mass demand for peace. "The strike at Berlin," says the "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant," has become of great significance for the development of democracy in Germany. The Government has given a share of the executive power to the delegates of the Berlin Trade Unions and has granted them the right to supervise the regulation of food distribution, questions which it formerly would have considered as its own unassailable privilege."

The great feature of the strikes, as of the potato riots in Holland later, was the refusal of the soldiers to shoot upon the strikers. This is the most terrifying apparition for the Rulers of Europe. Draft after draft of troops were brought up in vain, until at last the latest drafts of boy soldiers from 14 to 19 years old were found obedient, and they fired on the people!

Well may Baden Powell, the great Chief of Boy Scouts, be feted. Well may he have his multitude of military blunders covered under this one virtue: he gave us the Boy Scouts and Boy Militarists and the Boy Cadets. Let parents learn the terrible lessons of events in Europe when their boys are bid to put on the Cadet uniforms. Some day their fathers will be fighting for liberty by the great weapon of industrial action. Only one way is left to the ruling class to defeat them. They are busy at it now. That way is to get the sons so trained in military obedience and reverence for "constituted authority," that they will shoot down their fathers in the hour of capitalist danger.

#### Ananias Acclaims the Revolution.

English "recognition" of the Russian revolution is something like Burton's 'recognition' of the new Railway Union. The following is taken from "The Call," the new organ of the British Socialist Party, of 24th May,

"Pravda," a Socialist Democratic daily; publishes a letter entitled "Russian Revolutionists in British Torture-

chamber," which says:

"As soon as the news of the Russian Revolution reached America, the active workers in the Russian revolutionary movement at once set out for Russia. At first the Russian Consulate refused to issue permits. . A few of us succeeded in obtaining permits and tickets.

"All ships leaving the U.S. are controlled by England, and have to proceed on their way to Halifax, N.S. In the case of Swedes, Americans and Norwegians the examination of documents is but a formality. The entire attention of the authorities is concentrated upon us Russians, and is of the nature of a Russian cross-examination by gendarmes. The authorities demand to know if one is a Socialist, and of what views, in what labour organisations one has worked, etc. Two days later another cross-examination takes place of certain selected individuals, and on the following day a detachment of armed soldiers made their appearance and, without producing any warrant or indictment, proceeded to arrest six of our comrades. Our comrades declared that the arrest was illegal, whereupon a scene familiar to Russian revolutionists was enacted. Our comrades were seized by their arms and legs and dragged into a boat. A cruiser came on the scene for the purpose of intimidation. . We tried to communicate the fact of this outrage to New York, but the authorities stopped the message."

"Have we overthrown the Tsar Nicholas," comments "Pravda," "in order to permit now the employees of British financiers to arrest your brothers?"; and the Executive of the Council of W. & S. Delegates cabled to the English Government and Press:— 'The Revolutionary democracy of Russia is impatiently waiting for the return of its fighters for freedom, and is calling under its banner all those who by their efforts have prepared the overthrow of Tsardom. Yet the British authorities are allowing some refugees to pass to Russia, and keep back others, according to their views. By such acts the British Government is rendering itself guilty of an inadmissible intervention in Russian domestic affairs and inflicts an insult on the Russian revolution, depriving it of its faithful sons." This cablegram was suppressed in England.

The Allied Governments, M. Miliukoff is quoted as explaining, have drawn up "Control lists," which include all those refugees whose return to Russia the Allied Governments have recognised as "undesirable"; but from Miliukoff's own office, too, a telegram was sent giving orders not to issue

passports to those refugees entered on the "control lists"—i.e., those not in favour of continuing the war, as contrasted with the facilities given to Plekhanoff and other supporters of Imperialism.

Does anyone think the authorities are really so childish as to suppose International Socialist means pro-enemy -- in Germany, pro-British; in Britain, pro-German? Why, the Russian 'extremists," led by Lenin, have actually decided not to take part in the Stockhölm Conference (notwithstanding the danger that Government intrigues may deprive it of all claim to be called a Socialist Conference at all), owing to the fact that the German Governmental Socialists are invited—Henderson and Co. could do no more—ande the Italian Socialist Party jointly with the General Confederation of Labour at Milan on May 8, agreed to oppose the admission to that Conference of the Majority Socialists who are collaborating with their Governments in the work of national defence, and to refuse to formulate 'peace terms,' so as to leave to the Governments the responsibility of finding a solution for the conflict which they themselves provoked. These decisions are perhaps questionable, but are certainly not proenemy.

No, what the Governments and their "Socialist" patriot supporters on both sides fear is not pro-enemyism, but the Social Revolution, proclaimed as practical politics in the slogan "Transform the national war into the class

war!"

# "Our Splendid Africans."

The above is the title of a report in the Overseas Edition of 'The Daily Mail." It does not refer to the Springboks, of the white variety, but to a Company of native troops in German East. The Colonial Office has issued a series of accounts of the "splendid feats" of native soldiers, describing the deeds which have won the special African D.C.M. No inkling of these have been allowed to appear in the South African papers; and we do not refer to the matter as a reason for the natives to be specially proud of, for in the attacks referred to 4 Germans and 55 natives were killed on the opposite side. The natives can shew deeds of peace that far more powerfully prove them human than the inhuman deeds of war. But to the patriotic workingman, fighting for the Empire is the golden key to British freedom. We want to hold him to that when the fight for native freedom comes. How would he like us to fill in the gaps in the account thus:--

"A hill fort was being stormed by a body of the Nigeria Regiment, West African Frontier Force, and Lance-Corporal Shira was the first to work his way into the position: Private Amadu Kauna charged single handed, etc.,. shouting (we don't think): Hurrah for the British Voetzak. Long Live the Sjambok and Spare Diet. On for King George and the Special Pass. Hooray for the Rule of England and the Compound Manager. Down with Militarism, take this in your guts, Comrade Sixpence (bayonets 55 fellow-niggers. Exit)!!"

## Do we want a Republic?

The European papers, those of Holland especially, give much prominence to the republican propaganda of the National Party in South Africa. A manifesto was issued recently by the Transvaal Executive of that Party on the occasion of the Allied Note to President Wilson, wherein the British Government acknowledged the principle of small Nationalities in the Peace Settlement. The manifesto said: "It is not compatible with the honour of Great Britain to exclude, under one pretext or another, the former South African Republic or the Orange Free State from the operation of the principle of nationalities, all the more so because their existence as independent States came to an end in 1902 through their conquest by Great Britain itself."

We did not give much attention to this Manifesto at the time, as it seemed as if the Nationalists were more concerned in scoring a debating point than in laying down a fighting policy. During the General Elections the Nationalist candidates on the Rand were more loyal than the King, and talked about helping the "Mother Country" like a good un. But now it appears the Nationalists are serious-in the matter, and probably ere long the working class movement will be asked to declare its views.

Do we want to agitate for Republics, or a Republic, under the present system? "For forms of Government let fools contest." Though in Russia the advent of a Republic marked a revolution, the mere abdication of a King where the suffrage is fairly universal is only a change in the outward form of government. Strikers are shot down in Republican America as well as in Imperial Germany. Nothing now can make any change at all affecting the workers short of a Socialist Republic, that is: the industrially organised workers taking charge, as workers, of the administration of social needs, for the good of all. That is the only revolution pending now.

But the Nationalist demand means more than changing a crowned head into a popinjay President. Their demand implies splitting up the Union again into two Crown Dominions and two independent Republics. Do we want that? Is not that the way of reaction? Does it matter a brass button to the workers of South Africa? If the. workers of South Africa feel indifferent towards the claims of Nationalism in South Africa, what of the high sounding claim of all the other petty nationalities of Europe, for whom so much precious human blood is ostensibly spilt? Let them judge the demands of other small nationalities by the same token. They are the demands of petty farming or petty trading interests, who desire oases from the tyranny of the hig Capitalist State, oases in which they in their turn may freely exploit the mass of the disinherited class below them.

In South Africa the workers have formed South African Unions. Whatever Republics the country may be "nationalized" into, the lines of the embryo Workers' Commonwealth will

cut across them all. The workers have no need to agitate for glorified county Councils. Their remedy is not to flee from the Capitalist State but to organise to capture it.

It does not follow that the Nationalists' agitation does not often help the workers. It does. It has preserved more rights to the workers of South Africa than most of them have yet the grace to admit. But we cannot allow the workingclass movement to be deflected from its great goal by agitations for a change in the mere veneer of tyranny, and in the personnel of the tyrants. If the workers will only recognise their industrial solidarity they will solve all the Nationalist grievances and emancipate humanity in the bargain.

#### Branch Notes.

#### Johannesburg Central.

On Sunday Andrew Watson spoke on "The Fight for freedom: Independence Day, Marka Square, 4th July, 1913," to a packed house. He "well recalled the triumphs past," and declared that among the crowd that had visited the graves that day there was after all a big class conscious element, only waiting to be "released" from mental tyranny. (Each member of the public, in fact, is afraid to come out because he reads in the Press that the rest of the public is against him). A. B. Dunbar rightly pointed out the futility of that 1913 strike because whhen success was attained noone knew what he wanted or how to get it; industrial organisation, designed to take over the mining industry, being utterly lacking. It was most gratifying to see a number of natives, men and wemen, in the hall, a feature which, when it develops, will inevitably widen our speakers' outlook and make real our professed repudiation of race or colour distinctions. Let each of our speakers ask himself: "Did my address interest or appeal to those natives in the audience? If not, is it their fault, or is it my fault for dealing only with purely white man's affairs, pitching my key to an audience of shopkeepers instead of proletarians?" For every reason, we hope to see more and more native wage-earners at these meetings each Sunday.

The out-door meeting was addressed by Comrades W. J. C. Gibson (his debut) and S. P. Bunting, to the now usual accompaniment of incitements to disturbance which the crowd has the good sense to ignore.

This Sunday it is hoped that Comrades Dunbar and Maclean will speak outside and inside respectively.

#### Johannesburg Western Districts.

The Western Districts Branch met last week for the first time after the elections. Members of the M.C. were

present. The question of Mr. J. A. Clark's expulsion was up, he having been a member of this branch. After discussion the Branch decided by a majority to support the action of the M.C.

#### No Annexations.

#### The Problem of Nationalities.

"Peace on the basis of no annexations." This is the cry on which all the Socialists of Europe are combining. Not only the Rüssian Council of Workmen, but even the German Socailist Majority has been compelled to adopt the formula with the Zimmerwaldians. Bethmann Hollweg has refused to endorse the formula, with the result that a breach has appeared in the "sacred union" of the classes. The Social Patriots, as the Scheidemann group is called, are being driven by the Junker Government, now that they are sucked dry, into the camp of the International.

There is little doubt that Alsace-Lorraine in Europe and the German Colonies in Africa are, if not the cause, the excuse of the militants for perpetuating war. Smuts is probably in the War Cabinet to give any Cabinet manipulation of the German Colonies a kind of South African sanction. The Jingoes in South Africa and the French Chauvinists are for this reason the most violent opponents of peace.

The arm-chair Jingoes of South Africa have no case. Botha entered on the German South West campaign on the assurance that no territorial acquisitions were intended, only a case of border defence and military strategy. On that assurance Creswell, who is now supposed to be the mouthpiece of the workers against the return of the Colonies — on that assurance he supported the expedition—the filibustering expedition" as Andrews stigmatised it in Parliament. But the "workers" have expressed no opinion on the matter.

And what of Alsace-Lorraine? A most interesting point was made by 'The Cambridge Magazine' receptly in an article on the subject, criticising the International Socialist Congresses for having failed to grapple with the most thorny problem of international politics. But in 1913 Socialists in Germany and France awoke to the peril. They realized how Alsace-Lorraine was being made an excuse for swollen armaments. The Socialist leader Franck, in Germany, (since killed in battle), and Herve in France (since become a tool of Chauvinism), both organised propaganda on the matter. The campaign was begun by a notable meeting of the Social Democratic Party of the Diet of Alsace-Lorraine itself. This meeting sent "a resolution of solidarity" to the monster French meeting then being organised at Paris to protest against the rush to armaments, stated that the people of Alsace-Lorraine "are absolutely hostile to war, in spite of the profound love which they feel for the revolutionary traditions of France and for its republican institutions." Then follows this important sentence: "Alsace-Lorraine wants not revenge, but autonomy and a republican constitution within the frame-work of the German Empire."

The remainder of the resolution is worth quoting:—

"Part of the responsibility in the exceptional situation created in Alsace-Lorraine, is also due to certain Frenchmen, whose constant agitation against German elements may still cause France to harbour ideas of revenge. We regard as enemies of Alsace-Lorraine both the Germans who refuse us autonomy and those French who could press us to their hearts in such a way that the blood of the whole of Europe would be made to flow."

But the problems of small nationalities laid bare by the war, bid fair to be insoluble under the present system. Only the liberation of the proletariat will solve them. Those who cry for the liberation of the Poles, the Hungarians, the Jugo-Slavs, etc., are all of them in their respective countries oppressors and deniers even of the political rights of the workers; just as the Nationalists in this country, themselves the greatest shouters for "Vryheid," are also the most bitter enemies of the civil rights of the natives. As old Joseph Dietzgen well said in 1873:

"Neither the emancipation of nationalities nor that of women, neither the reorganisation of schools nor that of education in general, neither the reduction of standing armies nor that of taxation—neither of these demands can be satisfactorily taken in hand before the working class is freed from the fetters which keep them rivetted to starvation, sorrow and misery. History stands still, because she gathers force for a great catastrophe."

Recruits are wanted to reinforce the Womens' Entertainment Committee. Will some women comrades volunteer, sending name and and address to the Secretary, W. E. Committee, 18, Palladium Buildings, Johannesburg.

The Press Committee invites contributions to the 'International' in Dutch, more especially dealing with aspects of Socialism which some of our Dutch fellow-workers find difficult to accept. Dutch notes or articles should be addressed to the Editor, Box 4179, Johannesburg.

Box 2659.

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