# THE INTERNATIONAL

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

P.O. BOX 4179.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street.

Johannesburg.

No. 97



FRIDAY, 17th AUG. 1917.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

# STOCKHOLM FOR EVER.

#### GREAT VICTORIES FOR INTERNATIONAL.

The Stockholm Congress was inspired by Revolutionary Russian Socialists and neither Kaiser Bill nor Lloyd George could have been dupes enough to imagine it would ever wholly serve their respective ends. How to make the best of a bad job has been the only question. Both would have been glad to have the Socialists extricate them from their mess if only they could escape paying the price Socialists are determined to exact—for a start, the overthrow of the Capitalist Governments.

So our Cabinets resorted to finesse and vacillation. "Says it's a German trap; if it assembles, bainboozle it into spending itself in sorry efforts to settle our bourgeois peace terms. The "no annexations" formula facilitated this. For instance, a Sub-committee of the British Labour Party Executive drew up a pretentious memorandum published in last Saturday's papers, which usurps the functions of the Powers Peace Conference.

It fathers all the clumsy old stuff about the "democratisation of all countries, ("democracy" meaning only bourgeois absolutism), a League of Nations, an International High Court and an International Legislature, (all fairy tales unless and until Capitalist rivalries are settled, and then unnecessary, Zionism (a toy), neutralizing Constantinople, (what a hope), etc., etc., and futility of futilities, it opposes projects for economic strife after the conclusion of the war. And it perorates with what in face of the rest of the document can only be considered pious aspiration; "punishment for crimes of Governments" and "the reconstitution of Socialist International control" (when was that ever constituted yet) "as the best security for peace.

It was evidently in the hope that the Congress might dissipate itself in quicksands of this sort that up to this week the British Government had resigned itself to acquiesence in Allied delegates going to Stockholm, otherwise it would surely have had the courage to announce beforehand to the Labour Party: "You can spare yourselves the trouble of meeting at Westminster, for you'll get no passports anyway."

The 1,846,000 votes at that meeting, however, showed that even British workmen meant something more revolutionary than U.D.C.ism. The Premier plunged in panic and chagrin and gets to work with his spoof oracles

That vote at Westminster has ended the truce between Labour and Capitalist Governments which made war possible. This last Government trap will fail. The Congress will be held somewhere or somewhen. And if it has the pluck to discard dabblings in bourgeois foreign politics and to concentrate on setting revolutionary. Socialism in international motion, on the lines of our local instructions to Andrews, it can polish off Bill, George, and all the rest of them, quick and lively, and "bid the slave behold the day."

S.P.B.

Three cheers for the 1,846,000 British workers who voted for the restoration of the International. How the news mus have gladdened the hearts of our Russian comrades!

#### ANDREWS PREPARING TO GO.

Comrade Andrews left Johannesburg last week for a coast town in order to sail for England. Passports for the United Kingdom have been granted by the Goernment. The Government does not allow reports of steamship sailing, but we hope soon to hear of his arrival in England, in time to join in the fight for passports to Stockholm

We have no doubt that Comrade Andrews will be able to give substantial help to the movement in England, apart from his work in Stockholm. For the first time our English comrades will hear a voice on behalf of the International from South Africa.

The Management Committee of the League desires to appeal to all comrades not to allow the uncertainty of the Stockholm Congress to influence their donations. Even if Comrade Andrews does not get to Stockholm, it will mae very little difference to the financial burden, while his work in England will be a great reinforcement to the International movement there.

£200 has to be raised, with £25 per month thereafter. Comrades, join

in handsomely! The working-class of England has given the clarion response to the far off call of their Russian comrades. Let us be in the fight. Those who cannot be in the propaganda fight let them make up by donating the sinews of war.

All donations and monthly guarantees to the Treasurer, Comrade E. H. Becker, Box 4179. Johannesburg. or 6. Trades Hall.

#### GOOD WISHES.

Comrade Dryburg of Capetown expresses pleasure at the result of the Special Conference, and says what a difference to the back door methods by which the Labour Party sent Creswell to England.

Comrade S. G. Rich, Natal, is enthusiastic, says he has "no grudge against Mr. Cresswell, who is trying to worm his way to the Stockholm Congress," but hopes Comrade Andrews will make it clear that that gentleman does not represent Labour or any but the smallest section of it.

Comrade L. H. Green, Maritzburg, would like a detailed report of the Special Conference, (fairly detailed report minuted by the two Conference Secretaries) and also trusts Andrews will get away soon, and be able to discredit Creswell if they should meet where real revolution will be the order of the day. All these comrades send donations for the Stockholm fund.

They say the Stockholm Conference is also a way, out for the 'Capitalist' Governments of Europe and that much of their doing is stage play with this object in view. There are frequent points in history when capitalist and bourgeois interests coincide with the larger interests of humanity. Such was the Reformation. Such are all political revolutions. Such is the present situation, may be. The revolutionary character of the "processus" induced by the war is shown by the fact that capitalist interests, and all human interests, can to-day only be served by handing the whole situation over to the International proletariat. Once there, they will retain control and initiate the Social Revolution.

The Secretary of the British Socialist Party, Comrade Inkpin, writes us this week, and is most enthusiast over the prospects of the movement, and the new Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils in England. "The Call," the organ of the B.S.P. quotes with approval Comrade Andrew's election statement as a refreshing change from the nauseating brand of patriotism they are used to getting from South Africa.

#### Wage Slavery.

By J. M. G.

The wage system of to-day, under which the workers have to sell their labour power to the possessing class for a mere subsistence money wage, is more degrading than chattel slavery or serfdom.

Under chattel slavery the labourers

were the commodity, they were held openly, without any disguise, as belonging body and soul to their masters, and all the product of their labour was the property of the slave owners, in return they were assured of food, clothing and shelter. Under the wage system the labourers are compelled to sell their labour power to the capitalist class, "the masters of bread." They are as much in the power of the capitalist class to-day as were the chattel slaves. They are forced by the fear of hunger to accept conditions of labour that are more degrading physically and mentally than any form of chattel slavery.

The environment created by modern capitalism has hypnotised them into the belief that they are free men. They think so because they are able to leave their present employment, (they cannot do so in England to-day) overlooking the fact that to leave they must find another kind boss willing to employ them, failing which they are faced with hunger in a society overflowing with everything necessary to satisfy the physical requirements of

Our boasted ideal civilisation, lauded by the possessing class as the freest form of society that has yet existed, is, when analysed, nothing but a form of slavery from top to bottom; glossed over with the sham mockery of political freedom to the individual; and clothed with the tinsel of a mock splendour, degrading to all sections of the community; with a form of culture supposed to be of the highest quality, reserved for the few and denied to the manya—a form of society that compels the many to sell themselves as slaves to the possessing, the capitalist class, for a money wage.

"Freedom"; No! Nothing but slaves, treated worse than beasts of burden, who at least are assured of food and shelter, which is denied to the workers. A state of slavery this unheard of in any former phase of society. In all other forms of slavery in historic periods, the slaves' complaint was of compulsory work. But the so-called modern free men are the economic slaves of a system under which they are denied access to the tools of production; and thus condemned to compulsory starvation, unless they accept work on the terms laid down by the capitalist class, the possessors of these tools. The lash of hunger compels them to accept the conditions laid down by this class, no matter how brutal and degrading.

Slavery is not yet abolished. Slaves are cheaper now and do more work than at any former period in the world's history. Under chattel slavery there was no reserve army of unemployed. The master class could

not afford a reserve of labour, which they would have had to feed: It was left to modern capitalism to improve on the old system of property in human beings. The wage slave owner has discovered that it is more economical to give human beings a semblance of liberty, thus divesting themselves of any responsibility of feeding and clothing their slaves, whilst they retain possession of everything essential to the production of the necessaries of life. The modern revolution of industry gives to the present day capitalist without expense this reserve army, which is always ready to work at a low rate of wage, and is therefore a standing menace to those in employment, keeping them in subjec-The modern capitalists possess the

The degrading conditions controlling the workers of sto-day, will remain so just as long as they are content to sell as a commodity their labour power, in competition with one another; so long as they are content to do so they have no title to boast of their freedom. They are not freemen but slaves to the master class from morning to night.

There can be no freedom or liberty for the workers so long as the capita-'list system with its wage slaver: remains. The same principle of subjection that enslaved the labourers under chattel slavery exists to-day and rules our present form of society. The slave owners possessed the right of life and death over their slaves, there was no disguise as to their power. ion and subservient to the master class. same power but it is glossed over, the chains that bind the workers to the system are gilded, and made so glittering that the mass of the workers are unconscious of their slavery.

Many of the workers in all countries are beginning to have a glimpse of the immorality of the present system. they are beginning to become conscious of the enslaving 'conditions' and are organising along lines of taking control of the eocnoric force, the basis of and the controlling factor of society. They are discarding their many misleaders, and are acting consciously on their own initiation. The so-called intellectuals are making strenuous efforts to become their leaders, to lead them into the morass of reform, frantically trying to conserve to themselves the class distinction of being in a higher social strata than the manual workers. These people, blind to the economic forces of society, are a danger the workers must guard against. The workers must lead themselves. To them belongs the future. Theirs is the mission of revolutionizing society. To them will be given the honour of destroying this degrading phase of civilsation with its class antagonisms, of abolishing all forms of human exploitation, and establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Says John Maclean in a letter to "The Call": Significant developments are immediately ahead when the Government, through the Defence of the Realm Act, is absolutely forbidding the sale of gunshot ammunition.

### King Stands by Kaizer.

When Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary on his way home to Russia, was arrested in Canada by order of "the Bourgeois British Government," he was placed in an internment camp with about 800 German sailors. "The Call' takes the following from a report of his speech published in "Isvestia," the official organ of the Petrograd Council of Workmen.---

They asked us how on earth we. Russian citizens, were captured by the English. When we told them that we were taken prisoners not as Russian citizens, but as Socialists they remarked that they were slaves of their Government and of their Kaiser. We got on well with the German proletarians. This, however, was not to the liking of the German officiers, and they complained to the English commandant declaring that we were undermining the lovalty of the German sailers to their Kaiser. Then the English cantain, as a true guardian of the lovalty of the German sailers to the Kaiser forbade me delivering lectures to them. When we left the camp the sailors saw us off with music, and they shouted: "Down with Wilhelm, down with the hourgeoisie, long live the international unity of Labour!" (Loud anplause.)"

## They also look to Stockholm.

"I know an infantryman who has been in most of the attacks and counter attacks of the last six months. He did not make them with the useless bayonet; he carried his gun strapped on his back; and held in one hand his wife's letters and in the other photographs of his children. It is with such weapons that he 'struggled,' that he awaited death or deliverance. The man who has been suffering and dving in the trenches for the last two years is not a hero; he is a martyr."

From an article in "The Masses" (quoted by "The Cambridge Magazine"), by a voung French officer, showing that in the so-called "superb onslaughts" there is no longer any bayonet or hand to hand fighting, only the rending asunder of earth and rocks and men's flesh and bones by artillery fire.

The Executive of the Scottish Miners passed a resolution backing up the Executive of the Seamen's Union in blocking Ramsay Macdonald's trip to Petrograd. "The Forward" publishes indignant protests from several large branches of the Union, calling upon their reacionary Executive to resign. The Annual General Meeting of the National Union of Railwaymen, for its size the most democratically constituted body in the Trade Union world, passed a most severe resolution of condemnation of the anarchistic action of the Seamen's Union.

# The Destruction of the Finest.

Ingenious Method of Torture practised in an English Camp.

From the "Merthyr Pioneer."

The following letter, the facts of which have been corroborated by independent witnesses, defies comment. The writer is a conscientious obector, twenty-three years of age, who has already served two sentences of imprisonment—one of three months in Wormwoods-Scrubbs, and one of five months in Lincoln Prison:—

(Letter from James Brightmore, "D" Company, Cleethorpes, 3rd Manchesters, to his mother).

The Pit, Shore Camp,

Cleethorpes, June 24th.

This is the best stuff (written on covering of Gold Flake packet) I can find to write what may be my last letter. Everything has been talken off. me, and I should not have this pencil but for chance. I was bullied horribly when I was tried and sentenced to twenty-eight days detention in solitary confinement—to be given raw rations and to cook my food myself. This does not sound but bad I have found the confinement was in a pit which started at the surface as 3ft. by 2ft. and tapered off to 2ft. by 15in. When it was 8ft. deep water was struck, but they continued until it was 10ft. The bottom is full of water and I have to stand on two strips of wood all day long just above the water line. There is no room to walk about and sitting is impossible; the sun beats down and through the long day there are only the walls of clay to look sat; a dead mouse is floating in the water as I write and half-a-dozen bottles. This is torture worse than those of ancient days. Already I am half mad.

I have not heard from you since I came out of prison but I know there are many letters waiting for me. I cannot, therefore, tell what may happen when I get to France and whether the death penalty is being exacted. 1 am to be sent to France and yesterday was passed fit. I was taken before the doctor to be examined but refused examination, knowing that whether judgea fit or not, I should be passed because it is ordered that I am to be sent out. I was to have gone, I understand, last night, but for some reason I am still here. There is a draft of the Manchesters going on Tuesday, and in the absence of some miracle I suppose I shall go then. I hunger-scruck for two days in the hole here, but found I was getting too weak to resist and my brain, too, seemed to be giving under the strain.

I wish I could only see your letters. I could be re-assured or know, your wishes. As it is I feel sentenced to death, knowing that within a few days I shall be in France and shot. The fact that men are being sent to France at all is proof positive to me that the military authorities have captured the machine and are able to do as they like with us.

What have our friends been doing? It is nothing but cold blooded murder to send men out into the trenches to be shot like dogs for disobedience. I am not afraid to die, but this suspense; this ignorance, linked up with the torture of the pit, have plunged me into misery, despair, madness, almost insanity (here follows references to private matters). The hardest thing is leaving you three dear ones behind, and the suffering and anxiety I am bringing upon you. All these weary months of imprisonment we have lived on hopefully, now the cup is being dashed from our hands and in 'Liberty's name—(here there follows other pathetic last words).--Goodbye,

JAMES BRIGHTMORE:

#### Slavery aint of any Colour.

Aint it cute to see a Yankee
Take such everlastin' pains,
All to get the Devil's thankee,
Helpin' on 'em weld their chains?
Wy, it's just as clear as figgers,
Clear ez one an' one make two,
Chaps thet make black slaves o' niggers

Want to make wite slaves o' you.

Taint by turnin' out to hack folks;
You're agoin' to get your right,
Nor by lookin' down on black folks
Coz you're put upon by wite;
Slavery aint o' nary colour,

'Taint the hide that makes it wus, All it keers fer in a feller 'Sjust to make him fill it's puss.

Tell ye jest the end I've come to Arter cipherin' plagey smart,
An' it makes a handy sum, too,
Any gump could learn by heart:
Labourin' man an' labourin' woman
Hev one glory and one shame,
Ev'ry thin' thet's done inhuman
Injers all on 'em the same.

Russel Lowell in "Biglow Papers."

Thrift is not a national virtue. clogs the wheels of industry, causing unemployment, want and suffering. When the workers are thrifty they deprive themselves and their children of the necessities and comforts of life, and hand their savings over to financiers to gamble with. Out of the savings of the workers, voluntarily and compulsory, kings, courts, nobles, prisoners, politicians and all idlers are maintained. Commercialised vice, with its army of prostitutes and procurers, and Imperialism, with its army of slaughterers, are paid for by means of thrift. The worker who is thrifty betrays his own wife and children. The Melbourne "Socialist."

When Lloyd George visited Glasgow a few weeks ago all the arrangements were changed on the eve of his arrival to hoodwink the crowd that awaited him, singing and waving the "Red Flag." The crowd marched to the jail where John Maclean lay, and, like Richard the First, he joined in the singing of the "Red Flag" from his cell.

### A Revolutionary Union.

The great change coming over the working class movement in Britain is evidenced by the following preamble of the new Amalgamation of Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding Workers which counts its members by the hundreds of thousands:—

It is quite patent to the thinking Trade Unionist that there can be no identity of interest between the worker and employer.

The mere fact that workers' organisations and employers' associations exists proves this, and whilst the structure of society is based upon the few owning the tools of production and the many owning nothing but their labour-power, there will be implacable warfare between the two.

Although the early Trade Unionists took as their motto 'Defence—not defiance'; although apparently Trade Unionism was 'protective' not 'aggressive—we can see in its development, in the framing of rules governing workshop conditions, an unconscious striving to obtain control in the management of the Industry.

What is necessary, then, is that this unconscious striving should be made a determined effort to gain control of the Industry.

Modern developments in the Engineering Industry not only render it necessary that the whole basis of our organisation shall be changed to enable us to more effectively meet the onslaught of the employer, but it also teaches us that, as at present organised in separate sectional unions, we are incapable of efficiently managing the industry in which we are working.

Therefore, we say that, firstly, we must unite our forces by amalgamating the existing Trade Unions into one Industrial Union that shall embrace EVERY worker in the Engineering Industry.

Secondly; we assert that it is the function of the engineering workers to ultimately gain control of the Industry, and that should be the avowed object of the Industrial Unions.

Organised upon an industrial basis, undivided by questions of craft interests or demarcation, the engineering workers will be in a far better position to combat the opposing forces immediately, and by reason of that more complete method of organisation they will be able to carry on the Industry efficiently, having gained control.

John Maclean is out of prison. At his reception the following message of congratulation was read from the Council of Workmen:— "Convention of all Russian Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' deputies send their greetings to the brave fighter for International, Comrade Maclean, and express their hopes that the new rise of International Solidarity will bring him liberty." N. Tcheide, chairman. B. Shoumyakzky, secretary.

Pacifists be damned. We believe in the international class war.

#### The Tramway "Casuals."

#### Another Nibble.

You may not know what a 'Casual' is. In the good old days when tramps were free to roam abroad in Merrie England without a care for Conscription Acts or Defence of the Realms, the 'casual' was he, the gentleman of the road, who dropped in, quite casually like, at the workhouse of an evening and broke a heap of stones in return for bed and breakfast. The kindly Boards of Guardians, mostly farmers, helped him through the grey, uncongenial towns to the cosy barns and cheap jobs in the freer, greener farmlands beyond!

But our tram "casuals" have not that variety of scenery and employment. They are the new hands on the trams. They hang about the forbidding sheds reporting themselves at stated hours all day, trying to get a car to take out. They are not "casuals' really, so says the Department, because they are assured a minimum wage. But how lovely are all employments in theory! Woe betide our poor casual if he reports five minutes late. The wonderful minimum wage is his no more for that week, and always, if he wants to exceed his three pounds ten minimum he has to hang round 12 and 16 hours to put in eight hours work. This is the 8 hours day. You work 8 hours. You are the property of the boss for 16 hours!

Karl Marx had heard about this system in 1867. Fancy writing about Barry and his merry martinets so long in advance! But he called it the "relay" system. Karl Marx would not have written so harshly nowadays because he did not know then that we had a Labour Tramway Committee, and a full blown (not fly blown) Socialist chairman, and a real live, brass buttoned Sinn Feiner as Traffic Manager. WE have advanced a great deal. Says he:—

During the 15 hours of the factory day, capital dragged in the labourer now for 30 minutes, now for an hour, and then pushed him out again, to drag him into the factory and thrust him out afresh, hounding him hither and thither, in scattered shreds of time, without ever losing hold of him until the full ten hours work is done. . Thus the hours of rest were turned to hours of idleness, which drove the youths to the pothouse and the girls to the brothels. (Indelicate man, this Marx). They paid 10 hours wages for 12 or 15 hours lordship over labour- power. This was the . masters' interpretation of the 10 hours law. These were the unctuous free-traders, (Town Councillors) perspiring with love for humanity. . . (Capital.)

Now the "casuals" had better look after themselves. They have a Union in name, and a man speaks for them as President who suffers none of the inconveniences of the "casuals," therefore is not able to speak for them. Let the casuals strike against bad conditions, not against fellow workers, who are their best friends. Let the Bum President shuffle as he likes, these are

what Tram 'Casuals' should demand:—

Demand equality of pay!

Demand the abolition of overtime! (That is, don't scab on the unemployed).

Demand that eight hours work shall be done in eight hours time!

Demand privileges for none and equal rights and wages for all! Don't be spoofed by Hicks; a man with six children eats as much skoff whether he has worked on the trams one year or five years.

Demand the abolition of the grade system, so beloved by Hicks. The grade grade system is the curse of the service, and keeps the men from uniting.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE SUBSTITUTE.

The Austrians have not (says 'The Daily News'') lost their sense of humour and are able to laugh at their miseries. A good specimen of this particular species of wit is a story told in a Budapest paper of a man who found life not worth living and determined to buy a dose of poison. He swallowed, but felt better than ever; it was a substitute. He then bought a rope to hang himself with: he could not, for it broke. The hemp was a substitute. Then he thought he had better make the best of life and went to a restaurant and made a good meal of his favourite goulash; in two hours he was dead. It was a substitute.—-"Huddersfield Worker."

The full title of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is now being abbreviated for convenience in the American and Continental Press to "C.W.S.D. of Petrograd."

John Maclean writes to "The Call" saying he is going to restart his economic class in October. "In view of the notoriety imposed upon me by my dear old friend, Lloyd George, and his Government, I am confident that the class this year will witness an enrolment of five thousand. Brainy bodies here are as convinced as I am that I was singled out because of the tremendous influence of the class prior to and during the war. . Everyone knows that in the success of the class depends the establishment of the Labour College."

Unce upon a time the cackle of geese on the steps of the Capitol saved the City of Rome. But the recruiting geese on the steps of the Town Hall won't even save their bacon. For all their cackle against slackers who go racing, they and their friends, out of spite for Auckland Park, have granted a licence to a new racecourse at New Clare.

Pass this copy on to a friend. Tell him he can get it regularly by sending a year's sub.: 5s. to Box 4179, Johannesburg.

## Capital Stand by Capital.

#### Behind the Battle.

In a Conference of French Socialists resulting from the refusal of passports' to Stockholm by the French Government, one of the speakers, Paul Louis. made the following astounding declaration, (and yet it only proves what we have always maintained: That the capitalists of all countries are as thick as thieves when it comes to the last ditch) "The decision of the Government was so much the more scandalous in that FRENCH BANKERS HAD BEEN RECENTLY FREELY ALLOWED TO GO TO SWITZERLAND IN OR-DER TO CONFER WITH ATIS-TRIAN BANKERS FOR THE PUR-POSE OF SAVING AUSTRIA FROM FINANCIAL RUIN."

#### Benoni Branch I.S.L.

WEEKLY SOCIALS will be held by the Benoni Branch of the International Socialist League, at the League's Hall, Lake Avenue, commencing this week. The first Social will be held on Saturday, 18th August, at 8 p.m. All Internationals are cordially invited. Comrade A. B. Dunbar will be out from town to give the local comrades a cheero!

# CAPITALIST SAYS PEACE MEANS REVOLUTION.

Lord Sydenham, writing to a London paper, has no doubt about an impending revolution. May it come sooner than even the capitalist thinks! "All these and other disturbing conditions, together with the curtailment of liberties, which a nation fighting for existence must accept, and which are trivial compared to those suffered by the enemy peoples, are being skilfully turned to account by the directing heads of a sinster peace movement. There can be no doubt that when greater food stringency comes and further personal sacrifices are required, this movement will quickly gather. The ostensible object is peace, which we all desire; but it is a peace to be enforced by revolutionary methods—a peace that would shake the foundations of the Empire and leave a legacy of disaster."

Box 2659.

# 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.