THE INTERNATIONAL

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

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PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

De Verdomde Kaffir! and the Poor White.

In the Provincial Council this week
Dan Dingwall moved to raise the wages
of the poor whites in the employ of the
Department. The scales of pay were
mentioned at 2s. 6d. per day, rising
with commendable regularity to 4s. 6d.
and 6s. per day. Of course, the Labour
men lay about them with the oratorical
big stick, and well are they entitled to
do so, for weren't they sent to talk?

Mr. Somebody Anderson opposite, however, gave the other side of the half of the truth by saying that these poor white workers were employed from motives of charity, and that to increase their wages only meant an increase of charity.

Quite right, Mr. Somebody Anderson! All things under the Capitalist system are sold at their value, that is the cost of production. The market value of a poor white worker in the cheap labour market of South Africa is the market value of native labour, the native labourer being preferred for his absence of swank.

The Labour men may tage like the heathers, but they funk from tackling the root of the matter. The Mr. Somebody Anderson and his Capitalist friends are right in their economics when it suits them: that is, in the labour market there is no sentiment, might is right, the weakest goes to the workhouse; the devil, that's me, takes the hindmost. Only the Germans, mustn't do that. In them the Capitalist system is an abominable thing indeed.

Who are these people to pray and shed crocodile tears over the poor white? While they agitate for doles to decrade him, they themselves are the cause of his downfall. To tackle the poor white question honestly no party daro. For to tackle the poor white question means tackling the native question. The poor Dutch worker has been trained to spit upon-the verdonste Kaffir from his childhood, to imagine that it is his interest to keep him down in his place; with the result that, as Booker Washington said, he who would keep a man down in the ditch must remain in the ditch himself.

Karl Marx said exactly fifty years ago in his "Capital": "LABOUR CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF IN THE WHITE WHITE IN THE BLACK IT IS BRANDED." The hope for the "poor whites" is not in Labour election speeches in the Provincial Council, but right here: "in the emancipation of the despised native labourer from his serfdom through the power of Industrial Solidarity. Let Labour men rave, this is how we will march, and Jim Sixpence is beginning to march with us too!

Lenin on Top.

Somehow the Russian mo ement claims the bulk of our space week by week. All eyes are centred on it, for Russia is the inspiration of the S dialist world just now.

From all accounts the situa on is developing in favour of the principles advocated by Lenin. Every week proves him to be right in his insistent a mand for the thoroughgoing application of the Class struggle to the tangle I knot of the world war and the internal situation in all countries.

At Moscow, simultaneously with the jumble conference there, the Maximalists declared a strike which the papers one day averred was only par al, as only the trams and railways were out, and next day repeated was only partial, as only the factories were out.

Cronstadt and Reval shows the way of the wind. And as for Kerensky's declaration, the cables said it pleased no one in Russia, but that it was well received in London. So long as it pleased Reuter it was all right. It kept those dead-as-mutton old Russian stock of the Exchange from getting deader. That's the main use of Kerensky.

As for the Coalition Cabinet, it seems to have fallen on evil days. Here again Lenin seems to have been right. The Socialist Ministers have failed to keep true to the line of the Class struggle while at the same time administering the Capitalist State. The only way to do this is in an out-and-out Socialist Government, the last Government.

Leader 'that Tseretelli and Skobelov have been expelled from the Social Democratic Party for entering a bourgeois Ministry. Tseretelli and Skobelov acknowledged their debt as pupils to Trotsky, who, immediately on his return to Russia, denounced the entry of the Socialist Ministers into the Cabinet. Here is the inexorabilty of Socialist discipline as construed by our Russian Comrades, for Tseretelli at least is only recently returned from Siberia.

The Social Democratic Party, both wings of it, evidently keeps in advance of the Council of Workmen, which body delegated these comrades to the Ministry.

It all points to the fact that Lenin's class war slogan is the only, one that will fit the bill. He has already intimated that he would take office in a Socialist Government. The coming elections will tell. These have now been postponed till the end of the year.

The attitude of the other Governments is shown by the fact that all the border routes to Sweden are held by British officials, probably as a guarantee for credits. An arrangement is said to exist with Japan by which that country will throw an army of 300,000 into Russia to safeguard. British capital. This week's cables informed us of the arrival of some of these. How any foreign army could exist in Russia except at the good-humoured tolerance of the 'Russian people, with their vast spaces, however, passes our comprehension.

Meanwhile, the answer of the British proletariat to go to Stockholm strengthens our Russian comrades enormously. The only way to save Russia for the greater revolution still to come is to get the world's workers to assume the dictatorship and compel an end to the universal carnage. And, according to Lenin, to end the carnage means ending. Capitalism. So mote it be.

Andrews and the Federation.

In last Monday's issue of the "Star" appeared an item of news that the S.A. Industrial Federation had received a cable from Mr. Appleton, the secretary of the British Federation, to nominate a delegate to attend an Inter-Allied Trade Union Conference in England on September 10. The paragraph, which was obviously inspired by the Federation secretary, stated that at the Couneil meeting of the Federation last Sunday Comrade Andrews' name had been mentioned as the Federation delegate. he being now on his way to England. The paragraph deprecated the appointment of Andrews, and suggested Tom Mann, alleging that Comrade Andrews had not taken part in the Trade Union movement since the outbreak of war.

It would be a very bad blow to the prestige of capitalist interests in this country, and especially to ('rawford's newly-found gospel of friendship with the Chamber of Mines, if Andrews were appointed the delegate of the South African Workers at the Conference. If Tom Mann is elected, it will also be in spite of his pronounced anti-war views, and, what is more, in spite of his comparative lack of knowledge of South African Labour. In any case, the Federation would choose a delegate who stands to-day where the workers will stand to-morrow, which is infinitely hetter than choosing one who sticks in the mud which the workers left vesterday.

WANTED.—A Comrade who can read Spanish, to translate news items weekly from our esteemed Spanish exchange "El Socialista."

THE TWO VOICES.

International Capital, which allows British and Boches to "hob-nob" in Holland about exchanging prisoners, and French and Austrian bankers to "fraternise" in Switzerland in support of Austrian credit, dare not risk International Labour uniting; or even wrangling, at Stockholm. The Congress cannot be trusted to play the game according to Capitalist rules; and so it is the bugbear of both bourgeois camps, which conceal their fears by telling their respective Dubbs that it is a manoeuvre by "the enemy." So it is, to be sure; not by the "respective" enemy, however, but by their common, if still half unconscious and unrealised, enemy, the united world,

proletariate. No 'peace at any price' do they dread so much as peace at Labour's price; no 'trap' so much as the trap of Socialism, into which their system is inevitably doomed to be caught up and held harmless for evermore.

Here are some Hun extracts, culled by the "Cambridge Magazine" and the B.S.P. "Call," which, set against others from nearer home, unmask the "grimacing - both - ways" attempt, through national divisions and censorship, to "fool all the peoples all the time." They make the Capitalist press and its hooligan puppets, on both sides, look particularly silly:—

S. P. B.

Star, August 11. "PEACE BY INTRIGUE."

"The Stockholm Conference has, so far as its promoters are concerned, little purpose but to facilitate a German peace; to mislead and influence allied and neutral opinion and to exploit to the full any means that might have the effect of modifying the complete measure of retribution which fate has in store for them."

The Stockholm Conference is simply a great anti-German intrigue. The best thing that could happen, but we do not consider it likely to happen, is that it should burst like a bubble of foam. No matter what phrases, baits or menaces may be employed in introducing it, the German Empire and

"Star," August 13.

"The enemy's autumn manoeuvres for a sham peace. The German Government, in favouring the Stockholm Conference, hopes to control the International Socialist movement after—as before—the war."

Cablegram in "Star," August 11.

"Control (of the International) must fall into the hands of the German representatives, aided by neutrals who seek peace at any price."

"Star," August 23.

"The creation of an enervating and deceptive 'peace atmosphere' is precisely what Germany will have in view in sending her Socialists to an International Conference. Haig, Petain and Cadorna are the real peacemakers."

"Star,/' June 11.

"The immense majority of French and British Socialists are determined to have nothing whateverto do with this colossal enemy intrigue."

"Sunday Times," May 13.

"SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT

STOCKHOLM."

"CALLED BY THE KAISER!"

All the papers, all the time:—

"Stockholm Trap," "Peace Plot,"
"Kaiser's Conference," "Manoeuvre
of the Central Powers," "German
Peace Move," etc.

"Star" Cable, August 15.

"The U.S.A. Cabinet was in possession of proofs that the Stockholm Conference was merely an effort by the German Government to enlist the Labour Socialists in favour of a peace on German terms."

"Deutsche Tageszeitung" (the organ of Count Reventlow, the notorious & Prussian Jingo), June 3.

"The Stockholm Conference is simbest thing that could happen, but we do not consider it likely to happen, is. that it should burst like a bubble of foam. No matter what phrases, baits or menaces may be employed in introducing it, the German Empire and people must guard itself against being misled. There is no doubt of the fact that English influence has permeated the Internationale. Branting is the leader of the Conference; he took the Entente's part even before the war. To work with him, as Scheidemann intends doing, means fiat pax, pereat patria (peace at any price).

"Koelnische Volkszeitung," about July 5.

"There is no doubt now that the Stockholm Conference was a great deception for the German Socialists. Our people will rejoice at the check sustained by Scheidemann because of the great moral effect it will have on our troops, who will henceforth only look forward to a victorious peace. The French Socialists are at the beck and call of Poincare, who has concocted Stockholm for the purpose of snatching the fruits of victory from Germany."

"Scheidemann should now be convinced that he has made a gross mistake in going to othe Stockholm Conference, the principal organiser of which is an avowed enemy of Ger-

many."

Government itself was initiating the Stockholm Conference. That was true until the time of the change of Government."

Mr. Bonar Law, August 12.

What the Enemy Thinks of Russia.

If we might take the admissions of Milyukov (who was kicked out of the Russian Ministry), as a guide then the Russian situation is developing in the Socialist direction. He spoke at a Conference of his Party—the Party of National Liberty (formerly Constitutional Democrats), in May, and described the change that had taken place in the country since two months earlier. Then, he said, the Provisional Government enjoyed the full confidence of the country and the Socialist element was still unorganised, many of the Socialist leaders being still abroad. But—

"The two months which have passed since then have considerably changed this picture. The Socialist parties of the Left have been husy with organisation and propaganda. The more moderate tendencies have not kept pace with them... Their attention (the Extremists) has been turned especially to the provinces and the army. From the cities we have heard, words of moderation, but in the country the forces of destruction have considerably outbalanced the forces of construction. A flood of agrarian movements has disorganised the country. . . In the cities there has been talk of the beatherhood of nations. . . In the tranches these ideas take the form of Tisternization with the enemy in the expectation of a speedy peace. When at the cities there was talk of peace wathout annexation or indemnities, in the trenches the opinion was voiced that there was no good fighting any long. er, and that it was feolish to sacrifice, oneself for the 'alien' annexaions of our Allies."

It seems that the first Conference of the Triple Industrial Alliance of Britain, consisting of the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Transport Workers' Federation, and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, met on June 28. The 280 delegates present represented no less than 1,286,000 organised workers. It was declared that any attempts to impose industrial conscription would automatically call a special conference of the Alliance, "whereat the delegates shall attend empowered to take industrial action to deal with same."

At the same time the National Union of Railwaymen demanded the nationalisation of railways. This the cable news told us, but omitted to tell us that the Union also demanded that it shall be adequately represented on the

Management Board.

Has it struck you, unattached Socialist, that to be unattached is to be ineffective? Cease to be content with talking and link up with the International Socialist League, the one revolutionary party of the workers in South Africa. Be effective, and join up. Application cards from the League office, 6, Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

Progress and Poverty.

By J. M. G.

The successful devotees of the cult of getting on, engrossed with this one idea, read the reports in the daily papers of the increasing volume of the nation's trade. They are told by these papers of increasing wealth and accumulated riches; the expansion of industries and development of commerce; the refinements, / luxuries and comforts enjoyed under dur civilisation; all repeated day by day by these papers to show how progressive we are as a nation. And the successful getters-on, having but one idea, swallow the news and remain blind to the true facts as they appear glaringly about and around us in the everyday life of the masses are accused of neglecting.

These people, so imbued with getting on, are blind to the rise of poverty peculiar to the age, and when their attention is drawn to it, with the cocksureness of the successful petty trader, blame drink as the cause, overlooking the fact that the mass of the people are sober yet poor, and that many are intemperate and rich.

Others again charge the workers as a class with improvidence, lacking thrift and self-denial,—oblivious to the circumstances that many are so casually employed that their whole lives are one long self denial without any opportunity of exercising that thrift which they are accused of neglecting.

To these worshippers of the cult of getting on the history of the past is a sealed volume. Equally blind are they to present day conditions. Their mental kinks confine them to their own parochial burrows and shorten their vision to the point of their own nose, so that they cannot see the degrading poverty that must inevitably accompany our present system of society.

Blind also to the disease of abject poverty of the mass of the community are those skilled workers, the so called "aristocrats of labour," imbued with an inflated idea of their own value, organised in craft unions with the selfish aim not to abolish poyerty, but to share the plunder with the employing class, endeavouring to maintain a monopoly of their labour; futile efforts, as the economic development continually advances and evolves machinery that makes the skilled of to-day the unskilled of to-morrow.

That the wealth of the capitalists of the industrial countries of the world has grown by leaps and bounds during the last fifty years is an undisputed fact. The progress that has been made in machinery for the production of commodities has grown in ever increasing volume. Yet the very nature of this progress, and the monopolist concentration of ownership of the machinery has made poverty relatively more intense, and has made the condition for the workers more degrading, by making them more dependent upon a diminishing number of capitalists.

The craft union with its individualistic outlook has failed to conserve to the members that monopoly of labour that is the basis of all craft unionism. They

have failed to maintain that rate of wages that would have neutralised any rise in the cost of those things necessary to the maintenance of physical life.

Craft Unions in the past undoubtedial were of service as a standing protest, if nothing more, against unrestrained capitalism, but have now become obsolete, and of no service against the combined forces of organised capital.

The Union of the future must be formed on the broad lines of class.

Only on this basis is it possible to combat the powerful combine of capitalism. The workers must organise, not only to better their cenditions of labour, but with the object of taking over the industries and controlling them in the interests of the community as a whole in a Co-operative Commonwealth. Thus only will they be able to free the community from the poverty that is inherent in any form of society based on production for profit.

This is the only progress worth fighting for,—a progress that will draw the veil of oblivion on the present age of poverty in the midst of plenty. It is the only struggle worth engaging in. Men, women and children have streyn the road with their blood, victims of the capitalist Juggernau Car in its onward march of liberty. A liberty that to the workers was dearly paid for. An idle mockery: the freedom of contract between the powerful capitalists and the unorganised helpless wage slaves.

The unconscious growth of society is evolving towards a more equitable form of society that will deal out justice to the individual. It is making a pid strides, never turning aside from its ultimate goal. And as the masses become conscious of that goal the pace will increase and shorten the time that will bring society to its objective.

Whether we as individuals welcome the advance of society to Socialism, or not, makes no difference. We as units of society cannot very much advance nor yet retard that economic determinism that is the driving force of societies. Society in its onward march has turned its back on the flesh-pots of Egypt towards the promised land. We may not reach it, but our children, to them will be given the privilege of plucking the fruits of the earthly paradise and reap the labour of those heroic martyrs of the past and present, who have through many ages kent the embers of true progress aglow, that in the new age will lean into flame and gladden the lives of those who will reach the heights of the Co-operative Commonweath.

Pass this on to a friend when you have read it. Tell him he can get it for a year post free for 5s.

"The war can only be ended by a Revolution of the workers of the world."—LENIN.

The first step towards the elimination of the present Class cleavage is the elimination of the industrial cleavage among the workers themselves.

"SOLIDARITY."

Peace

That the people do not require police is shown by the "Jewish Gazette" of June 29, which quotes a cable from its Petrograd correspondent, who describes the state of affairs there as that of "peaceful Anarchy."

After hearing the most violently enthusiastic speeches in the streets there is not the least disorder. The big crowds are good-natured and most orderly. The one effective governing body in the land is that of 'peaceful Anarchy.' There is no one who can enforce law on the people. The only way to get the people to observe law is by public discussion, without the use of soldiers or police; and the gates of the prisons are open, and it is perfectly safe for anyone to walk the streets at any time of the day or night."

This is what the capitalist press calls "Russia in Danger."

No Reprisals on Capital.

How cheap is human life compared to capital! The other day a man was given exemption from the army simply because he was in danger,—not of losing his life, that's no argument,—hut a two million legacy if he died!

The German Government has prohibited the sale of a gasworks in Berlin owned by British capital, at below cost, "as German interests in Britain would thereby be prejudiced. No complaints have been received of improper treatment of German property in Britain, and therefore the German Government is endeavouring to exercise similar correctness." So says "The Times."

Reprisals on human life, yes! But capital represents power over human labour, and must not be destroyed, not even enemy capital. The solidarity of capital is greater than its quarrels. The interntional solidarity of labour must come too.

Havelock Wilson recently claimed that, in three weeks, a poll of Trade Unionists had supported the executive of the Seamen's Union to the tune of one million against 200,000. This has been shown to be a palpable lie. It takes at least three weeks to sanction a summonsed branch meeting, leaving aside time required to organise the poll. Three million is a generous estimate of workers affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. Only men at branch meetings are allowed to vote, according to trade union rules. A tenth of the membership is a good poll, under war conditions. Where, then, did Wilson get his phantom million? Marvellous are the works of Lloyd George's wheelharrow!

"Isvesta," the organ of the Council of Workmen, says in reference to the "no annexations" formula, you can get Lloyd George and Asquith to accept any phrase, what you can" get them to do is to give up their bloody work

Workers' International Programme.

The Executive Committee of the Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Delegates of Petrograd, in reply to a letter addressed to it by M. Albert Thomas. Mr. Henderson, and M. Vandervelde, publishes a statement in which it explains the programme of the impending International Socialist Conference and the part played by the Council in the preparation of the conference. The statement says:

"The Russian Revolution, which is the revolt of the people not only against the tyranny of Tsarism but also against the horrors of the world war, the blame for which falls upon international Imperialism, has placed before all countries with extraordinary acuteness the argent need of concluding peace. At the same time the Russian revolution has indicated to the nations the way of realising this probem, notably the union of all working classes to combat fall attempts of Imperialism to prolong the war in the interest of the well-to-do classes and to prevent a neace without annexations or indemnities.

* Having recognised the right of nations to dispose of their destiny, the members of the conference will come to an understanding without difficulty regarding the future of Alsace-Larraine and that of other regions.

'Moreover, the working classes, relieved of the mutual distrust which the Imperialists envenom, will agree as to the means of granting compensation and the amount of such compensation to the countries devastated by the war, like Belgium, Poland, Galicia and Serbia; but it goes without saying that such compensation must have nothing in common with contribution which is imposed on a conquered country.

The Council of Soldiers and Workers' Delegates considers it futile for parties to make it an absolute condition of their taking part in the conference that the preliminary consent of other parties shall be obtained to any obligatory decisions, for that would give rise in the imagination to irreconcilable contradictions on questions the amicable discussion of which might lead to a solution acceptable by both parties.

"As for your desire to obtain previous complete agreement between the allied Socialists, the way in which we put the problem renders futile any such understanding. We consider that the conference can only succeed if Socialists consider themselves, not representatives of the two belligerent parties, but representatives of a single movement of the working classes towards the common aim of general peace."

for our Cinderella dance at West's Academy on Wednesday, September 12? 2s. 6d. each: refreshments provided.

The New System.

Comrade binbai's Lecture.

The new system was the subject of Sunday evening's lecture when Comrade Dunbar spoke to a most enthusiastic audiênce in the Trades Hall. Doubts existed, he said, whether a change would be effected in society. Even Socialists differed about the time the change would take place. Enthusiasts predicted the revolution at the conclusion of the war. Others thought next generation would see the fruits of our work. The time the revolution would take place would be when the workers were organised industrially and had the requisite knowledge not only to take hold of the industries, but to carry on production when Capitalism was overthrown.

Trade Unions were not organised for that purpose. They simply regulated capitalist society, and had done so for some time. Even the Capitalists looked to the Unions to help them to run their concerns smoothly.

Although the workers were asked to send representatives to Parliament. and Town Councils, they were not asked nor allowed to elect a Chamber of Mines or Commerce. The conversion of Capital into Common Property can be brought about only by organising the army of production. Right now was the time to build the shell of the new system within the framework of Canitalist society. Active aggression and resistance in the workshops are necessary to drill the workers. Therefore, they regulated wages, hours, etc.. but all the time the one object was kepter in view: One Union of the Working Class, irrespective of colour, to bring about Industrial Democracy.

Comrade Dunbar's lecture signalled the return to the usual orderly meeting, the interruptors having got tired or ashamed, it is not certain which.

The Stockholm Congress.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.--Here are acknowledgments of donations received for the Stockholm Fund. Keep the pot boiling. Make sure of keeping Comrade Andrews well supplied. It looks as if he will be there in plenty of time. The Stockholm Congress must come. All the better if the British workers have to scrap for passports. And it is worth it to have Andrews there in the thick of the fight. Don't hold back financial support till you find out if the Congress meets. The International is being restored whether the Congress meets or not. The vote of the British workmen restored the International: The International unity of the workers is real, let the capitalists out communications how they will.; To-morrow the Internationale will be the human race:

Previously acknowledged, £43 9s. 6d. M. G., 20s.; J. M., 60s.; E. J. C., 2s. 6d.: D. S., 40s.; F. G., 10s.; R. R. (List 16), £10 11s.; Sympathiser, 5s.; C. B. T., 20s.; J. G. 5s.: B., 20s.; J. B. (Uitkyk), 5s. 6d.; L. H. G. (Maritzburg), 10s. 6d.; Com. S. (List, Kimberley), 10s. 6d.; T. B. C., 2s. 6d.;

W. B. (Pretoria), 10s.; Com. B. (List 50), 15s., 13s., 5s.; S. G. R. (Natal), 20s.; P. R. R., 10s.; E. A., 5s.; S.A. Peace Society, £6 15s. 6d.; J. de B.'s List. 7s.; J. II. (List 26), 27s. 6d.: A. K. D. (East London), 5s.; F. C. II. (Inst 10), 56s.; M. G. J. (Randfoutein), 5s.; S. B., 5s.; J. M. (List 3), £2; S. B. (List 50), 10s.; J. V., 5s.; C. F., 5s.; P. D. (Bloemfontein), 10s.; C. B. T., 2s. 6d.: E. H. B., 10s.: P. (Standerton), 15s.; A. E. (List 1), 30s.; J. (Trist 43), 23s.; B. (Trist 50), 4s. 6d.; S.A. Peace Society, £2 12s. 6d.; V. S., 15s.: II. G. (Germiston, Lists 2, 7, 8), £15 Is.; S. G., 10s.; ('. II. II. (List 44), 21s.; I. II. G. (Maritzburg), 10s.; B. K. (Benoni, List 11), £5: Kimberlov List, £3 17s.; M. (List 37), £2 Gs.: A. E. (List 1), 10s.: J. W., 5s.: H. B., 17s. 6d.; C. B. T., 2s. 6d.; Mrs. W. (Germiston, List 23), £5 13s. 6d.; D. F., 5s.: L. A., 2s. 6d.; P. A., 2s. 6d.: E. B., 2s. 6d.: An., 6s. 6d.: J. N. 20s.: Friend, 10s.: W. C. de B., 15s.; N. G. (Benoni, List 18), £5 14s. 6d.; J. M. (List 3). £2 12s. 6d. (Details of the lists will be given later).

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