THE INTERNATIONAL.

The Organ of the International Socialist League (S.A.)

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"The Beacon and "Bourgeoisdom."

The Durban "Beacon" now appears as a monthly, and the first number so issued is before us. It contains interesting ar-, ticles on "The Safety First" Sham, "The United States of the World!" "The story of shipping rebates in §.A." and "The Injustice of Conscription," etc. articles, which give "The Beacon" a place of its own among our periodicals.

In the "Notes of the month" exception is taken to our remarks on its 'middle class' tone. 'There is room in the political world for all of us, and we should do well each to press his own point of view without despising the other. Apart from that, the middle class have made notable efforts, especially in Russia, on be-, half of the proletariat. And in England) such men as Bernard Phaw, William Morris, Sydney Oliver, Sydney Webb and many others have earned for their class a great debt from the horny handed sons of toil."

It is necessary to pursue this subject in order to clear up misunderstanding. First of all let us say that as a class the iniddle class have been moved to fight for political reforms for their own trade necessities only, and that whenever the workingmen have proceeded to extend citizenship in the State to citizenship in Industry. they have been left to fight alone.

In Socialist parlance however, the term "middle class" does not refer to a man's avocation, but to his ideas. Men of property sometimes are proletarian in philosophy. The mouthpieces of capitalism are wage-earners. The Liberal small traders are represented in parliament by literary men. Men derived from professional classes have been some of the best exponents of working. Why should be be solicitous about your annual leave, (provided you class philosophy. To none of these are we more indebted than to the materially bourgeois but intellectually proletarian Marx and Engels. Many proletarians, workers even in the Labour movement, are middle class because their ideas are bourgeois-ridden.

With us a man belongs to that class by the boundaries of whose material interests his solution of social problems is confined. A propertied or professional man is a fellow-proletarian with us who looks for no tangible improvement, still less emancipation, other than in the complete abolition of the capitalist system of production, with all its retinue of stale ideas, by the organised effort of the working class and that class alone.

What we call "middle class" ideas are the ideas trickling down from the head citadel of capital through the medium of the propertied and trading classes and all their religious and social institutions,—ideas designed to perpetuate exploitation, and assuming the eternal stability of capitalism as the à priori starting point from which all their proposals of betterment proceed.

The middle class, itself a transitional class in whom the struggle between exploited and exploiter is veiled, reflect that hesitation, vagueness and looking-both-ways in their political ideas.

The working class standpoint regards the capitalist system of production as doomed. Being wage-earners, we are able to see the root of the evil in the gigantic misappropriation of the fruits of social labour by a small and socially useless class, for purposes of further investment, further exploitation. Nothing short of the destruction of the capitalist system and the substitution for it of the Socialist Commenwealth by the international working class is the proletarian aim. All proposals, no matter how interesting or useful for the alleviation of the inherent evil of wage-slavery, can awaken in us no enthusiasm unless they proclaim the mighty message; the scientific truth: 'the downfall of Capitalism is at hand, prepare ye the way of Socialism."

Miners Beware.

That pitiful buffoon of Parliament, Willie Rockey, has been put up in the House of Assembly to get a Select Committee appointed to enquire into Miners' Pensions. The first motion provided for a legal fortnights' holiday and a Conciliation Board on every mine to deal with grievances, but these two latter were dropped. The idea is to compel the miner to invest part of his savings in a fund which shall provide him a pension,

Let it not be supposed that this is just a political whim of Willie Rockey. At a company meeting somewhere recently, Solly Joel has already foreshadowed a system of annual leave, and pensionsfor miners.

Conciliation Boards on every mine are dropped because that would organise the men, besides giving them a hint as to the best means of organisation.

Willie Rockey said that the Premier Mine pension scheme had worked well, although the employees only contributed one-fifth towards it. Who is to pay towards this Pension scheme, and how it is to be controlled, is not yet made clear.

What the mineworkers however have to ask themselves is what interest have employers who oppose with might and main the granting of increased phthisis compensation and increased wages, and shorter hours, and the free development physical and intellectual of their employees,—what interest have they in providing annual leaves and pension Funds for them?

What business of your employer is the fate of your wife and children when he does not care whether you live or starve? have been a stipulated time in his employ) when he grudges you an hour less per day down below? Why should he desire you to have a nest egg after you have left the mine and while you are on it lies in wait like a tigercat for every opportunity to cut down the price of your fathomage? Why should the Premier Mine's large magnanimity ask its employees for only one-fifth of the Pension Fund, and sack any one who demands more pay? Beware of the paternal solicitude of employers. Behind all their stepmotherly schemes lurks the birch rod of discipline.

The Railwaymen in this country dare not move hand or foot because they have got involved in the kind pension schemes of the Government. They dare not call their soul their own because of privileges and pensions,—payments of wages deferred as a guarantee of good behaviour. The Railwaymen in this country were never so well off as when, under W.H. Andrews' leadership in 1904, they told the Government to go to blazes with all their privileges, and asked for their dues cash down. The subsequent enslavement of the Railwaymen has been due to the allurements of pensions, privileges, leaves etc. Likewise the Civil Service and the Banks, these important sections of the wage earning class are kept in complete subjection by these meddlesome "paternal" provisions, pensions and bribes calculated to mark them off from the rest of the workers and to keep them in a state of healthy discipline.

We see the kaffir get more and more control of the drill on the mine. Very soon he will exercise the economic power which it gives him. It is necessary therefore by means of deferred leaves. pensions and privileges to mark off the white miner as a distinct aristocratic caste, and to hind him by these means to the side of the capitalist. Therefore, Mineworkers beware.

Mineworkers and Political Action.

The S.A. Mineworkers Union have formally seceded from, affiliation with the Labour Party. All the big Unions are now de-affiliated. This raises the question of the relation of Trades Unions to politics. "No politics within the Union," has been a very timely cry to the Capitalist inasmuch as it keeps the Mineworker, or any worker for that matter, from realizing that the whole of society is the concern of his industrial organisition no less than are his own immediate grievances.

But we realize now that the political action of the working class cannot be a matter of mere affiliation of his Union en masse to a loose Party of branches open to all and sundry adventurers of the middle class. The Party of the workers, when they again revive in class consciousness, we trust will be their own industrial organisations, now functioning industrially, now politically, to which an open Party recruiting the idealist elements of all classes may federate. The International Socialist League, for instance, will gain its first success, not when it gets Trades Unions affiliated to it, but when it is able to affiliate to the political Party of the organised working-Class

The first necessity of the industrially suganised working class here will be vigorous political action to sweep away the chief barriers to efficient working class solidarity. The pensions bogey which prevents the Railwaymen coming together, the denial of equal civil liberty to the native wage worker, the compound and inderture system which makes him cheaper and prore exploitable, these great balriers, unparalleled in any other Labour movement, against the marshalling of the various sections of the proletariat side by side, can only be removed by political action. Not the political action that asks the middle classes: "please what can we do for you," but the lance-head of the economic power of organised workers seeking and offering to society the peaceful abolition of classes.

The extent to which Labour can get its political demands acceded to will not primarily depend on whether it gets twenty or forty representatives to carry out its mandates, but on the strength of the industrial organisation which will back those mandates.

It follows that the first insistence, and the continued insistence of a political party of Socialism-just as one electric pole attracts its opposite must be on the supreme importance of crganising the workers on the industrial field. For the Mineworkers with the Railwaymen carry in their hands the fortunts of the Las bour movement.

Cost of Living.

Last week the Dockers Union at Melbourne refused to handle flour for export on the wharves until the high price of bread at Melbourne had been reduced.

Two days later came the news that the reduction, in the price to Melbourne consumers had been made, as a consequence of which the dockers resumed handling flour.

This is a development unparalleled in capitalist history. Hitherto the laws of exchange have trampled unheeded over continents of want, as illustrated in the horzable phenomenon that Areland and India have exported huge quantities of wheat during a famine. "More recently, during fearful famine in Russia, the exportation of wheat by the capitalists there could be checked only by an Imperial order" says Kautsky.

Mealies on the London market are fetching fine prices, 53s. 3d. persquarter, while the poverty in the Country districts here is appalling. 200 families are on the brink of starvation in Pretoria. The doling out of mealie meal by the Government we are told is about to commence:—the degradation of charity to alleviate the injury of robbery.

Glaring instances of the pocket patriotism of the capitalists, especially with the manipulation of sugar, are afforded in

these days of Jingo pre-occupiation.

Like religion, patriotism must be the first virtue of the workers and always the secondary one of the capitalists; otherwise how could they sieze the main chance of profits and fulfil their flivinely appointed task as leaders of industry?

Under the cloak of "supply and demand" inscribed with the sacred monogram "your King and Country needs you," the capitalist, out of hungry bellies and swelling markets, produces his guinea pig, "Prosperity." Nothing but the half-nelson of working class combination can put a stop to the swindle, as the Melhonnes Dockers have shown,

Proletarians of the World.

Demonstrations of the Socialist assertion that the workers have no country, no home other than in their international solidarity, peep out of all the recent news from Europe.

The workers of the Clyde and of the Rhondda are going to make Lloyd George's Military and Industrial Conscription crumble up like bayonets of broom. To show their contempt for his Munitions Act and as a protest against the authorities' refusal of public halls, the Glasgow munition workers are having a Demonstration Strike once a week. In mail week 2000 of them met in a hail storm to demonstrate their solidarity. If the Government dares to enforce conscription on them, they will prove that the power of industrial solidarity is greater than all their machine guns.

The British worker has always lagged behind in theory of Socialism. Just now he leads his European comrades in the practice of the class struggle. Of the three Utopian Socialists. Saint Simons the theoriser, and Fourier the satirist, it was left to the British Robert Owen to found New Lanark. Let us not therefore misread the times in declarations of theory only. The German Socialist minority has given its lead in fine terms. Longuet and In all countries the problems of Labour vary enormously. © Bourderen have given the true Marxian stand for the French comrades. Now comes the common British proletariat and marks its cross; in terms of iron and coal it resounds the agelong, ever mighty and melodious call, emerging afar from every inhuman orgy, above every enslaving frenzy: "Proletarians of all lands unite."

> Capitalist governments also respond: "You have nothing to lose but your chains." A movement is afoot for the emigration. transportation, of "penurious soldiers" to the colonies. "Penurious soldiers," aye, Rider Haggard says "direct from the trenches." They fought for their country, and their country knew them not. I let us not differentiate any longer the massacres of Peterloo, Paris : 1848 and 1871, of Commissioner St. and Colorado, from the massacres of Neuve Chapelle and Loos, merely because Governments haphen to mouth "law and order" in the one case, and "patriotism" in the other.

Capitalist Society never confesses its vilest motives to itself. If it did the spectres of its own atrocities would be enough to destroy it. Not only therefore must we regard the vast slaughter of war as the cost in working class life which bourgeois society is: prepared to pay for markets, but prepare for a still more horrible and ghastly motive. Capital sees a surplusage of labour after the war, swamping even its reservoirs of labour' to destruction: three million men back to civil life, with a depleted industry, and a wage earning class already reinforced by women and a dispossessed middle class? Rather, in desperation, let the slaughter go on!

When the war is over, Bonar Law says we'll have a League of Peace, a United States of Europe, armed Internationalism," to meet the growing terror of the unparalleled international solidarity of the working class. Louder and louder the Marxian'ealf: "Proletarians of all lands unite!".

Shall we complain who feed the world? Who clothe the world? Who house the world? Shall you complain who are the world Of what the world may do? As from this hour Lou use your power, The world must follow you.

Then rise as you never rose before! Nor hoped besore! Nor dared before! And show as was never shown before, The power that is in you! Stand all as one! See justice done! Believe, and Dare and Do.

MRS. CHARLOTTE STETSON.

The True Heroes of the War.

Epic of Russian Socialism.

article by Comrade Braun, editor of "The darity. The only war the workers have to an idea is conveyed o' the marvellous stand the attainment of the Socialist. Commontaken by the Socialists of the conquered Rus- wealth." The leaflets also dwell on the

ways formed the vanguard of the revolution-practice of the Tsar's Government. ary Russian profetoriate. This position it people," says one appeal (August 1914& has also maintained during the war in spite, this war you are sacrificing your best sons of all dangers and persecutions, in spite, of on the battle altar of Tsardom! By their death overwhelming difficulties. During the first you neither gain freedom for them nor vear of the war the Lettish S.D.P. published yourselves, you merely make stronger the and spread broadcast about 40 appeals shackles of your own slavery!" . . . "We kening. From their former fields of action against the war (in Lettish, Lithunian and must first, secure freedom for the people be-Russian) numbering more than 500,000 co- fore we set out to defend it against the atpics. The party has carried on a tireless tacks of others! . . . " agitation against the war in factories and barraicks, amongst workmen, soldiers and recruits: the influence of its activity has exersted an influence far beyond the boundaries of the Baltic Provinces.

A Time of Confusion.

The 40 appeals before us witness the aca tivity of the Lettish S.D.P. during the war. The Lettish proletariat was just as much taken by surprise at the declaration of war as the big Socialist Parties of Western. Europe. All intercourse with foreign countries was cut off, the workers' Press was muzzled by the state of war, hundreds of active mem-- bers were called to the colours, military dictatorship hung over the whole Labour moyement. The bourgeoisie hastened to prove its 'loyalty' to the Tsar, noisy patriotism was the order of the day, the masses were battle flag—the bulk of the proletariat has seized by fear in view of a possible German invasion. In short, a situation was created to which the words of Karl Kantsky so aptly apply. Then all will become patriots, even those of international leanings, and if any had the superhuman courage to go against it ... the Government would not even have to lift its little finger to render them harmless. The furious crowd itself would strike them dead.", ("Internationalism and War," p. 33.)

Causes and Aims of the War.

With all their official press organs suppressed, recourse was had to leaflets. These contain simple Socialist truths which, these sad times, have been repudiated by so many comrades and so many leaders of the old Socialist Parties. The leaflets say, for volutionary mass action! . . . instance, "The present warzis being waged in the Imperialist interests of the ruling for an organised one-day strike as a mighty between the workers. The advance of industry, classes; the war brings no relief or freedom for the toiling masses, only want and misery. The ruling capitalist class and the Govern- Courland, and the May Day Festival of the combination, due to association. What the ment in one's own country are the enemy, not the workers of the lands waging war; the workers have no 'fatherland' to defend, German arms.

The Glasgow "Socialist" reproduces an, but must keep intact their international soli-Struggle" a Lettish Socialist paper, wherein wage is the revolutionary class-struggle for sian provinces. Here are a few extracts: fairy-tale of "the war of liberation" all one The Lettish Social-Democracy has al- has to do is not to overlook the barbarous

Betrayal of Socialism.

When the war broke out no one knew what the tactics of the various Socialist Parties would be. Then came the inconceivable news hard to believe that the German Socialists had voted the war crédits. . . Then Guesde and Sembat entered the French Ministry. Vandervelde, the President of the International Socialist, Bureau, took his place by the side of the King of the Belgians, and also wrote his notorious letter to the Russian conrades asking them to surrender their revolutionary principles. All this made it clear to the Lattish S.D.P. that the International lay in ruins. At this point our organ, "The Comrade," though deeply grieved, yet writes with confidence:---

"Abandoned and solitary floats our red turned its back upon it. But the time will come when the red flag will again point the way for the swarms of fighters, when our old battle-cry, 'Proletarians of all lands, unite!' will make the sweaters and exploiters of all countries tremble."

Fighting Reaction.

Reaction in Russia showered blow after blow on the Labour movement till the Tsar's Government carried out its long cherished plan, and imprisoned the S.D. deputies of the Duma. The Lettish S.D.P. called upon the held in the Riga factories in spite of the state of war and of military law. One leaflet in says: "Those who commit deeds of violence triumph in vain. You may put shackles on the representatives of Labour, but you cannot destroy the proletariat itself and its re-

unanimous protest against the war. But whose involuntary promoter is the Capitalist shortly before the first of May German class, replaces the isolation of the workers, troops made their way as far as Mitau in due to competition, by their involuntary Lettish S.D.P. was cut short by the events capitalist class therefore produces, above all, of the war. The German pro-war Socialists are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the may be really proud of this glorious feat of victory of the proletariat are equally inevita-

War on the Capitalist System.

In May the fate of the Baltic Provinces was scaled. - The Germans advanced steadily, and Courland became a bloody battle-field. Foreign invasion with all its horrors was there. Both the Russian Cossacks and the German soldiers plundered and devastated. At such moments the native, inhabitants, are wont to give vent to their hatred of the aggressors, but the Lettish S.D.P. even in this hour of trial remained true to its flag and upheld international proletarian solidarity. In the Party leaffets it is said repeatedly: "It is not the German workers who are our enemies, not fighting them will set us free, for our salvation lies not in a war on behalf of "in the capitalist system, but in a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of this system. . .

Since the forced evacuation of their country they are now scattered by thousands over the whole of Russia. And in the Russian industrial centres they will get in touch with the revolutionary movement now awathey will take with them the firm resolution to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Russian proletariat, for the termination of the war, and for the downfall of Tsarism. Everything points to the fact that Russia is on the eve of great internal catastrophies.

The Lettisa Social Democracy has fulfilled its obligation, and has shown that in the midst of the terrific storms of a world war a party can still be guided by the principle of the revolutionary class struggle, and of international proletarian solidarity. "Here is our hanner and our honour," to conclude with the words of Lassalle.

INTERNATIONALE.

A London Paper Reports:

PARIS, Tuesday, Dec. 28.

In an article in the "Guerre Sociale" to-day, M. Herve says:

The Internationale founded on the dogma of class conflict, dear to Karl Marx, is now dead. After the war there will only be National Socialist parties, and the new Internationale will be a federation of national parties or will not be at all."--Reuter.

By the way, "La Guerre Sociale" has changed its name to "La Victoire." Gustav Herve was met with hisses and boos at the recent Congress of the French Socialist Party, and was not allowed to speak.

GREAT WORDS.

Let us understand then, that we are not merely Germans, French or Russians, but that we are all men, that all the peoples are of workers to protest, and a few meetings were the same blood and that they have no right to kill one another. Man does not belong to one nation only: he belongs to humanity-

> From Suppressed Editorial of "Vorwaerts" 21 August. 1915.

The condition for Capital is wage labour. The 1st of May was chosen as the day Wage labour rests exclusively on competition KARL MARX.

The Post Office Burglar.

Complaints were made last week as to the non-delivery of the postal issue of "The International." The Censor seated in the Post Office has prefers to stop all that pertains to International Socialism, since we have refused to confer with him as to the sance in which we should be cooked. It is now time to tell our subscribers and the public plums, and plain that a burglarious system of interfering with prepaid printed matter not to the taste of our political opponents has been instituted in the (i.P.O.

We should mention that the farthing rate of postage privileged to registered newspapers necessitates the whole issue being handed over the Post Office counter in one Anualle. This makes it an easy prey of the Censor.

After the complete stoppage of No. 18. in response to our protest against the fraudulence of accepting money for franking papers never intended to be sent, (a petty larcony with which Union Services' are getting offered to read "The International" for us every week prior to posting, and then to let us know whether we could use the post office for its circulation or not. We decided not to recognise any asuch authority to censor free opinion, and have since circulated by the usual halfpenny postage. The vigilance of the post is however getting even with this method of posting, as the number of disappointed subscribers attest.

But we are not going to be gagged by all the debate. censors this side of the Zaimbesi without a good tussle. Brenches should get ready for off on Saturday night. Comrades Ward and a novel scheme by which the Press. Committee proposes to increase the issue five fold to be distributed from house to house. What are we here for? Roll up at your Branch meetings and help spread the uncensorable. will be held next Thursday. All members roll unsmashable truth of International Social-up. ism. We shall communicate our plans to the Branch Secretaries.

Extract from a letter received by an Internationalist in Johanneshurg, from a friend in Honolulu.

they are not yet to hand but I am anxiously. Suggestions are invited as to the most fitting looking forward for news. From here South Africa is a remove corner of the world, and the news very scarce indeed. I see by the papers that there are a lot of South Africans in England training for the front, and that percapita South Africa has sent 50% more men than any other part of the Dominions. It all sounds very nice but all I can: say is poor fools.". the real Africanders in the past 200 years have paid enough in blood and money for Great Britain's domain, and I hope none of my Parliament, Botha had to refuse Over-Sea Pay brothers will be fools enough to risk their lives and limbs. What will their glorious Empire do for them when they come back minus legs or eyes? I hope Mr.... is a true Socialist in this respect."

BRANCH NOTES.

Durban.

The Branch has adopted a militant poliev of propaganda by leatlet. At the last meeting it was, decided to order a quantity of the latest League leaflet on "Why the Forward was Suppressed. Members also arranged for the disposal of the "International" every week, each one making himself or herself responsible for the sale of a certain num-

Last Sunday Mr. R.J. Hall lectured on "War, what it costs and who pays." Mrs.: Dunning in the chair. Mr. Harry Norric is expected to lecture next Sunday.

Johannesburg.

The great debate between Counade Dumbar and Hagry Haynes on Industrial versus Class Unionismi attracted a good mister of members, all of whom, women and. The Phoenix of Australian girl comrades included, followed the contest. with avidity. Ivon Jones in the chair called time: Chaft Unionism was as dead as a door nail, it did not even come up for trial. The pretty generally tainted) the Censor kindly issue in the end proved to be which should come first: a class conscious proletariat to make its own industrial union; or an industrial union to make a class conscious profetariat. Honours seemed fairly equal when the members in the pit were let loose on the matter. Comrade Foster took up the Tolstoyian change the people's hearts. Jimmy Black and Hornstein expounded the S. L. P view. Bunting urged the virtue of philosophic doubt, and the ladies promounced it a glorious

> THE VREDEDORF open for meeting came Foster spoke in Sassenach. Bunting and Barendrest in Dutch. There was a fairly good attendance. Repeat next Saturday.

THE BUSINESS MEETING of the Branch

Benoni.

Geo. Mason is expected to speak at - Smith's Studio next Sunday evening.

MAY DAY. The Management Committee wishes to remind Branches that it is time "Thank you for the papers you sent, to prepare for the celebration of May Day, tion. Free tom-tom and tambourine, yes: mode of celebration. Our hopes for Socialism are far greater this May Day than the last. Let us not be unworthy of the occa-

WHY?

If at the hidding of the Nationalists in or go down, why could not they have also refused the German East expedition. Are the lives of the workers of less account than a hob a day?

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni, T. Chapman, P.O. Box 379. Meetings. Smith's Sindio. Lake Avenue. every Monday evening.

Capetown. Intending members see Contrade Wilfrid Harrison, S.D.F. Box 1176. Durban. W.S. Mabbott, 353. Point Rd. Meetings at Acutt's Buildings every Thursday Eastern Districts. Secretary, c.o. 309. Marshall St. Jeppers.

Germiston, E.H. Becker, 51. Queen St. Meetings in Colin Warde's surgery.

Johannesburg, T.W. Ward, P.O. Box 1915. Meetings, Trades Hall, Pivery Thurs

Pretoria, Intending members see Mr. W. Blake, Secretary Socialist Society, Box

Head Office. D. Ivan Jones, Secretary, 6. Trades Hall. P.O. Box 4179.

Labour.

The Industrial Council of Brisbane as well as the other sections of the Australian Trade Union movement are up in armagainst Premies Hughes' Conscription men. sure. The Brisbane men firged upon the workers in the Wide Bay division to vote against the Labour Candidate at a recent Commonwealth. The result was a staggerer to Hughes. His candidate lost by 86 votes where at the previous election Inhour had carried the seat by a majority of 7339.

WHO WANTS

A copy of Karl Marx's "Capital." A friend of "The International" offers it to the reader who gets the biggest number of subscribers to our little paper, at 5s. per annum post free, between now and April 30th.

THE CAT'S OUT.

Norman Anstey, at the Town Council meeting, on Wednesday, in response to pleadings behalf of the Salvation Army during the debate on the motion to reseind the prohibition of public meetings on the Town Hall steps, said there was no use disguising the fact that that prohibition was meant for a particular obnoxious secbut free speech means Socialism.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Dairy business known as "Slatter's Dairy carried on at Melrose Home Farm, by H.A. Read and W. Slatter has been changed by the said H.A Read retiring therefronk and being replaced therein' ky William Cooke as from 1 February 1916. 25.3.10.

Have you Subscribed to "THE INTERNATIONAL?" Send 5s. to Box 4179, Joh'burg.

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