# THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

No. 65

FRIDAY 15 DECEMBER 1916.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

## Where there is no Peace.

Let no man trust either the Press Censor or the Press censored, or uncensored for that matter. Let no man suppose that the German or Austrian capitalist class is one bit less cunning and rascally than the British, French or Russian, perhaps the reverse; one man is as good as another and better, as the Irishman said. Let no man imagine that the change of Cabinet in England is the event it professes to be. It has doubtless excited the working class, many of whom still think they score because two more of their misleaders get fat Ministerial billets—as blatant a case as ever was seen, by the way, of such men being bought, and dear at that, to keep their followers, if any, quiet (vain hope!); but it has left the bourgeois cold, for they probably knew a 'crisis' must inevitably be staged unless things military got a move on, and they are all right any way, despite their "sacrifice of Directorships", while the Dubbs will now be kept busy for years wondering whose fault it all was.

Subject to the foregoing, as lawyers say, the alleged Central terms, --- including in the status quo (what irony!) the restoration of Belgium and France (i. e. of their political geography, not of their killed and ruined millions)—were so remarkable as to stagger the 'Star' into silence, waiting to see whether Northcliffe's tip was truce or bitter end. It seems to be the latter. Very well. Then what are 'we 'fighting for now? G.E. A. or G.S. W.? Ask those who've been there if they want either as a gift. Poland to remain Russian? Who cares? Sir Percy Fitzpatrick early in the war said 'we' were fighting for the Bagdad route, which involves conquering the Balkans and Constantinople for Russia: and it looks like it if 'we' decline to discuss the Balkan Question at a Peace Conference. But are the working class of South Wales, Durham, Glasgow, Ireland, Australia or South Africa going to shed their last drop of blood for that? The gutter press—and it is all gutter 'press nowadays—says there is something behind the terms. Tell us what it is instead of screaming childish hysterics. 'No peace except on the Allies' terms'. And pray what are they? The allies' terms have never been stated except in vague rhetoric, suited to the dazed hypnotio state of the 'democracy' to-day. Thou shalt not rattle the sword' is all we have ever heard.

So far as we can judge, the statesman who refuses this 'Christmas Truce' deserves only one epith t — Pro-German. But neither a patched-up peace nor the most crushing defeat of the enemy can produce a 'lasting peace' so long as the world-wide class struggle is not ended by the world-wide supersession of class rule. A totally different matter, that, so much so that it is quite irrelevant for International Labour to run after the Capitalist Peace Conference to open a rival shop over the way. Labour missed its grand opportunity when its masters fell out. All the more must its business henceforth be war, war more intense, more

carefully planned, more grimly determined, than ever.

# 'Firm and just; or, just and firm'.

Below we print some extracts from an "Open letter to the Hon. the Acting Director of Native Labour and Controller of Native Labour (Defence)—Major Ernest K. Whitehead, D.S.O." from B. G. Phooko, of 126 Marshall St., Johannesburg. We do so not because we endorse it all—the native clamour to go battle-fighting is as silly as the Russian Jews' outcry which defeated a Bill exempting them from military service—but because its standpoint should be known to our white readers; and so should the idea given of the

recruiting methods of the Native Affairs Department. That Department, we are told, is already nervous of any mutual understanding between Socialist and native 'agitators': obviously it might affect their reserve of cheap Let us say that we do not believe in native, any more than we do in British or German, agitations as such. But we are not foolish enough to suppose that the economic emancipation of the worker can avoid taking special native forms in the case of the native workers, more especially as they are placed under special native forms of slavery to-day; although, like other slaves. they are largely unconscious of their real chains, and waste much of their time charging windmills. It is our job to try to show them and ourselves the root cause of the degraded position of both white and black workers, vastly superior as the former's position may seem to the latter. We mean of course the whole stupendous power of modern capitalism of all nations—natives included. The writer says:—

"It is important to give you a candid opinion of the attitude of natives towards the war... 'What will you say after the war when your Father King George shall want to know what you have done to assist him in this war?' was your closing query... One can easily deduce that if our father King George has been desirous of obtaining the assistance of his children, the natives, then our Stepfather, the Union Government, must have been certainly misusing the instructions of our father, as we have been made to believe that this war is one which has its origin among the white peoples of Europe and the Government is anxious to avoid the employment of natives in warfare against whites; yet after a short space of time we find the very same Government changing its mind like a weather-cock on a stormy day. Still more painful to us, it should be remembered that while this absurd refusal was sent to Dr. W. B. Rubusana, dogs and beasts were being employed, in some way or other, as a means of achieving an immediate aud successful accomplishment of the war in favour of this "Our Father", and also natives from different parts of Africa had a share.

"The white South Africans seem like the multitude in the Scriptures who hushed a poor blind man from seeking salvation and eye-sight from Jesus Christ; only for fear lest the natives will eventually come to know and see the light, and demand their common place and fundamental rights and privileges of citizenship which up to now they have been

deprived of.

"Dear Sir, you ought to know that the financial prosperity of South Africa is due to the native labourer, for unearthing the gold that fills the Capitalist's coffers at very little or no consideration of their services. Again, you ought to know that if the natives of the Rand would (to use the labour language) down tools for one day, the whole superstructure of beautiful White South Africa would come down in a terrible crash.

"Lastly, in order to obtain native recognition as a father. and to win their confidence it seems to me advisable that your office should be changed to that of a Protector of Native Labour and not merely a Director; because as it is now, we 3 feel that as a Director you have succeeded in directing native labour anywhere even against their industrial and economical interests, whereas as a Protector would as a duty first study the political, industrial and economic interests of the labourer and consult him before making any steps to recruit his labour. This is an important fact, that the whole system of native labour demands a complete overhauling by a Protector in order to check the economic exploitation at present existing under the control and influences of colour prejudice at the mines and elsewhere: and until this is done it would not be unwise of the natives to shun the office of the Director, more especially as it is being controlled by a Government that changes its mind as often as the weather changes. Trusting this will receive your immediate attention, I am etc."

## Modern Capitalism.

The average individual fails to grasp the fundamental difference between our modern form of capitalist production, and that existing previous to the application of steam.

The system of production which existed in the middle ages gradually collapsed. Its form was too primitive, too parochial, to deal with the economic revolution which took place owing to the discovery of America and the new route to India via the Cape of Good Hope.

The position created by the growth of foreign trade, the opening of new markets, and the increase of capital, with the application of steam to production, laid the foundation of our modern great industries.

The French philosophers of the 18th century had been preaching a doctrine of "Liberty and Equality," that the individual was supreme, that the function of the State should be confined to putting down violence and the protection of property. They tanght that nature had provided a law of conduct, and by its operation controlled competition amongst individuals.

With the French revolution these theories were firmly established and were the basis upon which our modern form of industries was founded.

In surveying the development of the system during the 19th century we find it has lost—in the big industries of to-day—that individual basis of control and ownership, and has gradually evolved into a system of corporation monopolies and Trusts.

Previous to these combinations of capital the individual owner managed his own business and performed some social service; but to-day the owners of capital have ceased to play an active part in the big producing and distributing companies and corporations, which they own but do not manage. By means of stocks and shares they have become parasites, without any social function to perform. They may cheat and swindle each other, and the smaller capitalists, on the stock exchange, yet the process of production goes on.

Money invested to-day in any well established stock Company insures to its owner the most highly organised human talent for its management, and compels thousands of workers to toil for him, while he lives in
luxury upon the unearned increment
of their Labour.

The managers of industries are nothing more or less than wage earners. They are placed in that position for the one object of reducing working costs and producing dividends for the shareholders, and are subject to the same laws that govern their more humble brethren.

The collecting of the workers into large Factories and Workshops has turned the worker into a mere servant of the machine, and robbed the Artisan of his technical skill. They have been organised into carefully graded and systematized bodies.

This economic evolution, which has herded the workers together, and created a collective operation of the tools of production, must inevitably result in collective control of the product of Labour.

This control of the tools of production by a diminishing number of individual capitalists has made a commodity of the worker, to be bought and sold in the Labour market. It has degraded and made a slave of him. "The man that owns the job owns the man" is a truism and will remain true just as long as the workers are so blind to their own interest as to allow the present system to exist.

This modern form of capitalism, responsible for robbing the manual workers of all individuality, has also degraded the intellectuals, it has made them crawlers and ready tools, to do the bidding of their masters. They have prostrated their intellect, as scientists, chemists, and professionals, at the call of "their Master's Voice."

Such is society to-day—a mass of contradiction and antagonism, concentration of wealth in the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists on the one side and increasing poverty and degradation on the other; palatial residences for the rich and hovels for the poor.

These antagonisms must lead to the destruction of present day society. Just as all past systems were their own grave diggers, so our present form has gradually developed this Germ that will ultimately lead to its destruction.

J. M. G.

The children of the League and of the Sunday School are invited to a Picnic at Melrose Farm on Sunday 24th inst. A Special Tram will leave Market Square at 9 a.m. All children must bring their own food and cups. Sixpence each will be charged for transport. Adults are invited—to come and be useful. They will asked to contribute their quota towards expenses.

Johannesburg Women's Entertainment Committee

# 'Meatless Days.'

Like Horatio Bottomley, Robert Blatchford, and a few of our local editors, I am going to predict that this war will end. I picked up the "Sunday Times", and in bold headlines on the most conspicuous page T observed "Meatless Days: British Royal Household Leads the Way" (capitals all the way)—a sure indication that the war will end. I looked over the file of the "Sunday Times", and a long way back I discovered that some of this family had resolved to leave the dop out until the war ended. This gives me courage, and I want to tell all my comrades to be of good cheer. This war is geing to end. "As an example to the country, the King and the Royal Household for some time have had two meatless days weekly." So says the cable. Such lofty patriotism on the part of George, especially when meat is dear, must appeal to everyone of us who has a British heart beating inside his waistcoat.

There are however thousands of true born British subjects or objects (I don't know which) who live and work to provide all the luxuries for the Royal Household, and only have meat once each month, and then it is sometimes pinched from a butcher's dog.

I have no wish to make light of the sacrifices King George is making in the interest of patriotism, although I am sure his digestive organs will be better for the rest. But when we are told that it is an example to the country I cannot help muttering "liar." If patriotism and sacrifice are to be reckoned by the amount of starvation one puts in, then the King is so far down that he must be included amongst the "alen rans." He could never be regarded in a favourite, except by a few old fossils like some of our local editors. When the chainmakers of Cradley Heath went on strike to get their pay increased to twopence per hour, there was not one of them suffering from an expanded stomach. From a report of a medical examiner, forty percent of the boys and girls employed in a steel work in England were examined, and "for the most part they were spiritless, dull, dead in look, woe-begone and attacked with weariness, to a dulling of their spirits." The medical examiner does not ask them to forego meat twice weekly. Their sleeping accomodation, like that of most of the British

working class, is of the pig type and standard. Five or six in one small bed fitted up in a stuffy hole, and graced with the name of a room. Some of the boys back from German East were almost "anti-meatards" against their will during the campaign.

No, the war will end, but not by starvation among the workers. That state of things is chronic, and no one talks about it. Let a Rothschild or some other loafer miss a meal, or a whiskey, and the cable service of the world is employed informing us of the fact, which in some cases is a lie. And Henry Dubb wonders how these people manage to exist, and thanks God he is not martyred to carry on the war—which I have told you is going to end.

A. B. DUNBAR.



### We, Ltd.

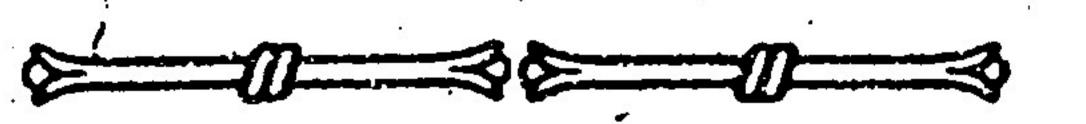
In commercial circles nowadays you will repeatedly hear from British trade representatives, when offering lines previously supplied by German firms: "We have captured the whole. of the German manufacture in this line"—said with such glowing pride that you wonder why these gents are not invited up on the recruiting trolley, to proclaim to the awe-struck, open mouthed Dubbs below the gladsome gospel, and also the real truth about what awaits the workers after the war. How much of such and such a trade our factory has captured from the Huns, they would boast; and (as they in confidence also tell their prospective buyers, the local commercial patriots) how much we pay our workmen for producing this article or that; and again, how we are going to compete successfully with Germany after the war. 'For look you,' they would say, if we can capture the. trade even to-day, when we have to pay higher wages owing to the Government employing so many men, women and children on munition work, how much better still shall we be able to do so after the war, when we shall get labour at our own price: and besides, think of the number of cripples and maimed we shall have, only too glad to accept any small pittance to keep body and soul together not to mention that Committee now sitting in England (as you, Mr. Shop-'keeper, know) to work out a scheme to provide useful employment for every disabled soldier. Oh, we've got the Teuton beat!'

The effect would be electric. The commercials would 'give the word;' and 'great would be the number of' fast motor cars, heavy laden with Henrys, rolling thence to the Drill Hall! The Partridges and Dingwalls, with their loud-mouthed empty platitudes about patriotism, would'nt be in it at all.

Or again, let these British Commercial patriots explain to the hitherto listless slacker how the poor British manufacturer helps the British and colonial workman: how by his aid a garment, for instance, produced in a British factory for 3/-, including manufacturer's profit, can be retailed to the Johannesburg worker by the maker, with the assistance of equally patriotic shippers, shipping companies and banks, for the very modest sum of say 10/6 t. 12/-. How, after that, could Percy of Pritchard St. still deline to go and fight for Britain's 'heritage'?

But stay: there are signs that the public are getting restless about that heritage: and so the papers are beginning to look for scapegoats to distract the workers' mind from the root evil; the profit system itself. They have lately hit upon the grain dealer as the criminal offender. It is the seller of wheat or flour, it seems, who is speculating, with the intention -save the mark!-of making profit, awful crime under the present system. Of course, the other profit hunters. shipowners, munition manufacturers, coalowners, sugar planters, and the rest of the poor capitalists have given up all their profits long ago, and are working for the sole benefit of the state in general and the poor in particular. Haven't you noticed how most of them have given up their English or French motor cars and are making shift with common American stuff, all out of pure patriotism? But this rascally grain speculator, he is still out for profits. We must investigate and see whether we can't get him too into the ring of other capitalists, and so make him sacrifice his profits as his more patriotic brethren are already doing.

A WARSAUER.



In addition to amounts already acknow-ledged the following sums have been received for John Maclean Fund. 10 B. R. 5/- A. E. 2/6 "B. Stoney" 6d

Have you subscribed to "The International," 5s. per annum, post free, Box 4179, Johannesburg.

# The Modern Voortrekkers

'Abantu Batho' of the 30th. ult. is again worth quoting, though its eyes want a good deal of opening still The 'New Statesmen' a month or two ago published a very laudatory article on the Natives' Land Act (the Act once severely criticised at an I. S. L. meeting by Father Hill)—saying that through it Botha was going to live in history as the saviour of the blacks etc. Our contemporary, after referring to the Machiavellian methods of passing that Act and putting it into operation, says that a prohibition to buy land creates a condition of serfdom.

It is all very well to argue that that provision in the Act cuts both ways! Who does not know that land ownership by natives in the Union is merely a negligible quantity? Barring locations and reserves the total acreage held by them in freehold is quite infinitesimal. It was known from the first that there could be no possible chance for a native to sell land to a European, because there was no land to sell. The Act forbade Europeans from selling to natives because the latter should not have land That is the spirit of the Act; that was the principle which underlay its conception. The Report of the Lands Commission has proved this to the hilt. Out of 142,996,956 morgentotal area of the Union Europeans with a population of about 1,500,000 hold 123,466,720 morgen of land; natives with a population of about 4.417.665 hold 19,530,238 morgen of land under the new arrangement.

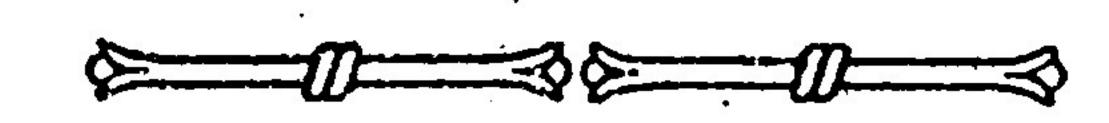
President Lincoln indeed, it proceeds, did a wonderful feat in suddenly putting millions of slaves in a position to enjoy equal rights with the rest of the population.

He was free from political chicanery so noticeable among our South African statesmen and politicians. Yet he dealt with ex-slaves in their relation to their erstwhile masters. Here, BOTHA deals with free men in their own land of which they have been robbed and ousted; and his attempt at readjustment only serves to further enslavement and reduce natives to penury and want. The aggressive policy and land grab of the "voortrekkers" and pioneer Colonists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has received endorsement and sanction of the "enlightened" government and parliament of the twentieth century in the passing of the Natives Land Act. 1913.

The Premier has been telling the white people of Natal that the Land Commission's findings. will have to be revised in so far as that Province was concerned. He promised them another Commission. This was to be done because he did not want the Act "to make enemies for him." It may be mentioned that the proposed delimination in Natal and Zululand was the only fair division of land-but by no means just. For this tendency to fairplay the Natal whites were up in arms. Hence General. BOTHA'S nervousness. The Premier is noted for his versatility. His latest utterances in Natal as regards the Natives Land Act have proved him a singular opportunist. But the day will come when the muzzled and mute population of the of the Union will burst out with volcanic eruptions as a sequence to the piled up injuries for: which no earthly reason could be advanced.

Our Chairman, Comrade Andrews—whether as a Marxist or as a farmer seeking labour is not claer—is now, we are told, convinced that the native (like other workers) must go through the industrial machine before 'anything can be done with him'. Even assuming, with Tolstoi, that life on the land is what we all want (though Fitzpatrick says it is no place for returned soldiers), yet it seems that the

only force able to win it back, by destroying the whole grip of the ruling class on both land and machinery of production, is an urban, industrialised, highly organised force, acting both politically and through the Labour Unions, the absence of which among natives 'Abantu Batho' recently noted Christian hearts, even by the million, will not suffice; blowing up the Carlton won't help; and as for the unmuzzled 'volcanic eruption' foreshadowed by 'Abantu Batho,' it will utterly fail unless the ground is prepared by the most sound and thorough education and organisation, no matter how many years that takes. Then, "when our turn comes," 'la lutte finale'---the final eruption—may be volcanic. But it will be an eruption not of natives only, but of all workers in all lands, "irrespective of race, colour or creed," although in South Africa the greatest strengthening of the Movement is probably to be expected from native accessions rather than white revulsions,' however true it may be that it is the whites who blaze the trail. Perhaps there is some significance in the G.E.A. analogy: the campaign is opened by whites, but when they are invalided home, it is mainly left to natives to finish it off. And yet, when they go soldiering, whites too are called boys'...



#### International Socialist League (S. A.)

OBJECT: To propagate the principles of International Socialism and anti-militarism, and to maintain and strengthen international working class organisation.

P. O. Box 4179

Phone 6035.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg

General Secretary: D. Ivon Jones.

#### BRANCH MOTES.

JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL.

Miss E. F. Gelman, one of the staff of the Socialist Sunday School and a teacher by profession, read a paper at Sunday's Trades Hall meeting urging Education as the prime work of Social Reconstruction and the hope of the future. The child's right to freedom, his need to learn the craving for better things, the outrage on him involved in the militant Imperialist schooling of to-day, character and morality as the true centre of curriculum, the teachers' duty to uphold ideals, and the difficulties put by the authorities in the way of their

doing so, not to mention the education required by teachers—and parents themselves—above all in these days of barbarism, gone wild, when 'world to the moulding of the come' is in their hands—those and other points made up a lecture which interested a good audience and evoked discussion, in which it was pointed out that it is after all not the intellectuals who clean up the old systems, but rather the hooligans, at any rate if educated in "that International University, the Revolutionary Socialist movement: 'a corrective too of the home where mothers use fathers as family bogey men to frighten the children with. Existing education, it was urged, was fostered not by the workers but by the employers and the church: the working class movement would probably have to run its own schools, as indeed it has begun to do already.

There will be no meetings on Christmas or New Year's Eve.

The Sunday School now counts 60 on its books, and indeed has reached the stage of having 'Old Girls' in the shape of four young comrades who have left the school and Johannesbürg.

Thursday, meetings will be suspended until the 4th prox.

Comrades are earnestly requested to pay in their arrear branch subscriptions to the Treasurer c/o Box 1915 Johannes-burg, or to S. P. Bunting, 104 Commissioner Street, before Christmas,—throwing in a Christmas box into the bargain—in order finally to wipe off the Municipal Election deficit.

#### DURBAN.

At the weekly meeting on Thursday last Comrade Pettersen gave an interesting talk on his recent trip to the Cape and Transvaal.

From the observations made en route he was very optimistic as to the future of the International.

Comrade Lee took the Sunday School on Sunday morning and was the lecturer on Sunday evening at Acutt's Arcade.

The speaker's subject "Might is right" created big discussion which was enjoyed by all present.

On Sunday evening next we shall, have the pleasure of listening to Comrade Rich, and it is hoped that a good attendance will be registered to hear our Comrade who is always instructive and interesting.

#### BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni:—Meetings every Tuesday evening at Smith's Studio, 14 Lake Avenue. Secretary: T. Chapman, c/o Lake Avenue and Swan Street.

Johannesburg Eastern Districts:—Secretary pro tem: C. B Tyler, 14 Evans St. Forest Hill.

Johannesburg Central:—Public Meetings every Sunday night at Trades Hall, Rissik Street. Secretary: W. J. C. Gibson, 238 Smit Street. Wanderers View.

Johannesburg Western Districts:-Secrétary: D. Elk, 23 Ferreira Street.

Krugersdorp:—Secretary: P. Somerville, 5 Vlei Street.

Germiston:—Joint Secretaries W. Prince, Box 64, and E. H. Becker, 54 Queen St.

Durban!—Public meetings every Sunday night at Acutts Buildings. Secretary: W. S. Mabbott, 353 Point Road.

#### ADVERTISEMENTS

I.S.L. Johannesburg Central Branch.
THE

## Socialist Sunday School

under the supervision of the above Branch meets

Every Sunday Morning at 11 a.m.

#### Comrade Neppe's, c'o Fox and MacLaren Streets.

(Near the Stock Exchange.)

Readers of "The International" who would like their children to acquire the rudiments of the Socialist teaching and outlook are invited to make use of this opportunity. Children between the ages of 8 and 16 specially welcomed.

There are three classes, one senior and two junior, and with the increase of members a further sub-division is expected.

#### Registration of Businesses Act 1909.

The partnership hitherto existing between John William Herschell and Arthur Hildebrandt under the style of J. W. Herschell, motor cycle depot, 137 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, has been dissolved as from 13th December 1916. The said J. W. Herschell will carry on the business on his own account under the same style at the same address, and will bear all liability in connection with the business,

S. P. Bunting, Attorney for the Parties.

Printed by the Elite Printing Works, for the I.S.L. Box 4179, Joh'burg.