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THE INTERNATIONAL

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

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The Snare.

The division of labour, which is one of the marked characteristics of the capitalist system, continues its developinent and is the reason for the eucroachment of the coloured wage slaves. upon the spheres of skilled and semiskilled labour.

Many trades which only a few years ago were completely monopolised by whites are now largely in the hands of the cheaper coloured workers. In the Cape and Natal white workers have been partially, and even wholly, withdrawn from such trades as plastering, painting, carpentering, printing, etc.k while the educated "professionals," already overgrowded with white educated proletarians, are falling rapidly to the coloured intellectuals—this is especially noticeable in Natal where almost every commercial house and legal office employs a percentage of Indian clerical labour.

On the Rand, where the Craft Unions have united to perpetuate the "colour bar," the coloured wage slave also has a good grip on the holy ground of the white aristocrat. The miner-should refresh his memory by perusing the evidence tendered by his Association to the Chapman Commission in 1913 to see clearly how strong the grip really

The engineer should not forget the incident of the skilled coloured pumpmen who came out on strike from the "Apex" in sympathy with their fellow engineers in the same year.

Mine compounds with their coloured timekeepers, clerks, etc.; tailoring emporiums putting the work "out" tok Malays, etc.; potential skilled workers' of colour in each and every industry wherever one may turn. The number of coloured men, and women, becoming proletarianised increases daily and with greater and greater acceleration, not only in large production and commerce. but in the Railway Departments, Government Offices, Postal and Telegraph Departments, Banks, Schools, and professional offices.

However foudly personal interests and prejudices may rebel against it, coloured labour presses itself-more and more into crafts and the various professional pursuits. It is not vanity, forwardness, or arrogance, but THE FORCE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOP-MENT that drives the coloured worker. to labour in these, as well as in other fields of human activity.

o If it has been possible to prevent the competition of coloured workers in certain branches of skilled and intellecFRIDAY, NOV. 2, 1917.

tual labour which are strongly organised on craft lines, coloured workers tend to crowd all the more into the pursuits to either become a member of capitalism's first weapon, i.e., the unemployed army, or find occupation in

the better organised pursuits.

The result of the whole development is that the number of skilled and semiskilled coloured men has increased enormously, and in consequence a large body of unemployed coloured men is already established, especially in Natal and Cape Colony, ready and willing sto be exploited whenever they may be required in the the interests of King Kapital.

The simulated sympathy of capital with the coloured bar has served two purposes beautifully. First it has completely antagonised the coloured wage slave to his white counterpart, and secondly, it has materially assisted in keeping down the standard of wages for both white and coloured. Thus Kapital is now in command of an army of cheap labour nearly big enough to enable them to earn the undying gratitude of the coloured slaves by finally removing the coloured bar. This position has been quietly prepared in Natal and the Cape, and the trap is now very near ready to be sprung. The coloured man has been carefully prepared to act his part on "ter dag," and although the volcano has rumbled once or twice (the speeches of E. J. Way and others artfully preparing the denouement) Kapital has not yet attempted to lift off the lid because it must be an absolute success the first time or fingers are likely to be burnt

It requires little reflection to see the position even though one has not a thorough knowledge of the rise of Kapitalism and the partedivision of labour has played therein.

International Socialism offers the wage slave an escape from the trap through Industrial Unionism irrespective of race, creed or colour.

SEN YAH.

NOTE THAT THE JOHANNES-BURG CENTRAL BRANCH WILL MEET AT THE SAME PLACE NEXT TUESDAY.

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The I.S.L. Phoenix.

The unleashing of the Decembrist packs on the I.S.L. and the banging, bolting and barring of the Trades Hall gates against it, have already produced their effect on the Johannesburg Branch whose monthly meeting this week was the most crowded and enthusiastic for over a year past. Recognising the temporary necessity of suspending publie meetings on the lines of previous routine, the comrades addressed-them selves with a will to devising alternative methods of propaganda, as well as to maintaining the finances. Subscriptions exceeding a month's net collections were taken on the spot and it is up to absentees from the meeting to follow suit with bags of German gold, hot by the last mail—the Treasurer's P.O. Box is 1915 'Every member is an organiser" was the key note of the meeting; and arrangements were made whereby every member will be enabled to give a monthly account of his stewardship, both in enrolling new memhers (roping in the large body of sympathisers still unattached), securing new subscribers to the Press (including the considerable number who have hitherto been content to huy the paper for a penny each week), and carrying out the many other increased tasks set themselve by the comrades. In a stirring little speech in Servian one member deprecated the resort to mere funderground methods, and in that spirit the gathering adjourned, its husiness left unfinished for a later meeting; to the strains of the Red Flag, under the very shadow of a Police Station! "The time will come, aha!" as the villain says; the coming year's achievements, it was felt by all, shall eclipse anything hitherto dreamt of.

S.P.B.

Notes of the Movement.

On Wednesday in last week the Jewish Speaking Branch held a meeting in the Palmerston Hall, when Comrade Julius Wolk delivered a lecture on "The Evolution of Morality." Comrade Israelstein presided, and the lecturer traced the shifting standards of morality throughout the ages, as the economic bases of society changed and developed. It was shown how poverty was responsible for most so-called crime. Discussion followed and a very successful meeting terminated with . "The Red Flag."

The Labour Party?

By J. M. G.

The antics of the leaders of the socalled Labour Party, to still hoodwink the workers of the Rand to continue voting for them, is really amusing. They are posing as champions of the workers, white workers of course, not the low common or garden labourer with the dust skin. These low fellows not having votes in this part of the Union, are mere cattle, not coming within the mental vision of these high and mighty place hunters.

This so-called Labour Party mainly composed of Directors of Companies, disgruntled capitalists, small middlemen, shopkeepers and the superior (?) skilled artisan or ganger of cheap coloured labour, with a sprinkling of other workers who are unable to straighten out the mental kinks and clear their vision to the undoubted facts that are evident to any sane person, is of no earthly use to the workers.

Taxation is a strong plank of this" party. They trot it out on every possible occasion. It is a shibboleth that seems to have got on the leaders" brains. They make great speeches on it and about it in Parliament and out of it, and at present are using it to dope the workers into voting for them at the coming Municipal Elections.

The workers produce the wealth of the world, and are robbed in the workshops of the product of their labour. On the average they only receive a more subsistence wage which varies in all countries, and even in districts of each country, according to the standard of living and the cost of purchasing the necessaries of life. This is the law that determines wages, with other minor incidents that cause them to fluctuate. And if all taxation were removed from the food, clothing and houses used by the workers, the wages would be reduced accordingly. This is what the workers should mentally grasp, and by doing so realise that these vote catching place hunters are misleading them with the parrot cry of the industrial centres paying more than their share of taxation. This may or may not be true, but whether the industrial centres, the capitalist engaged in industries, the rack renting house owners, or the agricultural interests pay the taxes makes no earthly difference to the workers as wage slaves.

The struggle going on in this courtry as to who will bear the burden of taxation is similar to the struggle that took place in Britain, during the Ninteenth Century, between the Tory party representing the landed interests and the Whig Party representing the industrial capitalists, a struggle that was practically at an end many years previous to the beginning of the War. owing to the fusion to a great extent of landed interests in commercial and manufacturing enterprises. During the intensity of the struggle between these capitalist and landed interests the workers gained many concessions, from either parties, as sops to gain their votes, sops that were futile to prevent

the degrading influence of the wage system.

Another shibboleth these place hunters keep before the voters is the removal of slums, and the erection of suitable housing accommodation for the workers. A laudable object if gone about in the proper way. But do these leaders ever pause to ask what causes slums, and having found the cause, leave the slums alone, and remove the cause.

Slums are just as inevitable, under our present system of society is profits. It is one of the diseases inherent in the system that cannot be eradicated without destroying the system. To attempt to remove the slums is hopeless. Close them in one part of a town they immediately make their appearance in another part. It cannot be otherwise under a system of society that denies to the many the opportunity of toiling for that hare subsistance that is the only reward of labour.

For any party pretending to represent Labour, to make taxation or the removal of slums, main planks of their fighting programme is foolish. So dense they cannot understand the first elements of the economics of labour as to the law of wages, and so blind to the brutality of our present system of society, as not to see that slums-and poverty are essential to our system of production for profit. If these people were able to see an inch beyond their selfish office seeking they have the best evidence in the slums and poverty conditions of Johannesburg. A new city, 30 years old, that has in proportion to population a slum area equal to any of the older cities in Europe, with all the criminality, prostitution, policemen, police courts, gaols, and all the filth and abomination that invariaby accompany our boasted civilisation.

No, the workers don't pay taxes and the sooner they turn down the political place hunters the better. Their tinkering and whitewashing of the present system is of no use to the workers. The festering sores of present society can only be dealt with in one way, and that is by destroying it. It has a beginning in time and like all other things in nature must end in time, and that point in time can be materially hastened by the workers en masse grasping this fact and organising to substitute in its place the Republic of Labour.

It was reported of the notorious Bobbie Lowe, the Whig, that when the second Reform Bill passed the House of Commons, enfranchising the working class, he said "Gentlemen, we must now educate our masters!" The next Parliament enacted the Education Act of 1870, and from that time onwards the Capitalist and landlord classes have interested themselves more and more in the education of the workers, their fiercest conflicts raging very often around the particular kind of mental "dope" that was to be administered to the rising generation of the proletariat.

J. WALTON NEWBOLD.

The Russian Tangle.

The real inside facts about Russia are slow to filter through. There is a danger of being too optimistic as to the course of events. The whole problem arises from what the Russian Socialists consider the paramount necessity of continuing the War, what for is not clear, as they affirm that not one drop of Russian blood shall be spilt for conquest. Russia has her Social-Patriots like other belligerent countries, and ther are men who form part of the Cabinet. Lenin terms Tcheidze a social patriot and reformist. And the Mail papers indicate that they have at least countenanced most reactionary measures against their Maximalist comrades after the disturbances of July.

"The Revolution in danger" was the whole-souled cry of the Socialists in July, prior to the Korniloff rebellion. Read the following moving appeal issued by the "Rabochaya Gazeta," the organ of the Mensheviki Socialists, (Reformist).—

"The greatest danger for the Russian Revolution is the long drawing out of the war and the economic dissolution which that must bring. The most speedy conclusion of a democratic peace is a matter of life and death for the Russian Revolution. Would that our comrades abroad might hear us! Would that they might hasten to help. our Revolution, the hope of all peoples! Would that they could understand that the struggle for peace is too slow in developing among them, and that only in that struggle lies salvation for our Revolution. Would that they could understand that the defeat of our Revolution means a defeat of the international proletariat."

The Russian Revolution, like all previous revolutions, is incapable of coming to a resting place. It must either go forward to its proletarian end of a Social Revolution or back to reactionary capitalism. It cannot poise at the moderate, enlightened bourgeois, pacifist, liberal-labour stage.

The cables aver that there is practically no Russian army in existence, and that fraternising on the Eastern a front is again on the increase. But the Ministerial Socialists have postulated that a separate peace spells calamity, and will bring the dictator back, either in Russian or in German uniform. Therefore, while they denounce the German, British and French Socialists for voting war credits against the foreign dictator, they allow this hypothesis to be the starting point of their problem. They have conquered one Dictator by mass action, but have no hope of repeating the exploit. Thus started, Chaikorski, a Socialist Deputy, elaborates the problem with Marxist clearness: up to a point.—

"The danger of our position lies in the fact that we are waging a worldwar, which we are bound to continue, and that at the same time, whether we will it or not we are forced to complete our social revolution. The war demands a strong State; the social revolution demands a weak State. In this combination lies the tragedy, of our position. In Petrograd the war is forgotten. At the Front there is no thought of the Social Revolution. . . On the other hand the war demands money; it demands not only military but also financial strength. If the Socialists take all the power into their own hands they will find themselves bankrupt within a month.

means? It means that goods will disappear from the markets, particularly bread. . . And then, when there is no more bread in the markets, famine will follow, and at the same we shall have anarchy, and there will be no sense in talking of confidence or lack of confidence. Then the dictator will appear. And the dictator will be the first popular officer who comes along. It is possible even that the dictator will be a German."

The point where he seems to get entangled in bourgeois problems is in the fear of bankruptcy, as if foreign bonds and not labour were the source of value.

The holding of the bourgeois Conference at Moscow and the carrying of the Maximalist resolution in the Council of Workmen are the two outstanding facts to-day. Whether the hourgeois confer from alarm or from atrength: and whether the Council of Workmen's resolution to take on executive powers and the consequent resignation of Tcheidze, is the start of the decline which the cables also has set in. as to whether, in short, Russian labour is falling back after a brave effort to the marching time of the rest of the international proletariat, these are the questions that arise unanswered. Our only source of hope lies in the uncanny reticence of the Capitalist Press Bureau. Whichever side is in the ascendancy the fight is weekly becoming clearer cut between Lenin, out for the Social Revolution, and Milvukov, out for capitalist

THE COURT CASES AGAINST

Barendregt and Barlin on a charge brought by Trimble and others of having assaulted him at the I.S.L. meeting broken up on October 14th, is proceeding. The case against Comrade Barendregt has been heard on three days, and will be resumed to-day. Friday. Our limited space precludes any report that would do justice to the case while it is subjudice: we therefore refrain from any comment, and refer our readers to the reports, so far as they go, of scraps of the proceedings given in the "Star" and the "Rand Daily Mail."

As we go to Press we learn that Comrade Barendreght is fined £10 or 14 days. Notice of appeal was given.

STOCKHOLM FUND ACKNOW-LEDGEMENTS.—H.B. 5s., C.B.I. 2s. 6d., per P. G. Krugersdorp, P.G. 5s., 4 R. 5s., F.S. 5s., E.M. 2s. 6d., T.A. 2s. 6d., G.S. 2s. 6d. Total 22s. 6d. Per D.H.'s list C. 5s., P.H. 2s. 6d., A.H. 10s., D.H. 10s., J.M. 5s., C. 2s. 6d., P. 2s. 6d.

The Refusal of Passports

And the Italian Debacle.

"Th Cambridge Magazine," quotes from German Socialist and Liberal papers to show the tremendous effect on the German people made by the refusal of passports to Stockholm on the part of Allied Governments. The effect has been to strengthen again all the forces of national defence, and to give all shades of nationalism a moving appeal to the German workmen. May it not be that the tremendous operations on the Italian front are the direct consequence of the refusal of passports for Stockholm? The following excerpt from the "Vossische Zeitung" shows how it has suited the book of the German capitalists. They were not particularly anxious for the Allied Socialists to attend:—

"Not only the German Socialists, but also the great majority of the German people feel that it will be of great importance to Germany's future if conversations could take place between the representatives of Germany and of Russia. And if these conversations are made easier by the abstention of the greater number of our enemies, and if in consequence we have more time to get to know each other, then this helps that understanding which seems to be a very necessary pre-condition to the general diplomatic neogitations at the Peace Congress."

The effect on the German Majority Socialists is shown by the following from "Vorwarts":—

flood of light for German workmen on the situation. . . We must now realise in every fibre of our being that the Western Entente States are determined to . . . refuse every understanding until one side is thrown to the ground, . . until they have completed their plans of robbery and destruction against Germany. . . . We are ready for an understanding: it is refused to us. We are threatened with annihilation, we must defend ourselves."

Ebert, the Social Democrat, writing in the same paper later, said:—

"This is an open declaration of war against Peace by reconciliation, it is the continuation of the dreadful massacre until, the wildest imperialistic aims of conquest are satisfied. The same statesmen, who declaim daily on the reign of law among the nations and a future harmony of interests between the peoples thus make everything depend on the machinery of human massacre."

It gave the German capitalists and war-mongers an effective retort.

"The Cologne Gazette" drew attention to "the united resolution of the hostile powers to prevent their subjects from conferring with Russian, German, 'Australian and Bulgarian subjects."

"Our enemies could not have proclaimed in a more glaring manner that they are afraid of the truth, that the spell of war-fever artificially fostered by them would be hopelessly shattered once their subjects met a citizen from the opposing camp. . . in peaceful conversation. . When they reiterate our guilt of the world catastrophe, that we are fighting from lust of conquest under the compulsion of a despotic system, that we are spreaders of a militarism inimical to civilisation from which the world must be saved, we can simply answer: 'You lie, because you would not let us give the counterproof, you did not dare go to Stockholm.''...

How the Allied Government have defeated their own ends is evidenced by the now complete unwillingness of the Russians to fight for an alliance whose every act is redolent of that Prussianism it professes to abhor. The result has been a strengthening of solidarity in the Central Empires almost complete immunity for German arms on the Eastern Front, resulting in the concentration of forces in the present Italian drive. The Capitalist Governments were faced with the alternatives of either handing over a measure of power to the International proletariat at Stockholm or of strengthening the so-called "enemy." They chose to strengthen German militarism.

NOTE FROM COMRADE ANDREWS.

Comrade Andrews writes by this Mail of his first activities in England. He has already come into touch with Ramsay Macdonald, the Labour Party head office in London, then at a Scottish Conference of the Labour Party in Glasgow where he has spoken with Smillie and Kirkwood, attended the Springburn Socialist Sunday School, where there about a hundred young Socialists, and concludes with the remark that he is going to attend an S.L.P. meeting.

Here is a sample of the common exploitation of international labour irrespective of race shown in a resolution recently passed by the Greenock (Scotland), Branch of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Society:—

"That we, the members of the above branch, enter our protest against the action of a firm, acting as agents for the Ministry of Munitions, paving scandalously low and inadequate wages to the miners of Raasay, and when they complain, discharging them and replacing by German prisoners. We consider this to be a particularly disgusting form of blacklegging, inasmuch as prisoners of war, in any country, cannot by any manner of means he considered free agents over their own actions, and therefore the authorities are taking. an advantage over both 'miners and prisoners.'

The long report of the proceedings of the French Socialist Congress appearing in the Press conveys nothing more than that there has been a row, that the Internationals are gaining confidence, and that the truce with Capitalist Governments ended with the fall of Ribot's Ministry.

Nov. 2, 1917.

What keeps back the Native Worker?

Biology or Economics?

In discussions on the problems of organising the native workers in this country there are many factors lost sight of by the pessimists. "All men are born to liberty," said the philosphic radicals, "and most men are bred in wage-slavery" adds the Socialist. But many of those who endorse the right of every man to liberty make exceptions when confronted with the case of the native. The vast chasm of "biologic" difference nullifies that right and will prevent him from ever following the path of working class emancipation, they say.

Those who emphasize "biology" forget the many economic factors that bar the way of the native worker. Briefly. the great obstacle in the wav of organising the native proletariat in this country is that it is not yet quite proletarian. Karl Marx, the intellectual emancipator of the workers, showed that what makes the proletariat the one revolutionary class is the fact that it has nothing to lose but its chains. Such a class must eventually be brought to the forked road when the the orlv alternatives left are either to Do or to Die. "Of all the classes which stand at present in opposition to the Bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is a truly revolutionary class. The other classes decay and go under before modern industry; the proletariat is its special product." (Marx). The workingclass is the ascendant revolutionary class not only because it exists by the healthy principle of labour, but also because it has been divorced from land and property, is, in fact, bereft of all hopes of acquiring individual rights in land and property. It is the sense of property in his artisan skill that vitiates the revolutionary vigour of the craft unionist.

The native workers have not yet been divorced from the soil. Even where they are constantly engaged in capitalist industry it is doubtful if any large number have given up all hope of ever acquiring individual rights in land. They are not land serfs, and they are not yet "compleat" wage-slaves. They are in a worse position than either. They get starvation wages on the industrial field, and periodical vacations of starvation without wages on the land. This relay system, whereby the native reserves are used as breeding grounds for native wage-slaves, prevents the whole-time occupation of the natives in industry, keeps alive in the native worker the lingering psychology of the land peasant, and prevents the growth of that sense of solidarity with all his fellow wage-slaves which must rapidly result from the whole time occupation of the native workers in industry.

Under conditions where workers are employed in capitalist industry only for short periods alternating with periods on the land, the most enlightened white workers could hardly organise. These are conditions which create scabbery, and it is a tribute to the communal instinct of the natives that Corner House methods of recruiting have not made scabs of them.

The native worker is the typical revolutionist in this country. All manner of penal laws and regulations are brought in to keep under his nascent working class solidarity. Even in the compounds they class the natives according to races; yet faction fights get rarer. The institution of "Kitchen Kaffir" prevents him learning the language of the whites and the whites from learning his. There never was a "lingo" better suited for keeping alive his slave status, and for keeping white and native workers apart while appearing to be a means of communication between them.

The work necessary to be don'e before the native can be industrially organised is to convince him that, whereas he has lost his individual property, he has also lost all hope of acquiring any except as a class. Instead of looking backward to the land of his fathers, he has to acquire the wage-workers psychology of looking ahead, of knowing that his Redeemer liveth, not in his chief or his parson, but in the working class. That he is dispossessed for good: that the wheel of economic dispossession never turns back. That he must march on with the working class and, by solidarity, capture the capitalist artillery which has dispossessed him.

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"1,000 Shop Assistants Wanted."

The above is the text of an advertisement that has been appearing in the papers. At the first meeting held as a result of it a "Shop Assistants' Union" was formed, and the manager of a large firm in Johannesburg was appointed President. A letter was also read from the Administrator of the Province, we are told, granting recognition to the new Union.

Launched under such auspices can one wonder that a move is afoot to lengthen the shop hours through the Provincial Council. The conclusion immediately to be drawn from this "high" (see Mrs. Beeton's cookery) patronage, is that the Union thus formed is a bogus one.

At this stage of development the Provincial Council is very useful to the masters but absolutely of no use to the workers in the distributing trades. The Shop Assistants have been fooled with the mirage of Shop Hours Act long enough. The Provincial Council is only good enough to register the wishes of the side that is economically stronger, and that side is the side of the employers.

Almost all that the Shop Assistants have got from the Provincial Council is a regulation that compels them to falsify attendance registers six times a week. Butchers' assistants, restaurant girls, etc., have been taken on by their masters on the express condition

that they shall not be too sqeamish with the register. What is the good of a Shop Hours Act to a man who is starving for a job? Reef traders' assistants work notoriously long hours, and Shop Inspectors wax fat. Nothing can free the shop assistants from the constant interference of the masters with their rights as men but a solid industrial organisation that will be able to grip the industry.

So far the assistants have only been able to organise spasmodically when a Shop Hours Act has been on the floor in order to throw their little weight into the lobbying. The reason for their failure to organise should be taken to heart. They have failed to organise simply for the same reason that their petty bosses, the small traders, have failed, or have never tried, to organise, (otherwise they would not be petty traders). No attempt has been made to use the big departmental store as the industrial unit of the organisation, and a groundwork that would keep together the employees in all the other smaller stores. The hig industry is the secret of working class organisation, and every big store in town should be a branch in itself of the Shop Assistants Union.

While, however, the assistants are animated by the snobbery of their bosses there is little hope of solidarity, and master-controlled Unions such as this latest appears to be will be easily floated. Let the shop assistants first realise that their class is the working class, yes, that even the black messenger boy has more in common with them than they have with the masters, then there will be some hope of a Union for them.

Aristotle once said that, in order for slavery to disappear machines would have to be invented to do the work of men. He never dreamt of such machines existing and the largest portion of the human race being enslaved to them for the benefit of only a very few. who not even are truly benefited, as they are no longer the intellects of the world. But it is quite natural that the enslaved class should first have to learn the value and pay the price of liberty. "He who would be free must himself strike the blow." The machine is here which Aristotle designated as the emancipator of mankind. It only remains for mankind to emancipate itself from it. Man has harnessed the elements to his will, let him now harness his will to control the giant he has called into life!—Olive M. Johnson.

KARL MARX.

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