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THE INTERNATIONAL

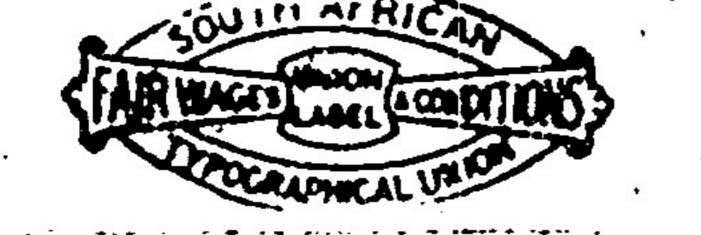
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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No. 112



FRIDAY, NOV. 30, 1917.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

The Word becomes Flesh.

"We have already seen that the tirst step in the working-class revolution is the raising of the proletariat to the position of ruling class, the victory: of Democracy." So said Karl Marx in 1847. Properly to explain the triumph of the Social Democrats in Russia, it would be nécessary to reproduce "The Communist Manifesto' in full. Every line of the 'Manifesto' explains the Russian situation. Wonderful the pageantry of the Marxian principles that unfolds itself into vivid life before our very eyes. They thought Marxism, for all its science, esoteric, occult, "not understanded of the people," the liobby of a few academical Socialists. But we who are workers felt its power, the thunder of its deep harmonics, the reverberation of its truth; yet hardly hoped in our day to witness its incarnation on the stage of human action.

To-day the people of Russia, let the Capitalist Press fume and flout, are finding their only salvation in the followers of Marx; and these Marxians find the conditions will accept no other key but that of the Marxian dogma. By it, the whole course is illuminated and made plain to them, while their enemies are floundering in hopeless confusion.

THE STATE DIES OUT.

And not only Marx, but De Leon, his successor, is also vindicated by Russian Labour. Marx said that the Capitalist system contains the germ of its own destruction, that in the lap of old society, the conditions are created for the new society. He said that the State is the Executive Committee of the Capitalist class. That the State must be captured, not for proletarian uses but to be destroyed. His intellectual brother Engels said that "the governmen of men will be replaced by the administration of things."

Leon added: Yes, the Industrial Organisation of the Workers is the embryo that will burst the shell of capitalism and become the directing authority for the administration of things in the Commonwealth of Labour.

The Word becomes Flesh in the Council of Workmen. The Council of Workmen is the political dictatorship of the proletariat.

Pass this copy on to a friend. Send his name to us and get the money afterwards. We'll keep him supplied with the "International" for a month. 5s. will get it for a year.

That Board of Reference.

The S.A. Mineworkers Union has won what is on the face of it a notable victory for white miners. The men on the Mynpacht were given extra work to build 'pigstys,' (props). A Branch meeting instructed Mr. Vaughan, the District Secretary, to order its discontinuance. He instructed the men on his shaft accordingly. The Mine Manager, greatly wroth, sacked him for interfering with "discipline" and "authority." The men struck work in consequence, and were supported by a mass meeting of miners in the district. At the mass meeting a motion to declare the whole of the West Rand a strike area was about to be put with acclumation when Mr. Archie Crawford intervened and reminded the men that a Board of Reference existed composed mainly of himself and Gemnill, of the Chamber of Mines. The dispute, which -was no longer about 'pigstyes,' but "victimisation," was therefore referred to the Board of Reference, blessed name.

The Board of Reference sat and found that no Union Official shall be dismissed for conveying the Union's instructions to the ment that Union instructions are valid in the mine. That no strike over working conditions shall take place in any mine until the dispute is first dealt with by the Board of Reference. All some unwillingness on the part of the arose, the finding was acceptable arose, the finding was acceptable arose, the finding was acceptable of thanks were given to Mr. Cut the first his services.

Two points in to be noted very briefly. The Chalmber of Mines has failed et the Union to rescind its con lion rule giving local autonomy the Branches. Something must be done then to quash "direct action" he the men on the mine. The Board of Reference is the thing. The Board of Reference has made itself popular by a good, bold sop to the white miners. It has found a place in the brotherhood of Canital and White Labour. Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Federation, has also gained added popularity by the victory, placed within his grasp by the Chamber of Mines. He has still further enhanced his reputation as the Glorified Craft Unionist of South African Labour. His service was indeed a signal one. Had the white miners declared the West Rand a strike area, the mechanics, as Crawford said himself, would have been placed in a very awkward position. That is, their scab agreements with the Chamber of Mines would have been torn to shreds by the action of the rank and file. From

this calamity the Chamber of Mines was served by Crawford's prompt mission to Krugersdorp.

Another point to note is that whereas the brotherhood of Capital and Labour is a myth, the brotherhood of Capital and White Labour is becoming a reality. The mass of the miners down below are black. They work for three or four pounds a month so that their white boss miners may get £25 or £30 per month, and so that the boss M'kulu may get 10 per cent. To them it is immaterial which boss miner orders to build pigstyes. They are out of this affair altogether. A fig for your family quarrels, they say.

At one time it seemed as if the tendency was for the white miner to ally himself with his black fellow workers. But the increasing copartnership of the Chamber of Mines with the white Union militates against the healthy principle of the solidarity of labour irrespective of colour and of wage scales. In short, the Board of Reference is buying out the Union, and making it a Boss Boy over the "nigger" working-class, unless the Crawford policy is checked, and the principle of Solidarity gains greater victories in the Union.

LEGAL DEFENCE & LEAFLET FUND.

The comrades are beginning to get under way with the League Defence Fund. The following are further acknowledgements this week:—

D. L. Drybugh, Capetown, 10s.; P. D., Bloemfontein, 20s.; N. Brozin, Witbank, List 12, £4 2s.; Morgan Jones, Randfontein, 10s.

HOW MAXIM GORKI'S PAPER CAME OUT.

Comrade Petterson writes that Kerensky's decline began when he attempted to suppress Socialist papers. "But thanks to the workers of Russia, who put soldiers and sailors on watch to see that the papers were published," Kerensky failed.

"After he had stolen all the copies of Maxim Gorki's late newspaper, Kerensky was satisfied and so were his Capitalist friends. But on the night of the 15th September thousands of armed sailors kept watch on the "Novoje Jizn's" printing works, and Maxim Gorki's paper, "The Free Life," came out stronger than ever. Kerensky got a bit scared, and his power has been declining ever since."

Economics the Basis of Society.

II.—The State.

By J. M. G.

is power to the possessors, is clearly shown right through the civilisation period. And this power has always expressed itself in political sovereignty, that is, control of the State. The class that holds the means of production controls the political machinery. Such is the history of the pasts

During the Greek and Roman periods, the political sovereignty was vested in the slave owning class. In the middle ages the Feudal Barons held the reins of power, with the mass of the people as their serfs. And under the present capitalistic regime the owners of the tools of production in all industrial countries are politically supreme,—a supremacy that is not lessened by the political freedom granted in many countries to the masses, for this "freedom" is a factor in blinding them to their economic slavery.

The State as an organisation of government dates trom the breaking up of the primitive tribal communes founded on the gens. The breaking up of this form of society, based on kinship, with the social equality of its members and go-operative system of its economic production, gave place to a form of society based on private ownership, necessitating the formation of restrictions to ensure the owners in possession, and thus gave rise to the State and all the political machinery to enforce the will of what has always been a minority upon a majority, giving rise to all those antagonisms and conflicts that is the history of the cililisation period.

These conflicts for control of the State were and are not confined to a struggle between the possessing and non-possessing classes, but have led to struggles between sections of the possessing class, of which we have an object lesson in South Africa to-day in the struggle between the farming interests and industrial interests for control of the political machinery to determine which section shall bear the burden of taxation. In this struggle the masses, the dispossessed wage slaves, are taking sides, owing to their mental kinks, and the dope administered by political hirelings and a servile Press.

That the economic is the basis of State control, even under our modern "democratic" form of society, is clearly demonstrable to any person with an unbiassed mind. The catchwords of the French revolution, "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality," were treated as jingling words having no meaning to the middle class. It soon adorned their prison gates. On gaining political power they took care to

exclude the workers from any participation in the Government. In Germany the workers have no control over the political) machinery, it being invested in the possessing class. Even in Britain with their boasted liberty, manhood suffrage does not exist, and until very recently the vote was restricted to property owners.

That the granting of political freedom to the mass of the workers, has caused no weakening of the power of the possessing class is very evident. It has had the opposite effect; it has assured the dominant class in their economic power by largely diverting the workers attention from the economic field to following political willo-the-wisps, to their undoing.

In the historical States the rights of the possessing class were legally fixed, giving them their status in society according to their wealth. Laws were necessary to regulate their social relations, designed to give stability, as is evidenced by the many struggles for political power that disrupted these States. In these struggles the masses, in ignorance of their subject status in society, took sides. Yet the possessing class have always united to enforce the power of the State upon the masses to keep them under subjection.

Under the more recent development of Government, the political power of wealth is obscured, intentionally. The political recognition of the power of wealth is driven below the political surface, controlling the State by underhand methods. By political nominces, corrupt officials, and the varied. back door influences, wire-pulling manipulation by the big capitalistic financiers and banking interests does capital control the State. And the control is easy to maintain owing to the hage debts contracted by the moilern State, and their obligations to these financiers.

It is thus easily seen that the control of the economic forces in all phases of society gives the possessors control of the State, enabling them to manipulate the material forces, and create angenviroument that keeps the masses in subjection to the possessing class. Even with universal suffrage the masses will not free themselves until they getetheir mental vision cleared of the fiction of being free men, when in reality they are wage slaves held in subjection by an economic form of production that denies to the many the life that is the hirthright of every human being.

The Sate did not exist from all time; but only since the breaking up of the Tribal Communities. It has had many forms during the civilisation period, changing with the economic development.

The economic development of to-day leading as it must to control of these forces by and for the good of the community as a whole, and not a section, will obliterate the State, with all its political machinery, repressive laws, and class morality. It will be replaced by the administration of the productive forces by and for the community.

P.S.—Next week under this heading we will treat of "War."

The Industrial Workers of Africa.

In the 'Bantu Batho' of last week appears a couple of paragraphs of some significance. The first was in the report of the deputation of the Transvaal Native Council which interviewed General Botha on native affairs. General Botha is reported as saying "It appears you are being deceived by some Europeans at Johannesburg known as "the Socialists' to organise a strike. Magatho said it is true we decided at Pokeng that we organise for a general strike as a means of fighting against the passing of the Native Affairs Administration Bill since the Government won't listen to our representations." It is said that Minister Graff also warned the natives against the International Socialists.

The second item of interest is a report of the Industrial Workers of Africa. "Bantu Batho" says:--

Perhaps the people outside Johannesburg are not aware that there is an organisation of workers which is trying to organise itself called the Industrial Workers of Africa. It has been found that the whole country, its money and wealth, is made by labour, but all for nothing. One feels ashamed to see the sons of men going down into the bowels of the earth digging gold and diamonds and coal, yet only get three pounds a month. These men have found out that it is necessary to start the organisation which is known as the Industrial Workers of Africa.

'In this organisation ways will be found of making the Capitalists learn when the workers want higher wages, and to arrange hours of work and all the rights of the workers. This seems a good thing, and if our people were already developed they would support. this organisation and make it strong. On Thursday, November 15th, there was a meeting of these workers with the coloured people, the subject being the amalgamation of the natives and the coloured people as workers: so that the Bantu and the Coloured people could form one body of workers so that the white people can see they lave all the same grievance.

It is a significant and unpleasant fact that the native word for "white man" is also the only word hitherto used for "master." That is the sense in which "white people" is often used as above. However, we are getting on in the development of a native Socialist technology.

The word "Capitalist" has been used in the above paragraph by a word newly coined for the purpose, viz.: "Somali." "Mali" we all know. "Somali" is the new Zulu term for the genus that sits in the Corner House! All hail, Industrial Workers of Africa!

Impressions of Britain.

By Comrade Andrews.

Comrade Andrews continues his letters at Manchester, en route to South Wales. At the former place he got into touch with Tom Mann, whom he found "as full of energy and enthusiasm as ever. Everything is going splendidly," are his words. He is a prime believer and supporter of the Shop Stewards (unofficial) movement."

"I left Glasgow"... after finishing up my visit there at a Keir Hardie memorial service at St. Andrew's Hall. It was crowded and people were turned away, and an enthusiastic audience. W. Stewart, Bruce Glazier, Mrs. Philip Snowdon and Egerton Wake spoke. I was permitted ten minutes or so at the end, which I used on the I.S.L. attitude towards organising the native and coloured workers. Well received: should like to have had half an hour."

WORKSHOP COMMITTEES:

kers' Committee on Saturday afternoon. Nearly all are young men. The Commitztees are becoming permanent bodies and are linking up nationally. They exist now in the shipping world. At the present moment several big ships are being held up in Liverpool by the Shop Committees unofficially. The Shop Committees in this case mean the crew of each ship, who elect Chairman, secretary, etc. This in spite of Havelock Wilson and his executive. (Seamen's Union).

"THE LIFE OF THE WORKERS.".

Coming to his impressions of the workers generally, our Delegate says: "I have been trying to get at the effect of the war on the life of the workers generally, but feel very loth to commit myself to a definite statement. However, as far as I can see they were never better fed, better clothed, nor, in spite of Munitions Act, etc., more independent. They are necessary and in request, and that alters their whole outlook. It seems strange with prices 100 per cent. or more above normal, but such is my impression. I saw Kirkwood... before leaving Glasgow. He is a foreman over girls and men in Parkhead forge. Seems a clear-headed cool chap. . He told me the girls on shells are earning 15s., 20s. to 25s. per day, and doing four or five times as much as turners would do at the same job. Turners simply would or could not drive the machines as the girls do. He is convinced they have come to stay and must be organised. The other side of the picture was given by Purcell (of the Manchester Cabinet Makers) here. He said: "Yes, the big money is earned all right, but the girls suffer and lose a lot of time, so that the average for the year is less than would appear. "A girl in the train got in at Carlisle and chatted about her work in the great new explosive works at Gretna. She talked about girls getting fits, going vellow, and chucking up the job by hundreds, ostensibly to

make room for soldiers, but really because they were sick of it. However, the fact remains that tens of thousands of workers as well as others wish and ,say they wish the war would last another ten years. The Manchester textile industry is short of raw material, but this little inconvenience to workers is more than made up by the great demand for labourers in the engineering and munitions industries, to say nothing of transport, etc. The weavers and spinners soon adapt themselves to the iron working machines. On almost all e trains women conductors, and on many, drivers. Girls in trousers as labourers, on railway stations, on pit-heads, porters, in warehouses, dressed in smock and long buttoned-up leggings reaching to the thigh. The distinction of sex seems to have almost vanished. I have taken note of thousands of girls going to work, and they have not that crushed, hopeless appearance that the factory girl used to have when I worked in Birmingham. They are well dressed and apparently well fed. The tea-and-bread-und-butter diet does not satisfy them now. They feed as men feed, who work and earn money. Probably the small business man and the genteel poor are the greatest sufferers. It is said that thousands of small business men are ruined because they have had to serve, either legving the business to others or shutting it up. This. seems likely and is on all fours with the development of capitalism.

THE HOPEFUL OTTOOK.

Writing hurriedly as he does in trains and hotels, Comrade Andrews hopes that his 'disjointed remarks' may be of interest to the comrades, and concludes this portion of his epistle with the hope that we in South Africa. "are getting encouraged and pressing forward in line with the people here. This much is clear, if the men could all have a month in England a good deal of the jingoism would soon vanish. On all hands one hears of bigger wages, good business, etc., but in spite of that the war is unpopular with tens of thousands. What it will, be when the slump comes. God knows."

The word "Maximalist."

Much misapprehension exists as to the meaning of the term "Maximalist." After the failure of the 1905 revolution the Social Democratic Party split into two wings: The Maximalist and the Minimalist. The Minimalist went for the minimum programme of the political revolution, the overthrow of Czarism, as the only thing possible at the present stage. The Maximalist programme was to regard the political revolution, the overthrow of Czarism, as the "immediate prelude" (as Marx put it) to the fight for the Social Revolution. In the Maximum programme the overthrow of Czarism was only the first shot in the one battle for the Social Revolution. And so it has turned out to be. The Minimalists are the Opportunists who have allied themselves with the Capitalist reaction.

The Maximalist Programme.

Lenin wrote to the Zurich 'Volks-recht' in July (Translation in Glasgow 'Socialist') on the progress of the Russian Revolution. In the light of events announced this week the Maximalist programme as Lenin formulated it then is of interest. He says:

As to the revolutionary organisation and its task, the conquest of the power of the State and militarism: From the praxis of the French Commune of 1871, Marx shows that the working-class cannot take over the governmental machinery for its own purposes. The proletariat must break down this machinery. And this has been either concealed or denied by the opportunists. But it is the most valuable lesson of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the revolution in Russia in 1905.

The difference between us and the Anarchists is, that we admit that the State is a necessity in the development of our revolution. The difference with the Opportunists and the Kautsky disciples is, that we claim we do not need the bourgeois State machinery as conpleted in the 'democratic' bourgeois republics, but the direct power of armed and organised workers.

Our programme of peace is as follows:--

- 1. The Council of Workmen and Soldiers declares that as a revolutionary government it does not recognise any treaty of Czarism or the bourgeoisie.
- 2. It publishes immediately these treaties of exploitation.
- 3. It proposes at once and publicly a truce to all participants in the war.
- 4. Peace terms are: Liberation of all Colonies and of all coppressed peoples.
- 5. A declaration of distrust in all bourgeois governments; appeal to the working-class to overthrow these governments.
- 6. The war debts of the hourgeoisie to be paid exclusively by the Capitalists.

By means of such a policy the majority of the workers and small peasants can be won for Social Democracy.

The confiscation of feudal land and property would be the result.

Socialism would not yet be realised.

But still, we would be willing to carry on a revolutionary war to enforce these peace terms. In such a revolutionary war we would expect the assistance of the revolutionary proletariat all over the world.

The General Dealers' Business and Grocery Licence, registered Germiston, 1917, in the name of Herman Glass, Stand 211, 103, Knox Street, Germiston, is abandoned as from 30th November, 1917, and Stock removed to Branch Store, 2, Station Road, Germiston, H. Glass, 103, Knox Street, Germiston.

30-7-14,

Cape Notes.

The Strike is finished and the Tailors have a compromise of their demands in all the factories. The most reluctant had to give in. The Tailors' Organising Secretary, Mr. Gamiet, has an office next to the Socialist Hall: a dangerous place; further we have had him inside it avowing his belief in Socialism as the only panacea for the existing industrial evils. A delegation from the Jewish Socialists suggested that a local conference should be called of all attached and unattached Social-. ists with a view to greater solidified efforts (vide Lloyd George), and so it was agreed.

Adderley Street meetings still go strong. Comrade Connolly opened on Sunday night and put up a good case for the cause, and showed an interjector what a bad case he had against it.

The next speaker noted the King had called a day of intercession and prayer. And he supposed the Kaiser also called one. The speaker thought we were equally justified in doing so, and he would act as priest, delivering himself thus:—

"Oh God, aid my limited intelligence that I may smite the conscience of the people, that they may see the fallacy and brutality of their work. God! Where are you? Look down with your mighty intetlligence and love and teach that goodness amongst the people, that they may sheath their swords and cast their rifles upon the dung heap. Snatch the veil from their eyes that they may see the maimed, the widows, and the mothers weeping of their lost sons. Is it true, as the sceptics say, that your omnipotence is but a myth, that prayer to you is useless, that you love to reign with the victorious, and that you ride upon the big guns, and the Devil upon the small ones?"

And there was a stilled amongst the audience, but a bumper collection followed, and next were going to the 'International £100 d. Wanted right away.'

INTERNATIONALISM THE ONLY FRIEND OF SMALL NATIONALITIES.

The granting of local autonomy to the Ukraine and to Finland by the Maximalists and the Petrograd proletariat is in keeping with the first principles of working-class revolution. The Russian bourgeoisie were desperately anxious to prevent this, as the control of the State is necessary for their depredations. But to the workers it is It is enough for them to immaterial. link up in the bonds of industrial unity. The railway that runs to Finland is enough for the proletariat, for the men that run that railway are one and interdependent irrespective of borders. Thus again is evidenced the truth that nationality will never find its full flower except in the triumph of the international proletariat.

Notes of the Movement.

Sunday the Industrial Committee met at the Palmerston Hall, and finished its labours on the Manifesto, and decided to hold the Industrial Conference at Easter. A Finance Committee was appointed to make recommendations as to ways and means of printing large numbers of the manifesto. The Industrial Committee will meet again next Sunday week, December 9th, in the Palmerston Hall, at 10.30 a.m. All the members are urged to roll up.

LEAGUE'S NEW OFFICE.—The Head Office of the League is being transferred this week to the Australia Hotel Buildings in Harrison Street, our notice to quit from the Trades Hall expiring or Friday. All comrades and friends of the movement will find us at Room 11, on the front verandah of the first floor up, amid quiet though accessible surroundings. The Australia Hotel Building is on the Tram line to Braamfontein, the second block down from the Town Hall.

fused further use of its Council Hall to the I. S. L. for working-class propaganda, we notice that the Trades Hall Society is letting it for Sunday night lectures on "Spiritualist Science." (Gaw Blimey). Lectures on "The Occult and Spiritual Outlook. Why the Allies will win and when!!" Exit from the Temple of Labour Working-class Science. Enter Middle-class Charlatanry and Spoof!

JEWISH LECTURE.—Lasi Sunday the Jewish Speaking Branch's lecture at the Palmerston Hall was given by Comrade A. Goldman, the subject being "Industrial Unionism." The lecturer gave an illuminating exposition of the principles of industrial unity, of which the is a well known exponent. In the discussion reference was made to the absence of any considerable Jewish prolefariat in this country, and the doom of the small middle class in the march of Capitalist development made it incumbent on them, whatever their occupation, to look at things from the standpoint of the proletariat.

Next Sunday Comrade Kester will lecture at the same place on "Socialism vs. Capitalism." All the Jewish comrades are asked to turn up to stimulate the propaganda. Note time and place. 8 p.m., Palmerston Hall, Commissioner Street West.

There will be a General Branch Meeting of the Jewish speaking comrades at the same Hall next Wednesday evening at 8 p.m. The library is also open for the circulation of books.

But the bourgeoisie has not only forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also produced the men who will wield these weapons—the moderi workers, the proletarians.

MARX.

Marx Again Right.

Karl Marx, in the "Communist Manifesto," said in 1847:--

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because Germany is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, and because the revolution will be carried out under the most advanced conditions of European civilisation and with a much more developed proletariat than that of England in the Seventeenth and France in the Eighteenth Centuries; the German bourgeois revolution, consequently, can only be the immediate prelude to a proletarian revolution.

The following year the bourgeois revolution broke out in Germany, but failed through the timidity of the small middle class, and the commonise between the absolutist regime and the rising bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the principle was not refuted,—that where a hourgeois revolution breaks out with an advanced proletariat, it can only be the immediate prelude to a proletarian revolution. We drew attention to this Marxist principle last Mav in ita bearing on Russia. And now the 'political dictatorship of the proletariat" is an accomplished fact; and the last lap towards Social Revolution begun in that Expuntry. It only suffices to draw attention to the fact that the absence of an elaborate Socialist machine with extensive property and Press as exists in Germany has only added to the success of the Russian proletariat, by leaving them free with nothing to lose, even as a movement, but their Chains.

STOCKHOLM FUND ACKNOW-LEDGEMENTS.—H.B. 5s., J.R. 2s. 6d., per H.F. Kimberley, G.H.H. 10s., J.S. 10s., J.D. 10s., H.F. 20s., total 50s.; S.W. 15s., G.A. 10s., H.L. 10s., S.B. 10s., per A.K.D.; H. 3s., S. 2s. 6d., Friend 2s. 6d., total 7s. 6d. Mabaso 2s. 6d., C.B.T. 2s. 6d., E.S. 5s., G. Kimberley, 2s. 6d., S.A. Peace and Arbitration Society, Capetown, £1 15s.; The Social Democratic Federation, Capetown, 22s. 6d.; C.B.T., 2s. 6d.; F.G. 5s., P.D. Bloemfontein, 5s., M.G.J., Randfontein, 5s.

KARL MARX.

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