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THE INTERNATIONAL

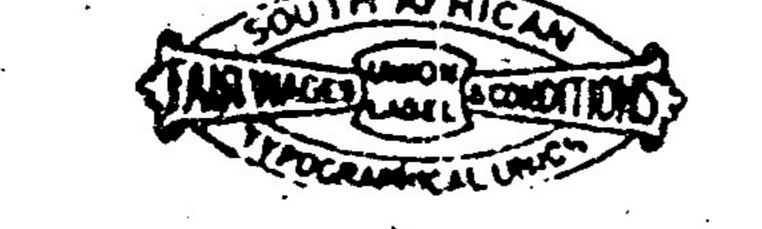
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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No. 113



FRIDAY. DEC. 7, 1917.

PERCE 1d. WEEKLY.

International Socialism and the Native.

No Labour Movement without the Black Proletariat.

The Management Committee of the LS.L. has issued the following statement to the Branches as a basis of discussion at the Annual Conference. The M.C. recommends this statement of our attitude towards the native worker to be embodied in the League platform for 1918 propaganda. Comrades are invited to read it with a view to discussion, and amendment if they so desire, at the Conference of the League, which will be held in January 6th next.

The abolition of the Native Indenture, Passport and Compound Systems and the lifting of the Native Workers to the Political and Industrial Status of the White is an essential step towards the Emancipation of the Working-class in South Africa.

Society is divided into two classes: the working-class, doing all the labour; and the idle class, living on the fruits of tabour. Strictly speaking therefore there is no "Native Problem. There is only a working-class problem.

But within the working-class arises the problem of the native worker. In all countries the influx of cheap labour is used as a whip wherewith to beat the whole of the working-class. In South Africa the cheap labourer, being black, is doubly resented by the higher paid worker. And the employers foment this colour prejudice through their newspapers, and are thus able to wield the whip of cheap labour with double effect.

The suicidal prejudice of the white workers against the coloured workers is the only native problem. This prejudice manufactures the scabs that beat both black and white in the day when the solidarity of all the workers is essential to victory.

We speak therefore to the workers, and above all to those workers who look forward to the emancipation of labour from wage slavery. There can be no appeal to any section of society outside the working-class, as their interests are opposed to labour, and their opinions therefore of no account to us.

One section of the workers cannot henefit itself at the expense of the rest without betraying the hope of the children. Those who receive favours from the master class may lift themselves out of the propertiless proletariat; but their children will inherit the

fear of the abyss which their tathers helped to create.

The power of labour lies in its ability to stop, or to control industry. All the workers are needed for this.

Labour, not Colour; is the watch-word of solidarity.

If all those who labour cannot share in the emancipation of Labour, none can be emancipated.

"Labour cannot emancipate itself in the White while in the Black it is branded." (Marx.)

So long as we refuse to admit the native worker into the ranks of Labour, solidarity, so long will cheap labour pull down the white worker to the native standard of existence.

But so soon as we welcome the native worker into equality on the industrial field, then is he forthwith lifted up towards the white standard of living.

White standards are not in danger from the ambition of the native to improve. White standards are endangered by the attempts to keep him down.

White standards will not be saved in South Africa by the White Labour Policy. White standards will only be saved by the Black workers organising industrially.

The highest social culture is safest in the keeping of the lowest paid labourers.

What makes native labour so cheap and exploitable in South Africa? Laws and regulations which, on the pretense of protecting society from barbarism. degrade the native workers to the level of serfs and herded cattle for the express uses of capital. These are:—

The Passport system.

The Compound Sytem.

The Native Indenture system.

The special penal laws which make it a crime for a native to absent himself from work.

The denial of civil liberty and political rights.

All those things which place the native workers on a lower social plane than the white workers are weapons in the hands of the employing class to be used against all the workers, white and black.

These tyrant laws must be swept away. For these degrading conditions of native labour are the abyss into which masses of the white workers are continually being hurled by Capitalist competition.

Sweep them away! What pious horror is aroused by this demand! Unspeakable calamities will follow, we are told. But are they not the very
cause of the social calamities they are
supposed to guard against? Indeed,
they are themselves the greatest of social calamities.

The cause of Labour demands the abolition of the Pass, the Compound, and the Indenture; and as the native workers gain in industrial solidarity, demands for them complete political equality with their white fellow workers.

Only thus can the whole of the working class, white and black, march unitedly forward to their common emancipation from wage slavery.

TROTSKY'S "INSOLENCE."

"All the chorus of calumny, which the party of order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the Baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted a crime."

MARX.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW?

A Government Gazette Extraordinary sets out two Draft Bills for the next session of Parliament. A Factories Act and a Regulation of Wages Act. The worker in a factory may not work more than 50 hours a week or more than 9½ hours a day, excluding meal times. Under 16 he, or any female, has a maximum of 45 hours a week or 8 hours a day, and weekly half-holiday, and may not work between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. or during meal hours, or more than limited overtime.

The most startling feature of the Bills is the complete absence of any colour bar; so that presumably Jim Sixpence, shares in these provisions.

League Picnic.

Next Sunday week, the 16th December, the League will hold another Picnic near the Zoo Lake. Comrades are invited to roll up for another happy day among the trees. Bring your own skoff, but tea provided in common. Sports and games again, and more prizes for the children.

"That Board of Reference" Again.

The Corrector Corrected.

The Editor, "The International,"

Dear Sir,—I have to thank you for the kind attention bestowed upon me in an article headed 'That Board of Reference' in your issue of November 30th. I fear, however, that the whole value of the article to your propaganda is lost owing to a basic error in the premises on which your case is built. To quote from the article in question:

"At the mass meeting a motion to declare the whole of the West Rand a strike area was about to be put with acclamation when Mr. Archie Crawford intervened and reminded the men that a Board of Reference existed."

In this statement there is no modicum of truth. Even the pent up applause is a stretch of your editorial imagination. The true position appears in the Capitalistic "Sunday Times" of November 25th. A perusal of this article will show that the motion carried was to the effect "That the Randfontein district be declared a Strike Area, that a Strike Committee be formed immediately, that the Board of Reference be resorted to, and that failing a settlement on Monday all federated Unions he appealed to. for funds to carry on the strike." This resolution was drafted by me, so that instead of stopping a resolution to declare Randfontein a Strike district, I actually was the means of carrying it.

Yours faithfully,

ARCHIE CRAWFORD.

The moral drawn by Mr. Crawford, the reprehensibility of so grossly misrepresenting anyone, which he hopes is not intentional, we have omitted because our space costs £2 a column to publish, and we want it all for propaganda, if possible. Our report was based on newspaper articles and verbal communications. (There are I.S. L. men everywhere). But we will content us with quoting the whole of the "Sunday Times" report on the incident,—, (underscoring ours) — seeing that Mr. Crawford makes it the authority:—

"It was next proposed to ballot the whole of Block A for a strike. An amendment suggested a hallot of the whole district. Mr. Crawford, General Secretary of the Federation spoke at this stage, pointing out that a strike would place the mechanics in an invidious position. He explained the existence of a Board of Reference, consisting at present of Mr. Gemmil, of the Chamber of Mines, and hmself, to deal with such a case, and eventually the following resolution was carried. ' As quoted by Archie above, but nothing about his moving or drafting it.]

Now, that is the "true position" in the "Sunday Times," Archie Crawford says so. We accept it, and defy anyone to tell us the difference between it and our summary. On his own showing, Crawford was afraid of a strike, and brought in the Board of Reference. We have wasted space on this because so many people chance their arm with "The International." There is a craft unionist "correction" hung, drawn and quartered as a warning to all future "correctors."

THE TWO ARCHIES.

But wait a bit. "The International Socialist Review," Chicago, for August, 1917, is to hand. One of the best articles in it is entitled "The Spectre of Industrial Unionism," by Archibald Crawford. We are assured by his friend the President of the Federation that it is the one and the same "Archibold." Listen to what it says:

"Recognition of the Craft Union by the boss," the "Union Label," "Trade Agreements," "Arbitration and Conciliation Boards and Courts," etc., are each and all wholly alliances between Craft Unions and more thoroly enslave the whole working-class. . . . Damn interest! Damn rent! Damn profits! Damn agreements.

But that is in Chicago. In Johannesburg "The Sunday Times" is the quoted authority. No more "Damn agreements," but "bury the hatchet," no more "damn Conciliation Boards," but "the Board of Reference," composed of Gemmil of the Chamber of Mines and himself.

Why do we dilate on this? Archie Crawford only expresses the Craft Union idea, and that very efficiently. If he did not do it, someone else would. But where does the Craft Union reaction draw its administrators from? From the ranks of industrial union "enthusiasts." Having made a name by the advocacy of "advanced" ideas, and placed the class conscions section of the rank and file off its guard, the Craft Union official is all the more valuable—to the employers—for his sowing of revolutionary wild oats. Just witness the resolution referred to above. All the returences to declaring Randfontein a Strike district was the feather of sham militancy that covered the hook of the Buard of Reference.

We see the same process taking place in the career of J. Forrester Brown, the Secretary of the Miners and the Chairman of the Federation. In a letter to the Press last Saturday praising up Crawford's genius in inventing the Board of Reference and the proposals adopted "in dealing with. precipitate action in general," and referring to those like Wallers and McFie who are "sincerely interested in the creation of amicable relations between Capital and Labour," Forrester Brown shows that he is undergoing the same tendency under the influence of Crawford. Forrester Brown allowed to pass that most reactionary provision which is being forced upon the miners making them, pay their money through the mine office; and the present Board of Reference, also praised by Brown, is a sinister scheme to wreck the local autonomy of the Union, designed to suppress what Brown calls "precipitate action," that is: militant workingclass action. All the more because J. F. B. is a professed International Socialist we warm the class-conscious

members of the Union to keep close watch on his present reactionary tendencies under the baneful influence of Crawford, the apostle of Brother Capital and Brother Labour.

Another Lie Nailed.

Translated from The Social Demo-kraten. by Dingbar.

11th September, 1917.

Mr. Gulbranson, President of the Norwegian Seafarers' Society, was interviewed by our reporter on his return from the International Seafarers' Conference held in London. To our questions he replied as follows:—

Q. What was the reason that the Conference was called?

A. The reason was to form an International Seafarers' Conference to look after the Seafaring Classes after the war, as there is no doubt that the loss of tonnage will cause acute distress when the war is over.

Q. How many Delegates were present:

A. About two hundred, representing Shipmasters, First Officers, Captains, Engineers, Sailors and Firemen. There were French representatives, two from Sweden, and myself from Norway. No Officers were represented from Norway.

Q. What about the "U" boat business, was that discussed by the Conference

A. We could not but discuss it.

Q. Was anything bitter against Germany said,

A. Yes, but the reason was not the sinking of ships, which all agreed was legal, but the manner in which the crews of Ships sunk had been treated.

Q. Was anything special said against the Germans?

A. No. It's very strange the English workers themselves were non-partisan except for the indignation against the "U" hoat tactics.

Q. Did you, as the 'Evening Post,'
Kristiania, stated, move a resolution
to the effect that Germany should be
forced to pay compensation for all
ships sunk?

A. Never. We were not there in Shipowners' interests, and such a resolution never came forward. The Press has totally misreported the proceedings.

Q. Did the Conference discuss the question of refusing Passports to Allied Delegates to the proposed Stockholm Conference. You are aware that there has been great discussion about the Seafarers refusing to transport delegates

A. The Conference had nothing whatever to do with this case, it was never mentioned.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE will meet again next Sunday the 9th inst at the Palmerston Hall at 10 p.m., to receive the report of the Finance Committee and to discuss further action.

"Long Live the Commissaries of the People."

'TO CONTROL PRODUCTION."

The developments in Russia baffle comment. Exultation admits of no commentary. What we are witnessing is an unfolding of the world wide Commonwealth of Labour which, if the oppressed of all lands only knew, and knowing, were only free from the miasmas of the system and of hopes deferred, would sweep them into transports of gladness. It is this high ecstacy which animates the Russian peopeople to-day.

There is no longer any doubt that the peasants are behind the Maximalist revolution. The All Russian Congress has declared that "the dilatory action of Kerensky's Bourgeois Government, regarding the distribution of land was criminal." Thus is the Social Revolution assured.

TROYPSKY.

Trotsky has been great, this week. For the first time since the political revolution of March, Russia is holding her head up among the nations. I nder an International Socialist regime she recovers her national self-respect. Trotsky is of course acting under instructions of the Commissaries of the People and along well-considered lines. He is the John Campbell of Russia. He is the teacher of hundreds of young Marxists. When Skobelov and Tseretelli were expelled from the Social Democratic Party earlier in the year for joining the Coalition Government, they paid their tribute to Trotsky as their teacher. But they were young men in a hurry. Trotsky was a stick in the mud insisting too anuch on theories. But, alas, their haste for "something now" landed them in the mud; and the old man, their former teacher, sees the triumph of his principles.

THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR.

The two Russians interned in Britain whose release is demanded by Trotsky are Petroff, the friend of John Maclean; and Tchitcherine, the late Secretary of the Russian Socialist-Groups in London. They were both interned because they were International Socialists. To make Tchitcherine Ambassador of the Revolution in London was a master stroke. It will now be in order to intern the British Ambassador in Petrograd until Tchitcherine is released.

WILSON'S LAST LAP.

And poor old President Wilson comes along at this late hour declaring national war against Austria; like the lame r straggler in the walking match who. when teased by the urchins, pretended he was the first of another lot coming on behind! America limps home last in the National Heat when the great Class War Final has already started. Just like these petty bourgeois prophets who have hired themselves to top-capitalism! Their "likeral" slobbera is useful to mislead the masses. But their petty trader illusions, like Rasputin's fatal swav over the Czar. entangle their capitalist masters in suicidal superstititions.

TCHERNOFF.

The cables the other day tried to lie that Miliukoff and Tchernoff and others were collaborating to form an alternative Government. Tchernoff is the author of the land programme of the Social Revolutionaries. The Cadets, whose leader is Miliukoff, so liate him that they refused to join a Coalition Government which included him. He protested and withdrew from the All Russian Democratic Conference because it voted for a Coalition Government. He is certain to be with the Maximalists, and his influence in keeping the peasants from the reaction of peasant proprietorship, the three acres and a cow business, will be great: for he is the most trusted leader of the Social Revolutionaries and an Internationale Socialist.

THE CLASSIC REVOLUTION.

As the French Revolution was the classic revolution of the capitalist class, so the Russian is the classic revolution of the proletariat. It will serve as a guide for the proletariat of all countries. Immense propaganda will be needed yet in Marxist principles, but the task is made immeasurably simpler by the Russian workers fidelity to the teachings of Marx. The Capitalist Press months ago complained of the "exasperating literalness" with which the Russian workers interpreted the word freedom. "Why don't vou be satisfied with the word freedom,' like other people, they seemed to say. But the Russian working-class although "80 per cent. illiterate," refused to be side-tracked by words. The treachery of the Reformist Socialists in the late Coalition Government must have been great. The revelations of the secret documents, betraying scandalous pacts, not only between the Capitalist Governments of Europe, but between the Coalition Government and the Allied Governments for the suppression of the Russian workers in the interests of International Capital, must' have so aroused the people as to sweep the Menshevik or Reformist wing of the Social Democrats out of existence. They are not even mentioned in the election results. And the late Ministers, incarcerated in Peter and Paul for their own safety, dare not go to vote without an armed escort. The silence of the Press, after first giving lying election results, indicates that the Maximalists and their Allies in the Sovial Revolutionary Party (which is also now split up into National and International sections) are in an overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly. "Long live the Council of the People's Commissaries, to control production and abolish secrecy."

FLAMES WILL SPREAD.

Meanwhile Trotsky has stipulated as peace terms that impossible formula for the Capitalists: "No annexations, no indemnities." The Capitalist Govern-

ments of Europe cannot comply with that demand except by disrupting their own ranks into hopeless confusion. They cannot refuse to comply without betraying to the peoples of Europe their base designs. In effect therefore, it is the weapon for gaining a peace "by the complete destruction of the Capitalist system," as the League Conference put it.

They cannot march against Russia. Their armies will melt away before the propaganda of Russian fraternizers, and leaflet distribution by aeroplane. They cannot leave Russia alone, for its Socialist triumph must invade all lands. The national war is changing into the international class war. slightest move to march against Russia will create civil war in the country that makes it. Our task in South Africa is a great one. We must educate the people in the principles of the Russian Revolution as we have never done before, hy tens of thousands of leaflets. No comrade can stand to-day with arms akimbo, no branch should languish. It were a desertion of the cause. We have to prepare the workers against any attempt to mobilise them against their Russian comrades. and in so preparing spread the flames of the most glorious and most peaceful revolution of all time.

Inciting Public Feeling.

Mr. Malan, Minister for Mines, speaking at the big demonstration at the Town Hall this week, said:—

"He was glad to testify to the vast improvement in the relation of employers and men on the Rand. (Applause.) He added that industrial peace should be encouraged and supported. But he regretted that there were men who were going about amongst the native population fomenting unrest. These people were holding meetings with the natives. Of course, the Government had detectives on their track, but he wanted to say that it was time public opinion on the Rand and in South Africa should be aroused to say that these people were playing with fire, and it should not be allowed." Applause).

Distressing indeed, Mister Minister Malan! But, if the Government has detectives on the track of these criminals, what need is there of arousing public opinion? You don't agitate on the Town Hall platform every time want to catch Bill Sykes. And if it is a case for arousing public opinion against us. where do the detectives come in? As usual, you know you have nt a leg to stand on. You know we are acting on the above-board political plane. Like the war question, you dare not allow the status of the native workers to become a matter for public discussion. Those who are forcing the issue must therefore be extinguished by the Hooligan. That is what arousing public opinion means. But the hooligans have taught us a wrinkle or two lately.

Economics the Basis of Society.

IV.—War.

By J. M. G.

The revelation of the economic basis of society, does not detract from the idealism that has prompted men in all ages to sacrifice themselves for ideals. Ideals formed and fostered by the economic environment, that is, the form of production, creating an emotion that carries the masses as willing tools to fight the battles of the possessing class.

All wars during the historical period down to the present, when traced back to the fundamental basis, show their economic causes, whether as struggles between rival proprietary interests within the State or international wars for supremacy, plunder or world markets.

Under the slave system of production, not for profit, but for use and exchange, the possessing class looked to war as a means of increasing their wealth." Material gain was the root cause of their warring excursions against rival States. Alexander the Great, by his invasion of Persia, looted treasure amounting to fifty million pounds of present value. The Punic Wars of the Roman State was undertaken for the purpose of gaining possession of the precious metals accumulated by the Carthaginians. The same motives prompted the other wars during the slave period, obscured though they may have been by overlying ideals or emotional fanasias,

In feudal society the incessant wars between town and town. Baron and Baron, State and State, and between Western and Eastern civilisation in what is known as the Grusades, all had the economic stimulus.—plunder to increase the wealth of the participators.

The economic form of production during the Slave and Serf periods was the basis of these wars, undertaken to make good the diminishing wealth of a system that knew nothing of production for profit, leading to armed conflicts between the State, and all those international State struggles that were so frequent during these periods.

The modern form of economic production as the cause of war is no exception to those that have existed in previous forms of society. The phenomena of war still persists. The same desire for plunder, called markets and concessions, still dominate the posessing class, resulting in the many wars that have occured since the establishment of the wage system.

We see how plunder dominated the rising capitalists of England. They equipped the buccaneering expeditions to loot the Spanish ships, thus leading to the attempted invasion of England by the Armada. Again the mastery of the sea was disputed by England and Holland for trade. The Napckeonic wars had as their basis the fear that

the French capitalists, who had gained political power, would be a menace to the commercial enterprises of the English capitalists. The war against China by England and France resulted in China being compelled to open several ports in the interests of the merchants of these countries. We see the same spirit animating the ruling class in the wars against barbarians and semi-civilised States, annexing the countries and forcing upon them our civilisation, founding colonies; and opening markets where none had previously existed.

Wars during the capitalistic period have without a shadow of doubt been waged to increase the wealth of the possessing class, a class that is diminishing in number, but whose power is predominant; without appearing in the political limelight, pulling the wires that control the puppets, the so-called intellectuals that are in the eyes of the masses the rulers and governors.

The war that is raging to-day, we are told by the ruling class, and their sycophants in the Press. the pulpit. and the literature that is being printed wholesale, is, being waged in the interests of small nations. To save little Belgium and Servia from the clutches of the Central Powers. The ruling class on the other side are trotting out much the same "stunts, to create an emotion of patriotism, the hysteria of politics. Yet the evidence is clear and unmistakable, that this war just as others, has as its basis the economic rivalries and antagonistic interests of groups of national capitalists. The Agadir incident of 1911 is clear evidance of the purely capitalistic flature of the designs of the four countries involved; and a preliminary to the present. war. The Balkan League formed under Russian influence, with British and French financiers in the background. was clearly a threat to the Central Powers, an attempt to thwart their ambition to obtain a direct communication with the Bahgdad Railway, Alle these antagonistic interests of the big financiers and capitalists of the several countries leading to the greatest war in the history of humanity.

To the persons that can divest their minds of the prejudices created by this enslaving capitalistic environment, there is nothing more evident than that all wars can be traced to the economic basis upon which the superstructure offall societies are raised. Wars, whilst having an economic origin; and are caused by economic antagonism, on the other hand have an effect on the economic form of society, and becomes a factor in either modifying the form, or revolutionising it, thereby giving place to another. We see the process going on as the war proceeds. The State more and more controls industry in the so-called interests of the nation. This control the governing class will be compelled to maintain after the war, provided the workers are not able to straighten out their mental kinks. If they can do so and see the clearer vision of co-operation in the interests of the community, so much the better for humanity, and bring that peace and good will on earth that has been the fantastic dream of the Christian church.

Notes of the Movement.

Take this copy of the Native Policy on the front page to the next Branch meeting for discussion.

JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL. The monthly Branch meeting was held last Tuesday at the Palmerston Hall. when discussion mainly turned on the position of Secretary-Editor for 1918. Comrade Ivon Jones having written to. the branches asking to be relieved it possible. The election of delegates in the Conference was partly ecompleted. New members were enrolled: But the discussion of the Conference resultitions, including the important statement on Native policy, was left over to an adjourned meeting next Tuesday. PLEASE NOWE: NEXT TUESDAY. 8 P.M., PALMERSTON HALL, COM-MISSIONER STREET WEST. ALL HEMBERS RALLY!

JEWISH SPEAKING BRANCH.

An adjourned meeting of this Branch will be held at the Palmerston Hall next Thursday at 8 p.m. Conference Business, very urgent, all roll up.

day at the Palmerston Hall Comrade Kesler delivered a recture in Yiddish on "Socialism vs. Capitalism." Comrade Kesler surprised the comrades by his splendid grasp of every phase of Socialist economics, and his fluency of speech. He spoke for over an hour to the largest audience yet seen at the Palmerston, and the crop of questions which the lecturer coped with in such good style was evidence of the interest aroused. Good collection and paper sales.

Next Sunday Comrade Israelstem will speak on "What do! the Jews owe to England?" Note the place, next Sunday, at 8 p.m.

RENEWALS.—Thanks to the comrades who are so readily helping the funds by renewing their subscriptions to "The International." There is no need to wait for an account, we cannot say more in an account than that the sub. is 5s. per annum to P.O. Box 4179, Johannesburg. As soon as the slip appears in your paper, send Postal Order, and the Treasurer will bless you

Acknowledgements of Legal Defence and Stockholm Funds have to stand over this week. Keep them going. Full details next issue.

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.

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