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The Russian Revolution Explained.

By MARX-ENGELS-DE LEON.

Which was first, the hen or the egg. Which comes first, the working-class revolution or the men who laid bare its principles? Did Marx-Engels—De leon write because the revolution must come, or did the revolution come because they wrote? Both are true, like the hen and the egg.

Simple people are terribly perturbed because of what they call the "anarchy in Russia," "the undermining of the State, of authority," etc. Let us consult Marx, Engels, De Leon, as they serenely view the incarnation of their thoughts from Olympus. Let us turn to the "Communist Manifesto." There in the first chapter our qualms are laid to rest:—

The modern State is but an Executive Committee for administering the affairs of the whole bourgeois class. (The bourgeois class is the capitalist class and all its hangers on).

With the undoubted victory of the Bolsheviks, that is, the proletariat, in the elections for the Constituent Assembly, we are ready to proceed to another page of the "Communist Manifesto":—

power to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class, and to increase as rapidly as possible the total mass of productive forces.

This, naturally, cannot be accomplished at first except by despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the bourgeois conditions of production."

Ah! Those "despotic inroads" upon property, annulling the foreign loans, nationalising the land, making advertisements a State monopoly and thus rendering it impossible for bourgeois newspapers to carry on their propaganda, etc., etc.

The Russian workmen know that they cannot triumph by the ballot alone. That is why the Capitalists knew their doom the hour that the Council of Workmen was formed. De Leon's words on this have a fine ring about them:

"The futility of the ballot alone, however triumphant, was strikingly illustrated during the Bryan

campaign. The political temperature against the plutocratic rulers of the land had risen too point that they, for a moment, considered the battle at the baliot box lost in advance. That, however, did not disconcert them. Through their national mouthpiece, Mark Hanna, they threatened to stop production. In other words, they threatened to go on strike. The threat was no idle bombast. They could. It was known that they could. Craft Unionism placed sit in their power to do so. The threat had its effect.

But let the Capitalist attempt, under the pressure of the political temperature raised by the ballot of Labour—let him attempt to strike. In possession of the Might conferred and implied by the industrial organisation of their class. The Working Class would forthwith LOCK OUT THE CAPITALIST CLASS. (Loud applause). Without political organisation, the Labour movement cannot triumph; without economic organisation, the day of its political triumph would be the day of defeat."

But all perturbations as to the fate of the Political State are put to rest by Fredrich Engels, that finest of Marxian teachers, when he says:—

"The State was the official representative of the whole society; it was the constitution of the latter into a visible body; but it was so only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself, at its time, represented the whole society—in antiquity, the state of slaveholding scitizens; in the middle ages, the State of the feudal nobility; in our own days, the State of the Capitalist class. By at last becoming actually the representative of the whole social body. it renders itself superflous. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be kept down; as soon as, together with class rule and the individual struggle of life founded on the previous anarchy of production, the conflicts and excesses that issued therefrom have been removed, there is nothing more to be repressed, and the State, or Government, as a special power of repression, is no longer necessary."

"The first act, wherein the State appears as the real representative of the whole body social—the seizure of the means of production in the name of society, is also its last independent act as

the State. The interference of the State in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another, and falls of itself into desuetude.

The place of a Government over persons is taken by the administration of things and the conduct of the processes of production.

The State is not abolished—It dies out."

Oh yes! The Council of Workmen has a great regard for the State,—hugs it like a bear; kills it with kindness, leaves it without a single function, except to endorse the decrees of the Courmissaries of the People.

And the "despotic inroads" on property have their end. As soon as they are complete so soon does the proletariat cease to be a ruling class, and all become workers. To quote Marx:—

"If the proletariat, forced in its struggle against the bourgeoisie to organise as a class, makes itself by a revolution the ruling class. And as the ruling class destroys by force the old conditions of production, it destroys along with these conditions of production the conditions of existence of class antagonism, classes in general; and therewith its own domination as a class."

The State having died out through disuse, the Council of Workmen, or the Executive Board of the Industrial Workers, will be the directing authority. 'All production is concentrated in the hands of associated individuals.' (Marx). 'The mining, the railroad, the textile, the building industries, each of these, regardless of former political boundaries, will be the constituencies of that new central authority.' (De Leon). All that is needed is to administer industry. Persons are no longer interfered with.

"In the place of the old bourgeois society, with sits classes and class antagonisms, an association appears in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

RARI. MARX.

Our Xmas Vacation.

'The International' will not be published during the two Xmas weeks, according to the precedent established in our two previous Christmasses. So that readers are asked to tide over the 21st and 28th without their accustomed copy of the one militant weekly and only working-class paper in South Africa. The next issue will come out on January 4th, which will be our Annual Conference number.

Economics the Basis of Society.

V.—Art and Literature.

By J. M. G.

The changes in Art and Literature that have always taken place with every economic change, reflecting the social life of the community, show that just as the social life is based on the economic form of production, so Art and Literature is a reflex of those conditions.

This reflex is well demonstrated by the revival of art and learning in Italy, "The Rennaissance," coinciding with the break up of the feudal system, being a reflex of the new economic system that displaced the old.

The same revival of learning took place in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was more than favourable to the rising capitalist class in that country. This was a revival o that gave some of the finest literature to the English language, yet was a re-Hex of the social aspirations of the rising bourgeois to political power, efforts that had a setback at the close of her reign and only were realised by what is called "The Glorious Revolution," which placed the political power in their hands. We can see how this. literature varied as the social conditions varied during theostruggle; how it became retrograde and produced the sensual and hestial literature of the Restoration.

The literature of France during the Eighteenth Century was inspired by the struggle of the rising middle class, reflecting their aspirations to control the political machinery, (and the social conditions of the people). The philosophers attacking the Church, and by their writings undermining the power of religion to keep the masses in subjection to authority, creating a contempt for the State, inducing a psychology that enabled the young bourgeoisie, with the aid of the workers, to overthrow the Feudal State.

Just as "coming events cast their shadows before" during he Eighteenth Century, the literature being a reflex of the brutal economic subjection of the mass of the people and reflecting the aspirations of the class who were to take control in the new form of society that was to replace the old, so to-day we have the same phenomena operating in Art and Literature.

Art during the past 30 years has ignored the classic, has mainly been composed of efforts on the part of the artists, in what is called realism, to depict the social life of the people, their misfortunes and struggles with adversity. Not all have confined themselves to these subjects, some have dements for commodities such as soap.

In literature we have the problems of social life well represented on the stage. The novels produced have dealt largely with the many problems

of daily life. Whilst an avalanche of books have been published, with all sorts of ameliorating schemes to cure the ills of the masses. Schemes that are fantastic and impracticable, written by reformers who are carried away by emotion created by the brutalising conditions of the dwellers in the slums, and the criminality that is inherent in our present form of society.

This Art and Literature, whilst undoubtedly having as its basis the social conditions arising from the form of economic production, showing a growing humanitarianism, and the discovery of a new social conscience, is a factor of very small importance compared to another form of literature that is permeating society in increasing volume, and is the true reflex of the aspirations of the class that will destroy the present form of society, that with all its outward appearance of stability is tottering to its fall.

The literature of scientific socialism is the reflex of the coming power of the masses. It is neither built upon fantasias light as air, nor vet is it carried away by the humanitarian emotion, but is based upon the evolutionary process, the economic development of past phases of society, getting down to bedrock as to the cause of their rise and decline, and is thus able to analyse the past, underständ the present.-and predict the future. With confidence it says: just as the present form of society has evolved from a past form, in which the germ was nurtured, so our present day society is developing the germ of the future society, and must pass away with is economic form of production for individual profit, and give place to the new society, based on production for use, the superstructure of which will be social equality, eliminating class distinctions with the antagonisms inherent in any society havingea minority in sole possession of those tools necessary to produce the essentials of life.

In the scanty space at my disposal, I have briefly shown that the basis of all past and present form of society is economic, creating an environment which determines the ideals and unconsciousbly dominates the will of the masses to their own detriment. It is the hasis upon which is hung the drapery that determines the thoughts and actions of all members of society. It creates the morality declaring, "Thou shalt not steal," whilst the very basis of society is theft. Its laws are made to perpetuate a system of robbery, declaring those criminal who commit theft not according to law. The State is the means by which they extend their economic power and enforce upon the weaker nations their commodities and compel them to make concessions of territory for economic exploitation. Art and Literature has always been and is the reflex of the dominant class, and of that class that may be struggling for supremacy.

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.

Vague Idealism Cannot Save.

The complications which led up to the triumph of the Bolshevik Socialists is indicated by a manifesto issued by the Social Revolutionary Group at Petrograd. The Social Revolutionary Party was evidently torn by conflicts of principle. Tchernoff with a large following of Internationalists against Kerensky and his Nationals.

After the March revolution the Social Revolutionary Party became the party of the peasants. It gathered up all the vague idealists and populists who could not accept the discipline and clarity of the Marxist Party. Its vagueness has, however, not availed to save its huge bulk from disruption, as the following extract from the manifesto shows:

In order to prevent absolute disorganisation the party was compelled to moderate the excessive claims of particular groups, and urge all to work and make sacrifices.

"We must demand from the Central Committee of the Party categorical replies to the following questions: Do its Zimmerwaldist members continue by new and more tortuous methods to work towards their former gaol, namely, peace with Germany even at the price of national shame and the rupture of our international engagements? Do they demand with Lenin the dismemberment of Russia into small States, which will only be fragments with an fillusory independence: Do they aim at transforming the dual power, which is disastrous, into a triple power by placing over the Soviet a new Super-Soviet, which would in no way express the will of Russia?"

When the hour of working-class emancipation strikes; that is, when the contradictions of the Capitalist system of production for profit by the exploitation off wage-labour have become so great as to sag the system by its own weight, no policy or expedient that is not based on the class struggle will save the people. For the vast population of Russia, a comparatively small party aglow with the light of scientific socialism was able to save the country.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE. — Don't forget that the Annual Conference of the I.S.L. will be held on Sunday, January 6th. The place of meeting will be communicated to the Branches. In addition to delegates, members of the League and fraternal delegates from other societies will be admitted, all with the equal right to speak freely on every subject, but only the delegates to vote. Various important matters will come under discussion. The Native question, the great Revolution in Russia, and the movements of our Delegate to Europe, plans for 1918 propaganda, and it is hoped, for consolidation of all the Socialist forces in South Africa, etc., etc. It will undoubtedly be an interesting and epoch making Conference for all South African Socialists. Contrades and kindred societies in other parts of the country should make an elfort to be represented or send messages.

The Capetown Strikes.

The strikes of Cabinet Makers and Bakers at Capetown are settled on better terms to the men, although the question, of day been left till after the We have nothing but the Capitalist Press reports of these strikes, and are therefore not able to report to what extent the principle of solidarity has been advanced by them. The Bakers do not vet seem able to paralyse the industry. And the spasmodic efforts of the Cabinet Makers, Bakers and Tailors, heartening though they are as indicating the advance of coloured workers, should be better organised into one effective movement. They have the same masters, the same organisation of employers and their public servants up. against them, though different individ-\ uals pay the wages. It is due to the voung workers who are just beginning to feel the glow of working-class solidarity that their forces should not dissipated against the enemy in scattered bands, but in one solid phalanx irrespective of the nature of their work; course, irrespective of and, of colour. That is not to say a general strike, but a general co-operation and agreement as to when the Bakers shall place their demands, when the Tailors and when the Cabinet Makers, and when the Printers, and so on; each demand backed by the whole.

In the case of the Bakers' Strike, Comrade Harrison informs us that there was talk of the men supplying the customers direct if their demands were not acceded to. Here we have the Guild Socialism of the Bakers' Secretary, Mr. Dean. It is in the highest degree injurious to the cause of the workers that a straight-out fight with the einployers and an opportunity for the propaganda of solidarity should be vitiated by petty bourgeois distortions of the class struggle such as Guild Socialism; which, when applied to a local strike, is nothing more nor less than Guild Auarchism. What is the result of telling the Bakers to supply the bread direct? It instantly induces the psychology of the petty trader. The principle to be taught is Solidarity with all their fel-· low workers in the industrial field, the broad international outlook of the modern proletarian. The means of production can only be captured by the workers politically, that is, by the workers as a class conquering the public power and using it to "wrest by degrees all capital from the hands of the bourgenisie."

We would urge upon our Capetown comrades to move in this direction, the organisation of the workers as a class prespective of colour.

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The French Soldiers.

Some time ago, Brizon, International Socialist), in a speech in the French Chamber, make known the tendemands of the French soldiers at the front. The speech made a great impression in the Chamber, but with that love for truth and freedom of speech which characterises the Press censor-ship, the French censor suppressed that portion of Brizon's speech. (Says 'The Call.')

"I do not speak here in the name of all the soldiers, but certainly in the name of the great mass of them. I want to inform the Chamber of their demands They are as follows:—(1) Suppression of the abuse of punishment and disciplinary exactions. Officers should live under the same conditions as soldiers. (2) Abolition of corporal punishment: disuse of abusive language. (Then follow several demands re leave and pay). (8) The return of elder soldiers to their homes. If the harvest is not gathered in France and the rest of Europe this Autumn, there will be famine next year and in 1919. (9) I appeal now to the Government and the Chamber for special attention to this point—the abolition of the death penalty for offences at the front. Gentlemen, while I am addressing you here, soldiers are being tried and sentenced at the front. French bullets are killing French soldiers. (the President calls the speaker to order. Did you sentence those Generals to death who, in the April offensive, allowed the quite unnecessary destruction of soldiers' lives? If there is no death penalty for Generals—and I am not at all thirsting for their blood, let them live, but don't then execute soldiers in the name of discipline. (10). And the 10th demand is that before the comine winter there shall be an end to this hetacomb - an end to the war. Gentlemen, the soldiers at the front want peace. Immediate peace without annexations."

The British Socialist Movement.

New Developments.

Comrade Andrews sends a short note this Mail in which he announces the following interesting development is the British Labour Movement:—

"The Co-operative Society seems to be going into politics now, and will probably switch the Labour Party more to the right. There are interesting developments pending in ? the near future in the political organisation of the workers. It seems likely that the extreme left, including the advanced section of the Independent Labour Party, and the B.S.P. may find it difficult to keep within the Labour Party. And if they leave, the Socialist Labour Party is the only alternative, and may become a formidable driving force."

These developments in Britain and Germany will be immensely accelerated by the complete triumph of the Russian proletariat.

The Movement in Germany

The great "Official" Social Democratic Party of Germany is crumbling. Last Easter the membership stood at 243,000. But in October it had dwindled to 150,000. The recent annual report complained of the manner in which the "devastating agitation" of the Minority had weakened the party.

The 'Leipsiger Volkszeitung' (quoted in "Justice"), states that the "Minority" Socialist Party has now 120,000 paying members, and many thousands now serving in the ranks who are exempted from payment of subscriptions during the war. The great Social-Democratic daily says that the falling off in the membership of the Official Party cannot be explained by the fact that large numbers of the members have been enrolled in the army, because thousands of members have returned to work in factories without rejoining the party, and, moreover, the number of women members is only one-third of what it was before the war.

This is the result of the opposition of the women to the warlike policy of the Official Social-Democratic Party. The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" goes on to say that the democratic organisations of Berlin, Leipzig, Frankfort, East Prussia, Lower Rhine, Brunswick, Erfurt and Thuringen have nearly all adhered to the Independent Socialist Party.

herents of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg have joined the new organisation. and are working loyally, though as a critical left wing, within

Notes of the Movement.

ence came off last Wednesday evening between the Jewish Socialist Society and the S.D.F. at the Jewish Socialist Hall. McManus took the chair, and Comrade Pick outlined a scheme on behalf of the Jewish Society's suggested amalgamation, on the formation of a working committee of both bodies. Comrade Connolly eventually moved that a Committee be formed to draw up a platform and establish suburban branches and suggest propaganda methods to push the cause. This resolution was passed.

Eastward Ho!

W.H.H.

Sunday's Press cable announced that the Maximalist movement is creeping along the Siberian Railway and threatened to establish itself at Harbin.

Harbin is over 5,000 miles from Petrograd, a couple of hundred miles from Vladivostock, next door to Japan, and is right in Manchuria, as a matter of fact. And the news comes from Pekin. Does that mean that the fire is going to kindle the teeming masses of the East before the West can stir? The Red Peril captures the East and the Yellow Peril only a still-born Capitalist spook.

Facing North by South.

"The burning question for South African Labour politicians to-day is to find a way out of the paradoxical position which forces them to slobber over the coloured man in the Cape and kick him off the pavement in the Transval." So writes Sen Yah.

Well, they have discovered the way out. We have received a copy of the first issue of the 'Monthly Democrat,' from Capetown. From its pages we gather its purpose to be to boost all Labour Parties irrespective of Colour Bars. It deals out even handed puffs for the South African Labour Party and for the Democratic Labour Party of South Africa as well.

And what is the D.L.P. of S.A.? It is a body of malcontent politicians who, exasperated by the anti-colour Labourites in the Transvaal, have broken away from the S.A.L.P., and formed a semi-independent party which "caters" for the coloured man in the Cape, his integests, his needs, and—his vote!

Let the coloured workers of the Capelearn that the Capitalist can hoodwink them under many names. When he is finished with the "Unionist" name, the "Democratic" is equally useful; and when he is finished with that, he can hide under the name of 'Labour' just as easily.

By their fruits ye shall know them. The only political party of the workers worthy the name is that which stands out for international solidarity, and places as its electoral issue, not a big genealogical tree of two-penny reforms, but the demand for the complete destruction of the Capitalist system by the industrial combination of the workers.

Legal Defence and Leaflet Fund.

The Pretoria Socialist Party (through its Secretary pro tem. Rose Alper) has collected the amount of £3 17s. 6d. for our League Defence and Leaflet Fund, aind the Social Democratic Federation of Capetown sends £1. Miss Alper's list is as follows: J.A. £1, K. 2s. 6d., W.L. 59., M.Z. 5s., M.S. 10s. 6d., B. G. 2s. 6d., A.W. 2s. 6d., W.L. 5s., A. L. 2s. 6d., S.L. 2s. 6d., A Jew 2s. 6d., E. 5s., Capitalist, 2s. 6d., S.B. 2s., Post 2s. 6d., Anon, 2s. 6d., F.J.W. 2s. 6d. Oother donations are: I.J. 5s., F.W. 5s., W. G. List 61, N.G. 20s., M.S. 20s., J.E. 2s. 6d., E.B. 5s., J.C. K. 10s., W.G. 5s., D.D. 2s. 6d., Total: £3 5s. H.B. 5s., C.B. 9s. 6d., L.B., Kimberley, 20s., M.L., Capetown, 5s., J. G. 5s., S.G.R., Natal, List 75: Meste Magumbana 28., Anax Junius 2s., J.T. 2s., A.E.M., New York, 4s. 2d., M.M. 6d., another Native, 6d., Total 20s. A Native 1s., "Portia" 1s. 6d., Another Native 6d., Total 20s. H. W.H. Durban, List 24: £1 12s. 6d. J. M., List 58: J.M. 2s. 6d., S.R. 1s., A. B. 1s., S.D. 2s. 6d., M.S. 2s., M.L. 2s., C.F. 2s. 6d., L.E. 1s., S.S. 1s., C.S. 5s., E.J.C. 5s., Total: 25s. 6d.

Excuses for War.

Justice to Alsace-Lorraine is now the excuse for continuing the war. This is now the "festering sore" in Europe, say the Allies. Here is what the "Daily News" said when the Germans took Alsace-Lorraine in 1870. (The French were then the "Bosches" of Europe):—

"Some 200 years back Louis XIV. stole it. The lapse of years may hide a theft, but not the justification for reconquest. The population of Alsace is German by origin, by language and by custom."

And "The Times" chimed in:—"Alsace-Lorraine, we mean German-Lorraine . . . is the minimum condition the peace-loving Germans can accept as the basis of peace!!"

But since then vast iron mines have been developed in Alsace-Lorraine, and this is a war of iron and steel capitalists. Not that they are principally anxious to capture iron fields. They are principally anxious to get a market for steel, and War is the only adequate market left.

world market, if we cannot get Alsation iron ore, if we cannot recover the markets the American and Japanese have captured, then we'll make a world market of our own—we'll blow our iron and steel into fireworks and into proletarian corpses at the rate of 15 per cent."

Russia's Defence.

The national war is a national humbug. One of the "Allies," Japan, has invaded the territory of another "Ally," Russia. We would like to ask the Recruiting Junta which side do they take if Russia takes measures to eject the invader.

If he has not long ago prepared one, which is most likely, Trotsky will be "trotting" round Petrograd dooking for a Japanese translater, and dispatching a couple of tons of dynamite in the form of Socialist leaflets, and a couple of aeroplanes, towards Manchuria to capture the invaders. Truly, as he says, they are a hundred times stronger than any Capitalist army.

League Picnic.

Next Sunday, the 16th, the League will hold its Picnic near the Zoo Lake. Comrades are invited to roll up for another jolly day among the trees. Bring your own baskets, but tea will be provided in common, also extra refreshments for Sunday School Children. Sports and Cames and more prizes for the Children.

"The Novove Vremya" capitalist newspaper in Petrograd, said in August that "the bourgeoisie fully realises that it will not be worse off under the Germans than under the 'revolutionary democracy."

"Our Friends the Enemy"

According to the Glasgow "Forward" the Military and Naval successes of the Germans in the Baltic during October did not worry British finance, not even the danger to Petrograd and the probability of moving the Government to Moscow. Quite the reverse. For the first time the Stock Exchange looked cheerful, and in the same issues announcing the Russian defeats the financial columns of the newspapers appeared with remarks as follows—

Finally, with the news of Petrograd in danger, lo and behold, the same newspapers informed us that the Russian rouble was "appreciating" for the first time. However, we trust the poor dears on 'Change didn't plunge too heavily on a German victory. Since then the Commissaries of the People have "appreciated" the rouble with a vengeance.

Socialist Recruiting Sergeants.

A Photo of Karl Marx, as advertised below, will be presented to the comrade who gathers the largest number of new subscribers to "The International" from now to the League's Annu! Conference, January 6th, 1918. International Recruiters, get busy!

KARL MARX.

Handsome reproductions of a Portrait of KARL MARX for sale, £1 each, from I.S.L. Offices.

Help the League Funds by sending for one of these, mounted, 18 in. x 16 in. Should be in every Socialist home. The portrait of the great Proletarian Philosopher. Send to Box 4179, Johannesburg.

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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The Burning Question.

of Labour-

IN SOUTH AFRICA.



Being an Address Delivered by

R. TALBOT - WILLIAMS.

Organising Secretary of the African Political Organisation (Transvaal and Free State Executive),

To a Gathering of Coloured Workers

ir riii -

Pilkington Hall, Johannesburg, 4th January, 1918.

This pamphlet is issued by

The International Socialist League (S.A.),

P.O. Box 1177, Johannesburg.

The Fighting Political Party of the Working Class, irrespective of Race, Colour or Nationality.

PASS THIS ON.

Bundles of this leaflet will be s nt to any address for bona-file d's-tribution among working men.

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It stands for the solidarity of Labour irrespective of race, colour or creed. If elp "The International" in its great task of bringing all the native, coloured and white workers of South Africa into one solid army of Labour.

Subscription, 5s. per annum post free. Send postal order to P.O. Box 4179 & Johannesburg.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Since the date of the Speech liere reproduced, a Conference of "all interested in Industrial Unionism" has been held in Johannesburg, the result of which was the formation of a body known as "The Industrial Workers of Africa." Membership is open to wage carners of both sexes and all colours, and the following items are extracted from the preamble accepted by the Conference:—

- "That working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."
- Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political & well as on the industrial field and take and hold that which they produce by their labour through an economic organisation of the working class without affiliation with any political party.
- "It is the historic, mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with upholders of capitalism, but also to carry on the production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

THE BURNING QUESTION.

After an introduction by the Chairman (Mr. G.o. W. Crowe),

Mr. Talbot - Williams said: Mr. Chairman and Friends. Some three weeks ago I received an invitation to give an address on the colour question to the Trade Union Congress held at Johannesburg on the 30th December, 1917. A few days later I met the Secretary (Mr. Crawford), and I made it clear to him that I was not going to ask favours thear; hear)—for the colour d man from the Unions; but was going to prove to the delegates of the Congress that the foundation upon which Trade Unions were built in South Africa was rotten—(applause)—and that they were not Trade Unions in the true sense.

I learned from him that the Executive of his organisation, the South African Industrial Federation (which, notwithstanding the name, is purely a Transvaul body), acting as convenor of the Congress, had been asked to accept ten delegates from Capetown Unions, which delegation included several coloured workers. The Federation Executive had wired back to the Cape Federation asking it to hold back the coloured delegates so as not to wreek the Congress, divisions on the coloured question being intense. As a result, no delegates came from

Capetown.

On the 30th, about two hours before the time arranged for my address. Crawford told me that caucus meetings were being held in this connection by the various Unions, and that it was doubtful of the Unions allowing me to address them, but would let me know later. I wrote to this Pure White Labour Congress and declined to speak

(Applause.)

The greatest grievance of the Trade Unionists against the black man is that he sells his behour cheaply, and therefore cannot live up to the white standard of living for which they are fighting. Now, friends, dealing with cheap labour, let us go back to January of 1917, when these self-same Trade Unionists went out on strike on the Van Ryn Mine against the employment of coloured men as waste packers (unskilled labour by the way that could be performed by any "raw native"), giving as their reason that waste packing was semi-skilled labour, and should be performed by white men. The wages paid for this class of

dabour is about 7s. per day (God save up from cheep labeur). The Municipality of Johannesburg some few years back employed white men on the sewerage works at 5s. per day. The Government employs white men and pays them the princely sum of 1s. per day. White railway porters receive 6s. 6d. per day. Now, my friends, where is their argument against the coloured worker!

Honest Trade Unionists will be the first to admit that they have been much concerned lately by white men who were working at skilled traces in Johannesburg and elsewhere as cheap or cheaper than the black man. The coloured man who follows European customs and habits sells his labour, skilled or anskilled, cheaply, because of the competition created by Trade Unions—(shrune)—who have closed the door against him, and have never give him the opportunity of a victing them to raise the standard of wages all round. Consequently these autocrats of labour have forced our men to work cheaper than theirs in order to live.

Now, my friends, what is the white standard of living. Granted that the Trade Unionist lives up to this standard, or lives up to the standard that he himself has set, and admitting for the sake of argument that the coloured man is not able by elling his labour ghouply (so they say) to maintain this standard, then what standard of living has the white many reached who works for 4s, a day? This who standard is only a bogey. For if it were true that the whites of this country, Trades Unionists and others, had set a standard of living entirely monopolised by white people, then how do they account for the fact that there are 196,000 poor whites in South Africa who are worse off than the "raw natives," working in the nines.

Now, you high and mighty White Trades Unionists, it is up to you to create a white standard of living for all white men, and to raise your own people from the level of "raw natives" before accusing coloured people of maintaining a low standard of living.

Mark you, friends, that these cowards who fear competition will be the first to shout that the whites are the dominant race, and that they hold the monopoly of brains and all the intelligence; yet the man whom they regard as socially, physically, and intellectually their inferior, is the very man whom these parasites of labour are afraid of (shame) wes, afraid that, if given equal opportunity, the inferior man will wipe the floor with them. (Hear, hear,)

Then we have the Trades Unionists who say they are against colour. These men will work side by side with a raw blanketed limitive in the mines and other trades for years, conveniently forgetting that he is a black man; but will object to work within five yards of clean, respectable, intelligent coloured men at a skilled trade. Why he Because so

ong as a black man is a rubordinate, who is at his beck and call, and a whom he can administ r the order of the boots (cowards) every hing is all right; but directly a man whose skin is of the same colour as the raw native is able to beat him on his merits at any skilled trade, he shows his colour prejudice, (Shame.) I have seen men who are bitter opponents of the black man purchase fruit and vegetably from the direct coolie? (aş,they call him), because he is cheap r then his white brother. It is not necessary for me to by any more to an intelligent audience of the shallowness of this colour prejudice.

Now, held tight my friends, and don't failet when I tell you the story of the Lien and the Lamb. To a per on of the manest intelligence, even the poor white, the position of the imployer and the employer is directly in opposition. The employer does not care a rap about the working men. This God is profits. The working man forms Trades thions in order to reduce profits, so that he may get a rair share as the price of his labour. Yet we find the delegates of the Trades Choon Conference having a "royal feed" at the Grand National, with Wallers of the Chamber of Mines. How on earth these intelligent Trades Unionists can be bluffed to believe that there is anything in common between the Chamber of Mines and the work is Apric than I, an ignoring black man, can fell. Will our friends, the Trades Unionists, kindly enlighten us.

The servile attitude of this clique, the regard their anesters as fall, with their Reference Boards, and all their other machinery, is excludated to damn the cause of true labour organisation in South Africa (Hear, hear.) As a matter of fact, they are not workers at all, they are merely supervisors. The time worker, the backbeine of Labour is this country, is the brown and the black man twice are now organising against this federation of rotters.

ORGANISING OF NON-EUROPENN LAROUR.

Now, my friends, we have never enjoyed our just right, either of the labour market or politically, we have but one weapon that we can use with effect, and that is, the organisation of black labour, upon which the whole commercial and mining industry rests to-day.

Some weeks ago, at General Botha's South African Party meeting in the Town Hall, Johannesburg, Minister Malan was pleased to say that certain persons were organising the natives for a strike; but that has Gever meet were aware of this movement and had detectives watching there people. I do not think much of the intelligence of an endience who could applaud such absurdly ally remarks. As far as I

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for as your employer is concerned, you can go to hell. If it were possible for you to live on the smell of an "oil rag." your masters will be pleased to give you that smell every Saturday as compensation for your week's labour.

Take our native friends on the mines! Perhaps in a day's hard work you carn for your master say twenty-five shillings. After your day's work is done he loves you so much, "my black brother," that he gives you two and sixpence for working while he appropriates the balance for doing nothing. (Shame.) This is not because you are black. But let me tell you that much the same thing is being done to workers all over the world, irrespective of colour

You, my friends, are only wealth producers. You produce the wealth of South Africa. You are instrumental in producing millions and millions of pounds every mouth; and for producing the millions you are rewarded with sufficient money only to enable you to exict Now, my friends, go home and think over it. I have always said that the Cape coloured women of the Transvaal particularly are among the hardest worked women in the world. (Loud applause.) Why? The question is not difficult to answer. Because our mon do not earn sufficient to maintain their wives and families properly. Consequently, our women are more than wives: they are wives, companions, and workers; they are forced to sweat from early morn to dewy eye, because their husbands are not able to earn sufficient to maintain them and bring up the little children as respectable, civilised beings without the assist ance of the women folk (thanks to the employers).

A well-known writer, I think it was Albert Cartwright, wrote in an English paper some six years ago that something terrible would happen to the world some day because the barrier between the rich and the poor was too great. While men are hoarding millions, and their women were giving birthday dinners to Japanese poodle dogs, at a cost of thousands of pounds, their sisters were dying of starvation in the Tango cities of the world. (Shame.) I thought that the writer might have gone further and made public the fact that the barrier was too great between the black and the white. (Hear, hear.) He held that God never intended that such a great gulf should exist between the rich and the poor. That being so, I hold that God also never intended that a great barrier should exist between the black and white, which barrier the Capitalists Trade Unionists Company are foolish enough to think they can maintain for all time.

Something terrible has happened to the world. The working man is being slaughtered by the millions. And something more terrible still to the autocrats has happened. The working man of Russia has come into his own. Now, my friends, the remedy for all your evils, for all your disabilities, is in your hands. I have held several meetings

with the natives on the organisation of our labour, and we have decided that the colcured men will form their own organisation and the natives will organise their own people. "In Executive will be forned of representatives of both races to regulate and control this organisation in order that any action that might be taken will be solidly supported by both totions. (Hear, hear.) The coloured men and the natives are the true sons of South African soil, and, I sav again, form the foundation of labour in South Africa. There is no reed for social differences. Each section is more at home with his own people. I am ortimistic erough to look forward to the time when all the workers of South Africa will be united into one solid mass. (Hear, hear.) To our women I wish to say that this organisation of labour will not be confined to men only, for the greater part of our women are domestic servants. and an organisation of women workers is as much a necessity as an organisation of men; and I make bold to say, when ours domestic workers are organised and demand a living ways, rothing will prevent con from getting it. Which reminds me that at a meeting of native workers the other night one of the speakers said; "We won't go on strike unless we have five or six thousand men organised." I replied to the speak reft My friend, you are wrong. You must not talk of strikes. Wait until we have organized a million workers and then Abore will be no strikes, for what you ask for you will get. (Cheers.)

In corclusion, let me earnestly request you to go to your homes and think seriously of your position in the world to-day. As workers you are entitled to all the good things of the earth. The remedy for your present state of existence is in your hands. A meeting of coloured workers will be held in this hall shortly. We will then form a branch hearing that you have accorded me, trusting that you will allow no obstacle to prevent the great organisation of labour, which will be the means of bringing about a healthy state of affairs for the workers, and for which your children will bless you, so that they, the children, will continue to struggle for the complete unity of the skilled and unskilled workers of South Africa. (Great cheers.)

It was resolved on a motion from the body of the hall by Mr. Kopman and seconded by Mr. D. Graaff, that the address be printed and published.