THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

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Troyeville.

The LS.L has decided to contest the Parliamentary election in the Troyeville Division, which takes place on

Friday the 25th inst.

The LS.L. candidate is Colin Wade M.P.C. who will come forward to testify to the distinctive principles of the deague: its anti-war attitude, its Internationalism, its clear exposition of the class struggle, its propaganda for revolutionary organisation to overthrow the whole capitalist system of to-day; in a word, Socialism. These things along are of value to cure the modern world, now sick almost to death: on these things alone the other parties will be studiously silent.

Rally, all Internationals, in this significant fight:

and go AT OACE to help at the Committee Room.

Another Milestone.

Next Sunday will be held the second Annual Conference of the International Socialist League. The mildly interested reader may ask: "Well, and of what importance is it to the working class at large? Your numbers are small, your movement is under an eclipse, capitalism and war have gained undisputed sway; who are you to trumpet about annual conferences?"

We could answer in the words of Shelley, were we of that Promethean mould: "Alas for liberty, if numbers, wealth, or the unfulfilling years, or Fate could quell the

free."

Conference in these days of war, let us look to the dread which our militancy inspires, rather than to our numbers. All the spare energies of capitalism, its censors, newspapers, pulpits, platforms, and schools are to-day busy keeping the working class from becoming tinder for the Socialist spark. Hardly a line of journalism but is employed in hiding up and postponing the struggle of Capital with Lab ur. On the other side are we, exposing that struggle, and pointing the way out if humanity is to escape universal shipwreck.

The capitalists know the importance of a Socialist vanguard, be it the most lovely of outposts. They know we are formidable, not by number, but by the might of a principle which all their armies cannot keep from coming to its own. They know that no design of theirs can be consummated except at the risk of that Socialist vanguard touching the hills with fire, and mustering the working class to its own war for humanity. The silence of their Press tes-

tifies to their fear of Socialism.

Wiewing things partially to-day, the Socialist movement seems everywhere under a cloud. With the progress of the war, Socialism finds fewer and fewer breaches for attack. The removal of the small middle class from the stage by King Capital has meant the abrogation of those civil liberties which gave the middle class political clow room. This is compelling the Socialist movement throughout the world to fall back on stronger ground; and Socialism is everywhere quietly waiting.

It is not the quiet of collapse. We know from our little movement here that it is the quiet of preparation for a greater advance. In all periods of defeat a live principle consolidates its own science. Thus did Marx retire after the proletarian reverses of 1848; and his "Capital," with its arsenal of

more solid conquests, was the result.

The Socialist movement in South Africa is also arted of opportunities to deploy by the peculiar circumstances of the war. It behoves it therefore to occupy the full of the struggle in the development of Socialist theory. It is our business to know the factors with which the working-

class will have to deal in its coming conflict with capital. To "weep barren tears" over the increasing crimes and miseries of capitalism will avail little, and requires no organisation. It is for us to know the secret of capitalism's power, and thus direct the means for its overthrow.

The Good and the True are molten in the circumambient mentality of man. They have appealed to him 'since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.' It is not for the Socialist movement to wring hands at their non-attainment, but to open the doors of those economic forces which alone can let them in These are the objects of socialist research.

And let it not be supposed that by Socialist theory is meant the spinning of dogma. Theory and practice, method and aim, are closely interwoven in the movement of the working class. Differences on Socialist theory decide our

actions to-day, NOW.

For instance, the salient point of theory and practice which Socialists have to fight out in South Africa is their attitude towards the native wage labourers. This question goe to the root of Socialist theory, and you it is the bucning question of the time for us. Until the white and native workers awaken to industrial solidarity, the workingclass movement, no matter what its electoral statistics may show,

can do hårdly more than mark time.

Here we have a fight before us of a magnitude unexampled in any other section of the Socialist International. But a fight fraught with wonderful possibilities for the native, and for the movement which he must inevitably dominate. The I.S.L. has already declared its policy on the lines of the class struggle, and there is a growing tendency to regard this phase of international workingclass unity as the one thing which makes Socialism worth fighting for in South Africa. And it is involved in the movement towards the organisation of the workers on industrial as against craft divisions.

These are not technical details. They are rooted deep in the principle for which the International stands: that all divisions of nationality, of craft, of creed, of colour (and if of creed why not of colour?) must sink out of sight

before the stern division of class.

Let us shoul it again for the benefit of those who do not know, this Alpha and Omega of the movement: The emancipation of humanity from capitalism and war depends upon all the workers of the world coalescing as a class and capturing and administering as workers the productive forces of society for the good of all. From this gigantic but simple turnover inexhaustible, unimagined glories will flow to mankind.

Thus to-day more than ever the true spirit of the working class calls upon us not to relax our endeavours, though we may have to vary their character. We epeak of fighting for Socialism'. Why, is not the fight at its graudest now, while it is sternest? When the working class is again in tune with the spirit of its own movement, there will be no more 'fighting for Socialism.' It will have become a joy ride.

Our Conference is called again, and the War Godis still Mighty, Almighty, but for our refusal to share the shame of its ill tyranny." Ours there is a duty whose honour is its own reward. It is ours without rancour to wait calmiy and bear witness to the workingelass that is to be. Ours to do for the Socialist principle at least a tithe of that endured by the noble Misguided in the trenches of the war god. For it only requires a few Socialists to remain firm, and all the forces of capitalism and war, and all their shifts and guide, can but add to the measure of victory of the Socialist ideal.

The I.S.L. Conference takes place on Swinday the 14th inst. beginning at 9 a, n., at the Trades Hall, Rissik St.

The reception will be held at West's Academy, Pritchard St., tomorrow night at 8 p.m. All comrades welcome.

Bureaucratic despotism, or the Co-operative Com-monwealth.

The want of recognition of the class struggle by the reformist leaders of the working class in the past and to-day has been and is the cause of these blind leaders leading the party into a blind alley. These nincompoops are so blind that they cannot see beyond the point of their own noses (or say perhaps a fraction of an inch beyond as far as their own personal interests and ambition are concerned); so blind that they cannot see that society as formed to-day is a conflict of class against class, rich against poor, a conflict of economic interests from top to bottom. They fail to see society fissured and torn with conflicting interests, and their failure to do so, and their ignorance of the most elementary economics of Labour, have hefogged them. They stand braying like asses for reform when it is as plain as the nose on their own brazen faces that while the tools of production are owned by a class, or controlled by the political state, the workers will still be in the condition of wage slaves.

This war is about to bring about many of these reforms without the sanction or will of the working class. The dictatorial government at present running the political machinery of Great Britain, at the bidding of the Harmsworth press and in the interests of the big capitalists and banking concerns, will give nationalisation and State ownership to safeguard their own interests, and we have no reason to believe these reforms will be withdrawn at the close of the war.

This war is making things economic move very rapidly, and we in South Africa, by that reflex determinism which controls all societies, shall be brought in line with any development which may take place in other countries. It behoves the workers in their own interests to discard these reforming mountebanks, and grasp the fundamental fact that there are two phases of society possible in the near future. The one is a form of society which will have a favoured caste or class of workers, bought by many concessions and favours to do the bidding of the possessing class, with the bulk of the workers reduced to mere chattel slaves, without any rights or privileges, used as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The other phase of society is one in which the workers (who it must be remembered compose ninety per cent. of the population) will take control of the tools of production and utilise them, not for the production of commodities for profit, but for the production of all the necessaries and luxuries of life for society as a whole; and by their power will capture the political machinery of Government, establish the administration of things, and by so doing abolish the state which requires the policeman's bâton and soldier's bayonet to enforce the class made laws; inaugurating the co-operative commonwealth, giving equality of opportunity, and ensuring to every individual member of society the product of his labour.

The present form of Society is in the throes of disintegration. The workers are the only class in subjection. It is their opportunity. Are they going to allow the present ruling class to continue to be masters and arbiters of their fate? Are they going to allow themselves to be befogged still further with concessions and reforms thrown to them like beggars? It is time they recognised their power. They are indispensable in the trenches and munition factories to-day, enabling the ruling classes to carry our their schemes and ambitions. Awake, ye workers, to a knowledge of your power, and use that power for the frustration of the plans of these blood suckers to establish a form of society described by Jack London in his "Iron Heel". Use that power to bring about a system of society founded on the economic basis of mutual help and co-operation in the production for use of the necessaries and luxuries of life. The development of the capitalist system during the past century has led to your being herded together in large workshops, factories and mines; it has shown the way to co-operation. The present system is social production for profit. Use your power to seize these productive forces and produce for use, and by so doing bring about the ideal preached by the christian churches for the past nineteen hundred years—"Peace and good will on earth": an ideal that can never be realised under any system of society based on class interests, giving rise to class antagonisms, but can only be realised under and through the socialistic ideal, the co-operative . commonwealth.

J. M. G.

A great workingclass Triumph.

The Australian Coal Strike.

A few particulars are now to hand by the mail papers of the great strike of Coal Miners in Australia. The strike ended on November 30, when the men's demand for an eight hour day bank to bank was conceded to the letter.

But the significance of the strike is not to be found in the actual terms gained, so much as in the working-class solidarity displayed by the men of Australia. And this is the main test of success.

The mine owners started off in high dudgeon with point blank refusals. And it is evident that the men on their side were also prepared for a prolonged strike. The actual number of men involved in the dispute was not more than 20,000; but large masses came out in sympathy, and many industries were put out of action for want of coal: until, on the eve of the settlement, it was computed that there were 300,000 men idle.

The State Coal Mines in Victoria stopped work although they largely enjoyed the conditions demanded by their comrades. In all parts of the country local strikes were precipitated through refusals of men to handle coal, and the consequent "down tools" of their mates in the industry.

Such was the case in the Government Small Arms Factory at Lithgow. Ten men were sacked for refusing to handle coal. As in all industries connected with the war, the management presumed on the patriotic stampede to wield the big whip. But in the Small Arms Factory there is a "Factory Union," in which all hands are organised except the A.S.E. men and another craft not named. Common action was therefore swift. Next day, the Management refusing to reinstate the ten men, all hands, except the A.S.E. men, came out The Melbourne 'Argus' evidently regarded this as the most heinous offence of the whole strike. It headed the news:

SMALL ARMS FACTORY DECLARED BLACK BY UNION.

Thus, not only the prosecution of the War, and the needs of the Navy, but the "public"—"the people" cry was exploited by the capitalists to the top of their bent. Premier Hughes, presiding at an abortive Conference of the masters and men, having failed to

browbeat the latter, pulled a holy face and talked about "the community" whose interests he alleged he had to safeguard. The joke of it was that the men he spoke to represented 20,000 miners, besides tens, even hundreds of thousands of other workers who were out in sympathy with them.

from the capitalists to the workers.

Look at the capitalist champions, what "small beer" they are! Hughes, with all the power of capitalism behind him, had to prevaricate meanly like a Jesuit priest. The delegates were wisely restrained in wielding their power. But one robust utterance shewed how small they could make Hughes and his capitalist friends look. After about an hour's wrangling over secondary matters. Mr. Pillans, a delegate from Lithgow, blurted out:

This is all humbug as far as I am concerned. I have liste el to all this iwaddle round the table, a il con have never yet get to bedrock. The question is, is this a fur thing that the min rearrasting?

The New Zealand Miners and the Federated Seamen's Union were splendid in keeping the ring clear. The Union Steamship Company, whose red funnels are to be seen in every Australian port, sent the Seamen's Union an assurance about scab coal, saying: "We have declined to carry coal to Australia for commercial purposes, and will not do so." Such is the power of solidarity.

The necessity for giving meaning to terms of speech was never better demonstrated than in this fight. The Miners' wanted eight hours bank to bank. The Mine Owners were prepared to give eight hours bank to bank! The whole fight was over the reading of the term. The miners wanted the the first man down at 7 o'clock and the lust man up at 3 o'clock, including half an hour for meals. The coal owners' version was eight hours from the last man down to the first man up: a very different proposition. The miners' definition of the term prevailed.

What is most alarming to the capitalist in this strike is the lead taken by the rank and file. The great strikes of the war are all remarkable for that. At one of the Conferences Premier Hughes asked the men's delegates to go back and take a ballot on the question of resuming work pending consideration of the men's claim by a special tribunal. The men's delegates seem to have been greatly impressed by this offer. Ballot

papers were printed with a recommendation from the delegates that the offer be accepted. But the aggregate megings of the men would have none of the ballot, nor of Hughes' proposal that he. Hughes, should conduct the ballot. The men refused to vote. The Delegates were sent back to de mand the full claim. A few days later a special tribunal met. There was a show of palaver for an afternoon, and the men's demand was granted; the faces of the coal owners being saved by a promise to recoup them for the loss involved by some means not made clear in the reports.

Thus in wondrous ways does the working class unite. Those who despond of the movement to-day are indeed blind. The working class movement is no movement at all if not industrial. And industrially the Deed of the working class is in advance of its Creed; yes, far in advance of our creed.

D. I. J.

The Revolution that Capitalism has Made.

At this moment, more than at any time since the European Civil War commenced, it is worth our while to look back and see the revolution that has taken place. We shall probably be able to think out our own tactics more clearly if we do so.

The Revolution Just Finished is not a workers' revolution. It is a revolution in which Big Business has taken over the control of practically every government. The form which this control has taken has been state capitalism.

We had, of course, a large amount of control by Big Business hitherto. No one in this country can fail to recollect what the Rhodes interests have done, or the activities of the sugar planters' combines in Natal. But the "middle class" has been strong enough to share this control. The farmers and the storekeepers have had their share in the swag. We have, too, had flourishing examples of state capitalism:—the S. A. Railways, the town plantations of wattles at Maritzburg, the Jo'burg tramways, etc. The Germans had gone into it quite extensively.

But there has been an immense change since 1914.

In England the petty capitalists have simply been squeezed out. In

that country, "industrial compulsion" has put Big Business into the position of a part of the government. War loans have made American financiers part of the French, British, German and Russian governments.

State capitalism has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. Australia has bought a line of steamships. Railways in England are private capitalist property in name only. The mere list of transactions would fill a column. The final perfect example was the use of the submarine "Deutschland" fortrade between Germany and America.

Now all this has a bearing on our methods. We no longer have the old enemies to deal with. We have no internecine fights to give us points of attack.

On the contrary, we have, at last, a united enemy to face. But this enemy is, by its unity, far stronger than ever before. It is more able than ever to control any and every public organ. Whether through the forms of middle-class democracy in America, or "Nationalist" squabbles here, or government bonds in France, it does control completely. The new capitalism is far more strongly entrenched than its precursor. What with "medical supervision" of workers, education laws, and the like, its power over all the workers is quite equal to that which its precursor had in this country over kaffirs by means of pass laws.

S. G. RICH

Marriage.

Comrades S. P. Bunting and R. Notlowitz were married at the Magistrate's office, Johannesburg, on December 22nd. last.

To Motorcyclists.

Arthur Hildebrandt, for 7 years with the Diamond Cycle Co., and his brother A. E. Hildebrandt, well known for many years past in the Trade Union Movement in Johannesburg, have opened up business as Motor Engineers under the title of Hildebrandt Brothers at 29 Pritchard St., near Harrison St., (Phone 3953) Johannesburg, where they invite a trial—the result will be their best advertisement.

The Capitalist States our Case.

Patriotism-is not an illusion, it is a reality—for the trading class. But it is a grand illusion when cherished by the working lass. The Socialist case against war is often put in a nutshell by capitalist writers. We say that the workers have nothing to gain by conquest and nothing to lose from defeat: and this is proved, daily from the unwitting lips of Jingo apologists. Here is a writer in the London "Daily Chronicle", discussing at considerable length the question of exacting an indemnity from Germany. If concludes that there is not sufficient gold. in that country to pay it. What Britain must therefore do is to become the universal mortagee of all German property, in possession until the dividends pay the indomnity, (Don't calk this Quixotic, because that will make war Quixotic.) BUT:

The first charge on the businesses will naturally, and, indeed, necessarily, be the wages, of the employees. They—the working classes of Germany—will suffer no detriment from the change. Whether they work for foreign or for German capitalists, their position will be the same. The real sufferers will be the present shareholders in the industries—the men, that is to say, who planned this war of robbery, and did their best to eliminate their industrial rivals in France and Belgium.

Then why should the workers of Germany and Britain fight against swopping dinner whistles; and lose their skoff in the bargain?

International Socialist League (S.A.)

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

P. O. Box 4179 Phone 6035.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg

General Secretary: D. Ivon Jones.

BRANCH NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG.

Johannesburg District branches are very busy on the Conference Agenda. Both the Eastern Districts branch and the Johannesburg Central found the task of getting through the agenda at one sitting boyond them and in consequence adjournments were carried at about half way through the programme.

There is no doubt that these branches are dealing in a most thorough manner with the business and the Conference promises to be the most interesting episode of the League's progress to-date.

Delegates from outside Districts? are arriving and making their presence felt.

On Sunday evening last Com. W. II. Andrews lectured under the Chair-manship of Com. Campbell to a good audience at the Trades Hall,

A lively discussion followed the repaarks of the lecturer many present evidently using the occasion to test the acoustics of the Hall, in anticipation of the big day on Sunday pest.

Com Andrews, fresh and sweet from the sugar farm in Zululand, shew cal signs of his rustication in his sylvan retreat, and Com. Campbell as Chairman had no sinecure,

The social to-morrow night promises to be another bumper success, and as the programme is one of all the talents an enjoyable re-union is confidently anticipated. Everybody and anybody welcome.

Com. Ivon Jones arrives at Park tomorrow at 6 p.m.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni: Meetings every Tuesday evening at Smith's Studio, 11 Lake Avenue. Secretary: If Chapman, e.i. Lake Avenue and Swan Street.

Johannesburg East em Districts: Secretary pro tem: C.P. Tyler, 14 Evans St. Forest Hill.

Johannesburg Central: Public Moetings every Sunda; night a: Trades Mal., Rissik Street. Searchery: W. J. C. Cib., 2011, 238 Smit Street. Wanderers View.

Johannesbuig Western Districts:

Kruzersdorp: -Koengrang: P. Sanker blo.

5 Vlei Street.

Cigemiston: - Joint Secretaries W. Prince, Box 64, and E. JI. Becker, 54 Queen St.

Durban: —Public meetings every Sunday aight at Acutts, Duildings, Secretary W. S. Mabhott, 353, Point Road.

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

ADVERTISEMENTS

Registration of Businesses Act 1909.

Detween John William Herschell and Arthur Hildebrande under the style of J. W. Herschell, motor by he depending, has been dissolved as from 13th. December 1916. The said J. W. Herschell and the same style at the same address, and will bear additability in competing with the business.

Parties.

Estate of the Late Amour John Kessell of 36 Nelson Road Pooysens Johannesburg No. 30500.

Creditors and Debtors in the above mention of estate are hered, requisited to file their chains with and pay their debts to be andersigned within 21 days from the date of publication heres

J. FORRESTER BROWN, Agent for Executor Testamentary,

P. (). Box 2525 Johnnachurz.

The business of Agent or Broker registered by J. J. P. Albertze No. 27 Ninth Street, Vicededorp, in January 1916 has been aband med as from December 31st 1916.

C. & L. Clingman Party's agents. 25. Mercantile Bldgs., c.r.Commissioner & Simmond's Sts. Johannesburg.

The Kaffir Enting House and Butcher, registered Boksburg 1916, name H. Mowsowitz, on Stand 315, Driefontein Farm, has been abandoned as from 31st. Dresember 1916.

The General Dealers and the Court Tea Rooms registered Boksburg 1916, name Pennschenis Spinnos, on Stand 142, Vogelfontein, has been transferred to Diamondo Schanos as from 1st. January 1917.

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