# THE INTERNATIONAL

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## Those 32 Vates

Reverting to the result of the Troyeville election, last Friday, when Mr. Creswell, the Labour Party Candidate, came top of the poll with eight hundred odd votes, and the rest nowhere, a few points deserve attention. The Labour Party poll was about the same as at the General Election. What happened to the capitalist voters seems to be that they refrained from voting. Creswell was allowed past the sentry post with the capitalist watchword.

The poll of 32 in favour of Comrade Wade, the candidate of the League, is the lowest yet recorded for us. This came immediately after the League gained working class rockbottom at its annual Conference.

All political parties that have no economic basis, or express no growing economic power, are Utopian. The Labour Party is not Utopian. It represents the small property holder, the agent, and the Craft Unionist whose property is his craft vanity;—all fag-ends of quickly vanishing economic forces.

The I. S. L., if it is not to be Utopian, must find its economic basis in the growing mass of the propertyless industrial proletariat. It is a foreshadowing of their consciousness as a great emancipating and emancipated class. But this great mass of the proletariat, which was only represented by 32 votes in the Troyeville contest, happens in South Africa to be BLACK, and therefore disfranchised and socially outcast.

The I.S. L. has no hope of looking to the Labour Party constituents, the small shopkeeper and the artisan, for any large backing. Consequently, it is paised like Mahommed's coffin between an economic basis which it has left to sits fate - the craft unionist basis; and that other économic basis which it is its mission yet to develop—the great industrial proletariat.

International Socialism in South Africa therefore is nothing if not a virile propaganda to awaken the native wage-earner, and with the native his white prototype, to a consciousness of his great mission of human reclamation. To the League is entrusted this work. This work alone saves it from being Utopian. And in this work we hope to enlist all sections of the workers, including those who realize the ephemeral nature of their artisan status.

This is what makes Industrial Unionism a live wire in South Africa,—the native worker. This is also why the political field becomes a sine qua non. It is an axiom of Socialist economics that all anti-political societies degenerate into conspiracies. That axiom becomes a fiery warning to us in South Africa. ALL PROPAGANDA AMONG THE NATIVE WORKERS CALLING UPON THEM TO COMBINE INDUSTRIALLY IS A CONSPIKACY AGAINST "WHITE SOUTH AFRICA", (that is, propertied South Africa). Only on the political field can that call be made as a matter of right. Whether it be 32 votes or 2 votes, this must increasingly become the political issue for us: FREEDOM TO COMBINE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE NATIVE WORKER.

### A Scab Circular

Before us lies a circular issued by the President of the Tramway Union of Johannesburg on the eve of a general meeting of delegates. The matter is not merely a domestic one of the Tramwaymen's organisation. It concerns the whole workingclass movement. Here is a Union which has twice censured its President, who has twice been compelled to resign his position in consequence. He is again standing for office, and is undoubtedly backed by the Management in his candidature.

There is an agitation among the tramwaymen for equality of pay. They instinctively realize that the custom in the Municipal and Civil Services of grading the men according to terms of service is only a trick to keep them disunited.

They also want to abolish overtime. The overtime system is another trick of managements to get a grip over the men. Full pay plus overtime becomes gradually the standard wage for ordinary time. It is the thin end of the wage to break up the standard, and break the men.

The Manifesto of the Union's President, handed over the counter to the men at the Pay Office, is a crawling attempt to defend the present grading of the men, and to defend the system of overtime. The manner of its publication and the matter contained in it is a flagrant betrayal of the men. Pity they do not see it. If a scab is a man who sides with the boss against the men, then this circular is nothing less than downright SCABBERY.

But it is no use wringing hands over the matter. The point is that this barefaced intrigue to spoof the Tramwaymen (many of whom are new-chums from the back veld) through a Bum President, is done with the full cognisance of the Tramway Committee, on which Labourites and "Socialists" sit They have been sent there by the workers to safeguard their interest. This precious committee just recently held a mock trial of a conductor for resenting an insult from an inspector, and sacked him. (A wage-slave is expected to fight for the "honour of his country," but while on the job he must prostitute his own self-respect.)

Let the workers realize that Municipal employ and Government employ, like the Chamber of Mines employ, are all alike Capitalist employ. Dont be fooled with the idea that "the people" employ you. It does not matter how many Labourites or Socialists are on the Committees, unless the men stand solidly together, assert their own strength, and decide their own destinies en masse, the Labourites and the "Socialists" are equally under the thumb of Capitalist dictation with the other members. In this Johannesburg Tramway Committee we have another proof that Labour and Socialist representatives can do nothing, can even do harm, unless they carry instructions from a workingclass solidly organised. There are not many members of the Tramwaymen who would crawl for favours' from the boss. Then why do they allow their Union to crawl. No boss can give favours to the whole crew. He can only buy out a few of the wily ones. The only way to lift the status of all the members is to fight, and fight openly and solidly. Away with the grading system. Away with overtime. Away with Bum Presidents! Let the Tramwaymen rely on their own solidarity, or have ne Union at all.

# The coming of the Great

The modern Socialist movement is primarily economic, since the material conditions of life, the mode in which the wealth of the community is produced and distributed, constitutes in a yery crucial sense the basis of everything. The want of perception of this fundamental principle on the part of middle class reformers and socalled Labour leaders has led them astray and befogged their mental vision.

We who recognise the predominance of the material and econ, conditions as the main factors controlling society,—standing to-day, at the beginning of the 20th century, are in a position to understand and read the lessons from the past, more especially as they are unfolded to us by, the development of the past century. We have seen the form of society gradually changing from the comparatively simple, to the complex nature of to-day. The system of economic production at the beginning of the 19th century was one wherein the employer, the small capitalist, was not very far removed from his workers. He could be approached by them to discuss their grievances and generally gave a sympathetic hearing if nothing more. But that position was gradually changed as the century rolled on. The small capitalist, as competition in the growing markets of the world became keener, was forced to combine with his fellow capitalist to safeguard his. own interests.

This combination of capital has. gradually led to the formation of Corporations, Trusts and Kartels to enable them to apply to production and distribution many scientific appliances, giving increased and quicker methods of producing commodities, with quicker transit by land and sea in the growing over-sea markets.

The combinations of capital has gradually led to the concentration of the workers into large workshops and mines for the manipulation of these scientific power-driven Tools of preduction. It has gathered the workers in huge masses under one management for the transport of commodities to markets in all parts of the world.

The concentration of capital into fewer hands, controlling and owning ... the tools required for the production of everything necessary to the life of

society, has given rise to industrial slavery: enlitte control of the political machiness of gevernment gives it the material for a new years, to enforce weakures for the complimed I as will be because burning their explication of the workers.

Such bird hier the declaration of explinible which the 19th water. To day, we see the beginning of a stell fuither concentration of empled a combination that will be the largest Trust the world has over seen,--a Trust proposed to combing the figureial and commercial interests of the Alijes fighting against the Central Powers; but which will embrace all European countries, with the object of controlling the markets of the world in their own interests, in opposition to those countries outside the Combine.

This international combine of capital, with control of the military and material forces of the countries forming the combine, will be a powerful "eapon to crush the workers and con ol them to be subservient to the wil o 'he master class. It will lead to the regimenting of the workers under an enslaving Bureaucracy, with all sorts of penaltiès to be meted out to any section of them who should strike for better conditions of labour. They will build up a favourite section of workers, with a feeling of nothing in common with their fellows, with an intensified application of the old and favoured method of divide and rule, a system under which the national prejudices and animosities of one country can be used to crush any aspirations or demands of the workers of any other country forming the combine, by prejudices fanned by the press and artfully stimulated by skilful orators.

While recognising a combine of This magnitude to be the necessary and historic role of the modern form of capitalism, it behoves the workers of the world to ask in what manner they are going to combat it. Theseer led leaders of all factions of society are hailing it with delight The pit dot is acclaiming it as a means of crushing his enumies. The poligious sentimentalist is supporting it us a weapon that is going to eliminate all war in future. The so-called intellectual middle-man is strenuously advocating it as a measure of State control.

The workers' only hope to combat such a combine is to organise as Industrial Unions on a class conscious basis, not only to wring concessions from the employing class but with the

ultimus object of taking control of the industries. Chair unions have played their purt, but have become 

# Associated Socialist Fess.

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BY L. D. GODENOUGH.

We often complain of the way the capitalist pros-distort, suppress or invent new- in the interest of the capitalist chass. Simply complaining will do little good. Something should be done to counteract this.

The Socialist press has developed to e msiderable proportions. However, nearly all are struggling along alone with no co-operation or definite policy. The Capitalist press has organised into what is known as the "Associated Press." or affiliated with some News Agency, such as Ranters. In this was they are able to control and censor all news.

Why should not Socialists study efficiency and organisation? Why should there not be an International Socialist Associated press. Every Socialist paper should contribute to a news collecting agency. The general method adopted by the agencies now established is to send all news to certain centres from which they are disstributed to all subscribers.

The war is no doubt a handicap, but in spite of this negotiations should be opened at once.

As we are Internationalists, elect. ions in foreign countries should interest us aim st as much as our own. The poll of the Socialists in the recent l' American elections was not mentioned in any of the capitalist papers. It would not have been very expensive Dinave arranged a cable giving these results. With an Associated Socialist Pross.special arrangement would not be necessary.

An Associated Socialist Press could send special correspondents to the seene of any industrial upheaval taget the facts from the workers' point of view. This will make it easy to expose and refute the usual lies in the capitalist press.

Have you subscribed to "The International,"

55. per annum, post free, Box 4179.

Johonnesdurg.

# Thoughts on Sabotage and State Socialism.

By H. W. H

Brom the Anstralian Sunday Post I dearn the details of the trial of the 1. W. men in Australih. Tom (Hynn (15 years) will be remembered as the leader of the Johannesburg Tram Strike, 1910. Peter Earkin (10 vears) is a brother of the famous Jim o' that name; while Goldstein, the chief informer, will be remembered as the tailor who was very busy in labour circles here just after the big strike. It was Comrade George Mason who opined that e (Goldstein) was a "crook," and in consequence he never got inside the Socialist movement here as he was keenly desirous of doing.

That by the way. The Australian upaval and its roult (The Illegal Socties Bill) proves again the truth of Karl Marx's prophecy. Marx has pointed out that the result of what today we call "sabotage" would inevitably be the full use by the Government (at the instigation of the enemy) of every weapon at its command to keep in subjection the slave class. That his words should be so wonderfully verified by a "Labour" Government adds considerably to the value of the warning.

It is significant that the cry of "Syndicalism" has taken the place, all over the civilized, or Industrialised World, of "Socialism" to stampede the mass of law abiding citizens today.

Why is that? State Socialism is now being strongly advocated by the Capitalist Class of Great Britain. The controlling power has come to the conclusion that Socialism's inevitable. Therefore, to blind anew the slaves that clamour for bread the stone of "State" Socialism is about to be offered. The State control of Industry brought about by the war has shewn the "best people," that it is easier to. make big profits under State Socialism of the approved Hyndmanesque brand than it is under pure unadulterated. Capitalism. Consequently they to-day welcome the proposition with open arms, the war having shewn them the beauty of the scheme. It is a mere quibble to argue that the ills and woes of State control are brought about because it is capitalist State confied. Is it not capitalist State control that is suppressing and jailing the slaves of Australia? Of course it is,

and State Socialism, as the condition of the working class in England under State control of Industry proves, will never be anything but Capitalist State Socalism.

To them capitalist State control merely means that Blatchford is not Prime Minister. Hyndman Chancellor of the Exchequer and Will Crooks Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

has knocked your State Socalist clean out of the ring. He is down and out and can never come again into the fight which draws near. A fight to a finish, without the gloves of State Socalism, bare handed and determined we go forward to our objective: "full ownership and control by the workers themselves of the machinery of production."

To achieve this, the workers will have to organise in their Industrial Unions to capture the political state, and the control of the armed forces; and then use their Industrial Unity as the administrator of society's material needs. This done, all government, with its appanages of police, prisons, bayonets and bludgeons, will drop away and die. For the State is but an invention for the suppression of the exploited class.

The South African Mine Workers
Union having put certain demands to
the Chamber of Mines on the ground
that the cost of living had gone up, a
lengthy reply was received by the
Union this week, which has appeared
in the press.

The main demands of the Union are brushed aside with the exception of a couple of lesser concessions. The main argument of the Chamber of Mines is that the cost of living has not gone up. The question with them is not, "can you force us to give you anything," but "you are getting enough skoff, so lie quiet." In fact, it argues that the wage-slaves of this country are getting more wages in excess of the price of food than workers in any other part of the world.

Thus is the Marxian dogma again vindicated,—that the subsistence level of existence really decides the wages of the working class under the Capitalist system. The white miner may look down on his black hammer boy, but the Chamber of Mines puts him in the same category. To the masters he is a bum-slave whose wages are higher only because his skoff is dearer.

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

## "For Their Own Good"

FY JUSHUA WANHOPE and S. G. Rich.

The capitalist press of England and Anterica is reproducing a powerful cartoon by the Dutch artist Louis Raemakers, depicting the progress of German control of Belgium, and captioned "Enslaved For Their Own Good." The text beneath gives the comment of the German governor of Belgium, von Bissing, who says: "At bottom it is a blessing. Nothing so demoralises a man as long idleness, and nothing tends more to weaken a nation than if a large part of it is compelled to do nothing for years,"

The capitalist press finds that this is sheer hypocrisy—in the case of the Germans. It alleges that that nation, "invoking the methods of African slave traders in the conquered regions," has stamped on itself "The Mark of the Beast." But is this hypocrisy confined to the German Junker? Let us be fair and hare alike in this matter. Where is the class society that does not bear the "mark of the Beast?" Where is the class society that does not agree with von Bissing when he prates about "demoralisation"?—provided it is its OWN conquests it is talking about and " not those of some warring capitalist group or "nation"

Slavery, open and undisguised, existed in America until within half a century ago. The new pass law in Durban and the old one in Johannesburg have produced what is slavery in all but name in this country. How was slavery defended in America; how are these pass laws defended here? Exactly as von Bissing defends the German action in Belgium. The Negro was enslaved 'tor his own good.' And "at bottom it was a blessing." We are assured by the reactionary town. council of Durban that put through the pass law, that "it is in the natives" interest" and "should prove a boon to the law-abiding section of the natives."

Has not that been the argument of the plutocrat everywhere in defence of his depredations? In the Congo? In the Phillipines? In Ireland? In India? In grabbing Griqualand West? In enticing Shangaans and Kosas into the mines of Benoni and Krugersdorp? In running a system of compounds where vice is encouraged, side by side with the Holy Rollers and Salvation Army; but where the gate is fast closed against the "agitator" who tells the truth about exploitation? Do they not

use this same excuse everywhere?

Has there ever been any lack of preachers to justify any usurpation and tyranny of the ruling class in almost these same identical words?

When the wheat farmers of the prairies of Canada, short of hands, seize wandering labourers and compel them at the point of a shotgun to work in the fields till harvest is finished. does the press of that country object fiercely? It does not. It approves. It does not yell "Slavery," but complacently remarks that "it is for their own good," and that it is "at bottom a blessing," and "nothing so demoralises," etc., etc., - and all the rest of the von Bissing unction.

When the sugar planters of Natal want more land to exploit, and the natives reduced to landless wanderers dependent on their daily wages alone, hence cheap and submissive as labour, they manage to get bills into parliament that take the land away from the native locations. Does the press stand up and howl "Robbery?" Far from it. It approves. It does not call out "Thief." It complacently remarks (see almost any issue of the Natal Mercury) that "it is for their own good" and "at bottom it is a blessing," and "nothing so demoralises and weakens as "--and all the rest in true von Bissing style.

Of course they have always denied and do deny that these things are "slavery" or "robbery." So does von Bissing. If their denial is good, why not his? If their excuses are valid for them, why are they not valid for him and all the other Germans? oOr will you contend that the other capitalist nations have a moral monopoly of this cant which Germans cannot share?

The "Mark of the Beast" is not confined to Germany. All the others share it, equally. They are tarred with the same brush, branded with the same mark—the mark of capitalism and class rule. That is the "Beast" that rules what is called the "civilised woild."

The strength of the Socialist movement depends not primarily upon the number of votes which it polls, nor upon the number of parliamentary seats which it occupies, nor upon the number of municipalities which it controls in the name of Socialism, but most and chiefly upon the degree with which it pursues the interests of the proletariate exclusively.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

#### International Socialist League

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.

#### LEAGUE NOTES.

The League's propaganda activities were continued in Johannesburg last Sunday. The open air meeting in front of the Town Hall was addressed by Comrades Ivon Jones and Bunting. Comrade Bunting's address was very attentively listened to by the crowd. The police were very much in evidence.

Comrade Campbell addressed a good meeting in the Trades Hall on "The class struggle on the Rand." Comrade Campbell's was a farewell address prior to leaving Johannesburg. A most interesting resume of the development of the Labour and Socialist movement on the Rand-was given to a full audience.

The Exodus from Johannesburg this week included Comrade Andrews and family, Comrade Campbell andi Comrade Mrs. Petterson. All for

Durban and Zululand.

The Management Committee has appointed Comrades W. Reid and Fred Robertson, with the Treasurer, Comrade Becker, as the Finance Committee of the League.

The Press Committee so far consists of Comrades Gibson, Tyler, Bunting and Ivon Jones, Editor. These are sub-Committees responsi-

ple to the M.C.

The WOMEN COMRADES. All the women conrades of the League in the Johannesburg district are invited to a meeting of the Entertainment. Committee to be held in the Trades Hall, on Wednesday Evening next. the 7th inst., to discuss with representatives of the Management Committee ways and means of raising funds for the coming year, The chairman of the League, Comrade Andrew Watson, will have a few words to say to the women comrades.

#### CARRY ON!

You, the reader of this little Socialist paper, can do a lot of work for Socialism. You can do the most important work it is possible to do for Socialism at the present time. And you can do it without the least fear of victimization.

What is that most important work? It is to get the revolutionary message into the hands of every intelligent wage-earner. 'The International" is making most gratifying headway in every large town in South Africa, thanks to the enthusiasm of a few devoted comrades in the various centres. But if all good Socialists only do their duty, that success will be trebled in the coming year,

What we ask of you is very little. If you cannot get subscriptions, you surely know of a few workingmen who are class conscious, and who are waiting for the call of revolutionary Socialism. Send us, their names and addresses, and we'll do the rest. Let every new reader take on this job, make an endless chain of it. Some of the comrades are making much greater sacifices. Do you therefore this little service for the movement

That does not say that we are not also appealing for new subscriptions and financial help for "The International". We want the men, we want the money too. Send along the names of all possible readers, and swell the marching throng of those clear visioned wage-earners who will have a definite working class purpose in this chaos of doddering capitalism.

The capitalist press like to perpetuate the fiction that the Tommy is consumed with hatred for "the Hun", and prefers a death sentence to being. invalided home. In Patrick Mc Gill's book a soldier is shot in the arm. His mates say, "Lucky dog, that will take you to England." Or words to that effect.

The matter is very naively put in a letter from an invalided Spring-

bok to his mother:

Anyhow, I managed to get round the doctor, and he has put me down for the Base; that means I wont be going to France any more. He said: "Don't be downhearted because you can't go back to the front." I thought to myself. "Do you see any green in my eye?"

#### BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni:—Meetings every Tuesday evening at Smith's Studio, 14 Lake Avenue. Secretary: T. Chapman, c'o Lake Avenue and Swan Street.

Johannesburg Eastern Districts:--Secretary C. B Tyler, 13 Evans St. Forest

Johannesburg Central:--Public Meetings every Sunday night at Trades Hall, Rissik Street. Secretary: W. J. C., Gilyson, 238 Smit Street, Wanderers View.

Johannesburg Western Districts:— Secretary: D. Elk, 23 Ferreira Street.

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

Durban:—Public meetings every Sunday night at Acutts Buildings. Secretary W. S. Mabbott, 353 Point Road.

The General Dealer business registered at the Revenue Office, Johannesburg on January, 1916, by the The Smokeless. Conl Agency Ltd., 51, Staib. Street, Doornfontein, was removed to Newtown Coal Yards. Newtown.

C. & L. Clingman Parties Agents, 25, Mercantile Buildings, Commissioner and Simmonds Sts., Johannesburg. 26,2,9

The General Dealer's Kaffir Eating House and Butchery registered Boksburg 1916, name M. Hirschowitz trading as "Hyman & Hirschowitz" on stand 173. Driefontein Farm, abandoned and partnership dissolved on the 31/12/16, 26. 2. 9

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for the I.S.L. Box 4179, Joh'burg.