INTERNATIONAL.

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

Resistered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

No. .75

FRIDAY 9 MARCH 1917.

PRICE 1d. WEELY.

Industrial Unionism a Live Wire in

The NataliAdvertiser had a column report on February 28th of a discussion in the Durban Trades Hall, ! under the auspices of the Natal Federation, on "Woill industrial Unionism be more beneficial to the workers than Craft Unionism." The discussion was long and keen, and had to be adjourned, the overwhelming preponderance of the opinion expressed being undoubtedly in favour of Industrial Unionism.

From the remarks quoted one suspects that the Durban Internationals were properly on the war path, or that the League's propagandais wider in its scope than even we imag

ine it to be.

Mr. J. Trembath, vice-president of the Federation in the chair. Here are a few extracts from the score or so of six minute speeches delivered:---

At present they were all "scabbing "on one another. They should all come out in mass action, not only nationally thus internationally, and take charge of the means of production. They had only got one enemy to fight, and that was the master class.

An injury to one was an injury to all, and the only thing the workers needed to day was self-confidence.

"We must fight the boss for better wages and a higher standard of comfort. Industrial Unionism means the overthrow of Capitalism. Craft Unionism only guarantees a certain measure of security." So commented another young orator

Mr. Banks, speaking of Craft Unionism in Durban, regalled the plasterers' strike, which lasted five and a half months and was at the end of that time broken by bricklayers stepping in and doing the work. He asserted that if the workers were industrially organised they could have every job in their hands in less than two months. "If you want a porous plaster for wooden legs, stick to your Graft Unions, was how one enthusiastic advocate of the greater Union terminuted his energetic oration.

All the way from Wales came the next debater, and he was clad in khaki. He declared there was now no such thing as an individual craft. Every industry was subdivided into so many different sections. Industrial Unionism was gaining a big hold in Great Britian. "I suppose I am a bit of a revolutionist," concluded the Cambrian. "I got chucked out of one society for advocating Industrial Unionism. Politics is a dirty game. What the workers have got to do is to control industries themselves" As he left the hall to return to camp the khaki-clad controversialist was warmly applauded.

"I don't believe in the policy that it will take a devil of a time to do a very little. Every time a man says it will take a long time to do a certain thing he is spragging the wheels of progress. If workers are united and determined on any one thing there is no power under God's sky that can rrevent them," was how a speaker of mature years summed up the situation.

"Daft" Uni nison was the definition of craft Unionism given by one ardent industrialist. "We should not look. to leaders. Every man should be his own leader, declared another. "Then we would be a disorganised mob," was the prompt, reply voucheaved from the region of the door. "Trade Unionism as it stands to-day is really a comic opera," was the gist of the next opinion.

"Craft Unionists sie to-day putting up a last ditch struggle against progress," and sympathy does not cure consumption," were among the shafts of oratory fired with effective aim from the quiver of a clever debater.

Speaking of the coloured worker one of the ancluding speakers said they must either lift him up to in white men's standard of organistion, otherwise he would be g them down to his by disorganisation.

Only one critic of Industrial Unionism was reported and he was of the "time-inopportune" variety. Johannesburg had better shift its pegs, or Durban will mos surely take the palm for the clarity of its workingclass or look, if the above extracts are any criterion.

The Slave and the Wage-Slave.

In Kautsky's "Working Class", (League literature, 3d) the difference between the slave and the wage-worker is vory finely given.

"Whatever hardship former modes of exploitation inflicted upon the exploited, one boon they left him: the certainty of a livelihood. The sustengues of the seed and the slave was assured at least so long as the life of the master himself was assured. Only when the master perished was the existence of his slaves in peril. Whatever amount of misery and dearth broke out over the people under former systems of production, such visitations were never the result of production itself, they were the result of a disturbance of production brought on by the failures of crops, droughts.

floods, irruption of hostile armies, etc."

But under the system of wage-labour under which we live to-day, the reverse is the case. Whatever dignity the wage-worker may have attained over the chattel slave through the conquest of civil liberties, economically his position is less secure than the slave's. The slave starved when production stopped. The wage-slaves starve when they have produced too much. The master had to feed his slave or forfeit him. The Capitalist master may throw his wage-slaves and their wives and children on the street to starve, and be none the worse for it. The slave starved if he did not toil. The wage-slaves starve the more they toil for they throw themselves out of work. Morally then, wage slavery is a far more intolerable system because more insidious in its slavery, and infinitely more widespread in its scope. There were 400,000 slaves in Rome, De Leon tells us in his "Two pages of Roman History," and the injustice of the institution brought on the corruption of the parasite layers of Society, and their eventual downfall.

To-day the sjambok of starvation has replaced the catof-nine-tails; and is found, even with the paper crown of the Vote and Freedom of the person, to be far more effective.

The present agitation to conscript the wage slave to the front is resorted to, not because the whip of starvation has been found ineffective, but because the employing class cannet agree among themselves whose wage-slaves should go first.

Thus the beauty of wage-slavery is again illustrated. The chattel slave could only work for his master. Indeed, such was the superiority of the old exploiter class that they would not tolerate the propertyless to fight for property. So much didthey consider the act of fighting to be a claimon property that the 2000 helots who fought to save Sparta were massacred to a man when they returned home. This was the oalyalternative to conceding them a stake in the country for which they had fought.

But under the wage system the matter is reversed. The wage-earner works, and fights for his master. Under wage slavery he can be made to prefer the perils of battle to losing his job. He can be made to fear not death, and yet live in mortal terror of the sack. . Who would not abolish chattel slavery for such a beatutiful system?

Butit is working cout the downfall of indse who profit by it. The universal chemistry of Right is atwork telling the doom of all parasite classes. It is our work to turn that noom into a blessing, by calking the wage-earners to stand together as a class, to abjure the parasite morality of their masters, and make labour, not parasitism, the ruling principle of human

Manufacturing the Proletariat.

An Astounding Bill.

By S. P. BUNTING.

Kautsky says somewhere that Socialists have always been on the side of genuine national emancipation movements, such as the Polish or Irish movements. Such instinctive sympathy with any agitation designed to shake off any chains, even if complicated with racial or sectional interests, must be felt in face of the profound resentment felt among natives all over South Africa at the Native Affairs Administration Bill, 1917 now before Parliament.

The Natives Land Act of 1913, nominally a measure of sogregation, was outrageous enough. This Bill repeals its whips and substitutes scorpi)ns.

The 1913 Act established provisional 'native areas' outside which, broadly speaking, natives might not acquire any interest in land; and appointed a commission to carve up the Union more exactly, into native and white areas respectively. Needless to say, the whites got very much founds as the white man's segrant. il. lim's share from the outset. The ! natives protested, and went to England a'aqu'ii; luir when was broke out I until peace was restored. Not so, the market. The like Victorian proglama-Ultion Government, however. The I tion forbidding Missistion discriminate Commission have ran: ked Africa, for worthless ground and awarded it to the natives. What good ground they throw in, as e.g. in a part of Zu luiand, the local whites are clamouring I to have excluded again. In all, the 42 million natives get, under 20 million morgen; the 12 million whites gen the rest. 122 million morgen. And now Governingnt brings in the Bill to confirm this delimitation, and unmasks what 'segregration' really means. Native areas are too be removed outside scope of Parliamentary or the Provincial legislation. Instead the Governor General, on his own, may by proclamation make what laws he pleases for the 'peace, order and good' government of the native areas, and may repeal any existing law which would otherwise apply there: the only matters excluded from this egregious legislation by proclamation being. certain Union Acts on finance, taxation, prisons, defence, police, railway and harbour service, Mines and Works, (you bet!) customs, patents, . Workmen's compensation, and the like.

Parliament retains a kind of appellate control over such legislation, but partly under conditions easily defeasi-, ble by those who manipulate the procedure of the House.

In order the more effectually to grind the faces of the luckless natives to be swept into these areas, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is to be abolished in favour of special Courts for the administration of justice, also constituted, of course, by the Governor General, and, interalia, native chiefs' courts with jurisdiction as per proclamation; and no appeal will even lie to the Appellate Division.

The Governor General may or may not be guided by the advice of a permanent paid Native Affairs Commission, appointed by himself, (The Governor General means in effect of course, the Cabinet of the day)

Communal or joint ownership by more than five natives or by a native company is forbidden anywhere. A perfanctory saving of the Parliamentary vote in the Cope is inserted by re-Tarence: but Gadonly knows how it Can voi a mai teinol.

Oilside the maire areas, a native , is all areal, with main exceptions,

in the whole in the whole . Bill is perf. off. . Far: we drive the nae lives of A with Mark as associatives the were provailed upon to drop agitation | completely thrus over intrib labour ting on the Found of colour, origin, danguage or creed is thrice denied by . this most loyal of Governments. Not a single native, it is believed, has been consulted about the Bill. Nata single native voice, it is fairly certain, willover be off ctively heard in the administration of the native areas. The natives do not coalize that an appeal to the "Briish public," (especially with Smuts in Britain) will be more futile than ever. . The "British Public's" mind has been poisoned in advance with inspired landations of Botha as the natives' benefactor, and no doubt the British Government, as in 1913, has promised not to veto the Bill.

Nor do the native workers, and their white fellow-workers, yet more than dimly realizather this is fundamentally no race or national matter of whites versus black. That the campaign for emandination is one for all wage-earners agring in dipitalists and that the organized power of all workers, internationally combined, is the only deliverance from the Beast. So much so that it may be that that

ery object of King Capita' in this Bili may have to be attained before that . pawer can take shape. For it is not the agricultural rustics, wallowing in , barbarism, ignorance, poverty and despair in the reserves, but the industrialized natives on the Rand, who will exercise it. All success in the meantime to the opposition to the Bill. The Corner House section would be well advised in the ultimate interests of capitalists if they opposed it themselves.

Russia's Awakening.

According to this week's cables wholes do garage of Russian workmen . seem to be rectal on place in connection with fine in that country.

With the grapid growth of Capitali ist industry in Russia during the war, , the power of Cravism is Waning, as with a the Dubia scenes, and the Liberte opsing power, and hard on i their it is a releturion movement.

The Part of the Rusmar Pri ve Winister in the Duma on Done in some that was all the bearing ond dou the many positivity to earing

Russia are as the live har by our lival Alli and is ourselves, and that is wing claims in the constant of the Constant Britain and Proper, and is which I als has College Lee ablished in a most definiin the significant of the Residence that the blood, and they consuming their blood, and in actioni with our Allies the aunounis made tenity from this tailuine."

Pation's correspondent in . graphing the report of the speech adds that when M. The post mounted the tribuno to road the Government statement the meteories that organised a noisy hostila demonstration, which . preyented the Premier from speaking for three-quarters of an hour. Trep of three times mounted the tri-, bunish in an anatha had to leave it , again owing to the furmoil raised by the defreme Left. To put an end to thad monatration the President of the . Duma propesed the expulsion for eight . sittings of twelve Socialist and Labour mi misers, including the leader, M. Tch: Ze and M. Kerenski. The propost legitationed, and M. Trepoff was their ic to deliver his speech

Gold and Capitalist Production.

By J. M. G.

(N tes of a lecture d'elixered in the Trades Hall last Sunday. J. M. G. here opens up a subject not yet investigated, sefar as we know, viz: The effect of State credit on gold as a standard of value and basis of cretit. Admittedly the article is intended to be read as t itarive rather than as the fast word of iere-rch. EDITOR)

The gold mines of the Transvaal have not escaped the movement for combination of commercial and financial interests. We read in the capitalist papers the L. Randfontein mines had been acquired by the group of financiers represented by S. B. Joel, but what these papers did not tell us. was the motive at the back of the movement to bring under one management practically one half of the gold production of the world.

To understand the motive at the hack of this combination of interests we have to study the part Gold has played in the development of the eunialist systom.

a Gold has been, while not the only factor, one of the most important in developing and or ing the world markets for his side of commodities. An increasing relume of gold, on the world's markets has enabled the Banks. to give more extended credit, technt approved securifies knowing that these securities could be exchanged on the open markets for gold. It enabled these Banks to hold against notes issued, hills of exchange and cheques. andicient gold Bullion to meet all de mands under normal conditions def trade. The confidence that this paper could be exchanged for Gold,—a misplaced emfidence if all demands were made at one time—led to stability of commercial relations, opened/up the markets of the world, creating a demaind for commodities, thereby raising prices.

But there has been a new chapter ppened in capitalist manipulations. The State at the beginning of the war became the guarantor of the Banks, thus pledging the assets of the State as security for the financial stability of these Banks, owned by shareholders with the one object of creating divis

that stago in its developmeni when it requires the backing of the State to continue, - will eliminate Gold as a basis of credit, - and its use as money, placing Gold on the markets to be bought and sold under the same laws of supply and demand as any other commodity. That is, instead of Gold having a standard value of £4. 4. 10d per ounce, it will rise and fall in price as other commodities.

The financiers having control of the Gold mines, by combining their interests will be able to control the output of Gold just as they are controlling jamonds. This coutrol will en? them to regulate prices on the rld's markets, for although Gold may cease-to-operate as the basis of credit or he used as money, there will always, be a demand for its use in the fine arts.

These financiers having control of the share market will be able to depreciate any of these shares to their own, advantage, and having the management of the mines will engineer any movement necessary to control the output.

Waharebeen told by the press to a option mines going to pay for the war. Yet the same press publishes paragraph after paragraph giving the lie to this statement. One paragaph stated the British Government had appointed the Bank of Bunbay as agent for the sale of Gold Bullion. Another that the U.S.A. Banks had more gold to an they know what to do with, and had proposed to arrange a 60 million loan in preference to having a surplus quantity of Gold of which they could make no use.

Owing to State Control gold will play less part in the Capitalist system in the futur, than in the past; and the hanky-panky proceedings of financial sharks to curtail the output of Gold, and enable them in spite of increased cost of production to continue producing will result in crushing many of the small shareholders, the small middle man who thinks his financial prosperity is identical and bound up with the top Capitalists.

The closing down of many of these mines will have a disastrous effect on the community of the Rand." It will be an exe opener to those workers who

Federation versus Unity.

Adapted from an American paper y E. H. B.

(1). The Federation of Trades recognizes what does not exist, and that is mutual interest between Capital and Labour.

The Industrial Unionists deny that there is any such mutual interest and reply that labour creates all wealthsome of which is converted into capital.

2). The Federation of Trades asks for a fair day's wage for a fair day's work.

The industrialist demands the best wages paid, but wants wages abolished altogether, the worker to receive the full social value of his labour.

(3). The Federation of Trades is a loosely constructed association of crast unions without common industrial and social interests.

The industrialist withos for one big. union of the working class, organised as the workers are ascembled on the job in the industries without regard de de lines or mainel handaries (1). The Federalium of Trades industries in and crast

i ludustrialis, midei de crafts dal Palos involares in le seid anions 13). The Federa in of Pales dis villiancs against the alive and Channel man.

The Industrialia femily admits the diving a little of a colour or

The Palaration of Trades in some di logari nones applies rigid examination to applicable for membership.

The istrialist bases of the xamindie, having it to the boss to discommission amploye's ability.

(7). The Federation of Trades in all offis branches stards ready to divide against itself and onter into contracts and agreements with the employing class, thus dividing labour's great force into smaller groups or Sections.

The Industrial Unionid recognizes That this con mos are the death was 2013 of Liour. The dettlement of

achieved.

The above reasons apply to nearly all, kinds of crafts. They should be sufficient to convince a member of any craft union. But they seldom do, as most craft unionists have the same psychology as small business men. They are getting a little more than the majority of the working class, and with this little they are satisfied. They are craft conscious instead of class conscious.

America's Friendly Diplomatic Rupture.

Charles Schwab, the partner of Pierpont Morgan, and head of the Bethlehem Steel Company, in a recent speech in New York announced that the ordnance works at Bethlehem were now 50 per cent greater than the famous Krupp works at Essen.

What with compulsory military service in America against God knows what, we will have an American militarism by the side of which the British and German brands will be

very small beer indeed.

Besides, you see what a quite friendly rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany is for. The Bethlehem furnaces will now be in full blast belching out the manufactured hate of the American people against the German bogey man.

Not only that, President Wilson wants Congress to pass laws empowering him to mobilize the Railroadmen for military service when they want to strike, and to make a strike a penal act when the country is in danger.

Now we see how profitable it is to put the "country in danger." It piles up dividends and puts a shackle on the workers who make them. And the heauty of it is that Samuel Gompers, the arch-priest of Craft Unionism in the U.S.A., threw the whole of his weight and that of the American Federation of Labour on the side of Woodrow Wilson in the Presidential contest; the same man who is now going to put the irons on the workers!

International Socialist League (S.A.)

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

P. O. Box 4179 Phone 6035.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg

General Secretary: D. Ivon Jones.

LEAGUE NOTES.

DURBAN GOING STRONG.

Socialism in history by Comrade Campbell entitled Surplus Value", filled he Trades Hall.

among t the audience, and one at the hack of he hall had evidently come along for an evening's amusement. On

Com. Campbell telling him that we belonged to a Society which feared not the State, its works, or its servants—whether in mufti or in uniform—and that we would brook no interruption, our hero subsided and a few minutes later reached for his helmet and faded away into the outer gloom of Acutt's Arcade.

Comrade Campbell dealt with his subject in a simple and lucid manner. Shewing how the development of machinery had affected industry and made the production of profit, instead of wealth, the aim and object of present day Capitalism, the lecturer went on to prove how and when profits was made, and where the worker is robbed of the surplus value created by the absorption of his labour for the benefit' of the Capitalist owners of the machinery of production. He shewed how the equicultural crisis in Great Britain could have been avoided had Lloyd George seized the bull by the horns and arted as he know quite well how to act. But being a very poor imitator of Federick the Great (are we allowed to say "The Great"). Lloyd George was bluffing as he had bluffed throughout his career. Question time was real good. Asked for a simple definition of surplus value our conrade replied 'That proportion of the wealth produced which remains after the worker eceiveskoff.

Asked if he did not think Lloyd George had great pluck, he replied "The same pluck a bully who kicks his wife has," and amplified the answer by a few words on the plimsoll load line, etc. Pamphlets were sold and copies of "The International" were not enough to go round. The most successful meeting we have yet held in Durban, and heartening to all of us.

JOHANNESBURG.

The flag was kept flying this week by Comrade J. M. Gibson, who gave an address in the Trades Hall on "Gold in its relation to capitalist production and Cheap Labour." The points of the lecture will be found in another column. There was a plethora of questions at the end, stimulated by the arresting character of Comrade Gibson's views on "Gold," and an edifying evening closed with the Red Flag. Sales of "International" and literature were good.

Our "recruiting meeting" outside was addressed by Comrades Bunting and Ivon Jones. Comrade Bunting dealt with the Native Administration Bill, and the well packed crowd listened with close attention throughout. These meetings are now of a most orderly character, and the propaganda which we are able to give is better thoughtout in consequence.

BENONI.

The Branch has been more busy in making history than in writing it of late. Every week sees a batch of "Internationals" being sold, Comrades Chapman and Den Bakker stalking up the Market Avenue on Saturday nights buttonholing and selling to all who will give ear and read.

The Branch has not been idle in holding public meetings either. Three weeks ago Comrades Tyler and Bunting came out, and got a good hearing in spite of an opposition meeting of Labuorites. Last Saturday J. P.

Anderson and Ivon Jones filled the bilk. The speeches were well listened to by a fair audience, and when questions come the meeting got positively exciting. The class war, and this means War on War, can rouse! violent passions yet even in Benoni. The Red Flag was sung right through at the close, however, without opposition.

The Branch is holding a picnic in the Van Ryn Estates plantation on March 25th Tickets 2/6. all welcome. Comrade E. H. Becker of Germiston will initiate a discussion at the Branch meeting on Monday next, on the subject of "The failure of the Old International and the prospects of the New" Comrade Den Bakker is organising these weekly discussions, and invites some more of the younger members to come out and give a "talk."

The Dublin Executions.

Sent to "The Public" from Ireland by an anonymous Poet.

Pray every man in heabode.

And lot the church hells toll.

For these who did not know the read,

But only saw the goal.

Let there ie we ping in the nd.
And Chardy of and d
For those whold done undoest and
Because t eir love was b'ind.

All parished at a touch;
But men should be for given them
Because they loved much.

Let no harsh tongus applaud their fate, Or their clean n mes decry; The men who had no strength to wait, But only a reagth to die.

Come all ye to their requiem,
Who gave all men can give.
And he ye slow to follow them,
And harty to forgive.

And let each min in his abode,
Pray for each dead man's sul,
Of those who did not know the real,
But only saw the gal.

The Huddersfield Worker states that the Labour Leaders who committed the British workingclass to conscription are now averse to any agitation for the repeal of conscription after the war.

Manufacturing Slave Labour.

JOHN DUBE.

President of the S. A. Native Congress, and other native speakers, will address The International Socialist League's public meeting at the Trades Hall, Rissik Street, on Sunday next, at 8, p.m. on the Native Administration Bill.

Donations to Press Fund.

Acknowledged this week:
S: M. P. £6. W. M.: 10/-. P.
H: 5/-. J. M.: G: 5/-. C. B. T: 5/-.
J. P. A: 5/- G. H. H: 5/-. W. R: 10/-.
J. d. B: 15/-. R. H: 5/-. S. P. B: £1.

J. d. B: 15/-. R. H: 5/-. S. P. B: £1.
A. C: 10/-. T. E. M: 5/-. A. G: 5/-.
A. W: £1. A. P: 2/6. C. A. V: £1.

Eastern Dsts. Bch: £1 10s. 0d.

Printed by the Elite Printing Works.

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