THE INTERNATIONAL

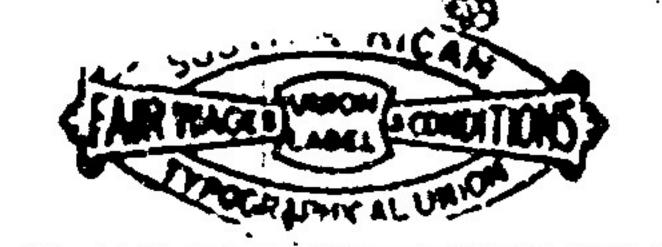
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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South African Delegate to Stockholm.

The Coming Conference.

The date of the special Conference to consider the advisability of sending a Socialist Delegate from South Africa to the Stockholm Congress is drawing nigh. The various sections and branches of the movement as well as unattached sympathisers, need to get their delegates for the 5th ready. However the cables may shuffle the news, we are confident that the outlook for the Congress at Stocholm is as bright as ever. Russia. is the storm centre. That is why we are compelled to devote to events there so much attention. And there is no doubt that the comrades there are handling the situation magnificently from a Socialist point of view. But whatever befalls the Russian Revolution, it has applied a spark to the whole worldwide movement which cannot be smothered.

The Socialist moement in South Africa is therefore well up to time in its preparations for sending a delegate. Although the Stocholm Congress opens on August 5th, our delegate will be in ample time. It is not conceivable that any further cessation of International relations can occur. It is more likely that the Stockoholm Congress will become the instrument of the proletariat to dictate terms of war and peace. It will probably sit in permanent session. and resolve itself into a Constituent Assembly of the working class of Europe.

The Special Conference on August 5th promises to be the most representative gathering of Socialists yet held in South Africa. On Saturday evening, the 4th, a Social Evening will be held at West's Academy to welcome the delegates and Socialist comrades from other parts of the country. All comrades are cordially invited, no entrance fee. Songs and short addresses interlarded with refreshments will beguile the evening, and opportunities for comrades to cut off corners ready for the Conference.

We wish to repeat the invitation given in our previous issues to all supporters of the proposal to send a delegate to Stockholm to be represented at the Conference. nomatter to what other organisation they may happen to belong. Around this central principle that the workers of the world should meet whether capitalist governments fight or not, and meet to announce their solid-

arity, on this common ground we wish to welcome all. For we know that this principle is gaining new adherents daily among the workers of South Africa.

"Aghast at the Natives' Audacity!"

Native Workers Refuse to Scab on Whites.

Yesterday's morning paper contained startling headlines announcing a strike of native labourers at Tarry's workshops, "about minety boys—the total number employed — being affected"

"The natives showed a spirit of dissatisfaction some days ago, when questioned, they gloomily remarked they wanted more money. . At seven o'clock yesterday morning, the hour for starting, some of them appeared in the shops, but the bulk did not... At about 8.30, a deputation called at the time office and announced that the natives wanted more wages, or that they would' down tools. . . Apparently no arguments... promptly told to stop heing nonsensical. . Aghast at the native's andacity Mr. Blanckhard sought the aid of the Native Affair's Department. The Government's representative. ordered them back to work." So run snatches of the report. The "agitators" pulled out "the few natives at work, and while the Native Affairs officer was on his way down they had struck to a man. One native spokesman told a Eur-, opean employee that they "wanted white man's pay if they did white man's work." That is, they claim the 7s. 6d. per day that a white unskilled labourer receives. The natives "impervious either to maining persuasion or threats... they were paid off en bloc and told to get out." This they did, and by two o'clock arrangements were being made for fresh la:bourers.

The report of course ends up with the suggestion that the police should apprehend the natives "for refusing to perform their lawful tasks."

It is too soon yet to report what action the Federation will take in the matter. No doubt the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, true to its rule of including labourers in its membership, will take some action, especially in view of the fact that the action of the natives amounts to a blunt refusal to scab on the white workers. It is rather humilating to learn that the white mechanics looked on unconcernedly while

the native workers fought single handed for the white standard, but it is not too late for their Unions to see to it that these men are not going to be vistimised by the police, even if there is not sufficient fighting spirit to demand their reinstatement and their demands considered. All workers acting collectively have a right to have their demands courteously considered, whether black or white.

Here is a question for the Union of infinitely greater importance than chasing Kleinfontein scabs. In the recent agitation to force men into the Unions we did not hear anything about forcing the native labourers in, or any desire expressed to invite this militant section of workers, whose organisation knows no scabs, to co-operate with their white fellow workers. In one phrase, "EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK" these natives have announced a fighting platform on which all workers of whatever colour can stand.

The Engineers of England recently struck to the tune of hundreds of thousands, for what? To prevent the dilution of cheap labour. In this country it is apparently left to that cheap labour to carry on the fight against the lowering of the standard.

Three columns away from the "Mail" headline announcing this "non-sensical" demand, this "audacity," appeared another describing "HOW THE NATIVES LOST THEIR LIVES."

What can come of a white community that not content with living on the labour of the natives, accepts their supreme sacrifice in white quarrels, and then talks rot of this kind when the native workers ask for their just dues. "Audacity"! The audacity is on the part of the whites.

It is to be hoped that the white work kers at least will see through this "andacity" business, and take the part of their fellow-workers in their initial attempts, at solidarity. It is too late in the day now to call in the police against strikers. It is also too late in the day for the workers to make colour exceptions to the principle that alone can save them, the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

An aged woman was fined £2 at Woking on Saturday for wasting bread by distributing crumbs to the birds. A policeman said he collected half a pound of bread. The woman wept. "The birds are my children," she said, "and I have a dog which is my son. I have nothing else to love since my poor boy was killed in Mesopotamia." "DailyNews."

The Ideal of Socialism.

By J. M. G.

The ideal of a form of society giving that assurance of life to every individual unit is one that is not an impossible dream as many of the apologists for the present system maintain, but an ideal that is based on the development of the economic forces operating in the present and those that have operated in past societies. This ideal, having as its basis the economic structure of society, we hold in oppomition to the oninion of those that assert that our civilisation will not and cannot be radically changed, that before doing so 'human nature' will have to be changed, and many other platitudes trotted out by these supporters of the present system who hold these views in the teeth of the. evidence of all past history.

that have placed Socialism on asscientific basis and lifted it from the Utopianism that necessarily pervaded the writings previous to his time. His analysis laid bare and revealed in clear vision that all past history was a history of class struggles, of antagonism between those in possession of the means by which the physical life of humanity is sustained, and those lispossessed of those means, thus compelled to live in subjection as slaves, serfs or wage slaves.

He traced capitalistic exploitation to its source in surplus value. He showed Socialism to be inevitable, proletarian, aggresive and international. His analysis climinated the personal factor, and freed Socialism from the fantastic and speculative. He pointed out the inevitable downfall oi present society, to be followed by a form of society without class distinction, having as its basis the economic quality of every unit. He made Sooialism proletarian, pointing out that it was the historic role of the workers to transform present society and take control in the interests of the community as a wholed He revealed the aggressive nature of the fight against capitalism by pointing out that the community were heirs to all the past, the accumulated knowledge and economic inventions of past generations. which they should take as their own and enjoy collectively. He pointed out the international character of the movement, declaring that the real division should no longer exist between. nation and nation, but between class and class, between international cap'tal and international labour, his rallying cry being 'workers of the world unite, you have have nothing to lose but your chains."

The success that has been attained by Socialist propaganda has been to a large extent if not wholly the result of the economic development in the productive forces of the latter portion of the past century. The working class as a result of this development have gradually been drawn together into large workshops, factories and centres of distribution, shut out from control

become more scientific and costly, herded together for the production of commodities of social use for industrial profit, it has engendered the spirit of discontent that in many individual cases has led to them becoming Socialists as the only hope of freeing themseles from the degrading and enslaving conditions of modern capitalism.

The futile attempts to reform society have been made clear by Marx's analysis. Applying his methods, we find to-day we cannot free ourselves from the enslaving conditions imposed by the system of capitalistic production, without a revolution that must change the form of sciety, a revolution that will place the tools of production in the control of the workers for the production of everything necessary for the welfare of the community, thereby abolishing production for profit, and establishing production for use.

The economic form of the Socialist Commonwealth will give rise to an ideology of which we to-day, befogged by the brutalising conditions of our environment, can have no concention, no more than the writers and philosophers of the Eighteenth Century could foresee the form of society that came after them in the Nineteenth Century. Marx, in refusing to write "the kitchen recipes of the future," showed his sound judgement, and his remark-should be remembered by those who want a plan with all details of the future society.

The germ of the new phase of society is developing, since this war began, with increased rapidity, and it behoves the workers to take stock of their surroundings, and have a consciousness of the trend of the economic form of society, and by doing so free themselves from the mental kinks of ignorance that have allowed them to be led into all the by-paths of reform and amelioration by glib orators and office seeking craft union misleadand inditical mountebanks. Let tham awake to the knowledge that just as other phases of society have come and gone, so our present form must pass away and give place to another.

We cull the following from the "Huderstield Worker": at a meeting of delegates from the Armies at the Front, neld in Petrograd on Monday last the conference of soldiers, after a debate on the War, voted unanimously: "That the Army in the trenches declares that it is indispensible to take every measure to put an end as quickly as possible to the international carnage and to conclude peace without annexations or indemnities. Further it calls upon all to whom Free Russia is dear to rolly round the Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates and the Provisional Government, in which the Army has confidence, and not to permit military adventures or allow the Army to become manure for foreign fields."

The Russian Cabinet.

The relations of the Council of Workmen with the Provincial Government has undergone several changes. At first the Provisional Government, like the other War Governments of Europe, tried to get Socialist members into the Cabinet as hostages, to make Labour responsible for its sins. This the Workmen's Council then refused to do. Later, however, the situation developed, and the Council of Workmen sent in six members into the Cabinet as direct delegates. The terms were the ejection of the reactionary bourgeois Ministers, and the incarceration of dangerous enemies of the workmen in the fortress of St. Peter and Paul, and the adoption by the Provincial Government of the Socialist policy of immediate peace without annexations. The effect of the most recent change is to further strengthen the Socialist element. But the Council of Workmen is evidently not appointing any more. Ministers, content to let the situation develop in the hands of the hourgeois majority. Skobelov, however, the ardent Internationalist, is placed in charge of Post and Telegraphs, so that the workers may know what is going, and will control communications.

Liberalism in Boksburg.

Last week two natives were looking at the goods in a shop window at Boksburg. One wanted to buy, and the other was trying to sell for his master. A policeman comes along and puts both in jail, not for obstructing the pavement, but, being natives, for being on the pavement at all.

Here was a pretty kettle of fish. The shopkeeper lost a customer. So up jumps the Chamber of Commerce, employs an attorney to defend the two natives, and gets them off easily, with a severe reprimand for the policeman into the bargain.

Now we wonder why the rising manufacturing class are liherals. Why Bill Hosken preaches against economic conscription. Why in the lan of ricing canitalism liberalism was born with equality before the law and on the pavement. It all helps free trade and free exchange. This feudal capitalism which makes of the native a serf is due to the monopoly of industry by the mines. Let manufacturing industry arise, and the consequent need for markets to consume its products, and the capitalists will demand equality for the native worker. like one man. The white workers had better get first in the field.

"The Call" stigmatises Arthur Henderson, Vandevelde and Albert Thomas of France, the denutation sent to Russia, as "three blind mice sent to outwit the clearest political thinkers in Europe—for such the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council are."

Compulsory Unionism.

Is it right?

As a result of pressure on the part of the men, the Johannesburg Tramway Committee has issued an order that all mechanics in the Tramway Department shall join the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Engine Drivers' Union. The press is agitated over the fiat, and the anti-tabour members of the Council are up in arms against the Tramway Committee. Several Councillors have resigned from the Committee.

The chief argument against compelling members to join the Union is that it is identical in character with economic concription. Except that economic concription is compulsion to enlist by persons who won't enlist themselves. Compulsion to enlist is right when applied to all, provided you agree in the object.

But there is the rub. The question cannot be solved by a metaphysical enquiry into abstract right. The national government that enforces conscription theoretically regards it as an act of self-preservation; and event abjector. every one who refuses to take off his hat to Mr. Windsor." is considered an inciriont menade to the State. So with the Mnion: no matter how strong it mar he, every non-union man is an incipient menace, constitutes a canker that may undermine solidarity. Strikes against non-union men are only possible when 80 or 90 per cent. are already organised. And they are acts of self preservation. It is not a question of who has the abstract right. It is a struggle of opposing forces, the old order of capitalist competition versus the new one of Labour solidarity.

The test is: Is it in the line of working class progress? In this case we doubt it. For one thing it may be argued that the same result may be achieved in a more enduring manner by education and propaganda among the non-unionists. This working class education and propaganda is completely neglected by the Unions, and for the widespread non-unionism they have themselves to blame.

Another and more important fact which should induce us to consider the case of the non-unionist not impatiently is that the Union which he is asked to join has nothing particularly to do with Municipal employ. The amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Engine Drivers Association have members scattered over every conceivable industry. The conditions in those industries do not worrwithese Unions so much as the craft privileges of their members. While it is apparently solidifying the workers in the Tramway Department, the effect of the present order is to crystallise the disunity of the various departments into a permanent system.

The Tramwaymen have everything in common with the Tramway Mechanics. The compulsion of the A.S.E. men renders the possibility of a united Tramway Employees Union within a larger Municipal Employees Union more remote than ever.

The interference of the A.S.E. in an industrial concern, detaching sections of the workers away from a Unity coextensive with the industry, is not in the lines of progress, it is reactionary; and several shrewd capitalist leaders like Wallers are beginning to smell that fact.

We do not say that this is the non-Unionist's pea. But we do know of a case where a worker loyal to his class is compelled to join the Engine Drivers, with a wry face. His desire is to join a Union solidly covering the Industry, a Union which in all its departments can be relied upon to back up every section in time of trouble.

This the A.S.E. cannot guarantee to do. It cannot guarantee that the mechanics will always back up the tramwaymen. It cannot guarantee the pumpmen will back the mechanics. It cannot guarantee that all these will back the labourers. It is splitting up the workers in the industry, and therefore playing into the hands of their enemies. Why cannot it be disinterested, and get the Federation to organise the whole Tramway Department into one solid Union?

Vendetta!

How long are the Kleinfontein scabs going to be persecuted? The ejection of one of them from the Johannesburg Tramway Department smells strongly as if Labour Councillors were getting ready for the next election. It is bad enough when the Federation lays wreaths on the graves of the July martyrs while it sends their brothers to be massacred by the million in Flanders; but for workingmen still to persecute their erring fellow-workers of four years ago while they kiss the boots of the perpetrators of the July massacres is a bit too typical of the conventional bully.

Antonio Labriola, the great Italian Socialist, writing on the "Communist Manifesto" in 1896, referred to the efforts of the Social Democratic Parties of Europe to capture the peasantry of their respective countries. The vast mass of what he termed "peasant stupidity" was a menace to social democracy so long as the peasant was not gained over. He made the following remarkable forecast:—

"The development of modern society in Russia will probably proceed on parallel lines with this conquest of the country districts. When that country shall have entered into the liberal era. . . Social democracy will no longer have to fear the threat of unforcement perils from without, and it will at the same time have triumphed over the internal perils by the capture of the peasants."

From "Essays on the Matarialist Conception."

A Retrospect!

The Final End of Militarism.

Writing in 1948, Charles Marcus, the historian of the great Social Revolution of the Twentieth Century, has the following passage on the development of the great Pre-Revolution War of 1914-1920:—

"The manner in which the great National War of the Capitalist Governments developed into the International Class War was a complete vindication of the dialectic materialism of Karl Marx.

began on the sea. The vast Navies of the world's Powers came to a dead end, and were rendered nugatory before any considerable encounter by the submarine. An undersea weapon this, which not only made Naval armaments poweraless, but made a monopoly of sea power an impossibility, as submarines were no defence against submarines. Thus the sea serpent of navalism turned on its own tail and devoured itself.

As the submarine destroyed navalism of did the aeroplane destroy militarism. In 1017 trench warfare, (excepting inconclusive hombardments made at creat cost of human life for the honefit of newspapage readges) came to a dead-look. Advances and retreats hecame equally denorming for the hollimerents.

The submarines, by the interruption of cross Channel sea traffic, prevented the "Allies" from asserting their growing military preponderance. The submarine was also the ostensible cause of American intervention. But Trans-Atlantic traffic was precarious. The Zeppelin airships had invariably come to grief in their inhuman attacks on defenceless populations. The only recourse was to the aeroplane.

America embarked on the building of tens of thousands of battle planes for Trans-Atlantic traffic, Germany and England doing likewise. Labour was increasingly withdrawn from the manufacture of armaments to aeroplanes. This also drew soldiers from the trenches to man thom. Tremendous fleets of seroplanes blackened the skies, no longer for more recognaissances, but for wholesale attacks on civilian populations, causing immense devastation. Opposing fleets met in the sir in awful clackes, requiring unexampled feats of individual daring.

As a result land armies became attannated, even superAnous. Further drilling of recruits could only be carried. on fronkly as a conitalist means of anelling the warkers. The army was thus donnived of its national function. It hecome an undisquised class instrumont. The action of the Federation of Inhair in apairing the rights of saldiara and their denendants started the alianation of the Army from militare jam: and it prida bu junuar povardsta for national defence; disinterested patrinticm pertent to the service of the working class movement. The habit, started in America. Of holding public mantings to criticiza the commands of superiors, permeated all the European

ed self-distinction. Its final act was to enforce the fiat of the industrial wor-

There then remained only the large force of aviators. This could hardly be termed an army, for it could not be regimented. Once trained and sent into the blue above, each mechanic became a law unto himself, and warfare reverted to the individual initiative of ancient times. But aviators compelled to descend in large numbers. uway from bases, could not but fraternize for mutual aid. As the menial class of coachmen and footmen gave place to the industrial order of motor mechanics and drivers in the previous decade, so now. the saluting Tommy Atkins gave place to the self-confident and perforce indeperment aviator: thus completing the self-doctruction of the military ersten

complished ere the organised workers were able completely to take over the vast organisation of capitalism in war and peace, and the inauguration of the Socialist Commonwealth placed at the disposal of the triumphant proletariat the vast machinery of the air service, the then most recent acquisition of science: to be used and improved upon for further immeasurable conquests, not over human kind, but over proud Nature."

BERONIA.

Sunday Night Meeting.

Last Sunday Comrade Dunbar addressed the open-air meeting in front of the Town Hall, and kept the crowd going with his Socialist sallies. Indoors Comrade Maclean spoke to a full house, one of the most enthusiastic meetings of a series of good ones. The Johannesburg crowd has at last found its way to the Trades Hall, and big meetings have become the rule.

A POINT FOR THE MINERS.

Wallers says that the price of gold is fixed, and that therefore the Chamber of Mines cannot pass on the increased cost of production to the consumer. Here are two points for him just to show the green in our eye:—

Adam Smith mentions occasions when the Bank of England had to pay £4 an ounce for gold, recovering only £3 17s. 11d. from the Mint. Gold was in demand. The Bank had to pay.

Attwood, a noted writer on banking, is quoted by Marx as saying that at frequent periods great difficulty has been experienced in preventing the Mint price rising, sometimes as high as £5 4s. Let Wallers take his political economy to the Rand Club bar.

Copies of the Administration and Distribution Accounts in the Estate of the late James Hayward Clayton 31531 will be open for the inspection of all persons interested therein for a period of 21 days from July 27th, 1917 at the office of the Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, and of the Resident Magistrate. Johannesburg.

5. P. BUNTING, Attorney for Executor Dative.
104 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

Points to Remember.

It now transpires that Lenin, the leader of the left wing of the Russian Social Democrats, with his comrades, was compelled to travel home through Germany (with closed carriage windows) because the French and British Governments would not allow him to go home through England.

"The Novova Vremya," the capitalist paper attacked in Petrograd last week, under the old regime was the organ of the Black Hundred. It is now owned by Lord Northcliffe. Very appropriate!

"Soldiers and to possess the full rights of citizens. A soldier can be a member of any political, national, religious, economic or professional organisation. A soldier has the right to express his political or religious convictions orally. The term "lower ranks" is abolished, the term "soldier" must be used. All obligatory military salutes within and without the ranks are abolished. The obligation to recite the title of an officer when addressing him is abolished, the terms Mr. General, Mr. Lieutenant are substituted, etc."

These are from the declaration of rights of the Russian Soldiers passed by the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates and various Garrisons, and now the rule. It will be obvious that the right of public meeting and the demogratisation of the Almy strikes at the root of mintarism. The order to charge the enemy given on the Eastern front recently was vetoed by the Russian Soldiers in public meeting assembled. Extremists, inciting to disorder!

"Democracy even invades the prisons (Ukraine Press Bureau.) In the prison at Odessa, the old guards were dismissed and replaced by new superintendents chosen by the prisoners. The cells are no longer closed; the prisoners have solemily sworn to their self chosen superiors not to make anv attempt at escape; and to behave in an exemplary manner and to hoveott those who do not obey the new rules. . The buying of provisions is delegated to persons chosen out by the prisoners, who go about freely in the town, and return to the prison when they have finished their messages." So there is another trump card euchered: "What will vou do with the loafer under Socialism?"

Skobeloff, now a member of the Russian Cabinet, arguing in the Executive of the Wormen's Council in favour of an International Conference of all Socialist Parties, said: "For the sake of restoring the International and stopping the war he was willing to meet not only Scheideman, but the devil and his grandmother."

Whatever colour the Capitalist Press may give to events in Russia, the one criterion of how far the counter revolution succeeds is to be found in chances in the Government. There are six Socialist Ministers. None of these have so far resigned. On the contrary, Milyukov, Gutckov, the chief capitalist leaders, had to go. They are now followed by other capitalist members of the Cabinet, and finally Prince Lvoss himself. Kerensky becomes Prime Minister. The significance of that is not to be rightly gauged from the wishes of the Capitalist Press. Kerensky's utterances in Russia and those given out to the huropean Capitalist Press materially differ and often contradict. In fact, our previous estimates of Kerensky require modification. More of that anon.

Our general acknowledgements to "The Cambridge Magazine" for its valuable work in reproducing copious extracts from the Socialist Press of Europe. Though not avowedly Socialist itself, its good work in this direction is gaining for it the bitter opposition of the militarists.

What forced the German and British Governments to give passports to the anti-war delegates to Stockholm was the refusal of the Bureau to negot ate with the Majority Socialists in the absence of the others. South African Government please note!

The Conference Social.

A SOCIAL EVENING

will be held at

Prof. WEST'S Academy,

Pritchard Street.

on Saturday Evening, August 4th, at 8 p.m.

To welcome the Delegates to the

Special Conference.

Admission free.

All Internationals are cordially invited.
Songs, Short Address, etc.

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