# THE INTERNATIONAL.

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### Provincial Council Elections.

#### Comrade Andrews to Fight.

Comrade W. H. Andrews has notified to the Management Committee of the I. S. L. his acceptance of nomination for the forthcoming Provincial Council elections. Comrade Andrews' entry into the fight as a standard bearer of League principles will be welcomed by all friends of the working class. movement throughout the Rand. It is a reply to the challenge of the organisers of the May Day riots. The workingclass will be given a chance to say through their best known champion in South Africa whether May Day, the festival of the workers throughout the world, sacred to all that is highest in the working class, was broken up by the workers or by the enemies of the workers. The election too will undoubtedly be a test of how far the workers are awakening to the objects for which the May Day meeting was called, namely the call to the workers to end the war and re-establish the Workingclass International.

governments, or upon statesmen, or upon the intellectuals of the earth, they have all set in motion forces so great for world calamity that they have got beyond control. But it is the mission of the workers to save the world from horrors without end, and in so acting as a class, they cannot fail to bring about the emancipation of mankind. War is the natural expression of the capitalist system, and its last defence. When the workers as a class attack war, they are attacking the very vitals of that which oppresses them. No wonder then that our electoral results are so far small. But every increase means another nail into the coffin of capitalism.

Rally then comrades to the fight! The actual division to be contested will be given next week, and the fight started in earnest. "The solidarity of the whole working class:"

Every worker should answer to that clarion call.

### The Socialist Bible.

No. iii. "THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" by Marx & Engels.

League Literature 3d.

Cheek isn't it, to pot the famous 'Manifesto;' itself a concentrated exposé, a compendium of epigrams, on Capitalism and Socialism. The first time you read it it may seem a mixture of bald theory. Well, take it up again a year later, and you will find it, like Hamlet; 'full of quotations,' that is, you will recognise how all the judgments which (with that confident ex cathedra positiveness which only their convincing correctness justifies) it passes on the movement of 'modern society' are confirmed by your own observation and experience in the meantime. At the first reading a novice may, or

may not, passively accept the thesis that modern capitalism is after all only a phase, already in the act of passing. Not until he has largely assimilated that thesis will he appreciate and realise almost every detail of the brilliant yet profound and irresistible analysis upon which the authors build it.

"The theoretical propositions of the Communists" (or Socialists) "in no way rest upon ideas or principles invented or discovered by this or that universal reformer; they are but the expression of actual conditions of an existing class struggle, of a historical movement going on under our own eyes." The difficulty is to see it with our own eyes, for schools, press, fiction and current talk have forced over them distorting, blinding spectacles which, dispensed with, leave us bewildered and unable for quite a while to find our bearings in Socialism; but it has to be done by anyone who wants to see whither he is going and why. Other meritorious monographs may ably expound points of Socialist therapeutics; this work of genius presents the fundamental diagnosis, and moreover anticipates all the 'fatal objections' still advanced sgainst it, after the best part of a century, by 'common sense.' To be equipped for the fight we must grasp the ideas of the Manifesto, while the fight in turn equips us to grasp the ideas: as Engels says in his 1890 preface, "for the definite victory of the propositions laid down in the Manifesto Marx relied solely upon the intellectual education of the working class which must result from united action and discussion."

But, Comrade Editor, the work cannot be 'potted' after all. In a later issue you will perhaps publish a few crisp and typical extracts, each a text in itself; but the pamphlet must be read and re-read, pondered and debated, in full.

S. P. B.

# Russian Workmen Leading.

The Russian workmen are simply wonderful. The joyful part of it is that there is going to be so many of them. To lead the world back from savagery to humanity seems to be their great mission. They are leaving capitalist government severely alone. The workingclass of Germany, France and England alone concerns them. And from their dominating position in the great Russian Revolution,—and every new report enhances its greatness,—they are going out to reclaim the lest sheep of the Socialist International, bringing international workingclass action to bear for the confounding of the capitalist conspiracy to murder off the best of the sons of Europe. Hail to the coming Revolution, now within living sight.

World history would certainly be very conveniently made if the struggle were taken up only on condition of unfailing favourable chances.

in Private letter quoted by New York "Weekly People."

# Driving Capital out of the Country.

By J. M. G.

Another of those meaningless phrases that is flung at Socialists by Rip van Winkle opponents is. "You will drive Capital out of the country." The persons who use this catch phrase are only repeating parrot-like the dope the press is administering daily in the interests of the Capitalists. If you ask these persons what is capital, they will, if adherents of the orthodox school of economists, trot out the old fables of the savage finding a fruit tree or becoming a capitalist by possessing a bow and arrows, a canoe or spear, or the modern capitalist who becomes a captain of industry by thrift, abstinence, business ability and the many other so-called virtues. If they know nothing of political economy, which is more probable, they stand like petrified mummies, mouth agape, as if they had got the shock of their lives.

The orthodox economists would have us believe that capital in its present form and mode of operation has existed for all time no matter what form of society existed. Yet the facts are that no matter what period we investigate, whether it be primitive savagery, the barbarian stage, the Greek republics, or the Roman republics or empires, nothing like the form of our modern capitalism existed.

The capital that operated during these periods and right through feudalism down to the sixteenth century was merchants capital and usurious capital.

This merchants capital took thousands of years to extend its operations, which was confined to the sphere of circulating any surplus thrown off after the wants of the producers had been satisfied. It was parasitic in its operations and performed a different function in society to what modern industrial Capital performs.

Production during these periods and down to the sixteenth century was mainly production for use and no for profit-

The rise of the merchant towns of Europe and the antagonism created by their conflicts with the guilds ended in the power of the guild being broken at the beginning of the sixteeth century.

The merchant class could buy

any kind of commodity: but the labour power of the workers they could not buy, and it took a century of struggle to bring about the breaking up of the guilds and the enslaving of the workers, making them dependent upon a master class, and thereby laying the foundation upon which was built our present industrial capitalism.

With the rise of industrial capital was eliminated the production of food to eat, clothes to wear, and houses to live in, giving place to a system of production for profit which is the "Alpha and Omega" of capitalism. This is the characteristic that distinguishes the modern form of capital from the forms that existed previously.

Thus the modern form of capital requires for its existence a complete separation of the workers from all property in the means by which they can make a living.

It maintains this separation of the workers from the tools of production, and continues to extend the process, bringing the workers more and more under its heel.

Socialist economists define capital as wealth used for the production of profit. The good of capital to its owner is that it produces articles of utility that exchanges for other commodities at a profit. All wealth is produced by labour, and when this wealth in the form of machinery, tools etc., is used to create more wealth, it is called capital. Capital is not only produced by labour but would be useless without workers to keep it in repair and manipulate it to produce commodities at a profit.

When it is realised by our friends the Rip van Winkles that capital in the form of Land, Machinery, Tools, Railroads and rolling stock, and all other implements required to produce and distribute commodities, are of such a nature that it would be impossible to remove them, he will see the absurdity of such a phrase as "driving Capital out of the Country" The position is such that even the capitalists in mass could not sell out their interests in the industries as there would be no one to buy even if there was money enough.

Just imagine the capitalist removing his capital; the Corner House crowd removing the mines with all the machinery, the same of the Barnato group of mines, it would be a picture for the gods to see Solly Joel, Sir G. Albu or Lie Phi struggling with their shares, or Billy Hosken attempting to carry off Hoskens Buildings, or part of

the dynamite factory, or the proprietors of the "Daily Mail" or "The Star" trying to remove their machinery and buildings to a more congenial climate.

No, my friends, the thing is absurd. It is another of those shibboleths dished up by the capitalist class to frighten the unthinking section of the community into believing that the capitalist class is indispensible to society.

# A Black Roll of Honour.

This week the papers published a Black Roll of Honour, about 200 natives who "died" in the German East campaign. These 200 at least found equality, equal rights with all the other Tommies who gave their lives for the will of the wisps of Empire and Glory. The capitalist can give them equality in death. Up there in German East, mouldering lapa pansi in the same sod, they may even concede to Jim Sixpence rights of Comrade with Tommy Atkins. As for lapa pesulu, the "Convention for the Deepening of Spiritual Life," now sitting luckily may grant him special pass to swop harps with Comrade Tommy in heaven In all these things the bosses and the parsons are exceedingly generous to Jim and Tommy. Although it appears from this week's deliberations of the self-same "Convention" that ALL Tommies who die for their country don't go to heaven. Even dying for your country is not the great qualification to heaven. If you want to make sure of that get a big fat tummy. and a Havanna cigar, and a seat on the Chamber of Commerce; (of Mines better still), and give liberally to the church funds.

But promises of bliss to come butter no parssnips. Equality here and now can only be conceded by the workers who toil with Jim on the same job. In fact, Jim Sixpence may fight many wars for the Empire yet, but the only thing that will win him freedom is industrial solidarity here in this workaday world of slackers and sore backs.

BERONIA.

It is quite easy to hold revolutionary opinions if they make no differ ence to your conduct.

A. CLUTTON -- BROCK.

### Mines and Mineworkers.

### Chamber of Mines Attempt to Rule the Union defeated.

Some time ago the Mine Workers
Union granted autonomy to the various District Committees along the
Reef, with the result that both members and non-members began to take
an interest in the Union, and consequently a large increase in membership was the result.

Branch members, finding that they now possessed a little power, began to make their presence felt, and were successful in getting a number of their grievances settled. Of course they did not get them settled without a fight; and at Randfontein on two occasions, and the Meyer and Charlton once, they had to go on strike.

As may well be imagined this did not suit the Chamber of Mines. The Chamber found that the mineworkers had organised effectively under the district system; so thoroughly in fact that they had begun to recognise that an injury to one was an injury to all. Further, they began to realised that those who were not for them were against them, and refused to work with the non-union men. We are not discussing whether this is right or wrong, but the effect it had on the Chamber of Mines was this: in replying to the mine workers' demands they stipulated that the power to strike be taken away from the Branches, and that the Head Office of the Union agree to negotiate before anything drastic would be done; thus allowing the Chamber of Mines to get all their guns in order, prepared to train them on the workers when the occasion should arise.

The Chamber of Mines like to have things their own way even if it does mean a bit of a twist. For instance, in 1913 and 1914 they complained to the public in forcible language that the Union was being run by a few agitators in the Trades Hall. In 1917 they object to the men running the Union, and want it run by the officials at the Trades Hall!

When the Chamber of Mines reply came before the General Council, the voting was equal and the chairman gave his casting vote in favour of accepting the Chamber's offer.

Besides the fact that the Chairman was not a working miner and therefore not so vitally affected, considerable distatisfaction arose over the voting. It

was an open secret that several deligates were absent who had instructions to vote against the acceptance of the Chamber of Mines terms.

In order to sign the agreement it was necessary to change the constitution. For this the General Council met last Sunday. But the members refused to do so, and consequently no agreement has been arrived at.

The Union has now decided to submit the whole question to the ballot of the members. It is to be hoped that the members will not give away the democratic rights they possess, and will vote "No" when they get their ballot papers.

J. F. B.

# Patriotism: the last Re-

In the early Victorian days the manufacture of hats was a local industry. A story is told in a Welsh village of a hatter, name John Jones, who attended the religious meeting of the "Jumpers." In those days one could not lay claim to salvation except one manifested his spiritual ecstacies in physical gyrations of a most violent kind. The village cynic always complained that whenever these ecstacies possessed the brethren, John Jones was always to be found near the hat rack, making blind havoc with the headgear there, praising the Lord with great fervour.

Our holy brethren on the Johannesburg Recruiting Committee are very
much akin to that hatter. It is truly
wonderful how every patriotic outburst of theirs takes the form of smashing up the other shopkeepers outside
the clique. Competition is the soul of
business—and of patriotism too.

The latest note from our Durban correspondent runs thus:

"We are having quite an exciting time in the City. Ferguson Brown-great patriot and philanthropic producer of plays for Red Cross funds, has been arrested on a charge of alleged theft of street collection money. A most trusted member of the middle-class, reputed wealthy, and a teller on the Funds Committee, the episode has produced a rather painful impression among the smug bourgeoisie."

Capitalist war and Capitalism has come to such a pass that it cannot trust its own devotees. Capitalism breeds war and war breeds capitalist morality. From thorns we cannot get figs, and from capitalist war the workers can never gain anything but thievery and oppression.

# What the Capitalist means by "Freedon"

Here are some "verses" from Mark shewing what the capitalist means by "freedom". It shows why our Recruiting shopkeepers quite sincerely rave about "Prussian tyrrany", although the tyrrany they denounce is only the interference of German shopkeepers with their elbow room to buy and sell. Mark's term "bourgeois" is more expressive than "capitalist," and wider, including its scope all those who are tainted with the capitalist outlook, intellectual champions and hangers on, paid or unpaid:—

In bourgeois (capitalist) society living labour is but a means of increasing accumulated labour. In communist society accumulated labour is but a means of enlarging, enriching and promoting the existence of the labourer.

Thus in capitalist society the past dominates the present; in communist society the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and personal, whilst the living individual is dependent and deprived of personality.

And the bourgeoisie call the abolition of this state of things the abolition of individuality and freedom!
and with reason. It certainly means
the abolition of bourgeois individuality,
independence and freedom.

By freedom, under the present bourgeois condition of production, is meant free trade, free buying and selling. . .

You are horrified because we would abolish private property. But in your existing society private property is already abolished for ninetenths of the population; the essential for its existence is that it shall not exist for these nine tenths. Thus you reproach us with desiring to abolish a form of property the necessary condition for whose existence is that the great majority of society shall be propertyless.

In one word, you reproach us because we would abolish your property.

Precisely so, that is our intention!

can no longer be converted into capital, money, rent—briefly, into a social power capable of being monopolized, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be converted into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment you declare the individual is suppressed.

Socialism deprives none of the power to appropriate his social product, It only deprives him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by his appropriation.

### May Day Echoes.

The Town Hall Recruiting Meetings were suspended after May Day.

The Women's Recruiting Committee also suspended operations "till the town is normal." Fancy calling the town "normal" when women are allowed to go round and badger employes in front of their bosses!

ed on the day after the May Day riots, by a crowd of soldiers who invaded his shop and demanded his resignation from the I.S.L. or get his shop burnt down that night. Comrade William stoutly told them he would see them grilled for pork chops in Hades first, (or words to that effect.)

The news of the May Day ridts was censored for a day in Durban; and a wire sent by the Durban I.S.L. to the Johannesburg Comrades has not yet arrived.

After Wednesday the 2nd. the Capitalist press studiously avoided all references to the I.S.L. in dealing with the May Day riots. Even the "Sunday Times" refrained from calling the police on us.

The Capitalist press praises those it loves best, attacks those it loves second best; but keeps mum about those it hates: International Socialism has become so dangerous to Capitalism that they dare not attack it except by thug's and hooligans.

One million people celebrated May
Day in Petrograd. The question today is not "when shall we reunite the
the Working Class International?"
but "Is this war going to hang on till
the Social Revolution?"

Trades were out on one day's strike last week for a rise of 2d. an hour. They got it without much ado. The funny part of it is that the Conciliation Board had sat on this and other matters for a year, and had conceded the point. But the men had to fight for it all the same. So now we know what Conciliation Boards mean: "If they, ay 'no,' you can't get a rise. If they, say 'yes,' you can fight us for it."

Mave you subscribed to "The International,"

5s. per annum, post free, Box 4179,

Johannesburg.

### International Socialist League (S.A.)

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

P. O. Box 4179 'Phone 6035.

8 Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg

General Secretary: D. Ivon Jones.

#### LEAGUE NOTES.

Comrade William Staunton has been elected to fill the vacancy on the Management Committee.

#### JOHANNESBURG7

At a well attended branch meeting held May 23rd a letter from Management Committee reporting its action regarding J. A. Clark was read and approved New executive members were elected, and a scheme adopted for doubling the Branch membership.

It was also decided, in view of the disturbed state of the street barometer, to omit the usual outdoor meeting last Sunday. Indoors in the Traides Hall, Andrew Watson spoke to a good house on 'What means this May Day" giving a homely exposition of the class war. The trouble was, he said not that you can't support your wife and family, but that you have to support the boss's wife and family as well.

Fishermen on the East coast of England put catfish in among their catches to keep the marcarels and herrings alive and kicking till they get to land. The International Socialists were the catfish among the more backward Labour fry, stimulating them and keeping them moving for their ultimate benefit. The speaker ridiculed the magnificent reward now proposed by recruiting speakers for disabled soldiers, namely to give them jobs compiling the Municipal Voters' Roll. Comrade Watson made references to May Day in America, where a Government Labour Day had been hitherto held in September to side track the revolutionary movement. Sales of International were good. 

been re-elected General Secretary of the S. A. Mine workers Union by a large majority over all other candidates. Forrester Brown largely inspired the reconstitution of the Union on a more solid basis last year, with splendid results; and his election is a guarantee that the Union will develop on sound class war lines towards broader conceptions of labour solidarity than

yet obtains among the mineworkers.

The Mine Workers Union at its: General Council meeting last Sunday turned down the proposal to change the constitution to please the Chamber of Mines. It went further: on the recommendation of the Fordsburg. Branch it included in the Objects of the Union the words "TO PROPAGATE" THE PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL \*Unionism". The workingclass only wants to KNOW the right road in order to take it It is for the I.S.L. to drive home the fact that Industrial Unionism means solidarity of white miner with black hammer boy, white Itimberman, pipe-fitter, with black labourers, white mechanic and black Edrill sharpener, white blacksmith and black striker, all in the One Big Mineworkers Union.

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8496.

Harry Gunning has retired as from 1st, April 1917 from the Dairy Business known as Slatter's Dairy carried on at Melrose Home Farm, Kruger Street, Melrose, Johannesburg.

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