THE INTERNATIONAL

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

P.O. BOX 4179.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street.

Johannesburg.

No. 86

FRIDAY, 25th MAY 1917.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY...

Notes on the Russian Revolution.

Comrade Bosazza has translated for us some points appearing in the last mail number of "L'Avanti" on the Russian Revolution. "L'Avanti" is the daily newspaper of the Italian Socialist party. Up to the time it writes, our Italian comrades were not vet in direct communication with the comrades in Russia.

There are as vet no real representatives of the Socialist Party in the Duma, says "L'Avanti," because they are deprived of their political rights.

Karensky does not belong to any Socialist Party. He associated with no party at the beginning of the War; but was the only tool that could be found by the Duma to try and gull the proletariat.

English report that Tchedse had join ed the Ministry. He expressed himself "with great joy in seeing the fraternisation of the soldiers with the proletariat as together they raised the glorious Red Flag."

Two things are certain. The proletariat is at the head of the movement and in the general strike and the armed revolt united with the soldiers sent to suppress them. The Socialists only decided at the last moment to use force to end the old regime. Secondly; even those of the Socialist group of the Duma who had not been exiled had fully identified themselves with the International ideal in opposition to the War, and were in full sympathy with what is now known as the Zimmerwald Programme—the programme of the two conferences of anti-war Socialists of all belligerent countries held at Zimmerwald and Kienthal in Switzerland.

Miliukoff, the Liberal Minister who has now resigned (a Russian Creswell) declared in 1905, "L'Avanti," that he would rather go back to Autoeracy and Czarism than help the revolution to succeed.

Meanwhile the Council of Workmen is quite content to let the Talking Shop go on so long as the Workmen are in possession of the railways, posts and telegraphs.

So far "L'Avant," the false report of Tcheidse joining the Ministry should put us on our guard about the week's "reassuring news" that the crisis is over, that Karensky is imposing "iron discipline," and the rest.

Russian credit has suffered a tremendous slump on the European money markets. This does not make Russia any the poorer, but it does the European Capitalists. All news from Rus-'sia therefore needs to be tempered with the fact that the big capitalists of Wall Street and London want to sell out their holdings.

Arthur Henderson has postpoued his intended visit to Russia. The Council of Workmen anay have asked him to wait until they renew their lainp posts.

Karensky is reported to have addressed a Peasants' and Soldiers' Congress. The peasant population, which has not yet emerged from the narrow and reactionary outlook of small production, is the one danger-"L'Avanti" refuses to believe an, ous element to the revolutionary proletariat. The weakness of the Coureil of Workmen consists in the comparative backwardness of industrial development, and the consequent disproportion between the industrial proletariat and the rest of the population as compared with other European countries.

> But the Russian Socialists have not neglected to carry their propaganda to the peasantry. The Russian revolution may have many instances of a direct step from primitive to higher communism.

> We see a well organised industrial proletariat in control of the strategic industries carrying a vast following of peasantry behind it. It seems then that after a certain stage, the education of the backvelder is not to be ignored.

And while we are tapering off into principles, let us refer to our "Communist Manifesto." Not even the Marxist "Weekly People" remembered, on hearing the first news, to apply a dictum of Marx on late political revolutions.

"The communists turn their attent tion chiefly to Germany, because Germany is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, and because this revolution will be carried out under the most advanced conditions of European civilisation and with a much more developed proletariat than that of England in the seventeenth and France in the eighteenth centuries; the German bourgeois revolution, consequently, can only be the immediate prelude to a proletarian revolution."

The bourgeois revolt broke out in Germany a year later, but, (possibly owing to Marx's warning), the bourgeoisie compromised with autocracy to save themselves from the oncoming proletariat. But the principle laid down held, and we have seen it fulfilled in Russia. Miliukoff saw the danger in 1905 of Jushing the Capitalist demands on the autocraev too far; but an obstinate, superstitious and ignorant Czardom prevented another compromise and placed the proletariat in control of the situation.

Other accounts do not agree with "Tr'Avanti" as to the character of Karensky. Admitting that he is fond of office, in these troublons times he could no live and act the traitor. He participated in the Alevolution, and a Greek paper asserts that he fixed the minimum wage at 10s. a day. (Before the War the labourer's wage was 2s. per day). He commandeered the exchange, and prohibited the rich from withdrawing more than a workman's pay per diem from their banks; thus making all share alike in the general scarcity.

Miliukoff and Gutckoff were compelled to resign because they favoured the prosecution of the War, yet the Press cables would have us believe that a Cabinet of Socialists (names studiously omitted) which has taken their place has declared in favour of War. And this in spite of the fact that the condition of participating in the Ministry by the Council of Workmen was an immediate move for peace. It is fairly easy to read between the lies of the Capitalist Press nowadays.

M. Ribot, the French Premier, this week asked for an indefinite postponement of interpellations regarding Russia in the Chamber of Deputies. Oh, eloquent silence!

Hail then to the Russian comrades. Their devotion and enlightened solidarity, their power. their firmness of tread, their boundless hopes and adequate methods for realizing them, their high ideals, and their humanity, are truly Homeric in their combined greatness, and will soon lead the workers of the world along the path of compléte emancipation.

For the Social Revolution is International, and the most the Russian comrades can vet. do is to carry the country through social and industrial reconstruction preparatory to the aboliion of the competitive system. When they are ready for that, the rest of the European proletariat will have come into line.

EQUALITY.

By J.M.G.

It is sometimes even to-day flung at the advocates of Socialism, that their theories mean equality and levelling down of industries.

We who advocate Scientific Socialism in opposition to Utopian and other fantastic emotional idéas for curing the ills of present day society, recognise the fundamental Biological law. that there is no equality amongst individuals and never will be. We have always recognised the inequality of individuals, as of all living animals, and just as in a forest there are no two trees alike, nor two leaves the same, so in the whole world there are no two individuals physically or mentally alike, or in all respects equal the one to the other. Yet we recognise they are all human beings and have the right to exist as such, and not remain, as under the present system, slaves or beasts of burden, compelled to live an animal life without any of the opportunities which should be the right of every human being, of lifting themselves out of their brutish surroundings.

The natural inequality of mankind to perform the same kind and amount of labour is recognised by us, and to this handicap of nature is added the social inequalities of a vicious system founded on the basis of making good, getting on, and grasping as much of the good things of this life irrespective of whether your neighbour goes to the wall, or otherwise, a system that can only be called a game of beggar-your-neighbour.

We recognise there has always been, are, and always will be some human beings whose brains or muscular systems will be better adapted to certain classes of work, mental or physical; and others again who have been dwarfed in both respects by nature.

Our ideal is to see a form of society under which every human being will start life equal, and not be handicapped in the struggle for life. A form of society creating an environment of equality, of social conditions under which individuals will give their best, either mental or physical, according as nature has endowed them; and those who are mentally and physically defective, cared for as human beings; and not treated as outcasts, as under our present system, because nature has been been niggardly in her gifts.

Our present system does not give equality of opportunity, not even in the bare necessaries of life. The workers to get these bare necessaries have got to cringe and crawl to those in whose hands are the tools to produce them. The socalled intellectuals parrot like repeat the worn out phrase: "Room at the top for all." It a has no truth in it, as there is not room at the top. But even if it were true, what chance have the children of the masses to obtain that goal, with their want of opportunity, and all the jostling, crawling, wire-pulling, prving and snobbery required and resorted to, to reach the top.

The present system denies and stifles human individuality, the masses are crusted in the interests of the getting-on fraternity, who revel in success and luxury. Ships are in every sea, carrying commodities to be sold at a profit for these getters ons, while the mass of the people, the producers of these commodities, are denied any of the luxuries of life and rarely get the necessaries, looking forward, in Britain, to spending their declining years in the workhouse, or if 70 years old, on the munificent sum of 5s. per week.

Equality under our present system is the dream of lunatics. It is an ideal that can never be attained Liologicaily, but can and will be attained socially under the Co-operative Commonwealth, —a form of society under which all men mentally and physically fit, must work to live, and at the work best fitted to their individual capacity,—in which all the inequalities of our present system will be eliminated, with the horror of being unable to provide the necessaries of life,—a system under which all will give their best to society, each according to his innate. and acquired aptitude, having a right to the same reward, since each has contributed according to his ability to that solidarity of labour which will be essential to sustain the life of society as a social aggregate.

Under Socialism every person will perform his duty to society in exchange for the fullest social equality and liberty, a liberty that will only be limited by the rights of other individuals or society as a whole, a system under which justice will naturally flow out to all, and will ring down the curtain on the most degrading form of human society that has ever existed.

The Co-operative Commonwealth will run not as a venture for getters-on, or climbers to the top; it will have nothing to do with the disease of getting on, it will eliminate all the parasites that fatten on society to-day. It will exist to give that social equality to all and each that is denied under our present brutal society.

Woe to thee, Chorazin!

A magistrate's enquiry was held this week into the murder of an Indian on the Johannesburg Tramways. He was coming down the steps of a crowded train in order to alight, when he was forcibly held back by a Dutch speaking person until the frain was at full speed again, and then flung headlong into the street. This is had enough. But a worse feature of the case was that not the least objection or attempt to help the poor victim was made by the crowd of passengers on the platform. What explanation can be offered by people who callously look on at an atrocity like that, and then rush off to enlist when someone tells them of murder in far-off Belglum.

It is with a sense of relief that one reads a recent issue of the East London "Weekly Standard," where an account is given of a native being badly knocked down by a tram. The tram stopped, but instead of getting first

aid, some of the crowd began calling for the police, and piling insult on top of injury. The report states that a Mr. Dewberry (whom we recognise as a good East London comrade), here intervened to protect the native, and carried him off to his place of abode. A native writes in high praise of our comrade's humane act. That it was an act of duty obvious only to one is no credit to citizens of this enlightened Empire. But there is great hope that Comrade Dewberry is only one of a growing number of workingmen who would rather take off their hats to a black son of toil than to a white lackey in frock coat. Else were "woe to thee Chorazin," pronounced again over Snob South Africa.

Is the White Miner a Miner.

A serious word to the S.A.M.W.U.

By SEN YAH.

Part of the grievances of the Randfontein Mineworkers now on strike, so far as we can learn, is the replacement of white men by coloured. As the grievance is expressed, there is still no distinction made between "cheap" labour and "coloured" labour.

But with reference to the colour bar, the Chamber of Mines is now, as ever, non-commital, emphasising the right of the coloured population "to work and to progress."

So read the report on the proposed agreement between the Chamber and the Mineworkers' Union, and it is astonishing how the Chamber, through its mouthpieces, notably E. J. Way, have consistently emphasised the right of the coloured population to work, and has left it to the Mineworkers' Union to see to it that they didn't progress too rapidly.

Miners are proverbially conceited about their craft—especially in South Africa,—but if they imagine that the "status quo in the proportion of coloured and white labour" means that the colour bar (which is merely a measure to protect the inefficient white man against his fellow wage slave who happens to be of another colour) is to remain as at present, then let them carefully note the word "progress" and think it over.

"What the Chamber of Mines does to-day will be law to-morrow in South Africa" is a pretty safe thing to say, and the Durban branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners are beginning to see the true position of affairs with regard to the so called coloured question, in its move to allow coloured men into the Union.

Capitalism, shorn of its cant and hyprocisy, knows no race, creed, or colour, and the miners are handicapped by the dead weight of prejudice.

There is no industry in this country that could not dispense with white wage slaves in ten years, or less, and well the boss Capitalists know it.

The Mining Industry is largely run by unskilled labour, black and white. Underground a large proportion of the workers are skilled and a small proportion unskilled. The small proportion are the white overseers, the majority of whom could not, even under the best conditions, drill a 36 inch hole correctly in eight hours. The hoss is aware of the fact because he knows he couldn't himself,, and the native is also aware of the fact because he of ensees the "m'lungu" have a try—and in the natives' eyes make a fool of himself.

The white miner will rarely admit the fact that his wages are merely wages of superintendence

The native has not yet seen sufficient of capitalism to be dead scared of the result of an independent spirit as his white "baas." Consequently the white man is employed, nominally to direct unskilled labour, but actually to assist in the process of intimidation, and eventually the manufacture of scared and docile coloured wage slaves who will be cheap and efficient.

And Henry Dubb, miner, is so busy in the occupation of beating himself that he has not the time to consider the question seriously,—that the native who is doing the work to-day is the real proletarian and the economic foundation of the South African body politic.

"I am a Socialist, you know."

How many people do we hear claiming to be Socialists, even when they are engaged on the most reactionary projects. Socialism is a fine vague term. Most people, mine magnates not excepted, will claim to be Socialists, that is, they would like a system of society where no poverty existed, and where everyone had the right to work.

But it is when you come down to definite methods to achieve Socialism, (and this is what Scientific Socialism amounts to, it insists on the methods the end being popularly accepted),—\ it is then that the mere idealist parts company from the doer. Socialism is a fine lure to gain the following of the people, so long as it remains a word. Creswell claims to be a Socialist. He wants the poor to be abolished. It is when you say that Capitalists must be abolished that he jibs. It is when you say that the emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class that the sentimentalist holds up holy hands of "Peace, Peace." It is when you say that freedom can only come by way of the class struggle that the shoe begins to pinch. The Creswellian labourite, who does not mind seas of blood in national wars, becomes very peace-loving when you talk of the class struggle—the struggle which alone is fought on a civilized plane.

A very amusing instance of this effective cleavage between the idealist who only deals in words, and the Socialist who means what he says, is to be found in Belfort Bax's account of Gracchus Babeuf, the French revolutionary who attempted to carry the French Revolution onward to economic equality. He had a friend name Fosseux, who held a position under the Government. Babeuf appealed to him to publish a brochure of a distinctly revolutionary character having special reference to French administration.

Fosseux excused himself profusely from doing so. But in the very same letter that he excused himself from helping to circulate the brochure he waxed enthusiastic over the project of a book he was preparing bearing the title "Le Changement du monde entier," — "Changing the Entire World."

We all want to change the entire world. Where we differ is in the immediate action necessary. There is nothing in being revolutionary if it makes no difference to our conduct.

Strike Skirmishes.

After a five day's strike the miners on the Randfontein Central won their point. This is another great victory for the South African Mine Workers' Union. At the outset the Management conducted themselves with high dudgeon, and refused to meet the men's deputation. (On this point the newspapers falsely assert that the Manager was down below when the deputation called at his office. But he later admitted that he was inside, busy with office "details"). There was nothing left but to down tools. Then the Directors refused to discuss terms with the men until they resumed work, but the intervention of the Under-Secretary for Mines, and the likelihood of the strike spreading, brought the Directors to their senses. The men's demands were for (1) 16s. 8d. and 18s. 4d. for eight rock hoist men engaged on two classes of work. (2) Then full pay for the five days they had been on strike. (3) The strike period not to affect the time which entitles them to annual leave. (4) No victimisation, and (5) The settlement to be made out in writing.

All demands, except the full pay for five days on strike, were conceded, and the men resumed work in great spirits.

The Union is stronger in the Randfontein district than in any other part of the Rand. Branch meetings of one hundred and fifty members are frequent. Trouble is however anticipated when the Contracts Commission issues its report, and no time is to be lost in getting the Union organised up to the last man. This does not mean the mere paying of dues, but the makign of class conscious workers.

After the miners had scored their point, a little hitch occurred which should teach them a severe lesson. Work could not be resumed. There were other miners with a little business to transact. Five hundred natives refused to leave the compound until they were guaranteed that the five days would not be docked from their pay. The native organisers gave to understand that no blacklegging would be allowed, and by the afternoon they had also scored their point against both white Capitalist and white miner. The white miner may have ruminated over the fact that his "right to work" depended as much on the Shangaans as upon Gustav Imroth. It should be the duty of the S.A. Mine Workers' Union to see that the native organisers of this second strike will not be victimized in any way.

It is not generally known that the Meyer and Charlton strike in February was largely won by the natives. They refused to go down below without their white fellow workers, and three of the native "ringleaders" were incarcerated for the period of the strike.

The strike of Building Workers in Pretoria also concluded this week with a partial win for the men. They came out for a rise of 2d. an hour all round, and demanded that the wages of painters should be raised to the level of the pay of the rest of the Building Workers. The 2d. an hour increase was conceded, and the painters standard referred to further arbitration.

The Strike Committee issued Strike Bulletins, refusing to give the Capitalist Press any information.

For the Children.

The King and the Smith.

A Smith upon a summer's day,
Did call upon a King;
The King exclaimed, "The Queen's
away,
Can I do anything?"

"I pray you can," the Smith replied;
"I want a bit of bread,"
"Why?" cried the King. The fellow sighed;
"I'm hungry, sire," he said.

"Dear me! I'll call my Chancellor,
He understands such things;
Your claims I cannot cancel or
Deem them fit themes for Kings.

"Sir Chancellor, why here's a wretch Starving—like rats or mice"
The Chancellor replied," I'll fetch The First Lord in a trice."

The First Lord came, and by his look
You might have guessed he'd shirk,
Said he "Your Majesty's mistook,
This is the Chief Clerk's work."

The Chief Clerk said the case was bad,
But quite beyond his power,
Seeing it was the Steward had
The keys of cake and flour.

The Steward wept. "The keys I've lost,"
Said he: "but in a span
I'll call the Smith. Why. Holy
Ghost'
Here is the very man."

"Hurrah! Hurrah!" They loudly cried,
"How cleverly we've done it!
We's solved this question deep and
wide,
Well nigh ere we'd begun it.

"Thanks"! said the Smith; "O fools and vile!

Go moulder on the shelf!
The next time I am starving I'll

Take care to help myself."

-Edward Carpenter.

LEAGUE NOTES.

The Election Fight.

Comrade Andrews has wired to say he will be up on the Rand in the secend week in June, It is hoped yet that he will be able to come earlier.

The Benoni Comrades will open the campaign in the Division with an open-air meeting at Boksburg North this Saturday night, and another openair meeting at Benoni on Sunday.

All supporters of Comrade Andrews' candidature in Benoni should give a hand to push the campaign for International Socialism, in the most working-class constituency on the Rand. Roll up to the I.S.L. Hall in Lake Avenue, and put a heart in the fight.

Likewise in Commissioner Street, all Branch members and reatlers of 'The International' pre appealed to to come and help Comrade Bunting's candidature in the Commissioner Street division.

The Election Manifesto will be issued the week end, and a meeting of the Johannesburg Comrades was held in the Trades Hall last night to arrange for its distribution.

Comrades, help in the fight, let the election results shew them that the voice of the hooligan is not the voice of the workers of the Rand.

In addition to Comrade Bunting, there are three other candidates standing in the Commission Street Disision,—Independent (Kroomer), Labour (Green), S.A. Party (Manfred Nathan).

In Benoni, Comrade Andrews will have a straight fight with "Labour" in the person of Mr. Kuper. So far no other candidate has appeared. The abstention of the Unionists will provide Comrade Andrews with a good argument in favour of his contention that the S.A.L.P. no longer represents the true interests of the workers. The Capitalists have ceased to fear it, have in fact come to regard it as a second string to their bow in case of a Unionist failure.

The M.C. has decided that the League Secretary shall go to Benoni to take charge of the I.S.L. campaign there.

It should be made clear that it is not in a spirit of private adventure that Comrades Andrews and Bunting have consented to stand at this Election, but solely at the request of the League, so that the flag of socialism may be held aloft, especially at the time when in all parts of the world some response to the glorious stand of the Russian proletariat should be made. In Benoni especially, the feeling against the War is growing, and it requires to be crystallised into a conscious movement. We hope for good results in membership, in new readers of "The International" and in the poll.

There is a good fighting chance to return our candidates to the Provincial Council. If all comrades do their share, it WILL BE DONE. All together.

The Stepping Stone of Capitalism.

William Morris said that if all the wondrous discoveries of science as applied to industry stopped at Capitalism, then the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century had been the greatest calamity that ever befel the human race.

But it is not going to stop there. Capitalist development is a stepping stone to Socialism. An Italian publicist, quoted by the "Cambridge Magazine," recently issued a hysterical warning to the European governments that while they were fighting like Kilkenny cats, industrial development is making tremendous strides in China and Japan. Europe is ceasing to be the mistress of the world. The vastpopulations of the East are waking up, and the war has enabled them to assert their independence, and capitalist development is binding them rapidly into one great whole. Where are the problems of the past? This is only an alarum to European Capitalists: to the workers it is great hope. Russia, the traditional "menace of civilization," in the van of freedom. The backward races of the East following close. Truly the hour of Capitalism's greatest success is the hour of its defeat. As Karl Marx saith:—

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all the instruments of production, and by constantly facilitating communication, draws into civilisation even the most barbarian nations. The cheapness of its commodities is the heavy artillery with which it lays low all Chinese walls, with which it compells the most obstinately hostile barbarians to capitulate. It forces all nations, on pain of extinction to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it forces them to adopt so-called civilisation, i.e., to become bourgeois. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."

"The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the town. It has created enormous cities; it has prodigiously augmented the numbers in the towns as compared with the rural districts, and thus has rescued a great part of the population from the idiocy of country life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the town, so has it made barbaric, or semi-barbaric countries dependent on civilised countries, nations of peasants on bourgeois nations, the Orient on the Occident."

The natives have risen in Portuguese Africa. Has this anything to do with recruiting. The Press admits that they are normally not at all a warlike people. If the curtain were lifted from the methods adopted to recruit Portuguese labour for the mines, it might explain the present rising and many other things.

I.S.L. Literature.

To understand the tremendous developments of our times, the War and its origin, the Russian Revolution, read the works of the great Socialist writers. Send for list of readable pamphlets.

"THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" of Marks and Engels.

"THE CLASS STRUGGLE," THE WORKING CLASS," "The CAPITALIST CLASS," "THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC," by Karl Kautsky.

"INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM," by Debs.

"THE PREAMBLE OF THE I.W." De Leon.

All 3d. each from the Head Office.

A Social & Dance

will be held by

THE I.S.L.
On Wednesday, June 6th, at 8 p.m.

At Prof. West's Academy,

125, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg.
WELCOME TO ALL FRIENDS OF
INTERNATIONALISM.

Holders of May Day Tickets admitted on presenting same and signing name on ticket.

Tickets 2/6. Refreshments provided.

Workers of the World Unite

You have nothing to lose but 5/-

"The International"

Post Free to gain.

The Solidarity of Labour

demands your Sub.:

(5/- per annum)

To THE ONLY WORKING CLASS PAPER IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Keep "THE INTERNATIONAL" going, it is your duty to the comrades who are fighting the great fight in Europe to-day.

P.O. Box 4179, JOHANNESBURG.

Box 2659.

Phone 4521.

J. BACHARACH.

Office: 13, African City Properties Trust Buildings, 76, Market Street, Johannesburg.

Tradesmen's and Commercial
Books kept.
Balance Sheets Drawn.
Income Tax Returns Prepared.

84/97

Printed by the U. P. & P. Co., Ltd. for the I.S.L. Box 4179, Johannesburg.