THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

No. 20

FRIDAY, 4 FEBRUARY 1916.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

Is Free Land Enough?

Taxation of Site Values Carried.

At last that old plank of Labour platforms, "Taxation of Site Values," has been realized. Mr. F. A. W. Lucas's Draft Ordinance compelling Municipalities to levy the first 1d of their rates on land only and requiring a majority of all the members of a Town Council to levy any part of, the remainder on improvements, has been rushed through the Transvaal Provincial Council.

The significant part of the event is that the Ordinance was supported by the Socialists, the Labourites, the Independents, the Nationalist, the Unionists, and, when it came to taxing stand licences, even by the South African Party!! The Governor-General's assent is considered inevitable.

Here is a principle, claimed to contain the whole secret of working class emancipation, being acknowledged by all parties in turn. Has then the hour of deliverance struck?

A Necessity of Capitalist Development.

r is well known that this principle of the taxation of land values only has been endorsed by the Unionists for some time. No popular clamour has compelled them now to fulfil their pledges. The National Industries League has, however, started activity. The constricting of imports in many commodities owing to the war has awakened the need for further industrial development among the commercial class; although this is not to the taste of the top capitalist, because for the production of such an important commodity to world—capitalism as gold, it is necessary to preserve the environment in as backward and pasteral a state as possible.

liberty sounded by the Manchester School were only the sentiments in which they expressed the necessity for their trade to expand untrainmelled, so the Taxation of Site values has become necessary for the further development of industry in South Africa. Many industrial concerns, such as flour milling, have been scared from the Rand by its effete land system.

This does not say that the measure is not an advance. Every development of Capitalism which organises industry on a larger and more efficient scale prepares the way for Socialism and makes straight the path of working class emancipation.

But as with the franchise and representative institutions, brought into being at the demands of trade, the blessings of a free land will long be monopolized by the interests which demanded it. To plagiarize a classic, it has always been "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" while the interests of the workers and the middle classes coincided, but these will be turned into "Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery" for the working class at every attempt to extend their benefits from the necessities of trade to the well being of the whole of humanity.

Source of Wealth, Land or Labour?

The land is the source of all wealth, therefore free the land." In the earliest days of man's toilsome march, when he drew his simple sustenance from the bare earth, free land and his own effort was enough.

But we are living in a highly organised age of man's development. We depend on the co-operative labour of our fellows in ever widening circles for every article of every day comfort. Not only do we depend upon our contemporaries, but civilization means the dependence on the accumulated energies of generations of industry and invention. We need all the vast machinery of industry for the meanest necessity.

Tree the land by all means. But do not expect emancipation from that while you leave the whole machinery of production in the hands of a few. Do not ask men to leave the Twentieth Century and squat on a few acres of bare earth in a primal neolithic state, with free land galore, but reduced to a shack of kerosine tins, without even the advantages of of states to gather nuts from enjoyed by his simian ancester.

If a few get on thus, it is due either to their access to the benefits of machinery or to the denial of all the benefits of being a modern.

How many mining claims are there not in the Transvaal tenaciously held by poor men, which they are unable to work. The monopolizers of machinery stand and grin around them waiting for the time when the licensee will be starved out. Such will happen to all "freeing" of the land to the neglect of the capture of industry.

Machinery, not Land, is Boss.

The land has always bowed to the mathime. The landed aristocracy have always recoiled before the power of the industrial kings. In fact, industry and industrial finance is extending its grip over land as well, either in direct possession or in the hopeless committments of small landholders to the money corporations. This explains the exodus of high finance from the Unionist to the S.A.P.

A great factor in the unrest in France in the middle of the last century was the fact that the numerous small landholders of the Napoleonic system were mortgaged up to the hilt to Paris finance. They held the land, just as the Russian serfs did, but the holders of machinery held them and all their possessions.

Society's greatest advances mean only advances in the methods of production. Full access to freedom means full access to these. The enslavement of the workers to machinery was, it is true, in part accomplished by the spoliation of the land. But not because the land was the source of all wealth, but in order to set free the *labour* which is the source of all wealth for the use of the exploiters.

To attempt a return then to the status quo ante of large production by machinery is to regard the wonderful developments of modern Science in the organisation of industry, and the vast co-operation of the workers in production, as an unmitigated evil, to be renounced by mankind for a return to pastoral life at the earliest opportunity.

But we have higher hopes and stronger hopes for humanity than this. Dreary as the road has been for the working class, capitalism has perfected a machine for supplying the needs of humanity which, when transferred to that Socialist commonwealth of the people which we see today taking shape in the world wide industrial organisation of the working class, will free humanity from the overmastering demands of labour for physical necessities. His temporary subjection to capitalism will result in his complete mastery over nature. From being the mere appendage of machinery he will overlord the struggle for existence, and make a tremendous bound forward to the stage when the struggle will be resumed on the plane of intellect.

This is no Utopian dream. This is a reading of the present-day play of economic forces. They dictate the organisation of the workers for the control of large industry as the true and only road of emancipation.

"Co-ops" and the Labour Movement.

By the amount of thought and energy lately given to the principle of Consumers Co-operative schemes, one would imagine that men-who should know better regard "co-ops" as short cuts to the revolution. As an apparage of industrial organisation for the alleviation of price fluctations and the provision of a commisariat, they are all that could be desired.

But of all the royal roads to revolution devised by a hundred years of middle class. Utopians, the phalansteries, communes, land taxes, mutual credits of the Proudhons, Robert Owens, Saint Simons and Henry Georges, this one is the most hare-brained, the because, let us hope, the last.

Society has been a war of classes based on property relations since the dawn of history. Now we are asked to believe, just when the lowest class in the series is, comparatively speaking, on the eve of triumph and the final abolition of classes, we are now asked to believe that the thing to do is to organise as consumers. General Botha, Bill Andrews, Li Phi and Mary Fitzgerald all arm in arm because they all consume pork pies for supper.

The idea even lozes in feasibility if you say that only the workers are to be organised as consumers instead of as producers.

It assumes that the much maligned middle man is the sole author of economic evil.

Dean Swift, in a satire on Irish-bishops, said that and doubt the men who were sent down from Canterbury were holy and devout, but were killed on the way by highway robbers who rifled their credentials, donned their canonicals, and entered into the fat enjoyment of their bishoprics in Ireland.

Thus the champions of "Co-ops." The necessities of life leave the point of production unstained by surplus values, there they represent the full reward of labour. But they are pounced upon on the way by the wholesaler, market agent and counterjumper, who are the sources of all robbery. Therefore friends, no class war please but a Consumers Alliance if you like.

You can control the whole produce of industry, and the Corner House of Capital will still smile at the benevolence of the workers in reducing their own cost price to the exploiters. The workers are robbed at the point of production and it is the means of production they need to control.

To the man of business this world is the best of all possible worlds. The "class struggle threatens to upset it for him. And those who advocate "Consumers Co-ops" as a way of side tracking the big fight between employer and employed are expressing the smug ideals of the employer.

There may be still a rejoinder that "Co-ops" are on the way to capture production as well. Anythope in this direction is based on the profoundest ignorance of what capitalism is.

To begin with, industrial organisation is a communal impulse, imperfect though it be. The impulse of "Co-ops" is the egotistical one trickling down from the bourgeois trader to the proletariat. It is the quest for "divis" that animates them.

However, concede that all their profits are kept for expansion, can they ever hope to capture industry? Slavery is due to the fact that, in spite of material betterment, the proportion of profits to wages is ever increasing. How then can the savings of wages ever hope to capture both wages and capital?

It is tedious to chop-logic the obvious, but the Labour movement in South Africa is going to reconstruct itself in the near future, and it is necessary to clear the ground of a lot of rubbish, in order that when the great revival of Labour comes it may not be smothered in the nostrums of the middle class.

As an aid to the Industrial Unions, let us repeat, Co-operative schemes will be invaluable. But as alternatives to them they are a delusion and a snare.

[The relation of The Federation and Co-ops will occupy us next week.]

Sunday Observance.

Having abolished the Sermon on the Mount, the parsons must earn their pay somehow. Capitalism, the paymaster, requires the trail of superstition to be prescrived over the intellect of the exploited. The preachers are however reduced to the very thin subject of Sunday observance, and the capers they cut before an absolutely indifferent public suits them admirably. And our press, of course, gets copy every Monday tresh from the seat of war-talk, and seems satisfied that its readers are getting converted. Press, priests, patriotism and profits, what an alliterative community of diars.

The great war has compelled the church to betray the fact that it is a tool of capitalism. Never in the twenty centuries of its existence has it so nakedly crucified its Master. Representatives of the Prince of Poace rave like the very demons of hell at recruiting meetings, shepherds of the flock cast to the wolves of war not only the men, but the women and children of an equally "christian" Germany, from the safety of their pulpits. Furse, that holy vicare of the meek and lowly, having returned from the back of the front, proclaims bayonets as the new Christian virtue, and points to the manger of peace and goodwill with fingers dripping blood.

Man is more than Constitutions, better rot buseath

the sod,

Than be true to Claurch and State, while you are doubly false to Kapital.

So said one of the tribe at a war meeting lately. He wont mind our changing the last word to make the line intelligible. Religion in the accepted sense is no concern of the Thternational. When economic slavery has been swept away, men will have the necessary physical calm to contemplate the universal mystery of being. The green earth, the trees and flowers, the glory of the seasons' alternations, will doubtless awaken the wonder and adoration of emancipated man as never before to new research most during and imaginings of transcendent eestacy. But there will be no priestly fumes to blot the pure blue of heaven. And we just wish to tell an atheistic capitalist clique and their church toadies that it is too late in the day to try and divert the minds of the working class with these old forms of resuscitated superstitions.

Survival of the Fittest.

In northern climes, the polar bear
Protects himself with fat and hair,
Where snow is deep and ice is stark,
And half the year is cold and dark.
He still survive: a clime like that
By growing fur, by growing fat.
These traits, O Bear, which thou transmittest
Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions waste and wan,

Comes the encroaching race of man.

A puny, feeble, little lubber,

He has no fur, he has no blubber.

The scornful bear sat down at ease

To see the stranger starve and freeze

But lo! the stranger slew the bear,

And ate his fat and wore his hair:

These deeds, O man, which thou committest.

Prove the Survival of the Fittest.

In modern times the millionaire
Protects himself as did the bear:
Where Poverty and Hunger are
He counts his bullion by the car:
Where thousands perish still he thrives
The wealth, O Croesus, thou transmittest,
Prove the Survival of the Fittest.

But lo, some people odd and funny,
Some men without a cent of money.
The simple common human race
Chose to improve their dwelling place:
They had no use for millionaires,
They calmly said the world was theirs,
They were so wise, so strong, so many,
The Millionaires? There was nt any.
These deeds, C. Man, which thou committest.
Prove the Survival of the Fittest.

MRS. CHARLOTTE STETSON.

French Socialism Resurgent. Clyde Workers Militant.

The National Congress of the French Socialist Party sat during the last days of Clyde are thoroughly roused in revolt against December. At the Preliminary Conference of the Federation of the Seine, the vigour and hope of the anti-war opposition under the leadership of Longuet (the grandson of vantages of "The Dilution of Labour" was Karl Marx), showed a tremendous increase.

At the Congress Itself however, oxing to the fetish of Unity Gerided oddly enough by the Tashour Leader correspondent) the manifesto arrived at is described as a mass gone by a Cabinet Minister. of contradition hidden by that 'turgid rhetorie which people use to conceal their

i houghts".

French Socialism.

spokesmen of the pro-war section. Herve Albert Phomas and Renaudel, tired the congress but with interminable speeches and issued four thousand delegates tickets. Withelever maneuvres until a compromise was out consulting the Union's Lloyd George agreed upon. The nature of the compromise postponed it to Christmas Day. Nearly all was reflected in the remark of one of the opposition we have been duped.

And yet it is estimated that, without the delegates of the invaded departments, which to be "discourteous" to the Minister. The just now prominent in the anti-war section. were elected by some refugees, in a Paris Cafe, there is an actual anti-war majoraty in the French Socialist Party. It is moreover notorious what these invaded departments contain the most revolutionary sections of

Out of 82 Federations represented, 22 -were unanimously anti-war, with a majority in many others, and a growing minority in

The Executive Committee resorted to the services of the Government Censor to naudel even invoked the threat of government suppression of reports from the anti-war side to the Labour Leader. Gustav Herve, no longer regarded even by himself as a Socialist, made a disgraceful attack in his paper mow changed from "La Guerre Sociale" to "In Victoire" fon Lönguet; not because the is a Socialist, but because he is the "grandson of a German Jew, "Akaid Marxi.

. How long unity can obtain in a movement of such absolutely conflicting elements it is not hard to foretell. Judging from our experiences in the South African movement this compromise must be the prefude to a de mite cleavage between the Marxian and Governmental Socialists in France, and the happy resumption of real interational cooperation with the German Social Democrats for a loreible termination of the crime, which anak is beautiful earth the ghastly small of death and hate, camot be far off now.

But von Communists would introduce : committe of women, shrieks the whole nourgeaisie in chorus.

The hourgeois sees in dis wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that instruments of production are to become common property, and naturally can only think that the lot of becoming common pro-· party will likewise fall to women.

He never suspects that the real point. atimed at is to do away with the position of women as mere instruments of production.

of one individual by another is ended, the exploitation of one nation by another will be

The 250.000 organised workers of the the Government and the employers. Lloyd George's recent tour there preaching the adanything but the pleasure trip that the cables would have us believe. In fact it was one of the most humiliating experiences ever under-

about his visit. He first arranged with Ar-The Congress lasted five days, the chief thur Henderson a Conference of Trade Union Officials on Dec. 23, and the Trade Unions the Unions refused to acquiesce in this high handed action, in spite of frantic appeals not Conference however was scratched together of officials of four Unions Whirty Unions having refused to participate) and the general public, an audience of three thousand .The Red Flag was sung before and after Lloyd George spoke. After the speech, the chairman refused to fulfil his promise to allow a spokesman of the Clyde workers to reply, whereupon there was great uproar, and Lloyd George and Arstrains of the 'Red Flag.' sung more vigoin procession to the Glasgow Green.

Then Hoyd George tried his hand at a Conference with Shop Stewards. The men first demanded that officials, including the Master of Elibank, be not present. They had to leave.

Then began what was surely one of of British Trade Unionism. All present except the two Ministers were workers at the bench, clad in their working clothes, proceedings showed that their minds were clear and their souls without fear. The South Africa. chairman opened by assuring Mr. George South Africa. that the workers present regarded him with suspicion and would listen to what he had to say with suspicion. They had not forgotten that by the Munitions Act he had did not like those who tried to enslave them. Here Mr. George, probably by way of a joke, declined responsibility for the Munitions Act and attributed the blame to Mr. Henderson and the Trade Unions, whereupon the chairman rejoined that Mr. Henderson, in Scotland at any rate, was no longer regarded as a representative of the for the men the day he entered the Cabinet class. of the governing classes. Mr. George was completely disconcerted by the frank introduction of the chairman, whose words were endorsed by his comrades.".

The Clyde workers are favourable enough Marx: to this "Dilution of Labour" on condition that the munitions industry be nationalised, and the workers given a share of controls but In the same measure as the exploitation they firmly rejected all Lloyd George's proposals so long as the industry is privately managed for private profit. The Clyde and the Rhondda will yet save the soul of British

The Social Democrats of

Is there any connection between the marvellous advance of the German Social Democrats and their methods and programs. It can not be due to any special spirit of compromise with other parties, or pandering to the predilictions of the middle class; for, in spite of the Party's initial failure at the out-The "Labour Leader." gives the truth break of war, it stands to-day the most independent and militant in all the orginal belligerent countries.

> The Social Democrats lead the world in numbers and, or because, it leads in uncompromising militanev.

The Erfurt Program contains the party planks, and was adopted in 1891. Kautsky. wrote a treatise on that program, which took up the various subdivisions of the platform, and in explaining them gave a comprehensive and systematic exposition of Socialist economic and Sociologic theory. The Social Democrats, recognising in Kautsky one of the finest Marxian thinkers of the age, encourage him to be a constant critic of his Party.

That treatise has been issued in four quash publicity for the anti-war section. Re- Thur Henderson made a disorderly exit to the pamphlets under the titles of "THE WORKING CLASS. THE CAPITALIST CLASS." "THE rously than ever. The audience their marched. CLASS STRUGGLE? and the "SOCIALIST REPUBLIC: Read them. They are only three pence each, obtainable from the League Head Office. To read them well is to feel the glow of the coming dawn coursing through your veins.

> The time of construction is here. We the strangest conferences in the history do not offer anything that is only known to the study. These pamphlets are the clucidation of a program which has built up a their faces and hands begrinned, but the great Socialist Party; they make us realize how hopelessly out of date we have been in

> Does it require deep insight to undermade them industrial slaves and Scotsmen i stand that with changes in man's material conditions of life, social relations and social system, his ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, his consciousness also changes?

> What does the history of ideas prove but that intellectual production changes with material production? The ruling ideas of any workers, having forfeited his right to speak age have ever been only the ideas of its ruling Marx.

> > 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 this appropriation. Marx.

> > With the disappearance of classes within the nation the state of enmity between na-Marx. tions will come to an end.

The Government an Ex- Victims of the Dead End. pression of Capitalism.

of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into å visible embodiment. But it was only this in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole, in ancient times the State of slave owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the capitalists.

When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence based on our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary.

The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the représentative of the whole of society, the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society, this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State.

State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself. The Government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of to Utopian sentimentalists in the ranks of and Dairy License registered June, 1915, the processes of production. The State is Labour no less than the ranks of nationanot abolished, it dies out.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS,

In Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.

BRANCH NOTES.

BENONI. Comrade H. W. Haynes will speak next Sunday night at Smith's Studio, Lake Avenue. Harry Haynes was the Chairman of the Kleinfontein Strike Committee, so roll up.

JOHANNESBURG. Don't forget League Dance on the 16th. Also the open Lecture on "Native Aspirations" by the Rev. Francis Hill under League auspices at the Trades Hall on next Thursday the 10th.

BENONI SOCIAL.

Social in the Hotel Cecil on Wednesday next that outclass me, and I want to quit my job. Supplies big retailers with oilskins. It is the 9th February. Tickets only 2/6. They Hell is nt in it with the land that lies along obvious that you can save retailers profits by send an earnest invitation to comrades from ther parts of the Reef to come out and mak t a social success. A special effort for this one from all the League members is wanted: you can depend on any Benoni Social being a jolly one.

Have you Subscribed to "THE INTERNATIONAL?" Send 5s. to Box 4179, Joh'burg.

The State was the official representative Dekker's "Vorstenschool" which may not be uninteresting to your Dutch readers: Het volk.

> Is laag gezonken, ziel en hart Gaan onder bij aanhoudend stoflyk lijden.

De gloed van hooger geestdrift wordt gedoofd

Als 't leven slechts een kamp is met het lage. Als niet te sterven 's levens cenig 'doel is, En uitstel van bezwyken hoogst; prys!

. Wat is den arme 't schoon der lente?' Een sterrenhemel? Niets! Wat is hem Meetings in Colin Wade's surgery. kunst?

Wat zijn hem tonen, tinten, geuren? Niets! Wat is hem poezie? Wat liefde? Niets!

Dat alles mag hem niets zyn. Alle vlucht Is hem verboden door de werklijkheid.

Die met 'n vizeren vuist hem perst in 't Slijk

En alle poging tot verset, bestraft met honger.

Perhaps "The Interpreter" will translate them for the English readers, since you've given Freemantle the hint to stick to his last. If only it were "profitable" (his lown expression). I see that he wants us to believe that 'a spirit of nationalism among the working classes would solve all industrial problems!" I wonder if the 'spirit of nationalism has stopped the crying of the bywoner children who go to school hungry in the Free State; or has it abolished the three-and four-peany men on the Railways?

These lines of "Multatuli" though written in Holland, might have been conceived expressly for the "poor whites" of ... The General Dealer Business registered South Africa; and moreover contain a hint Revenue Office, Johannesburg, January, 1915. lism; not to look for high thinking in the mass of wage slaves as the condition of their deliverance. It is in order free the intellect dings, Johannesburg. that we want deliverance from wage slavery.

()Thou who did st with pitfall and with gin, Beset the path liwas to wander in.;

Thou wilt not with predestination round Enmesh me, and then simpute my fall to sin. Yours etc.

M.H.F.

Jutclassed.

The Devil sat by the lake of fire on a pile of sulphur kegs; His head was bowed upon his breast, his tail between his legs: A look of shame was on his face—the sparks dripped from his eyes. He had sent his resignation to the throne up in the skies.

"I'm down and out," the Devil said-The Benoni Comrades are holding a he said it with a sob--"There are others the Rhine: I'm a has-been old and rusty, and therefore I resign.

One ammunition maker with his bloody shot and shell knows more about Dannation than all the imps of Hell. Give my job to Kaiser William or to the Russian Czar. Asquith or J. P. Morgan or some such man of war.

From the "Rip Saw" St. Louis.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni, T. Chapman, P.O. Box 379. Meetings, Smith's Studio, Lake Avenue. every Monday evening.

Intending members sec Canetown. Comrade Wilfrid Hairison, S.D.F. Box 1176.

Durban. W.S. Mabbott, 353. Point Rd. Meetings at Auld Kirk Hall and Trades Hall. Eastern Districts. Secretary, c.o. 249.

Marshall St. Jeppes.

Germiston: E.H. Becker, 54, Queen St.

Johannesburg, T.W. Ward, P.O. Box 1981. Meetings, Trades Hall. Every Thurs-

Preteria. Intending members see Mr. W. Blake, Secretary Socialist Society, Box

Head Office. D. Ivon Jones, Secretary, e. 6, Trades Hall. P.O. Box 4179.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The General Dealer Business registered a' Revenue Office, Johannesburg, on January 18th, 1915, by Annie Brassner, Stand 375, 48. Beit Sireet. Doornfontain, was abandoned as from January 1st, 1916.

C. & L. Clingman, 25. Mercantile Buildings, Commissioner & Simmands Streets, Johannesburg.

name I. Zulman, Stand 1709, 120. Pritchard Street, has been transferred to M. Tatz, as from January, 1916.

C. & L. Clingman, 25, Mercantile Buil-

The General Dealer Business registered 22nd February, 1915, Revenue Office, Waterburg, name H.P. van der Walt, Turffontein. No. 1995, District Waterburg, was sold to E. S. Tager and R. Zway, as from January 11th, 1916.

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