THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

No. 58

FRIDAY 27 OCTOBER 1916.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

Labourites and Conscription.

No, 3 of the Recruiting Committee's pine questions to Municipal Candidates reads: "ARE YOU IN FAVOUR OF CONSCRIPTION?"

From fear of this self-appointed Junta most of the Municipal Candidates hastened to answer the questions, all in the affirmative, with the exception of the avowal by Comrade Forrester Brown that he was a War on Warite.

Five Labour Candidates, so far as appears from the Recruiting Committee's statement, have also swallowed the lot whole, including number three. The other five have not replied to the Recruiting Committee. This leaves the Labour Party suitably facing North by South, according to the character of the electorate that is appealed to.

Like the invertebrate mollusc that it has now become, it is not yet sure which way the people want to go on this question. When that becomes clear then it may be expected to crawl in front to lead them whither soever they wish to go.

The fact of the matter is that the Burning question for the Labour Party to-day is the Liquor Question. As for CONSCRIPTION OF THE WORKERS, well, who is there to-day interested enough in these things to pay for a man's Election Expenses?

Capitalist Alliances Lead to Ruin.

It seems a sad case for the Labour Party when it can only fight elections by subsidies from the Beer Interest. Several of their Committee Rooms seemed jointly shared with the anti-prohibition people. Mrs. Dingwall's election manifesto had NO PROHIBITION as its battle cry, (although that had absolutely nothing to do with the Municipal Election). It is therefore not to be expected that a party running such candidates could develop a stiff back on the Conscription question. The method of this "Labour Party" is no longer the opportunist one of "which policy will best gain seats," but the absolutely abandoned one of 'which will get our election expenses paid.'

In Ward I only three candidates of all parties replied to the Recruiting Committee's inquisitorial letter; so that the refusal to reply of the two Labour Candidates in that Ward did not stand out, as the electorate is wholly workingclass. But credit is due to Messrs. Hayward, Stewart and Metcalfe in the other wards for their action in ignoring the Inquisition, and by implication getting themselves 'smudged' with the name of War on Warite.

They should learn to treat all other "questioners," such as Ratepayers Associations, in the same manner. The mark of a true working-class champion is that he holds himself responsible for his views to no outside body, but only to the working class movement itself.

The Badge of "Labour" covers a Multitude of Sins.

The Labour Party to-day is no more than a clique exploiting the fighting power given to the name by the devoted service of such men as Andrews. It is running on a spent momentum. The abject degradation to which it has sunk on the Conscription question in this election proves all that we have contended,—that there is no stopping place for Labour men or Labour parties on the inclined plane of vote catching, until they reach utter futility. Only by the fearless declaration of Truth regardless of consequences can any

party of Labour live, and be effective. The truth shall make you free. Our quarrel with the Labour Party is not that of a competing party. We have ceased to compete. Revolution does not compete with reform, it is up another plane. But this has to be remembered; that the enemy of the working class, in the last analysis, is not the capitalist but the working class itself and its false leaders. And when a party appears bearing the badge of "Labour," and under that badge betrays Labour itself on issues vital to the workers, then who dare maintain that that Party and its candidates should not be the main object of our attack. The greatest obstacles to working class advance all over the world are "Labour" parties set up or captured by the capitalists and their hangers on. Such "Labour" Parties, and such "Labour" men can do for the Capitalist what the capitalists dare not do for themselves. What we see to-day is a "Labour" Party crumbling, not from our attacks, but from its own inherent rottenness. What good men are in it will sooner or later realize that no party of Labour that does not fight on the uncompromising plane of the class struggle can survive.

The Election Results.

At Benoni Comrade Chapman polled 253 first preferences for International Socialism, the top figure being 756; a solid Socialist vote. At Germisfon Comrade Herbert Johnson polled 79 votes, and Comrade Van Lingen, starting with 272 first preferences got the quota of 426.

In Johannesburg Ward I Comrade Forrester Brown polled 567 first preferences, Comrade Clark's vote in this Ward last year being 721. But it is considered that Comrade Brown's poll is a truer representation, indeed may be an increase, of the Socialist vote, as he had not the support of certain local interests given to Comrade Clark last year.

In this ward it does not seem likely that any of the Labour and Federation Candidates, whose polls fluctuate in the circle of five to seven hundred odd, will get sufficient transfers to reach the quota, which is 2902 in all Wards.

In Ward 2 Comrade Ivon Jones has polled 387 votes, being an advance of 106 votes over the combined vote of Bunting and Jones in this ward last year. Significant also that, with the exception of Drew, no Labour candidates are likely to gain the quota. Significant also that the two Labour men in this Ward who refused or omitted to answer the Recruiting Committee polled altogether 303 votes, less than Ivon Jones' poll. Thus endeth all political fence sitters.

Bunting's poll in Ward 3 was 449 first preferences, being 218 votes more than the combined poll of Comrades Crisp and Light in this Ward last year. In this Ward also, unless there be some phenomenal transfers, it does not appear likely that more than one Labour or Federation candidate will get in.

We are only concerned with the first preferences. To repeat, we are building a Socialist Vote that no power can stampede, and that Socialist vote can only be judged on first preferences. Judging by Wards 2 and 3, a 30 per cent. increase is ours, which is all that a revolutionary party should desire. It is evidently considered signific ant, judging by the congratulations of well-wishers.

A True Workers Educational.

This is the second of a series of appeals for a true workingclass education issued by the London District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen.

II

Economics and Labour.

Economics deals with the production and distribution of wealth. The substance of wealth-production is labour—the labour of man acting in co-operation with. the labour of nature. The result of this co-operation is a useful object, whether it be an article of food, clothing, or shelter, and which is capable of satisfying human wants. But man does not work with his bare hands. He makes instruments of labour such as ploughs, looms, steam engines, which serve the useful purpose of assisting man, as means for the production of those goods that are required for individual consumption. These means of production are, however, just as much the products of labour as the products they help to produce. They are the results of past labour, which serve as aids to the living labour of the present.

Now it will follow, that living labour becomes more productive, or fertile, the greater the quantity and the higher the quality of the instruments of labour. More useful things can be produced in a shorter time. By so much, therefore, should the wants of men be the more abundantly satisfied; the greater productive power of labour, it would appear, should have as a result a greater prosperity for the labourer.

What is the result? The tremendous progress in the art of producing wealth, which characterised the past century, has been at the same time a progress in the poverty of the workers. It is only the people who work that are poor. They are poor, not because there is not enough to go round and adequately satisfy the needs of all, not because their labour is poor and niggardly in its output. On the contrary, poverty has grown with the growth of abundance

amazing anomaly, we must study the economic situation which produces it.

Only when we understand the way in which the pressing problem of our economic poverty arises, can we hope to understand the way of its solution.

When we turn to the works of official political economy, we might well be discouraged at the prospect offered us therein. In these text-books—of which there is an abundant supply—we find that Labour figures only as one agent in the making of the wealth of the nations, and is supposed to be adequately rewarded for its agency by what are

called the "Wages of Labour." Then comes Capital, regarded as the commanding agent in production, and as that which advances the wages of the work. man; the return for its participation goes to the owner of capital under the name of Profit (including Interest) Lastly, there is Land, the fertility of which is supposed to result in its appropriate form of revenue called Rent. It seems, however, that it is the Landlord (the capitalist land-owner) and not the Land that "calls for the rent!"

Carlyle characterised this type of economics as a "dismal science." "Dismal" it is, but a "science" it is not. A science of economics cannot be constructed by those whose narrow economic interests blind them from viewing the actual relations of the present system, and whose prejudices cause them to make their main aim, the preserving and bolstering up of that system.

On the other hand, the working-class has no real interest in maintaining the system that oppresses it, and for that reason it is the better placed for taking a scientific view of the actual economic relations and laws. The science of economics is bound up with the salvation of the economically enslaved.

A scientific view of economics dis closes the fact that Labour is the beginning, middle, and end of economics, the substance of all value or capitalist wealth, that wages are not an equivalent to the labour expended by the actual producers, but merely a part of the value produced by them, a part which is just sufficient to keep the workman in working order from day to day under the same capitalist conditions as before; that profit and interest and rent are not created by capi tal and land respectively, but are merely quantities of unpaid labour, the surplus of the value produced over value returned to the labourer as wages; that, finally, capital is nothing but past unpaid labour utilised by those who own and command it, for the purpose of appropriating more unpaid labour.

This science has already been opened up, and continues to develop. The extention of this knowledge among the workers is one of the aims of working-class education, and one of the functions therefore, of the classes that are to be formed by the London Council of the National Union of Railwaymen in conjunction with the Central Labour College.

The cobbler believes that there is nothing like leather. The Imperialist who regards the conquest of England by a foreign power the worst of political disfortunes believes that the conquest of a foreign power by England would be a boon to the conquered.

G. BERNARD SHAW.

Recruits Wanted.

Readers of The International,

The Socialist movement, like the warmongers, wants MORE MEN. Unlike the warmongers, it wants them, not to be blown to pieces on the battlefield, but to form the Expeditionary Force destined to drive capitalism and war out of all lands they have invaded.

The International Socialist League, as such, may not itself become the army of occupation; but it is the Recruiting Committee for that army; it is the purveyor of the propaganda which must inspire its ranks, it is the organiser of Victory. And for all that work, the brains and hands of men are needed. It is all very well to say "The natural forces of evolution will bring about Socialism," but part of the evolution, part of the forces, is the intense human effort required for success. "I will sit on this stile and continue to smile" will not "soften the heart of the Capitalist Cow." ' The Class Struggle exists because someone does actually struggle. "They also serve who only stand and wait" is hardly true of our Movement.

Donald Simson the other day, estimating the difficulty of the Allies' task, was interrupted by the usual armchair warriors who, snug in Johannesburg, yelf "We (!) are bound to win." He knew that you can't kill the Kaiser 'wiv ver mouf'? and you can't kill Capitalism by merely reading, or even agreeing with "The International."

There is work to be done all the time in our trenches. Reinforcements are wanted. And the qualifications of our force are such that every soldier carries a field marshal's baton in his knapsack.

Understanding Socialism is essential: but we ask you to be dissatisfied with being a mere reader or supporter of our paper, and to become a worker in the Cause. Look up the Branch Directory on the back page of this paper, and get in touch at once with the Secretary of whichever branch seems most convenient, or else write to the General Secretary, Box 4179, Johannesburg, You may not have time for meetings—there is plenty of work waiting to be done without meetings, consolidating though the effect of 'assembling yourselves together' undoubtedly is. You may fear publicity; is there any, except for a tew who have to face it, in our League? You do not know who are our members and it never becomes known.

It is time that you linked up with those who are bearing the burden and heat, not to lighten their task but to add yours to. it and so accelerate the coming of "The Day."

JOIN THE I.S. L. AND DO IT NOW.

Not failure but low aim is crime.

JAS. RUSSEL LOWELL.

A War on War Man from the Trenches.

Captain Donald Simson Gives the Plutocrats Plain Talk.

At the Unionist Party Club the other night there was assembled a galaxy of the Rand's fat patriots, including G. B. Steer and Johnnie Ware, (Chairman and Treasurer of the South African "Labour" Party.)

Captain Donald Simson was the hero of the dinner. He is a soldier who has seen service in the Dardanelles and Cape Helles, (well named). Mayor O'Hara had him trotted round, and the Recruiting Committee have exploited him as a good recruiting draw. Last week however he gave a sign of that sad universal habit of philosophic reflection which characterises the soldiers who have gruelled through this war.

But last Saturday, he spoke to the plutes in their own home. He talked a lot of stuff that would be deemed rank pro-Germanism if uttered by us. For instance, he said "In my opinion that line will be bent and altered, but it will never be bro-ken." (cries of "Question.")

But that does not concern us, because it does not concern the workingclass. Whoever wins this war, the workingclass of the world will lose.

captain Donald Simson however got on to the War on War tack in earnest at the close of his speech. The interjections of the arm chair patriots to the speech of this soldier are about the best examples of smug bourgeois impudence that we have seen for a long while:—

CAPTAIN SIMSON BLAMES ENGLAND.

He blamed England for saying that it would have nothing to do with Germany after the war—(a voice: "Thank God we shall not" and applause)—which was merely a spur to the German people to resist to the last ditch. There was no need for England to put her cards on the table and thus forewarn her enemies. Moreover it would be a catastrophe if the war ended within the next two years, because he did not think the people had yet learned their lesson.

Pockets Come First.

American goods, which as likely as not were made by Germans in America, and he had little faith in flag-wagging oyalty. The people's pockets came first every time. (Cries of "Oh!") For years their gods had been greed of gold and retten politics. In this regard he related how New Zealand farmers who had lost sons in the war consoled themselves by the profits they were making out of it. No military victory would bring peace. It might smash Germany, but there was no finality coming out

of this was other, than comradeship and humanity. Normal conditions could not be resumed for a long time. Germany could not be ignored. The people must look forward to a settlement on a Christian basis. Perhaps he had uttered a pessimistic note, but really he was the greatest optimist, though he was not sure that the British Empire was better organised than when the war started. (Cries of "Oh!") Germany could not win, but he asked that his hearers should consider the price they were paying for beating her. He accused the Empire of drifting, and it's people of making a profitable industry of war at the expense of valuable lives. (Cries of "Oh!") In conclusion, Captain Simson disclaimed that he had "got religion" or was a crank. But he had acquired a view of the war which only those who had been as near death as he had could acquire. And he did not blame the people of Johannesburg for want of interest in the conflict, which he attributed to the fact that they were at a safe distance from the central theatres.

If this is an indication of what modern war has on the outlook of a man like Captain Simson, how many "War on Warites" must there be in the trenches to-day.

What About Your Job?

I am out of a job. If I could only get a job. I certainly am up against it. If I don't soon get a job I don't know what is going to become of my wife and children.

The foregoing expressions are common among workingmen who are out of jobs.

If you are so badly in need of a job then why don't you go to work?

The answer is: The other fellow will not let me.

Who is the other fellow?

Why, it is the capitalist, who owns the tools that you need to work with.

Then you can only work when the men who own the tools want you to work.

By the way. I was told that this was a "free country," and if I am not mistaken you are the same fellow who on the last Recruiting Rally shot off fire-crackers as big as a chair leg. And it was you who on that day spoke to me about the dignity and freedom of the British Empire; and that we Ruled the Waves.

You will remember that I told you we were rather funny rulers when we could'nt go to work unless someone else wanted us to.

It strikes me as if we bear a much closer resemblance to slaves.

From what I have read in history about slavery I understand that the slaves received food, clothing and shelter even when

the master had no work for them. To-day the masters, the capitalists, when they have no work for us, turn us out.

The result is that our wives and children must suffer.

And then some crack-brained lady reformer comes along and tells us that the reason the workingman is so "hard up" is because he has too many children. That kind of an argument does not sound good to me.

My experience has been that workingmen are poor because they are robbed; and they are robbed, not because they have too many children, but because they do not own the industries in which they work.

Look at the children of the capitalist class. They are not in want of any of the good things of life. Why? Because their fathers have plenty to give them.

This plenty is the surplus that the capitalist class has been able to squeeze out of the hides of the working class.

Do you begin to see what is the matter?

Can you not see that so long as a set of men own the things that you must have in order to live they own you?

Does it not, then, follow that the things with which men work should be owned by those men who must work with them?

Think of all the wonderful machines that exist to-day with which to make everything that man can possibly desire, and which are so perfect that one man can make all an army can use. Do you suppose that if everyone could get to those machines whenever they wished there would be any hungry, cold or poorly clad people on the globe?

But since the little loom that once stood in the corner has become the great textile mill, and the village blacksmith shop has been changed into the mammoth steel works, and so on in all lines of work, it is of course impossible for each worker to own separately the things with which he must work.

The only thing left to do is to have these things owned collectively. Let the ownership be in common, so that each one may use them when he wishes, and insist that all shall work, and no one shall receive anything who does not work.

If this is so simple you may say, why is it not done at once?

Let me explain why. If you will look around you will see at once that such a move is to the interest of the great majority of the people.

Most people are compelled to work for someone else and are subject to all kinds of sufferings and uncertainties.

Why do they not change it, then, you say? Because they do not know how. But why do they not find out? Because the owners of the tools, the land, the mines, the factories, etc., are at present the ruling class in society. They have control of the government, of the courts, of the schools, of the press, and of all the means by which

intelligence is spread.

This class, because it owns the things we have been speaking of, is able to make everyone else work for it.

It gives to each worker only what is barely necessary to keep him and his family alive, and then takes all the remainder.

So long as these owners of the industries are able to control the press and government and so forth, they will use every means in their power to keep the working class from getting together and working to overthrow the capitalist system of production. One of the shrewdest ways they have of accomplishing this is to get workers divided at every election over such issues as Tariff Reform, Local Veto, and things that do not concern the working class.

But all over the world there is a movement composed of men who are insisting that the only question that really concerns the working class is this one of, Who shall own the tools, and consequently-be the rulers of society?

This movement insists, that this ownership shall be given to those who use the tools, and that they shall be the rulers of society.

As soon as Labour rules itself there will be no one left to rule over or to over-rule. This can only come when the workmen of all lands combine in the industries where they work.

Think all this over and study about it, and I will warrant that when you have thought it out you will be in line with the International Socialist League, and wondering how you ever were so foolish as to vote for your master's interest instead of your own; to vote yourself into slavery each year and to declare every time you went to the ballot box that you were satisfied to suffer and starve with your family while your master rioted in luxury.

Adapted from the New York "Weekly People."

The Election Campaign.

The League has put up a fight worth recording in the Municipal elections. Round the booths in Johannesburg the Socialist candidates were the only ones with a policy sharply divided from all the rest.

The replies from all other parties to the questions of the Recruiting Committee, involving them all in support of Conscription, left absolutely none but the League to expose the conspiracy. Although some of the Labour candidates refused to answer the questions, none dared come out to fight the Conscription Conspiracy.

Their party was not free so to do, because it has no collective voice on any policy. On the other hand, the "satisfactory replies" of the Secretary of the Labour Party, himself a carpenter, and Richards, a miner, constitutes a scandal in Labour politics,

The League candidates therefore were not slow in forcing the issue on the public. This was successfully done, perhaps in Ward II. more than the others. Placards

headed No Conscription and bearing the names of the candidates supporting conscription, and ending up with the words "AWAY WITH CAPITALIST WAR AND CAPITALIST ROBBERY" were got up, and politing cards of the same tenor distributed by the thousand.

In several of the town booths these roused the bije of the O'Hara crowd to a remarkable degree; and they were being continually torn down; and in several instances our helpers were threatened with violent reprisals. Of this more may be heard.

Comrade Brown putsup a good fight in Ward I, so did Bunting in Ward III. While in one Town Booth there were no Labour Party battlers present all doy, only in a few aristocratic areas was the League unrepresented.

In Bezuidenhout Valley of course, Andrew Dunbar was in his 'own constituency" as it were, and dominated the situation. His irrepressible railtery of the other candidates policies and stunts kept the Valley booth in constant good humour and merriment. Indeed, all the devoted workers who stuck to their guns on Wednesday against much intimidation, and exposed the CONSCRIPTION schemes of the capitalist parties, will feel satisfied that for its size and resources our League put up a better fight than any other party. Let our comrades not attach too much weight to the actual voing results yet, desirable though a good poll may be. A Socialist vote must be one that no power on earth can stampede. But it takes years to build

In Germiston the two candidates, Herbert Johnson and Sydney van Lingen have been assiduous. As we write we learn that Comrade Johnson has dropped out of the running, and that Sydney is likely to get the quota. However, although the manifesto was fairly well distributed here, personal and local issues have entered the contest, so that the result will be no test of the advance or otherwise of Socialist thought,

In Benoni we have been going great guns. In putting up Comrade Chapman here the League has scored the biggest success, both in consolidating our forces and in demoralizing those of Mug wump Labour, Comrades Den Bakker and Chapman especially have worked like Trojans. The Manifesto went into every corner of the electorate, and has undoubtedly created great interest in the principles which it announces.

Our open air meeting there on Saturday was one of largest seen in Benoni. And although the people were fresh from the Trafalgar Day gala, the opposition was only half-hearted. It was pitiful to see among he interrupters in fact the chief interrupter, that one time propagandist Bob Waterston. Comrades Dunbar and Andrew Watson however deat with him with great effect. While there was no So cialist candidate standing in Benoni, Bob Waterston exploited the anti-war sentiment to get votes for the See it Through Party. But the entry of the Socialist has driven him to out-Jingo the Jingoes.

On Tuesday we had another bumper meeting, with Comrades Tyler, William Staunton (Chairman of the Capetown Tram Strike) and Andrew Dunbar again. The expressions among the serious Trade Unionists of the crowd went to showthat they are being increasingly attracted, by the uncompromising class war propaganda of the League. Whatever the result in votes, the League has made itself a power to be teared in Benoni

The distribution of the Manifesto was the most searching ever accomplished by the League. At least 20,000 of the leaflets found billets in Johannes-burg alone.

In conclusion, the persistent boycott of the League's Candidates by the Press is the greatest compliment to the rightness of

our stand. The boosting of Mugwump Labour by the same Press is the surest testimony that it is the League, or the principles for which it fights, that alone can strike terror into the heart of Capitalism.

International Socialist League (S.A.)

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

P.O. Box 4179

Phone 6035.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street.

Johannesburg.

General Secretary:

D. Ivon Jones.

BRANCH NOTES.

DURBAN

Our Sunday nlg'it meeting showed a fair attendance. Comrade Lee filled the bill taking as his subject "What shall we do to be saved." The lecturer was attentively followed and the ensuing discussion was lively.

The Old Germiston Socialist Society.

To the Editor of the International.

Comrade.

In reply to the suggestion by Comrade Glass re the Funds of the old Germiston Socialist Society, I beg to state that the Executive is willing to hand over same to the I.S.L. after four weeks from date, to give an opportunity to any members who may object to same. Should there be no objections we will hand over all Funds conditional on the I.S.L. undertaking to raise such an amount for the "Bund," should the "Bund" ever appeal to comrades in S.A. for support.

remain, Fraternally yours

ONE OF THE EXECUTIVE.

"Maxim" Guns for Workers.

The workers are filled with patriots' ardour while their wages grow less and their work grows harder.

The burglar calls it divvy. The capitalist calls it dividend. It is one and the same thing in both cases.

The art of making money nowadays is knowing how to induce others to produce it for you.

Many of those who rail against confiscation live by confiscating the proceeds of the labour of others.

Charity is a sop to prevent the slaves from demanding a cessation of the robbery.

Mind has no sex and is found in woman as truly as men.

from The Trade Unionist.

Printed by Viljoen & Co., 36a Bree Street, for the I.S.L. P.O. Box 4179, Johannesburg.