THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

No. 57

OCTOBER

PRICE WEEKLY.

Municipal Politics and the Revolution.

While our Empire fights for its life in Flanders, our recruiters have been shouting for theirs from trolleys in front of the Town Hall, Johannesburg, and lately, singularly enough in times so critical, the burden of their speeches seems to have been the preservation, not of England from the Hun, but of the Horse Shoe from the War on Warite. Thus Bumble and Graft in spite of all will hold their revelry amid the carnage. Thus too, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, High Politics are introduced into the Johannesburg Town Council Election.

The I.S.L., into which the "War on Warites" (blessed word, rolling all sufficient for execration over the tongue) have long since merged, has picked up the gage thus thrown, and put forward its High Politics, and its candidates representing the same, for the consideration of the electors. Indeed, it welcomed this constitutional opportunity of so doing at a time when police and roughs in concerts have been endeavouring to curtail its other lawful avenues of expression.

But the I.S.L., candidates have not attempted, least of all while the Great World seems in the melting pot, to compete in the hurly-burly bidding for parish place with the usual futile promises of reforms. Excepting fidelity to their principles if returned, they have promised no benefits to the electors; rather have they appealed to the electors to benefit themselves and to rely no more on the wearisome repetitions of pledges, identical from every party at every election—showing that they are not really the issue.

War or no war, the League aspires to stand solely for the Working Class Movement, undistorted, uncompromising, incorruptible. Which means, not the claim that a few "working class representatives" should help the others to run (or ruin) the Town; that can be as efficiently done by the capitalist nominees alone—and in practice the Labour leaven has hardly made any difference.

There is a great danger lest even a "Socialist" majority on a Town Council, pitted against all the counter-attacking power of capitalism around it, and tettered by all the capitalist machinery, personnel and tradition of the Town Hall system nominally 'taken over,' may be compelled after all to surrender to its Tammany environment, so that the last state of that Municipal house would be worse than the first,—and lest the sincerity, staunchness, and cohesion of working class members of those bodies may melt away before our eyes, so long as the working class itself remains unorganised, or even as defectively organised as it still is to-day; and in South Africa, owing especially to the ostracism of non-white workers by whites, more defectively than in any other industrial community. Once the necessity of being 'saved' from the capitalistic system has, through education and propaganda, come home to the workers, the question 'What are we going to do to be saved?" unhesitatingly answered by the I.S.L. as follows: Organise, not in [(he had that shopkeeper look which indicates a seat in the Chamber Trade Unions, each fighting for its own little group alone in competition with others, and indeed ignoring the 'unskilled' and lower paid (especially the blacks) altogether, but in Unions co-extensive with the respective industries, businesses, enterprises or concerns in i which their members are employed,—Unions prepared, not merely ! to hold up the work of each industry, but, in the fullness of time, ! to carry it on, to administer it, to work its plant and machinery and output, in the interest of the whole community.

And note by the way that the Johannesburg Municipality is one such concern, employing thousands of workers: as a small part of the combined Labour movement of the world, the organisation of the whole of these workers, irrespective of craft, scale of pay, or colour, but rather, if subdivision is necessary, according to Department, will be a step forward, and will encourage similar effort in other concerns. Such a proposal seems modest, of small weight against the colossal forces of modern capitslism, supported as it is by troops, the Press, the Church, and most of the better 'educated' members of Society. But it is infinitely more to the point, if our philosophy of modern society is sound, than the proposals, modest indeed to utter futility, of the ordinary candidate, whether S.A.L.P., Citizens' Ticket, Social Service League, or what not; and it would be absurd indeed for an elector to whom this our election policy might seem like a drop in the ocean to reject it in favour of platforms so infinitely more ineffective still that they only distract attention altogether from the great issue.

The I.S.L. candidates are not asking for support because they hanker after the sweets of office. They ask for support both as a method of propaganda and as a means of getting an indication of the number of voters who so far have grasped the far reaching significance of the problem of Modern Society, with its incurable injustices, its poverty, its tyrannies, its wars; and who are coming to understand the Socialist solution of it, and to see the hollowness of the tinkering programmes which have hitherto absorbed their attention. To vote for the I.S.L. condidates is thus to contribue your mite to the power of the Oacoming Working Class Movement of the World. S.P.B.

Violation of Belgian Neutrality!!

We want to ask a question or two of the Labour Party and the the Recruiting Committee (seeing that that body is very free with its questions just now): what do you think of Belgian neutrality now? We are not referring to Greece, so they need not be touchy.

The point we want to make to them is that Germany has shown a desire to evacuate Belgium and France. And the S.A.L.P at its Special Conference passed a resolution moved by no less a personage than Major Creswell himself, that the Government must state terms of peace as soon as the Germans have evacuated these territories.

How have these overtures been met? The Rand Daily Mail. aping its London namesake, said the other day that there must be no slackening of the war even if the Germans do evacuate Belgium. An English M P. has even declared that there can be no peace while freight trains can get through from Berlin to Baghdad. And it was only this week that the cables said, in view of a probable retirement of the German forces to the Rhine, that this would not suit the strategic plans of the Allies.

Gradually the objects of the war is coming out of the mouths of the babes on the Recruiting Committee. One said the other day. of Commerce as the summit of life's ambition), said he, "we must send more troops to Flanders in order that 'we' (that is the Chamber of Commerce) may have a say in the settlement."

Will the Labour Party then and the Recruiting Committee. seeing that they are in as close collaboration as political vote catching will allow, now tell us distinctly what they want recruits for. The restoration of Belgium can be had for the asking, (the restoration of Greece may follow); "and liberty and justice and civilization" fill no hungry bellies.

Failing a quick reply the working class will take stock of

the situation, and kick out both gangs of booty hunters.

11011.

A True Workers Educational,

The Central Labour College in London is kept going by the National Union of Railwaymen and the Welsh Miners Federation. The London District Council of the Railwaymen are instituting evening classes in London in conjunction with the College for the teaching of economics to the workers. And the article below is the first of a series issued in connection with the classes

Magazine, is the sworn foe of the capitalist tainted 'education' disseminated by the Workers' Educational Association. In Ichannesburg we have been deemed churlish in our criticism of the 'prepared' education of the W. E. A; but the Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners realize the danger. Not all that masquerades under the name of 'education,' or under the name of "Labour" is therefore good for the workers. It would be as much use attending the Unionist Party Club to further the cause of Labour as to attend W.E.A. lectures to further true workingclass educa-

Education and Labour.

The great American humourist, Artemus Ward, tells an anecdote about a man, who had been confined in prison for a number of years. One day however, a new and bright idea came to him, and he got up and walked out. This is the moral of the story—the liberating effect of a clear idea.

for more years than any of us care to count, and the oppressive effects of their conditions of servitude compel them to struggle for freedom. Freedom, however, cannot be won by the individual workman by his own efforts. His troubles flow from the same source as those of any other workman. Because of the general nature of the cause, the means of removing it must also be general. The freedom of each can only be achieved through the combined efforts of all.

Our industrial organisations illustrate this truth, however incomplete their development may as yet be, and all our experience as Trade Unionists in the struggle on the industrial field has served more and more to awaken us to the great need for still closer unity.

Our political organisation, which is also, so far, imperfectly developed, points in the same direction—the need for the workers to act as workers against the capitalist direction of the public powers. Indeed it is on the political field that the class character of the economic struggle manifests itself with increasing clearness.

While it is true that the workers represent the majority of society; this numerical superiority is not in itself sufficient for the winning of freedom. It is not enough that a work man should merely pay his dues to his union or place a cross against the name of the Labour candidate on election days. If the industrial or political organisations of the working class

are to make progress, it will only be to the extent that its members actively and intelligently assert themselves in the direction of the struggle. To numerical strength there must be added consciousness of strength. Otherwise, the numerical strength is frittered away along false paths and is wasted.

The great lever of consciousness is education. To act successfully we must think clearly. To overcome the enemy, we must understand the ground of battle, the position of the field on which the struggle has to be fought out. But obviously we cannot look to the enemy to give us this knowledge. If he fights against our cause, he must think against our cause. We must therefore develop our own knowledge, organise our own intelligence-department. We must think as independently as we act on the industrial and political fields. There is no magic that can transform an industrial or political enemy into an educational friend.

The Central Labour College, which is supported and controlled by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation, exists to develop the knowledge of the workers about their own problems.

The problems of the Labour Movement are Social in their character—that is to say, they arise from the relations of men and from conditions that men have made. What men have made, men may unmake. It is the task of the working class of the twentieth century to transform those existing relations, which are the source of the oppression of the mass, and to establish a rational and democratic form of human association. For this, a knowledge of the existing social arrangements and the laws which govern their development is indispensable.

The Central Labour College trains working men and women for the industrial, political, and social work of the organised working class movement. This training consists in imparting a knowledge of the past and present relations of men. and enables us to discern more clearly the direction and future outcome of social development. The subjects which mainly treat of these matters are History and Economics! The history of the Labour' movement, for example, enables us to more clearly apprehend the present position of the movement, and to avoid the mistakes of the past. Economics teaches ' us the real character of our industrial relations, unfolds the essential nature of those things called capital, wages, profit, rent, prices, money, &c., and shows us the actual connection between them. Armed with this knowledge, the worker can give to his organisation a superior power in its struggles to bring about immediate improvements.

The London Council of the National Union of Railwaymen, realising the great importance of this knowledge for the advancement of Railwaymen in particular

and for the workers in general, has decided to inaugurate, in conjunction with the Central Labour College, a scheme whereby classes may be formed within the Metropolitan area and, in this way, to promote the spread of those clear ideas that count for so much in the great battle for complete liberation.

Baw-waw!

That is what you say when the cat comes out of the bag. How the capitalists do love one another, if they are not up against the workingclass. Here is the New York World blowing the gaff on the British Capitalist. It gives you an idea of the why and the wherefore of the War News that we are allowed to get. The Cambridge Magazine quotes as follows:—

A leading article on "Blockading the News" quotes the article in the World of August 4, and illustrates its argument as follows:—

"In the spring of 1915 our papers carried daily reports that the Dardanelles were to fall. As a result the price of our wheat went down, because of the prospect of unlocking the Russian wheat supply, waiting in the Black Sea. Long after it was known in England that the Dardanelles could not be taken, the same misleading news kept coming to us and British merchants and authorities kept buying the wheat of American farmers at ten cents a bushel below its value.

In the fall of 1915, commissioners of the British and French governments came to this country to negotiate a loan for 500,000,000 dollars. By a strange coincidence a British drive was instituted on the west front, and the news of its success shared the news columns with details of the loan negotiations. Not until the loan was consummated did we learn—what the British military authorities knew from the beginning—that the drive was a costly failure. . .

The British Railwaymen are great. This week's news of them is that the members of the Railwaymen's Union are slowing down as a protest against the dismissal of a couple of men. Several fish and vegetable service trains have had to be stopped in consequence. But the men are not allowing the traffic to become choked. Which displays marvellous unity and marvellour control of the job. And they still talk about the "wages of superintendence."

Have you subscribed to "The International." 5/- per annum, post free, Box 4179, Jo'burg

The Municipal Inquisition.

Recruiting Committee is so impotent, otherwise we might see some fun occasionally. As it is we only get mild amusement from the pompously assumed authority of the Filmers, the Palmers, and the Parracks, and the Bensons.

They have now issued a list of questions for Municipal candidates; promissing to "give publicity to the replies" received."

Number one: "Are you what is generally known as a War-on-Warite. (IF NOT WHY, NOT." Reply the I. S. L. candidates.)

"IF NOT:" Answer the other eight following questions and tremble.

- (3) Arg you in favour of conscription?
- (6) Are you prepared if returned to pledge yourself . . . that . . . no man eligible for military service shall be taken on by the Municipality?
- (7) Have you any sons eligible for Military service? If so, are they at the front? If not, why not?
- (8) If you are an employer of labour, have you any employed in your service of eligible military age? If so, what is your justification for retaining them ..."

 And a few more like that.

As you see, they don't want to be too hard, especially on the Labour members, once they pass that terrible sentry box, question number one. "No man eligible for military service shall be taken on by the Municipality," they write. But what they demand on the Town Hall donkey cart is, that no man eligible for military service shall remain in Municipal employ. But this little difference can be atterwards arranged, "if elected."

They are not very thorough Inquisitors though, these kecruiting Committeemen. Parrack this week outlined a scheme of conscription which left out the Dutchmen (Denver is his Parliamentary seat and Denverswarms with Dutchmen). But the Inquisition of the good old times burned men for the good of their souls; and Parrack had just been shewing in his own way how the civilization of the world was at stake in this war; and why in heaven's name he can keep his constituents from the benefits of this world civilization, and from the glory of fighting for it, even if they don't see the glory just yet, passeth my comprehension.

The answers of the Labour candidates to these questions would be quite instructive tight-rope walking, and Filmer is to be thanked for that much prospective amusement. But I fear that the "BURNING QUESTION. THE LIQUOR QUESTION" is of for greater importance and profit to the Labour Party just now than the fact that municipal employees may be sacked away to the front to fight for treedom and justice. In fact, the Liquor

question has become more important than the Labour question.

BERONIA.

Are We State Socialists.

I am taking advantage of the Editor's offer of space for discussions of Socialism, and in particular State Socialism.

Leannot understand why it is that in I.S.L. circles it is State Socialism which is marked out for special censure, whilst anarchism, syndicalism, perfectionism and all other manner of schemes are smilingly condoned.

Surely it should be plain to the densest intellect that every ship requires a captain, every factory a superint-ndent, every country an administration. It is altogether another question whether the captain is to be the master or the servant of his cr. w, the superintendent the victimized or the comrade of the factory-workers, the government the exploiters or the nominees of the people. But that there must be a man at the helm is beyond dispute.

And is it not a fact that the most universally recognized definition of Socialism is

State-Ownership?

And how can there be State-Owner-

ship without State-Socialism?

In London at the present day there are two men universally recognized as the leaders of thought and of journalism,—the Socialist Shaw, and the Individualist Chesterton. When Chesterton attacks Shaw it is because Shaw is a believer in State Socialism, and Chesterton declares that State-Socalism must lead to the Servile State, in which the Government is the Master and not the Servant of the People Shaw's answer is magnificent. "If the people are cowardly and stupid enough to allow the governments to become their masters, then there is no help for them in this world or any other; but if they are energetic and educated enough to keep the mechanism,—human and otherwise-of government under their own control, then Utopia is theirs."

JULIAN.

The working class: Who are they?

What does the I. S. L. say?

1)ear Mr. Editor,

One of your short articles this week is headed "The Working Class: Who are they?"

I read the article because I thought maybe you answered your own question therein.

But you didn't, and so I am, still in doubt as to who the working class are.

The millionaire mine magnate must work very hard—many more hours per day than say the ordinary carpenter.

The big middleman, like Thomas Lipton, must also work very hard controlling his enormous business.

I admit that I often smile when I read in my newspap r that Jim Fish was sentenced to six months "hard".

How the Hell (correspondents should write hell, h—, Ed.) they give him "hard" labour beats me. Although I quite believe you could arrange it for Sir Lionel Phillips.

But I'll bet Lionel Phillips, in his own line, works harder than lim Sixpence, and yet he would not be alluded to as a unit of the working class.

Why is it that the so-called working class are always the poorer class Mr. Editor.

You might think that out when you have quite finished electioneering—Keir Hardie asked the same question once, and died, waiting for an answer

Perhaps you can oblige,

Yours truly,

HENRY K. DUBB.

Durban.

The Class War.

Asquith has already answered them. Whatever hopes the reformers may have had in the past for raising money for any schemes, the war has killed them. Just BECAUSE THE CAPIALIST CLASS HAD TO RAISE CVER SIX M LEIONS PER DAY TO MEET THE BURDENS ENTAILED BY THE WAR, THAT IS THE VERY REASON WHY IT WILL RESIST ANY FURTHER EXTENSIONS OF TAXATION AFTER THE WAR. The capitalist class will fight savagely to prohibit additional taxation. Asquith has made THAT clear.

On the other hand, the intense international commercial struggle is going to mean more intense exploitation. Mr. E. Jackson, Lecturer on Economics at the Birmingham University, speaking under the auspices of the capitalist endowed "Workers" (!) Educational Association, said:—" The object to be aimed at WAS TO INCREASE THE PRODUCTIVITY AND THE COST OF LABOR. THAI WOULD HELP US TO COMPETE SUCCESS-FULLY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES" ("Birmingham Gazette," 20th June, 1916). Let us remark, in parenthesis, that this quotation reveals on whose behalf the W. E. A, is organised. It is out to fight for the "US," who, of course, is not the same class as those who have to be made to work harder and have their wages reduced while doing so. The point is clear. The Standard of comfort is going to be lowered and the speed of production is going to be intensified. The capitalist class will not permit further inroads into its profits in the shape of increased taxation. The class struggle is going to be more acute. The chasm separating the classes will widen. What is the reformer going to do?

The Glasgow "Socialist"

Harry Haynes sends us the following sayings of Keir Hardie.

There are more souls in Hell because of politicians' broken promises than for any other reason.

Empire means trade, and trade means profit, and profit means power over the common people.

The unity of the working class is the one thing that matters.

State Socialism may be a necessary stage in the evolution from capitalism to Socialism, but if so, I hope it will be a brief one.

The fear of Socialism is the beginning of Social Reform, KEIR HARDIE.

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.

JOHANNESBURG

The open air meetings in front of the Town Hall were resumed last Sunday evening, Comrades Bunting and Ivon Jones holding forth to an audience the majority of which were thoroughly with us.

In the Trades Hall Comrade Bunting lectured on "The Great Push," being comments on Patrick McGill's recently published book bearing that title. a journalistic impression of his (McGill's) experiences at the front. Discussion followed on the horrors of war in general.

GERMISTON.

We lose a stalwart from this district in the person of Comrade Becker, who has gone for a rest in the country for some months. It is believed that he made things too hot for himself on the mine In any case, his open distribution of League literature left no doubt as to who should be "retrenched" when such became necessary. Good luck.

WESTERN DISTRICTS.

Not many Johannesburg Comrades heard of the accident that befel Comrade Tom Nortje, who has stuck to the Socialist guns in Vrededorp now for some years. He has been in hospital as the result of severe injuries sustained by a runaway cab which he was driving. It is to be hoped that Tom's long spell of bad luck will take a turn for the better.

DURBAN

The Durban Comrades had a picnic to Salisbury Island for the children of the Socialist Sunday School last Sunday, and all had a good time. Harry Haynes is now back in Durban, but Comrade Andrews is up in Zululand working at sugar farming for a change.

The Election Campaign.

The comrades have got to work in Johannesburg, Germiston and Benoni. As has already been announced the Johannesburg candidates of the League are Ward 1: J. Forrester Brown, M.P.C. Ward 2: D. Ivon Jones, Ward 3: S. P. Bunting, M.P.C.

At Germiston two League candidates put up in the persons of Herbert Johnson and S. A. van Lingen.

Benoni provided a bit of a surprise to the opposition. Comrade Chapman was prevailed upon to carry the League's flag at the last moment. This he did purely in the interest of the propaganda of the League; Comrade Den Bakker took a day off to get up the requisition, and the solidifying of the Benoni Socialists is already the first victory.

All the Rand candidates fight on the Manifesto drafted by the Johannesburg branches. It is being assiduously distributed by the "stickers," and the Benoni com rades have also taken it up with enthusiasm. It has already resulted in the most thorough dissemination of the League's propaganda yet attempted. Germiston will also tackle the job in the week end. The Press may boost its pets, and their meetings, but the leaflet works silently and powerfully nevertheless.

In the din of election promises, and political soft soap, and party huckstering, amid the cheap give and take of the artificially got up Local Veto campaign with which the Press pretends the public are wholly engrossed, it is good to fight for a revolutionary principle which gives and asks no quarter.

The Benoni Comrades will hold open air meetings on Saturday and Tuesday next on the Market Square. Comrades Andrew Watson and A.B. Dunbar have consented to speak on Saturday, and will declare the class war in Benoni.

Comrade Forrester Brown has held several opén air meetings. One held in Vrededorp on Wednesday developed into a rough hous. Comrade Dave Nortje was also speaking, and there was evidence of an organised gang of Vrededorners intent upon breaking up the meeting. First the excuse was that Brown was a Labour candidate and a set-it-through man (what oh) and stones were thrown with serious results to an elderly man, (Comrade Nortjes father.) A curious fact was that the singing of the Red Flag during the hubbub (intended as an assurance of the class war) only made things worse, as Vrededorpers only know it in association with the S.A.L.P. However, things quietened down, and later the Socialist propaganda from Dave Mackerrel was listened to with attention by a large crowd of about 400 people.

A public meeting of the three candidates will be held on the Town Hall Square on Sunday evening.

In wards 2 and 3 no meetings will be held, the candidates here confining themselves to the Manifesto.

Comrades who will help on polling day kindly notify the secretary at his office, or the candidates. Polling day is next Wednesday.

ADDERLEY STREET LOGIC.

The International aspect of Socialism is now becoming more definite and decidedly pronounced, aided by our quondam associates, who make the position as clear

as ourselves anent the different aspects of fhe two schools of Socialism. The Adderley Street audience exemplified their appreciation by doubling their contribution to the collection, which was solicited on behalf of anti-war and International Socialism. The opposition declined to debate the two broad issues, which refusal was accepted with ironical cheers from an interested audience. Interjection and crossfire was of course indulged in by the 'Social patriots,' but without the desired effect.

The speaker and the opposition exchanged verbal warfare, again on the Socialists of Germany. The speaker: "who are the Socialists in Germany, the followers of Liebknecht or those who bartered with the Government?" The opposition hesitating some time, many of the audience demanded a reply—"ah em!—both of them!" The speaker: "but you said just now Socialists should not barter with Governments, which are the International Socialists?" "The Liebknechts!" "Then you agree that he like us are International Socialists as opposed to the national idea of Socialism?" "Yes!"

The audience here applauded contentedly, having at last had the logic of our position explained by our opponents themselves.

W.H.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

I.S.L. Johannesburg Central Branch

Socialist Sunday School

under the supervision of the above Branch meets

Every Sunday Morning at 11 a.m.

at

Comrade Neppe's, c/o Fox & MacLaren Streets, (Near the Stock Exchange)

Readers of "The International" who would like their children to acquire the rudiments of the Socialist teaching and outlook are invited to make use of this opportunity.

Children between the ages of 8 and 16 specially welcomed.

There are three classes, one senior and two junior, and with the increase of members a further sub-division is expected.

The General Dealer business registered at Boksburg, on August 31st, 1916, by P. Lochoff, No. 6 Klipfontein Farm, will be transferred to S. H. Jacobson as from October 1st, 1916.

C. & L. Clingman, Parties' Agents, Mercantile Buildings, Commissioner & Simmonds Streets., Johannesburg. 6.13.20.

First and final Administration and Distribution account in the Estate of the late TOM BAKER VIVIAN of Troyeville will lie for inspection for twenty one days from date hereof at the office of the Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, and of the Resident Magistrate, Johannesburg.

J. F. BROWN.

For Executrix Testamentary. Box 2525, Johannesburg.

Printed by Viljoen & Co., 185 Smit Street, Braamfontein, for the I.S.L. P.O. Box 4179, Johannesburg.