THE INTERNATIONAL.

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

Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper.

No. 59

FRIDAY 3 NOVEMBER 1916.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY.

An Explanation.

The editorial touch which readers of the 'International' have learnt each week to expect will be missed in this issue, for our Editor and Secretary, overwrought, by the strain of being a Municipal candidate and election agent as well, is confined to his hed by what we hape and believe is purely a passing indisposition. So concentrated in his hands have the conduct of this paper and the administration of the League generally come to be that members, subscribers and readers are asked to bear meanwhile with the inevitable shortcomings, whether in contents or in circulation and office business, although as regards the latter it is hoped to make good before long. Correspondents too, such as J. Newman, must be patient if the publication of or reply to their letters has for a time to be delayed.

The War After the War.

Almost every day lately the Press gives us lectures on Labour Conditions after the war. It's always after the war. Any other time than now. After the war, oh, 'twill be roses, roses all the way. Late at night the capitalist will sit up with a wet towel round his head, studying how he is going to better the life of his wage slave. No more poverty, no more crime! The or linary laws of mathematics will be suspended, just as the Ten Commandments have been in abeyance in war time. More pay, shorter hours,—though of course more work will have to be done in the shorter day.

THE REVOLT THAT DIDN'T.

But will they tell us what will become of the unemployed whom even the war has failed to exterminate? The Mail says that England, just when war was let loose, was on the point of a great Labour upheaval. It might have added that all Europe was so too. And had the writer been more candid, and more au fait with High Finance and Industry, he might have been tempted to blab out "An I that, dear friends, is just why we had war."

'AND THE LAST STATE. . .'

the more the unemployed, and the conditions producing unemployables, must increase. 'Bu.'—the capitalists with their lackeys, irrespective of their national claims, will rejoin—'after the war there will be more markets to supply:' omitting to state that war con litions have compelled many countries to develop their own potential productiveness into reality, thereby laying the foundations of industries not only to supply their own wants but to turn from importers to exporters (for the larger the quantity produced the cheaper the unit) until things industrial and commercial will be more congested than ever. Say we went to war to destroy surplus goods and, logically, surplus workers.

IS THE LESSON LEARNT?

After the war another war. What will it be? The answer depends on the lesson learnt by the workers of the world. If these lessons have not sunk deep enough, if they have not developed an intense class consciousness, than to the present piratic war for loot will succeed another more intense, more extended still. But if the workers attain a clear outlook, compelling them to antagonise capitalism at all points, practical and theoretical, then the war after the war will be carried on by the whole working class, as the war before and during the war was carried on by a minority of it, in the interest not only of the whole of the present workers but of all to come after.

THE WAR TO END WAR.

The issue, for good or ill, does not rest with us but with the whole working class the world over. There is no 'after the war' The war is on, and will keep on until you, fellow-workers, take the reins into your own hands and strangle, through intelligent incustrial organisation, the conditions that produce war,—military, economic, social.

On with the class war, the only router of all wars. We are they whose bugle sounds that all wars may cease!

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Why do we Criticise "Labour."

John Ware and other Labourites of that it have been particularly fond of referring us to the good example of the Australian Labour Part. Whatever may be said of that Party's patriotism, it has not altogether suborned itself to Capitalism, as recent events have proved; it has not altogether forgotten its working-class unionism. The ejection of Premiers Hughes and Holman and a number of other Labour representatives who have given way to the Conscription Cry, shows that the seeds of regeneration are there, and that it has not yet developed into a club for the getting of political jobs.

All things work together for the good of Socialism. Whether the Labour Party pursues its career of workingclass betrayal and of pandering to middle class interests, and thus makes room for a class conscious party, or whether, even at this hour, it re-developes a back bone, declares the class war, and hoists aloft the Red Flag of revolution, is equally immaterial to Socialists. What we are concerned about, without bickering or envy, is to expose false leadership of the workingclass. Others can contribute ideas and enthusiasm. But the emancipation of Labour must be the work of the workingclass itself.

It is therefore the workers we have to appeal to, to use the key which is in their hands. It is their mis-leaders that must be attacked, first and foremost, and not the capitalists, even though to attack the capitalists brings more public popularity, and less odium on us within the ranks of Labour. We are organising the Army of occupation, as "The International" said last week.

So, much in response to complaints of Labour men that we attack them too acrimoniously.

A True Workers Educational.

Being Leaflet No. 3 of a series of appeals for a true working class education issued by the London District Council of the National Umon of Railwaymen.

 Π_{J}

The History of Labour.

THE THREE AGES OF EXPLOITATION.

The capitalist system which exists to-day, and under which the capitalist appropriates all the value created by labour except just as much as is necessary to maintain the labourer in the same condition day after day, is comparatively new. It first commenced in England between two and three hundred years ago.

THE VILLEIN.

Besore it was the feudal system where, as a general rule, the labourer was tied to the estate of a lord as a put and parcelsof the estate. The villein or serf, as he was variously called, did not sell his labour power as under cap talism, nor. therefore, did he receive wages. His share in the distribution was a holding of land on which he could devote such time to his maintenance and that of his family as was not required by the lord of the manor for the cultivation of the lord's land. So many days in the week he had to expend labour, therefore, for which he received no iquivalent. This seu al system began in England a little over a thousand years ago.

THE CHATIEL

Prior to the feudal system of the Middle Ages was the system of chattelslavery, where the labourer was the personal property of his missier. This slave did not sell himself by the hour. He was himself sold for his lifetime. He received no wages, although of necessity he had to be maintained by his master, out of the product. This system prevailed for a few thousand years in the ancient civilisations that arose in the Mediterreanan basin.

In all three systems the labourer is exploited. The working day is in each case divided into time in which the labourer produces for his own maintenance, and time in which the labourer works gratuitously for his master. Still there are important differences between these thrée conditions of labour which must also be understood.

THE SAVAGE.

Before the system of chattel-slavery, mankind passed thousands of years in savagery and barbarism, during which were acquired the simple elements necessary for the more complex combinations of civilisation. The most modern machine could not have been but for those elementary inventions of the pre-historic men.

In the lowest depths of savagery, man is at the starting point of human evolution, a point where his world is no other thus that simple field of nature, common to other animals. Man has risen therefrom only in the degree that he has modifizel this natural environment by his work; he his improved this work only in the degree that he has discovered in his environment those means and conditions that enable him to wrest from nature a greater supply of material wealth: Upon this continuously developing groundwork of better tools and more productive methods; there has been built up an increasingly complex civilisation.

"FREEDOM" AND "NECESSITY."

The history of man is thus the history of labour. There is nothing eternal in it except change, appearance and disappearance, coming and going. History gives, and history takes away. There is however, nothing arbitrary in the historical movement. It is simply the fact that up till now, man has largely made history in a more or less unconscious fashion, that has misled him into a conception of history as the zig-zag movement of a drunken man. History is governed by necessity. According to the conditions and forces of a given social epoch, so are the laws which work their will irrespectively of the wishes of man. They act like blind laws so long as man is blind to them. Necessity is blind only so long as it is not understood. We are frequently told that the labourer is free; that he is not compelled to work ser the capitalist? That is an illustration of blindness. Why is the worker to-day not free to cease working for the capitalist? B. cause the capitalists possess the means oi production, without which labour cannot take placé nor life be maintained! Under such conditions the labourer, of ne-C. ssiey, is not "free."

UNDERSTAND HISTORY.

It is the task of the modern working class to radically change society, to substitute the economics of planful associated production for the planless and oppressive economics of capitalism. This has often in the past been denounced as "impossibilism." The study of history by means of the scientific method will plainly show that, on the contrary, the mission of the working class movement is a historical one, and, therefore, a necessary mission. When we understand this necessity, we shall no longer oppose ourselves to it, but ally ourselves with it. Instead of the ship of labour drifting at the will of the waves, it must and will direct its course towards a determined goal. To this end the chart and compass of historical understanding is indispensable.

The educational scheme of the London Council of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Central Labour College, offers the facilities for the acquisition of this necessary knowledge.

The Sunday School.

The Johannesburg. Socialist Sunday School is always seeking hungrily for fre-h i leas, information and suggestions as to the best subject matter and met-. hods of teaching, text books, sont books and so on, suited to such schools. Such a desire to improve on existing resources in these matters is not confined to S. Africa. The Socialist Party in. America, it seems from the 'St. Louis Labour,' are also finding their curriculum. and bibliography unequal to requirements, and Mr. John Spargo announces that he ls preparing a new series of readers and song books for use there. Scholars over twelve are comparatively easy to cater sor, but even in their case there is, naturally, a shortage of material designed to correct, for instance, the false teaching of history in the day Schools. 'Forward' of 23rd. September hints at one kind of book we want here:—.

"There is a 'reader' published by Collins entitled "From Serf to Ruler". It has stories of unemployment and slavery, and poverty, and fighting disease-the real things of lifebut nothing about the Magillicuddy Reeks, or the number and names of King Henry VIII's wives, or the date on which Robert de Brus did not watch spiders in Rachlin; yet so fir as I know, it is only used in one school in Scotland."

Well, we want to hear of as many more like that as we can. When it comes to junior classes, the choice is even more limited. What seems wantell is more stories like Bellamy's Parab'e of the Water Tank,' fables, illustrations from nature, and the like. In one day of the week we have to counteract the teaching of five or six days, and so want to get to the point as directly as possible, and rely as little as we can on mere fairy tales, nonsense sings eic. As for the song books, again, the words of existing songs are in some cases poor and the music is often deplorable, especially the harmonisation: a couple of songs by Tom Anderson which we have recently received being particularly gress effenders in this latter respect. In general, hints are asked both as to how and as to what to teach.

Through the columns of the 'International" therefore the Committee hereby appeals to readers all over the world for help. Not knowing much of what particular individuals or organisations to write to, it trusts that this appeal may catch the eye of Socialist Sunday School workers in Britain, America, Australia, Scandinavia, Holland, France and elsewhere, and that those who have experience in meeting the difficulties will freely impart the benefit of it by writing to the Secretary, The International Socialist League, S. A., 6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg,

"Man Makyth Manners."

New conditions of production, new codes of morals or 'manners', is a hard saying, but here is a case in point. Love of country, affection for a amiliar home scene, or for your tribesmen in preference to strangers, is natural enough; but the 'patriotism' we hear of nowadays is a virtue peculiar to Imperialist epochs and has to be artificially preached.

Not that it is exclusively modern. When the Athenians of old casteyes on the riches of Asia Minor and Sicily and talked of Greater Greece, as no doubt their descendants to day would be doing if they dared, then their orators blossomed out into gorgeous periods about the glory of dying for Empire. When Rome had already ceased to be national and become a slave owning aristocracy, and Pan-Romanism was all the rage, then her poets began singing how sweet to perish for the fatheriand.

When France, aster 1870, decided that The wealth of Alsace and Lorraine must be wrested back, then it was that Zola preached the iniquity of Malthus, the sanctity of family life, and the sacred duty of breeding soldiers. Deutschland über Alles' has become a holy text only since the time when German peoples who even to day cannot understand each other's specch were forced together into one Em pire. When British robber sinance planned the conquest of the Transvaal Goldsields, with their appurtenances, then Joe Chamberlain started stumping the country with propaganda lectures ou Patriotism; until nowadays, this has become the cardinal pivot of our school religion, although 'King and Country' means no longer England, still less South Africa, but also Lise sor the Czai', Victor Emmanuel (or whatever his name is) Peter, Albert, and a crowd of knou ing Cossacks, frogeating Frenchmen, organ-grinding Italians Balkan bandits, and other blooming foreignners and outlandish places; and a crusade to put Russia in possession of Constalinople.

The capitalist necessities of the times create the appropriate 'ethical' ideas even to the point of grotesqueness; between times you hear nothing about them. This one in particular arises when big-group Capital reaches the stage of having to rob by force, and so to ally itself with states controlling armed forces. Then the pulpits begin to hum with Sermons on the Nobility of Sacrifice, and the schools resound with Hymns of Hate and Glory, replacing the Lord's Prayer.

The Next War.

'The war against Prussian militarism, or, how to cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub' was to have been the subject of D. Ivon Jones' speech at the Trades. Hall, Johan-

nesburg last Sunday. In his absence, Comrades C.B. Tyler and J.M. Gibson spoke to a satisfactory and satisfied audience. They showed how Germany's sinking of American ships only assisted the American Capitalist agitation for a big army and navy; how hollow was the talk of 'the last war' when Boy Scouts were being trained more actively than ever for the next; and how Dr. Barnardo's Homes were not ashamed to claim support for breeding outcast waifs and strays by the thousand to be cannon fodder for modern militarism. Speaking of the education of the youth of England in general, he quoted the Birmingham Weekly Post: The battle of the Somme is reminding us what splendid maierial these, boys would be if they received for a short time an adequate training": at present these Scouts and Boys' Brigade organisations "reach only the best and most easily accessible and most docide of these boys:" the remedy of course being compulsory military service. Harmsworth's Times Literary Supplement again, which used to publish pichts picifism, nov, equally smug, esays: "They are all members of an army now, and that army musternot be disbanded when there are no more Germans to fight." The soldiers must no longer be regarded. when they come hone, as "just ordinary men and nuisances asking more than they have a right to receive"—in other words as mere lowsclass workingmen. No, 'twill be , théirs to keep Caliban Labour 'in its place,' as whites do kaffirs. ...

A few Dont's for Trade Unionists.

(Without prejudice to past criticism of Chaft Unions.)

DON'I turn your back on Trade Unionism; put your back into it.

DON'T think the Union is something apart from you; it is you.

DON'T play the employers' game; he wants you to be an individualist. You're much easier to deal with that way.

DON'I forget that Trade Unionism is only the gateway to Socialism.

DON'T work, worry and wriggle for another 12d. an hour, and think you've got the millennium.

DON'T 'restrict the output' of ideas. If you've got any, let the Union have the benefit of them.

DON'T imagine that when you have outwitted the rival Union you have outwitted the capitalist.

DON'T allow such things as "rival Unions" to exist. Amalgamate all in one industry.

DON'T let yourself be diddled with the idea that your interests and the capitalist's interests are one. They are not, they never were, and they never can be.

DON'T curse the leaders who sold you. Kick them out.

from The Trade Unionist London.

Cast off Heroes.

Exploiting Pensioners.

"Are employers taking advantage of discharged soldiers' persions to pay them lower wages," was the query put by a representative of "Reynolds's" to an official at a Labour Exchange. "We have had a good many complaints," was his reply, "so I have little doubt that such is the case. It is one of the most difficult things to contend with, for a man is only too frequently confronted with the alternative of losing the situation unless he agrees to the employer's terms."

There is a case of a man who was discharged from the 21st London Regiment after having lost an eye in the trenches. He had received a good education, and a Labour exchange helped him to find outside work. He was recommended to a tracing association for debt collecting. The manager asked what his pension was, and then effered him a job at a salary which included the pension.

In other words, employers are exploiting a man's patriotism for their own profit.
The scale of pensions is small enough in
all conscience, and if a partially disabled
man is paid less wages because he is in
receipt of a pension, the whole object of the
scheme is defeated. The man suffers from
his disability, and in reality gets no compensation.

Punished for being Unpensioned.

"You are here I thick because of the neglect of your country to crovide for your wants." So said Mr. Herbert Nield, K.C., M.P., at the Middlesex Sessions to James Bennett, 19, a carman, who was committed from Brentford on the charge of being a "suspected person."

In 1915 he enlisted in the R.F.A, and served till December, when he was discharged with an exemplary character, but medically unfit because he had been thrown from a horse, and his left hand had been twisted and permanently injured, making him of no further use in the Army.

He had got no pension, and it was now nearly nine months since he was discharged. All he had was small sums of money from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association.

Mr. Nield said the sentence he should pass must not be regarded as punishment, but as a means of helping him to learn a trade so that he might be able to earn a livelihood. He would go to Borstal for three years.

Printed by Viljoen & Co., 36a Pree Street,

Johannesburg.

for the I.S.L. P.O. Box 4179, Johannesburg.

International Sccialist 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.

BENONI.

Comrade Den Bakker writes: "It is a pity that we had only nine days for this Election, for we found that the spirit of revolt still lives within the workers of Benoni district. A few public men out here, and Benoni would be under the banner of International Socialism. At any rate we have decided to work Benoni for the next election from now; if not with speeches, it will be with 'The International.' Can't you supply us with some more copies of 'Let Saints on Earth in Concert Sing'? [Sorry we can't: they were all distributed to the public, except the last score or so, which the Police seized. Ed]

DURBAN

On Sunday night, under the chairmanship of Comrade Dunning, Comrade
Haynes lectured on "Signs of the times."
The lecturer pointed out the present day
obvious change of opinion slowly sweeping
over Great Britair, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, America and South Africa,
and held the interest of his audience
throughout.

We have received an invitation from the Socialist Sunday School to a fishing picnic by motor boat on the bay, which takes place next Sunday. A good turn out and a most enjoyable outing is anticipated, weather permitting.

JOHANNESBURG

Counting second preferences, the total votes scored by the League Municipal Candidates in Johannesburg were: Ward I, 655: Ward 2, 400: Wari 3 558. More important, the plump votes were as follows I, 223: 2, I4I: 3, 184. Best of all is the conscicusness that for the first time, nearly all Johannesburg, to say nothing of Germiston and Benoni, has had the Social Revolution thrust under its nose (or front door) an I that, unlike votes, such unalloyed propaganda is not exhausted with polling day but goes on brewing perhaps for months to come. Altogether a new departure in Municipal electioneering which we' havé no cause to regret.

The ordinary resources of the branches concerned are however inadequate to meet the printing bill for the manifesto,

etc, and donations are invited forthwiht to make up the amount. Remittances shou'd be sent to the Treasurer, Johannesburg Central Branch, I. S. L. c/o Box 1915, Johannesburg.

The Thursday public lectures and discussions at the Trades Hall, Rissik Street, will be resumed next week, November 9th. when J. M. Gibson will speak on 'Economic Development.'

This Sunday evening the 5th, the propaganda meeting at the Trades Hall will be addressed by Colin Wade M.P.C. Subject: The Australian Referendum.

Australia's Lead.

Whatever the final figures, the moral verdict of the No-Conscription Vote, following on the bundling of Hughes & Co. out of the Labour Party in New South Wales, contains perhaps the brightest augury since the outbreak of war, not merely for the regeneration of the Labour movement in Australia, but for the awakening of the working class all over the world, to a sense of the suicide of war—and from that to the insistent need for the Socialist Revolution.

Hughes, like Botha, goes to London, loses his head amid flattery and banquets, and adopts the Imperialist prance, returning to find himself disowned accordingly by disgusted sections of his own people,—and Australia has always had her Nationalists toc.

Australia's answer is not a War-on-War vote: but it is the first case of a working class recoil, on a majority scale, from the ex reme in dications of 'patriotism'-from the last turn of the capitalist screw. Once the recoil sets in, it cannot stop if men allow themselves to convert their feeling into thinking. If they want war, they must swallow conscription: if they won't swallow conscription, they are eventually driven by logic to whole hog anti-war and, as workers, to International Revolutionary Sccialism. Why, it looks as if some of our local Labourites were already slinking out of the Recruiting Committee, and already ashamed, so soon aster the Municipal elections, of their proconscription replies to the Commit ee's pro-election questions.

Nor is it British Jingoism alone that has received a snub. It is more effective as well as humane to kill your Premier politically than to shoot him as in Austria: but the coincidence is striking. The limitations of the Press power of boastful distortion (for we were told that all Australia was shrieking for compulsion) have been huminiatingly exposed. The word will go round that war Governments are not irresistible. This referendum may set the clock going forward again at last, the world over.

"State Socialism" in Practice.

The London Munitions Tribunal had before it a young man of 18, employed in a munition works, who was called upon to answer a summons for refusing to transfer from one machine to another. His excuse was that the machine was a dangerous one. A few days later a girl lost her fingers at the machine.

The youth said he considered his limbs worth more than he would be paid for the work.

The Chairman, in imposing a fine of 7s. 61., said that the young man ought to be doing his part just as much as a man at the front. If he were not doing that work he would be in the Army, and would have to risk not only his finger but his life. He was a soldier just as much as the man in thaki.—

State Socialism is State Capitalism imposed from above. They have got it in England. Socialism in the true sense must be industrial democracy, a Socialism from below up. Men must be citizens in industry to be free.

Exit Billy Hughes.

The greatest knock given to the Capitalist war mongers during the war is the kicking out, bag and baggage, of their pet Billy Hughes, Premier of Australia, from the Australian Labour Party. Such is the report appearing in the back page of the Sunday Times.

The New South Wales Political Labour League claimed jurisdiction over the Premier in that he is a member for West Sydney in the Commonwealth Parliament. The New South Wales Labour machine also expelled their own State Prime Minister (Holman), their Minister of Public Instruction (Griffith) and many members of the New South Wales Legislature who favoured conscription.

Thus endeth the story of Billy Hughes. He is no longer of any use to the capitalist either. That is the tragedy of it.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

I.S.L. Johannesburg Central Branch
THE

Socialist Sunday School

under the supervision of the above Branch meets

Every Sunday Morning at 11 a.m.

at

Comrade Neppe's, c/o Pox & 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.