INTERNATIONAL.

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The Task of the I.S.L.

The Melbourne "Age" of 18th September, 1916, in a laudatory article on a Pro-Conscription manifesto by Premier Hughes on the day after his expulsion from the Labour hovement by the new South Wales Political Labour League, declared that the expelling body represented a minority of tha League. 'In the early days of federation these men attacked the Political Labour Party from without. They nominated candidates of their own under a variety of Socialist designations... Later, they sought to capture the executive power in the Political League. At the last N.S.W. Labour Conference they had a controlling interest for the first time," and compelled Mr. Holman, the State Premier, to surrender to their demands. "As for Mr. Hughes, his whole political career has been spent in protecting the interests of labour from the mischief-making of the Industrial Workers of the World and kindred factions." And then of course the article demonstrates that these factions are really quite a negligible quantity.

In the same paper a "Pastoraliste" (Employers') chairman complains that 'these supporters of the L.W.W. were in every State where Labour Governments existed, forcing these Governments to carry out Socialistic measures, attacking

all vested interests," etc.

How the "Age" has since explained away the Referendum will be interesting to see. What is more interesting is that the triumph seems to have been won, in part at least, on an express anti-militarist propaganda, to forward warthe several Socialist "factions," whether industrial, policie. or anti-political, seem to have sunk their academic differences a year ago in favour of a combined campaign extending the war period, and prevailing against boycott, censorship and wholesale imprisonment of Leaders (including, it is bebelieved, Tom Glynn, formerly of Johannesburg). If this is so, it is a significant demonstration of the potentialities of "factions" like our own; themselves numerically small, but capable by sound teaching, leading to sound organisation, of exercising influence over industrial and political bodies until these become dominated, not by the factions themselves, but by the principles they represent.

A recent article in the "Welsh Outlook" of Cardiff pays a similar grudging tribute to the influence on the S. Wales Miners' Federation, and through it on the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, of the Marxian propaganda emanating from the "Plebs League" and the Central Labour College, jointly controlled by the S. Wales Miners and the National Union of Railwaymen, four of whose leaflets have fluence credit is due for the proposed "down tools" agains. conscription in S. Wales, for the Minimum Wage National Strike, which replaced the abortive Cambrian Combine Swike, and forced Parliament to pass the Miners Minimi.... Wage Act, and for the generally advanced degree of class consciousness among the rank and file of the Miners and Rail-

waymen. With ome such ambitions as these, rather than mere contentment to complete with Unionists, Nationalists ar S.A.L.P neeting, or Annual Conference, of our own League will reasemble at the beginning of the new year. Necessary as a set to clarify doctrine, insist on reasonable discipline, and claminate log-rolling and boodle hunting, it is on the single-minded maintenance of our Socialist objective, and on direct action towards its realisation, rather than on Spanish inquisitions or Athanasian heresy hunts, that we must rely to equal us for our Great Push of 1917. A shoddy Labour programme produces shoddy politicians; a pure revolutionary

member pure, or automatically relegates backsliders and bickerers to outer obscurity. It alone also makes. live and real a consideration of the hundred and one problems of organisation to-day coing out for solution; for the vest tactic or form of Union, if we have not Socialism, no less than Socialism if we have not the best form and tactic, is but

a tinkling cymbal.

The League has a great and unique task to perform. No other body can perform it or even help us to perform it. The assistance we invite is the assistance, not of Convict Labour parties (more of that next week!) or S.A. Recruiting Federations, but of class conscious workingmen with no axe. to grind except the axe of the Workingclass Movement which shall sell the tree of Capitalism. That assistance must be produced, not by deals or intrigues, but by the conviction born of our propaganda, combined with the object lesson taught by the ever growing outrages of Capitalism itself.

Conscription and Capitalism.

Colin Wade at the Trades Hall last Sunday dissected Australia's No-Conscription vote, which he said was not class conscious or Socialist, but, just Liberal; and illogical at that, for where intionalism is accepted, your conscientious objector is a scab. Some patriotic interruption warmed Colin up to an exposure of certain military phases of modern Capitalism. Briand's conscription of the French railway workers turned them in a winkling from strikers into strike breakers. In England, with an aristocratic basis of the army, it will be easier still to keep the conscripts in khaki and turn them against the civil workers; for not only does the change from dungaree to tunic mean a change of spirit in itself, but a commission turns a ranker forthwith into a snob,, a faithful finnkey of the ruling classes; if there is any doubt of that, no commission will be granted. English "Public Schools" turn out the sew equipped with "capacity to rule"; the Board Schools teach the many to be ruled (or drilled as cannon fodder) just as the old Church Schools taught them to curtsey to the Squire's wife and accept blankets gratefully at Christmas As a Socialist said in the Reichstag last week, "a crowd of slaves driven by a few superior gentlemen." Governments no longer even pose as independent of the Capitalist class. . . e mask is off. The Secretaries of State to-day avowedly do just what the Combines tell them. What is to prevent them from making workers' combines illegal? They have largely done so already--and the British workman has not shown the Bussian's capacity for resistance. If and when he could see through the swindle, the war would end.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS FUND.

The Johannesburg Central Branch, on which the greater part at the expense of the recent Municipal election literature falls: asks us to repeat its appeal for contributions to defray the cost. Remittances should be sent to the Treasurer. I.S.L., Johannesburg Central Branch, Box 1915, Johannes... hurg.

THE I.S.L. ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Management Committee has fixed Sunday, January 14th next, at the Trades Hall, Rissik Street, for a "Delegales' Meeting, and requests that all matters intended to be be brought forward on that occasion be in the hands of the General Secretary, Box 4179, Johannesburg, not later ihan December 4th next.

A True Workers Edu cational.

Reing Leaflet No. 4 of a series of appeals for a true working class education issued by the London District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen.

IV

The Modern Working Class Movement.

The modern Labour movement is summed up in the struggle of the working class against the domination of Capital. This struggle has its source, not in the brain of any agitator, but in the social relations within which the duction is carried on, or more definitely stated, in the inevitable antagonism between Wage-labour and Capital.

WHAT IS "THE WORKING CLASS"?

basis of the existing economic system, which, for short, we call Capitalism. (The system has not always existed. It began about the close of the 16th century, in England, but only entered its general and more mature phase at the close of the 18th century. The modern working class is, therefore, the product of this 19th century capitalism.

Of course there have been poor and working classes before the 19th century, but it is only with the advent of modern capitalism that the modern working class comes into existence.

marked off from the previous labourers, e.g., the ancient slave and the mediæval serf, by the fact that he obtains his livelihood from the sale of his labourpower, and he is also thereby distinguished from those other members of society who get their livelihood from the profit of any capital. The whole existence of the modern working class depends upon the demand for its labourforce and, therefore, upon all the ups and downs of blind competition with all its alternate periods of good and bad trade.

SURPLUS VALUE.

On the one side are the owners of capital, who are everywhere in possession of the means of production—the machinery and materials necessary for the production of the means of life.

In the other side are the wagelabourers who, stripped of the means of production and therefore of the means of subsistence, are forced to sell their labour-power to the owners of capital in order to obtain a livelihood. Wages are the price of labour-power, and represent just sufficient subsistence to keep the labourer returning to the worker is not paid according to equantity of labour which he expends, but according to the quantity of labour expended upon the food, clothing and shelter necessary to keeping him in working order for capital. The difference between the value created by labour in one day and the wages which he receives for one day, represents the surplus out of which profit, rent and interest are derived. This surplus is, therefore, nothing but so much unpaid labour.

MORE PROFIT, LESS WAGES.

The modern labourer thus figures in a double rôle—(1) as a seller of his labour-power, and (2) as a buyer back of his labour-product. The driving-force of the whole capitalist mechanism is profit. To increase this profit, the capitalist must increase the productive power of labour. The driving-for raising this productive power, as well as for speeding up the labourers, is machinery. The consequence is that the same number of labourers, or even a smaller number, turn out a greater quantity of products in a given time, than before.

On the other hand, the capitalist only employs the worker if he can make a profit out of his labour, and the profit can only be increased by decreasing the real wages, at least relatively.

EXPLOITATION AND ITS RESULT.

There is, therefore, this contradictory result brought about with the
growth of capitalism:—On the one
side, labour turns out an increasing
mass of products; on the other, the
labourers purchasing power, declining relatively to this increasing mass,
becomes more and more inadequate for
buying back the bulk of their own
products.

On the basis of this increasing exploitation, there grows also and inevitably the increasing resistance of the exploited. That the antagonism between wage-labour and capital grows as these things grow, is proved by the fact that the organizations of the workers grow in power and militancy as the years succeed one another.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Already, in the 18th century, the first industrial organisations arose in the form of local tarde unions. In the 19th century these passed into national trade unions, and thereafter the still higher form of federation of trade unions developed. However, the more intense struggles of the 20th century,

the greater pressure of the big capitals upon the workers, has increasingly manifested the need for a superior form of combination to that of craft. Railwaymen in particular have already responded to this need by forming the National Union of Railwaymen, an organization on the basis of industry as distinguished from craft.

LABOUR PARTIES.

The first years of the present century saw the rise of a political organization of Labour which, however incompletely developed, is nevertheless a still higher manifestation of the general nature of the struggle between the workers, irrespective of trade, and the owners of capital. The workers cannot carry on this struggle successfully, so long as they allow the capitalists to possess and direct the machinery of government against the efforts of the industrial organisations.

EDUCATION.

Lastly, the more complete extension of the industrial and political organizations of the workers requires an extension of knowledge among the workers of those industrial and political conditions and relations which they are called upon by their own needs to transform. It is just this extension of knowledge among the railwaymen of London, and among other workers of London who would like to join with us, that the London Council of the N.U.R. is now engaged in promoting jointly with the Central Labour College.

THE INTERNATIONAL VOLUME 1.

The recent raffle of the first annual volume (1915-16) of the "International" resulted in favour of Com. E. Shaw.

A few more bound copies, containing not only a complete file of the 'International,' but a copy of other publications of the League for the year, are obtainable from the treneral Secretary, 6, Trades Hall, Box 4179, Johannesburg. Particulars on approation. One of these volumes would make a most valuable Christmas present.

Loose copies of the following publications in various quantities are still on hand and may be obtained on application:—

The Labour Party's Duty in the war. (Dutch and English).

Noblesse Oblige.
The Miracle of Christmas.
Keeping the Red Flag Flying.

1915 to date.

An Appeal to Reason (the Zimmer-wald Manifesto).

Economic Conscription.

School Board Elections 1916.

The Woman Badgers.

Why the "Forward" was suppressed.
Municipal Elections 1916.
Miscellaneous "Internationals," Sept.

"How Long." (Published by the S. A. Peace and Arbitration Society).

Let There be War.

There is a war of nations, and theretore peace in the industrial world. And the capitalist class like it. They like this industrial peace which the abject surrender of the working classes to the call of patriotism has brought about, and are determined to maintain at after the war. So they are consolidating their interests. Even the churches, ever willing tools of Capitalism, are tederating with a view to the further and better beguilement of the workers by pretended interest in their lot. Bishop Gore demands for the workers a share of the control of industry, that they should be consulted as to the conditions of labour-as distinguished, he adds, from the remuneration of labour. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain (of Kynochs) says that labour can give a great deal more, and the country would be better off. How is the worker to be sure that a corresponding increase of wages would be paid? Why, he would have the assurance of capital on this point! The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson has formed a Consultative Committee whose purpose is to "establish a regular and definite means of co-operation between organised labour and - the Government." The system of selfish individualism must be bolstered up hy increased productivity on the pa of the workers. And that pitiable Trade Union Congress at Birmingham declared amid plaudits that it will be well content to accept as heretofore the leavings of the master class. The new problems arising from the dilution of labour and employment of women were untoucheds and on conscription, which spells death to industrial organization, the Congress had nothing to say. The noble six hundred shouted peace where there can be not peace. and war where there should be no war. Mr. Harry Gosling, President of the Congress, declares that "the workers are tired of war in the industrial. field." They do not suggest, he says, "that they should be admitted to any share in what is essentially the business of the employer: what they want is some voice in matters which affect the workers themselves--Machinery for dealing with grievances." And this he calls Industrial Democracy! After fifty years of fighting the Trade Union leaders still lack understanding, and "where there is no vision, the people perish."

In South Africa, the Industrial Movement is still led by men of similar type. One is a common recruiting

another, all conciliate, assures us that the worker has no quarrel with the capitalist; a third protests, to the tittering even of his friends, his profound belief in the divine right of Deputy-Mayors; a fourth, petted by the Chamber of Mines, is an expert at drafting muzzling agreements not to strike. These and other acquiscents in the tyranny of Capital over Labour are the misleaders of Industrialism in South Africa. Some of them are ignorant and honest, others are ignorant and dishonest; one at any rate among them knows—and his is the sin of Caiaphas. For the most paltry concessions the defences of labour have been surrendered to the Capitalist foe and the worker left weaponless.

Workers, if you would regain your weapons, wake up! Throw off your false guides and misleaders. Let them follow the cult of the top hat if they will, but for you must come recognition of the class struggle. Class consciousness is as the locks of Samson. Therein lies your strength. The sword of revolt is ready to your hand. Sound the slogan! Fire the beacons! War! Let there be war!

C. BARNET.

Humours of Recruiting.

The Influence of the War-on-Warites.

Mr. Dingwall, one of the few philosophers inside of what was once known as the S.A. Labour Party, has resigned from the Recruiting Committee. Mr. Dingwall pays a high tribute when he admits that "the Government of the country is being conducted by the War-on-Warites.") This from the camp of the enemy should stimulate our comrades to greater efforts.

How we mind your own business.

Some time ago this Recruiting Committee issued a circular to all exploiters of labour. They desired, or rather demanded, to know-How many pieces of "human labour power" they lexploited? Further-How many were being used as cannon fodder? And again—How many pieces, of human labour power could be transformed into "fighting material"? Any of the said exploiters who failed to give the information were threatened with all kinds of pains and penalties unless they procured exemption badges at sixpence a time. I believe a reduction was allowed for large quantities.

The Tooley Street Recruiters.

The mugmumps who squash the Huns from the trench, or rather from the motor car in front of the Town Hall twice daily, assure us that they are "legally constituted." Mr. Dingwall agreed to that, at least he has never raised his voice in protest so far as we know. But the Recruiting Committee have now called upon Mr. Dingwall to answer a charge of disloyalty to King and Country by occupying a platform with a War-on Warite during

the recent election campaign. To which he replies: "I am not answerable to any côterie of the Recruiting Committee for any of my actions." This clearly shows, since Mr. Dingwall is no longer in the Recruiting Committee, that it cannot be "legally constituted." Quite a Kaiser touch about that.

Your King and My Country kneed you.

The whites of South Africa and Australia have tumbled to the meaning, and as all the Henry Dubbs have gone, recruiting is at a standstill. That section of the people whose desire it is to have their name written on the scroll of fame, and to be covered with glory and a Kafir blanket before occupying a hole in the ground, seem to have got there. The failure of the Conscriptionists in Australia and the frothy-mouthed patriots in Johannesburg to fool us has caused the Warmongers to look elsewhere. The Black races are all right. We find leading politicians in England and editors in Johannesburg agreeing that the formation of a Black Brigade is essential. We agree it is, but what about the Black? Can he be fooled about the liberty he has? Can we make him believe he has to carry a pass in order to have freedom? Can we make him believe that we pay him low wages so. that he may not have money to buy boots, lest, he should suffer from corns? That he may not eat anything but mealie meal lest his digestive organs cause him trouble? Can we make him believe he will be shut out from heaven unless he takes part in this Holy War? If we can, then I am sure ... o Black will go. And I have equally little doubt that men will be found with sufficient patriotism to tell the Black all this, providing they are paid to do so.

A. B. DUNBAR.

The Main Chance.

General Sarrail is to be credited with an eye to commercial as well as to military opportunities. In his name a Commercial Bureau is being founded at Salonika to procure immediate and remunerative business for French tra-. ders and to promote in Macedonia a taste for French goods which will leave them first in favour in the market when the war is over. The Bureau may look something of an excrescence at present, but good luck can be heartily wished for it. The Salonika occupation is an affair in which a good many partners participate, but there is no question of grudging the French anything they can take by legitimate means.—"The Mercantile Guardian." Sept. 21, 1916.



Marriage.

To-morrow Comrade Harry Barendregt will be married by special licence at the Johannesburg Registry to Miss Africe C. McQuoid.

Run up the Workers

1,403 persons in Johannesburg, 253 in Benoni, and 272 in Germiston, holding votes and being in a position to vote on Oct. 25, endorsed the revolutionary "Call to the Workers of South Africa. Such a vote is not only encouraging to us, but a danger signal to our enemies. The Capitalist class and their political and Trade Union lieutenants and hirelings—many of whom parade as Socialist and Lakour leaders — are already busy seeking means to counter-stroke such a manifestation. The growls against proportional representation are straws snowing which way the wind blows.

But what is the I.L.P. going to do about this endorsement of its principles and tactics by such a number of people. Is it going to take the next step and lay the foundations of the organisation necessary to back up its right with might? Nearly 2,000 people on the Rand have said, on a clear cut issue, 'vou are right, we are with vou. 'If we are to entrench ourselves and repel the enemy counter-attacks we must bring into existence the only force that can follow up and hold the ground already won.

Such a force in the nature of things must be Industrial. Now is the time to run up the Industrial banner. Now is the time to throw, all academic discussions and abstractions esto the winds and to rally workers Industrial Unity by immediate action. The war has progressed far enough to disillusionise a large proportion of the workers of all lands in combatant and noncombatant countries and classes. Our masters are immersed and submerged in war problems. The reformist a olitical Socialists and Reformist Labour Leaders are seeking jobs to assist Lem' in keeping these issues in the minds of the working class. Now is the time to repudiate them and their masters, and, to give the working class clear and simple statements of the position. Leave the Recruiting Labour leaders, patriotic organisers and political/ 'Socialist" boodlers to stew in their own juice, and organise the Labour army for Industrial action. The hour lias arrived to show what we are made of. Now is the time to translate all our talk into action, and set to work building up the army of occupation

JOHN CAMPBELL. Then or Now?

The so called "National Socialist Party" of 'ngland publishes in 'dustice' (a paper !: mune, it seems, from censorship), a screed for the special thiffcation of Socialists in British violonies, which concludes thus: "Capitalism in Great Britain is indeed a terrible enemy, but British capitalism strengtinened by German militarism would be more dangerous still... When peace come, the workers will have a far greater chance of obtaining control of this island than ever before. Used to arms, disciplined and conscious of their power, it will then be the fault of the people themselves if, victorious ovo Germany abroad, they fail to overcome

dapitalism; and wage slavery at home. Already we are devoting all our energies to preparation for this great struggle, and we hope to have your help and sympathy in our glorious work.

The Capetown S.D.F. replied, endorsing the I.L.P. resolution against all war, defensive or not, and adding that the N.S.P. attitude is diametrically opposed to the principles of International Socialism. The same Society, hearing rumours of a new Labour Party, is taking its turn. formulating(a after-war policy for Trade Unions in South Africa.

Is not the attitude of the Majority Group of the Russian Social Democratic Party, whose manifesto of Nov. 1914 was re-published in Johannesburg, more satisfying? "Something now, they say (and they are actively propagandising to that effect to-day), not "after the war." "The duty of the Socialists is to convert the war between the nation; into a civil war of the working class against their class governments. They condemn the voting of the war credits by the French and German Socialists and denounce the civil peace. If a choice is to be made between two evils, victory or defeat, it is in the interest of the working class to desire a defeat of their government, as victory could only strengthen Czarism. If the proletariat of all th belligerent countries adopted this attitude, if they would precipitate civ war, instead of supporting 'civil peace,' the war of Imperialism would soon cease. And the declaration of civil war would immediately revive the revolutionary spirit and international solidarity of the working class of the world,—rebuilding the International on a true revolutionary basis."

How

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The following is an extract from a letter which recently appeared in "The Cape':-

"A wounded German—quite a boy-dragged himself across to give me his water-bottle—for when I became conscious I found myself screaming out with thirst. For all I knew, it was I who had given him that bavonet wound that made him, every now and then, clench his hands and hold his breath." Perhaps he even cried a little—for he was very young. I had kilded several men. I could not bear to think of them now. 'Sonny,' I shift, 'what fools we are!' He said, like a chill: There will be no fighting where we are going.' Before morning the boy died in my arms—in a day or so l will- be dead-and he knew, and ! know; and in a little while the world will know—that all this talk of King and country and honour and glory is wicked lies; that we kill our brothers here at the front in no better cause than to make a few greedy rich men richer, and that when these men's maws are full, the war will cease. He knew it, and I know it, and nine out of ten of us here know it. All the same, for one reason or another we feel bound to fight. What fools we are!"

BRANCH NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL.

At the Branch Meeting on the 2nd instant, a new and more compact Executive was elected, with power to add; the Secretaryship, however, still remaining vacant.

Sunday's open air meeting was addressed by S. P. Bunting, who drew encouraging conclusions from the Australian Referendum. Indoors, on the same topic, Colin Wade somewhat belittled the significance of the vote. His address is dealt with in another column.

The Branch is about to lose a devoted comrade in ars. A. Marynen. who is shortly leaving for Europe.

This Sunday evening, the 12th. Andrew Watson will speak at the Trades Hall on "Why not Peace to-day?" On Thursday next, the Ibun

a Special Branch Meeting will be held to discuss matter for the forthcoming Conference. Roll up.

DURBAN

Our meeting on Thursday was cut short as members wished to attend the open meeting called by the Natal Federation of Trades to discuss wages and cost of living. On Sunday the weather was so had that although a few enthusiastic anglers turned up it was decided to postpone the picnic. On Sunday night Comrade Haynes gave unc first of a series of lectures on "Lwo kinds of Capitalists. Commencing from the French Revolution the lecturer dealt with European politics and conquests from that time up to the prosent. The effect of the German Revolution of 1848 on German and Europeau industrial expansion was lucidly explained, and the hand of the financiers throughout was clearly traced throug the 'glories' of the various countries. The lecturer, dealing only in facts, lev no room for discussion and Comrade Turkington in the chair, for once, had a sinecure.

The next lecture of the series w deal in detail with Industrial crises over the period, their cause and effect: and the third and final talk will dea! with the history of Armaments and their inventors. It is hoped to get a full house for this series which we can guarantee to be both interesting and

instructive.

man.

CAPE NOTES.

I have this week to record the death of George Lartin, a well-known "Free thought" propagandist, and at are time an active worker in the S.D.F. He was a fearless and eloquent exponent, and univaten months ago was before the Magistrate and convicted for telling mothers not to produce sons for slaughter on the battlefield.

Mr. Sampson recently paid "us a visit to solidify the ave's and no's of the Labour Party. After listening to this versatile gentleman in his usual philosophical strum it was declared the no's had it, and Mr. Sambson returned to Johannesburg a disappointed

The usual monthly Leegue Dance will be held at Wests Academy on Wednesday 22nd inst. Tickets 2/6 each may de hat from any of the wemen Centades.