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FRICE Id. WEERLY.

The New International.

BY THE EDITOR.

Here we plant the flag of the New International in South Africa. Like all pioneer banners, it cannot be an elaborate one. Let us briefly trace the journey hither.

The East London Conference of the Labour Party, with a view to preserving working class unity, adopted a resolution on the war leaving the question to the dictates of each member's individual reason and conscience. At that Conference the Internationalists were in an overwhelming majority. Not, let us admit, that that majority represented the exact feeling of the rank and file on the war; but the passions of war and the electioneering virus had not as yet clouded the sense of the branches to the value of the Internationalists to the Party.

On this compact the Party worked for seven months. Then, with the approach of the General Election, the growing agitation to define the Party's policy on the war resulted in the Special Conference held at Johannesburg on August 22 last.

At this Conference the Party adopted by a majority of 82 to 30 the Bezuidenhout War Policy which pledges it whole-heartedly to support the Imperial Government in the prosecution of the war-

We need not refer to the domestic provisions for the succour of the disabled and the destitute contained in the subsidiary clauses of that resolution. They comprise the ordinary duties of a Labour Party at all times; and the only effect of their inclusion in this war policy is to throw a lurid light on the so-called "destiny and liberties" of our country so flamboyantly heralded in the principal clause.

The "see it through" policy has imposed upon a movement of revolt against Capitalism a pledge to support Capitalist Governments in the prosecution of their supreme crime War.

Militarism is the instrument by which the Masters impose their will upon the Workers. The pro-war majority have enthroned militarism as the first essential of a working class representative.

Part of a movement based on the recognition of no boundary other than the boundary between exploiter and exploited, the Party now demands Labour representatives to range themselves on the side of one set of exploiters in this inhuman sacrifice of working class blood.

Up to the Special Conference all that the Party pledge implied was a guarantee of devotion to working class interests. To paraphrase the words of the Hebrew sage slightly, the Party in effect said:—

"This is the pledge that I have chosen: To loose the bands of wicked "ness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that "ye break every yoke"

The Beznidenhout Policy commits us, and its rough-shod supporters insist upon it, to what we hold to be a policy of appreciate ing the heavy burdens, to let the oppressor go free, and that we place the yoke heavier and heavier on the neck of the workers. That the workers, educated by their masters desired it, makes not the slightest difference to our re-

The addition of this policy left the Internationalists torn

between their allegiance to the necessity for working class unity an dto the fundamental working class interests which it violates.

To compose the two necessities is the object of the formation of the International League within the Party, to propagate the principles held by us to be the very essentials of working class emancipation. These are the principles of International Socialism and anti-miliatrism.

"The International" will be the organ of the League. In its columns the point of view of the Internationalist will be presented in its manifold phases. Like all young conceptions it is never fully told. Karl Marx, in his "Eighteenth Brumiere," strikingly remarks that the literary expression of middle class revolutions were always grander than their actual content; but that the working class ideal struggles through to as yet inadequate expression. The substance of it is infinitely finer than the articulation.

In the conception of the Working Class International, however, there emerges to unawakened earth the trumpet of a prophesy. Even in the hour of its numerical supremacy we see the national sentiment fading before our eyes, and slowly re-forming into the vaster constellation of International working class unity. This is now the only way of advance for Labour. The other way presents a vista of interminable despair with bayonets and cross bones stacked on either side. By this way of the New International alone can mankind hope for a release from the toils of the brute, and rise to that higher plane when men shall scorn all conflict other than the conflict of mind with mind in the realm of intellect.

The Resignations.

As a result of the adoption of the Bezuidenhout resolution by the Labour Party the following members of the Liecutive resigned office:—

W. H. Andrews, chairman; J. A. Clark, M.P.C., Chairman; G. Weinstock, treasurer; D. Ivon Jones, G. Secretary; and M. I. Isaacson, A. F. Crisp, M.P.C., McKerrell, Colin Wade, M.P.C., W. Light, M.P.C., and Fred Robertson.

Messrs. W. H. Andrews, J. A. Clark. M.P.C., J. F. Brown, M.P.C., and A. F. Crisp, M.P.C. wrote to the Administrative Council desiring the return of their election pledges if such bound them to the Bezuidenhout Pélicy. Their pledges were torn up by the Chairman at the wish of the meeting.

F. A. W. LUCAS.

Mr. F. A. W. Lucas, M.P.C., owing to the state of his health and his continued absence in London, has resigned from the Executive of the Labour Party. He intends properting about the end of October. Writing on the situation at the end of July, he says:—

"There will be no hope for us as a force until at Miller of the organisation as such we put himself the transfer of the organisation as such we put himself the transfer of the organisation as such we put himself the organisation as such as put himself the organisation a

Administrative Council Notes.

"These be thy gods."

The A.C. meetings of the Labour Party held on August the 29th and September 5th will live for long among the unpleasant recollections.

A party of the working class decided that W. H. Andrews was not a fit and proper person to represent the workers in Parliament.

J. Forrester Brown, M.P.C., also had his pledge torn up. Not to be trusted with the cause of the workers. A few minutes afterwards the result of the miners' ballot for General Secretary was handed into the meeting J. Forrester Brown elected by a large majority.

J.A. Clark, M.P.C., some years secretary and organiser of the Boilermakers' Society, not eligible to represent Labour side by side with Mr. C. A. Lageson, Director of Companies.

Mr. A. F. Crisp, M.P.C., chairman this year of the South African Council of the Engineers' Society, not allowed to be nominated to fight Labour's cause in the company of Mr. Arthur Barlow.

Mr. J. T. Bain, deported, and with Andrews, one of the first founders of the Labour movement in South Africa, fit to be kicked about and deported for the working class, but not fit to represent them in Parliament while we have Mr. David Pollock, so late Young Unionist, ready for the job. These be thy Gods, O Israel.

The new Executive members of the Party consists of Geo. B. Steer, chairman, Geo. Hills, M.P.C., vice-chairman, John Ware, treasurer, F. H. P. Creswell, J. H. Gow, W. H. Morgan, C. J. Richards, J. P. Madden and W. B. Madeley. The new General Secretary is Mr. Reg. G. Barlow.

The new trustees are Mr. M yers and Mr. Spiro.

The new Finance Committee: Messrs. Myers. E. G. Pitman, and A. Metcalfe.

The Badge Committee: Messrs. W. T. Seccombe, Myers, and Horwitz.

Any donations to the Party or help for the Badge Scheme apply to the Economic Bank, in the Palladium Buildings, during Mr. Myers' business hours.

Poor Mark Lucas, like all moderates, gets terribly squashed between the opposing contenders. O "A plague on both war houses," cried out the author of "The Case against the War on War League." Commissioner Street Branch had better put Mark back in cotton wool till after the war.

George Steer has not yet got back his old aptitude in the case. One must admit that the League delegates are an universe. They are demons for points of order. And the part willed sometimes it does not last very described the and the new General Secretary deliberations of a truly working

The Tearing of the Pledges.

By W. H. ANDREWS

Five years ago, if Mr. Creswell, the present dictator of the Labour Party, had been told that he would sit "all silent," not to say "all damned," whilst pledges were torn up and old members of the Party excommunicated because they declined to subscribe to a patriotic resolution passed by a war mad majority, he would probably have indignantly denied the possibility. At his entry to the Party he signed the pledge with a very wry face. For months he fenced with the question endeavouring to find a loophole through which he could squeeze; but as the only way to a seat in Parliament in opposition to his erstwliftle friends, the mine magnates, was through the Labour Party, the dose had to be swallowed. How useful that instrument is in getting rid of inconvenient associates he is now probably completely convinced. Whether it has served the purpose intended by the founders of the Party is open to question. As Mr. Creswell has often remarked, an honest man needs no pledge, an adventurer will sign anything to gain his ends. How many of the Labour candidates deserve this name experience will teach us. One thing is certain, that, although all are not so frank as Mr. Dan Symon, who has openly repudiated the objective of the Party in the Administrative Council, some of them are no more believers in that objective, viz., Socialism, than Unionists or members of the other Capitalist parties.

The justice of imposing the extreme penalty of repudiation and possibly expulsion from the party on men who have whole heartedly advanced and worked for the principles of socialism for years, and accepting with open arms men who are known to be anti-socialist but have consciences elastic enough to sign the pledge is somewhat difficult to understand.

There can be no shadow of doubt that the "see it through" policy, is anti-socialist. All writers are agreed that Socialism can only succeed if it is international in its scope. National socialism is only different in degree from the attempts to found Socialist communities as oasis in the desert of Capitalist society. As they have failed so will National socialism.

Workers of the World unite was Marx's clarion cell. He helped to form the International to achieve that end. It went down in blood. The newer and larger International built up since 1870 is being submerged by a more immense upheaval of National hate, prejudice fear, jealousy and slaughter It will rise again purged we hope of some of its errors. One of the most fatal of these is that socialism can be established in water tight compartments. It will be seen then that the true spirit of the socialist and Labour movement has been kept alive not by the office seekers who watch the currents of public opinion in order to float to ease and security on them, nor by the honest but misguided dupes of the ruling class which controls all the means of education but by those who are now called wreckers of the party cranks, faddists and enemies of the movement because they dere to point out to comrades the true path to human emancipation namely—the International Unity of the Working Class.

Labour in Germany. Not "See it Through."

It is hardly accurate (says the "Labour Leader") longer to divide the German Social Democratic Party anti-war and pro-war sections, except that there remains little group of Jingoes equivalent to our Blatchfords Tillets. The Executive of the Party has officially asked German Government to open peace negotiations, and the sections of the rank and file which do not endorse the tremer attitude of the Liebknecht-Ledebour and of the Berns stein-Haase-Kautsky groups are wholeheartedly behind Executive in making this demand. The Social Democratic Committee of Frankfort, for instance, whilst approving attitude of the majority of the Socialist Party in the Grande Reichstag, and condemning the action of Herr House, president, in taking an independent line, has endorsed attempts that have been made to come to an understanting with Socialists in neutral as well as in enemy countries with view to common action in order to bring about the rectors the of peace on the basis of the recognition of the rights of tinalities. The German Socialists are called upon to lots If this movement, which is declared to be in conformity will. the general interests of the German working class.

Andrews and Clark

Picking up the Gauntlet.

COMBADES OF THE INTERNATIONAL

In this world crisis all men are forced to examine their attitude to public affairs from new view points. Standing as we do against great odds for International Socialism and Brotherhood we have come to the conclusion that it would be cowardly to acquiesce in the decision of the majority of our erstwhile comrades of the S.A.L.P. to support the Government in the war. We think that the people of the constituences for which we have been nominated should be given the opportunity of expressing their opinion through the ballot on this question of world policy. We have therefore decided to accept the invitation of the numerous signatories to the requisitions presented to us and fight for the principles of the League.

Yours for International Solidarity.

W. H. ANDREWS.

A War for Peace.

COMRADES OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

After much serious consideration. I have decided to contest the Langlaagte Division against all comers, believing that the first duty of a Socialist is to stand for the principles of International Socialism rather than to maintain an organisation which in the day of tria has forsaken its duty to the Working Class.

Long live the International.

Yours for the Cause,

J.A. CLARK.

TIVOLI PEÁCE MEETINGS.

Although not reported in the Capitalist Press, a series of of fine anti-war meetings have been held in the Tivoli for the last five or six Sunday nights. The speakers have been enthusiastically received by packed audiences. What opposition there was has been getting fainter and fainter. Messrs. Andrews, Clark, Wade, George Mason, R. J. Hall, W. Light, J. T. Bain, C. B. Mussared, S. P. Bunting, Mrs. Barnet A. F. Crisp, Andrew Dunbar, John Campbell, and D. Ivor Jones have held the floor. On every occasion the doors have had to be closed half an hour after starting to prevent overcrowding. The Demand for Peace finds a response in the big majority of the audiences. The only danger is that success may induce political opponents to get the Tivoli closed against us, as was done when the War on War meetings became too successful there. It is a cause of consternation to the Capitalist Press to find such enthusiasm among the public of Central Johannesburg for the principles of the League.

"To Hell or to Flanders."

The Mayfair amendment at the Special Conference contained the policy of the anti-war section of the Party.

One clause bound us to oppose the use of compulsion, "economic or otherwise" in the recruiting for the Overseas Contingent..

What we anticipated is happening. When the Government fixed the soldiers' pay at a shilling a day, they knew the

efficacy of economic compulsion.

At the Vogelstruis Estate recently about a dozen men were told to go and get medically examined. Those found medically unfit were told to go back below. Those that were medically fit were told to quit, and advised to go to Flanders.

Two of them were Union men Their names are in the possession of the Mine Workers' Union. Our "Country's Call" they find has a decidedly "Corner House" ring about it; and we are beginning to "see through it."

It is terrible to be a murderer oneself, but by cunning and well methods to reduce one's confiding brothers to this state is the most terrible crime of all.-Tolstoy.

Who are the real Pro-Germans.

Philip Drunk and Philip Sober.

By RICHARD J. HALL.

The Romans had a saying: "Fas est ab hoste doceri." "It is necessary to learn even from an enemy." It was recognition of the wisdom in that saying which gave its success to the Roman Republic. It was arrogant contempt for that same wisdom which proved the downfall of the Roman Empire. The man who refuses to learn from the methods of a rival is a fool. The nation which does likewise is doomed. At the risk therefore of being called pro-German, unpatriotic, or even traitor, I desire to emphasise the necessity even to-

day, of learning what Germany can teach us-

First, let us recognise the fact that there are two Germanys. Germany, drunk with the passion of war, and Germany soberly developing her industries, her educational system, her social reforms as no other nation has done. To recognise that is only fair, since we can admit that there have been two Englands, one when the Boer war had filled her with the passion of conquest, and the other when "after the war," the nation was sobered and remorseful; we can admit that one ought to judge "Philips' real powers when Philip

is sober, and not when Philip is drunk."

Germany's advantage in this war hitherto has been secured not so much by her generals as by her chemists. These chemists, while they have proved themselves the most powerful factor in war, were not organised originally for war, but for peace. In 1870 the population of the German Empire was 41 millions, and its emigration to the United tates constituted the largest part of that stream until 1882. time forward the stream of emigration was checked because Germany's industries were being so organised that her people were absorbed in these even though the population increased at the rate of more than 800,000 per annum. The aniline dyes industry has become the absolute property of Germany simply through the organisation of her chemists, and the development of opportunities for her people. By her reasoned method of securing that the demand for labour and its supply shall coincide in so far as is humanly possible, by her sedulous care for those things which make for the material well being of the worker she has eliminated almost entirely that element of waste and consequent ugliness which disfigures English industrial life. Her cities such as Frankfort or Dusseldorf, have doubled their production in 40 years. but have not, like similar English cities, become places so polluted with factory smoke that those responsible for the smoke live away from it, leaving those to suffer who are too poor to get away from the grime. In education, too, where English University life is impossible to the vast majority, and the two oldest Universities are largely preserves for a leisured class; the German University simply puts the finishing touch to the work done in the lower grades. I frankly confess that I see very much that is altogether admirable in the organisation of German life in the midst of much that is harmful, and to this extent I am pro-German. I think it would be a calamity to the world if the best that the German people have shown us in forty years should be lost to the world because the world dislikes the spectacle of Germany drunk on war, and therefore proposes extermination. Just as we would consider it unfair to be judged for all time by the level to which people in England sunk on Mafeking night, so may the German people as a mass consider it unjust to have a whole nation judged for things committed in the passion of war and by sections that are for the moment past normal moral judgments. We have ourselves known how men have seen red in war and have been indiscriminate in slaughter; we ourselves must remember that Lord Fisher only five years ago gave utterance to these words: "The humanising of war! You might as well talk of humanising hell! As if war could be civilised! If I am in command when war breaks out I shall issue as my orders:—

> The essence of war is violence." "Moderation in war is imbecility." "Hit first, hit hard, hit anywhere."

If you rub it in both at home and abroad that you are ready for instant war with every unit of your strength in the first ling, and intend to be first in and hit your enemy in the belly and kick him when he is down, and boil your prisoners in oil (if you take any), and torture his women and children,

then people will keep clear of you."

This is essential militarism, uttered by an Englishman and the present First Sea Lord, in no sense differing from the orders of the German Grand Admiral. English undefended. coast towns have been bombarded by Germans. Coast towns in Asia Minor have been bombarded by the Allies and the population has had to fly inland. & War is hell, by whomsoever it is waged, and the happenings of this war prove it Therefor I say that if to be pro-German means to bring us to the level of the worst deeds that have been committed by Germans those are really pro-Germans who drive our men into the hell of war by persuasion if possible, and if that be not possible, then by eonomic pressure. Those are pro-Germans who whether from pulpit, platform, or in Press, preach doctrine of hate, who say kill, kill, kill, until the last man is dead, and the last shilling spent. I do not believe in the hell of fire hereafter, but if I did I should prefer to burn in that hell rather than burden my soul with the weight of death that rests of those who have recruited others for this hell of war, but have not gone themselves. Where they could not go, they ought to have had the honesty and decency to keep quiet. If pro-Germanism is militarism in its most raging, reasonless and rampant form then these are pro-Germans and we who preach against war are the best anti-Germans alive, since our fight is to prevent this Prussian militarist spirit corrupting

But if it be pro-German to seek persistently for all the good that Germany can teach us, to work unweariedly for the time when we shall have a peace in the world that shall not be a mere rest between wars, but a lasting peace, to strive that this shall be brought about, not by making a desert covered with dead men's bones, but by stopping this hellish slaughter at the earliest moment, if this be pro-German, then we are pro-German, and we will not be ashamed of the title, though we would prefer the more truthful title of the Friends

of Peace.

Jean Jaures-Martyr for Peace.

South African Labour overlooked the anniversary of the

death of Jean Jaures on July 31st, 1914.

What a difference that assassination made in the history of Europe. He was no "scrap of paper" politician. To him the "sanctity of treaties" was of infinitely less concern than the violated charters of the working classes of Europe. Two days before his assassination he uttered the following fiery warning to the Tzar of Rússia:—

"If you declare war, then we French Socialists will only recognise one treaty—that which binds us to Humanity."

How far, indeed, have we in the South African Labour movement departed from that most noble and yet only practicable policy for a party of the working class.

THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF THE S.A.L.P.

OBJECTS-

- (1) To propagate the principles of International Socialism and anti-militarism, and to promote International Socialist unity and activity.
- (2) To conserve the Socialist principles contained in the Constitution of the South African Labour Party.

 METHODS—
 - (1) To organise and educate by means of press and platform.
- (2) To federate branches of the Party endorsing the objects of the League.
- (8) To maintain and strengthen International working class organisation.

Chairman—W. H. ANDREWS. Vice-Chairmen—J. A. CLARK, M.P.C. A. F. CRISP, M.P.C.

Treasurer—G. WEINSTOCK, Secretary—D. IVON JONES,

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Weaving a Winding Sheet.

Under this heading, the "Star" last Saturday quoted Lord Rosebery's injunction to the weavers of somewhere (how they do fawn on the weavers and miners and common labouring folk nowadays) to "weave a winding sheet for the

German conspiracy against the liberties of Europe"

If Lord Rosebery did not suppress a chuckle when thinking of the original application of this phrase he must be a bigger of dhumbug than we had even thought him to be. He fished the simile clean out of Shelley's "Song to the Men of England." We are too prone to regard Bobby Burns as the only champion of the workers among the poets. Let us give that other matchless dreamer-philosopher his due also for consistent valiancy in the cause of the labourers of England. We recommend the first and last verses of that song to the Editor of the "Star" and to Mr. Creswell:

Men of England, wherefore plough For the Lords who lay ye low. Wherefore weave with toil and care The rich robes your tyrants wear.

With plough and spade, and hoe and loom Trace your grave and build your tomb. And weave your winding sheet till fair England be your sepulchre.

The terms of the Bezuidenhout Policy starts off like any ordinary capitalist treaty with 'the destiny and the liberties of our country.' Then in the other clauses a long catalogue of those "liberties" and that "destiny" for which we are to fight—a vista of immeasurable tears. If 90 years ago Shelley could ask the labourers of England wherefore plough for Lords who lay us low, is it too treasonable for a Labour Leader to ask wherefor Fight for those responsible for the social crimes enumerated in the "see it through" policy.

The Pope of Rome has issued an urgent call for peace. What do the R.C. members of the Labour Party think of that? They'll have to excommunicate the consistent parson as they turn down consistent Labourites. Fancy George-Steer having to tear up the Pope's pledge.

A General Meeting of the International League at the Trades Hall, Wednesday, 15th September, at 8 p.m. Roll up.

Patriotism (so-called) does not offer the people anything but the most awful future; whereas the fraternity of the nations constitutes an ideal which is becoming more and more comprehensible and desirable to the human race.—Tolstoy.

Have You given your mite?

If you feel that we are doing the work that matters fill in this form and send your subscription to "The International" and to the funds of the League.

To the Secretary, "International League of the S.A.I.P."
Box 4179, Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,—

Enclosed find my subscription, 5s., for one year, post free, to "The International." Also a donation of £: s. d. to the funds of the League.

Name

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