# THE INTERNATIONAL.

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### THE ZIMMERWALD CONFERENCE.

# Appeal to the World's Workers.

The International Socialist Conference which met at Zimmerwald in Zwitzerland has issued a bold Manifesto to the workers of the world. Branches are urged to make it a matter for discussion and proposed action.

The full text will be issued in pamphlet form. Here follow the Salient paragraphs.

#### WORKERS OF EUROPE!

The war has lasted for more than a year. Millions of corpses lie upon the battlefields; millions of men have been crippled for life. Europe has become a gigantic human slaughter-house. All science, the work of many generations, is devoted to destruction. The most savage barbarity is celebrating its triumph over everything that was previously the pride of mankind.

Whatever may be the truth about the immediate responsibility for the outbreak of the war, one thing is certain: the war that has occasioned this chaos is the outcome of Imperialism, of the endeavours of the Capitalist classes of every nation to satisfy their greed for profit by the exploitation of human labour and of the treasures of Nature.

As the war proceeds its real driving forces become apparent in all their baseness. Piece by piece the veil which has hidden the meaning of this world-catastrophe from the understanding of the peoples is falling down. In every country the Capitalists who forge the gold of war profits from the blood of the people are declaring that the war is for national defence, democracy, and the liberation of oppressed nationalities.

#### THEY LIE!

In reality they are actually burying on the fields of devastation the liberties of their own peoples, together with the independence of other nations. New fetters, new chains, new burdens are being brought into existence, and the workers of all countries, of the victorious as well as of the vanquished, will have to bear them. To raise civilisation to a higher level was the aim announced at the beginning of the war: misery and privation, unemployment and want, underfeeding and disease are the actual results. For decades and decades to come the cost of the war will devour the strength of the peoples, imperil the work of social reform, and hamper every step on the path of progress.

Intellectual and moral desolation, economic disaster, political reaction—such are the blessings of this horrible struggle between the nations.

Thus does the war unveil the naked form of modern Capitalism, which has become irreconcitable, not only with the interests of the working masses, not only with the circumstances of historic development, but even with the first conditions of human communal existence.

#### Workers!

Exploited, deprived of your rights, despised—you were recognised as brothers and comrades at the outbreak of the war before you were summoned to march to the shambles, to death. And now, when militarism has crippled, lacerated, degraded, and destroyed you, the rulers are demanding from you the abandonment of your interests, of your aims, of your ideals—in a word, slavish submission to

the "national truce." You are prevented from expressing your views, your feelings, your pain; you are not allowed to put forth your demands and to fight for them. The press is muzzled, political rights and liberties are trampled upon—thus is military dictatorship ruling to-day with the iron hand.

We cannot, we dare not, any longer remain inactive in the presence of a state of things that is menacing the whole future of Europe and of mankind. For many decades the Socialist working class has carried on the struggle against militarism. With growing anxiety its representatives at their national and international conferences have devoted themselves to the war peril, the outcome of an Imperialism which was becoming more and more menacing. At Stuttgart, Copenhagen, and Basle the International Socialist Confresses indicated the path that the workers should follow.

In this intolerable situation we have met together, we representatives of Socialist parties, of Trade Unions, or of minorities of them, we Germans, French, Italians, Russians, Poles, Letts, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch and Swiss, we who are standing on the ground, not of national solidarity with the exploiting class, but of the international solidarity of the workers and the working-class struggle. We have met together in order to join anew the broken ties of international relations and to summon the working class to reorganise and begin the struggle for peace.

This struggle is also the struggle for liberty, for Brother-hood of nations, for Socialism. The task is to take up this fight for peace—for a peace without annexations or war indemnities. Such a peace is only possible when every thought of violating the rights and liberties of the nations is condemned. There must be no enforced incorporation either of wholly or partly occupied countries. No annexations, either open or masked, no forced economic union, made still more intolerable by the suppression of political rights. The right of nations to select their own government must be the immovable fundamental principle of international relations.

#### Organised Workers!

Since the outbreak of the war you have put your energies, your courage, your steadfastness at the service of the ruling classes. Now the task is to enter the lists for your own cause, for the sacred aims of Socialism, for the salvation of the oppressed nations and the enslaved classes, by means of the irreconcilable working class struggle.

It is the task and duty of the Socialists of the belligerent countries to beginthis struggle with their power. It is the task and duty of the Socialists of the neutral countries to support their brothers by all effective means in this fight against bloody barbarity.

Never in the history of the world has there been a more urgent, a more noble, a more sublime task, the fulfilment of which must be our common work. No sacrifice is too great, no burden too heavy, to attain this end: the establishment of peace between the nations.

Working men and women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and crippled! To all who are suffering from the war or in consequence of the war, we cry out, over the frontiers, over the smoking battlefields, over the devastated cities an hamlets,

"Workers of all countries unite!"

# Peace and the Pennyd-liners.

The Cables report that Lords Loreburn and Courtenay have predicted the doom of civilization in Europe, revolution and anarchy, if the war is not stopped. "Any man was strangely constituted who failed to grasp the opportunity of prevenfing what would be the most fright ul calamity which had befallen the human race." They drew attention to the fact that 15,000,000 men had been killed or perman ently disabled up to date.

Our precious Rand Daily Matt, with its usual deliberate perversion of everything that is not to the taste of its penny-aliners, coacludes an inane comment on the "pessimists" with the following pearl of wisdom:

"The only security for a lasting peace lies in the unquestioned triumph of the allies. They must go on until they obtain it. By merely going on they will obtain

The most serious portions of Loreburn's speech as given in the "Star" were suppressed in the "Mail", and a fictitious paragraph, evidently the invention of its art flunkey, inserted instead. A paper that tampers with cabled messages has passed the limit of even capitalist Journalism.

As for the Lords, they forebode revolution and anarchy. A state of society responsible for the killing and disabling of afteen million men in one year, you will notice, is not a state of anarchy. Anarchy is the upsetting of the order whereby the Anarchs of Capitalism can plunge Europe into seas of bloodshed at their will. If that is threatened, then it will require no appeal from the House of Lords. The Capitalist of Germany and England will come round a table pretty quick, and the Labour recruiting sergeauts will be left sprawling in the mud.

# Labour Recruiting Sergeants

A grand Jingo pow-wow was advertized to be held at Pretoria yesterday in order to find ways and means of stimulating recruiting for the oversea contingent and for British East Africa. Among the "delegates" (by whom "delegated?") present is announced F. H. P. Creswell and four members of the Labour Party.

So the Labour Party is to be definitely committed to endorse the butchery business. Will Mr. Creswell and his four cyphers be consulted when the peace terms are to be discussed?

# Rumblingsof Revolt.

5,000 working men are on rent strike in Glasgow' After the Welsh miners, the never dying flame of revolt reappears among the Scots. The rack-renters of Glasgow have put up rents 16 percent, taking advantage of the influx of munition workers into the district. The munition workers of the Clyde stigmatise this wholesale increase of rent as a "wholesale attack on the working classes which would call for a vigorous and extreme reply that may have disastrous consequences." What ho!

Processions have been organised against the Glasgow Prussians. Children carried placards bearing inscriptions suggesting that the workers of Glasgow are awakening to the class struggle. Said one, "While my father is a prisoner in Germany the landlords is attaching our home."

Another kiddie carried a notice informing the public that:

"My father is fighting in France, we

are fighting Huns at Home."

Fortunately the strike is spreading to other parts of Scotland, and steps have been taken to organise the tenants of Dundee and other towns where people are showing the rebel spirit The people are learning.

At Govan also, near Glasgow, 400 munition workers went on strike. 26 of them were hauled before the magistrate and find £10 each for the offence. Three of these, let their names go forward, Macpherson, Turner and Fleming, refused to pay the fine on principle, and were sent to jail for 30 days. Their fellow workers are in a ferment, and are demanding the Ministry of Munitions for their release. Failing a satisfactory reply to the ultimatum the rank and file were bent on drastic action. We shall hear more next mail.

# Get a Move on.

Much as we admire the stand made by the Independent Labour Party in England the feeling is growing among comrades here that time has come for more definite and drastic action. The fallure of the two I.L.P. delegates to attend the Zimmerwald Conference left an unpleasant impression of pliability to Government restraints. That Conference was attended by representatives from every other belligerent country.

The "Labour Leader" is a welcome weekly arrival, conveying as it does much interesting news of the International movement. But we have yet to be convinced that the movement in Britain is doing its share. Morel is a gccd writer of the middle class humanitarian type, but knows little of the International working class ideal. Snowden's recent speech seemed to be an appeal for international working class unity ending up with a resolve to "see it through." The old fogies in the House of Lords will get ahead of the I.L.P. if it does not look sharp. The revolt in the rank and file is growing and demanding expression. Where is the Leader who will denounce évery shred of coquetting with Capitalist government and proclaim International working class action as the only way out.

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# Shon Macklane's Questions.

representative of the several replies to Shon Macklane's questions. With all the wiggings that Shon gets, his question beat the replies in brevity.

I do not think Macklane can be a Scotsman Scotsmen are usually more intelligent.

It is impossible to reply to the questions briefly, as too much explanation would be required.

The first question is nonsense (If you divide up all the money to-day what will happen tomorrow?/ You might as well ask what would happen if nothing but males were born in the next fifty years. Theoretically it may be possible. Practically it is impossible to divide all the money. No Socialist that I have ever met suggests such a thing. What does Macklane mean by "money"? It would take the whole of your issue to touch on the fringe of a definition. At any rate to divide the "money" (what ever the word may mean) without dividing the land, the machinery and the buildings would leave things almost exactly as they were. Perhaps this is what Shon expects me to say.

The second question under Socialism, what becomes of the lazy man?) is answered in the Biblical quotation "If a man will not work neither shall he eat". The argument is elaborated in Mrs. Besant's Fabian Essay, to which Shon is referred. I would remind him of an undeniable fact, that at present as a rule the less a man works the more he has to eat.

The third question is almost as nonsensical as the first (under Socialism, what becomes of all the money in the banks?) The answer is that it would be spent. Today it is invested. As under a Socialist regime there would be nothing to invest money in, and as no interest would be obtainable for it, money would represent only savings, that is to say wealth put by when a man produced it in excess to consume when he did not produce so much or when he desired to spend more than he was immediately producing.

ALCOFRIBAS.

# War is Hell

British soldiers wounded in the thorax or abdomen in a bayonet fight are given a shot of morphine and left on the field to die because of the impossibility of getting them to the base hospitals in time to operate and save their lives.

This is the statement of Dr. Joseph B. Bissell, of New York, who has been giving instructions in the use of radium to field surgeons, and he adds: "This is the most hideous commentary of the whole war."

# Return of F. A. W. Lucas.

Mr. F. A. W. Lucas expects to arrive back in South Africa on the 14th or 15th of this month. We have good reasons for stating that Mr. Lucas refused to sign the pledge of the S. A. Labour Party and is still in absolute disagreement with its war policy.

"If my soldiers should think carefully not one of them would remain in the ranks" Freaerick II.

# HOW TO SUCCEED.

The heroes of the people and the heroes which officialdom makes for the people are two very different types of worthies.

George of Cappadocia, born at Epiphania in Cilicia (to be quite precise about his birth certificate) was a low parasite, who got a lucrative contract to supply the army with bacon. A rogue and informer always sirring his bos, he got rich, and was forced to run from justice. He saved his money, embraced Arianism, collected a library (nowadays they give art galleries) and got promoted, the same bacon seller, by a bribed faction of the church to be Bishop of Alexandria.

But Julian came in 361 Anno Domino, and dragged George into prison. The prison was burst open by the mob, and George was lynched as he deserved. And this precious knave became in good time Saint George of England, patron of chivalry, emblem of victory and civility, and the pride of the best blood of the civilized world—the fraudulent bacon seller. His flag flies on the spire of Saint Mary's Church in De Villiers Street.

Amerigo Vespucci, pickle dealer of Seville, who went out in 1499 a subaltern with Hojeda, and whose highest naval rank was boatswain's mate in an expedition that never sailed, managed in this lying world to supplant Columbus, and baptise half of the world with his own dishonest name.

John Pierpont Morgan, the idol of American Finance, got his start in life in this wise. In 1861 some five thousand condemned Carbines lay in the arsenal of New York city. They were guaranteed to shoot off the thumbs of any soldier who used them. A man named Stevens backed by Pierpont Morgan, got them for 3 dollars 50 cents each, I guess. But they had not the cash ready. So by telegraph the carbines were sold to General Fremont commanding at St. Louis at 22 dollars each, upon the representation that they were good new rifles. The usual price then paid by the American-Government for the newest pattern was seventeen dollars and a half. The deal was made and the money received from the Government, and the Government then paid for the original stock of condemned earbines with the Governments own money. Good business.

In 1910, having become rich and respectable, and wishing to establish himself and his class in the felicity of his ill gotten gains, Pierpont Morgan promotes a movement to counteract the treasonable influences of Socialists among the soldiers and marines of the United States.

And so, my son, if you want to get into Parliament or Council, and to become famed among your fellow men, you will have to start off by swindling them.

D. N. S.

#### SNAPSHOTS.

II. A. F. CRISP. M. P. C.



from the land of Cocknayne. He is a Trade Unionist. An A.S.E. man. Secretary of his. Branch of the A.S.E. Chairman of the South African Council of the A.S.E. A Socialist. a Christian Socialist and Vice-President of the League. Alf. caused quite a flutter in that famous debate in the Provincial Council last January when he produced the Bible "in Court" as it were to prove his case that war was contrary to his creed. The predikantist party talking Empire to the Britishers opposite, and accusing them of disloyalty to the Flag. The Atheists." of the

Labour Benches twitting the others with disloyalty to their Sunday creed, that was a scene worthy of the muse of Gilbert.

Alf Crisp, though he never definitely joined the War on War League has been one of the most consistent anti-militarists in the movement. He fought the matter out in the Labour Party's Bloemfontein C conference three years ago, and declared the endorsement of the Defence Act contrary to Socialism. Now he is tarred with the War on War brush like the rest of us.

For that reason he was ruthlessly thrown aside in the choice of parliamentary candidates; but when it came to the annual Election of Secretary of his Branch of the A.S.E. a few days after, Alf Crisp was the man they wanted. And now he is fighting for the League in the Municipal Contest, in partnership with William Light. The figures are not out as we go to press, but win or lose, Alf will wear the same contented smile of a man fighting in a cause that will eventually make votes out of date.

Commerce and conquest have always been the main causes of war. Back of most slogans of strife has ever been the commercial watchword—"trade follows the Flag".

The New York Wartd."

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

"RUPEE"—sends for publication a 'Challenge to exponents of Marxism." We have too much personal regard for "Rupee" to allow him to pursue his rash and dangerous emprise without endeavouring to dissuade him from it. He calls the "International" ideal dreams, icle dreams, and embarks on a wholesale refutation of Karl Marx. Space in the "International" does not allow of polemics on points of doctrine. We are a body of men and women sure of our cause, and long ago convinced of its logic. If he really wants to argue as to how many angels can dance on the point of a needle, we shall send John Campbell along to polish him off.

F. writes at some length.
Instead of attacking the S.A.L.P. (F. must have been reading the Evening Chronicle) or instead of giving a list of Branch Secretaries (we are a live organisation, not an academic debating Society) he wants dissertations on the Socialist theory regarding marriage, morality and crime, the coloured question, whether we advocate "evolutionary or revolutionary, Socialism, Christianity etc."

There are no Popes and no Holy writ in Socialism. Socialism does not define the causes of pigment in the skin of the Native. And Socialists are not going to define how men shall act when they are free. What they demand is freedom, and an ever higher conception of that freedom. To gain that freedom, the chains that bind mankind must be understood; and the labyrinths of capitalist production examined. This has been done for us by what Dewdney Drew describes as a half mad German, what others more fitted to speak describe as the greatest mind since Artistotle, namely Karl Marxwe shall be pleased to send F. pamphlets which will be advertised next week, the reading of which will not answer his questions, but will make him ask ones vastly different.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts
Given to redeem the world from error,
There would de no need of Arsenals and Forts.

W. H. Longfellow.

## The Municipal Fight.

The Johannesburg and Germiston Municipal Election results are not yet declared as we go to press. Our I. S. L. Candidates have worked strenuously during the past week on the platform as published by us a fortnight ago. The Johannesburg comrades are confident of improving their position immensely as compared with the general election; and we hope to see Colin Wade and another one or two nominees of the League returned at Germiston.

The Provincial Council vacancy in the Fordsburg Division has been declared. The question of contesting it will be decided by the League this week.

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An Ambassador is a man who goes abroad to lie for the good of his country. A journalist is a man who stays at home to pursue the same vocation.

# League Literature.

THE WAR OF STEEL AND GOLD. 2/by H. N. Brailsford.

A study of European militarism in time of peace.

TEN YEARS OF SECRET DIPLO-MACY. 2/-

This marvellous book written prior to the outbreak of war foretold the events of the past eighteen months, pointing out the inevitable consequences of the intrigues of British, French and Spanish diplomats in

Moroccó.

DISARM. Baroness von Suttner's great war novel. 1/6.

# PATRIOTISM & CHRISTIANITY. 1/-

by Leo Tolstoy.

An exposure in the great Russian's best style of the hollowness and hypocrisy of the former.

#### HOW THE WAR CAME. 3d.

Cold, hard facts adduced from official documents, distributing the blame for the war impartially among the Powers responsible. This has caused a great stir in England, and is among the list of I.L.P. pamphlets confiscated by the police.

#### THE WAR TRUST EXPOSED. 3d.

by Walter Newbold.

Showing how dividends are made in human slaughter. No patriotism in profits. British capital turns out torpedos in all countries to sink British mercantile marine.

THE PRUSSIAN IN OUR MIDST. 3d.

by Norman Angell.

IS BRITAIN BLAMELESS. 3d.

by Fenner Brockway.

MOROCCO AND ARMAGEDDON. 3d.

How the scramble for markets in

Morocco made war inevitable.

COMPULSORY MILITARY SER-VICE. 3d.

The two sides of the question expounded in debate by the Socialist, W. Paul and the Conscriptionist, G. Coulton.

WARS AND CAPITALISM. 3d.

by Peter Kropotkin.

How both are materially dependent one on the other.

#### ANTI-PATRIOTISM. 3d.

Gustav Herve's defence on a charge of anti-militarism.

"When wars do come they fall upon the many, the producing class, who are the sufferers" General O. S. Grant.

# Towards one Socialist Party.

Durban, October, 28th, 1915.

The Editor,

"International."

Sir,

In a recent issue you make a suggestion to the Durban. Capetown, etc. Socialists to link up with the newly founded "International" Socialist League. As a member of the Durban Social Democratic Party, writing entirely on my own behalf, I should like with your permission to open up the question.

I think you will agree that the Durban S.D.P. at least would be perfectly justified in adopting an attitude of "Wait and see" to your suggestion, before effacing its identity in an organisation, one of whose objects is—"to conserve the socialist principles contained in the constitution of the South African Labour, Party."

As a distinctly Socialist Party, with a definite objective and policy, the Durban Socialist Party has never swerved from its purpose and working class outlook, and I think its record of steadfast, class conscious propaganda is one of which any party may be justly proud, considering the many kaleidoscopic organisations which have come into existence and gone out again

If any party more than another can fairly claim to have "kept its international out-look, principles and policies", I think, and you will pardon me for saying it, the Durban S.D.P. may claim to be that party. As an out and out Socialist Party we have more than once attempted to link up the Socialists of Africa in a real party of working-class, but the politicians and the mere Reformits have been too strong for us, and we have failed "to make

The Durban Party has seen many Parties, claiming to be Socialist parties, rise and fall, and therefore its reluctance to merge its individuality in every new party which may be established, may be accounted for. And the fact that the "International Socialist League has split away from the S.A.L.P., on a definite issue, viz, "the see it through" policy, scarcely affords the guaranteee that, at an earlier or later date, the "International" might not again coalesce with the parent body. Let us link up by all means, but first let us clearly understand each other, and just exactly what we each stand for and are committed to.

For instance—the International is definitely "Anti-Millitarist". Just what is involved in this requires to be clearly stated.

Again, no clearattitude as regards what

is known as the "White Labour policy".

If that policy is part of the Socialism which the League is to conserve, it is not in accordance, I think, with international principles and policy, and is certainly not in agreement with the policy of the Durban Socialist Party, and would be a very great barrier in linking up. The Socialist International Party knows, and should know, neither race, colour, nor

What is the International Socialist League's attitude as regards this question?

Now, Sir, these points are not raised to create difficulties in order to keep us apart, but to emphase the need of clearing away antagonisms and open up the way to harmonious relationship and united action.

Thanking you in anticipation, I am yours for united action and effort, and a determined resolve to keep the faith.

#### P. L. CLARK.

We welcome Comrade Clark's frank and friendly letter; the more so as we feel that the doubts raised by him can be conscientiouisly cleared by us. Discussion on these points can be profitably left to our next and following issues and to the League's Durban Branch. Here it needs stating that since definitely severing with the S.A.L.P. the League's object is not to conserve the principles contained in that party's constitution.

Further, the League is working on a temporary constitution pending a Conference which shall definitely fix basic principles and a name, which latter might quite possibly be the "Social Democratic Party". It is only human to get attached

#### BRANCH NEWS.

Durban:—Comrade Percy Baker of Durban sends us a report of the formation of a Branch of the League there.

The first ordinary meeting was held on the 28th October in the old Kirk Hall.

Comrade Petterson was elected Chairman, and delivered an address surveying the position. A Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer with a working Executive of twelve were appointed protem. The meeting tendered a hearty welcome to comrade Andrews on his visit to Durban.

Comrades in Johannesburg will also be delighted to hear that Percy Baker throughout all his wanderings does not forget the Socialist movement, and that he has turned up to put his shoulder to the wheel at Durban. Regret that space demands condensation of his letter. He adds a P.S. "We have arranged to have regular weekly meetings every Thursday evening at 351 Point Road. Will unattached comrades please note."

A meeting of the Johannesburg Central Branch of the I.S.L. was held on Thursday evening last 4th November 1 the Trades Hall; 36 members were presen S. P. Bunting was in the chair. 32 new members were enrolled.

It was decided that the amount of the Branch subscription be voluntary. Comrades Isaacson, Bunting and Ward were authorised to receive subscriptions, and that Branch meetings be held on the first Thursday in the month. Next Thursday 18th November a lecture will be given under the auspices of the Branch at the Trades Hall at 8 p.m. by J. F. Brown, M.P.C. — "Natives and the Industrial Unions".

It has been proposed by several members of the League that a Christmas Camp or picnic be held this year, where members of the League may foregather, preferably at the seaside, in a kind of al fresco Conference. The Lady Comrades committee has the matter under consideration, and is open to receive suggestions.

#### BENONI BRANCH

Benoni Branch has drawn up the following syllabus for meetings in November in addition to the ordinary business.

Nov. 15: - Edgar Davies, Religion and Socialism.

Nov. 22:— T.C. Davies. Why we are Anti-War.

Nov. 29:- B. Fanaroff.

to a name at the expense of principle. But there is no question of sinking identity, it is a chance of enlarging it. In any case, the body that fights and gets maligned by the Capitalist Press, is the dangerous one. It will march on, leaving old names and slogans and disquisitions on "correct doctrine" behind in the cloisters of merely acadamic societies.