THE INTERNATIONAL.

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REVOLUTION AND REALITY.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE WEEK.

The great problem constantly facing the editorial of a paper, small though it is, like the International is how to keep in touch with reality while adhering to the revolutionary character of its propaganda. The pitfall of present problems is to be rebellious but negative. The tendency of constructive propaganda is to become revolutionary but academic. This, in a young movement which has not yet produced its practised writers, is where the wrestle comes in.

Movement. With itself during the past week. It has again come to the fork in the road, the one leading towards a sect of peculiar people, the other towards the consummation of a revolutionary party palpitating with the issues of the working class struggle. By deciding to contest the Fordsburg Provincial Council Election, it has chosen the latter. Once refuse battle, and the fundamental issue on which we have parted company with the Labour Party gets dimmed, and is eclipsed for the time being in the wranglings of two capitalist and a mugwump Labour Party for spoils of office.

The revolutionary character of a party does not Ethies of consist in abstaining from fighting Elections. It consists Elections. in fighting them on a revolutionary issue. True that Provincial Councils offer no remedy, no revolution. We are even getting convinced that Parliament does not either. But the elections to these bodies constitute the only arena yet known to the people. The question for us is, shall the people be left to the false issues raised by the non-Socialist parties? (and among these must the Labour Party be now accounted.) To the best of our resources, regardless of immediate results, it is the mission of the League, whenever men are deluded by false cries, encouraged to expect Edens from Capitalist re-adjustments of their burdens, and to vote again their deluders and masters into prominence and power,—it is our mission and our duty to present to them the alternative of the International and the vast revolution in human methods and outlook which that contains at all such times; and to make that change of outlook the issue in the occasional exercise of the people's will.

The occasional exercise of the will of the people The Sovereign —that is why we call it the sovereign will, it is to be will. supposed, because of its very occasional appearance The will of the people is at a discount just now, "panicked" by parsons, Labour men, Mayors, Corner House potentates, johnies and flunkey, beflagged motor cars, and newspapers scareheads; into the belief that the end of the world is at hand if South Africagis not painted red at the earliest possible moment. This week of chauvinism finds the beautiful dream of International working class unity effaced more than ever by the nightmare of war and hate. The Trades Unions have flung themselves body and soul into the arms of General Smuts. They have deserted the working class in the hour of its greatest need. We can imagine the Mephistopheles of the Ministry of Defence chuckling as they scramble for trips to Capetown, or ape on recruiting platforms the falsities of their masters, and prostitute the sacred name of Labour while the Cause is Crucified, to the end that the workers may be marched to death in no quarrel of their own on the malarial fields of German East Africa.

Adoration of votes. Cises "its will once in five years. The Labour Part y went wrong by imagining votes the great desideratum, not the right will behind them. Given the votes, we could sneak in the revolution while the people are yawning at the Bioscpe. The Trades Unions went wrong because all they wanted were favours from their masters, and so their masters have packed them off as cannon fodder, this probably being the final destination of Trade Unionism by Craft and Crawfordism. Thus have the whole Witwatersrand population been swept into insanity, and four Labour jingoes into what William Morris termed the Dung Market, all for the sake of votes!

That legislation under capitalism is organised Organised violence has been well exemplified this week. The Violence postal issue of the "International" has been held up by the Censor. The clause by which he is enabled to do this is an obscure one in the Martial Law regulations. Martial Law has been withdrawn with the exception of the clause relating to certain and scheduled districts. sent through the post, matter Parliament is a trinket people to for be amused with. The real authority is Jan Smuts backed by Capitalist sanction. The men of England were marched to Flanders a hundred years ago while their common lands were filched from them by law. They are marched to Flanders and German East today to fight for "free institutions,"; and those "free institutions" have already been sneaked from them.

Meanwhile there are indications that those who The Girl I are not wheedled to enlist will be forced to it by left behind. economic conscription—the Old Guard of the Sack will be called up. On the East Rand men are being already discharged and given the tip where to find the recruiting Sergeant. We hear glowing reports of the promise of jobs to be kept open, and quarter and half pay. But if the workers have not already found that capitalism has no conscience,—recognises no scraps of paper un less it profits, they will find out this time. Not coloured labour only, but the labour of women will be exploited and used to fill up the jobs and help find the quarter pay for those at the front. The advent of woman on to the field of industry opens another long chapter in the emancipation of the working class; scatters to the four winds the conventions and the bounds set for women to observe in their enslavement to man; breaks up the home, by Capitalism not by Socialism; and opens up a world of complications for the Labour movement. The men will march to the strains of the "Girl I left behind" with a meaning which it hitherto contained not. And for the Socialist movement it has a longer way to its Tipperary in that the mass of women will have to be educated and organised as well as the men.

Women have entered the occupation of tram conductors and porters, bank clerks and kindred avocations by the thousand in England. There is a demand for 150,000 more. It is proposed to employ women as bank clerks in South Africa, and we are credibly informed that one mine on the Rand has already discharged many of its office staff and replaced them with women. Hail, woman, into comradeship with man. Meanwhile, the bos will look after the kiddies. He is making good profits from the mothers. And the fathers are fighting for liberty, for home and beauty, and Solly Joel.

"The first International."

How it rose and fell.

By I. Wermont.

In 1836 a group of Geman exiled workmen who were living in Paris formed a secret society called the 'League of the Just.' They were concerned in a rising in Paris in 1839, and removed to London. There they met with workmen from various countries in Northern Europe to whom German is a common tongue, and the league naturally began to assume an international character.

Other changes followed. They saw that in their circumstances secret conspiracy and revolutionary risings were of no avail. Their real work was propaganda; but to make their propaganda effectual they must understand the history, position, and prospects of the class to which they belonged. They accordingly applied for guidance to Karl Marx and his friend Frederick Engels.

At a Congress held in London in 1847, they were addressed by Marx and Engels, who were commissioned to draw up a theoretical and practical programme for them. The league also now took the name of the Communist League. The programme was published early in 1848 as the Manifesto of the Communist League.

This manifesto is a revolutionary document giving, in a clear and definite form. the views which Marx afterwards elaborated in his large work on Capital. During the year 1848 many members of the League took an active part in the troubles in Germany, but with little result. The Manifesto however has had a great influence as the earliest and most notable expression of the revolutionary side of Socialism. The International character of the movement is very strongly emphasised.

It concludes with the words: The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Prole-

tarians of all lands, unite!

In 1852 the Communist League came to an end. The revolutionary efforts of 1848 appeared to have been an utter failure. But the movement for improved political and social conditions soon resumed its course.

The events which gave occasion for the rise of the association usually called the International date from the International Exhibition at London in 1862. With the approval of Napoleon III., a deputation of French workmen visited the Exhibition. They naturally fraternised with their English brethren. The result after a time was an important public meeting of workmen of all nations, held in St. Martin's Hall, London, 28 September 1864, when a provisional committee of fifty was appointed to draft the constitution of an International Association.

Mazzini, the famous Italian patriot, first undertook this task, but he did not give satisfaction, and Marx was chosen. Marx performed the duty with great skill, and with a moderation of tone which contrasted strongly with the fiery energy of the

Communist manifesto.

Marx maintained that the workers had not benefited by the enormous growth of industry and of wealth since 1848. He held also that the success of co-operative societies had proved that the workmen could manage their own affairs. As the economic subjection of the workers to those who had appropriated the instruments of labour was the cause of servitude, degradation and misery in every form, the economic emancipation of the working class is the grand aim to which all political action must be made supordinate. This problem is an international one, to be solved only by the combined efforts of the most advanced For these reasons the International Association of Working Men was be founded.

The International was intended to be a centre of union and of systematic co-operation between the working men's societies of different countries. It was recommended that the societies of each country should form a national union. The band of union for the whole was a General Council, having its seat in London. Each country was to be represented in the General Council by a corresponding secretary.

Marx and his friends took the leading part not only in founding but in conducting the International, and in their hands it became a powerful instrument for the formulating and propagating of Socialistic views. At the first Congress held at Geneva in 1866, the constitution of the Association as drawn up by Marx was approved. In the Congress held at Lansane in 1868, the Socialism of the International was explicit-

ly stated.

At Brussels it was resolved that mines, forests and the land, as well as means of transport and communications, should become the common property of society or of the democratic State, to be worked by co-operative societies; and the same societies should control and use the machines for the common good. The reduction of the hours of labour would make a better system of training possible for the workmen. All appropriations by capital in the form of rent, interest or profit should cease.

At the Congress of 1866, held at Basel a proposal to abolish the law of inheritance failed to find a majority. The Franco-German War prevented the Congress of 1870 being held in Paris, as was intended. In the originating of the rising of the Commune, the International had no direct share, but it energetically expressed its approval of it afterwards. It was not a socialistic rising. Its interest for Socialism lies chiefly in the fact that t was a workingclass Government, which tor two months rule 1 in Paris. Its failure, as Marx himself said, proved that the working-class cannot sieze the capitalist state and wield it for their own purposes. They can only take it to destroy it.

The International had, during its career, made a great stir in the world. Many workmen in France, Germany, England, Italy and America had joined it. The press of Europe had given much attention to it. But its real power and means of action, and especially its financial resources, were small compared with the alarm it excited throughout the world. Henceforward it began to decline.

Its last important Congress was held at the Hague in 1872. Here the struggle between the Marx party and the Anarchist following of Bankunin, who had joined the International in 1869, came to a head. The Anarchists were expelled. At the same Congress the seat of General Council was removed to New York, a step which, under the circumstances, meant the end of the movement. It may be said to have ended in 1873.

The Swedish Socialist Party has expelled several of its prominent members for their advocacy of the war and Emperialism.

Socialists say every man has a right to work, even a capitalist.

The workers vote for poverty and get it. Why should they complain?

A country really worth dying for would not need to call for the sacrifice.

No Case.

On Monday last Comrades Bunting, Dunbar and Ivon Jones were hurriedly requested to attend the court, the Public Prosecutor having received instructions to withdraw the case. Bunting and Jones managed reach the dock, while Comrade Dunbar went on shoeing his horses in the Valley. Cramer, the public prosecutor. had a most unpleasant job to perform. "The Crown refused to prosecute," "the withdrawal was made at the request of the Attorney General." "or did not propose a present prosecution." "Of course" he said. "I do not wish to ask for any guarantee, and I am sorry I am not now in the position of asking for a. substantial penalty. Mr. Bunting may smile (as I see he is doing) as much as he likes, but I can assure him that next time I shall press for a substantial penalty!"

Thus ended the great disposer of our destinies, the thunder roared in the firmament outside. And the smile on Bunting's face died away in pale fear as he pocketed the bail money and crawled out of the awful presence.

Cramer has been particularly offensive in his remarks on this case, and it is gratifying to find the "Evening Chronicle," now that that journal has been relinquished by the Labour Party, making a demand for fair play. On Tuesday this paper commented on the cheap jests and vulgar insults of the public prosecutor in court at accused who are not allowed to answer, much less hit back.

The League is no less versatile than it is International. Comrade Bunting has remarked on the fact that the three comrades accused were English, Scotch, and Welsh: The solicitor in charge of the case was Irish. The leading counsel Dr. Krause, Dutch, and the junior Counsel, Mr. Wille, Colonial, of Teutonic descent.

Now that the case against our comrades has been withdrawn it would be as well to repudiate most emphatically the statements attributed to us by the press. From hints received in private letters the account of speeches complained of as sent to other parts of South Africa are even more misleading than that of the Rand Daily Mail. Bunting and Dunbar are credited with saying that those who enlisted for the front were "mentally deficient". The general attitude of our speakers towards those who enlist is to compare them most favorably with those who remain to kill Germans with their mouths. We say that the men who fight in the trenches have the courage of their opinions, though their opinions be misguided. This is only one of the many fabrications to discredit our speakers of which a suborned press is guilty.

Yes, Polly, Socialism will kill all incentive, that is, all incentive to invent new ways of killing people.

Socialist Unity.

Wilfrid Harrison's suggestion.

To the Editor "International"

Dear Comrade.

The letter from Comrade Clark has certainly opened up a very desirable correspondence about suture activity and the relation of the "International" to the old and existent Socialist bodies, such as the Cape S.D.F. Durban S.D.P. Pretoria Socialist Society.

It is pleasing to note a conference is pending to decide a name and future policy, such will evidently clear the many misconceptions, and releive many of us who have endeavoured to establish branches from giving impossible replies to the many pertinent questions put to us about the basis of the League; which so many assume to be divided between War on War and opportunist political propaganda. Without going into the pros and cons of the ideas of those who claim a certain amount of mational sentiment to prevent their associating themselves with the former and the "direct actionists" who will have none of the latter.

There are both those sections in the local S.D.F. which is broad enough in principle and sufficiently constitutional to allow scope for their activities. So, to clear the ground, if suggestions are to be made in reference to the pending conference it is reasonable to ask in the interest of solidarity against the reactionary forces, to what minimum can the constitution be reduced to entertain these existing elements who are a force in all Socialist movements of the world.

There evidently was strong reason for the establishment of the "International" in Johannesburg at that critical period; but it tounded on purely International Socialist lines there is no reason for the establishment of branches where International Socialist organisations exist. Personal experience has taught me that the wiser policy, and certainly the most harmonious one, would be to urge all International comrades into the local Socialist movements, where they exist, and ask each of both the old and new branches to be represented at the conference. What further purpose have we then but to appeal for solidified effort to do in the future, what their old organisatione have done in the past, propagate the principles of Socialism.

Yours for the Revolution.

WILFRID H. HARRISON.

Capetown.

November 20th. 1915.

The International Censored.

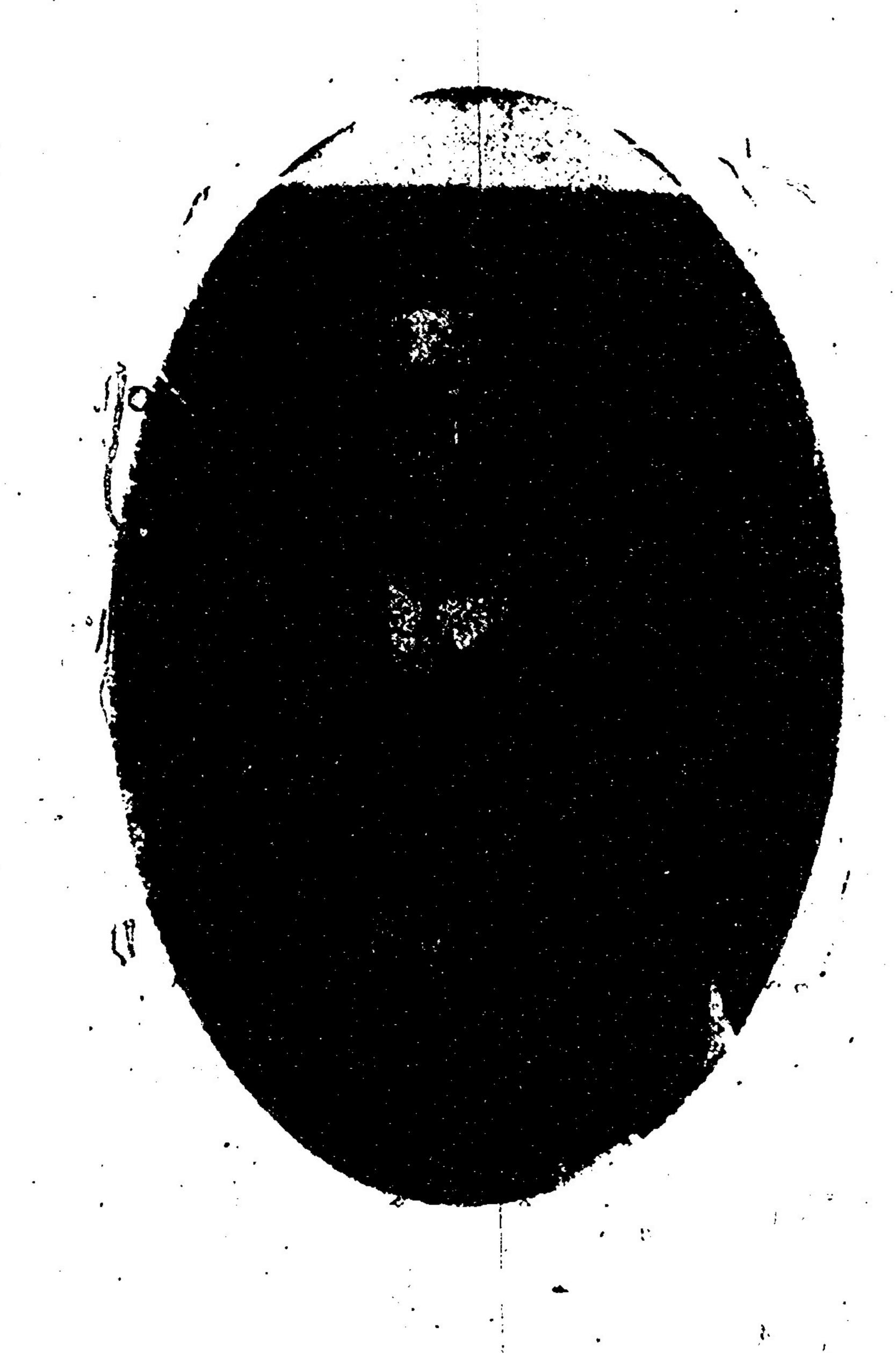
The posted issue of last week's "International" has been held up in the Post Office by the Censor, to the number of about 450 Copies. Under some of those clauses in the Moratorium Act and Martial Law regulations which Smuts delights to slip in unnoticed into all his legislative creations, giving him absolute power in the most innocent provisoes, the "International" is blocked from publishing through the Post Office.

Enquiries at the Censor elicited no satisfaction, unless it were the satisfaction of seeing one of the clerks buried deep in the perusal of the offending number of our paper. Orders are awaited from Capetown, that is all we know. Until definite assurances are forth coming that the Post Office is free to be used by all citizens of the Union irrespective of their political colour, it will be useless our posting subscribers copies. But other means will be found of getting the "International" out to all our friends.

SNAPSHOTS.

IV. A. B. DUNBAR.

Andrew Biggam-or Biff'em — Dunbar is physically fit and mentally efficient: but he is not going to the front (except in company with his prosecutor Archibald Cramer) for if anyone is a Waron-Warite, he is. In fact, he disputes with one or two others the honour of having made the first speech in S. Africa against the present war. A village blacksmith, he also disputes with a quondam boilermaker the bossdom of Bezuidenhoùt,—a suburb which he and his darkling myrmidons have frequently plastered in recent times with leaflets handbills, and even



lampoons. With John Campbell he disputes the monopoly of skill 1 to handle Sunday night meetings on the Town Hall steps of Johannesburg; although, as regards open air Socialist speeches in general, it is believed that John still leads him by some millions of words, this form and send your subscription to "The International" and to just as he laughs to scorn Andrew's pretension to having read, not to say understood, all there is to read or understand about Marxian Socialism. And talking of Socialism and disputation, the privileged who used to attend the esoteric groves of the "Valley Central Branch" still get a headache when they recall the 'debates' between our Dear Sir.— Hampden, the chairman, and P. R. Roux the secretary on the correct definition of Wages.

As a matter of fact, Dunbar's Revolutionary Socialism is only six or seven years old. When he leapt into fame over the Natal railway strike, his brother made plaint, saying "I used to be l known as Dunbar, but now they call me Dunbar's brother". Coming I to Germiston, he was one of the founders of the S.A. Labour Party.

resigning however in digust at what he considered discreditable bargaining away of seats by the Party managers before the 1910 elections. Thenceforward, whether tram strike times or otherwise, The became feared as a bitter critic of the official party (as distinct from his ideal working class party) until he rejoined it last year to help the anti-militarist section; which latter however seceded, with him, the other day—this, time, likely enough, "non rediturus".

Bah! We havent hit off the real Dunbar yet after all. For that, you must hear him conquering a hostile meeting with his adroit and genial wit and humour. Better still, you must know him personally, and work with him constantly in "the movement". Gossip with this industrial Cincinnatus at his forge, or keep him company when the police, smelling out sedition, hale him thence to A court, as 'they have acquired quite a habit of doing, (though only once to conviction) you will find him always the most cheery of comrades, loyal of friends, reasonable of counsellors, good tempered and broadminded of collaborators, dogged and imperturbable of fighters; shrewd hitting of opponents; vertebrate, yet modest withal, of rebels; like Selkirk, "caring for no man, no, not he," but nobody who knows can help caring for him. We forgot to mention that Dunbar does not speak English.

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

If you feel that we are doing the work that matters fill in the funds of the League. Have you friends who should read "The International"? Send us a list of their names and addresses.

To the Secretary, International Socialist League, Box 4179, Johannesburg.

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		•
Name		
Full Address	 	 • • •

Some League Pamphlets.

Marx on Cheapness. Price 3d.

The question of Protection or free trade in relation to the material interests of the working class are explained in a discourse on Free Trade delivered by Marx in 1848. The portions of that speech which are of vital interest today are included in this pamphlet

Two pages from Roman History. By Daniel De Leon.

Price 6d.

This is a critical examination of the dangers that beset the path of the Socialist movement. Historic parallels from critical periods in the history of the Roman Empire are applied to present day conditions, to enlighten and warn the Working Class that it may steer its movement aright. Every student of Socialism should read this pamphlet.

The Communist Manifesto.

By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Price 3d.

Written by the two foremost Socialist thinkers; the "Manifesto," is the most representative and widespread exposition of the historical basis of Socialism.

Reform or Revolution.

By Daniel De Leon.

Price 3d.

Socialists are not reformers. The key note of this pamphlet shows why the working class can get nothing out of Reforms. Once read by an intelligent person he is proof against the Reform craze as an abiding solution of capitalist evils.

The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science.

By Frederick Engels.

Price 3d.

The Capitalist press often laud the Post Office, 'profit saving' bakeries, 'Nationalised Railways, as Socialism. In this book the historic and economic development of Socialism is traced, and the bedrock upon which the Science is based is set forth in plain language.

What means this Strike.

By De Leon.

Price 3d.

It is one of the best paniphlets extant with which to begin the study of Socialism. The strike is used as an object lesson to show the nature of Capitalist Society.

Industrial Unionism.

Engene V. Debs.

Price 3d.

This pamphlet shows that the workers should organis, not to conciliate, but to fight the capitalist class. They must organise to get rid of capitalists, and make themselves masters of the machinery with which they work, freely employ themselves, and enjoy to the full the fruits of their labours.

Johannesburg.

Next Thursday there will be held a general meeting of the Johannesburg Central Branch at the Trades Hall. All members are urgently requested to attend.

DR. BERNSTEIN AND PEACE.

Dr. Edouard Brenstein, the German Socialist leader, has made an important declaration to his Party. Calling upon the executive to review its attitude towards peace proposals. Owing to the sharp division of opinion among the German Social Democrats on the destruction of Alsace Loraine, Bernstein lays great stress on giving the people of a province the right to decide their own fate by plebiscite. A conference of the Party is shortly announced to meet to consider a peace programme; when it is fervently hoped the Party, will reject its previous demand that Alsace Louraine remain German territory and adopt Bernstein's solution. Regarding Belgium, the Executive of the Socialist Democrats are at one with Bernstein in his his bold pronouncement which reads as follows.

"All forcible annexation of Belgian, territory or any interference with Belgian autonomy by any state whatever must be energetically resisted but surther, it must be added that Germany without any provocation whatsoever, as the Chancellor has himself admitted, violated the neutrality of Belgium in defiance of the law of nations, and having thus made her way into Belgium to satisfy her own designs, beat down the resistance of the army and occupied the country by force. Germany is therefore bound in honour to evacuale Belgium immediately on the conclusion of peace, in accordance with the solemn declaration made on April 4th 1914, by the German Ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky, to the English Secretary of state, Sir Edward Grey, and to pay a full and ample indemnity to the people of Belgium for the material and moral injury which they have suffered.

Another League Fight. In Fordsburg.

Ten minutes before the hour closed for receiving nominations for Fordsburg Provincial Council Elections, a few members of the League unconcernedly sauntered into the Good Hope School to nominate Comrade Sidney van Lingen. Although the returning officer had already packed up his papers.

The League's decision to contest this election has not been arrived at without serious consideration. of what is in its best interests. In Sidney van Lingen we have a type of the younger Afrikander school who are awakening to the larger world and its fascinating problems and outlooks. He gave faithful service to Comrade Andrews in Georgetown, was in fact his greatest mainstay. Tutored under such a Gamaliel, needless to say that Sidney van Lingen understands our movement, understands his own Afrikanders and their sentiments, and with his not inconsiderable European travels, understands the world and its manifold strata of thought.

Internationals, roll up and give the League a decent show once more.

The Bacchantes.

From an address by Bernard Shaw.

Many esteemea men had been completely carried away by the fever and the illusions of war. He did not know whether his audience had read that play of Euripides, called "The Bacchæ," which had been so beautifully translated by his friend, Gilbert Murray. In that play there were certain women, the Bacchantes, who became so frenzied, so full of the god Dionysus, as they said, that they roamed about the mountains in a state of ecstasy, knowing nothing of what they were doing, and in that condition they tore the wild beasts limb from limb. The worst feature of all was that they considered they were exalted when they, in this state of frenzy, felt that they were better than their normal selves. The most terrible scene in that play was where one Bacchante, who had been out on the mountains all night in a state of ecstasy, came home bearing in her hands the head of a wild beast. And when she awoke she found that it was the head of her own son.

There were a great many mothers today, both in England and in Germany, who were in a state of ecstasy, who felt that they were doing better than they had ever done in their lives before, who thought they were tearing a wild beast limb from limb. These mothers were beginning to realize that what they held in their hands were the slaughtered bodies of their own sons.

BENONI BRANCH.

Benoni Branch will meet in their new and commodious premises next Monday, Smith's Studio, 14 Lake Avenue, which has been acquired by this exterprising branch. Members will meet in Comrade Krasnick's room in order to bid it farewell and proceed together to the new hall.

Comrade Aronowitz will read a paper on Religion and Socialism, and it is hoped to have one or two members from Johannesburg to attend.

GERMISTON.

Comrade Colin Wade will lecture in the Trades Hall, Knox St. next Thursday 1st December, when All supporters of the League are asked to attend.

EASTERN DISTRICTS.

A meeting of all sympathisers and members of the League who live in Bezuidenhout Valley, Malvern, Belgravia, Jeppe, will be held in Comrade Lights house, 53 Corrie Street, on Tuesday evening next at 8 p.m. to form the Eastern Districts Branch.

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