# THE INTERNATIONAL.

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# THE OUTBREAK OF PEACE.

It appears as if at last the forces which make for peace in Europe are getting strong enough to challenge the might of militarism. Exhausted, bankrupt, and terrified by the growing rumblings of revolt among the workers, Governments are also doubtless advertising the peace agitations in Germany in order to prepare us for an attempt to open negotiations. Indeed, it is given out on the word of fairly good authority that Downing Street and Berlin have already been in communication.

This week's cables have given us a glimpse of the heroic efforts being made by the German Social Democrats in the direction of peace. We will not contrast their efforts with those of our Labouries here of the Dingwall type, who have so forsworn all allegiance to their former professions, that that gentleman was able to say in Benoni last week that an employer was entitled to dismiss any man of military age. Truly the Labour lieutenants of the Capitalists can do for them what they are afraid to do themselves.

But also in comparison with the faithful Socialists of the Allied Countries, we have to confess that there is nothing to approach the intrepidity of the Social Democrats. The cables draw the curtain aside on Liebknecht returning from hard labour in the war area, broken down in physique, but undaunted in spirit, and preparing a series of interpellations for the Reichstag, of which no doubt more will be heard.

We also learn of anti-war demonstrations of women being dispersed by police in Berlin, and the fearless Socialist daily "Vorwaerts" suppressed again, and again for its outspoken utterances.

The Italian Socialist Party is also solid in its opposition to the war, 48 voted against the motion of confidence in the Government his week. Of course, this is reported without the favour bestowed upon the German Social ists. But the time is quickly coming when it will not be possible to exalt the International Socialists of Germany and Austria while at the same time stoning the Internatonalists of Johannesburg.

And England is not behind in the pressure of the working class on the Government. A month or so ago the Press of Great Britain were given the hint not to take any notice of happenings on the Clyde, no matter how serious. We see from the "Labour Leader" that demands have been made on behalf of 200,000 Workers in the Engineering trades for an increase of 2d. an hour. The Clyde men have learnt a lot during the war. Government Commissions and enquiries galore have brooded over them. But they no longer delude. All over England the workers are hitting the landlords hard, and are smashing the sacred idol of rent to smithereens. Strikes against increase of rent and for increase of pay are the order of the day. The workers of England are finding out what their leaders should have told them long ago,—that their real enemies are to be found and to be fought at home.

Then Lord Courtney and Lord Loveburn are awakening the best humanitarian elements in the nation. By one of those strange ironies of political developments, it is the Lords who by thier economic independence have been the most outspoken (or perhaps best advertised) in denouncing the Prussians of British officialdom.

These forces are gradually pressing the various Governments towards peace. The Capitalist Press is doing just now what they have denounced the Internationalists for. We always maintain that our anti-war movements weakens the power of German militarism, by encouraging the anti-war elements there. We were charged with advertising the weakness of our own, but now we have the Capitalist Press endeavouring to mellow the fierce hate and rancour among our

own people by publishing the efforts of the Socialists of Germany towards peace.

For the workers peace will have its terrors only slightly less than war. The enormous amount of capital burnt up in war leaves no room under the Capitalist system for the millions of men who will be turned loose on the outbreak of peace. The minds of men who lead the Socialist movement will be taxed to their utmost to cope with the problems of peace. Nevertheless, it is the hope of many thousands, whose voices are not heard in the rancous din of enthroned hooliganism, that the tendencies are towards an early armistice. Whatever the complications and sufferings which may follow the return to civil life of the late embattled millions, they will be bravely faced and conquered by a working class reuniting internationally. The morn is coming, with a million teardrops on the grass, but made chaste by the storms of night.

# The League Conference.

The Management Committee of the League has decided to hold the Conference on Sunday, 9th January, 1916, in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

It has been found impracticable to hold it jointly with the Picnics during the Christmas and New Year holidays.

All Comrades, whether delegates or not, are invited to the Conference, with the right to speak but not vote.

It is hoped that friends from the Cape will find it possible to be present, and it would give us the greatest pleasure to welcome Comrades from the Social Democratic Federation of Capetown, and from the S.D.P. of Durban, to confer as to the best method of united Socialist activity in South Africa.

The League will also then have to deal with the appointment of a new General Secretary, and other matters of administration.

The Conference will not enter into the laborious work, and perhaps superfluous work, of drawing up detailed planks of a party platform in the old style. The war may brush all these into the limbo of quack remedies. Indeed, at the present abnormal rate of development, both in the methods of capital and the education of the working class, it would be unwise to enter into the details of a policy. But there are peaks arising above the flood, which are unmistakeable, and to these the Conference will point the way.

Members and Branches who have strong views as to the subjects to be discussed at the Conference should ventilate their desires in the pages of the "International."

The tide will soon be returning in our direction, and all men will claim to be Internationalists.

Our endeavours will have been barren indeed if we do not utilize that flow of the tide to make secure—not treasures in heaven for a few—but certain fundamental principles hitherto ignored by the Labour Movement in South Africa.

Things can never be as they were. Unity with the Labour Party is impossible on the old terms.

Do you think that the end of the war will remove the cause of the schism? Then our severance with the old Party was a childish whim.

And is that difference confined to the political field of the movement? It is far deeper that politics. The chasm created in the Labour Movement here was caused by the war, but only incidentally on the war question.

It was merely an index of fundamental disagreement over the whole field of Labour tectics and working class philosophy.

Why should there be a clamour for unity on the political field, while the industrial section of the movement is in hopeless disarray and disunity?

Is it because political unity brings political jobs, and industrial disunity brings industrial jobs for interested ones?

The clamant demand of the movement is, for industrial unity regardless of craft; for true orientation of tactics regardless of electorial reverses.

What is this orientation? That political representation for the workers on the sufferance of the middle classes is a sham.

That political success is a delusion except as an index of economic organisation by the working class.

Theworking class must be boldly told that Parliament can do nothing for them that they have not already done for themselves by their assertion of economic strength.

The illusory blessings of votes must be exposed. Unless we are charlatans riding in popular feeling, we must show
that giving all the votes in the world will not emancipate.

The workers may capture Parliament, but if they leave their homes in the possession of Capital, what shall it profit them.

They may, as Einerson said, even disfranchise the whole of the propertied class, and have Parliament chock full of Labour men, but Property will write the laws.

What then are we to do? Point the way to true methods of industrial organisation. Labour Parties resting on middle class sanction have failed. Trades Unions which periodically bury the hatchet, and are satisfied with the narrow vision of trade protection have not failed, there is the rub, because they never attempted anything, but have become instruments of Capitalist oppression. The working class must be distinctly organised for the capturing of industry.

Further, the workers must be told to cease from tyranny. They must, if they would be free, cease from the enslavement of their coloured and native fellow workers.

The outlook of the racecourse and of the bucket shops, and the methods of the native recruiting bureaus which have hitherto dominated the working class movement in South Africa, and made it an exotic and unreal growth, must be abandoned. Otherwise it will not be a working class movement and cannot demand an allegiance.

Organisation of the workers must start from the lowest fool of a poor Kaffir who works for a baas, and has to crawl to his master more or less like any member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The first demand of the movement must be for freedom for the Kaffir. Abolition of the indentured and compound system, and the gradual but systematic abolition of the Pass.

If these are roughly the things we are learning from the social convulsions of the present, it will be our task to clarify them in our own minds, to find them their best expression to the immediate needs of the time, and to decide on the methods of forcing them on he attention of the rest of the Labour movement. This will be the work of our Conference.

# THE HIGHER IMPERIALISM

From Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound."

What are the spells by which to reassume An Empire over the disentangled doom? To suffer woes that hope thinks infinite; To forgive wrongs darker than death or night; To defy power which seems omnipotent; To hope till hope creates, From its own wreck that which it contemplates. Neither to change, nor faulter, nor repent. This like thy glory Titan, is to be Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free, This is alone life, joy, Empire and Victory.

# THE S.S.S.



The object of the Socalist Sunday School is to keep the world young. We are ever growing old, not in years but in precedents, compromises and "buts." Really, the child should be the teacher, to indue us with its simple trust truth when found, but the jaded grown-up is too far gone in eld for that, and nature won't wait. So HE teaches the child instead.

We were given Day Schools endowed by Capitalism. They turned us into commercial machines for the glory of the god Profit. The aim of Life was success, to be subject to our masters the way thither, and if so be we gained it not, ours was the blest inheritance of being respectable.

And they are still at work, still robbing the child of its

manhood, and the man of his childhood.

Hence we have Socialist Sunday Schools. These will preserve in the child its own natural simplicity. They will give him, not so much the class war and the dscords of men, as a glimpse of the large, enfolding communism of Nature the Mother of All—the crown of wild olive in place of the glamour of mere money getting—a sensitiveness to the joys and sufferings of all breathing things, with a faith that the suffering is remediable, nay, that the whole universe moves, with our aid, towards its elimination. If on learning to think, they also find the class struggle the dominating factor in all suffering, well and good.

The receptive mind of the child is the most fertile ground in which to sow the seeds of Socialism. In the S.S.S. the young idea wll learn the beauty of Truth, Comradeship and Freedom, to help the oppressed, to protect the weak, to hope and work for a fairer system of Society wherein there will be no oppressed, and all may find happiness and fruitful

leisure. In short, the Socialist creed of

#### LOVE, JUSTICE, HUMANITY.

The Socialist Sunday School holds its classes in the Trades Hall every Sunday morning at eleven o'clock. There is also a school at Jeppestown, under Comrade Tyler's guidance; and one at Vrededorp, the pioneer in fact, superintended by Comrade Bosazza. A general meeting of the Socialist Sunday School is to be held to-night, Friday, at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg. Comrades in other parts, pin your faith to the children and the S.S.S.

#### BACK TO THE MANIFESTO.

## Clear the Cobwebs.

What the Labour Movement requires is a return to the limpid, unequivocal affirmations of the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx.

It is vain to look for a Man, a Deliverer, we don't recognise one when we have him.

You complain that Socialists have gone astray,—astray from what? They have strayed from the clear Pole Star of the class struggle as indicated by Marx.

Socialists have set out to fight Uapitalism, and got lost in the swamp through following Capitalism's will o' the wisps, and to-day are rediscovered as Capitalism's flunkeys.

We class war men have so often been told: 'Why don't you adopt the 'New Age' attitude'??

The 'New Age' you will understand, while keeping friends with the Capitalists and the Workers, has dished up a kind of new theology, fancy presentation for aspiring snobs of Marx's mighty and too Tchaikowtskian call to the class war.

It has been discovered that the workers of the Allies have citizenship, not yet very active, 'tis true, liberty, chivalry, and national genius to lose, as well as their chains.

The relic language of a feudal age, this, which no Guild Socialism nostrum can now restore, and which columns of 'New Age' Moynihan's and other ill-fitting bourgeois adaptations can never galvanize into rebirth. "Capitalism," says Marx, "wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal and idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motely feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstacies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that unconscionable freedom-Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and politiral illusions, it has substtuted naked, shameless, direct,, brufal exploitation.

"The Bourgeoisie" (Marx's term for the Capitalist class) "has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers."

The Capitalist class has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relations into a money relation."

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."

The pretenders to the leadership of the movement which Marx founded with his clear clarion call are to-day abetting the bourgeoisie, the Capitalists in the hurry and scurry through blood and hate to acquire the markets of the globe.

Here is Ramsay Macdonald becoming another Moses in England on an absolutely false issue. 'National Defence he consdered necessary, and he honoured the men who had given their lives.' Yes! All honour to the victims of the illusion that National Defence is necessary. Socalism is based on the assumption that the workers have no country to defend, they are the wares, the raw material, the commodities of trade, just as potatoes are.

The Labour movement is grounded on the assumption of Marx. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and chldren has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relations. Modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are too him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests." Ramsay, unless you base your objection to the war on that principle of Marx, you are guilty of treachery to your own belief in "National Defence" and of a desire to get applause by any means,—which 18, with all due respect, the essence of charlatanism. Bathe your mind in the large monism of the Communist Manifesto. Here is the swiftsure exposer of all the shams and illusions of middle class remedies and capitalist deloroform.

Finally, "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation on one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

So there you are. You can go on with your "Abolition of Secret Diplomacy," "Setting up of International Courts," and inter-parliamentary Congresses, they may amuse, but not aincliorate. We shall go with Marx into the root of the matter.

One often hears some men refered to as "poor but honest." Why is it one never hears the remarks, "rich but honest"? There are reasons, one of them being that it is a difficult task to attain riches and attain them honestly.

One absolutely sure way to prevent war is to wait until all the jingoes have gone to the front before you enlist.

# THE BRITISH CITIZENS.

Never was the British name so disgraced as it has been in Johannesburg under the benign influence of the British Citizen movement, alias The Petitioners' Committee, alias the Consumer's Alliance. Women, wives of men with Teutonic names, are walking the streets to-day, driven to that last refuge of the starving poor by the releatless persecution of the exponents of British Fair Play. The other day a deputation went out to a local racecourse from these organised wolves to ascertain if any German out-of-works were given odd jobs there. Wives of the German interned are hounded at the instigation of these "gentlemen." (Oh save us the word). Neither have the Trade Unions kept clean. The Miners' Union has actively agitated through is President for the dismissal of Germans from their jobs, siding with erewhile scabs in their agitation against sturdy members of the self-same Union.

Now the "Evening Chronicle" is still pursuing the same game, exalting the name of British Fair Play among the nations of the earth. When the Gibbon of the future writes his "Decline of the British Empire" he will blame the "Brtish Citizens" for more of the smashing than any other agency.

#### FORDSBURG RESULT.

The result of the Fordsburg election for the Provincial Iouncil is one which, next to the successful candidate, the League has most cause for gratulation

Here are the figures:--

Smit (S.A.P.) ... 331
Hewson (Unionist) ... 263
Van Rensburg (Labour) ... 247
Van Lingen (Socialist) ... 138

Comrade Van Lingen deserves the highest praise for his fight on behalf of League principles. The result has fully justfied the League's entry into the contest. Without being the least disingenuous, we can claim the 138 as a farly solid Socialist vote; and the election is another bluff reminder to the misleaders of the working class that if League princples and organisation have to be reckoned with at this time, how much more so when the clouds of war have rolled away, and the workers are again face to face with the bitter realities of the class struggle.

The trouble with parliament is that there is usually too much parley and too little meant.

If Britain emerges from this war with conscription, Germany will have won a victory.

#### BRANCH NEWS

Johannesburg.—It is proposed to resume the meetings on the Town Hall steps as soon as posible. Comrades should turn up and support.

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The last meeting of the Johannesburg Central Branch was a great success, and members rolled up in force both with speeches and subscriptions. Various matters were discussed, the most important being the proposed removal to new premises. It was, however, decided to remain at the Trades Hall for the present. Several new members were proposed and accepted.

Having outwitted the censor, the "International" has yet another hurdle to jump this week. You will notice a new printer of our paper. With any defects unavoidably attendant on such a change, reader kindly bear; and bless your stars you are not on the Press Committee of a revolutionary paper!

Benoni.—Benoni Branch is going to start Sunday night meetings in its new Hall. Next Sunday Comrade Dunbar will lecture on "The New Labour Movement of the Future."

Durban.—The Branch proposes to hold a Picnic during the Christmas holidays on Salisbury Island.

Comrade Mabbot, the Secretary, speaks highly of the work being done by Comrades Andrews and Hall, in the Town Gardens meetings every Saturday night, and Lectures in the Trades Hall every Sunday.

The weekly branch meetings are also a success. "On Thursday evenings," he writes, "meetings are fairly well attended, at which, after ordinary business is disposed of, questions are raised for discussion, the members taking part with that fervour which speaks, well for the success of the movement. The "International" is sold at each open-air meeting, and the crowd, while calling it a rag, are commencing to look forward to the reading of it"!

## BENONI BRANCH SYLABUS.

Dec. 13. E. Davis. The French Com-

3, 20. Business meeling.

7, 27. B. Fanaroff. Revolution. why not.

Jan. 3, 1916. Business meeting.

.. 10. T. C. Davis. Why we are Anti-war.

, 17. Business meeting.

,, 24. J. Den Bakker. Socialism and Anarchism.

31. Business meeting.

The above meetings will be held in Smith's Studio, 14, Lake Avenue, Benoni.

The ruling ideas of every age are the ideas of the ruling classes. Karl Marx.

#### THE PHANTOM ARMIES.

By H. W. H.

The Press of to-day, to those who have not quite lost a sense of humour is really delightful. We are constantly being told by all sorts and conditions of men that the day of miracles is past. We have been taught from childhood to look with awe and veneration upon the raising of one man form the dead, which was indeed a wonderful sign to the faithful. However, according to our daily papers, there are whole nations who have the power of "coming again."

For instance, at the commencement of the war Germany's supply of horses was completely exhausted. Today we read of Cavalry charges. Then the last line of Reserves (including cripples, blind men and even the politicians) had been called up. Then they were annihilated, decimated. swept off the face of the earth, etc., again and again. Now, behold, they are called up again, vide "Star." The Amalakites aren't in it—neither are Pharoah's horses We are beginning. to understand the idea of the recruiting poster stuck on the cemetery wall, "Wake up! Your King and Country need you," although we laughed at the time, still perhaps there is something in it.

"There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy. Horatio."

## SOCIALISM OR SHIPWRECK.

Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganise itself into the Socialist Republe. The establshment of the Socialist Republic implies a social revolution; it implies the overthrow of the Capitalist system of production, which has become a drag to all further development and an incubus upon the commonweal; this means the placing of the machinery of production, now held and owned by Landlords and Capitalists, in the hands of the people; in other words, it implies the downfall of the system of private ownership in the machines, tools, etc.—and its substitution by public, common, collective ownership, to be operated for use, and not for private profit.

Karl Kautsky.

#### LEAGUE PICNIC.

All Reef members of the League are invited to the picnic of the League on Boxing Day at Jackson's Drift. details next issue. In the meantime roll up and get your tickets so that we may know how many trolleys to get, and make it a jolly outing for the Comrades. Benoni and Germiston, please take note.

#### EMANCIPATION FOR ALL

The Substitution of the Co-operative or Socialist system of production is in the interest, not of the propertiless class alone, but of the individuals in all classes as well.

The same as slavery was an injury to the individual slaveholder, and its abolition tended to promote his highest interests, so is the present system of private ownership in the implements of labour injurous, in the highest sense, even to the landlords and capitalists themselves, and its abolition would redound to the benefit

of these as well.

They also suffer severely under the contradictions that typify the modern system of production: One set of them rots in idleness, another wears itself out in a neck-breaking hunt after profits, the Damocles sword of bankruptcy, of shipwreck, and of finai downfall into the class of the proletariat—the class that has been stripped of all things necessary for production, except its labour-power which lest it perish outright, it is compelled to sell for starvation wages—happy, if it succeed in doing that.

Karl Kautsky.

#### ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

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. 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.

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

Nan	le		 	 
*	Full	Address		

Interesting articles are proposed for the "The International": "How we beat the public prosecutor," by S. P. Bunting, and another by the Editor on "How we beat the Censor" (mum's the word).

Society is divided into two great camps. On one side are the great army of workers, on the other the toll-gate keepers; on one side are the workers, on the other the tools, machines and raw material. To reach the tools, machines and raw materials the workers must pass through the toll gates—rent, interest and profit. Let us tear down the toll gates.