The International.

The Organ of the International League of the South African Labour Party.

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[PRICE Id WEEKLY

"Peace in a Month."

IF LABOUR DIU ITS DUTY,

BY THE EDITOR.

This is not a caption. It represents the firm belief on which we base our attitude, a belief worth all the howling down at meetings we are ever likely to get. Peace in a month if Labour did its duty! Of course there are many men to whom the war is a fine spectacle. They do not want the show spoilt. They howl down Internationalists just as they would an obstructor at a magic lantern show. There are others, the people who own the "Star" and other Capitalist papers who refer to the Internationalists in terms of ancient twaddle, making fine profits out of the business. They also are not appealed to. There are "see it through" Labour Parties out to win elections. They are not likely to respond at present. How inept are all these for anything more than to yelp like noisy pups behind the real combatants!

The Labour Party, or its present dictator, which is the same thing, is obsessed with the dogma that Labour policy must always be shaped on the assumption that the Party might win power to-morrow. Let us admit the soundness of that doctrine for the time being.

Apart from any policy which we might consider peculiarly right for a Labour Party, let us not forget that we in South Africa live 7,000 miles away from the scene of carnage. What higher and nobler office, then, could be conceived for this country at the present juncture in the world's history than that of a mediator in European conflicts, a repairer of the breach between nations? Were the people of South Africa not besotted and debauched by Imperial Capitalism, and by those vultures of trade and finance who profit by the blood and misery of the common peoples of Europe, South Africa might have been united long ago for this magnificent end and a page of glory written in her history in place of the harrowing one of the year that is past.

The same thing applies to other neutral nations. Why is there no loud and insistent demand from these that this colossal inhumanity should cease? Why? If not because golden harvests are being reaped by the profiteers of all countries from this yast and purposeless slaughter.

Failing this work of mediation being undertaken by a nation so well fitted for it as the South African, what then do we propose? We propose the solution that has always been implied in the Labour Party's foundation principles, the solution of The International.

What did Lloyd George tell the Trades Union Congress? "With your help we can pull through; without you we are lost." The German workers are told precisely the same thing.

Now, the Trade Union Congress might reflect that there are two ways of saving England.

There is the one urged upon it by Capitalist Governments—the 'see it through' way.

By throwing every ounce of moral and material support into one side of the conflict, for perhaps another year, to be modest, at the expense of two million British lives, there would be a chance, a fighting chance, of "saving England."

The German workers simultaneously come to the same

decision.

What is the other way? Governments have found that not silver bullets, but the workers alone, can win the war. The British workers desire peace. So do the German workers. Seven hundred officials of the Social Democrats have issued a manifesto demanding peace with no annextions. For them and for us there is no "premature peace." That is the jargon of the Stock Exchange.

The first duty of a Labour Party is not towards the Government. The S.A.L.P. show that. Its main election cry is still attack of the Government. To that extent there is still hope for it. The "see it through" policy is an academic abstraction only to be pulled out at Conferences. The first duty of a working class party is towards the working class parties of other countries. Its place in this world conflict is to respond to peace influences from the German Party and to send them, like the cumulative polar currents of an electric dynamo.

The way of the International is to bring about combined pressure by the Labour Parties and Trade Unions of the world on the belligerent Governments to discuss terms of peace. The Trade Union Congress of Europe could dictate peace in a month. This is the most immediate, the most practical, the most humane and the most sure way out of the present catastrophe, and of saving England.

Why is it not possible? Why was Jowett prevented by the British Government from attending the Berne Socialist Conference. Why have we consorships of the Socialist Press? Let the workers ask themselves these questions. Why?

Because greater catastrophe than the loss of millions of lives, more to be dreaded by Capitalist Governments than the invasion of England, than the subjection of England than the total dismemberment of England, more to be dreaded than all loss of territory and trade, is the taking control by the workers of the making of peace and the ending of war. Once the workers of the world do that, there is no concession they will not be able to wrest from Capitalism. That is why Jowett could not go to Berne.

Just yet, the workers do not see it. The twaddle of the "Star," "Mail," and "Chronicle" is supreme wisdom. But when the smoke of war rolls away they will perceive—beneath the glory and paeans, the grime and the slaughter of the physical conflict—evidences of that other conflict proceeding underneath between the Young Will of the Workers to exercise power over the issues of war on the one hand, and the determination of Governments on the other to keep them supine, bind and ignorant. We are fumbling in the dark for a way out of a charnel house. The door of the International is here waiting for the workers of the world to open.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

An important meeting of the International League will be held at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on Wednesday, the 22nd, at 7 p.m., note earlier hour. Roll up.

Only the word slavery has been abolished, not the evil itself.—Tolstoy.

Election Wriggles.

Mr. M. G. Nicolson said at Pretoria on Friday last that "the Labour Party yielded to none in its loyalty to the Flag."—"The Labour Party stood for the cause of human brotherhood." Or, as Mr. Bigelow would say:—

If we say'n our pletform thet all men are brothers, We don't mean thet some folks ain't more so'n some others;

An' its wal understood thet we make a selection,
An' thet brotherhood kin' o' subsides afore 'n election.
The' fust thing for sound politicians to larn is,
Thet Truth, to dror kindly in all sorts of harness,
Must be kep' in the abstract, for, come to apply it,
You're ept to hurt some folks' interests by it.

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It was either right or wrong to vote against the last Indemnity Bill. The Labour members of Parliament voted for certain amendments to it which would have had the effect, if carried, of suspending it.

Messrs. Kentridge and Boydell are at great pains to prove that they did not vote against it. But the "Natal Mercury"

insists that they did.

Messrs. Boydell and Kentridge therefore offered to pay £50 each to the Red Cross Funds, withdraw from the contest, and not undertake any public office in South Africa, if the "Natal Mercury" could prove its assertion.

The said Capitalist paper immediately wired to the

Clerk of the House as follows:—

I. If the side on which Messrs. Kentridge and Boydell voted on the Indemnity Bill had been in the majority would not the Bill have been thrown out?

II. Did they vote for or against the Bill?

The Clerk replied to the first "Yes," to the second "Against," and the Red Cross is waiting for the money.

The frantic manner in which Labour candidates all over are endeavouring to explain away what was at the time a straightforward and worthy action is significant of the hold which the Capitalist Press has upon them. The same servility to these, their monitors, made them adopt a policy on the war which necessitated the turning down of so many of their former trusted comrades.

The Labour Party is not proud of its "see it through" policy. Since adopting the Bezuidenhout resolution it seems ashamed to make any further reference to that heaven-sent

act of statesmanship. North by south, that is the course to steer now. Attack the Government on a pledge to support it. As for the countless sufferers in Europe, we can't go and commit political suicide for their sakes. Pawns in our political suicide for their sakes.

tical game, yes.

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In their endeavour to boycott their own "see it through" policy, Labour candidates find the deportations still useful. No deportee, however, was good enough to be a Labour candidate. And it is said that some of our present aspirants were mighty men of valour indeed around the Committee of Public Sufety during the deportations.

Truly there is more joy in the Labour Party over one sinner from the Stock Exchange who can "see it through" than over, all the Socialists who can "see through it."

"The Empire is threatened by two sinister elements in our political life. International Socialism and Republicanism."—Jan Langerman.

Mesers. Andrews and Clark were howled down at Mavlet Thursday week; and General Smute was howled the Land of the later. It is not true that the sear a donation to our 'Free Speech Fund.'

"See it Through" Policy Unpatriotic.

Encuraging the Enemy.

The National Council of the French Socialist Party recently adopted a jingo policy. The French Socialist Party is far behind both the British and the German Socialist movement in its adherence, or non-adherence, to working class ideals. What was the effect of the passing of this jingo policy on the "enemy"? The jingo section of the German Party hailed it as justifying their attitude. Their organ, the "Hamburger Echo," we are told, scarcely conceals its satisfaction that so valuable a support should have been given to its position. It has made the effort of the peace section of the German Socialists doubly difficult. The passing of "see it through" policies by Labour Parties have the effect, not merely of strengthening the hands of the Junkers of our own country, but of mailing the mailed fists of the Bothas and Smuts of the opposing countries to an enormous degree in their attempts to smother the Socialist demands for a return to humanity and reason.

We can imagine the pro-war Socialists of Germany conveying the Bezuidenhout resolution, if it were important enough, on a charger to their Junker masters; and the fires of hell would be stoked up with renewed satisfaction and

glee.

What Belgium thinks of "Seeing it through."

At the Special Conference of the Labour Party, as a sort of commentary on the meaning of "seeing it through," the following policy was urged upon Capitalist Governments regarding peace terms:—

"When the enemy forces have been driven out or have evacuated all territory outside their borders as existing before the war, the Union Government should represent to the Imperial Government the advisability of stating terms

of peace," etc

As we are out to defend the rights of small nations, it is to be presumed that their wishes also should be considered, especially in matters affecting themselves. The meaning of the Labour Party resolution is that no opportunity is to be given of getting the German Army out of Belgium by negotiations. What do the Belgians say:

At the Women's Peace Congress recently held at The Hague there were delegates representing the women of Belgium.

Three searching questions were put to the Belgian delegates, and were answered with simple directness and without qualification. These women were asked in the first place whether, if the choice were in their hands, they would prefer that the Germans should evacuate Belgium as the result of a settlement or that the Germans should be driven back into their own country by force of arms. They answered without hesitation: "We should, of course, prefer that it should be brought about by a settlement." They were then asked if they could tell what proportion of Belgians took the view as themselves. "There is not a person, man or wonder. in Belgium," they said, "who is not of the same opinion". But is there not a desire for revenge, in view of what Edgium has suffered?" "Of what use is revenge if Belgium is destroyed?" they answered. "Already a great part of the country is ruined, and what is lost cannot be replaced. but if the tide of war proceeds step by step across Belgium till the Germans are driven out, there will not be a house left standing or a field that will not have been trampled down.

No Belgian can possibly wish for that development to take place."

But the Creswellian policy bars the door to this humane way of escape.

The League's Message to Europe.

A WORLD PARTY,

The Secretary,

British Section,

International Socialist Bureau.

Dear Comrade,-

The above League, which has just been formed, consists of branches and individual members of the S.A. Labour Party who refuse to accept the pro-war resolutions adopted by a large majority at a recent conference of that Party under the title of the "See it through policy." I enclose copy of a reply to that Policy published a few weeks ago by some of our members, also a leaflet entitled "Noblesse Oblige," reproducing with comments the manifesto of Karl Liebknecht and his 700 followers, and of the first issue of a weekly paper now being issued by our League throughout South Africa.

The result of the majority's vote has been to cause a serious, perhaps a final, split in the S.A.L.P., although none of us have so far seceded from the Party except two, who to vindicate our principles, are standing for Parliament in the approaching general election against the Party's official prowar candidates, and who have thought that their continued membership of the Party in these circumstances would place them in a false position.

From the Socialist papers, such as the "Labour Leader" and Forward," which reach us, it seems clear that a more or less similar state of affairs has arisen in most of the other Labour Parties of the world, and not least in the German Social Democratic Party.

What we have looked for so far in vain, however, is news of any attempt to link up these antimilitarist minorities of the world into one New International Organisation to replace the old one which must be admitted to have failed.

Speaking in all humility from this remote corner of the globe, we venture to think that not only does the future of the whole working class movement in every land turn more than ever on the formation of a well-knit, united, executive International Socialist Organisation, but that the brightest hopes of an early peace with honour for all /countries concerned in the present war depend upon action being taken at once to that end by such an organisation. We further feel convinced that the minorities above mentioned, together with parties like the Italian Socialist Party and the Russian Social Democratic Party, which we read have throughout remained true to their principles, form the obvious and for the time being the only suitable foundation for such a structure.

No doubt the difficulties of communication between the various countries are enormous, but we notice that news does from time to time leak through, and we feel, therefore, that with skill and pluck these difficulties should not, even now, be entirely insuperable.

We therefore desire to appeal to you who are more closely in touch with different centres of the movement than we to to give your most earnest consideration to the proposal above made, and if satisfied, as we are, of its enormals and immediate practical importance, to take steps forthwith to carry it has affect In particular, we would ask you to do your ut-was the face it before the corresponding sections in Germany than the last, and the U.S.A. We would even suggest that you invite the Karl Liebknecht if possible to take

Many of a least but considerable compandion at the line of section for the line of section for the least law bear too the least law the least law bear too too it into the least law to law to least law to law to least law to le

which no true Socialist can ever entirely suppress on the subject of war.

The ultimate effect, we believe, will be, not greater disunion in the ranks of Labour; but, on the contrary, a far more powerful and united, because world wide, movement than has ever been attained.

Yours fraternally,

For the International League of the S.A. Labour Party, D. IVON JONES,

Secretary.

Appeal for Unity.

To the Editor of the "International."

Dear Sir,—

"And so help to realise Peace amongst the Nations, Justice for the people, Work and plenty for all men."

These were the words with which I concluded my appeal to the Special Conference to adopt the "via media" resolution of the Commissioner Street branch. There was nothing in that resolution which could not have been accepted loyally by every Socialist and Labour man. But it was not to be. The olive branch held out was spurned and the way out abruptly and rudely refused. I asked for bread, and was given not bread, not even the proverbial stone, but a sword—the sword of hate

An amendment embodying all the evil intolerance of that militarism which we have always so strongly condemned was carried. Despairing, despondent, and dismayed I felt completely bewildered at the studied injustice of it all. All my hopes, all my faith, all my aspirations shattered to atoms. Wondering that such things could happen, after a while awoke to the sense of a still small voice of duty within mach calling for unity, unity, unity.

Young and strong again, the call goes forth, and I must give it voice, come what may. I must utter it, and I therefore ask all Internationalists to side with me and stand together united in one party, and not torn asunder; despite our differences still standing together like one man united and determined for the next big question.

They have wounded us sorely, but these will heal. Scars will remain only to tell the future of the struggles through which we have come.

Fraternally yours,

G. WEINSTOCK.

In a Munich monthly journal called the "Forum" appears the report of a lecture delivered by Frederick Wilhelm Forster, which contains the following advice, which might with advantage be taken to heart by all the belligerents:—

Henceforth we will fight against the lip-heroes, against the crass hatred of whole nations. Let us guard ourselves against our insolent self-applause, as though we Germans alone had anything good and holy to contribute to the world, and nothing to receive from it. We will all stand for a common social work, for the common work of all nations for civilisation after the war, and for the conditions which will make another war impossible. Our soul must begin now to live for reunion, not for hate."

Two Italian Socialist journals have been suppressed by the censor. One of them, the 'Libertario,' has been established over 30 years.

The current issue of the 'Labour Leader' has two blank spaces, the work of the censor. Also an account of a police raid on the clace of the paper, and on the office of the Independent Labour Party.

while it is a state.—Folgray.

Suppressed Again!

As was anticipated last week, the success of our Tivoli meetings have brought their penalty. The "thugs" of the Capitalists, too timid to take action in the meetings, have carried on an organised intimidation of the Theatre Manager. We must give the Manager every praise for courtesy, and encouragement of our propagands. As a result of the intimidation referred to he was obliged to refer the letting of the Tivoli to us for further meetings to the Trust headquarters. Some of the Theatres Trust Directors had also been active in the meantime. In spite of our assurances that we had perfect control of our audiences in Central Johannesburg, and of the Manager's assurance that they were the best conducted meetings ever held there, the Trust has refused us the further use of the Theatre?

Not to be daunted, Comrades Bunting, Ward and John Campbell organised an impromptu meeting near the Town Hall steps last Sunday, instead of the usual Tivoli rally. As evidence of the public demand for these meetings is the fact that John Campbell kept a crowd of three or four hundred listeners interested for an hour in the cold wind on the subject of social economics in their relation to the war. A quantity of anti-war literature was also sold as

per usual.

Fair Play all round.

The Trade Union Congress are good boys. They passed a resolution demanding as part of the terms of peace autonomy for Poland and Alsace-Lorraine. As the "Volkstem" remarks, they are very large-hearted with other people's

goods,

As the TVolkstem," with commendable restraint, however, omits to remark, the Transvaal and the Free State are also conquered provinces, conquered many years after Poland and Alsace, and we are out for "the rights of small nations," dontcherknow. The sun has a definite grievance in that it is never allowed to set on the British Empire. As an instalment towards getting it an eight hours day it might be worth consideration whether after all it be so treasonable for the Africander people to desire a place alongside of Poland and Alsace.

Bobert Williams, the Secretary of the British Transport Workers of England, has started a movement setting forth a demand for peace without annexation as a response to the action of the 700 German Socialist officials.

Mr. Bunting's article on "A World to Win" will appear in our next issue.

Tscheidze, the leader of the Social Democrats in the Russian Duma, in a recent fiery denunciation of that Government. said:—

"The workers have been asking for some slight increases in wages. For that they have been shot. In Kostrom ten writers were shot and many arrested." Similarly the Government has treated the Jews. "Six millions of the Jewish population are placed in such a position that they have nothing to lose but their chains—and the scaffold."

Owing to a prolonged irreligious life, men have become extractioned to organise and establish their mode of living believe, bullete, prisons, and gallows that they innerture their of life is not only normal but that no other is

More break the peace in the name of patriction.—Lol-

W. H. ANDREWS FOR GEORGETOWN.

The great fight of the Election will be the Georgetown contest, where Comrade Andrews will uphold the principles of International Socialism. All those who have that principle at heart should volunteer for service immediately to help Andrews in his lone fight. No time to lose. Comrade Clark is doing well at Langlaagte, with a vigorous Committee.

Breeing Belgium by driving out the Germans promises to be like burning down your house whenever you want a dish of roast pig.

Mr. A. F. Crisp, M.P.C., has been unanimously re-elected Secretary of the Johannesburg Branch of the A.S.E. It will be remembered that Mr. Crisp's pledge as a Labour Candidate was publicly torn up by the last Administrative Council of the Party.

SONG OF EUROPE.

Sing a song of Europe, Highly civilized, Four-and-twenty nations Wholly hypnotized.

When the battles open
The bullets start to sing,
Isn't that a silly way
To act for any King?

The King's are in the background Issuing commands,
The Queens are in the parlour Per etiquette's demands,

The bankers in the counting-house Are busy multipyling.
The common people at the front Are doing all the dying!

Men argue that crime can be kept down only by force, whereas we have only to leave off manufacturing criminals by the various corrupting and brutalising agencies of civilisation.—Tolstoy.

Giving farthings with the left hand after taking thousaurs with the right is called charity.—Tolstoy.

To fight force by force is merely to replace the old violence by a new one.—Tolstoy.

Wherever violence becomes law, there is slavery.—Tol-stoy.

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.L.P."
Box 4179, Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,—

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

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