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Things have come to this, that we have to be at least as suspicious of Prime Ministers as of journalists. Both are puppets of the capitalist class, although individually often more distinguished than any of their masters, just as an attorney may be a more considerable personality than his client, but he is still only an attorney. Nowadays the methods of Press and Premier have approximated almost to identity; indeed the old-fashioned contrast between official reticence and newspaper volubility has been almost been reversed: it is now the press that opens the ball with something cryptic, and the Minister that follows it up with something garrulous for fullminating-both however alike lying, bluffling, prevari-

cating and pettilogging in record degree.

These remarks apply to the current Peace Talk or chit-chat. The pause for instructions last week was so patent and glaring that when the No Peace word eventually came round it carried no conviction of spontaneity, and now that Mr. George has spoken, and a typical solicitor's speech at that, the impression of artificiality is redoubled: for one thing, it has become obscurer than ever what either the German or the British terms are. If however we are right in inferring that top capitalism wants peace, then it is already 'all over bar shouting' (plus a few thousand or million more deaths, what's that?)—and a little Welsh wizard is put up to do the shouting, so as to give the Entente stable a chance to sell out as the Teuton stable had no doubt already got the tip to do, forestalling us, several weeks before. Cynical? Verily, as much as humanity is our prime deason for wanting our bosses to make peace, so much it is the last reason which enters into their calculations: they just make a wilderness and then call peace.' Whenever desired, a week's press campaign will be quite long enough to turn Dubb pacifist; all you have to do is to think of some new ism to divert him from the old ones you had taught him to worship as full of meat and meaning: Krugerism once, now Prussianism. As for the middle class, a few billets for their sons in the new Government industry system will soon quiet them Labour? Why, give it a banana (or portfolio), and in gratitude it will, through its appointed Minister Hodge (ironic name!) at once 'take 'the most drastic measures against' itself, the Boilermakers Society, or the Industrial Workers of the World.

Lloyd George's and his Entente colleagues' pose recalls that of Thiers in 1870 1 under circumstances somewhat similar: Thiers who brayed war in public while haggling peace in secret, and who eventually invited the Hun within the gates to join the released French prisoners in a battue against the Internationalist workers of Paris. The same puny rhetoric, the same criminal ineptitude, the same tragic inequality to the situation, the same insincerity. George's speech, skimmed of abstract nouns, boils down to the usual bid for 'reparation,' alias compensatie—vat you gif me—as the price of conciliatie. It is a hucksters speech.

Give peace in our time, O Lord, because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou O Lloyd. Besides, Major Creswell said that he was for stopping the war whenever the Germans would get out of Belgium and France. Yes, we too should like to see the war stopped this very Christmas, even though the peace, like the war, will in any case be at the expense of the workers. It is time it did stop, to give the Socialist movement its chance of laying bare the class struggle behind; war to the knife might obscure it. Our

task in 1916 has been, and in 1917 will be, to help keep the movement abreast of the times. The methods of capitalism have developed so rapidly that to-day many of our weapons are obsolete: we have doggedly agitated for the most up-todate reequipment. It is now a Germanised Capitalism, or State Enterprise', that faces the worker in every land. Government will find land for cripples, husbands for war widows, three acres and a cow for women who will-marry a wooden leg It will ensure to Labour what Lloyd George calls "all that labour has a right to claim". It will— Pah! Away with the whole tyranny. We workers will make peace when we have cleared the world not of militarism merely, but of Capitalism itself.

The Man With The Hoe.

(Lines suggested by Millet's famous picture—or by daily scenes in Africa?)

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground, The emptiness of ages in his face, And on his back the burden of the world. Who made him dead to rapture and despair, A thing that grieves not and that never hopes, Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox? Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw? Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow? Whose breath blew out the light within this brain? Is this the thing the Lord Godinade and gave To have dominion over sea and land? To trace the stars and search the heavens for power. To feel the passion of Eternity? Is this the Dream He dreamed who shaped the suns And pillared the blue firmament with light? Down all the stretch of hell to its last gulf, There is no shape more terrible than this— More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed— More filled with signs and portents for the soul-More fraught with menace to the Universe. What gulfs between him and the seraphim! Slave of the wheel of Labour, what to him Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades? What the long reaches of the peaks of song, The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose? Through this dread shape the suffering ages look; Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop; Through this dread shape humanity betrayed. Plundered, profaned, and disinherited, Cries protest to the Judges of the world, A protest that is also prophecy. O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands, Is this the handiwork you gave to God— This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched? How will you ever straighten up this shape? Touch it again with immortality, Give back the upward looking and the light. Rebuild in it the music and the dream. Make right the immemorial infamies, Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes? O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands. How will the Future reckon with this man? How answer his brute question in that hour When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world, How will it be with kingdoms and with Kings-With those who shaped him to the thing he is-When this dumb Terror shall reply to God. After the silence of the centuries?

EDWIN MARKHAM.

Acrobatic Adventurers.

A rapid movement is taking place towards international consolidation of Capital in Europe, to eliminate competition and control the markets of the world with the regimenting of the workers — Industrial compulsion which we have no reason to believe will be discontinued at the closé of the war. The large capitalistic and financial interests have reached that point in time when it is necessary to have the backing of the State to continue, as was clearly pointed out by F. Engels in his book 'Socialism Utepian and Scientific," first published in 1877.

The want of perception of these economic forces and of their development by the many blind leaders, political adventurers and wire pulling mountebanks, is befogging the workers of this country and leading them into a cul-de-sac, just as it has been the means of side-tracking the British I. L. P.

The leaders of the South African Labour Party are no exception. A party out to reform the present system, they are not even honest enough to give expression to their own policy, as was instanced by the Administrative Council turning down the mild resolution brought before them at their meeting on Sunday, 3rd December.

That party has as one of its planks the socialisation of the industries of the country, and yet refused to accept responsibility for the following mild and by no means drastic reforms:—

- (1.) To take steps to counteract the activities of the S. A. Industrial League. . . a body which is. . . a menace to other white standards of living.
- (2). . . . Nor shall any member attend any conference of that bod; unless to insist on
 - (a) Nationalisation of Industries.
 - (b) Minimum wage.
 - (c) Hygienic conditions of labour.
 - (d) The enactment of legislation by which the producer will be entitled to a portion of the interest controlling industries (?).
 - (e) Limitation of profits.
- withdraw . . support ? . . from the Natal Sugar Industry . . . and by doing so express its disapprobation of the parasitical methods adopted by the industry in robbing the people etc.

The reasons advanced for refusing

these resolutions were that they would be the means of disrupting the party, in other words would alienate the small middle man, and profit mongering adventurer, who are out to exploit the party to their own individual profit.

How long are the workers going to allow themselves to be led astray by these pole climbers and acrobatic adventurers, not shonest enough to follow their own "will-o-the-wisp" policy.

Let the workers realise that under the present system they are nothing but commodities to be bought and sold in the labour market, at a price, regulated and controlled by the law of supply and demand, that is, one competing against another for jobs. Let them grasp this fact, that any reform, proposed by sa their misleaders, no matter how drastic, that leaves them in the power of the private capitalist or in the position of wage slaves to the State as capitalist is no betterment; that any concession received from these people should be examined very closely. They are not philanthrophist: the old proverb of "not dooking a gift horse in the mouth" dees not apply to anything received from them. It should not only be looked in the mouth but be dissected, and looked at from every standpoint, and it will be found worthless to the workers, and designed to safeguard the capitalists own interests.

Let the workers realise that these reforms are worthless and futile, more especially to-day with this rapid economic development taking place. Let them organise industrially and formulate their demand as a right, not as slaves with cap in hand and eringing servility. The power of industrial organisation is well exemplified by the concession made by the United States Government to the railway workers. They have been agitating for an eight hour day since before 1887; and now by their solid; ity and threat to hold up the Transport Service they forced the Government to pass a law through Congress conferring this reform.

Organise industrially and he prepared to combat the industrial conscription to be forced upon you after the war. Organise on the basis of ultimately taking control of the industries, and do not be content to receive the crumbs thrown to you like dogs. To you, the workers, belongs the

historic mission of taking control of those economic forces built up during the past century, and manipulating them, not in the interest of a class, but in the interest of society as a whole.

J. M. G.

Bosses and Boches--- and boss up!

Mankind is never blessed but always hoping to be happy. In the past he was always praying for a Messiah, failing which he hoped for a good Pope or 'a good Emperor. In these days of Constitutions he clamours for a good Government. This is true both of the capitalist class in its various strata and of that large massirity of the working class that is still socially undeveloped and notivet "class conscious". The best government from the view point of the capitalist is the one that gives him the greatest surplus value with the minimum of Biction. Paul Kruger was a stumbling block to top Capitalism because he would not allow it to put into, full force its up to date methods; the Franchise was only a pretext. The present struggle known as the great European War is a struggle between a small shopkeeping and petty Capitalism and an up to-date Bureaucratic Absolutism, and if they are left to fight it out with no other force butting in the latter will win. "Will win" it has already won: for the Germans have been so successful that they have compelled their rivals the French and British o adont their methods. From which it is clear that in any case the working class are going to lose.

"Tis always darkest before dawn". The more completely the master class organie and demonstrate their strongilithig more possible does in heeme for the working class, the minforced working class, to line up for the final fight. Amongst the many differenses between the relation view and the Revolutionary outlook, not the least is the difference between the error that you can win by gening homocopathic deses of reform presided and the Rossolationary one that the more brutal, aggressive and u.l. the master class becomes the nearer you are to winning. The Top Capitalism of America for example commands less respect and has far less opportunities for humbugging the working class than is possible in less developed countries. Hence the greater commodity status of the Labour Fakirs.

J. CAMPELL.

Roll of Honour.

War shrines are placed in this street and that street, in this church and that chapel, and the Roll of Honour will be kept by all and sundry. I notice that some branches of Trade Unions are erecting a roll of honour in their place of meeting. Now what do they mean by the Roll of Honour? What do they wish to conver? The names to go upon the list are principecipally of the dead. Is is an honour to be dead? What say the Churches, Heads of State etc? These good kind Christian people-I fancy I can see them rushing in their thousands coveting that honour (perhaps). Yet what is this insignificant little speck of earth to them with all its wickedness, the immortality of the soul and the glorious hereafter, that they have been hoping, praying and looking for for years—now's their chance.

Honour! yes, Honour! you working class may have it all, you are quite welcome to the honour of working for someone else,—of being exploited,—of producing wealth and profits for others; the honour of making civilisation possible for the few but not enjoying the fruits thereof for yourselves; and the Honour, of Dying for somebody else because you are told to, or forced to! What say the Labour (mis)-leaders who have sold themselves body and soul? And I feel sure that the Dictators, both governmental and press, will not attempt to deprive you of it.

Looking back through history and tracing events up to the present, what has this honour ever done for you? Has it given you the full fruits of your labour or even better wages? Has it cheapened all other commodities, given you your own homes, in cluding the household goods etc, or secured to you the future without any worry or anxiety? I fancy I can hear you say: 'why ask, look around'; and yet questions unlimited might be asked in the same strain.

Men and Women, to possess the virtues of Love and Justice, and Humanity, in short to be Honest. These things and these alone are worth striving for; your whole organisation and energy should be devoted to their attainment, and not misplaced and misused as it is now on behalf of and for a lot of parasites. Look at the ending of some of the old Crimean and other veterans, how they have ended their days in poverty and want, or in the work-

house, because they just happen to miss that great roll of honour—but noble creatures and heroes still, so say these parasites.

In closing this article I cannot do better than quote you Shakespeare upon the same subject as follows:—

Why, thou owest God a death. 'Tis not due yet; I would be loth to pay him before his day. What need I be so forward with him that calls not on me? Well, 'tis no matter; honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on? How then? Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Honour shath no skill in surgery, then? No. What is honour? A word. What is in that word honour? What is that honour? Air. À trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. Tis insensible, then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it Honour is a mere scutchoen.

BRIGHAM.



Liebknecht's Challenge to Imperialism.

Berlin, May 8th, 1916.
TO THE ROYAL COURT-MARTIAL
BERLIN.

(1) High treason is perfect nonsense for an International Socialist. He knows no foreign power to which he could even think of "giving assistance." He is just as opposed to every foreign capitalistic Government as to his own. Not "to give assistancet, a foreign power," but "to work internationally and jointly with the Socialists of other countries for the simultaneous overthrow of all Imperialist power? is the quint-essence of his striving.

He fights in the name of the international proletariat against international capitalism. He attacks if just wherehe finds it, and where he can give it an effective blow. That is to say, in his own country. In his own country he fights, in the name of the international proletariat, his own Government, his own ruling class, as the representatives of international capitalism. In this dialectical process, in this national class war against war, the international class struggle against war is realised.

(2) If the German Socialists, for instance, were to combat the English Government and the English Socialists the German Government; it would be

a farce or something worse. He who does not attack the enemy, Imperialism, represented by those who stand opposed to him face to face, but attacks those from whom heisfaraway and who are not within his shooting range, and that even with the help and approbation of his own Government (i. e., those representatives of Imperialism who alone are directly opposed to him) is no Socialist, but a miserable hack of the ruling class. Such a policy is not a class war, but its opposite—inciting to war.

Certainly the International Socialist, and he alone, has the right to attack foreign Governments, since he carries on the class war against his own government. But in opposition to this there are to be found sufficient backing, unscrupulousness, demagogy in all countries, Germany included, so that he must consecrate all his strength to attacking his own Government, in order at least to counteract the worst possible confusion.

Therefore, I am not concerned here with the aims of others but with those of the German Government: why, it is my duty to defend foreign Governments against groundless accusations, because untruth should never be spared, and because such untruths serve now, more than ever the wretched object of inciting the people and of egging them on to war.—The Socialist.

Modern Socialism bases its message upon the ECONOMIC PRESSURE OF SOCIETY WHICH IS OF IT-SELF MAKING FOR THE DES-TRUCTION OF CAPITALISM. Mark you, we do not say that Socialism will come, automatically as a consequence of development. We Marxians, our critics to the contary, are not fatalists. Socialism is not inevitable. What is inevitable is the breakdown of capitalist society as a consequence of its inherent contradictions. But the breakdown of capitalism does not necessarily pre-suppose the triumph of Socialism. SOCIAL-ISM ONLY BECOMES INEVIT-ABLE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE CERTAIN COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM WHEN THE WORK-ING CLASS IS CONSCIOUSLY OR-GANISED POLITICALLY AND INDUSTRIAILLY.—The Socialist.

Have you subscribed to "The International," 5s. per annum, post free, Box 4179, Johannesburg.

International Socialist League (S.A.)

OBJECT: To propagate the principles of International Socialism and anti-militarism, and to maintain and strengthen international working class organisation.

P. O. Box 4179

Phone 6035.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg

General Secretary;

D. Ivon Jones.

BRANCH NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL.

On Sunday Andrew Watson disoussed the peace terms. Of course, he said, those in the know will be given time to offload their war stock -the Huns had probably done so already; but, as Lloyd George said when pleading for peace in the Boer War, it is the strong man who knows when to stop rather than go on doling out cheques like a business man going bankrupt. We may now be told that we are pledged to put Russia into Constantinople; we used to fight to keep her out of it. Or Servia may be pleaded—which the Manchester Guardian wanted to see at the bottom of the sea, and Bottomley, in hell. Or Belgium—which, a few years ago, the Spectator said England could not object to Germany crossing, against France. The mission of the I.S.L. would begin, not end, with peace. J. Campbell said the American Reserve Board's discountenancing of Treasury Bills had showed then that peace was brewing—no section of the capitalist class wanted to see the Germans reaching India—and they didn't want a tax on capital in England. The war had given all the Governments alike, through 'Registration,' a hold on the workers, and statistics of the minimum subsistence wages (or food) and hours: but as a State machine Bismarckian bureaucracy had shown itself superior to English shopkeepers' 'democracy' in dealing with Labour, as Lloyd George and Briand now saw. In Germany they shoot officers even. in England and France only men, for breach of discipline. It clears the air if the State is the only boss. The result of peace will be to rig up a tariff wall in Europe against the United States, which will attack Mexico or Canada, and then—another war.

DURBAN.

On Sunday Comrade Rich of Umzimtoti lectured under the Chairmaush p of Com. Silva, taking as his subject "Sabotage". The lecturer dealt with this subject in his usual lucid style and enlarged upon the ordinary conception of Sabotage in various directions. The discussion which followed was of an even higher level than usual and was participated in by visitors as well as the usual debating section of the Btanch.

We are looking forward to the Conference in the hope that practical

propaganda will be commenced as a result of the deliberations of our delegates.

Their Master's Voice.

The lull that followed the cabled news of the peace proposals of the Central Empires was remarkable. The bare news was published at the Coast by means of special sheets without comment. The following day the same news was dished up in the dailies, but the Editor still preserved the "dignified silence" that Rumania was credited with shortly after their entry into the European holocaust.

On a matter of such tremendous magnitude it would be thought our Editors would surely have had some comment to make. Henry Dubb was actually without any opinion on the greatest question of his life time for 48 hours.

Then lo and behold! as though sudden inspiration had seized upon all Editors at identically the same moment, our news sheets burst into flame, denouncing the peace proposals and swearing anew the Editorial oaths to shed every drop of ink before such vile and ridiculous proposals should be for one moment entertained.

The South African opinion coincided in time with the arrival of English Press opinions and in idea with English Editorial idea: which proves how really united the Empire is, but causes one to wonder if South African "opinion" would have coincided with the English one if Lord Northcliffe had decided on accepting the peace terms?

H. W. H.

"Half a loaf is better than no bread" is the cry of the Reformist. That the alleged "half loaf" is generally a few mouldy crumbs the last reconstruction of the Imperial cabinet goes to prove. In the shuffling "Labour" has drawn three seats—the same number as the Cecil Family. A. J. Balfour, Lords Hugh and Robert Cecil count for more according to the positions they hold than the whole of the great Labour Party of Great Britain.

J. C.

Printed by the Elite Printing Works, for the I.S.L. Box 4179, Joh'burg.

I. S. L. Conference, 1917.

A Social and welcome to delegates will be held at West's Academy, President St., Johannesburg, on Saturday, 13th January 1917 at 8 p.m. Tickets, 2,6 each, may be had at the "International" Office 6 Trades Hall, or from any of the Women Comrades.

Owing to the Christmas holidays the "International" will suspend publication for two weeks as it did last Christmas, to enable a hard worked staff to enjoy a respite. The next issue will appear on January 12th.

For the same reason public meetings will be suspended in Johannesburg until Sunday, January 7th, when
C. B. Tyler will (probably) speak at the
Trades Hall.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni:—Meetings every Tuesday evening at Smith's Studio, 14 Lake Avenue. Secretary: T. Chapman, c/o Lake Avenue and Swan Street.

Johannesburg Eastern Districts:—Secretary pro tem: C. B Tyler, 14 Evans St. Forest Hill.

Johannesburg Central:—Public Meetings every Sunday night at Trades Hall, Rissik Street. Secretary: W. J. C. Gibson, 238 Smit Street, Wanderers View.

Johannesburg Western Districts:— Secretary: D. Elk, 23 Ferreira Street.

Krugersdorp:--Secretary: P. Somerville,

5 Vlei Street.

Germiston:—Joint Secretaries W. Prince, Box 64, and E. H. Becker, 54 Queen St.

Durban:—Public meetings every Sunday night at Acutts Buildings. Secretary W. S. Mabbott, 353 Point Road.

ADVERTISEMENTS

Registration of Businesses Act 1909.

The partnership hitherto existing between John William Herschell and Arthur Hildebrandt under the style of J. W. Herschell, motor cycle depot, 137 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, has been dissolved as from 13th December 1916. The said J. W. Herschell will carry on the business on his own account under the same style at the same address, and will bear all liability in connection with the business,

S. P. Bunting, Attorney for the Parties.