# THE INTERNATIONAL

THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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#### AN APPEAL TO THE PROLETARIAT

#### TO SUPPORT THE RUSSIAN WORKMEN.

The Berne International Socialist Commission has issued the following Manifesto on the Russian situation. It should be noted that all the calls to revolutionary action on the part of the European Socialists is crystallized in the one of 'Down with the war! Long live the international action of the proletariat!' The war on war is becoming identical with the international class war:—

"The world war, which was designed to stifle the revolution of the proletariat, has awakened this revolution. Even before the diplomats were able to terminate the slaughter they had organised, the revolutionary consequences of the war has come to pass, and the avengers have risen up, with courage and resolution for the fight. The revolution initiated by the war has spoken its first word in the Empire of Tsarism. Above the Taurisa palace, and before the regiments which have gone over to the people, flies the Red Flag, the banner of revolutionary Socialism, which, shamefully disowned by many of its former bearers, seemed unlikely ever to be raised again. And this fact alone has raised a panic among the ruling classes of every country. With anxious fear they follow the development of the internal situation in Russia and await its consequences in other States. Every day brings them news which increases their confusion. What they thought at first was merely a coup d'etat of the Liberal section, they are now beginning to realise is the culminating point in the struggle of the proletariat supported by the Army, a struggle which, beginning in Parliamentary action, has been carefully and indefatigably developed into a pure revolution of the people, and which puts forth the general symptoms of European revolution, such as each country knows from its own history. The Russian bourgeoise, after having been obliged to adopt the revolutionary method, is now endeavouring to snatch victory from the working classes.

#### A FIRST CLASS STRUGGLE

has already broken out within the Russian movement for freedom. The Liberal representatives of the bouregoise, supported by the leaders of the Army, are trying to misuse the revolution for their own aims. Hardly free from the bloody yoke of Tsarism, the people who have won liberty for themselves are to

be subjected to another system, the thumbscrew of so-called civil order. The bourgeois Press in the Allied countries incites the members of the new Russian Government to spread the flames of the bourgeois counter-revolution. The most determined opposition to the demands of the proletariat is the solution which 'democratic' England and France urge on the statesmen that have come into power in the new Russia. The Russian bourgeoise, for its part, is ready enough to accept the suggestion. It is using every means to prevent the further development of the revolution, to moderate it and to limit its social significance. . . Will the revolution kill the war, or will the war kill the revolution? The answer to this question depends on the attitude of the proletariat of Europe in these days of universal trial. . The ruling classes in every country are united in their opposition to the movement for freedom which has won its first victory in Russia. . . By their side they have the Patriot-Socialist leaders of the proletariat, those humble servants of the ruling classes and of their imperialistic policy The French, English and Italian Patriot-Socialists are endeavouring to win over the Russian proletariat to a truce with the bourgeoisie in order to safeguard the prosecution of the war.

## AN INTERNATIONAL RALLY AGAINST WAR.

Representatives of the English labour movement, with unexampled cynicism, ask the Russian workers to abandon the class struggle and to direct all their energies towards the so-called destruction of Prussian militarism. We see equally shameful action in Germany. Afraid that revolution might deal the party truce a destructive blow, the German Patriot-Socialists slander the Russian revolution. They represent the victorious uprising of the people as a change which was desired and brought about for the purpose of carrying on and intensifying the war.

The real effect of the Patriot-Socialists' policy will be the securer fastening of their own chains, and the endangering of the revolutionary achievements of other countries.

"The moment has come for the proletariat to take action in the name of the social and political liberation of its own country, for a powerful international fight against the war. For that reason all must rally to protect the Russian revolution. All must rally against reaction, against imperialism, against the war, for an immediate armistice, for the peace of the nations. Townspeople and countrypeople, workers in and out of uniform—fight the revolutionary fight, for bread, for freedom, and for peace! Down with the party truce, down with the war! Long live the international action of the proletariat! Long live the Russian, long live the international Socialist revolution.

#### Making Militarists of Young South Africa.

A determined and wholesale attempt is being made just now to turn all school boys into young militarist prigs strutting about with weapons of murder. Hitherto the pressure has been confined to the secondary schools, but now all the boys able to shoulder arms from ten or eleven years are being cajoled or bullied to don the cadet's uniform and go through the evolutions of killing their own fathers or someone else's father.

Legally, only a letter from the parent is necessary to exempt a lad from cades drill. But the framers of the Defence Act knew the insidious poison with which they were dealing, and the power of ridicule to compel a boy to fall in with the rest of his schoolmates. Even when the parents are dead against their boys participating in cadet drill, and even when the boys themselves are averse to it, the burden of ostracism and torment from the other lads, no doubt winked at by the teachers, is more than what should be placed on the shoulders of ones so voung. On the other hand, one boy holding out from cadet drill is a menace and a thorn in the side of militarist teachers. Hence their anxboys should be encouraged to band to-Anti-militarists to help one another to meet the annoyances and torments placed in their way by the teachers of Jingoism.

With the seizure of the means of production by society, the production of "commodities" (for sale) is done away with, and along with them the domination exercised by the product over the producers. The struggle for individual existence would be at an end. Thereby for the first time man would, in a certain sense, step finally out of the animal kingdom, out of the brute condition of existence, into those that are truly human.

FREDERICH ENGELS.

#### The Arrivists.

By J.M.G.

Movement just now, when everything is pointing to its making good in the very near future, is those nondescript individuals on the verge of the movement, persons who have done notking to help the movement, have held aloof from assisting in the propagation of Socialist ideals, have raised no protest against the war, but who court the limelight of popularity and endeavour to establish themselves as leaders.

The French have very aptly styled these opportunists the "Arrivists," that is, persons who arrive and enter any movement when they see a likelihood of its becoming popular. These persons try to gain notoriety by their glib tongues and oily speeches, weavers of words with no intellectual knowledge of the fundamental principles" of the movement.

We had a fair example of these opportunists in Johannesburg last week. when a number of nondescripts called a meeting of Rand Socialists to elect a delegate to the Stockholm Conference. The speeches delivered by these persons showed a want of knowledge of the basis of Socialism. They were all very sentimental and dilated on the horrors of the war, horrors that are no worse than the dreary, slow grinding to death of millions by our capitalistic system of production for profit. They displayed no knowledge of the economic antagonisms that are the outstanding feature of our present form of society. One speaker was strong against Monarchy and wants a Republic, failing to see that whether we have a Constitutional Monarchy on the lines of Great Britain or a form of Republic such as that in France or the United States of America makes no difference to the workers while the tools of production and distribution are in the hands of the capitalist class. These implements of production being in the hands of the minority of the members of society, the majority are thereby compelled to be dependent upon the minority for the right to live, thus creating a system of wage slavery. The same speaker on another occasion displayed his ignorance of the economics of labour by stating that they could tax the shirt off the worker's back, overlooking the fact that millions of the workers have no shirts to their backs. He was evidently ignorant of the most elementary fact that the mass of the workers don't pay taxes, but are robbed in the factories and workshops, their wages being fixed by economic laws. The other speakers displayed the same ignorance; their speeches were simply sentimental claptrap palavers, which unfortunately appeal to a section of the workers, thereby becoming a danger to the movement for the emancipation of the workers from the enslaving, brutal. ising system of society founded on individual ownership in everything necessary to produce the necessaries of life.

These Arrivists will grow in numbers as the vital point in time approaches, and it behoves the workers to gain some knowledge of the forces that are

shaping the destiny of humanity, forces that are driving the ruling classes of all countries along a definite, line of action irrespective of their will, and will force the workers of all countries to unite to combat organised international capital. To combat these side-tracking Arrivists the workers of all countries must disabuse their minds of the fallacy of attempting to reform society as at present organised. Any reforms that leave in the hands of a minority the essential tools for the production of everything necessary to the lives of the mass of the people are futile.

The war has brought about the opportunity to end this system. The Russian workers have given a lead to the workers of other countries. They are blazing the way towards the establishment of Social Democracy. They recognise the necessity for the abolition of the present system of private ownership and are putting up a strong fight against reforming and other misleading nondescripts who are attempting to lead them astray by reactionary tactics in favour of law and order.

All changes of past phases of society have been by revolution, more or less violent, and it is very evident that the workers will have to fight to overcome capitalism. But the more the workers are imbued with a consciousness of the meaning of the struggle and the ultimate objective, the less violent will the struggle be. The workers must ignore the many misleaders; they must lead themselves in the only war that matters, the war against a system of society that has never shown any gentleness or consideration for its fallen victims, has shown no quarter to any who have fallen by the wayside. In taking up the gage of war against the present system the workers of each country make common cause against the only enemy that matters, and by so doing end the system. "All things having a beginning in time must end in time," and just as other phases of civilisation have come and gone, so our present form must go and give place to another. It is the workers' historic mission to give the death blow to the present degrading system. The revolutionary spirit has permeated the Russian workers; it is gradually permeating the workers of other countries, and must lead to the downfall of the present ruling class.

The great danger to the movement is these Arrivists. There is every promise to-day of making good in the near future, and it is hoped the workers will not be misled by such futile slogans as "Down with the Monarchy" and other parrot cries, but will consciously arganise for the destruction of the most degrading form of society inflicted upon humanity.

The turning of the people into proletarians, the concentration of capital in the hands of a few who rule the whole economic life of capitalist nations, none of these trying and shocking effects of the capitalist system of production can be checked by any reform whatever that is based upon the existing system of property, however far-reaching such reform may be

KAUTSKY.

#### Dives and Lazarus.

These lines, printed in "Justice" many years ago, and issued as a leaflet by the S.D.F. of Great Britain. We have often heard snatches of them repeated, and think our readers will be glad to get the full version. "Justice" reprints them apropos of a statement that the rich should confine themselves to luxuries so that the poor may have more of the necessities during the present famine in England.

Did you ever hear of Dives, who lived in Palestine?

A marvellous rich man was he, well clothed in superfiine.

His table groaned with wealth of food, his wines by gallons ran;

No wonder he grew sleek and stout, just like an alderman!

Another man named Lazarus, homeless and sick and poor,

In hopes to beg the rich man's crumbs, lay at the rich man's door;

He heard the sounds of mirth within, but not a friend had he,

Except the dogs, who licked his sores in silent sympathy.

You'll think it strange that such a thing could happen here below,

But this was in a far-off land and a long while ago.

Now Dives daily feasted and was gor-geously arrayed,

Not at all because he liked it, but because 'twas good for trade;

That the people might have calico, he clothed himself in silk.

And surfeited himself on cream that they might get the milk;

He fed five hundred servants that the poor might not lack bread,

And had his vessels made of gold that they might get more lead.

And e'en to show his sympathy with the deserving poor.

He did no useful work himself that they might do the more.

You'll sthink this very, very strange, but then of course you'll know,

'Twas in a far-off country and a long while ago.

Poor Lazarus at length became too weak with death to strive—

He was evidently not one of the fittest
to survive—
So one freety night about a guarter

So one frosty night, about a quarter past eleven.

He looked up at the silent stars, and died, and went to heaven.

Now Dives too was waxing old, and presently fell ill,

Whereon a lawyer was called in to make a mighty will

And when Dives' sons and daughters came to hear his last farewell.

He hade them follow in his steps, then died—and went to hell!

I don't think God would venture now to treat a rich man so, But this was such a dong way off

-and so very long ago!

-ERNEST BILTON.

Only fools fear crime. We all fear poverty.—G. B. Shaw.

# More about the Russian Revolution.

Now it appears from a back page of the "Star" that an all Russian Congress of Workmen and Soldiers' Delegates is being held at Petrograd, 1,200 delegates are attending, each delegate to represent 25,000 to be entitled to vote. Whether 2,500 or 25,0000 (the Capitalist Press often drops or adds a cipher), it will represent the great dominating factor in Russia. The Provisional Government is invited to attend!!

The Frankfort Socialist paper, the 'Volkstumme,' says that the Socialist demand for the immediate election of a National Assembly 'Condemns the Imperialistic majority in the Duma to dig its own grave; for the Cadets and Octobrists themselves can scarcely doubt that in an election, wherein the men from the trenches take part, the candidates of the war parties have but poor hopes of victory!!

"In the "Berliner Tageblatt," quoted by "The Cambridge Magazine, a writer named Vorst describes the Social Democratic Party in Russia as issuing a manifesto which well demonstrates its international character:—

"The Government" (so runs the manifesto), ... 'leagred with the capitalists and the owners of property, and supported by the majority of the Duma, carried on a foreign policy: that was bound sooner or later to bring Russia into war. In Persia. Mongolia, Manchuria, Turkish Armenia, in the Balkans, Galicia, and Hungary, Russian diplomacy spun å net of intrigue, rattled the sword, annexed territory wherever possible, and did everything to arouse the subjegt peoples. After Russia had driven the Balkans to war, she demanded, and she secured, from her ally France, a great addition to her army, awoke the military fever of the French bourgeoise and so hastened the moment in which the clash between their own intrigues and the equally unscrupulous intrigues of German diplomacy was bound to set the world on fire."

Vorst points out that this Party does not wish to reform the Army administration, but to have done, once for all, with 'militarists and plundering Imperialists,' It distrusts the war: 'If, with the help of the Duma, Russia succeeded, under a responsible Government, in driving the enemy over the frontiers, a? new attack would spring out of the defence, and lead to wild schemes of annexation.' The propertied class,' they gay, now patriotically opposed to the Government are not less permeated by Imperialist and aggressive desires and not less determined on two aims, first to increase their external power and then in this way to strengthen their dominion over their own people.' Moreover. the Social-Democrats do not believe that a victory over Germany in the field is possible. The victorious German Imperialism cannot be arrested by force of arms. Only one power can bar its path to further victories. That is the power of a national Revolution."

These Social Democrats of Russia are therefore appealing to the Socialists of all countries, including the German proletariat, to 'end the war together,' and the manifesto closes with the words 'Down with war! Down with militarism! Long live the International Union of the Proletariat! Long live the International Constituent Assembly!'

#### Triumphs of the Prses Bureau.

The British Press Bureau goes on from strength to strength. Last week it got the Seamen's Union to nominate Tom Mann as a delegate to the Russian workmen. Next day the Seamen's Union were going to arrest Ramsav Macdonald and Jowett if they attempted to leave England. Next day the Seamen's Union were found in Trafalgar Square holding a huge protest against sending delegates to Stockholm and Russia. Next day Tom Mann was holding an anti-war meeting, and got it smashed up. Next day, in recognition of its ability, the Russian Council of Workmen employed the British Press Bureau to draft its reply to the German offer of an armsitice. This the Press Bureau did in the best 'Daily Mail" jingo journalese.

# Keeping the Labour Party Holy.

"The Rand Daily mail" is again the paper of the workers. It has decided to elect several Labour Party candidates to office at this election. This week its pages teem with the statesmanlike utterances of Dan Dingwall, Jack Gow. Jimmy Green, and other giants of Labour. It is quite evident that the capitalists cannot afford to have the Labour Party defeated. At first the Unionists made a determined attempt to win the Rand at this election. They probably will. But they are being held in leash by the Higher Command. The Labour Party must be kept alive by the artificial oxygen of press publicity at all costs. The fact must be hidden from the workers of the Rand that it is no longer a party of the working class, that all or nearly all the Trade Unions have ceased to be affiliated with it, that its candidates are mainly of the small shopkeeper or commission agent fraternity, or of ex-workingmen who have mysteriously fallen on better days, or have gained lieutenancies, commissions, captaincies in the grand South African boodle campaign up East. Soon. the workers will discover that the Party of the workers they used to vote for is no more, that they are voting for a fighting name, given to it by the Socialists. But the name is useful to the capitalists. The capitalist Press appoints its leaders, and decides which shall win and which shall lose.

He knows nothing, and he thinks he knows everything. That points clearly to a political career.—G. B. Shaw.

#### Strike Against Conscription

New Zealand Miners out.

A great coal strike of the New Zealand Coal Miners against the Conscription Act was in progress in April, Strike leaders were being arrested wholesale, bail and trial by jury refused, the men kidnapped by the police and whisked away without warning from their families. According to the "Maeriland Worker" to hand this mail, the strike was initiated by the rank and file in many cases against the wish of their officials. Under the War Regulations the public opposition to the Act has been smothered by repressive measures of a most Prussian character, and the Labour movement in New Zealand has been finally driven to adopt the one form of protest which the New Zealand Junkers can understand. The strike ballots in some instances showed a majority of more than tento one in favour of downing tools. The Capitalist Press screamed "treachery" and spread lies, but the mass of organised labour was behind the Coal Miners. Last December the authorities stored up stocks of coalin anticipation of a strike against conscription. At the time of publication, April 25th, "The Maoriland Worker" states there was only three weeks supply of coal on hand. The Waterside Workers were with the Coal Miners, and on the verge of striking. The men demanded Parliament to meet to repeal the Conscription. Act and the obnoxious War Regulations, under which every vestige of liberty is filehed from the people. The Australian Miners were keeping the ring by declaring all coal to New Zealand "black." Cabinet Ministers were touring the strike areas to no purpose, and the men seemed determined to hold out. Here are the terms of a resolution under which one district of the Coal Miners' Union struck work:-

"We, the members of the Denniston, Millerton, and Stockton Colleries' Industrial Union of Workers, enter our protest against the Conscription Act by cessation of work, s and demand the immediate repeal of the Act. We wish to state that we have no quarrel with the companies whatever. In the present instance the issue of conscription alone, and nothing else, but the conscription strike, has nothing to do with recent arrests, or the adverse decision of the. appeal fases, nor is it the result of the failure of recent negotiations with the mine owners."

It will be interesting to know the result of this upheaval, news of which has been so sedulously kept from us by the Capitalist Press.

And the same as the modern aids to science and art are far superior to those of thousands of years ago; and the same as the modern domain of civilisation exceeds prodigiously the small territory of ancient Greece, so will Socialist Society, the Socialist Republic, the most brilliant community that history has yet brought forth, excel all others in moral greatness and material well-being.

DANIEL DE LEON.

### The Election Campaign.

#### Benoni.

The I.S.L. campaign has gone well in Benoni. What we lack in Press publicity has been made up by the distribution of literature, and open-air meetings have made up for the lack of halls. Last Friday Comrade Andrews was given an impromptu tea reception by the conrades at the I.S.L. Hall in Lake Avenue, when songs from the children and talks from the grown-up beguiled a pleasant evening. On Saturday our meetings at Boksburg North and Benoni were hindered by the cold rains. On Sunday Comrade Andrews addressed a meeting in the I.S.Li. Hall, and Tuesday another open-air meeting at Boksburg North, when Comrade Andrews was supported by Comrades Den Bakker and Gideon Botha, who spoke in Dutch. There was a good attendance and a good hearing given to the speakers. So good in fact that the chief police officer informed Comrade Andrews that the open-air meetings might tabe stopped. On Wednesday we followed up with another open-air meeting at Perry's Corner, Benoni, when Comrades Andrews, Colin Wade and W. Light filled the bill: To-night, Friday, a meeting will be held at Putfontein, and on Saturday open-air meetings will be held at Boksburg North and Benoni. when Comrades Forrester Brown, Sydney van Lingen, Barendregt, Colin Wade, Dunbar and others are expected to speak. On Sunday the Empire Bioscope has been secured for a meeting. at which George Mason has promised to speak, in addition to the other speak-

Comrade Andrews can claim that he has created a flutter in the dovecots of the Labour Party by his entry into the fight. The Unionist candidate complained at a Savoy meeting that Andrews knew only one flag, the Red Flag. To his surprise this was greeted with a round of applause.

The trump card of the Labourite is one that they need not be proud of; the native policy of "The International" is trotted out to rouse the prejudice of the workers against colour and to scare them off voting Andrews. But we are not ashamed of our native policy, and Andrews has lucidly expounded it at his meetings. The Labour Party betrays itself as a catch vote when it resorts to these appeals.

All the comrades are asked to put themselves in readiness to help on Wednesday, the day of the election.

#### Johannesburg Notes.

The Provincial Council Election is temporarily occupying the most of our attention. A careful canvass among the working class electors continues to show encouraging results and also indicates that our usual Sunday night open-air meetings have at one time or another made most of the inhabitants of the district acquainted to some extent at least with the meaning of Revolutionary Socialism, and further, that numbers of electors are beginning to feel, however dimly, that the revolution is coming in our day.

On Sunday afternoon Comrade W. H. Andrews assisted the local candidate at an open-air meeting at the corner of Fox and Mooi Streets.

On Sunday evening Comrades Jones and Bunting spoke out of doors to a very large if somewhat turbulent audience, and afterwards the Trades Hall was packed to hear a "symposium" on the subject "Why vote Socialist." Comrades Israelstam, W. Reid, Dunbar, McLean, E. F. Gelman, Bunting, and others spoke to one of the best meetings we have ever held.

All comrades willing to assist in the last stage of the election campaign are requested to attend at S. P. Bunting's office, 104, Commissioner Street, tomorrow, Saturday evening at 8.15 p.m.

#### The Stockholm Conference

The state of affairs with regard to the Stockholm Conference is obscure. Probably after the dishing of the attempt to send a mugwump delegate by a nondescript committee, and after the placing of the matter in the hands of the organised bodies responsible, the Press cables do not allow us to know all that is going on. However, the Secretary of the League has got into communication with the S.A. Industrial Federation, in accordance with the resolution carried at last week's meeting that the industrial movement of the workers in conjunction with the I.S.L. should provide credentials for Stockholm. The Federation Executive were already discussing the matter, and a Delegate's Council of the Federation will be held next Sunday to discuss the matter. We do not expect that the Federation Delegates will decide to send a delegate right away, but it will now, we hope, be a matter for consideration until a South. African delegate goes. In any case it has been ensured that the delegate will be sent by an organisation of the working class when he does go.

The cable rumours that the Stockholm Conference is declared off should not influence the discussion of the matter, as invitations are said to be issued for a Conference in Switzerland in September. This will give time to thrash out the issues involved. In the meantime donations to the scheme are being received and promised, which will be placed in a special fund. The following are acknowledged:— A.B.D. £2, W.C. £2, W.M. 10s., I.N. 5a., J.G. £1, A.C. £1, B. 2s., S.I. 10s., B.L. £1, M.B. 2s. 6d., J.G. £1, B. 5s., J.N. £1, R.K. 10s., B.M. 10s., R.R. £5, J.A. 10s., D. 5s., W.S. £1, J.O. 10s. Arrangements for the appointment of a special Treasurer and Secretary, will be announced after the elections.

No man is good enough to be another man's master.—G. B. Shaw.

I have a mind, says he, that balances in any direction that the public requires. That's wot I calls a well-balanced mind.—Artemus Ward.

Englishmen will never be slaves; they are free to do whatever the Government and public opinion allow them to do.—G. B. Shaw.

The pacifist's so in love with life he's willing to die to get it. But he's not willing to kill to get it. No nation has ever yet tried the experiment of sending an unarmed army of friends into the country of an armed enemy. It would be an erratic thing to do. But that's why it would be successful. The sane people have had their day. And a long and bitter day. They've made a mess of it. Let's give the fools their chance.—Horace Traubel, in "The New York Call."

Nature neither recognises flags nor frontiers.—G. B. Shaw.

#### I.S.L. Literature.

To understand the tremendous developments of our times, the War and its origin, the Russian Revolution, read the works of the great Socialist writers. Send for list of readable pamphlets.

"THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" of Marks and Engels.

"THE CLASS STRUGGLE," THE WORKING CLASS," "The CAPITALIST CLASS," "THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC," by Karl Kautsky.

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