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Mr. Lucas on Class Bitterness.

His friends who heard Mr. F. A. W. Lucas' fascinating address on "The present discontent in England" last week must have been gratified at his reappearance with undiminished anti-war fervour.

But is it enough to be anti-war? Lloyd George was anti-war, and did well for himself. Is ours also that fleeting pacifism.

Is it not possible to dig down to a universal cause that will not only explain war and all man's inhumanity, but trace for us the true future development along which mankind must emancipate itself.

For the working class will emancipate mankind not along ideas laid down by individuals—the outlook would be hopeless indeed if it had to do that,—but along the stream of enevitable evolutionary forces. Shall we worry the movement with the derelict ethics of the past, or guide it into that stream?

These questions are asked because Mr. Lucas, in closing his lecture, deplored "the growing class bitterness" evinced in the present discontent in England.

The morality which Capitalism has raised to buttress its power dies hard within us, and dogs our footsteps far into the Socialist movement. It contrives even to make the dawn of love appear bizarre and uncanny. Why class antagonisms should be specially deplored as vile when national antagonisms are bathing Europe in seas of blood, and are accepted as glorious, passes the comprehension of this paper's proletarian "we."

It is true that demands for an extra sixpence an hour lack moral elevation. But where in the whole wide region of history can you find anything to approach that elemental ethic which makes Birmingham porters for instance take the sack rather than handle goods for a strike in Dublin! Yet this is the class feeling most reviled.

In truth, what Capitalism calls class bitterness is nothing less than the "class solidarity" of the workers; that communism of the exploited breaking all barriers of race and caste.

Liberalism's function was to veil class antagonisms in order that trade might proceed smoothly under the fraudlent pretence of "liberty, equality and fraternity." Is our Socialism that ill-defined thing; or is it really going to be brought about by the oppressed class, who are the people, in fact?

Do we believe that the present bondage can be reformed by gradually increasing the equation between wages and profits say from one-half to two-fourths, and threesixths, and so on to four-eighths, and call that emancipation?

Or are we to perceive in the travails of the present the formation of a new social organism of the workers which, when the time is ripe for birth, will burst this old shell of Capitalism and break forth radiant into the Socialist Commonwealth?

No one now hopes for deliverance by the good will of the exploiters, although it will deliver them also from the base and ugly. No one has yet shown a way to Socialism except by a struggle of classes; yet there are "Socialists" in whom the word "class struggle" arouses pained reproach. They forget that the working class constitute the people.

Shelley was banished from Oxford for even then calling the men of England to the class struggle.

Rise like lions after slumber;
In unvanquishable number;
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you;
Ye are many; they are few.

let he had a more exalted and crystal-clear vision of the Promethean glory of the commonwealth that is to be than all your peace-be-still romancers put together.

If we are Socialists, what are the forces that are going to bring. Socialism, and how are they to accomplish their task? Glarity of mind on these things decide our attitude towards daily problems.

The worlds workers are instinctively leading society forward, amalganiating, it resistibly into ever greater and greater organisations. Categorical imperatives from the supersensuous are irrelevant. If we cannot find our ethic in the brown earth of economic forces, there is none. Here is the flood piling up. Are we always going to be content to pat ourselves on the chest and say, "I am a Socialist"? It would carry us "forrader" just as much if we all said "I am an Antinomian," whatever that means. It should be time to mark out a few sign posts on the road, become definite as to the levels by which alone the stream of the workers' revolt can be guided, and broadly decide as to the form of organisation which present phenomena indicate will accomplish the transfer of power from the exploiters to the people. If leaders of Labour are not to do this, who will?

On the Altar of Mammon.

The "Evening Chronicle" has got quite cocky over the fact that its grocer-shop beggar-my-neighbour campaign against Hun competitors has received "the high endorsement" of the President of the Board of Trade.

There is a limit to the fooling of the people. But there seems to be a still narrower limit to the Jingo capacity to fool himself.

Hardly are sacred emblems of chivalry and honour unfurled, and the peoples called upon to trample in the blood of millions of their brothers "for freedom and right," than we have the bourgeois Minister Runciman, truly representing the intellectual squalor of his class, speaking thus:—

"Not only must we the Imperial family of free peoples, combine to bring to a successful conclusion the war of armaments, but we must, acting as one, do everything in our power to destroy German finance, German credit, and German trade during and after the war."

Australian Premier Hughes echoes his masters:—
"Incredible folly to beat Germany and leave her the economic opportunities she formerly possessed."

Oh ye rotten eggs on the Town Hall steps, not in vain repose ye there in addled sterility.

Scramble for trade and Capitalist avarice the origin of the war? What blasphemy! But the objects of the war? Why, the rights of small nations to exist, and the rights of the big ones to starve out German trade. And so say all of us, chime in the penny fly sheets of the shopocracy.

For this men must die, and the world robbed of the flower of its intellect and youth. The avarice of Capitalism: for this do they plunge by the thousands into certain death in the surfs of Gallipoli, scrambling to land over countless submerged bodies of their comrades. All good for trade Meanwhile Runciman's ships are making fine profits.

"Thus did the Tories of England" said Marx, "long fancy that they were enthusiastic for the Kingdom, the Church, and the beauties of the British Constitution, until the day of danger wrung from them the admission that their enthusiasm was only for Ground Rent."

National sentiments, though secondary, are very real things. But they exist to be fanned into savagery at the will of Capitalism.

"The Most Effective Means."

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The first Conference of the I.S.L. has declared its intentior. "to encourage the organisation of the workers along industrial or class lines as the most effective means of pro-

viding the necessary force for their emancipation."

The rather vague wording perhaps represents our present state of mind on the question of Industrial Unionism. In the course of the year the clarifying of principles and methods in our meetings and on the pages of our paper will find our second Conference far more definite on many points.

Let us start on the matter, not just now by quoting De Leon more than is necessary, but by an inquiry as to whether the League resolution springs from local experience.

When, as Labour Party men, we occasionally turned our thoughts to its Socialist objective, we generally regarded the political as the permanant part of the movement, and the Trades Unions as the temporary one. The Trades Unions were to hang on our skirts as it were until the dawn of re-

volution, and then quietly dissolve themselves.

Few of us dare to think so now. What would happen to a Socialist majority without adequate industrial organisation behind it? Parliament is after all only a House. Its function is to regulate and adjust the Capitalst system, and to legislate the necessary violence for its preservation. But whichever power controls industry can dispense with Parliament in extremity, and remain unscathed. The day of such a Socialist majority therefore would be the day of its defeat. An attempt on its part to establish Socialism would result only in bloody anarchy.

Where is the charge of society to take place? Is it not in the control of industry? Parliament was never made to control industry. And the capture of Parliament for Socialism will be just another mirage if it does not find the workers disciplined and ready to control industry too.

Let us ask ourselves how the mining industry would be governed under Socialism? Will State officials always control and administer. If an industry is not to be domineered by a raternal bureaucracy how shall it be administered if not democratically by the workers themselves. Then does it not plainly follow that their organisation should be along. the lines of their particular industry, just as a municipality is administered by the burgesses within it.

However Socialists may lag on Industrial Unionism, the workers themselves in various parts of the world are moving that way in great masses. Whether to fight the Capitalist now, or hold and control industry in the future, it is becoming obvious to them that for fitter to combine with fitter, and carrenter with carpenter, no matter how remote their in dustries from one another, serves only to divide the working

class and to paralyze all attempts at revolt.

Comrade Haynes has well described the obsolete character of Trade Unions in another column. How can we guide the class conscious revolt into the most effective organisation.

The Miners of Great Britain have appealed to the A.S.E. to allow the mechanics on the mines to become members of their Union, while retaining their membership in the A S.F. "for craft benefits only." Why, there was a strike at Ynyshir two months ago in favour of Industrial Unionism, to compel the Engine Drivers to join the Miners' Union instead of their old craft Union.

What recompense is there for the sad mistakes and Failures of our industrial upheavals of July and January fame if we are not to make them points of new departure.

The class conscious spirit then prevented one craft remaining at week while another struck. It hurst the craft

boundaries, and died in the attempt.

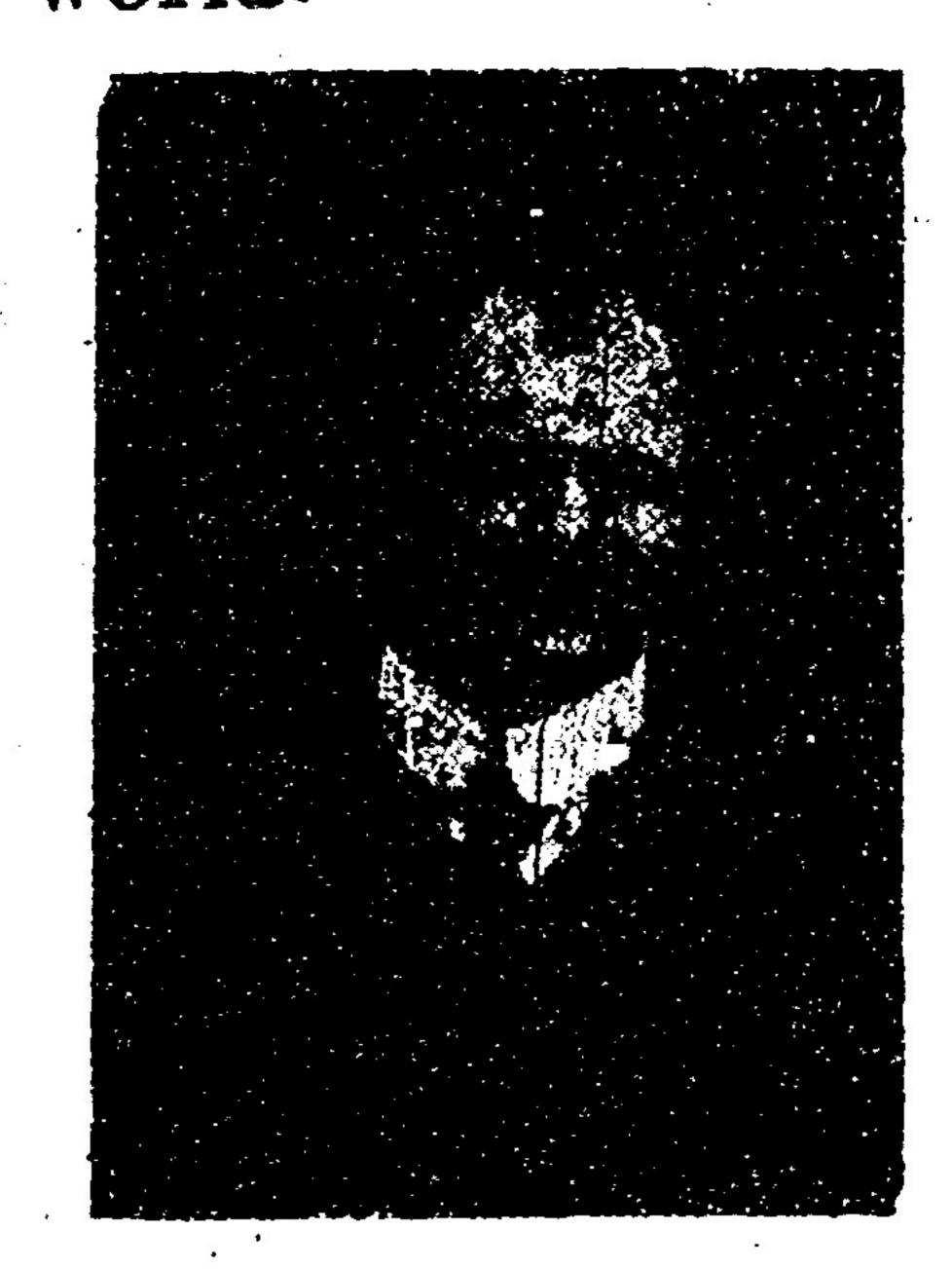
What is the greatest hindrance to the organisation of the Miners here? One is the temporary sojourn of the men in the industry owing to its rigour; aggravated by the fact that timberman, fitters, carpenters and engine drivers on the mines are organised solely in their crafts, far away from the issues of the industry which so vitally affects them.

Industrial Unionism does not ask these craftsmen to give up their departmental Unions, but it does ask that they should regard them as secondary departments within the Industrial Union. This is the lesson rammed into us by July and January, and the ignoring of it is the greatest factor in the present slump in Trade Union organisation of South Atnca

Snapshots.

VII.-JOHN CAMPBELL.

John Campbell has left us awhile to look for his daily bread. This is the time therefore to write a few words of that appreciation which many men like him, owing to the defects of their good qualities, so rarely find in an undiscerning world.



It were hopeless to attempt a sketch of his career. It would fill a. book. Suffice it is to say that Campbell is an Irishman, maugre the Hieland name. A gnarled exterior hides. e in him one of the most brilliant minds. His knowledge of Socialism and general literature has not been exhausted by anyone in South Africa. A Marxian tothe core, he has the key of interpretation to all events present and past. Campbell's strength lies not in his marvellous memory, but in its rare al-

liance with judgement

And yet his temperamental kink has doomed him to be a sower for years in Johannesburg, that others may reap. One of the few outside of the Labour Party who have in their impatience with what they considered, and time has proved to be, its opportunist triffing with great issues, said harsh things, he has been therefore reviled in the same breath with the Capitalist. But John Campbell has done great work, and some day it will be adequately chronicled.

Being a Celt, he has a soft nature beneath. Let anyone vilify the working class, and see him rise in his wrath Against men the very nature of whose endeavours preclude them from public office, all carping is churlish indeed. To the devoted sower of Socialist truth, we offer this simple-

laurel.

You Must Alter Human Nature

There was once a Neotholic man An enterprising wight, Who made his chopping implements Enusually bright. Unusually clever he, Unusually brave, And he drew delightful mammoths On the borders of his cave. To his Neolithic neighbours, Who were startled and surprised, Said he, "My friends in course of time, We shall be civilized! We are gong to live in cities! We are going to fight in wars! We are going to eat three times a day Without the natural cause. We are going to turn life upside down About a thing called gold! We are going to want the earth, and take As much as we can hold! We are going to wear great piles of stuff Outside our proper skins! We are going to have diseases And accomplishments!! and sins!!!" Then they all rose up in fury Against their boastful friend, Por prehistoric patience Cometh quickly to an end. Said one, "This is Chimerical! Utopian!! Absurd!!! Said another, "what a sturid life! Too dull, upon my word!" Cried all "Before such things can come, You idiotic child, You must alter human nature!" And they all sat back and smiled. Thought they "An answer to that last It will be hard to find!" It was a clinching argument

CHARLOTTE STETSON_

To the Neolithic Maid.

CONSEQUENCES OF FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLI-ANCE FORETOLD.

The year 1890 and the year that followed witnessed certain political perturbations. In 1894 the Franco-Russian Alliance was concluded, which was pregnant of terrible results. Tolstoy did not doubt nat the pacific utterances at the political banquets at St. Petersb. Cronstadt, Paris, Toulin were but a cloak for an attack against Germany, already in prepartion in the chanceries of her adversaries. He expressed his opinions in a brochure entitled, "Christainity and Patriotism," where one comes across a prophetic page. In speaking of the probable results of this alliance he says:—

"Bells will be rung and men with long hair (the Russian priests wear their hair long) will don vestments embroidered in gold and will begin to pray for the mass murder, and then the old tale known so long will begin again. Stupefied men will work have at spreading hatred and the desire to murder in the papers under the closk of patriotism rejoicing at getting s double pay for their articles. One will see owners of foundries, merchants, those supplying war materials, bestirring themselves, for they all expect to get extra profit. One will see military commanders bestirring themselves, for they will get double pay and double allowances, amongst other things expecting to receive sundry trinkets as recompense for murder committed: ribbons, crosses, stripes, stars. One will see idle ladies and gentlemen bestirring themselves and Joining Red Cross Committees and b coming trained to dress the wounds. which their husbands and brothers have caused; and these people believe that they are thus acting as Christians.

"Stiffing the despair in their hearts by songs, by debauchery, and by alcohol, torn from their peaceful labours, taken away from their wives, mothers and children, one will see hundreds of thousands of these simple, good men armed with the instruments of slaughter and led like a flock of sheep. They will go; they will suffer from cold, hunger: disease will fall on them and kill them; the survivors at last at a place where ther will be kil!ed by the thousand, and where they themselves will kill thousands of men whom they have never seen and who cannot have done them any harm.

"At last, when there will be so many sick, wounded and dead, that it will be impossible to collect them, when the air will be so poisoned by the putrefaction of this cannon fodder that the commanders themselves r be inconvenienced, then a temporary halt will be called; in order to collect the wounded in some way or other, the corpses will first be thrown into ditches and sprinkled with lime, the the survivors will be led further and further, this crowd of deluded men. till those at the head of the movement become either tired or have obtained gatisfaction."

THE MINE WORKERS.

The Mine Workers' Union have accomplished the reorganisation made necessary by the lean period of the war. One Secretary-Organiser will be appointed, and the old system of Collecting-Organisers dispensed with. District Committees will be encouraged to appoint their local organisers.

The last named provision is the most hopeful of all, for it indicates that this time of stress will be utilised to place the Union on a firmer basis.

The progress of the Mine Workers concerns us ail. With all respect for the men who have worked so devotedly for the Union in the past, it is only right to say that with the over-centralized control resulting in the collection of debts being its only contact with the individual member, even in the hey-day of success, it could not but be primitively inadequate as an organisation.

Now is the time therefore to make the Mine Lodges or Locals the democratic unit of control of the Union. Let the dues be an incident, payable only at weekly meetings of the Lodges, where the affairs of the mine can be discussed, and mandates given to District Committees.

An earnest endeavour should be made to get the timbermen, engine drivers and fitters to join it. If the miners organise on the vital point; namely at the industry itself, the other crafts will be irresistibly drawn in. With reinforcements from these men, the difficulties of organisation arising from the impermanency and sad wastage down below will be considerably solved.

If the Mine Workers will be satisfied with small results on the soundest possible lines now, then when the flood tide of Trade Union enthusiasism comes, as surely it must, and fills such an organisation, a sound structure will keep it from ever receding again as it has done in the past.

IN AMERICA.

Jingoes to right of us, Jingoes to left of us,
Jingoes in front of us
Bellow and thunder;
Shrieking for shot and shell,
Wriggling their jaws to death, worktheir mouths like hell
(Their bosses have guns to sell,
So it's no wonder.)
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs not to even try,
Theirs but to lie and lie
While the steel patriots plunder.
—"Appeal to Reason."

The Social revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property-relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

Karl Marx.

The only enemy the working class ever had is the Capitalist class.

WHAT IS THE NEW FORCE?

Sir,—In your reply to Mr. Deans.
a personal friend of the writer, you
lay down your fundamental, may I
say your chief fundamental, to be
"Industrial Unionism, based on the
principle of the class struggle."

Trade Unionism, in its craft form of organisation, entirely disallows the class struggle. The period in which i first saw life, about the middle of the Eightheenth Century, naturally precluded the worker from seeing the eventual antagonism between employer and employed that we realise today. Machinery had not evolved to its present pitch; and being simple and cheap, it was within the range of possibility that every worker would at length become a master. The Unions then were founded on ideas handed down from the guilds of the middle ages, Journeymen's associations, etc., and in consequence based on the good old fashioned notion of common interest between master and man.

The newer form of Trade Unionism, by Federation, even had it been adopted fifty years ago, was doomed to failure for many reasons. The main reason of failure, however, its certainly the general blindness to the class struggle that he been shewn all along the line by the Trade Union movement.

Economic organisation is the vital spark of the movement, the driving force of political action, and through it will in all probability come about the social revolution, which is the aim and object of all Socialists Nothing will be able to withstand the onslaught of a class conscious proletariat. But the question—the burning question—is how to produce a class conscious proletariat.

Does 'Industrial Unionism based on the class struggle' really, on analysis, point the way to organise? Will the Henry Dubb become class conscious simply because he is organised on a larger scale, i.e., Industrially? Will the class war ever end, that is, will class itself be abolished because the building trades are organised Industrially as against the Mining Industry?

Will the other 75 per continuous up the sponge and become class conscious? Etc., etc.

You have made a move, Mr. 16' tor, possibly in the right direction. Why not come all the way?

Yours fraternally.

H. W. HAYNES.

DISLLUSIONMENT?

Recruiting speeches in the Theatres are falling flat, there are signs of disaffection among a public jaded and fed up with the brute hysterics of the press. Naturally the first evidences are not such as to do any one credit,—the pay of soldiers for instance. However, at the Orpheum and the Tivoli this week recruiting speakers were actually heckled, and as for military enthusiasm there is none. The day of the great disillusionment is at hand.

THE PRESENT DISCONTENT

On Thursday evening in last week Mr. F. A. W. Lucas, M.P.C., delivered the first of a series of lectures under the auspicies of the I.S.L. on "The present discontent in Great Britain."

Mr. Lucas first detailed the various causes which account for the deep and growing spirit of revolt in England. The Munitions Act, its violently reactionary character came in for strong criticism, with the increasing rents and high cost of living, and rapacity of Capitalists resulting in one of the most wonderful strikes on record, that of the South Wales Miners.

Mr. Lucas had a good deal to say about the Miners' strike, how every agency, including the press and the pulpit, which the Government could command, screamed insult and abuse in their endeavour to stifle the strike movement. Yet they came out to a man. On the Clyde great things were impending. There were frequent strikes all over the country which not even the 'Labour Leader' could notice.

One disgusting instance of the avarice of the profiteers was mentioned. When the Zeppelins pass over London the workers in the munition factories are ordered to "stand by" in the darkness, amid piles of explosives. At Eleys, on such an occasion, the women had to stand by for many hours until the Zeppelins cleared off. Their pay was docked for the lost time at the end of the week.

Mr. Lucas' sympathetic descriptions of the condition of the workers of England was followed by a keenly interested audience. He concluded by deducing general conclusions which were afterwards the subject of discus-

sion.

WHAT TO READ.

The Head Office of the League has now for sale a goodly range of 3d. pamphlets on Socialist questions. "The Communist Manifesto," that first charter of the workers' movement by Karl Marx still remains unique in literature of its class. When you have the blues, a dip into the tremendous self evidences of the "Manifesto" will cure you.

After that, there are Kautsky's philosophic works on the "Class Struggle," "The Working Class," "The Capitalist Class," and "The Socialist Republic;" or the more fluent and practical applications of Socialism in De Leon's "Reform or Revolution," The Burning Question of Trade Unionism," and The Preamble of the I.W." Don't let the titles frighten you. They comprise the most fascinating reading in the whole range of present day literature. In fact a librarian was heard to remark not long ago that it is only Socialists who can write stuff worth reading now adays. We'll mention/some more next week.

Reformer: A wealthy individual who is willing to help the workers in any way that does not interfere with his dividends.

FRENCH JINGOISM.

In June, 1913, just a year before the outbreak of war, the Belgian Ambassador in Paris wrote to his Government expressing his fears regarding the Jingo tendencies in France, England and Germany, and the danger threatening Belgium. Here is what he said then:—

I have already had the honour of reporting that it is Messrs. Poincaire, Deleasse, Millerand, and their friends who have invented and pursued the nationalist, boastful, and Chauvinistic policy, whose renaiscence we are witnessing. It is a danger for Europe and for Belgium. I see in it the greatest peril which threatens the peace of Europe to-day, not because I am entitled to suppose that the Government of the Republic intends deliberately to break it—I think rather the contrary—but because the attitude of the Barthou Cabinet is, in my opinion, the determining cause of the increase of military tendencies in (many.

LEAGUE DANCE.

The Women Comrades have arranged for another Cinderalla Dance at Professor West's Academy on Wednesday, 16th February, 1916. Tickets, 2s. 6d. We are getting to look forward to these rejuvenating little gatherings of the comrades and friends.

KRUGERSDORP.

A Branch of the League has been formed at Krugersdorp. We'll hear more next week, good luck to the comrades.

BENONI BRANCH.

Comrade S. P. Bunting will address the meeting at Smith's Studio on Sunday night at 8 p.m.

A dispatch says all the Socialist papers in Bohemia have been suppressed by the Austrian police. The Socialist papers print the truth about the war. There is nothing Capitalism is more afraid of right now than the truth.

The rich are unhappy because they realize their own unworthiness; the poor are unhappy because they don't realize their own value.

Instead of being the last war the present war in Europe is more likely the first of a serious of tremendous world wars. Only Socialism can prevent them.

Strange that a bomb thrower is a desperate criminal if he wears citizen's clothes and a hero if he has brass buttons and stripes on the side of his pants.—"Appeal to Reason."

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Benoni.—T. Chapman, P.O. Box 279. Meetings, Smith's Studio, Lake Avenue, every Monday evening.

Capetown.—Intending members see Comrade Wilfrid Harrison, Secretary S.D.F., Box 1176.

Durban.—W. S. Mabbott, 353, Point Road. Meetings at Auld Kirk Hall and Trades Hall.

Eastern Districts. — Secretary, c.o. 249, Marshall St., Jeppe.

Germiston.—E. H. Becker, 54, Queen Street. Meetings in Colin Wade's surgery.

Johannesburg.—T. W. Ward, P.O. Box 1981. Meetings, Trades Hall

Pretoria.—Intending members see Mr. W. Blake, Secretary, Socialist Society, Box 618.

Head Office.—D. Ivon Jones, Secretary, 6, Trades Hall. P.O. Box 4179.

No man can rightly claim to be a man unless he is free. There is something godlike about manhood. Manhood does'nt admit of ownership. Manhood scorns to be regarded as private property.

Eugene Debs.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The General Dealer Business registered Revenue Office, Johannesburg, January, 1915, and Dairy License registered June, 1915, name I. Zulman, Stand No. 1709, 120, Pritchard Street, has been transferred to M. Tatz, as from January, 1916.

C. & L. Clingman, 25, Mercantile Buildings, Johannesburg.

The General Dealer Business registered 22nd February, 1915, Revenue Office, Waterburg, name H. P. van der Walt, Turffontein, No. 1995, District Waterburg, was 'to E. S. Sager and R. Zway, as from January 11th, 1916.

C. & L. Clingman, 25, Mercantile Buildings, Johannesburg.

The General Dealer Business registered in Krugersdorp Revenue Office, on June 15th, 1915, by Barnett Bros. & Sacks, Stands Nos. 5-6, Randfontein, District Krugersdorp, has been abandoned as from December 31st, 1915.

C. & L. CLINGMAN, Agents for Parties, 25, Mercantile Buildings, Commissioner and Simmonds Streets, Johannesburg.

14-21-28.

The General Dealer Business registered at Revenue Office, Johannesburg, on January, 1915, by Daniel Barnett and Lazarus Barnett, trading as Barnett Bros., Stand No. 647, Von Welleigh Street, was transferred to Stand No. 685, Troye Street, Johannesburg, as from January 10th, 1916.

C. & L. Clingman, Agnts for Parties, 25, Mercantile Buildings, Commissioner and Simmonds Streets, Johannesburg.

14-21-28.