# THE INTERNATIONAL

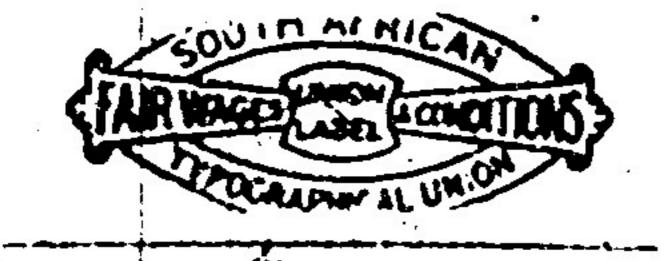
THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

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## Stockholm Congress.

The newspapers announce that this Congress, initiated from Petrograd, will open on August 15. It had previously been announced for divers dates going back as far as May last, and it may be taken for granted that it, or something like it, will not have closed by the time our delegate, if any, reaches Europe. There is therefore no fear that by holding our conference on the matter on the 5th August we shall be "missing the bus"; and that is also evidently the view of the Socialist - bodies at Capetown and Durban who have already arranged for representation at it, while other organisations are contemplating following suit.

We attack much importance to the presence of representatives of Socialist bodies outside our own. As mentioned in our last issue, the question of sending delegates to Stockholm has been the occasion for the re-union of the French Socialist Party; and the Leeds, Conference, also reported last week, must have gone far in a similar direction. Difference of 'attitude on the war' seems to become solved in a solidarity engendered by a union of Labour to enforce its dictation, as Labour, on the whole warring world, "transforming the national war into the class. war.

We hope and believe that our conference may in some slight measure serve a like purpose. Hence we renew our urgent and solemn invitation to all Socialist bodies and sympathisers in South Africa, interested in the outcome of the Stockholm Congress, to attend. Indeed there must be many Socalist elements even in the ranks of non-Socialist organisations who by this time have come to recognise the importance and possibilities of the Stockholm Conference, elements which, if they can be grouped, might form a most valuable addition to the Conference; and it is hoped that they will seize the opportunity and Jeommunicate with us accordingly. The I.S.L. will do all in its power to facilitate their representation. No cut and dried resolution, mandate or nominee will be foisted on the delegates. All communications and contributions should be addressed to the Gen. Secretary, 6; Trades Hall. Rissik Street (Box 4179). Johannesburg.

Donation: J.F.S. £1 is hereby acknowledged with thanks.

#### Wallerisms!

#### Spoof for the Mine Workers.

The mineworkers have sent a new set of demands to the Chamber of Mines, mainly for increases in wages.

"For the first time in his life," Mr. Wallers of the Chamber of Mines has rushed into print warning the miners to go "gahle" in their demands. Fifteen low grade mines will probably shut down, he says. This of course to scare the miners and influence the shopkeepers against them.

This "closing down" cry is an old one But it is now backed by a new wheeze. It is not the old cry of "wolf" any more, says Wallers in effect. It is the real "wolf" come at last. For why? Because gold is the one product in the world market the increased cost of which cannot be passed on to the consumer. While he Mineowners have to pay vastly increased prices for material and beour, the price of gold remains the same. Therefore, mine-workers should mederate their demands so says Wallers. This trump argument against a rise in wages is suspicious.

Mr. Wallers says that the gold mining industry is in effect a munitions industry, and vital to the prosecution of the war.

Then if British workers continue to agitate for higher wages, and thus raise the cost of mining materials, fifteen low grade mines in this munitions industry will have to close down, whether the South African miners make a move or not. Why should we have a share in the rise?

The Mint price of gold is £3 17s. 11d. This is the fixed price to which Wallers refers. The Imperial Government fixes the Mint price, but also clamours for gold. Gold, gold, the kingdom for gold! but not a ha'penny more than the Mint price (if we can help it) says the Bank of England.

If, then, gold mining really is a "munitions industry," they dare not close down any mines, nor limit the output in any way. The controlled munitions establishments in England are reaping great profits just now. The Government has cancelled the restrictions on profits originally imposed upon them, "in order to provide an incentive to production."

Here is a "munitions industry," gold mining, vital to the Empire, so Wallers says; moreover, of tremendous influence in the counsels of the State, holding the key to credit, Lionel Phillips himself appointed chairman of a British War Mining Commission. And

yet we are asked to believe that this industry cannot extort the ordinary prewar profit while far less powerful interests in the English munitions industry are piling up huge war profits with the open encouragement of the British Government.

Again. The majority of the gold mines of the world belong to Britain. Before the war only a minimum of gold taken from them was sent to England. Ten millions to the English banks as against 458 millions (dollars). to other countries. (Kautsky, 1911). When the war broke out the British Government ordered all South African gold to be shipped to England. The British Government has never, least of all during this war, ordered an important industry to do anything, without giving substantial concessions in exexchange. All the vast quantity of gold sent to foreign countries did not go at Mint price, 195 million to Russia, etc. It went as an international commodity (not as money) at a price, like all other commodities, relative to the average cost of production. We cannot believe, that the gold mining industry was asked to forego that vast market for no. consideration whatsoever.

Mr. Wallers bases his alarum on the assumption of an assumption. He assumes that you assume that all the gold we produce is taken to the Royal. Mint by the Chamber of Mines and paid for at Mint price. But the gold goes to the Bank of England. It is shipped from South Africa, not as money, but as a commodity. In peace time a great inflation gold stimulates credit, loans are more easily floated, and prices and sepitalist prosperity rise. In war time, effects become causes, and causes, effects. Loans are perforce issued, gold or no gold. Gold. is then as Mr. Wallers states in tremendous demand. The Imperial banks have their tongues hanging out for gold Mint price is secondary. Bullion, more gold bullion is required to make credit satble, to ship a hundred million to America, or a dozen million to Bombay, to bolster up a credit here, or correct an international balance there; gold they must have, even by flooding England with paper and withdrawing gold coinage. It is demand that regulates the price now. The Chamber of Mines has nothing to do with the Royal Mint. That is the business of the Bank of England principally. Then do you mean to say that in the middle of this insatiable demand for gold the Chamber of Mines is not able to get its fair profit? or is all the talk about the Imperial importance of the gold industry only bunkum?

No, the Chamber of Mines are not patriotic altruists, otherwise they

would concede the miners' demands without a grouse. The Chamber of Mines, being a capitalist institution for the making of profits, will see to that part of the business. The Bank of England will look after the Mint price part of the business. Let the Mineworkers of South Africa see to their part of the business, that is to get a bigger wage if they are sufficiently organised, and fear no 'closing down's scare of Mr. Wallers.

D.I.J.

#### Determinism.

#### B. J. M. G.

Just as all the physical manifestations of the individual are controlled by and the result of heredity (race temperament) and the environment in which he lives, in the same way the social manifestation, the superstructure of society, moral juridical and political, are the result of and determined by race and environment, and the environment is chiefly dominated by the given economic organisation, the physical basis of life.

The orthodox apologists have heretofore maintained that laws and morality. are inspired by the inherent good in mankind, and that legislators are prompted to formulate rules of conduct and make laws according to immutable and eternal laws. A deeper insight into the composition of society shows the fallacy of such a concept and points out the infallible truth that ideas moral or juridical do not fall from heaven, nor yet are they the inspiring thoughts of heaven born geniuses, but have the more prosaic origin of the earth, earthy, being rooted in and organically produced by economic conditions. The systems of societies of the past founded in individual property have given risen to varying codes of ethics, with laws to enforce the ideas of right and wrong. The ethic of the sword ruled in the ancient world to hold in submission those excluded from possession of the soil, whilst during the middle ages the morality of the cross, an ethic that instilled into the mind the idea of reward hereafter, sufficed to keep the disinherited content to suffer all the ills inflicted upon them whilst here on earth.

Present day society is no exception to those past phases of society. The ruling class to-day, having control of the political machinery and all the social functions and dominating factors, are able to create ideas and determine the beliefs of the mass of the community, to hypnotise them into the idea that the present form of society, and more especially their particular nationality, is the one and only possible.

The Catholic priest is reputed to have said: "Give me a child until he is 7 years old and you can have him for all time." It is a maxim the ruling class recognise as containing more than a minimum of truth. Having control of all those vehicles which enable them to reach the young, they have taken ad-

vantage of these means to instil in their minds ideas that will have a tendency to perpetuate the present society of exploitation of the many in the interests of the few. They recognise how ideas crammed into children are hard to eradicate in after life. They use the schoolmaster (very often the unconscious tool) as a medium to convey to the young minds the ideas that in the majority of cases will dominate and determine the actions of these individuals through life. They have taken the Cadet movement, Boy Scouts and Girl Guide organisations, and are controlling them for the purpose of imbuing the young with the military spirit, with love of King and country and all the other side-tracking ideas that are necessary to befor their minds and give them a mental kink which will make many of them unable to see the present system as it in reality is.

This environment, created and determined hy the economic control, in the interests of the few, of the tools and machinery necessary to the physical life of the community, is the determining factor in giving rise to the morality of the system, creating in the minds of the mass of the people the idea "thou shalt not steal," whereas the system is nothing but a system of robbery from beginning to end. The workers are robbed of the fruits of their labour in the workshops. They are robbed even of the paltry wages received when buving the necessaries of life from the parasitical middlemen. The middlemen steal from each other in their competition for customers, and the individual capitalist and financier steal from one another by manipulating stocks and shares. Under the system it is moral to shift money from your neighbour's pockets on the race course but immoral to do so by using the bucket shops. A system of beggår vour neighbour from ton to hottom, not only in money, but in the lives of the mass of the people, compelling as it does the greater numher to uncertainty of employment, and denving them the assurance of those necessaries that are essential to their physical welfare.

The ideas instilled by the environment determine all our actions and create a psychological basis upon which capitalistic society has been able to enforce a morality by creating laws to punish those few members of society who may have the hardihood to rebel; the majority are controlled by the environment. The mental kinks effected in their school and bovhood davs have never been straightened out, with the result that they are enslaved without heing conscious of their enslavement: they act in a manner contrary to their own interests, they believe their interests are bound up with and are identical with those of the capitalist class. Such is the demoralising effect of capitalist control of the machinery for "educating" the young. In the majority of cases it has made them more subservient slaves to the system. But a minority, a growing minority, have been able to divest themselves of the mental kink received in their vouth and are rebelling against society as now formed.

This increasing minority are also controlled by environment. Their thoughts and actions are determined by the brutalised condition of the mass of the people, and have become imbued with the ideal of a society founded on mutual aid and good will. This ideal is not the fantastic vaporous dream of dreamers, but an ideal having as its basis the economic structure of society, the germ of which is developing within our present society.

Our present society, to those ignorant of the economic structure of this and past societies, has to all appearance the stability, vigour and vitality to defy all assaults. This seeming splendour and strength is but the shroud that envelopes our phase of civilisation, it is but the mantle that covers and conceals the skeleton beneath.

Let the workers realise these controlling economic conditions, straighten out the mental kinks received in youth, divest themselves of the fallacy that their interests are identical with those of the exploiting class, and organise with their fellows on the basis of the mutual interests of all grades and classes of workers in class conscious organisations for the purpose of destroying the present system of exploitation and ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth, creating an environment that will determine their actions along the lines of mutual aid and fellowship.

# May Day, please Sir.

The miners want a recognised Mayday holiday. As youngsters asking for a second helping we were told: "Those that ask shan't have; those that don't ask don't want'; leaving only one course open, to take without asking. The essence of May day is that it is taken, not conceded or even demanded. All this scraping for recognition is selfbluff. It means that you are too weak to take anything except "what the King will give you," but hope that the masters will consider it policy to concede you recognition, that is allow you to pretend you are dictators instead of slaves.

# Censoring the Bible again.

Unlike the Hon. Hugh Wyndham, who censored "Thou shalt not kill" out of the "War on War Gazette." saying the Bible was "a most dangerous book, sir," the Bishops in England are expurgating the Bible because it says thou shalt kill. In future David is not to be heard praying to bathe his feet in the blood of his enemies; it is too wage and vindictive. We thought the War Cabinets had taken the bun for cant, but it seems the church still leads.

Weather permitting the Johannesburg S.S.S. scholars, after school this Sunday morning, will picnic at the Zoo Lake.

#### Invisible profits.

If King and Hempire want gold, let 'em bally well pay the gold miners enough wages to buy pianos with. But what if the demand is not really so urgent, even with all these huge loans? What if the Mining Companies can't sell it at a price to cover cost of production, let alone profits? Will they shut down?

Well, they make the miners' mands an excuse for shutting down ecertain already doomed mines, like the bricklayer who, picking himself up after a fall from a scaffold, said: "I was coming down for dinner anyhow." From a sharemarket point of view, it would never do to blurt out, any fine day, that mining doesn't pay; if you did. sharemongering wouldn't pay. A strike may thus he a godsend, enabling the stable to liquidate a company, or sell a mine cheap to another company, or close down for a while. Instead of having to confess it was poor reef. or shortage of native labour, or prohibitive scarcity of mining supplies (now being nocled) they can blame the labour agitators for it; at any rate the demand for môre wages can be called the last straw.

But even that need not happen. We are told that the only chance for economy now is the wages bill, there being no visible profits left to reduce. What about invisible profits? The E.R.P.M. does not pay a penny dividend. Then why is it maintained? As a philanthrony, to afford a living for the people of Bokshurg? Is it not rather to provide additional scope for Stock Exchange, manipulation, to keep up the value of land, raise stand licences, etc. (inst as Germiston belongs to the Goldfields), to create customers for the big engineering and mining material firms in which the mining houses are notorionely interested, and so on? It is evidently worth somehody's while. The mining companies themselves are only a part of the charmed direle of "high finance": conitalism is not run in watertight compartments. Although a mine may not nav. it's heads the Corner Horses wins, and tails the miner loses his inh and serve him jolly well right for reking too much.

When the Chinese were under sentence of hanishment, the Chamber of Mines calculated to a million and a halfnenny the loss it would suffer. The vellow workers indeed lost their jobs; but nothing more was heard of the Chamber's ruinous loss.

As long as the middle classes and their leaders had to fulfil a civilising mission, their academies were nurseries of learning. Since then, however, history has moved forward, and the struckle for a higher civilization has devolved on the working class, the nethermost stratum of human society. Desnite this historic change the old decaying rulers are making great efforts to preserve their power and are looking to the academic dignitaries for sunnort, thus turning the "free scientists" into well-paid attorneys to defend a dying cause.

JOSEPH DIETZGEN.

More Hooliganocracy.

The Press cables at the time of the Leeds Conference referred to last week gave us to understand that the Conference had caused serious disturbances in the town. The London 'Jewish Chronicle" gives a totally different account. On the same Sunday as the Conference, but absolutely unconnected with it, an extraordinary hooligan attack took place on Jews and Jewish shops, and no others. Unlike the anti-Greek riots after May 1 in Johannesburg, it did not even begin with any demonstration against International Socialism. It is claimed to have arisen out of a feud between "Christian" and Jewish vouths in the neighbourhood of the Leeds Ghetto, By what appeared to be a preconcerted arrangement, a large crowd of "Christians" assembled and forthwith smashed up and looted Jewish shops and houses, assaulted or stoned Jewish people, including soldiers, seemingly without any provocation; indeed, so little could it be called a "patriotic" outburst that "the victims were almost in every case those who had their menfolk fighting in the cause of freedom." "One evening paper," says the "Chronicle," "indirectly accuses Jewish vonths of having attacked a wounded British soldier. broken his crutches, and laughed at him. A more infamous, barbarous and injurious accusation was hardly ventured even in the nogrom lihela of Russia under the old regime." "A Jewish woman was calling heaven and earth to witness the havor which had been wrought in her home. She was hunted like a wild beast from Odessa in the days of the norrow and the heroes of the Black Hundred, and sought conclusive in hospitable England. On Sunday hight she heard once more the hurrving feet of the moh. the senseless crowd."

"The general opinion expressed is to the effect that not only was the belated nolice assistance totally inadequate, but that invariably the attitude of the police was passive and indifferent. It is nointed out that though the looting and wrecking of the premises in Bridge Street commenced at about 4 o'clock, no police were on the spot until 8 in the evening, though the Millgarth St. Police Station is hut two minutes wolk from Bridge St." "The looting in Bridge St. was witnessed hv a crowd of about 2.000 onlookers, who not only made no attempt to stop the outrages, but attacked any Jew who endeavoured to interfere with the mob that were carrying away narcels of provisions and goods from the wrecked premises." "Some of the attackers were however arrested and fined. some 1019. some 2019. some 4019. each. The Magistrate warned the defendants that if a case of real seriousness came hefore him there would be no option of a fine."

Well. well! Fear for his precious shop windows has led more than one Jewish" Socialist" to deny his Socialist faith thrice and to canvass and vote against a Socialist candidate. But with all that, it seems as though. Russia having become the land of the free, her Cast-off mantle descends on the

British Empire. To us at least this police-cum-mob business is familiar enough. Britain, ever an "asylum," seems doubly to deserve that name in war time: her "foule" is fool indeed. And so we have the spectacle of the Russian Government protesting to the British Government against pogroms in Britain!

### The Fly in the Ointment.

The Mining Companies will not close down, but what they will do is to make a higher rate of white wages an excuse for further reducing the number of whites. This is the miners' weak point. No drill sharpening, etc., by "cheap or coloured labour," they demand. Probably the original draft said "no coloured labour" simply; then someone said cheapness was the point, but prejudice being too strong, this apparent compromise was agreed to. But it is not even a compromise. It means "no coloured labour, whether cheap or not." In this scramble for jobs the native must in long run (though 'labour' may from time to time be scarce) oust the white, especially while the native has the capitalist on his side. Such a White Lahour Policy accelerates rather than arrests the displacement of white "workers" in favour of the real workers. In this matter the S.A.M.W.U. are fighting a hopeless rearguard action. Instead of labour fighting labour, surely our game is to fraternise against the common enemy, and fight the exploiter not the exploited. Indeed, if we whites as a class are to continue to denend for our position on the exploitation of natives, we are ourselves driven l to the side of the exploiters. A union of skilled craftsmen may for the time? enforce one concession or another, although even such a gain is more precarious in this country than elsewhere, for here they have less sympathy with and from the unakilled. But they can never win the One Thing Needful, the means of production, for they are only \$ a fraction of the workers who, as a whole, can alone displace the private owners of capital. And it is futile to expect the natives to organise just to win victories for the whites. Organise, along the lines of industry, your whole class, all grades of it, for the common henefit of all grades (find out from the unskilled what that meanel and then alone can labour talk of "taking over." The coming motive power of Lahour is in the hands of the unskilled. This anti-colour demand cannot by any sonhistry be classed as the Lahour movement.

S.P.B.

#### HIS NIBS.

Comrade Nicholas Ivon Barendregt, son of Coms. H. M. and Mrs. Barendregt of Norwood, joined the world and the League on the 12th inst.

## The Position of the Native, and Coloured Workers.

Some Reflections.

The "International" has tackled this problem fearlessly from time to time during the two years of its existence and its readers have become familiar with the position of the International Socialist League. That the ideals underlying its attitude have attracted general attention was apparent during the Provincial Council Elections, particularly in Benoni. It largely supplanted the war as a burning question, and hundreds of votes were probably given to the S.A.L.P. man in consequence of a panic started by othe local labour leaders on the familiar anti-vative lines.

It is just as certain that any personor organisation discussing without prejudice the relationship of black and white will be met with the parrot cry Do vou mant vour sister or daughter to marry a nigger?" as that any one discussing the position of affairs in this. war from a detached point of view will he taünted as pro-enemy—in England pro-German, in Germany pro-English.

We have survived the pro-German err and its hellowness is being discovered. We shall have to face the dishonest innuendoes of labour? leaders as well as the honest prejudice of more reputable people.

In order, however, to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings amongst our friends as well as our critics it seems to me necessary to state clearly the general lines on which we seek to guide working class opinion on this question.

Some of our comrades deny that there is a native or coloured problem. "It is purely an economic and working class problem" they contend, and with

a great deal of truth.

There is no doubt that much of the prejudice and hardship to both white and black would disappear if there were no distinction in the economic field. There comes the rub however. The standard of living, degree of education, civil liberty and political power are all factors which influence the economic status of the native and coloured people and have to be taken into account. In any case, whether we consider it reasonable or not, when we touch this problem and attempt to solve it with a formula, our fellow workers want to know what our views are regarding matters that affect their prejudices and passions as well as their pockets. E.g.: -

Do we believe in unrestricted marriage between the white and black?

· Are we prepared to give them the same educational facilities ache rest of the community? etc., etc.

We have got to answer these questions if we are to justify our claim that we are a political body, and not evade them by vague generalities about the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth.

For the purpose of discussion, in order to clarify our ideas, the following points are submitted:-- ...

First.—The people under discussion are not to be considered passive creatures waiting for their white brothers to emancipate them. They will have to be very fully consulted in all matters of interest to them. When using the term working class, proletaria, etc., if we would be sincere we must without reservation include this section of the people. To do otherwise cuts away the foundation on which we seek to build the abolition of all class privileges. It follows then that being workers they must fight for the full reward of their labour, and must organise for that purpose industrially. Whether in the white unions in the initial stages or in parallel organisations is a matter of tactics which native and white workers must mutually agree 1110011.

Equal pay for equal work is the first effect of such organisation, and becomes a stepping stone to the larger demand for which the native and coloured workers must fight intelligently in common with other workers.

Civil Equality.—In order that they may organise at all, the removal of special laws and regulations becomes necessry. Possibly, as other workers have done, they will have to begin organising outside the law and having-become articulate, force the repeal of laws barring their fur her progross. It is interesting to notice here that civil equality has to a large extent been accomplished during the war period: but it has been of a levelling down character. The white were or in England, and to a lesser degree here, has now arrived at the degree of ciril liberty enjoyed (?) by indentured Indians. and natives. He has his mass or hadge like a washboy or ricksha puller; he mar not strike nor leave his iob without his employer's sanctions He is registered, rationed and regimented in a wav the Kaffir would not tolerate. Having reached this stage it should not be difficult to convince the white worker that the whole working class must be elevated if he is to regain his lost lib-. erty and increase it.

Political Power.—This need not be worried about. The capitalists will give large masses of their native and coloured workers votes long before they are class-conscious and class-organised sufficiently to be a danger. At the present stage of native education such as do exercise the vote are largely found supporting reactionary institutions and organisations.

Intermarriage.—This is entirely an individual matter and does not in the least depend on civil or political equality. Quite the contrary. It is notorious that slavery, where absolutely no civil liberty exists, produces half-breeds. In a lesser degree servile and low naid lahour results in cohabitation of considerable numbers of the poorest of both races. This would not necessarily increase as the result of a great rise in the standard of living and education of the natives and coloured and consequently of a large number of the poorer whites. Probably the contrary would be the case. We may safely leave to a more enlightened and just ordering of society the decision on this point: it is at present complicated by economic factors which would then be absent.

To sum up this rather rambling statement.

- 1. The native is part of the working class. He must take his full share in his own upliftment and must not be regarded as a subject for experiment independent of his own desires and aspirations.
- 2. Being a worker he must be included in the industrial organisations of the industry in which he is for the time engaged. The method: parallel. or identical unions as may be mutually agreed upon, the ideal being identical unions.
- 3. Civil equality that he may functiono as a wage worker in co-operation with his fellows. All special laws based on race must be abolished. This lies chiefly with him and will follow powerful industrial organisations.

4. Political power. Quite a secondary matter if above methods adopted. The reaction will give it as a barrier against the revolutionary section of the workers.

4. Intermixture of race not likely to be more general when industrial, civil, political and educational equality are attained than at present. Probably less. A community living on a higher social plane than we do can be safely trusted to discountenance any practice contrary to the wellbeing of the Commonwealth.

W. H. A.

What a noor chance stands a politicol party whose entire stock-in-rade consists in a knowledge of the solitary fact that Citizen, So-and-so is not to be trusted

MARX.

"Would you have Jim Sixpence to ten?" But Jim Sixpence will very soon be in a position to stop your tea and your bread and butter. What will you do then? The butcher's hor brings your meat. The kitchen boy makes your dinner. His brother carries the bricks to build your house. Jim Fish makes the bricks. His cousin digs the gold to pay for them. He can do without your tea. Can you do without him?

Since the second reading of that Native Affairs Bill, Jim Sixpence's Military ardour seems to have cooled. The camps are full of white conductors waiting for blacks to conduct.

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