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

P.O. BOX 4179.

6 Trades Hall, Rissik Street.

Johannesburg.

- No: 90



FRIDAY, 29th JUNE 1917.

PRICE 1d. WEEKLY,

Apology and Appeal.

Readers will have been disappointed at the non-appearance of the "International" last week. Our Editor had been lent to Benoni for Mr. Andrews' election campaign, and tound himself unequal during that week to the dual task of carrying through the election and bringing out the paper....It was therefore decided to omit one issue. As on a previous occasion, however. though not, it is hoped, so seriously, Cormade Ivon Jones overtaxed his powers in this election fight, and has been ordered a temporary rest. The acting editor trusts that his effonts as substitute will be received with tolerance. He will be glad to consider literary contributions from writers new and old, which should for the time being be addressed to Box 1915, Johannesburg 243 1111 1111 1111 -- 1111 1- 11111 1-

This opportunity may also be seized to appeal with especial argency for another sort of contribution. Thanks are tefidered to the donors indicated by initials below for their financial assistance in enabling us to continue the struggle in educating the working class of South Africa along the lines of Revolutionary Socialism. But, like the beef tea companies, we still want more, both from those who have already "done their bit," and particular-'ly from those who, having the means to help more substantially, have hitherto been content, as mere subscribers or even purchasers of an occasional copy, to receive rather than to give. Let no one forget that genuine Socialist papers all over the world invariably depend on something more than that. None of them has ever had all the funds it needed. The movement has everywhere electrical unstanted devotion and sacrifice, whether in services or money or both, not merely from its inner circles but from one and all of its followers. More particularly is it a responsibility on those of us who for one feson cortanother cannot see their way clear to take an active public part in the propaganda to buy release, suming the other. We are not ashamed to be insistent in the matter. It is not enough to silence the League's importunity with a single donation, hobing thereby to escape further troubling for a few months. It is the regular monthly or weekly donors that keep us going; that is the class of whom we chiefly want more. Heaven knows, none of us makes anything out of our organ except by getting more than his money's worth as a subscriber or purchaser: for what with the increased ell 3d. each from the Head Office.

price of paper; etc., the yearly subscription of 5s. does not nearly cover the cost of printing and publishing. As it is thought inadvisable to increase the selling price, we ask all members and sympathisers to decide at once, if they have not already done so, to join the little band of regular donors to the little band of regular donors

Advertisers, too, might do worse than use our columns for business purposes. Our established circulation extends all over South Africa, and greatly exceeds that of many much boomed capitalist weeklies. Although therefore we will not modify our views one iota to please advertisers, we invite them in their own interests to boost their wares before our public, who will be found not bad customers at all.

Subscriptions, donations, and advertisements should be forwarded to the Treasurer, 6 Trades Hall, Rissik St., P.O. Box 4179, Johannesburg, who will also quote rates for advertising space.

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The Durban Season.

The Lord's Day in Natal.

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At the instance of the Associated Stevedores, Point, Durban, no fewer than sixteen native employees were lined up in front of the Magistrate at the first Criminal Court to-day charged with refusing to coal a transport on Sunday.

Several of the accused stated that they had been kept working until 9 o'clock on Saturday night and were tired out on Sunday. Others said they were sick and one declared he was resting because it was Sunday.

The Magistrate (Mr. Walker Wilessan) in finding all the accused guilty, ad a said at A Whether it was Sunday or night time, or whether they were tired or not they had got to turn out when ordered. Nothing short of illness would justify their staying away. They were in the position of soldiers who had got to do what they were told.

He imposed a fine of £1 with the option of 14 days in prison on each of the sixteen.

The worthy Magistrate made only one mistake; by saying "illness" instead of "death."

Anyway down with Prussian Militarism. Britons never, never, never, will be slaves. Driving them is quite another matter, however.

From the Spanish Socialist papers we learn the desertions of Russian soldiers to the German Army are counterbalanced by the desertions of German soldiers to the Russian. Guess they still shout "My Country."

The "Natal Mercury" comes out with a special par boosting Colonel Creswell's claim to go to Petrograd to represent South African labour. The par concludes that he could certainly be trusted to squash the rot about handing back German East and West to Germany. You see Creswell is thoroughly trusted by top capitalism which, no doubt, would put a cruiser (not the "Magnet") at his disposal to proceed to the Conference—flying the Red Flag at the foretop all the way.

Young soldiers are well looked after in Durban. Lemonade, buns, fruit, cigarettes, etc., all free. The very best families allow their daughters to wait upon "our boys" who are going to the front. The old Crimean veteran is still selling newspapers in West Street.

What barbarians the ancient Romans really were. Fancy the whole population attending ferocious games and taking delight in watching gladiators kill and mutilate each other. Ugh!!

And then Spain, which popularised the cruel bull fight—savages!

By the way the battle of the Somme and Ancre films—property of the Government—have arrived and are being shown nightly at the Town Hall to packed houses. I think, with the Mercury, that they are very educative to our youth.

The C.I.D. in Durban are becoming class conscious. Anyway they are regularly attending the meetings of the Indian Workers' Industrial Union organised by Com. Lee.

PISCATORA

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Individualism.

By J. M. G

The fetish of Individualism has recerved its death blow as a result or chis war. The old cry of the individual having a right to do what he likes with his own has lost any value. The British Government have established a precedent which, when carried to its logical conclusion, means that the individual must subordinate his interesis. to the interests of the community. The Government have issued an order that capital can only be invested in approved securities, also that all foreign bonds and scrip must be handed over to the Treasury, who will issue in Britain their equivalent value.

Our present system of society, established on the basis of individualism, has during the 19th Century evolved along the lines of curtailing the power or rights of the individual. The catch phrases of 'Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" have lost the meaning originally applied to them by the capitalists of the early part of the century. Liberty to these people meant free competition, with the liberty to exploit the workers to the fullest extent; Fraernity, that all men were brethren. which was a mere parrot cry without any meaning in daily economic practice; whilst Equality became an empty phrase as the worker became more and more enslaved economically, as the tools of production became concentrated in the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists, eliminating that equality of opportunity which existed under a simpler form of production.

Individualism was rampant at the beginning of the 19th century, but the antagonism between the industrial capitalists and the landed interests, and the humanitarian efforts of groups of individuals, led to many restrictions of the liberties of these people to do what they liked with their own. Granted the many laws passed by parliament curtailing the hours of labour, abolishing child slavery, with Factory and Workshop Acts, were inadequate to alleviate to any extent the evils of the profiteering system, the basis of production, yet the principle of coutrolling individual greed having been established has grown, and the war has been the means of extending that principle, a principle that can only be carried to its logical conclusion by abol ishing individual ownership and substituting social ownership.

The evolution that has taken place during the past century points the way and has created the material conditions to bring about social ownership. The workers have been herded together in large workshops and factories under a system of social production for the markets of the world, with a multiplication of property, the tools of production, in a diminishing number of persons banded together in corporations and trusts. This control of the means of production in a diminishing number of persons makes it easier to expropriate them in the interests of society. And it is necessary, to bring about such a result, that the huge mass of

workers of all trades and professions should become conscious of these fundamental truths. It will be necessary that they should recognise their class interests, be conscious that their interests are in opposition to the class who possess the economic power, and by class conscious organisation conquer that economic power and make it subservient to society as a whole.

This class conscious organisation of the workers, when periected, will through the instrumentality of other public powers capture the reins of Government, the organised weapon that is the means of keeping the workers in subjection—not for the purpose of continuing the political State with its class made taws, but to destroy it, and in its place inaugurate the machinery for the administration of the production and distribution of the necessaries and luxuries of life.

It may, however, happen that as this class consciousness grows amongst the workers, the ruling class, the dictators at present in control, may curtail or abolish those political rights, which in the hands of an unorganised mass of workers not class conscious was not a menace to the present system—but in the hands of a class conscious organisation becomes a danger to the continuation of the system of exploitation. This action will force the issue along other lines, will force the workers to use force to accomplish what otherwise would have been a comparatively peaceful revolution.

Such is the position to-day. Individual greed has been decreed by the present ruling class to be subservient to the will of society. Let the workers become conscious of these facts, and by class conscious organisation carry them to their logical conclusion by overthrowing the present exploiting system, and on the ruins build a system of co-operation, where individual greed will play no part as an exploiter, but mutual aid, that old primitive instinct that still persists in humanity, will be given a chance of expressing itself to its fullest capacity.

P. Johnson, of Woodstock, Cape writes protesting against the suggestion that Col. Creswell should represent Socialism at Stockholm or whereever else the International Sociaist Conference may take place. This suggestion, he says, is a Capitalist move; although for the Colonel's own sake it would be well for him to have the opportunity of rubbing shoulders with genuine Socialists trom Russia, Germany, neutral countries, and all the world; for then "Capitalism (unless ex-Socialist Creswell is definitely pledged for life to treachery) may later on find itself hoist with its own petard. The best place conceivable for traitors to Socialism will be the Congress. Chamber at Stockholm," where they will no longer be so dazzled by the virtues of Capitalism as to denounce privately and publicly all previous con. nection with working class consciousness. Several comrades at the Cape, our correspondent adds, have their guinea waiting towards expenses, should a man like Comrade Andrews be the delegate,

Revolution and Counter Revolution.

Directness of Vision is a sign of ability, so the great moments of the free to fact to fact of any present in the first element come when the present the first elements face to face. The an elemental force the Russian free follows at the vitals of capitalist domination. The world war was started to smash the working class movement, and that movement is going to smash the war and clear the ground for the death grappie between the profetarians of the world and the vampires of capital.

That incarnation of Jules Verne's dream, the submarine, is driving the governing class of England into their last economic ditch, viz.: State Capitalism. The workers of that country have no alternative than that of becoming denizens of the "Servile State, or following the example of the Russian proletariat and overthrowing the system of capitalist exploitation.

The money barons of America are finding war good business, and so have put President Wilson on to the ethical-cum-humanitarian stunt, just as they used Abraham Lincoln to obscure the fact that the system of wageslavery in the Northern States was cheaper than that of chattel slavery in the South.

So we must be prepared to see State Capitalism yielding better results than the present hotch-potch beggar my neighbour arrangement amongst the monied class. They will presently discover that State Capitalism means elimination of competition amongst themselves, and at the same time acts as a lightning conductor to deflect the current of class hatred.

W. McLEAN.

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 Marx and Engels.

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

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Milestones.

Socialists in every land are for the time being given pause in their anxious straining for the sunrise of the Social Revolution. The first shafts of light, too unmistakable for a false dawn, seem to be succeeded by darkness again. We seem to have been too impatient in expecting immediate results in Russia. But let us be suspicious of a too jumpy barometer. After all, can we for a moment acquiesce in the Fress cables as presenting anything of a fair or true, still less complete, reflection of the progress of the movement? Must we accept what they would have us believe, that the 'extremists," anarchists," or what not, have been turned down by five to one at the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress, or that the Soldiers have turned on the Workmen? Is the great scheme for a Pan-Socialist Conference, or Working-class Peace Council of the world, really fizzling out? Are the people of Russia deliberately going to start fighting again? Have the independent republics in the vast district of Kherson and elsewhere quietly collapsed? Is the Spanish revolution just so much corrupt Pro-Germanism, "reactionary and anti-dynastic" (note how within a few_weeks of royalty's fall in one country they are boosting up dynastiese everywhere else)? Is the release of Maclean, the fearless International Socialist teacher of Glasgow, after one year out of his sentence of three, a purely voluntary act of clemeney? Did the Sailors' boycott of Ramsay Macdonald melt of itself and not at the dictation of Revolutionary Russia? Is the movement in Austria just pro-Ally, or concerned forsooth merely with electoral reform? Is the "Internationale" at Helsingfors only a lunatic's "Tipperary"? And is Germany utterly unresponsive to all those ominous stirrings? Which of us after all would seriously look to Sir Starr Jameson's Reuter Company. we will not say for a historical interpretation of the various revolutionary movements that have sprung up in the the last few months, but even for a correct statement of their outstanding episodes?

Yet when you observe the rapt air of reverent credulity with which your average free and intelligent elector; pores open-jawed over his "Star" or his "Sunday Times," or find "lifelong Socialists' giving their votes, "in order not to waste them," to wasters, you hardly wonder that it is still only possible to count 355 men clearsighted enough to declare themselves International Socialists in Benoni, and 71 in Commissioner Street; so that in this benighted land it is positively a distinction, shared by only a few hundreds or thousands at the most all told, to be able to spew out of the mouth, instead of swallowing whole, the greasy hash dished out to us daily by Press gaugs who, as we all know, are avowed hirelings of the little ring of capitalist bosses now running the world. purchasable any day for a million or so by pro-Germans for pro-Allies, whichever bids highest or last.

Undoubtedly a colossal counter revolution is being made by an the Lowers, less by force of arms than by the subtle and more effective weapon of wholesale spoolmongery. tierman Fress (echoing the English), represents the Russian Revolution as Anti-tierman, hoping thus to alienate from it the sympathy or the patriotic Boche; the British, when it shows itself palpably more socialistic than Anti-Romanoff, call it indiscriminately anarchist, pacifist, extremist, or Pro-German; while tienderson, Thomas, Van der Velde, with other 'Sociaiist" wisacres (who will still be passionately refusing ever to meet a Hun long after the diplomats have taken their seats together at their Peace Couference-table) are despatched to voni Allied Imperialism (called "democracy') over the luckless Russians, and no doubt the Kaiser in turn is hurling his emissaries at them with converse poison for their ears. Both groups would rather lose to each other than lose to the Proletarian Revolution, and both are therefore employing the last ounce of their spoof-power to belittle and discourage the movement which is destined soon to close down both their War game and their Peace game.

So when news, or the dearth of it. seems depressing to us Revolutionarie. at this shank end, let us infer, from that very fact, that is is concocted or concealed expressly to depress us, and that therefore there is very good reason behind why it is desired to depress us. The enemy can see even if we canno, that the Socialist Revolution of to-day must be international and simultaneous in all capitalist countries, and that as long as it can be prevented from being that it will fail. The duty to "give a lead" therefore rests on us all alike. Instead of waiting on Russia, any apparent slackening oversea must spur us on to redoubled propaganda, redoubled organisation, by way of compensation here: and in particular to much more than redoubled educative effort among our disinherited native toilers, the real working class, broadly speaking, of South Africa.

S.P.B.

League Notes.

Johannesburg.

Our month's election campaign has shown that Commissioner Street, in spite of the Revolutionary Socialist propaganda preached on the Market Square for years past, is no longer-the home of any considerable body of class conscious Socialists. On the other hand, a certain not inconsiderable element of the population of Ferreirastown notoriously allowed itself to be bought away from its deeper convictions in the interest of ambitious candidates, and on the other, the hotel and tenement block working class population of the Eastern portion of the Constituency is after all not of the type which can be counted upon to keep the

Red Flag flying when it snows. Both sections displayed an evident unwillingness to grasp the nettle, although they cannot be said to be ignorant of the excellent results to be expected from such elementary audacity. On the other hand, the 71 Socialist voters polled represent as great an improvement on Troyeville as Benoni in turn does on Commissioner Street, and the canvass revealed a lot of promising material which the local Branches will not fail to turn to good account.

Our outside meeting last Sunday week was well attended in spite of bleak weather, and was addressed by Comrades Tyler and Bunting. Indoors, Comrades Botha, A. S. Campbell, J. Righthouse (his first appearance on behalf of our League), J. Gibson, and Bunting as Candidate, took the platform in turn to a large audience, which especially appreciated Com. Righthouse's humorous style.

Last Sunday Coms. Tyler and Reid spoke to a large and most attentive open-air meeting outside the Town Hall, while inside Com. A. B. Dunbar spoke on his usual lines, exposing false prophets, appealing to parents to train their Children as Socialists not Militarists, and to workers to organise industrially to control production—an appeal which, as Adv. L. W. Ritch also emphasised, must apply to the fullest extent to native workers. But let us be frank about these meetings. The audience they attract will certainly have to support the proletarian revolution, but it cannot be said as yet to be even a white working class audience, while as for native workers, notwithstanding repeated advertisements welcoming "all, irrespective of colour," they are still too shy and suspicious of the white to attend except on rare and ?: special occasions.

Benoni.

The I.S.L. has come to stay as a force to be reckoned with in Benoni elections. The Labour Party resorted to any tactics to beat us, appealing to ignorance not intelligence, pouring out mendacious abuse in true natonswill style, and, strictly for the benent of the local Nationalists, harping on the ',d-d haffir' string (and got the Nationalist vote accordingly). Uur meetings were enormously successiul, particularly that on the eve of the poll, when three meetings had been billed for the Market Square, and we held the crowd in spite of a hooligan attempt to rush our platform. It alone was worth the cost of the election. Even the Labour Party had to sing, and hoist, the Red Flag, and to drop the blue and white, the two flag button, and the "Vote for Kuper and God save the King' used by them in previous Benoni contests; while Madely protested that he was a War-on-Watrite, and Andrews the See-itthrough man. Moreover we got into touch with much silent support in most unexpected quarters, and with a proper canvass should have found more still. Boksburg North should start a branch in the near future. Altogether we are pleased with our 355 class conscious votes.

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Interpretation of the state of

The native question loomed large inAndrews' Benoni campaign, especially in the form of isolated goggas designed to scare the Dutch elector. Through the candidate, who, as in Commissioner Street, was debarred from Press publicity and hall accommodation, the League issued a leaflet which. after exposing the place-hunter origin of the see it through policy, the consequent surrender of the "Labour Party to all the Home and Foreign designs of the master class as such, and the complete endearment to capital, and estrangement from labour, of that party's misleaders, to the point of being returned to office unopposed, contained the following:

My opponents are endeavouring to prejudice your minds against me on the Native question. They are spreading around the catchvote alarum that I want to give the vote to the Kaffir.

declares for the inclustrial solidarity of Labour irrespective of race or colour. As the candidate of the 1.S.L.

I stand or fall by that principle.

Workers To the workers the world by rights belongs. To the workers the workers the workers the workers the workers the workers at and solidly together. I maintain therefore that it is the imperative duty of the white workers to recognise their identity of interest with the native workers as against their common masters.

to failure. We must either lift the native up to the white standard, or sink down to his. The native must be given the matter to combine, the right to withold his labour, just as we have that right. There must be no distinction of black and white be-

desiring to give civil equality to the native. In the I hour Party constitution stood the demand so little heard of nowadays for the abolition of the indentured system of native labour. The abolition of the indentured system of native wifed system inevitably leads towards political equality. It is time to the white workers to deal with the native as a man and a fellow-worker and not as a chattel slave and with a serf. Only that ways lies freedom and justice for all.

A fearless declaration; but true, and his liberce stathems to Madeley and his backers, who, like a thief in the night, but shout the following on the eye of the poll, and are now doing their ut impet to call in every copy, lest haply the Dape electors should get hold of one though to be sure, Pearce, Snow and Co. have got in already, so why

There are three candidates in the lifeld for the Provincial Council. The first is Mijnheer Kuper, a resident and business man of Benoni. All his properties and businesses are in Be-

noni, and therefore all his interests are the interests of Benoni.

in Johannesburg and is a representative of the Corner House Party, the party which recently in Parliament passed the Bewaarplaatsen Law, a law which gives the Capitalists the sum of £1,200,000, the property of the State. Mr. Sellars represents only the Unionist Party but not Benoni. He knows not Benoni and Benoni knows not him.

The third is Mr. Andrews. He also does not live in Benoni. He has no properties, businesses or interests in Benoni and can do nothing for Benoni. Mr. Andrews is an International Socialist and gives out that if he is elected, he will stop the war in Europe. That is all rubbish. South Africa cannot end the war only the Transvaal and has nothing to do with the war.

The International Socialists stand for equal rights for white and black. They want the natives to have the same right to vote as the whites, and also in businesses and trades. They want their coloured brothers to compete in trades such as masons, painters, cabinet makers, mechanics, plate-layers and pipe-layers. This would be fatal under present circumstances, for the conditions will become the tool of the Capitalist.

There are 100,000 poor whites here in South Africa. The Capitalist gives the coloured man the preference because he is cheaper than the white man. The Internationalists if they are allowed will perpetuate this state of affairs.

The Labour Party is entirely against equal rights for white and black.

FIRST WHITE THEN BLACK,"

Brother Africanders: Vote for Sellars and you vote for slavery; vote for Andrews and you vote for the downfall of the workers and the blanket or Kaffir vote.

Vote for Kuper and you vote for the welfare of the worker who sacrifices his life underground and elsewhere in order to fill the pocket of the capitalist and goldbug. Vote for the Labour Party, the

Vote for the Labour Party, the Party which represents the workers.

R. Waterston; election agent, publisher.

(Translated from the (highly) original Dutch).

for Lionel Phillips. Kuper may let his houses to you or lend you his money, but Phillips gives you your jobs. Kuper may make rent and that rest out of you, but Phillips makes profit out of you. Kuper may own Beneni but Phillips owns the Rest. His interests at therefore your interests as Kuper's can hever be, he can buy out a hundred Kuper's day and not feel it. Its Lionel's a day and not feel it. Its Lionel's a day in the could be it hat £1 200, wouldn't it he could be it a to you had a wouldn't it he could be it in the the wouldn't it he could be it in the lionel's the boy beer time to be in a mount and may be it in the could be in the lionel's the least of any below of any being the could be it in the could be it in the lionel's the least of any below of any being the could be it in the lionel's the least of any below of any being the lionel's the lionel's the least of any below of any being the land.

As for the war, you have nothing to do with that grantept to see it through. Kuper, M.P.C., will put up the stars, but of course he can't be expected to leave his properties and businesses to go tightung inthat's your job, workers. Black and White, side by side for the Empire! What, never? Well, hardly even. Consider the ostrich, which also toils not nor spins, yet can't bury its head so deep as Waterston and his kidney would bury vours. Thanks to your united power through the Hapqur Party, there is no such thing as colouted competition, is there now? The working class is all white. Thereinre, poor whites, scorn a Kathir's work, just take a white man a pay; Kuper can always get you a job like that. Therefore, white wage slaves, go on enslaving your black wage slaves still. Therefore, workers, make Kaffirs do your work for you, as heretofore. All you have to do is to boss them up—for the boss—and vote for the Party which represents the workers." Phew! Where are we?

But when you find a Kaffir's got your job and realise that even Waterston's leaslet couldn't stop it, don't go whining to Madely about it it wasn't his fault, was it? Go to Andrews, who showed you how your salvation lay in co-operating with the blacks and bridging the economic gulf between you and them, not in kidding yourselves such able to 'win the world': and as such able to 'win the world'? and how the "White Labour Policy" has itself become the "tool of the Capitalist;" who scores while you pretend to defeat coloured competition by ignoring it. But there, the Kaffirs themselves are going to settle all these problems without you

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