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Notes of the Bolshevik Movement.

How it came into Power.

In a message to the British Socialist Party from the International Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, it is recalled how on November 6 last authority was taken over from Kerensky's Government by the proletarian party, in Pellograd practically without bloodshed. "Only in Moscow did the capture or the authority entail the loss of hundreds of lives. In the other northern and central parts of Russia the power tell into the hands of the workmen, peasants and soldiers like the ripe fruit from the tree. With fluttering flags the great army went over to the Government of the Peoples' Commissaries. formed by the Second Congress of the Soviets. With whole-hearted energy it supported the workers brganisations. The Extraordinary Congress of Peasants' Delegates acknowledged the new Government by an overwhelming majority. Its Central Committee joined that of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, and at present seven representaffives of the peasants have seats in the Workmen's Government."

The Pro-Germans.

The comes a searchlight on the question, who are the real pro-Germans and receive the German gold. The message says:—

"Naturally the bourgeoisie does not give up the struggle. It mobilises all its strength against the Government of the workmen and poor peasants. In the Don Districts it supports the Cossack generals in their efforts to mobilise against the Workmen's Government the rich Cossacks who tremble with fear at losing their material and political privileges. It supports the Tkrainian Rada, the fighting organ of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and of the well-to-do peasantry, in their fight, which is shamelessly conducted under the mask of a national struggle—all the more shameless because the Workmen's and Peasants' Government has fully acknowledged the right of the Thrainians to national freedom.'

Now we know who invited the German armies into the Ukraine and the

Don districts!

In connection with the Ukraine, the B.S.P. "Call" says: "The Allied support for the Ukrainian Rada was not an innocent blunder. The Rada represented the interests of the Ukrainian capitalists and landlords, and around that body were gathered all the elements that resist the progress of the

Revolution. Even M. Albert Thomas was forced to urge that the Ukrainian rulers were antagonistic to the ideals of liberty, for which M. Thomas fondly believes the Allied Governments wage battle. Our own suborned Press had nothing but praise for the Ukraine. and to assist the rulers of that new republic to continue war on the Russian people, the French Government generously voted £7,000,000. Yet it was clear that the Rada was preparing for a separate peace, and obvious that in that event Russia could not remain in the war with an internal enemy aided by the Allied States. The Bolsheviks are now free to deal with the Ukrainian question. The supporters of the Rada. will have drawn aid from the Allies. and if they continue the civil war 11 will be by virtue of the assistance de-

Efforts for General reace.

To return to the message:

rived from the German autogracy.

'Without à social revolution,' it continues, 'there can be no lasting peace. This of course does not imply that the war will last until socialism has proved victorious in all countries. Should we delay peace so long, in the meantime the proletarians would mutually annihilate themselves at the bidding of capital. Moreover, socialism is wanted for the living, not for the dead.

Therefore, immediately after gaining power, the Russian Workmen's Government approached all nations with the proposal of an immediate truce and peace negotiations.

... The Governments of England, France, Italy and North America did not appear at this truce conference. In the consciousness that it is our duty to defend the interests of the proletariat in all countries, we adjourned the truce negotiations for ten days, giving vour Governments time to come to their senses, or you time to bring them to reason. But even at the expiration of the second period vour Government stood aloof."

Who then is responsible for the humiliating separate peace?

Control of Industry.

Meanwhile, says the message, "the workmen's organisations undertake both locally and centrally the control of production. They not only specify under what conditions goods shall be turned out, but also what goods and how to produce them. Without at once abolishing property, which cannot be accomplished at one stroke, they try by these means to avoid the possibility of the capitalists producing such goods as are not needed by the people but only ensure me capitalists the biggest dividends at the time."

And Politics.

The "Socialist" also quotes Lenin's paper, "Pravda," on democracy: "We are confronted with the question of the relations of the Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils to the Constituent Assembly, and we consider the Councils more truly express the will of the profetariat than any other assembly, for if the Councils lose the confidence of the electors they are at once reelected. The Councils must stand on guard over the interests of the proletariat and propose to the Constituent Assembly the permanent constitution of the Russian Republic based on a union of the syndicates or councils from the workers, peasants, and soldiers."

No State Socialism in Russia!

An Article by Lenin.

The February "Socialist" publishes an article by Lenin from which we extract a few passages:-

"To us the capitalists of Germany are plain pirates, like the capitalists of Russia, England and France. Kaiser Wilhelm is a crowned robber like the rulers of England, Italy, Roumania and other nations.

"As far as Russia is concerned, a prolongation of the war may jeopardise the success of the revolution and prevent it from attaining its ultimate

'The so-called Revolutionary group of National Defence (something like the "National Socialist Party") which comprises all the nationalistic groups of Russia—nationalist socialists, labour party, revolutionary socialists, opportunists, Tcheidse, Tseretelli, etc.; also a large number of independent revolutionists—presents a definite class hias. It counts among its members, on one side, many well-to-do farmers, small landlords, who, like capitalists proper, derive profits from the enslavement of small nations, and, on the other hand, industrial and agricultural workers who are in no way interested in capitalist exploitation, but are labouring under a misapprehension created by the capitalists. We absolutely refuse to compromise in any way with that group, as it would mean the abandonment of all the principles of International Socialism."

The article shows, however, that the Bolsheviks intend to "fight another day"—for the revolution

Lenin to Henderson.

On the 6th February Lenin sent the following telegram to Arthur Hender. son, M.P.:-

"Russian Socialist Government regrets inability to participate in the Allied Socialist Conference as being contrary to the principles of internationalism. We object to division of the

working class according to Imperialist. grouping. If British labour agrees to Russian peace aims, which are already accepted by the Socialist parties of the Central Powers, such division is still more unwarranted."

Miscellaneous Items.

The "Socialist" says: "The outbreak of the war found Lenin at Cracow. The Austrian Government at once arrested him as an alien enemy, but Victor Adler, leader of the Austrian Social Democratic party, intervened for his release, and he was able to make his way to Switzerland," and adds that Lenin was the leading -pirit of the

Zimmerwald Conference.

We are told that Lenin and Co. broke up the Russian army. But the "Manchester Guardian" of October 25 1917 quoles Kerensky as admitting "That the aimy which the revolution inherited was decomposed and perishing, only in the days of the Tsar the newspapers were not allowed to say so." It is Lenin and Co. who are now reorganising it as a citizen army at top wages.

The same paper, on 30th November. 1917, says: "At the time when Lenin was stated by the press in the Allied countries to be in Germany, after his disappearance from Petrograd, he was in fact carrying on a propaganda among the Russian peasants."

Diplomatic intelligence.

Comrade John Maclean has been appointed Russian Consul in Glasgow.

Monuments to Marx.

Since the revolution, says Mr. Arthur Ransome, the Daily News' correspondent in Petrograd, and apparently the only member of the corps journalistique who understands the Bolsheviks, there has been (in Russie) an immense sale of books dealing with sociological questions. If an officer was going to the city he would be asked by his men to bug books for them. and the greatest demand was always for Karl Marx and books of that type.

Russia is not alone there. 'If strikes have been fewer in 1917 than in 1916," says the Glasgow Herald, "thinking has been done on a larger scale. The growth of economic classes has been simply phenomenal, and their number in the west of Scotland is legion. The doctrines of Marx are being woven into the life texture of thousands of young men and women, and the outlook for a revolutionary change in the social life is heightened accordingly.

That, after all, says "The Plebs," is the fine t centenary monument to Marx, and the one he himself would most have appreciated!

Lord Weardale. "one of your own prophets," speaking in the House of Lords on January 8th, 1918, said: "We are no longer under a Parliamentary regime, but under a Press regime, a regime in which the Press moverns the country, and not always we bust part of the Press." A.ve. Langler Levy, Imperator!

Man and Tools.

By J.M.G.

To the student of sociology the undoubted fact stands out clear and distinct — that societies have come and gone, by kaleidoscopic changes, one phase of society after another; and the outstanding factor in these changes is the tool.

The history of the past has the tool as its basis, ever evolving from the simple to the complex. It has been responsible for all the effects that distinguish mankind from animals. It has been the lever that has lifted them from their brute progenitors, with their simple wants and contracted outlook upon a world they regarded with awe and superstition, to mankind of to-day which is able to harness the forces of nature and make them subservient to its will.

The tool has ever been, as it is today, the controlling factor in raising the superstructure of society.

Man is not alone in the use of tools. Other animals are endowed by nature with tools, others again use those weapons, such as branches of trees and stones, that may be convenient to them when attacked by enemies or in the search for food. Man alone, owing to his biological structure, has the power to make tools and shape them to meet the changing circumstances.

Not the discovery only of tools, but the perfecting of them has placed man in the premier position in the animal world. This technical progress is the fundamental masis of the entire development of mankind. Every advance along the technical path is a conscious and intentional process, giving rise to effects not foreseen or intended by the authors, thus giving rise to conditions that require vet further technical advances as modifications to meet the new condutions.

The advance in tools has been greater during the past hundred years than during the whole previous civilisation period. Yet all our great mechanicai tools--whether for use in the production of useful commodities to sustain life, or for its destruction—had their foundations in the discoveries made by our primitive ancestors. The whole progess has been a social evolution that has enabled man to live in any clime or survive almost under any circumstances. His ability to devise tools has transformed his natural environment.

Under the communistic tribal form of society the tool was common property. It was simple in form, whether applied to handicraft or to the tillage of the ground. The advent of civilisation based on private property divorced the mass of the people from use of the land, enslaving the majority as slaves or serfs, while the handicraft workers became dependent upon a master class as freemen or slaves.

The best period for small production since the advent of civilisation in England was the fifteenth century. At that period serfdom had disappeared, and the handicraft worker had complete control of his tools. The neriod has been described as the "Golden Age of

English Labour." Yet "the economic mills grind slow but sure," and soon these conditions passed away, being changed by a systematic appropriation of the land and a gradual enslavement that laid the foundation of modern capitalistic society. The veoman class of England by a process of greed and grab were gradually extinguished. The common lands were enclosed. And the handieraft workers gradually, from being supplied with the raw materials by the merchants, were forced into factories and workshops, in which the labour process has gradually been subdivided and intensified, thus evolving into the huge complex scientific machmery of to-day.

The workers have been divorced from the tools of production, but the economic laws that determined that divorcement are also operating, and are determining the next stage in our social evolution.

The complex nature of modern production for the world's markets has reached the stage where labour creates social wealth, individually owned and controlled. And the capitalist class are faced to-day with a problem unforeseen by the possession of these tools, that is that social production is bound to lead to social ownership.

The tool has been the storm centre of the antagonisms of the past—as at is to-day. Around the machines of production the social forces will muster and tear them from their present possessors, and place them under control of the community as a whole.

The revolution that will place the economic power in the control of the people as a whole may be peaceful or otherwise. Time alone will tell. But it is inevitable. The rumbling first sounds are to be heard by those that wish to hear. And soon the fabric will fall, giving place to the co-operative commonwealth.

The bourgeoisie believe it possible to discover the law of social evolution in the psychology of primitive man in conjunction with biological laws, as in animal and plant organisms. This conservative attitude is nothing short of a denial of social development, and a sample of those half-truths that are characteristic of the intellectual apologists in defence of capitalistic society. Scientific socialists, in opposition to this theory, hold that the discovery of the tool raised man above the animal. Not the discovery only, but the gradual perfecting of it from a club with which primitive man slew his enemy or procured the sustenance of life to the complex machinery of to-day; a gradual evolution controlled by necessity, as the tasks were presented to each succeeding generation to meet the physical needs of humanity.—J.M.G.

SUNDAY LECTURE.—"The Labour Movement in England" is the subject for Sunday night. Comrade Hanscomb will he the lecturer and the chair will be taken at 8 o'clock in the Palmerston Hall, Commissioner Street.

Points Worth Considering.

By W.R.

There are only two classes that matter (t) the class who own everything but do not toil; and (2) the class who do all the toiling but own nothing:

Strikes and lock-outs alone conclusively prove that there is no identity of interests between these two classes.

They also prove that there is ever a struggle or preparation for struggle between these two classes. One class has control of the army, navy, law courts, police force and legislative machinery. The other class has nothing but a mistable array of trade unions over which it has no control whatever. It is a sight between badly aimed boomerangs and well-aimed machine guns.

If it were possible to end the struggle between these two classes and bring about an equitable system, it would be a wise and noble achievement; but there are obstacles. One is the labour leader who does everything in his power to hang on to his job, for if the struggle were put an end to his position over his fellows would stop. Therefore he negotiates, conciliates, arbitrates, compromises and ties up the unions with sacred agreements, and by these and scores of underhand pieces of treachery simply castrates union power in order to keep his soft job.

Another obstacle is the intellectual, and first as school teacher. This creacure warps the infantile mind with patriotic drivel and superstitious cant. He instils militarism, king-worship, priestworship, fake political economy, humility, submission to authority and dissorted ethics, into little children. He gets paid by the owning idle class for so doing. (This includes women.) Atterwards the parson, priest, ethical teacher, metaphysical expert, journalist, novelist, magazine and neatpaper editor, the lawyer and the politician, assist in the process of absolutely addling the brains of the working people by studied fraud, deceit, lies and ignorance. These intellectuals, from school teacher to cabinet minister, have only their brains or mental ability to hire out in order to live. Conse quentity they sell themselves to the only class that can pay for brains, the owning idle class, and must therefore ocho the sentiments of their masters. That is why we do not trust the inteliectual. He might be honest even, but so saturated is he with upper class. ideals and thought that he is a menace · to any working class organisation.

These are the immediate obstacles to working class emancipation. Kick over the labour leader and heed not the sweet warblings of the intellectual. This latter will show you how to get to heaven (when you are dead). how to "Nationalise industry," how to reform Parliament, how to study Home Rule. how to municipalise everything, and how to get votes for women, whereas what you really ought to know is how to end the class struggle and inaugurate the socialist republic. You cannot give your attention to this and min after the red herrings of the intellectuals at the same time. All these other questions are playthings, not forslaves, but for the capitalists' hired flunkeys, the intellectuals. You have got to make up your minds that the bitter struggle between yourselves and the master class must be fought to a finish.

Realise, too, that such organisations as you have are a very poor help. The masters are divided into sections on all squestions but the one affecting labour; they quickly unite when Labour Militant threatens their class solidarity. The workers in craft unions are divided on all questions, and craft or sectional unionism prevents them from ever showing a solid from; in other words it makes for disunity instead of solidarity. What an unequal fight is here! Labour, properly organised, is more powerful than all the combined armies, navies and police of Europe, but craft unionism helps to keep it disorganised.

Suppose you have been dangling from the same rope over a poisonous well for seventy years, the well will have grown more stagnant and poisonous during that time, and the rope will have become considerably rotten in proportion. Suppose someone not out of sickly pity for you, but out of dommon sense, flung you a chain cable by which you could escape from the well altogether, wouldn't you be a fool not te take speedy advantage of it? Certainly you would, though you would be a higger fool still if you let go the rotten rope before you grasped the chain cable.

Revolutionary socialism with industrial organication is the chain, labourism-cum-trade-unionism is the rotten rope, and capitalist exploitation is the poisonous shaft over which you perilously dangle. Come, workers, grasp your chain. There are sure footholds and firm hand grips upon it, by means of which you may climb to the purer atmosphere of social equality. Study carefully the literature of sociaiism and industrial unionism (it doesn't cost much, in fact you can get a fairly good library for a few shillings) and begin forthwith to educate vour shopmates upon its principles. Steer them clear of intellectual jiggery-pokery, for time is precious. Let the question of a revolutionary union dominate your minds, for on that question alone depends the success of all efforts on behalf of the working class.

LEAGUE DANCE.—The Entertainment Committee has arranged a dance for Wednesday next, the 10th inst., in Professor West's Academy, 125, Pritchard Street. Dancing will commence at 8 p.m., and the tickets are 2s. 6d. As usual refreshments are provided. These functions have been remarkably successful in the past, and there is every reason to expect even greater success on this occasion.

CENTRAL BRANCH.—The monthly meeting of this branch is announced for Tuesday next, the 9th inst., at 8 o'clock, in the Palmerston Hall. Owing to recent developments the business should be more interesting than usual.

A Members' Pow-wow.

An "Industrial Conference" of "all interested" was held on Sunday last at the Palmerston Hotel; those present being nearly all members of the I.S.L. with the exception of a score of native workers who have so far not become members. Comrade II. C. Hanscomb acted as chairman and Comrade A. Watson as secretary. Speeches were delivered by the chairman and Comrade C. B. Tyler, emphasising the disadvantages of the craft union in coping with present day industry, and the need for the workers to show an unbroken front by a solid class union. As instances were quoted the Building Workers' strike in London, where when the masters could not break the spirit of all the unions concerned, they called upon their fellow-masters all over England to lock out the affected unions--a parallel for the workers to follow; the action of the trade unions in the 1907 miners' strike on the Rand, when all the other unions worked away with the scab miners; and the mesent S.A. Industrial Federation, which was described as a federation of looseness, from which any union can withdraw at "will.

Discussion ensued on a "preamble" of principles which had been drawn up, based on the I.W.W. preamble; debate centring particularly around two rival clauses imported from America (why not from Russia nowadays):—

(a) 'Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and machinery of production, and abolish the wage system' and

struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field and take and hold that which they produce by their labour through an economic organisation of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

Eventually (b) found favour, less on account of its intrinsic merits than on account of what (a) does not say but is considered, owing to certain associtations, to imply.

The preamble, which was adopted, together with a constitution and regulations also submitted, constitutes an attempt to foreshadow the lines upon which all industrial Workers of Africa," irrespective of colour, may eventually be organised into one union under that name. Those present, however, somewhat incontinently resolved to form themselves into an 'findustrial organisation" under that name; and under that name the conference will be resumed next Sunday, April 7th, at 10. a.m., at the Palmerston, to discuss constitution and regulations, elect officers, etc.

It will be remembered that the objective of the I.S.L. is "to propagate the principles of ... Industrial Unionism," and one of its available methods is "promotion of revolutionary industrial organisation." It is to be hoped, though with grave misgiving, that the proceedings above mentioned will tend in that direction.

Dualism Among Railwaymen.

The "S.A. Railway Review," whose debut we shall refer to next week, quotes our article of 8th February last on the function of the S.A.I.F. in railway matters, and asks, among other questions:—

"Why Mr. Crawford entered into negotation with the Railway Administration about railwaymen's conditions without consulting the Railwaymen's

Union?

Why Mr. Crawford told the Railway Administration that he did not want representatives of the Railway Union present at his conference with the Minister of Railways?

"Why an Industrial Federation representing only the mines and the craft unions generally was called to conferwith the Minister of Railways?

"Why not rather with the Minister

of Mines and Industries?

"Whether the Federation of Trades knows that 95 per cent. of the organised mechanics in the railway service belong to their own National Union?

"Whether the Federation knows that only the other 5 per cent. are members

oi the craft unions?

"Whether the Federation cannot see that the Administration is encouraging Mr. Crawford in the hope that he will rob the National Union of the other 95 per cent.?

"Why the Railway Administration gives Mr. Crawford a first-class railway pass and a guinea a day to cover expenses in connection with railway or-

ganisation?

Whether the Federation knows that the Railway Administration deprived Mr. Noble, the provisional chairman, of his own annual pass to prevent him using it for the same purpose?

"Why the Railway Administration gives Mr. Crawford permission to addiess meetings of workmen on railway

premises!

"Why the Railway Administration, ignoring the Salt River Institute committee, gave Mr. Crawford permission to use the Railway Institute for his meetings and left the National Union to fight its way through circumlocution for the same thing?

"Whether the Railway Administration expects another smash-up of railway organisation by the same means?

"Why the Railway Administration, after damning the Federation for years, has now got its arms round its neck?

. "Why at the same time it fights the

railwaymen's own Union?

What amount of public money has been spent by the Administration on endeavours to check the National Union by secret service and other methods?

"What the secret service department said when it heard that a delegate had been summarily court-martialled and fired out of the Union."

The "Review" proceeds:-

"It is as if we went to a conference with the Minister of Mines without consulting the miners' unions and arranged terms of pay for them on the ground that there are a few men in the employ of the mines corresponding to

railway employees, such as engine drivers, stokers, etc.

"The more we get to know of the present attitude of the Federation the more the whole thing looks like an intrigue on the part of the Administration into which the Federation or its secretary, Mr. Crawford, is being dragged. For years the Administration has ordered all the craft unions to stand off the grass, regarding them as poisonous outsiders who have no business inside railway affairs. It has used all its influence against men joining craft unions. Now it suddenly reverses and tries to hustle every eligible man into : the eraft unions, and places a halo around the head of Brother Crawford."

Taking His Name in Vain.

The 'International has never concerned itself with Rationalism as such. for whatever superstitions are involved in the religions of the world are at least equalled by countless modern secular. superstitions. But if anything is calculated to breed atheists wholesale it is this daily prayer-wheel business which has invaded our Town Hall steps in Johannesburg, and no doubt elsewhere, since the German Huns' 'great push" began. Enfeebling as the whole war atmosphere has inevitably been on the general mentality and morality of the world, surely this eclipses all records. Who can respect the piety of the lifelong sinner who takes the last sacrament on his deathbed from fear of the unknown—it might save him from hell if hell there is: at any rate there's no harm in trying? Equally this sudden revival of prayer in a military crisis—we will not say in the hour of funk--this episcopal wireless despatch of so much 'spicitual reinforcement' to the trenches, this bawling like Aesop's stuck waggoner to Hercules, this appeal to the Almighty (not the All-righty) to "intervene," like the U.S.A., against Might for Right, against Satan for Himself, must provoke in the Martian observer in this twentieth century a sardonic, Mephistophelian laughter. And vet, unlike the Tibetans, we can only spare a couple of minutes a day from business or race meetings thus to win the war, as if we all shared the misgivings of the prayer book which beseeches "peace in our time, because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, Oh I.brd." Presumably it would have been otherwise if bigger battalions had been on our side. However, the Allied armies are still game, so the Mons angels are evidently again on the job. "Not Thy will, but mine, be done," is the resolution of the Cape Province Council. Gott is mit Uns after all!

Conciliation is a capitalist's device for appearing to be just and labour's device for appearing to be reasonable.

—(A. R. Orage, in "The Alphabet of Economics.")

Why Burn the House to Roast the Pig?

Alexander Herzen, a Russian coatemporary of Marx, concluded that the "socialistic folk state" would be likely to remain long unrealised were at not for the existence of a people competent to undertake the great task or bringing about the true social revolution in contradistinction to the bourgeois revolution. Such, he said, was the mission of the Russian people.

Russia had not suffered from the three great scourges — Catholicism. Roman law and the bourgeoisie. Feudalism, Profestantism and Liberalism were merely developments of these three principles. Feudalism was derived from Catholicism and Roman law: Protestantism and Liberalism were the ultimate phases of Catholicism. Hence Russia knew nothing of feudalism. Protestantism and Liberalism. Russia would never be content with "the golden mean," and would not make a revolution simply in order to get rid of Tsar Nicholas (I.) and to replace him by Tsar-deputies, Tsar-judges and Tsarpolicemen. In the Russian peasant (still a serf, practically still a chattei slave when Herzen was writing), in the mir (village community), and in the artel (co-operative) lay the hope of the future. The mir contained three elements of exceptional value; the right of every individual to land, the common ownership of land, the self-government of the village community. Herzen (like Tolstoy) refused to recognise the validity of any historical law in accordance with which Russia must follow exactly the same path as the other European nations. She could, he 'thought, by a short cut, advance straightway to a higher level of development.--(From a review, in 'The Plebs' of Masaryk's "The Spirit of Russia.")

The recent Native National Congress, which ought to be but is not a proletarian body, is to be congratulated on its militancy, but not on its knowledge of the world. Happy its message to its brethren a the conquered colonies. 'Lest they also come into this place of torment": yet can they never see that exploitation and oppression of native races is the work, not of Boers in particular, but of capitalists everywhere, and is only softened, if at all, under the cosmopolitan capitalist, because he finds his methods produce for him better results? With the congress decision to send militant natives' representatives to Parliament in the Cape and to press for the vote elsewhere no one can quarrel, for the whites have forced them to form themselves into a definite native nationalist party; but a grave error was committed in failing to give attention to the one weapon the ruling class fear—the organisation of the native workers.

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