# THE INTERNATIONAL

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

P.O. BOX 4179.

Reppe's Buildings, 54, Fox Street.

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No. 127



FRIDAY, MAR. 29, 1918.

PRICE Id. WEENLY.

### The Backwoodsmen.

#### "The Right to Combine."

"Even to-day there are probably people who approve of the legislation which sentenced the six labourers of Tolpuddle, Dorsetshire, to seven years' transportation for attempting to form a branch of a trade union. The right to combine was only won in England after a long and severe struggle, and one still comes across men who, whilst applanding close corporations of doctors, lawyers and what not, regard an organisation of labourers as the work of the device. But as far as South Africa is coucerned the battle is practically won. The discussion in the House of Assembly last week revealed the presence of but very few of the old. Peterloo brigade in this country. . . . ' There is hardly a business anywhere nowadays in which the employers are not united in some sort of organisation, and we have never been able to discover any logical reason why those they employ should not enjoy the same liberty to look after their own interests. . . Who are the workers who to-day draw the highest wages and enjoy the best condi tions?... The employers of these men are not generally found to be on the threshold of the hankrupter court. They don't starve because their workmen have united. '-- 'Sunday Times. March 24th, 1918.

#### Botha's Threat.

"A Daniel come to judgment, we can hear the precious labourites" exclaim. "A second Daniel," we retort on reading General Botha's mediaeval pronouncement, published on the previous day, and sure to be applauded by the whole House, labourites and all, as follows:

"Touching on the organised movement, which was taking place among certain white people to make the natives on the mines fornicunions and create discontent, he said the matter was an extremely serious one. The Government would have to ask the House to give it greater powers to put a stop to this organised movement. It was difficult to control the large number of unemployed natives on the Rand, but it was essential that steps should be taken to protect both natives and Europeans."

Simultaneously the Government gave it out that it would not proceed with the Native Administration Bilimetil after the war. The native opposition was too strong. The proletarian opposition to the threatened anti-combination "powers" will eventually be stronger still.

Meanwhile let us leave Botha to ponder his "Sunday Times," while we delve into the history of the age to which he and his followers on all sides of Parliament belong.

We are not here concerned with the merits of the labour union movement, but only with the obvious fact that Botha is at least a hundred years behind the times from the point of view of his own class.

#### A Dip into Ancient History.

At the beginning of the nineteenth' century the Combination laws forbade all unions of workmen for raising wages or reducing hours. The main use of the laws to the employers was to checkmate strikes and ward off demands for better conditions of labour. (Webb, History of Trades Unionism.) Mr. Justice Stephen says of the 1799 Act: The only freedom for which u seems to me to have been specially solicitous is the freedom of employers from coercion by their men. "We havehave no acts of Parliament, 'said Adam Smith, "against combining to lower the price of work, but many against combining to raise it.

#### "An Extremely Serious Matter."

"Under the shadow of the French Revolution the English governing glasses regarded all associations of the common people with the utmost alarm. In this general terror lest insubordination should develop into rebellion was merged both the capitalists' objection to high wages and the politicians dislike of democratic institutions. The combination laws were considered an absolute necessity to prevent rumous extortions by workmen which, if not thus restrained, would destroy the whole of the trade, manufactures, commerce and agriculture of the nation." (Webb). Innumerable prosecutions and convictions took place for such "conspiracy" against, the dominant classes—Athree weavers, for example, being sent to gaol in 1803 merely for carrying a letter requesting help from other workmen; an offence for which, by the way. Boild a men fired on some of us in 1914. It was urged by the prosecution that 'all societies, whether benefit societies or otherwise, were only cloaks for the people of England to conspire against the State"; and barbarous sentences were imposed. Adam Smith describes the inevitable result of a strike as being "nothing but the punishment or rain of the ringleaders.

#### English Pass Laws.

What made the condition of the labourers worse still was the fact that they could neither go from one place to another to seek work, nor could they combine in industrial partnership

for their mutual interests. The law of settlement effectually prevented migration of labourers from one farm to another." (Gibbins, Industrial History of England.)

#### Press Bogeymen.

The later apparent repeal of the Combination Laws meant no diminution of the hostility of the ruling class. to labour unions. The flesh-creeping slimy journalistic tactics we are so familiar with in this country were already known in those days. In the leading articles of the newspapers or 1830-4, alarmist references were made to some "great Power of Darkness" vaguely described as the "Trades Union' (nowadays they say the "I.W.W."). "It was soon worked up by the newspapers to a pitch at which it alarmed the employers, dismally excited the imaginations of the middle class, and compelled the attention of the Government." (Webb.)

#### "Greater Powers" Wanted.

"When we first came into office," said Lord Melbourne, the Whig Home Secretary, in 1830, "the unions of trades in the North of England and in other parts of the country for the purpose of raising wages, etc., and the General Union for the same purpose. were pointed out to me by Sir Robert Peel (the outgoing Tory Home Secretary) "as the most formidable difficulty and danger with which we had to contend. A Commission which included the economist Nassau Senior reported: "It the innocent and laborious workman and his family are to be left. without protection. if the manifingturer is to employ his capital only under the dictation of his shortsighted and rapacious workmen... if a few agitators are to be allowed to command a strike which first paralyses the industry of the peculiar class of workpeople over whom they tyrannise, and then extends itself in an increasing circle... if all this is to be unpunished . . . . it is vain to hope that we shall long retain the industry, the skill, or the capital or which our manufacturing superiority, and with that superiority our power and almost our existence as a nation, depends." And it proposed to prohibit under severe penalties 'all attemple... even simply to ask workmen to join the Union," and to empower employers, for any contraventión, to arrest without summons or warrant. In August, 1833, Lord Melbourne wrote that it was "unnecessary to repeat the strong opinion cutertained by His Majesty's Ministers of the criminal character and the evil effects of the unions. . . Such combinations ure illegai conspiracies." ('omhinations and strikes on the part of the 'lower orders' were regarded as futile and disorderly attempts to escape from

their natural position of social subservience—as wariare against their proprietors and masters" (Webb-this last phiase being Lord Londonderry's); and the same sneaking spy methods were adopted against them in those days as we know in South Africa to-day. It was only in keeping with such a campaign that the six Dorchester labourers. were in March, 1834, sent to Botany Bay for seven years for, in effect, getting men to join a union (a sentence repeated four years later in the case of the five Glasgow cotton spinners). Arrived in Australia, they were sold to labous contractors at £1 a head.

The true solution of the contest between labour and capital," they seemed to hold in those days, with General Botha to-day and with Henry Clay, the champion of American slavery, "is that capital should own the labourers whether white or black." (Remember that the workers in those days, like our South African black workers to-day, were largely uneducated.)

#### The Tables Turned.

And the result of it all has been the growth of unions, to such an extent indeed that the ruling class, so far from being able to suppress them, now finds them (for reasons constantly pointed out in the 'International') 'the best securities that employers can have for the rule of reason and the observance of engagements on the part of the operatives. The crucifiers of the early labour movement have become, to adopt a phrase of Marx, its testamentary executors. But (except for the white unions, who are patting themselves on the back this Good Friday with bourgeois approval) not yet so in South Africa, where, as it was in the beginning, so with our poor old-world Botha it is now and ever shall be. world without end, Amen: Come then. let him try on his reactionary game, for experience proves it a case where the blood of the martyrs becomes the seed of the Church. You can't keep men disunited by Act of Parliament.

As we said above, we are here arguing on bourgeois lines for bourgeois hearers, for all the world as if we were M.L.A.'s. As socialists we are alive to the dangers of trade unionism not merely to the capitalist but to the labour movement. It is for us to watch the young plant and keep it clean from the sectional, craft, and fakir grubs which have corrupted so many a fine

growth in the past.

All interested in industrial unionism are reminded that a conference is to be held in the Palmerstone Hall, on Sunday next, March 31, commencing at 10 a.m. All individuals who believe in this form of organisation will be entitled to take part and vote.

The Johannesburg Central Branch held a very successful meeting on Sanday evening at the Palmerston Hall. Comrade A. B. Dunbar gave an address on "The Movement," at the close of which a number of questions were asked and a healthy discussion ensued, the chief theme being political action versus industrial action. The lecture was very helpful and we are hoping to have more in the near future.

# No Compromise.

By J.M.G.

The compromising acties that have always dominated the labour leaders whether on the political or in the narrow craft union sphere of activity, have made shipwreck of every effort even to ameliorate the conditions of the workers. The history of the past is strewed with pulliative failures, failures that justify as logical the attitude taken up by those socialists who have always preached no compromise or political trading with the enemy. No matter how plausible these padiatives may appear, they are merely side tracking schemes that brush the economic surface and neglect the essentials.

These labour leaders compromising antics brand them as hopeless, no matter how plausible their cant phrases may be as to 'not neglecting small things." 'half a loaf better than none." "socialism by instalments," and many other catch-cries that are mere shadows diverting the worker from the material substance. Their leaders ignorance of the most elementary knowledge of those things necessary to an understanding of the economic forces operating in society is too vile for words. It leads them into all sorts of compromising side tracking schemes formulated by the possessing class for alleviating the position of the workers.

Mr. Creswell's motion in the S.A. House of Assembly was a typical example of the befogged mentality of these so-called leaders. His motion for legislative pains and penalties to be inflicted upon the employing class, should they dismiss any employee owing to his being a member of sa trade union, show him to be incapable and incompetent, 'a blind leader of the blind," toa blind to see or understand that a Government composed of the o possessing class and their nominees would never pass such legislation, except with such \*safeguards to themselves as would nullify any benefit that might accrue to the workers.

The crafty amendment introduced to his motion and accepted by the Assembly was more in keeping with the atmospheric conditions of such a gathering, playing up as it did to the cry for "recognition of the trade unions, a recognition that will only be conceded to tame unions, regulated and registered. In other words, economic conscription, with the enforced settlement of disputes, if need be; by the policeman's baton and the soldier's bayonet.

To enter into any compromise with the possessing class under any circumstances is fatal to the worker, and this applies with greater force when that compromise leads to legal restrictions and penalties that can be enforced by the material forces of the State.

"No compromise" should be the battle cry of the worker. There can be no compromise between exploiter and exploited, or robber and robbed. To accept palliatives from the class in possession is traitorous at all times, but more so at the present moment, seeing that we have reached the point in time when society is ripe to throw off the incubus of capitalism.

Capitalism is a usurpation. To compromise with such a usurpation is eriminal, a betrayal of the exploited class. Compromise in the form of shorter hours, better conditions, and the profit-sharing system, is very much before the community. (Hibly talked of by the capitalist class and their hirelings, clothed with the new "social conscience"—a garb that will be as easily shed as it was donned--it is repeated parrot-like by the craft union and political misleaders of labour. All frantic attempts to stop the evolutionary forces driving society along a definite course destined to end in revolution, a revolution that will place the economic power in the hands of the masses to be used for the community as a whole.

The story of the past is not that half truth told in history books of great kings more or less, of great nobles and great men. It is a long tale of constant changes in the form of human societies, in human labour and human lives. Societies have come and gone, giving place to the form of society that was nourished in its lap. These changes have all occurred by revolution, more or less violent. Just as in Russia we see the struggle of the possessing class to retain all their privilege, so has it been in the past.

To talk of compromise to-day, when we are on the verge of the revolution that will place the workers in control of society, is imbecile. It is criminal to listen to such. Too long have the workers been satisfied merely to live and die as beasts of burden. Too long have they been content to creep and crawl like dogs the master class for jobs. They have a manhood to maintain, a freedom to achieve, an intellect to develop that has been strangled under our present degrading system of society. In the present capitalistic system the workers are denied the rights of free men. The only freedom they possess is one right to starve, and even that is limited, as they can be imprisoned as vagabonds and criminals if found by the powers that be without any visible means of subsistence.

Let the workers cease their cry for legal recognition. Let their organisation be powerful enough to demand, not recognition, but caose essentials that should be the birthright of every human being. Anything less is not worth the struggle. Let their organisation be such as to break down the barrier of craft and the prejudice of colour. Let them all stand together side by side as class conscious workers, moving step by step in unison, to meet the scientific modern form of organised capital.

No compromise" is the motto that should be inscribed upon the workers' industrial banner. Let them as an industrial organisation advance in the grim determination that no matter what opposing forces may be set in motion against them, they will reach the goal of the industrial republic, the co-operative commonwealth.

This is the only thing worth struggling for. Now is the time to organise. Discard all political and labour mountebanks with their antiquarian ideas and methods of compromise, and march forward to the promised land of liberty.

# A Letter from "Home."

Our comrade W. H. Andrews, is hanging on in England, and no one can say that his opportunity may not arise at any moment now. Writing from his headquarters, 21, Crown Street, Leiston, Suffolk, on the 12th ulto., he says:

The inter-allied conference of labour bodies which is being engineered by Henderson, McDonald and Co., is more and more developing into a farce and asham. I feel convinced that nothing is done without the knowledge and consent of the Government. Flittings take place at intervals between France and England; in short the labour leaders have become the unofficial agents of capitalism, and their work is to stultify any attempt of the workers to force the pace and take matters into their own hands. The B.S.P. has been refused a representative at the Interallied conference, and it is very likely that I shall have some difficulty in getling there, although Creswell was welcomed with open arms, his views being

Gompers, of the A.F.L., will not co-. operate in the Socialist Conference, claiming that the industrial organisations of the workers are the proper bodies to meet when the time comes and settle international questions. Although I have no use for him and his organisation, there is a great deal to be said for the idea. If the industrial workers met and appointed delegates, they would be able to demand passports, and having held the conference could if they so decided force peace on their terms or hold up the nations concerned, in short, follow Russia's lead. The political careerists have no weight, behind them and are only considered as important in so far as they have influence in the unions through the labour fakirs.

The real interest centres in the unions, and the A.S.E. in particular. For the moment they are inactive, awaiting the politicians' pow-wow on the 20th. Meantime the combing-out is beginning stealthily by the authorities. Whether an outburst will take place at some point and spread as did the July strike in Johannesburg remains to be seen, but the official element has for the moment got the men in hand, and that means a victory for the Government always.

I was at the Communist Club on Sunday at Fitzroy Square, and had an interesting time with all sorts of I.W.W., S.L.P., B.S.P., and Continental comrades. The club is seething with activity, and is more a resort of the 'left' than it has been at any time since the war. Four I.W.W. men are in jail for printing a leastet urging the A.S.E. to resist combing out. B. Russell has got six months for saying the American army is to garrison England and put down strikes. Now this morning comes the news of the peace with Russia, unconfirmed at present from Russia itself. It is most difficult to see a week ahead, but it seems that the political labour party, now frankly non-socialist, being the "People's Democratic Party." will be the buttress of capitalism in the immediclear out and attack it, and the industrial organisations must take their proper place and deal directly with the production and distribution of the necessaries of life. Parliament as we know it is dead or dying, and the only function of a labour party is to give it an appearance of life that it does not really possess.

Re Food Question: The last fisherman in this parish has to-day been ordered into the army. All local supplies of fish consequently stopped. A farmer has just died here—farm 300 acres—three sons in army—not allowed to return to grow food. Only two labourers on farm, one of them 66 years old. How is the farm to be run? This is typical of the whole mess up.

# Whom the Gods Wish to Destroy!

South Wales Miners against the Man Power Bill, carried no doubt against a hurricane of press propaganda, is one of the most encouraging signs of Bolshevism in Britain up to date. Lloyd George recognises that if the miners and engineers follow up their votes with action it will mean the start of the Bolshevik revolution in Britain.

The spirit of the engineers in England is shown by a number of resolutions passed by mass meetings of engineers quoted in 'Solidarity.' Here is a typical one which the Amalgamated Society of Toolmakers passed with great enthusiasm at a mass meeting held in the Euston Theatre:—

"We hereby declare our determination to assist the Government by every means in our power, taxation, food economy, furtherance of dilution and man-power for military service, upon the Government abolishing the Defence of Realm Act and censorship. and recognising the present Russian Government and adopting their Peace Proposals, and adhering to such for concluding a just, democratic and durable peace. But until the Government recognise the democracy of Russia we consider them incompetent and directly opposed to the interests of the working class of this country, and we hereby resolutely resolve to resist any further withdrawal of man power by determined revolutionary industrial action."

Lloyd George has stated that the combing out process will go on despite the adverse vote. And the sycophantic executive of the Miners' Federation are backing him up. A great conference of Clyde workers declared in January that if the Man Power Bill were not withdrawn the delegates would advise the Clyde workers to down tools.

The great German offensive, whatever else it may mean to British capitalism, is a very present help in time of trouble with Labour. But when such a revolutionary paper as "Solidarity" expresses complete satisfaction with the progress of the British workers, we can also be satisfied that

Europe is ripening for revolution.

# "Mostly Fools."

Carlyle, we believe, once stated that the population of Britain numbered While forty millions-mostly tools. agreeing with this prominent that Britain's millions, along with the millions in other industrial countries, are essentially foolish, we wish to dissociate ourselves entirely from a statement made the other day to the effect that the people of South Africa resemble the populations of these industrial countries in this respect. We in South Africa stand on a totally different plane. By far the larger percentage of the population in this sub-continent is composed of the native races the blacks—and to call them fools in the mass because they are not yet mentally competent to work out their own salvation is just as ridiculous as it is to describe a six months' old baby as a blockhead because it is not vet able to provide for itself. That a fair proportion of the black proletariat is so early perceiving the necessity for organising along non-compromising lines clearly places them in a position above that occupied by the flabby, shortsighted workers whose forefathers had their skins bleached by the climatic conditions prevailing in Europe.

There is just as little justification for placing the coloured section of the community alongside the fools of the industrial countries. For years they have been realising that they were suffering not only as individuals of the labour class but as a section of that class, forced into their present position by the supercilious white craft unions. When they once realised the hypocrisy and fraud of their fellow-workers they took the earliest and most favourable opportunity of organising themselves on advanced lines, with doors open for both sexes, no matter what colour or creed. They are now working not only for the betterment of their present conditions, not only for their own economic salvation -- both of which efforts must of necessity be foredoomed to failure—but for the Social Revolution, by which means only will they be freed from all the disabilities under which they now stagger as wage slaves.

Neither is there the least ground for describing the ruling class as fools. Quite the reverse is the case. As parasites they are entitled to all they can suck out of the working class. They are not fools for making the best of their opportunity—they would be foolish if they did not. The political party to which they belong matters not a jot; whether they be interested in making profits out of the labour power of the workers expended in producing or distributing matters not one iota; be they predikants, lawyers or mere politicians does not alter the fact. When it is a question affecting their pockets and position—and it is always,

stupidly, they are sane of mind, and they do not jest. No sooner do they see signs of danger than they organise to meet it. Louis Botha, master farmer, general, Prime Minister, and Privy

er, general, Prime Minister, and Privy Councillor is as clear-sighted as the great majority of the population—and they are not fools. He recognises the

sanity of the white labourers who are organising with the black and coloured workers. He knows what the class war is, and he dreads the combination of labour in South Africa. He is cognisant of the dangerous position in which the class he represents stands owing to the Russian revolution (as a Privy Councillor he may be better informed than we are), and he has sounded the tocsin, calling together his officers and rank and file in an endeavour to delay the day when Bothas, Smartts. Hertzogs and Creswells will cease to be master men. In asking for legislative powers to check the whites spreading the message among the blacks he is adopting the wisest course possible. The native, coloured and white workers are helpless if divided. Boss Botha would keep us divided. He would prefer to deal with a badly organised body of Kafirs as he did with the badly organised white workers in 1913 rather than be faced with a composite organisation united in their class consciousness. Oom Louis would nip the South African Bolshevik movement in the bud, but he has made one great error a perfectly natural mistake—he is too late. The seed has been sown and has already taken root all over the Union. He cannot separate us now. He could not succeed if he posted soldiers and policemen in the hundreds of houses occupied by the rebels, for policemen and soldiers are not fools either, and once they became acquainted with our reasoning Botha's position would be as precarious as was Milvukoff's-with a similar result.

No, throughout the world, the capitalists are not fools by any means; if they were they would have been ousted long ago by the international class of labouring fools to whom Carlyle particularly referred, many of whom migrated to this country and are now to be found in the reactionary craft. unions and political parties supporting a master man's white labour policy. They are a negligible quantity in this country, for the population of South Africa is well over six millions, the great majority of whom are not fools. for very early in their education as wage-slaves they are realising the operation of the class war and are organising accordingly, with but one object: To obtain the full fruits of their labour as men and women. TIPIT.

Comrade L. Turok, of Capetown, recently sent the following query to the "Cape Times": we gather that he is still waiting for his answer:—

"Colonel Creswell having corrected one statement at his Friday night's meeting, will he also correct, if he can, another statement That the Labour Party was not out to abolish private ownership of land?' If that is so, what becomes of the party's objective. which reads: The socialisation of the means of production, edistribution and exchange? If the means of production does not include land, what does it include? On the other hand, if the party thinks it expedient to delete the socialist objective and places itself on a level of other political reform parties, why not come out with it honestly?"

## "German Gold."

Last time this story of Bolshevism as a German hireling's plot was put forward locally we pointed out that on the evidence produced a prosecutor would not even have been allowed to

open his case.

This week the "Star" returns to the attack with a number of mysterious letters stated to have been published in 'Le Petit Parisien' and also we believe in a New York evening sheet. No 'respectable' European paper seems to have ventured to publish them; and they seem to be "exclusive" to the "Star" even here. The source of these letters is of course unrevealed, and the time chosen for publication is when the public is too bemused with hattle news to read anything critically. But no matter: get a lie repeated often enough and it will be believed, and eventually quoted as gospel to refute

This kind of tactics is not new; we remember the Piggott letters which the Parnell Commission exposed. A better knowledge than we have of the banking, political and other business of the countries mentioned would probably facilitate exposure: but even without it it is not difficult to see through

them. For instance—

The bourgeois revolution began on 3rd March, 1917. It was only some time after that that the Russian socialist exiles over the world saw the chance, and some of them got back to Russia, including Lenin under German conduct from Switzerland, and Trotzky under British conduct, in May, from America. Yet we are asked to believe that before March 2nd the "Imperial Bank" had already opened accounts in Trotzky's name in Sweden. Norway and Switzerland. Moreover, the letter says that these accounts in the names of nine different persons (no initials given to guide the tellers) have been opened 'by the agencies of the private German banking establishments in the three countries." What, by all of them? And what are these agencies: Anyway, it is utterly obscure how these arrangements were calculated to ineet 'demands from Russia via Finland. Nor is it at all likely that such a letter would have blurted out the use to which the money was to be put, viz.; 'pacifist propaganda.' Further, these demands, liable to be made it seems on every bank in the three countries named, had to be countersigned by the signature of one of two men named: who therefore, unless their signatures were well known to every such bank, had to be ubiquitous!

The letter from Scheidmann last August recording £7,500 paid to Gorky may be genuine, for even the Majority Socialists, in fact the Reichstag, had adopted the Maximalists' 'no annexations or indemnities' formula, though the German Government has of course shamelessly done them down. If it had been dirty work, Scheidemann would have been careful not to sign.

One Svenson, at Copenhagen, writes to one Ruffer, at Helsingfors, stating that on the order of "the Syndicate" £15,000 has been paid by a German bank "to the account of M. Lenin at

Kroonstad'—at what bank there is not stated! Why blab it out to so many people—unless there is nothing in it?

Next, Svenson is at Stockholm, writing to Kronstad that £10,000 has been sent to Lenin's order, by whom or on whose behalf is not stated. Well?

And so on. The other letters are equally unbusinesslike and improbable. Everyone knows the International Socialist movement to be honest--in fact the only honest movement in the world to-day. Crooks could never hold the position these men hold in a proletarian movement. Quite likely the German 'Propaganda' Ministry (corresponding to the English Northcliffe) did its utmost to nobble the revolution for German ends, and let Lenin or Trotzky believe that funds reaching them came from innocent sources; for note that there is no letter to or from either of these men. Possibly, indeed. the revolutionary leaders believed in taking anyone's gold. English included, and using it for socialist purposes. Again, to them the revolution was everything, and territorial gains or dosses, victories, defeats and empires were nothing: a standard quite unintelligible to those who judge everything and everybody by the test "Pro-German or Pro-British?" Lastly, Messrs. O'Flaherty and Bleloch's revelations should have taught more caution in shouting about German gold!

# The Crisis."

For obvious reasons, socialists cannot consider the present battle as likely to decide anything more than, at most, the claim to capitalist leadership of the world: Whether that leadership remains in England's hands or passes to Germany (which is what the Japanese Government is evidently sitting on the fence about), the real "war for liberty' remains to be fought. A military stalemate would probably have been the hest condition for that war. but they would not have that, and so the movement must contemplate the alternative possibilities. The greater the break-up now the better. In the event of anything short of a complete Allied victory, great things are in store in Western Europe, and fear of a working-class boycott must bring even a swollen-headed Teuton profetariat into line when the pinch comes: even Prussian despotism will not prevail against the forces which ended Tsardom and which to-day, in spite of all, constitute the only Great Power. with a certain and brilliant future, in the world:

"We appeal, therefore, earnestly to the skilled artisans of all trades, unionists and non-unionists alike, to make common cause with their unskilled brothers, so that the workers may themselves take hold of the means of production, and organise a co-operative commonwealth for themselves and their children."—H. M. Hyndman, 1887.

Printed b the U. P. & P. Oo., Ltd., for the I.S.L. Box 4179, Johanneshurg