LFP/228/0122/1

Our Struggle
FOR
The Independence of South Africa
FOR
The Democratic Republic.

By
DAVID COHEN,
Johannesburg, 17th August, 1939.

✷

For the Unity of all People in South Africa.

Read—

GERMANY-

SPAIN-

and the

CLASS STRUGGLE

by

DAVID COHEN

Read **"THE GUARDIAN"**

The Foremost Democratic Paper

in South Africa.

Obtainable at—

"THE PEOPLES BOOKSHOP"

30, Kerk Street, Johannesburg.

Express Printing Works,
45. Market Street, Johannesburg.

CONTENTS

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AFRIKANER PEOPLE.

THE WAR OF THE BURGHERS FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

SOUTH AFRICA AS A COLONY.

IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE BIG LANDOWNERS.

A SHORT HISTORY:—

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

THE BLACK AND COLOURED PEOPLE.

POVERTY AND SLUMS.

THE UNITED PARTY AND THE 1922 MINERS STRIKE.

THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

THE DOMINION PARTY.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

THE RISING INDUSTRIALISTS.

DEMOCRACY.

FASCISM.

MY CONCLUSIONS.

THE UNITED FRONT OR CIVIL WAR.

FOREWORD.

Mr. David Cohen's book is a most interesting survey of the historical development of the social, industrial, political and economic life of South Africa—from the working-class point of view; a work by a Proletarian for the Proletariat and its sympathisers.

Every phase of the work has been done, by one who has little concern for the feeling either of the PROFESSIONAL Patriot, or the blind slave, with a doormat complex; it is a two-fisted hammer and anvil attack, and no time or ink, has been wasted on fancy terms, or flavoury phrases; the "spade" has not been concealed amidst high sounding descriptives.

This book will give much satisfaction to the many, who have in the past, had little time to devote to the problems of their own "culture" and enlightenment—after making their contribution of times and tears and toil, towards the "common fund" for the very fulsome support of the "but people"—and they will most certainly find much that is not only interesting, but also, profoundly instructive; with a most refreshing freedom any kind of nauseating adulation of persons, regal or otherwise, whose only claim on the notice of mankind, has lacked every attribute in the categories either of intellectual or humane greatness.

The "Simons-pure" of literature may find grounds for criticism, of the effect of the rigorous style of the author, but few will fail to note, the solid core of facts, relating to the bitter and unending struggle, not only of the working-classes, but also in some instances, the professional and middle-classes of society.

The reader is struck by the evidence of the relentless spirit of the author; calling up from the dim distance of the past, the tragic memories of eternal persecution—the persecution not only of a particular race, but also of a particular class—the exploited class, or classes, and the book is one more vigorous protest against the social system, that permits it.

One feature worthy of note in connection with this work, is that, not only is the author handicapped by extreme physical infirmities, but has carried out, with a large measure of success, this very important undertaking, in a language NOT HIS OWN.

Johannesburg, E. J. BROWN.

4th October, 1939.

FOREWORD.

We find real pleasure in writing a foreword to Mr. Dave Cohen's publication. It is probably the first book which has made a simple, yet thorough analysis of the South African political situation and has, further, clearly pointed out a line of action to the workers. The people of South Africa are being wantonly misled by various Party leaders who have hitherto successfully taken them "up the garden path."

Race and colour prejudice do not bring bread to the starving. Mr. Cohen visualises an Independent Democratic Republic where such false issues as anti-Semitism and the colour menace can no longer be exploited by the representatives of Big Capital.

We have had long experience with the poorly paid classes of workers and know that their real outlook on life is not one of petty hatreds. Like all other decent people their chief desire is to achieve a comfortable standard of life.. We have been particularly interested in the lot of the Tobacco employees in the Rustenburg area. There we found that the grievance of these very much exploited people was not against Natives or Coloureds or Jews but against the Employer Class. In our efforts to put the Union on a sound footing we met with nothing but opposition and victimisation from the Nationalists, while the United Party followers were wholly inactive.

There are hundreds of thousands of workers prepared to fight with a party ready to give a lead along correct economic lines. But we agree with the author that the proper step is to revitalise the Nationalist and Labour Parties. Their policies need only a few progressive amendments but the leadership must be placed in the hands of those honestly anxious to fight the cause of the worker, instead of their own. That is why we are helping to establish Trade Unionism among the rank and file. A powerful Trade Union Movement among the masses can and will remould the present parties which have never helped to gain a single advantage for them.

We hope Mr. Cohen's book will be widely read and distributed. Only in this way can it be of help in our struggle to improve the lot of three-fourths of South Africa's population.

ANNA SCHEEPERS,

President, Garment Workers Union,

JOHANNA CORNELIUS,

National Organiser: Garment Workers Union,

Secretary: Tobacco Workers Union.

27th March, 1940.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
13	4	'Good Government' must read 'Good Imperial Government'.
13	7	'£22,413,268' must read '£2,413,268'.
23	4	'Rules' must read 'Rulers'.
33	7	'Intelligents' must read 'Intelligentsia'.
33	35	Fanaties' must read 'Fanatics'.
37	7	'menace growing' must read 'growing menace'.
41	35	'am' must read 'may'.
47	3	'nimor' must read 'minor'.
56	41	Insert 'was' between 'then' and 'known'.
63	13	'romours' must read. 'rumours'.
63	32	'leasons' must read 'lessons'.
63	45	'and' must read 'with'.
68	12	'1914' must read '1924'.
	12	Insert 'today' between 'reached' and 'the'.
77	36	'chasiry' must read 'chasing'.
78	11	'revenus' must read 'avenues'.
	18	'actions' must read 'factions'.
92	11	'Cohensive' must read 'Cohesive'.
94	1	'of' must read 'for'.
94	41	'progroms' must read 'pogroms'.

THE DUTCH ESTABLISHMENT OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company established a small trading station at the Cape of Good Hope, to serve as a port-of-call for ships travelling from Holland to the Dutch Colonies and the East Indian Islands.

It was not at first the intention of the Company to colonise South Africa in any way, and the settlement at the Cape was only intended as a place at which ships could call in order to take in fresh food and water, and, if necessary, to take on board new men to replace those who had died on the long and dangerous voyage.

It was soon seen, however, that the station could not continue to depend for its supplies, on the roving hand of Hottentots and Bushmen who inhabited the interior. Wars and quarrels soon broke out between the Dutch Settlers and the native inhabitants, and these, when defeated, refused to supply the colony with more cattle. The Company therefore, encouraged some of the settlers to take up grants of land in the interior, around what are today the towns of Stellenbosch and Paarl, and the settlers became known as "Free Burghers." Emigrants were also encouraged to leave Holland to come and settle in the Cape. Those who consented to come were of course people who could not help themselves for one reason or another. Some were unemployed, some were persons who had got into trouble with the government on account of political activity, but the vast majority were poor workers, and peasants, who expected to find in the new country, that economic and social security which Holland was unable to afford them. It was very difficult at first to get women and girls to come out to the Cape, but this obstacle was overcome by sending girls from Orphan establishments and from poorhouses. The voyage to the Cape took from six to eight months, depending on the weather conditions and in many cases ships were captured by pirates or wrecked by violent storms. In any case, a disease known as scurvy attacked both passengers and crew, and many died from it. Very few of those who left Holland eventually reached the Cape. The Dutch settlement therefore expanded very slowly, and it was not until

after 1730 that any real progress into the interior was made.

The economic condition of the early settlers, once the first difficulties of establishing themselves had been overcome, was that of a fairly prosperous middle-class. Occasionally, however, weather conditions resulted in rather severe famines and the settlement was, in its early years, often threatened with starvation. However, as the colony expanded this danger was to a great extent removed.

The settlers brought with them the social and political traditions of Holland, which was at that time the most democratically developed country in Europe. There was at first a certain amount of trouble between the Free Burghers and the Governor, who was given absolute power over the colony, subject to the control of the Council of the Dutch East India Company, which was known as the Council of Seventeen. The trouble arose mainly from the fact that the Governor attempted usually to exploit the Burghers by compelling them to sell their produce to him and not to the ships directly, so that he could pay the Burghers a low price and resell to the ships at a high one. The Burghers, however, soon revolted against this practice, and in the time of one of the earliest governors, named Willem Adriaan Van Der Stel, a revolt broke out among the Free Burghers, which led the Company to enquire into the corrupt practices of the Governors, and to allow the Burghers greater freedom of trading with the ships direct.

In the year 1688, the vicious and cruel persecution of the Protestant masses by the Catholic Church in France led to the arrival at the Cape of some hundreds of French families who were known as Huguenots of the who had left France to escape the tortures of the Catholic Church. The position of the Protestants in France was at this time very bad. The King, Louis the fourteenth, had repealed the Edict of Nantes, a law which gave religious freedom to the Protestants, and instituted a brutal reign of terror against them. Protestant families were massacred and tortured and their churches were burnt and desecrated. They were offered the alternative of renouncing the Protestant religion or of being murdered. Many of them therefore fled from France to Holland and England. They found

refuge in Holland, partly because the Dutch people had the same religious sympathies, but mainly because the Government of Holland had strong democratic foundations and it therefore gave a ready welcome to oppressed people. However, it was found that these people could not be absorbed into the economic life of Holland, and they were therefore sent out to the Dutch colonies. The majority of them were sent to the Cape, where they soon proved to be most successful settlers, since they were very hardworking and were well acquainted with the methods of cultivating the grape and making wine. They were instrumental in establishing the wine industry in South Africa. They soon became leaders in the life at the Cape, and helped to develop it to a great extent, because they were more intellectual and better educated than the average Dutch Settler who had preceded them. It should of course be noted that the Huguenots were very eagerly received by the Dutch Colonists at the Cape, not so much because of their economic value to the Colony, but mainly because of the strong democratic sympathies and sentiments which the Dutch themselves possessed. They were given free grants of land and subsidies and every effort was made by the Dutch to encourage them to make the Cape their permanent home.

The early years of the colony were a period of comparatively peaceful development, and slowly but surely the European settlements spread further and further into the interior. Attemps were made to explore the lands which lay to the east and the north, and farming and pastoral communities spread from year to year along the track of the first explorers. The population of the Cape consisted mainly of fairly prosperous agricultural farmers, with a small merchant class in and around Cape Town itself.

After many years of experiments and failure, they succeeded in building up the wool industry in the Cape and also developed the raising of cattle. They were also able after years of struggle to grow sufficient crops not only for their own needs but also a surplus to sell to all ships passing the Cape, and consequently they began to become prosperous. The population began to increase to a great extent, further penetration into the interior also took place, and because of the fact that the Hollander Settlers were able to produce enough not

only for themselves, but also sufficient for all ships passing the Cape on the outward and inward Indian Europe Route, the European Powers began to look upon the Cape as a Colony worth while having. Therefore the Dutch East Indian Company had built in Cape Town a Fortress, manned by soldiers and Burghers for defence against attack by other powers. The Cape settlement became of great strategical importance as all boats travelling from Europe to the Indies and back called at Cape Town in the middle of their long tiresome journey and there revictualed themselves; all sailors and passengers suffering from illness were dropped there for medical attention and remained there until they could travel to their destination. There were some small clashes with the native inhabitants of the Cape but nevertheless the Dutch settlers succeeded in penetrating still further into the interior, and their life was a comparatively peaceful one. Their social leaders were the priests of the church. Law and order was maintained by a Field Cornet and assistants who were elected by the Burghers themselves. Despite living in a far distant country, and despite long years of struggle with the land, the Dutch settlers always considered themselves an integral part of their mother country Holland, and their whole life and outlook was closely bound to the democratic traditions and rights of their brothers and sisters in Holland. It can clearly be seen in the light of succeeding events that the settlers under-went all the hardships inthe Cape and the interior because they considered the Cape a definite part of Holland, and they were helping to build and extend their mother country. It was like a thunderbolt to them one fine day in the year 1798 when British men of war entered the Cape harbour with the intention of seizing the settlement. Not much urging was required for the Burghers to take up arms to defend themselves against the invader. Blood was freely shed in the defence of their homes and the flag of their mother country. But not being prepared for such an attack, and having insufficient arms and trained men they eventually had to submit to a foreign yoke.

The Napoleonic Wars in which Great Britain was so heavily involved were responsible for the restoration of the Cape to Holland in 1802. But the rejoicing of the settlers was short lived, for in 1805 during the lull in

the European Wars, England recaptured the Cape, which since then has remained in the hands of the British Ruling Class. In 1814 Holland not being in a position to compel Britain to return the Cape, was forced to accept compensation amounting to six million pounds for the Cape and three small Islands and this ended the quarrel between England and Holland. In 1828 English was made the official language of the Cape in place of Dutch, and this had a great effect upon the Afrikaner people. The failure of the British Government to fulfill its promise to pay compensation to the Afrikaners on the occasion of the emancipation of the slaves, together with the suppression of their language, were important reasons which led the Afrikaners to emigrate from the Cape away from the British Ruling Class, deep into the interior of South Africa. This was the Great Trek which began in 1836. In 1840 we find a Volksraad set up by the Afrikaner people in Pietermaritzburg. By 1842 there were about 5,000 Afrikaner families living at Port Natal. It has been asserted that the Afrikaners of Natal tried to make contact with their mother country Holland. This indication by the Afrikaners that despite long sufferings and great hardships they had endured in South Africa, they still cherished a love for Holland, and a desire once again to become a part of the Dutch Regime, caused enxiety to the British Ruling Class. The British rulers sent men of war to Port Natal and a great battle ensued in which the Afrikaners again lost many men in their desire to be free from the oppression of the British Ruling Class. After this forcible and aggressive seizure of Natal, the Afrikaners sought to penetrate still further into the interior of the country and they ultimately founded the Free State and the Transvaal Republics. They suffered greatly and many of their numbers perished in the effort to be free from the rule of their oppressors. By 1877 a good number of Afrikaners had succeeded in settling in the Transvaal and their life, except for clashes with the natives, was a comparatively peaceful one.

Despite the writings of the so called historians and despite the assertions of the British Government that at no time did Britain desire to conquer the Afrikaners, history proves that the British Ruling Class time and again attacked the outlying Afrikaner settlements, and

continually caused the settlers to move from one place to the other, until finally in 1877 we find an agent of the British robber class reading a declaration in Pretoria declaring the Transvaal to be a British Colony. Numerous petitions signed and supported by the Afrikaners in the Transvaal, Free State and the Cape, and several deputations led on occasions by Paul Kruger were sent to England, urging and pleading that the Transvaal Burghers be granted their independence once again, but the British Ruling Class turned a deaf ear to all these appeals. But in 1880 the Afrikaners realizing that they could not get their freedom back by peaceful means came together and took a great pledge.

On the 8th December 1880 there was a mass meeting on Mr. M. W. Pretorius' farm, Paardekraal, near Pretoria, and a few days later a resolution was carried unanimously that the Voolksraad should resume its sittings and that Messrs. Paul Kruger, Martinus Wessels Pretorius, and Pieter Joubert should form a triumvirate to carry on the Government provisionally. Mr. Joubert was also elected commandant-general. Each man of the five or six thousand present took the following oath, and deposited a stone in witness thereof. on a heap, which was afterwards covered by the National Monument close to Krugersdorp.

"In the presence of almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, and prayer-fully waiting on his gracious help and pity, we Burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, as we do hereby agree, to make a holy covenant for us and our children, which we confirm with a solemn oath. Fully 40 years ago, our fathers fled from the Cape Colony in order to become a free and independent people. These forty years have been 40 years of pain and suffering. We established Natal, the Orange Free State and the South African Rejublic, and three times the English Government has trampled on our liberty and dragged to the ground our flag, which our fathers had baptised with their blood and tears. As by a thief in the night has our republic been stolen from us. We neither may nor can endure this| It is God's Will, and is required of us by the unity of our fathers, and by love to our children, that we should hand over intact to our children the legacy

of the fathers. For that purpose it is that we here come together and give each other the right hand as men and brethren solemnly promising to remain faithful to our country and our people, and with our eye fixed on God to co-operate until death for the restoration of the freedom of our republic. So help us almighty God."

The farmers having formed themselves into three commandos marched away. One of the Commandos under Peter Cronje, proceeded to Potchefstroom to proclaim the Republic, another Commando under Frans Joubert to Pretoria, and the third Commando to Heidelberg to install the Government and so the War of Independence started .

Their smallness of numbers, their lack of arms, their ignorance of military tactics, dit not deter these lovers of freedom from fighting their vastly superior oppressors. History records that this heroism of this small band of Afrikaners in their determination to regain their independence has never been bettered in the fields of battle.

In 1881, the English Army sustained a heavy defeat, their General being killed and many prisoners taken. This together with the mass action of the Afrikaners in the other parts of South Africa, and with the demand of the peoples of all other nations, the English people in particular taking strong action for the return of independence to the Afrikaners caused the British Ruling class to retreat, and in 1881 the Afrikaner people regained their independence. It is clear, that the independence which the Afrikaners regained was due to their ouwn initiative in taking up arms to struggle as well as the pressure by the English and other democratic people on the British Ruling Class As we see all the petitions and appeals for independence, previous to their taking up arms fell on absolutely deaf ears.

THE NEW ERA IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The discovery of diamonds and gold, was a great factor in causing tens of thousands of people of all countries to flock to South Africa and it was not very long after that, many people began to settle here and make it their home, especially when the gold reef was discovered. From the camps of these settlers, there developed settlements of houses with business centres, and they asumed the character of organised communities. Railways were built which gave greater facilities to these people to obtain all goods that were necessary to make them more comfortable and civilised.

The desire of the British Rulers to have the Orange Free State and the Transvaal as British colonies became greater than ever with the discovery of diamonds and gold. They saw the hundreds of millions of pounds of profits lying in the gold and diamond industries and craved to gain domination and political power over these fields of wealth. Hence they carried on strong propaganda in the Transvaal in particular, through agents and the Press. They hindered the Republic as much as possible in building up a Democratic Government and in carrying on peaceful development, and finally they organised in secret an armed uprising—the Jameson Raid.

They thought that by such internal and external attacks they would easily overcome the backward Afrikaner, but they were mistaken. They found the Afrikaners very much alive and well organised—knowing full well that the British Imperialists were against their Rejublic—hence the raid failed.

The Imperialists realised that they could not by these means rob the Afrikaners of their national independence. Therefore, in 1899, they landed troops from England, from India and from the colonies. Elaborate fortifications, indicating military activity against some enemy were speedily prepared by the newcomers. This provoked the Burghers to declare war against Britain—the only possible step in the struggle for self preservation.

As much as Paul Kruger and the Volksraad tried to overcome the difficulties raised by British rulers, and to solve the so-called problems raised by these Imperialists, it was impossible to meet their demands which amounted to the complete handing over of their country. Hence an open war resulted and the Burghers with arms in their hands came out as one man in defence of their freedom, their culture, their homes and their independent Democratic Republic.

THE WAR OF THE BURGHERS FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

The Imperialist press in England became very busy. They mobilised all and everybody they could to suppress or distort the real truth about this war which was so opposed by the British peple. They tried to make the people of Britain believe that the Burghers of South Africa were not human beings at all, that they were savages and that the British Imperialists were carrying on this war to try and free the South African people, white and black, from the terrorism of these savage Burghers. They did not tell the British people that the Burghers were struggling to maintain their Democratic Republic, that they were a peaceful democratic people and that they had extended democratic rights and liberties to all foreign people within their Republic, and treated them as their own, and therefore we find that many foreigners joined with the Burgher forces in the struggle against the British Imperialists. Right from the beginning of the fight these expected to have a walkover and thought that within three months they would have the Transvaal and Orange Free State in their hands; thus the armies sent over in the beginning were small but after six months of fighting they realised their difficulties; they saw it would take years of war and hundreds of thousands of troops to seize the Transvaal and Orange Free State. It was true that the Burghers were small in number. Moreover their position was considerably weakened when the Imperialist robbers succeeded in dividing the Afrikaans people by preventing the Cape and Natal Burghers from openly participating in the fight against Imperialism and from fighting jointly with the Transvaal and Orange Free State Burgers, in maintaining their independence.

This was the real victory of the British Imperialists who had to face the weakened and disunited forces of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Burghers. Such a split among the Afrikaner people was a moral setback for them right from the beginning of the war but we find that the history of the Boer War written by English writers tells of the courage and heroism of the Afrikaners in this war. General Buller said: "This is not a war against a rabble or mob but against courageous and heroic commandos of well organised guerilla fighters who know what they are fighting for." I take General Buller's statement as correct since he had the experience of fighting these Burgher guerilla forces. The fights of Colonso, Spioenkop and Ladysmith opened the eyes of the British rulers to the fact that they would not have an easy victory. They saw that their well-trained armies suffered severely at the hands of these guerillas and thousands were killed and wounded and thousands were taken prisoner in spite of the British armies having plentiful supplies of ammunition, cannon and other arms. This resistance brought home very clearly to the Imperialist robbers that the Afrikaner people were desperately defending their national home, their democratic form of Government, their woman and children and their national aspiration to unite their country, with their mother-country Holland.

They were definitely against oppression. They were against a clique of robbers who would keep them in an iron grip, rob them of their economic and political freedom, take away their democratic institutions, which had taken years to build, and who would destroy their national aspiration to become a part of their mother country, hence their self sacrificing enthusiasm in the war which was the expression of this national consciousness. It is this factor which played such a great part in causing the war to last for almost three years. The Imperialists had to pay very dearly for their victory. It is almost a coincidence to see, when we review the Boer War, that it was the present Mr. Chamberlain's father who was instrumental in depriving the South African Burghers of their Democratic Government and National Independence, and in subjecting them to Imperialist domination and suppression and

also in forcing them to become a subjected nation under a foreign yoke. We find that the present Chamberlain, as an offspring of that Mr. Chamberlain who brought about the downfall of the democratic Burghers of South Africa, is also today responsible in helping the German Imperialist to rob the German people of their Democratic rights, and subject them to virtual slavery, hunger and starvation. He is definitely a partner in helping the Imperialist Fascists of Germany to rob the Austrian peoples of their Democratic Government and their National Independence, and in reducing them to the level of a subjected people in the iron grip of Fascist Oppression.

No one with commensense will deny that the Munich Umbrella Appeasement of Chamberlain was a treacherous betrayal of the finest Democratic Government of Central Europe and the greatest betrayal of all Democratic countries. It was callously planned; cunningly he and his clique misled the British people and prepared the disaster for sixteen million Chzeckslavakians, who have been deprived of their National Independence and their Homogeneous Democratic life so that they find themselves today the hewers of wood and drawers of water—slaves to the Imperialist Fascists gangsters.

The people throughout the world today have no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain and his clique, with their policy of non-intervention in Spain, with their treachery and cunning betrayal succeeded in making this non-intervention a weapon for murdering three million Spaniards, men, women and children. They have therewith deprived 24 million Spaniards of their National Independence and their democratic government, bound them hand and foot and handed them over to the inquisitors, Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler, the outstanding tyrants of the twentieth century. This is the work and treachery of the umbrella appeasement Chamberlain. The reactionary of the nineteenth century lived on the sweat and blood of the workers and oppressed people of all British Colonies, trampled them to the dust and ruled them with a rule of blood and iron, and opposed at all times the improvement of the Social and economic conditions of the British Workers and Colonial people, and battened and fattened on them. Chamberlain, his

son is also a leech on the British and the Colonial people. He is an oppressor and an exploiter not only in the British Empire but he is the leader of reaction who is aiming with his present policy to retard human progress and bring back the dark ages of savagery. His name will remain a dirty blot on the pages of human history.

SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE RULE OF IMPERIALISM.

All Colonies of the British Empire conquered by the sword and ruled by the sword, serve to provide the British exploiters with markets for their manufactured goods, and an advantageous reserve for investing their surplus capital, and for securing super profit, also the means to obtain cheap raw material for their industry, and cheap food products for their industrial population.

Lord Brentford (Sir W. Joynson-Hicks), British Cabinet Minister, stated in London (Daily News, October 17th, 1925):

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know at Missionary Meetings it is said that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant.

We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain.

We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it (Cries of "Shame"). Call it shame if you like I am stating facts, I am interested in Missionary work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say that we hold India for the good of the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in General and Lancashire Cotton goods in particular."

This statement also applies to South Africa and many are the facts and figures which can be quoted in support of it. In 1896 a Mining Magnate Mr. Fitzpatrick thought the coming Boer War justified, since the British would then seize the Netherlands Railway Concession, the dynamite monopoly, the Liquor Traffic and would obtain a plentiful supply of cheap native

labour. From this they would gain over 2½ million sterling annually. Mr. Hays Hammond of the Consolidated Gold Fields said:

"By a good government they would be able to save more than 6/- per ton extra profits."

Mr. J. B. Robinson estimated they would thereby make an extra profit of £22,413,268 annually.

Here was something making it worth while to spill the blood of other people. Mr. Hammond and Mr. Curle said:

"An Imperialist Government would secure for us one all important object; a full, cheap, regular and submissive supply of Kaffir and White labour. Such a Government would procure a steady and sufficient supply of kaffirs for the mines, and reduce railway expenditure of the mines to one-third of the existing rate at the expense of Public money. A Good Imperialist Government would help the mining Magnates to force the Zulus and Basutos and Swazis to come to work in the mines by imposing upon them many taxes—the Hut Tax and Labour Taxes."

Mr. Rudd said:

"Under the cry of civilisation we in Egypt lately mowed down 20,000 Derwishes with Maxim Guns. Surely it cannot be considered a hardship to compel the natives in South Africa to give three months in the year to do a little honest work."

Before the Industrial Commission in 1896 Mr. Albu gave the following interesting evidence on the question of wages:

"At the present moment the native earns 50/- to 60/- per month and I consider the native saves £20 per year from this earning. This is too much for the natives as he is enabled to live on that for a long time on his land." He considers that the native should only get such wages which will allow them to save £5 per year so that they would be forced to come and work in the mines. He also expressed this opinion about white miners. He considered the white miners wages abnormal. With a good Imperialist Government they would be in a position to close down the mines and force the white miners to accept a lower wage or starve.

These expressions and desires clearly prove that they did not seize South Africa to uplift its people to a higher level but rather that their designs were to oppress and exploit and impoverish all and everybody, and that the spilling of the blood of the Afrikaner people did not worry them in the least. It is the mining Magnates in South Africa who were responsible in helping the British Imperialists to carry out their long felt desire to seize the Free State and the Transvaal and turn them into a Colony for the benefit of Imperialism.

SOUTH AFRICA AS A COLONY.

All intelligent people will agree that since colonies are seized by Imperialist powers so as to have a market to dispose of their surplus industrial commodities, it must follow that they are against industrial development in such colonies, particularly when such colonies possess raw materials, wealth, ore and the greatest gold deposit in the world. They pursue a policy of keeping such colonial people in a backward state. They can then easily rule them and keep them on a low level so that they may obtain all these raw materials at as the least possible expense. Forced labour in the colonies is the order of the day, and hence such colonies are always found to be in a state of poverty. So as to have cheap labour at all times, they see to it that the natives in particular, should possess no land which would enable them to live a farming life. By all kinds of trickery, they see to it that if the natives do possess land it is but little and is always dry, rocky and unfertile, so that they will always suffer from hunger and be forced to seek for work.

The Imperialists, to obtain the full benefits of the wealth of South Africa were forced to build harbours and railways as the primitive means of transport were too expensive and very unreliable. To import machinery for the gold industry, modern transport was necessary. We find that in the thirty years of the development of the Mining Industry, a subsidiary industry has grown up. To run the Gold Industry, railway communications and subsidiary industries and technical workers were required. Thus tens of thousands of miners and workers of all countries flocked to South Africa to help in the efficient exploitation of the basic industries. They

became the foreman in charge of the natives and they obtained a reasonable wage for their services. These white technicians gradually became the aristocracy among the workers, and were used by the Imperialists and Capitalists of South Africa to keep the native forced labour in subjection.

These skilled white workers, not being clear as to where their interests lay, could not see the harm they were doing themselves by helping the mine Magnates to keep the natives as forced labour. They did not realise that South Africa was confronted with the problem of free labour versus forced labour. It was inevitable that this forced labour would gradually become skilled or semi-skilled and that it would be a great temptation to the mining Magnates to replace skilled white labour with this semi-skilled forced native labour, since the difference in wages was so great. So gradually and surely the native forced labour penetrated into the skilled jobs, but the tragedy was that the organised white workers did not see to it that these forced labourers who were doing skilled work should also obtain a skilled man's wages. This led to the greater tragedy of the 1922 Rand miners strike, when the mine magnates demanded the replacement of white workers by natives to the tune of five thousand. The white miners walked the streets on strike—their women, children starving and hungry—for three solid months, and in the end one thousand workers and police had been killed. The strike was lost, these miners were replaced by forced labour, and had to go to work on deviation schemes and relief work for two or three shillings a day.

There is a saying that workers cannot be defeated since from every defeat they learn to understand its causes. We see therefore, that the outlook of the white workers is changing. They are learning that an injury to one worker is an injury to all workers. Thus we find that the representative body of organised white labour—The Trades and Labour Council—are definitely urging the white workers to help in the organisation of native workers and are even allowing affiliation to the Trades and Labour Council, so that this native labour should become a part of the organised labour of South Africa. Gradually and surely the workers will succeed in taking from the Chamber of

Mines, the powerful weapon of the colour prejudice with which they have so far succeded in oppressing an impoverishing the workers of South Africa. Imperialism, the Chamber of Mines, realises the danger which threatens its income, and is, therefore, organising hordes of gangsters, who are called facists, and giving them the task of dividing the people on racial—national issues. By these means they seek to weaken and break the Trade Unions, and also weaken and split the white people of South Africa. They aim at making them fight each other, and having achieved this, it will be easy for them to oppress and exploit the people of South Africa more than ever.

BIG LANDOWNERS—ALLIES OF IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The early days of South Africa, almost all farmers were big landowners, but due to drought and all the other factors from which farming suffered in the early days, areas of land continually came into the hands of a few fortunate farmers. Due to the good climate which enabled farmers to rear large families, the larger farms were subdivided into smaller farms. Thus small farmers sprang up who became the middle class. Some, however, lost their land due to drought or poor prices and have become the poor bywoner class.

The Big Landowner Class of today, are not only those big farmers of earlier days, who have passed on their land to their children and their children's children, but also big Companies which have become the owners of millions and millions of acres of land. The Chamber of Mines is such an owner. Thus the majority of the land of South Africa came into the hands of the Big Landowners, and we find that the policy of the Imperialists—the Chamber of Mines and Big Landowners is identical.

Just as the Chamber of Mines is anxious to obtain forced labour to keep its gold industry running at a huge super-profit, so also do the big Landowners require cheap forced labour at all times. Therefore, the Big Landowners also have a policy similar to the Chamber of Mines—that of depriving the native of his land, or allowing him only such land which is arid, rocky and unsuitable for agriculture, and which leaves him

always in a state of poverty and hunger. He is, therefore, forced to seek work on the mines, or with the big Landowner at a starvation wage, and since the Imperialist Chamber of Mines and Big Landowners have the political power in their hands and dominate the South African Parliament at all times, they are in a position to pass such laws which reduce the native to semi-serf status.

But the tragedy is that the middle class farmers and bywoners support these big Landowners in passing these laws against the native, thinking that they derive advantage from such laws. But when you examine the effect of these laws on the farming community you will find that they lead to their own impoverishment, forcing them off their own land. Hence we have the 400,000 poor whites, as a result of such oppressive laws against the black and coloured people. I will try to illustrate how this is the case with the South African farming community.

About 1910, we find that the South African mealie crop reached the large figure of eight million bags, and has increased year by year, having today reached twenty eight millions bags. How is it that the mealie crop has grown to such proportions. You will notice that the Big Landowners have passed a law through Parliament called "The Native Service Contract Act." This law allows the big Landowners to give small pieces of land to native families in return for which the native, his wife and children must work for the Landowner for 180 days in the year. Such a law removes the necessity for the Big Landowners to pay wages to the native. They can thus cultivate the land without paying for labour, and since the Big Landowner possesses vast tracts of land, he can afford to give small areas to natives and so cultivates twenty times as much land as previously. The mass-production and huge crops are the results. The big landowners can, therefore, speculate in big crops, since they cost little to produce by reason of the forced labour. In previous years, when the Mealie Crop stood at eight or ten million bags a year, the recognised price was 15/- to 17/6 a bag. At that time the small farmers who produced as much as four or five hundred bags of mealies per annum, had an income from their crop of £300 to £400 per year.

Added to this, the sale of cattle now and then, and the sale of sheep, wool butter, eggs, had enabled the farmer to make a comfortable living. But since the Big Landowners could obtain free native serf labour, they produced more maize than the South African market could consume, and the price of mealies went down. The result was very disastrous for the middle-class farmers. As I previously stated, when the mealie production was at a lower figure, the middle-class farmers obtained sufficient from their mealie crop and other products to give them a comfortable living, but now, as a result of mass-production by big farmers, the price of mealies has fallen at times to as low as 3/6 per bag. The result was that the small farmers only obtained £60 to £70 for their years crop, and in a period of two or three years they became so impoverished that they were unable to pay mortgages and interest, and their land was taken away from them by the bank. The question arises why the middle class farmers are unable to employ this cheap labour and so increase their agricultural production in the same way as the big Landowner. The average middle-class farmer possesses only one hundred to one hundred and fifty acres, one-third of which he keeps for cattle grazing, leaving him without sufficient land on which to place native serfs. Moreover, unlike the Big Landowner, he has no vast tracts on which his cattle may graze, enabling him to cultivate big stretches of land. Nor does he possess implements and machinery for big cultivation. We see, therefore, that such laws passed by the Big Landowners, and supported by middle-class farmers and byowners, prove a blessing to the Big Landowners, but threaten the very existence of the middle-class farmers, and white byowners.

We find that the Big Landowners derive greater wealth from their large crops. It is true that previously they obtained higher prices for a small number of bags, but now they have twenty times as many bags, and even at a lower price their income is greater than previously.

They would rather sell thirty thousand bags at 1/- per bag profit which yields £1,500 profit for one years crop, than sell as previously 400 or 500 bags at 10/- per bag profit, which brought in an income of £500 for the year.

It makes me believe therefore, that the small farmers and byowners support these laws of the Big Landowners because they have not found out how detrimental they are to their own interests. South Africa is a vast country. It is almost as big as Germany, France, Italy and England, put together, all of which countries have tens of millions of peasantry living on the land. There too, they have droughts and bad crops, but we find that they still remain on the land. It happens now and then that a farmer looses his land, but nevertheless still remains on the land as an agricultural labourer which enables him to earn a living wage. He is not chased off the land, as he can always obtain work with another farmer. This is not the position of South Africa. When a white farmer loses his land, he is divorced from the land and must leave it altogether. He fails to find work with other farmers since the Big Landowners cultivate their land entirely with semi-serf native labour, which costs them nothing, whereas white labour would cost them at least £7 to £10 per month. These oppressive laws against the natives, and coloured people which enable the big Landowners to amass wealth, are definitely the reasons for South Africa's great problem "THE POOR WHITE PROBLEM."

Some of these middle-class farmers and byowners who have lost their land, are unwilling to leave the land as they were brought up as farmers, so they struggle for their bread, live in poverty, degenerate, through suffering and die on the land. Tens of thousands of these people leave the land and flock to the cities, unable to obtain work in the factories, charitable humanitarian institutions like the Government and public organisations place these hard bitten white farmers on relief work at the magnificent wage of 2/6 or 3/- a day. On this these heart-broken people must keep their women and children—so we can easily imagine their suffering. They live and struggle, they work in a starving condition, their homes are in the slums and broken hearted they die.

The Big Landowners, just as the Imperialists and the Chamber of Mines also oppose the development of industry in this country, since such industrial development would gradually and surely raise the price of labour. Since forced serf labour is limited in this

country, they are in fear that the forced labour which they have in their grip will disappear and with it their super-profits.

My analogy is this: A manufacturer of tables sends 200 tables to be sold. Should there be only buyers for 100 tables then the price of the tables goes down, but if there should be buyers for 300 tables, then the price would go up. So it is with human labour, and hence the ruling class of South Africa is bitterly opposed to the development of industry in South Africa.

In all other countries, peasants also have to leave the land and migrate to the cities where they obtain work in factories. It is true that they start at a small wage, but as they learn the trade it becomes better. Not so in South Africa because the ruling class in South Africa put all obstacles in the way of industrial development. Hence the white farmers who are forced to come into the towns to seek work, can find no employment in the factories. In the few factories which do exist, all unskilled work is done by forced labour at 2/- per day.

This increasing poor white problem threatens to upset the whole of South Africa and will in the end lead to civil war.

It must become clear to all and everybody who can think and reason that while the population grows there are no places in trade and industry for the new generation. It goes without saying that our children will eventually swell the ranks of the poor whites. It is also asserted that the ruling class are always trying to eliminate skilled work and place it in the category of unskilled and semi-skilled work. This enables them to substitute forced labour for skilled labour. It leads to the position that the general income of the white people is continually on the decline. This means that the people have less money to spend, which leads to the closing of factories and greater unemployment. It imposes on the people of South Africa hardship and suffering in the form of a depression which is generally known as a capitalist crisis.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In 1820 the ruling class of Britain decided to make English settlements in the Cape Colony and surrounding places. They aimed at strengthening their hold in

South Africa. To eliminate unemployment in England itself, they sent out thousands of men and a considerable number of women to South Africa. The men were mostly unemployed workers and poverty stricken people. In general these people represented the poor class of England. When they were brought over here, land was granted them by the colonial Government and they also received support until they had successfully settled down to a peasant life. Not many were successful as farmers and hence we find that many of the 1820 settlers came to the villages as workmen and mechanics. Since then many more of the poorer classes have been sent over to this country. Some years later we find mixed marriages between the English and the Afrikaners. These two people were gradually drawn together and became adjusted to the environment. Although the ruling class at all times kept up national propaganda to keep the people divided, at no time do we find bitterness existing between them.

It is a widespread conception that Republicanism smells bad in the nostrils of the English speaking peoples in South Africa. When we examine the history of America we find that the English speaking people of America carried on a war for independence for six years against the ruling class of their mother country. These rulers in their mother country did not have much sympathy for their English brothers and sisters in America. In Order to keep the American-English people oppressed and exploited and poor, the British Ruling Class with King George III at their head, and led by Lord Granville, mouth piece of the British Ruling Class, conducted a policy of plunder, and placed America in the position of a Colony. Here they could at all times draw out the wealth and leave its people poverty. They could skim the cream off American wealth. The oppressive measures of the English Ruling Class against the American English people were so great, that in 1776 the America people were forced to take up arms against this robber clique. In the War which followed, lasting for almost 6 years, we find that the British rulers hired German mercenary troops and all other vagabonds of Europe to murder their

fellow countrymen in America. They were not content with murder alone. They took further steps; some almost impossible to believe. Lord Granville, mouth-piece of the British Ruling Class sent agents to Canada and America to recruit Red Indians by bribery and corruption. He equipped them with tomahawks, arms and ammunition and then let loose these hordes to plunder and burn the possessions of the English people of America. In the pages of history we find that these hordes of Red Indians energetically scalped men, women and children to the hearts desire of the British Ruling Class. The struggle of the English people of America was an economic struggle—a struggle for bread. To be economically free they had to struggle for independence against these sycophants. The American English people realised that they lived in America and that their living had to be made in America. They saw too, that their children were growing up in America and had to be provided with a livelihood in America.

This war of indepence came about because the British Ruling Class forbade them to develop industry in America. They were forbidden to develop the natural resources, the mineral wealth, iron ore, or any of the wealth of America on behalf of the American people.

The policy of the ruling class of England was to keep them oppressed exploited and in poverty with the status of a backward colonial people. The ruling class went so far as to forbid the American people even to cure the skins of the animals they hunted, and to turn them into finished articles. They were forced to send their skins and furs to England to be manufactured, and had then again to import them as a finished product at a very high price. Hence arose their struggle of six years for independence. I firmly believe that a clear explanation should be given to the English speaking people of South Africa that they are English and are entitled to be patriots of their mother country, but that at the same time it should be clear to them that they are living in South Africa and that they must therefore see to it that they should be able to gain a livelihood in South Africa. It must be clearly brought home to them that their children are growing up here in South Africa and it is their duty as parents to see that South

Africa should be in a position to provide their children with means of livelihood in South Africa. The British people must understand the clear example of the struggle in America what the English Rules have done in America they are doing in South Africa. Sixty-six per cent. of the wealth of South Africa is being drawn out of the country, and we are left in poverty. Our children will grow up to be degenerates and poor whites.

The victory of the American people in gaining their independence and proclaiming North America as an independent republic released them from their worst and most brutal exploiters, the British Imperialist rulers. This freedom gave them the chance of further struggle against the Big Landowners who were establishing slavery all over America and creating the poor white problem.

The area from San-Francisco down to Florida on the Atlantic was known as the South American Slave Belt. Slaves were taught to do all kinds of work necessary to run the Agricultural Industry. They were taught building, masonry, carpentry, cabinet making. and blacksmith work and all work which was necessary for the landowners to be in a position to run agriculture on the basis of cheap slave labour. No civilised worker or people could settle there and make a civilised living, as the work which they obtained was paid for on the basis of slave labour in the same way as the poor white work in South Africa. As the big land-slave owners were economically powerful, just as in South Africa they held political power in America which they utilised in order to flood the country with slave labour. The poor white problem, as we see it in this country was also the most outstanding problem of the American people.

Hence a United Front was formed in America of the workers and middle classes of the country and the town. It was realised that the poverty, the backwardness of the country and also the poor white problem which faced them were due to the policy of the Big Landowners. Petitions of the American people and appeals by learned men did not move these big landowners from their policy. What is more they became more arrogant and reactionary as in South Africa. This led the democratic people of America to take up

arms, and a long drawn-out struggle commenced. 2,000,000 American people were killed and wounded in the fight, but this honest democratic people succeeded in taking away political power from the big landowners and abolished slavery forever. They gave the black people of America human rights and the same freedom as enjoyed by the American people. This is recorded in the pages of History, as the 1862 Civil War of America.

Every intelligent person who has read the history of America will agree with the statement that because slavery was abolished in America it became possible for tens of millions of people of all countries to migrate to America, and they helped to build up the great democratic country of America and make it the foremost industrial and agricultural country of the world. We in South Africa are confronted with the same problem. South Africa is a vast country possessing all minerals and resources of raw materials. If the political power of the Imperialists, Chamber of Mines and Big Landowners were removed South Africa could become a second America. This country could then provide for all its people a life of comfort. There would be happiness for all. Mr. Munnik once stated in the house of Parliament that 66% of the white people of South Africa live below the bread line. This means that 1,300,000 white people out of two millions are paupers. Especially should the British people realise that the whole of the British Empire was conquered by the workers and people of Britain at the behest of British Imperialists, but the plunder taken from these conquered peoples went only to the British ruling class. Although the British Empire is so great nevertheless we find that the British people live in a terrible state of poverty. The worlds worst slums are to be found in England, and the British Workers if they find any chance to migrate from England do so at the first available opportunity. It would be well for the British people to know that the Empire means nothing to the British people and that they derive no benefits from the 500,000,000 slaves of British Imperialism. I think it is important for the English people to take a look at the Government of Britain and observe whom it represents.

Here are some of the representatives of the National Government of Britain, which is not only a

rich man's government, but is a Government for the rich man. It not only acts for, but consists of, leading sections of the robber class. Chamberlain himself has sprung from a rapacious family of Birmingham Capitalists, a section of the ruling class that rivals even the Durham mine owners in its aggressive and reckless search for profits. Yet when it serves its fascists masters, he talks with mock shame of the wicked capitalists who make money by sending food ships to Spain, and as head of the Government which is responsible for the armament problem, the biggest profiteering Ramp in History, impudently holds up his hands in horror at the idea of preventing such profiteering. How closely his personal economic background and his political policy correspond is shown by his opposition to the Rent Restrictions Act, by his behaviour in 1926 when as Minister of Health he attacked local authorities that were paying relatively high scales of relief by means of the board of Guardians. In 1929 he introduced the Derating Act which relieved industry and business of ¾ of their rates, and thus increased the burden on the working class, small traders or professional people through rent and rate increases. In 1932 he introduced the economy Budget. Lord Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, is a son of Earl Derby who owns 62,000 acres of land in Lancashire. Oliver Stanley is a son-in-law of the Notorious Lord Londonderry, the man who saved the bombing plane at the Disarmament Conference, one of Britain's biggest Royalty Coal owners.

Lord Halifax is a member of the Wood family, large Yorkshire landowners among whom Earl Winterton and his uncle own 28,000 acres of land. Earl Plymouth, Parliamentary under-secretary for foreign affairs, and Chairman of the non-intervention Committee of Spain and his father-in-law own 92,000 acres of land. Sir Samuel Hoare is connected with the Banking firm of Barnetts, Hoare and Company.

Sir Philip Sassoon, Grandson of Baron Gustave de Rothschild, of the famous Banking family was a director of the family firm of David Sassoon and Company, Limited, Indian Merchants. Lord Hailsham worked for his family firm of Hogg, Curtiss Campbell and Company, West Indian Sugar Merchants. Hoare-Belisha is a son of P. J. . I. Belisha,

Belisha, head of the stock broking firm of Belisha and Company. The Duke of Devonshire, under secretary for dominions, recently inherited 186,000 acres of land and mineral rights in Derbyshire from his father, who, by subtle financial means, so arranged things that the Estate was able to dodge paying Death duties for which it should have been liable. Lord Runciman is a big landowner. The fortunes of his family were greatly increased in the past war, war shipping boom and slump. In 1919, his father who controlled the Moore Line Company sold its veessels to another Company for £22 per ton. On the strength of this deal, the Moore Line Company was wound up, the shareholders, mainly the Runciman family getting £15 for every £1 share held. We do not sufficiently realise, that we live in an age when the wealth of the community is held by a small gang of Monopolists. The high point of the Control is exercised by the controllers of finance. Sir Josiah Stamp, for instance, who "Teas", with Hitler, while Hitler's armies move, is on the Bank of England Directorate, on the L.M.S. Railway and the biggest building Society in the Country. There are twenty or thirty of this calibre. They control the big Trusts, often organised by the Big Banks, which stand right across the production and trade of the Empire and of our South African Land. The Big Landlords themeselves again often in league with this small group, complete the strangulation process. Some of those families are old and their fortunes are based on the plunder of conquest, or reformations. Some date from the Industrial Revolution and period of Imperial Expansion. Other families are new and acquired their fortunes during the war years. Others are importations from America, like Astors who dominate the Cliveden Set. These are the people who control our press, our food, our tin, our steel, our land, and every other product we use. They keep us off our land and country-side. They get the rent that keeps food from our childrens mouths, they are the people who intrigue with fascism, and who attack Trade Unionism. They profit from the rising profits of a boom and secure themselves in a Slump by imposing poverty on everybody else. They hold up production, they waste food, they profiteer in armaments production. They are the arbiters of

fashion. They constitute the personel of the Upper Civil Service, Company Directors, and are the leaders in the Church. Their degeneracy is shown in their pro-fascist policy, their divisions, their treachery, their leader Chamberlain. Their robber class plunders by force and war, and strangles the productive and intellectual development of half the world.

The people of Britain cannot expect better economic and social conditions, as long as they have these plunderers at the head of the British Government. These robbers are responsible for the murder and massacres which are being carried out in Spain and China. These robber bandits are a class of their own. They have no sentiment for any one, even of their own nation. They oppress and exploit all and everybody they can. Their daily duty which they perform regularly, is walking from Club to Club, eating hot sausages and drinking cocktails.

We often hear it expressed that the Afrikaner people are against the English people, but this is not correct. It is true that the Afrikaner people hate British Imperialism which they look upon as their arch enemy, and as the party responsible for robbing them of their independent democratic republic. It is not easy for the Afrikaner to forget the hardships they have endured at the hands of the Imperialist robbers. These people have poured their blood freely to protect, first the Cape Colony, then Natal, then Kimberley, then the Frec State and the Transvaal. In the last Boer War they struggled heroically for three years. They yet remember the humiliation they went through at the hands of the Imperialistic invaders. The raizing to the ground of their farms and homesteads, may become dim in their memory but they can never forget the (forty thousand) 40,000 of their men, who were confined in concentration camps where many of them died of starvation and disease and numbers were exiled to farflung British Colonies.

They therefore look upon the Union Jack with hatred and contempt. In all countries the Union Jack has been planted after rivers of blood have flown. From an economic view point they see that the British Imperialist robbers are taking out the best from their

country, and are responsible for their poverty. Such feelings on their part are a natural expression, and their strong republican sentiments are a natural craving and desire since they see Republicanism as the weapon by which they will be better able to rid themselves for ever of the Imperialistic sycophants.

On 19/1/39 the Daily Express reported a speech delivered by General J. J. Pienaar, Administrator of the Transvaal at the Carlton Hotel. He said: "Union politics are still childish." Referring to the Political outlook of the Union, General Pienaar stated, that after nearly 30 years of Union there was little sign of South Africa having grown up politically. "We are still squabbling about little things that children squabble over." "In certain directions perhaps, we are beginning to show a national outlook; a United front, but we are far from having reached manhoods estate, in many matters of national importance. We still worry more about where a man was born or what language he speaks than about what he is and what he does. The fact of the matter is that we cannot reach manhoods estate as a nation until we arrive at the point reached by the United States nearly three quarters of a century ago. We cannot attain manhoods estate as a nation unless we have enough people here to play the role of the nation. "Like all here tonight I am prepared to say, South Africa with thy faults, I love thee", General Pienaar added.

From the words of General Pienaar we can easily understand that he thinks that until we free the black people, South Africa will not advance and develop. His words show that he considers that the 1862 civil war in America to free America from the iron grip of the big landowners was a necessary stage in the development of America. It leads us to understand that by the abolition of forced semi-feudal labour, the doors of South Africa will be opened wide for millions of people of all countries, who will migrate to South Africa and help to build here a great country, and a great nation. General Pienaar, I fully agree with you! Lead on in this direction and I assure you tens of thousands of people will follow you!

I here reprint a letter published in "The Star" of August the 22nd 1938:

"NATIONALIST AND REPUBLICAN."

RELIANCE ON UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of the Star.

Sir,

In regard of your leading article, "England's Wars," I think, as a Nationalist and Republican that you forget that more than 63 per cent of the inhabitants of the Union are Dutch or Afrikaans-speaking, have no English blood in their veins, and are not in the least interested in England or in the British Empire or its glamour.

I myself was born in the Cape under British rule, so my parents and so my children, and none of us has in any way become enamoured of, or in the least interested in, the English or their Empire. We have our own sentiments—purely South African sentiments and desire only a United States of Africa, with our own selected president exactly as the glorious United States of America—started 158 years ago to become the most powerful nation today.

The Union of South Africa as it is situated today is, to my mind, a puppet vassal state like Manchukuo. The Union is an economic anpendage of England. In London our credit is created, controlled and ended by English Imperialist capitalists; and what is even worse, the Union has been as is today entirely depedent on English shipping. The English, therefore, have the Union in the hollow of their hands. To call the Union a sovereign independent State under the circumstances is the very negation of the truth. To England the Union is a veritable Imperialist paradise; trade balance £41,000,000 to 13,000,000 in favour of England, and the complete control of our great gold industry; all concentrated in London.

The English Imperialist capitalist does not develop any of the Empire territories, but exploits these territories. To put it very clearly, the English Imperialist

Capitalists, as Professor Zimmern, of Oxford University, says, "Milk" the English colonies, dependencies and Dominions.

The greatest enemies of the continuance of the Empire are the English capitalists sitting in London controlling the English Conservative Party. After 135 years of Empire rule 98 per cent of the Dutch Afrikaners are either wretched paupers or poor people split up into hostile sections. Racialism is rampant more than ever, and at the present time bitterness and dissatisfaction reign supreme. In every country in the world conquered by Great Britain—I am speaking of subject races—you find two conditions: abject poverty and bitter disunion.

For the reasons I have given as a Nationalist and Republican, we wish to get out of the British Empire at the earliest possible moment, or wish to remain neutral in England's wars, as advocated by Dr. Malan and the Nationlist party.

We are told that we could not exist as a republic—some other power would despoil us, and our independence would be ended. Which is this Power? I cut out the United States. Japan's first move would be at the expense of China, New Zealand, Australia, Singapore and India, which would, I think, be too much for Japan to digest to put it very mildly. Germany and Italy are both heavily committed and tied to their commitments in Europe. They would not dare attack South Africa, remembering that in 1899-1902 England with its whole Empire and 500,000 troops pitted against 40,000 farmers took almost three years to put her heel on the Republics. But apart from this, is England's "protection", naval or otherwise, any genuine good to the Union.

The next European War (America having learnt her lesson, will remain neutral), will probably be between England and France against Germany and Italy. England will have her work cut out to defend her own Island, and would be very lucky to keep her own independence, much less protect her vast Dominions, dependencies and territories. All her Fleet will be concentrated to protect England. The English say charity begins at home, and so protection. In the last Great

War of 1914 I am firmly convinced that had it not been for America's aid England would today be a vassal state of Germany's. In any case, if we were a republic we could be giving America trading facilities, get her guarantee of our Independence—a guarantee that would be undoubted and relied upon as America is the most powerful and richest country in the world today, and with no scattered and far flung Empire to "protect."

T. C. WESSELS.

My Comments on this letter are:

I fully agree with Mr. Wessel's statement that South Africa is impoverished through British Imperialism, and I may add that South Africa's ecenomy is tied up with British Imperialism. When British Imperialism finds itself in a crisis, it drags South Africa into it, also when Brirish Imperialism finds itself in War, it drags South Africa into such a War whether it likes it or not. Hence the necessity for South Africa to become independent. But I definitely disagree with Mr. Wessel's statement that, Malan is aiming to free South Africa from imperialism. Hertzog promised the people of South Africa our independence as far back as 1912, but as soon as he assumed power in 1924, he forgot about the promises he had made to the people. He rather went over Holus Bolus and became a mate of British Imperialism.

If Malan should succeed to power, he will mislead the people even more than Hertzog. He openly states that he will obtain South Africa's independence with the aid of German Nazi Imperialism, and he will get rid of British Imperialism only to saddle the South African people with a more ruthless German Nazi Imperialism. As to dividing the people by racialism and hatred, Malan has succeeded even more than the Imperialists.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND DEMOCRACY.

It is written in the pages of history that the Jews, in their last battle with the Emperor of Rome, Vaspasian Plavius, about 2,000 years ago, fought to preserve their independence, their country, their culture, their status, as a nation and race, their women and children and their homes, with great courage and determination. They performed heroic deeds against overhelming odds. In one province of Palestine, Galilee, great bloody battles were fought. They lost one and a half million men, women and children in masacres which took place there.

It seems that the Jews were aware of what awaited them once they were defeated and robbed of their country and independence.

To the Jewish people it was as the words of the prophet fortold that once they should lose their country, they would suffer bitterly, and so it was. Since then they have been trampled to the dust, whether at the hands of the Bishops, the feudal Lords, the Kings or as today, at the hands of the Imperialist robbers and their fascist gangs.

Paul Kruger and his burghers were faced with the alternative of submitting to the Imperialist robbers, or of fighting as men for their independence, knowing that they were opposed by superior forces. They chose rather to struggle like the Jews with arms in their hands, and to resist these bandits to death. They did not want, to sell their country, live in shame, and cringe and crawl to these robber bands.

I, as a Jew, a member of the oppressed and persecuted race, fully apreciate the choice of these burghers and their leader. It is 2,000 years since the Jews lost their home, and these have been years of bloody oppression and persecution. The life of the Jews is a tragedy—not alone for the Jews but also for all learned and honest people. When you glance at history, it is at once obvious that the ruling class who settled like leeches on the peasants, workers and the people, have always used the Jews as a scapegoat. When the people, because of their pain and suffering arose up against the oppressive ruling classes, these would always try to distract the attention of the angered people by sending agents and agitators among them to tell them that the Jews were responsible for their suffering. This applies to almost all countries.

The ruling class of all countries promote national hatred and bitterness, especially when they see that their people have reached a transition period and are striving to change their form of government and their form of life. This is very forcibly seen in Spain and in the 14th Century. Spain at that time was the most cultured country in the civilised world. Its educational institutions and universities, at Toledo, Granada, Cordova, Seville and Cadiz were famous throughout

the world. People who sought a higher education flocked to these centres of learning. Alongside culture also flourished a highly developed trade and industry.

Spain at that time was the dominant power and the richest in the world. We find that the peasants, the village craftsmen, the tradespeople, the commercialists and the intelligents were striving to break the power of the feudal lords, since these lords hated education, culture and greater freedom for the people. Fierce struggles ensued between these opposing forces. The feudal lords who were the Bishops of the church and the leaders of the Jesuits, sent agents and agitators among the suffering peasants and made them believe that they suffered because of the Jews. They succeeded in working up a hatred against the Jews, and eventually plundered the Jews, stripped them of their possessions and threw them out of the country By these methods the lords succeeded in staying the transition to the era of industrial capitalism, and greater democracy. It was easy for the lords to work up such a hatred among the religious and backward people. Once they had achieved this, they turned their attention to the advanced Christian people, of the new era; it is asserted that two million advanced Christian people were tortured and massacred during the Spanish Inquisition. The people who struggled for a better life were defeated and Spain remained a backward country, right until today. They remained slaves in the grip of the feudal lords.

The line pursued by Hitler in present day Germany is not the idea of Hitler or of the Imperialists of Germany, but a repetition of the history of the Spain of the 14th century. In Spain the feudal lords closed the schools of learning and burned all books of science. Hitler has done likewise in Germany. In Spain they roused the ignorant religious fanaties and backward people to murder and plunder the Jews. Having done with the Jews they began to torture, persecute and murder the advanced peasants and Christian intelligensia. Having murdered all these progressive people, it became easy for the Spanish robber class to rob and plunder the peasants, workers, and intelligentsia, and doom them to poverty and ignorance and slavery. Hitler, servant of German Imperialism is doing the same thing in Germany today. On the other hand, we see that

wherever a people has succeeded in breaking the bonds of the feudal lords, and setting up a more democratic government, they have always extended all democratic rights to all foreign people who came to their countries. Holland was the first to extend such democratic right to all people who sought refuge there including the Jews. Tens of thousands of Jews have settled there, who have helped to build up Holland. In America too, as soon as its people succeeded in chasing out the British ruling class and gaining their freedom, millions of people of all countries flocked there amongst them the Jews, who have helped to make America what she is today. So it was in France and in countries whose people after centuries and centuries of bitter struggle succeeded in freeing themselves and establishing democracy. They have then always given democratic rights to persecuted and oppressed people.

Through centuries of persecution the Jews found out that those countries which were ruled by the lords and Kings were always in a state of strife. They found out that in those countries which were ruled by democratic peoples, their people lived in greater security and freedom. For these reasons the Jews have become traditonal Democrats. Therefore, wherever a country struggles for freedom and Democracy the Jews are always prepared to help in the struggle, not only with their material possessions but with their very lives.

After the discovery of gold and diamonds, tens of thousands of people came to South Africa, including many Jews. They found that in the Free State and Transvaal the Burghers and their Government gave Democratic rights and freedom to all people who settled here. The jingo Press, particularly the Star previous to the Boer War, which worked up a demand for freedom ostensibly coming from the Uitlanders, was a lying journal. The hired press always speaks in the name of the people, even when the people know nothing about it. The foreigners were quite content with the conditions laid down for them by Paul Kruger and the Burghers. Only the mining magnates plotted with the Imperialists to seize the Free State and Transvaal, using the excuse that they had come to liberate those people who were suffering at the hands of the Burghers. We find that when the war broke out, many foreigners

enlisted with the Burghers but very few with the Imperialist robbers.

Because the Burghers treated the foreigners and Jews democratically, we find that they have since made South Africa their home. They helped at all times to build up South Africa, and to make it possible for its people to live a civilised life.

There are about 90,000 Jews in South Africa, and all of them participate in developing and building up South Africa. Most of the Jews here are workers in all kinds of industries. A lot of them are middle class people who own small shops, but you find also a good many Jewish Capitalists.

The Jewish workers in South Africa are to be found mostly in small factories where wages are low. In the basic industries they get no work and in the civil service and municipalities there is a definite discrimination against Jews, hence you find the majority of Jews in great poverty. They are to be found in the boot and shoe, furniture, tailoring, garment, and textile industries which are the lowest paid industries in this country.

For that very reason you find the Jews helping to found Trade Unions, since these are a means of helping them to improve their economic and social conditions. Middle class Jews, mostly Shopkeepers, came to this country knowing no trade, and without money. Their only means of making a living was to open a shop. Hence we find that a city block with four corners has a grocery shop on each corner each competing with the other, by selling a herring a halfpenny cheaper; they even sell doughnuts (Beigals) giving the hole in the centre as a ponsella (Discount).

These aspiring shopkeepers have opened this kind of shop with £10.0.0 capital or less. Even this was not their own, having been borrowed from all and sundry. They are busy from morning to night buying goods, in fact spend more time buying than selling. A small shopkeeper is usually indebted to about a hundred merchants, as their credit with each is very limited. From one they buy herring, from another they buy the three-cornered cakes (Homentassen), from a third they

buy Jewish bread (Kitkas), and their whole stock-in-trade, with credit and capital investment, reaches the sum of £30.0.0. Some of them progress so far as to open a banking account, and therefore when one enters a bank, one can see a whole string of them waiting to see the Manager. Having waited hours, they eventually interview him, and the following dialogue will ensue:—

Client: "Might I ask a favour of you Mr. Manager."
Manager: "Certainly, what is it?"

Client: "I have given a cheque of £6.0.0 to a merchant, and I am short of £3.0.0 to meet it, will you pay it for me?"

Manager: "When will you repay it?"

Client: "Say—within three days."

As a rule the undertaking is kept. When he is in the shop, and behind the counter, his mind is continually occupied with how he will be able to approach the merchant to get him to extend payment for a week. So he struggles with all merchants. In general, we find that these people change their shops from one place to another in the hope of getting a locality where they will make a better living. The life of these people is a life of struggle—a bitter struggle for a piece of bread for themselves and their women and children.

They have my sympathy, but I can do nothing for them. Their struggle is due to the society in which they live.

The Jewish capitalist is no better and no worse than the English, French, Afrikaans, and American Capitalists. All of them seek to make profit when they invest money. It makes no difference to them who works for them as long as they obtain cheap labour and can make better profits. But in South Africa there is the difference, that the Jewish Capitalists have settled here and live here, and are interested in developing Africa. They are prepared to invest their money in such trade and industry where their interests are protected from foreign competition. They are therfore anxious to invest their money here and help to industrialise South Africa.

Since the early days in South Africa, the Afrikaners, English and Jews lived happily together. They strived and struggled together to bring about a democratic South Africa which would give them a better life. It is only recently that the Imperialist Chamber of Mines and Big Landowners have tried to create racial and national strife to overcome the menace growing of discontent and poverty, among the people which is beginning to threaten their rule and power. We Jews and all democratic people in South Africa will take up the line given by Paul Kruger and the Burghers. Just as they defended their independence by arms so shall we not only give our material possessions but with arms in our hands fight for our liberty and freedom, together with all other people in South Africa.

THE HOAX OF PALESTINE.

Palestine is a colony of British Imperialism. Like South Africa, it was seized in war and it is held by the bayonet. It serves as a market for British Imperialism in the same way as other colonies. The Policy of Imperialist Powers is to keep colonies in a backward state and not allow any industry to develope. Such a policy is also applied in Palestine. It is true that in 1917 the British Imperialists promised Palestine to the Jews and promised to make it a national home for them; but this was just a promise at a time when Britain was engaged in a deadly struggle with Germany. They then required the help of the Jews, and the Jews did help in many ways. Jews of many countries flocked to the British armies in Palestine and elsewhere and shed their blood to help the British Imperialists to get Palestine away from Turkey. Promises cost nothing. The British Imperialists robbers never thought of keeping their word. In particular do we see this when we examine Palestine geographically and economically. Geographically, Palestine is situated in the Mediterranean on the Suez Canal. It is in the heart of the Near East, where British Imperialism oppresses and exploits all the oriental people. There it keeps them in a backward state, which makes it easier to rule them Economically, Palestine was very backward. Agriculturally, she was nothing to speak of. She had no industry. After the Balfour Declaration of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, Jews from all countries

began to flock there. They invested their money and by hard labour, endeavoured to build up Palestine. Palestinian soil is unfertile, with only a few fertile parts here and there which are being cultivated. It was therefore impossible to absorb all the Jews in Palestine, if it were to remain an agricultural country alone. Hence the Jews determined to develope industry, and within a very short time they had established factories which employed tens of thousands of people.

Palestine began to take shape as an industrial country in the orient. This is just the very thing to which British Imperialism objects. Palestine as a backward British Colony previously absorbed British manufactured goods while all its raw materials which went to Britain, cost little since labour in the impoverished land was cheap. Britain does not want Palestine to become an industrial centre in the Orient, since she may eventually take away British trade. It is like the case of a shopkeeper who would never encourage another shopkeeper to open a shop next door to him, knowing that his own trade would be damaged. Politically, the establishment of industry would mean the development of education, since trained mechanics would be necessary in the factories. A working-class would be built up there, and a higher culture. Such a development would surely begin to affect the Oriental people. It might eventually lead to a national liberation movement of the Oriental people against British Imperialism, and this would endanger the domination of British Imperialism in the Near East. Hence in 1928 the British Officials in Palestine began to carry out an anti-semitic policy, directed from No. 10, Downing Street, and this led to bloody incidents between the Arabs and the Jews. This was done to disrupt the peaceful development of industry, and the peaceful life of the Arabs and Jews in building up Palestine. But British Imperialism did not succeed in putting the Arabs against the Jews. We find that the National Liberation movements of the Arabs grew as the realised that the real enemy was not the Jews, but British Imperialism. The struggle of the Arabs for the past few years has been for complete emancipation from the iron grip of British Imperialism. This movement has begun to spread to all surrounding Arab countries.

The British Imperialists finding themselves in difficulties have called in the Jewish capitalists of all countries, who are the leaders of the Zionist Movement. These capitalist Zionist leaders, by propaganda—agitation have succeeded in winning over a section of the backward Jews in Palestine, and placed them on the side of the British Imperialists to help them to break the National Liberation Movement of the Arab People. Thus the Jewish Zionist leaders helped to create a civil war between the Jews and the Arabians. Such a situation is used by the British Imperialist robbers. They say they cannot give National Independence to the Arabs since they are incessantly fighting the Jews. They say they cannot give the Jews their National home, since they are continually quarrelling with the Arabs. This is how they justify their betrayal of the Jews and Arabs; meanwhile the longer the fight goes on, the more the industry of Palestine, which was built by the sweat and blood of the people, goes to wreck and ruin.

The well-known American Senator Borah stated in a reply to an appeal for American intercession with Great Britain in the Palesetine affair, "It has always been a strange thing to me that some of your ablest leaders have been the ones who have urged us to become allies to Great Britain and to join the two nations for the salvation of the human race. You say the attitude of Great Britain towards it's solemn obligations to Zionism seems to me should be of deep concern to the people and government of the United States. It is of deep concern, but as I view it, it is only one more attitude of Great Britain towards it's solemn obligations.

In the Manchurian affair did not Great Britain go to Japan's defence, and in the face of two treaties?

In the Czechoslovakian matter did she not betray Czechoslovakia after forcing herself, as it were, upon Czechoslovakia as a mediator?

Is the record in regard to Ethiopia and Spain any different? I do not know of a single instance in British history where Great Britain ever kept the terms of a treaty when it became, as she supposed, to her interests to disregard them. (New York Post.)

On 5th December, 1938, The Daily Express, Johannesburg, reported a speech delivered by Commander

Locker Lampson, English M.P. He said that, if as much money had been spent on encouraging Jews in Palestine, as had been spent on keeping them out, a prosperous state would exist.

So today we find that the Zionist Capitalist leaders have joined hands with the British Imperialist robbers. The aim of these partners is to keep up racial hatred and meanwhile to subject both people of Palestine to oppression and impoverishment. It is truly said that if these gangsters would stop interfering in Palestine, the Arabs and Jewish people would soon come together and establish peace, and build a happy country for all of them. The Jewish Capitalists, backed up by capitalists of all countries who are carrying on the agitation for a Jewish National Home in Palestine at the expense of other people, are not so anxious for a Jewish National Home as they are to draw away the attention of the Jewish masses in all countries where they are so bitterly suffering from their immediate economic and social conditions and horrible oppression. They hope to keep these Jews from participating with all other people in this struggle for improvement of their economic and social conditions and their fight to remove the oppressors of their countries. To the ninety thousand Jewish people of South Africa! Don't allow yourself to be misled. Don't allow your mind to be eased by the promises of the ruling class. At no time in history can you find that these robber bands have given people a true national independence. It has never happened, and it never will. When all countries reach a higher democracy, than they have today, then democratic people will emancipate all national minorities and oppressed people and will give them their national home and national democratic Independence.

It is better for us Jews, since we are in South Africa, that we should strive hand in hand with all other people in South Africa to improve the economic-social conditions of the people and bring about a greater democracy which will create a homogeneous peaceful life in South Africa.

No one can deny that the Jews crave for and desire national independence for it would be a deliverance for the whole race. It is therefore obvious that the Jewish masses must try to understand that the Afrikaners too

have an urgent longing for national independence. For this very reason the Jewish masses must help the Afrikaners to attain this end. History has shown that almost invariably it is the rich who are the leaders of a movement striving for national independence. But history also reveals that it is these same men who betrayed the movements of which they have become the leaders. Just as Dr. Malan and Hertzog mislead the Afrikaner masses so Dr. Weitzman and Jabotinski are selling out Jewry to Imperialism.

THE NATIVE AND COLOURED PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Black people in South Africa, despite their backwardness do know that it was the British Lords who carried on the slave trade from the beginning of the 18th century. King George III and these Lords of Britain drew huge profits from it. Their agents fell upon the native villages, seized the able and strong men and women, massacred the feble and old, carried their prisoners to the coast from where they were shipped to all parts of the world and sold as slaves. Many were the cries of protest from the American and English people against this slave trade. The outcry from all parts of the world against this inhuman traffic was loud but nevertheless the British ruling class carried on this trade right up to 1862, and so filled their coffers with wealth. The protection of the natives by the British rulers did not come about as a result of repeated petitions for such protection by the natives. This British "protection" has come through murder and massacre, through wars waged by the British ruling class on the natives of this country. The British rulers deprived them of their country and freedom by means of murder, treachery and betrayal. They have become the hewers of wood, the drawers of water, beasts of burden—a status which they suffer under to this day. I am safely say that there is no love lost between the native peoples and the British Imperialist robbers.

Prior to the Boer War, the mining magnates were anxious to force the Basutos, Zulus and Swazis to work in their mines. These people however were content to live peasant life on the land. This was one of the

reasons why the magnates wanted so much to have an Imperialist Government over the Transvaal. We find that such a Government did give them power to force these natives off the land and into the mines. Heavy taxes were imposed upon these people which they were unable to pay. Hence there was the Zulu Rebellion in 1906. The Chamber of Mines press of that time came out with the story that the Zulus were gathering to murder and massacre the white man, his women and children. That is how the Imperialists managed to gather together all ablebodied white men, gave them rifles and despatched them to Zululand where they carried out a massacre of these poor Zulus, murdered about 1,000 and forced them off their land. The Zulus being unable to pay their taxes were compelled to come and work for the British Imperialists and Chamber of Mines. Thus the Zulu Rebellion ended in blood and terror. This is not the only rebellion that has broken out amongst the oppressed native people due to the many taxes imposed by the Government of this country. The taxes levied vary according to the different localities. The poll tax, the hut tax, wife tax, dog tax, water tax, cattle dipping tax, labour tax, put the native into a position of not being able to meet them all and so they are compelled to leave the land and come to the mines to work.

Economically the natives possess nothing. The little land which they still have is insufficient to provide a livelihood. As I previously stated, their land is rocky and unfertile and this together with the heavy taxes forces them to seek work on the mines and in city industries. As agricultural labourers their wages are 3d. per day or about 10/- per month. This is insufficient even to keep them alive and hence they strive at all times to migrate to the city in order to find work there. They are reluctant to work in the mines as they do not understand why they should spit out their lungs for a starvation wage. It is for that very reason that the Chamber of Mines has recruiting corporations. These corporations send agents to the native territories and they sometimes succeed in getting the natives to come to work in the mines by picturing to them the beautiful adventurous life they will enjoy there, but in most cases these agents win over the native chiefs in one way or

another, and these chiefs become the real agents who use their position to force the natives to sign the contracts with the mines.

The shopkeepers also play a big part in inducing the natives to go to work in the mines. The natives are continually in debt to the shopkeeper. This shopkeeper will then stop their credit and demand money and hence the natives are forced to go and work in the mines in order to be able to pay their debts. We find that 350,000 natives are working in the mines. They are herded together in compounds on the mining property. They may not leave the mines without a special pass. Native Police are always on guard in these compounds to see to it that they should be at hand in case of work. The mining company provides them with food of a kind. Their rations are mealipap and an inferior kind of meat called compound meat. Time and again strikes occur on these mines. The reasons are usually dissatisfaction with the food rations and conditions of work. Such strikes on many occasions last a couple of days. White Police are immediately called in, during such a situation. They come with rifles and knobkerries. And knobkerrie justice is effectively administrated on the skulls of these poor native strikers. So on most occasions the strike is broken and the natives are forced to return to work. The compound system is a relic of feudal society. It was first introduced on the diamond fields in Kimberley by the De Beers Company. Workers had then to live in compounds surrounded by barbed wire and so they live today. This is an effective means of having workers at their command! These white and black workers have become compoundised and they are virtually body and soul the property of De Beers Company. They live on De Beers property whether it be houses or compounds; they draw wages from De Beers Company; they spend their wages in the shops of De Beers Company and the wages are fixed at a standard suitable to De Beers Company.

Black workers may not leave these barbed wire compounds without special permits. Politically the white workers of De Beers Company have to do as they are told. They have to vote for the man who suits the

De Beers Company. Their political views must be acceptable to De Beers Company. Should they ever express other views, they will lose their jobs, be flung off the De Beers property and chased out of Kimberley —Man, woman and child.

As the Transvaal gold reefs fell into the hands of Companies it was their desire to introduce the barbed wire compound system of Kimberley to the Rand. Unfortunately for these mining magnates the Transvaal at that time was governed by a Democratic Republic led by Paul Kruger; and Paul Kruger refused to introduce such a system in the Transvaal. He would not allow such slavery among civilised people. Hence you find that in the Chamber of Mines Press of that time, the Leader and the Star emphasized in their propaganda against the Republic that one of their chief grievances against Paul Kruger was his refusal to allow the employers to have a better control of the white and black workers by introducing the barbed wire compound system. In recent years the big landowners have also introduced the compound system and those natives who are forced to come and work on the land also find themselves virtual slaves. Their life in these compounds is a life of despair. They are packed there like sardines. There is no limit to the hours of work; they toil day and night, with no prospect of improving their conditions of life. They are exposed to the danger of being flogged by the big landowners, for such a law has been passed. They are knocked from pillar to post. Everyman's hand is against them. Their life is a nightmare to them. They are bedraggled and degraded, they are dressed in rags and shiver from cold as they possess no blankets to cover themselves at night. They are not semi-serfs but are slaves. This is the reason why the Chamber of Mines and the big landowners spend so much money to recruit natives as the natives resent working for them. They hate these evil conditions and hence they flock to the towns to seek work in industry.

They obtain unskilled work in the towns. Some work in kitchens at a pound or two a month. Some obtain work in factories where they do unskilled work at low wages of 10/-, 15/- or £1 per week. You will

find natives who have worked in factories for ten years doing semi-skilled and somtimes skilled work and their wages have not altered. By law they have no right to learn a trade, and hence there is no prospect for them ever to live a better live. Due to these low wages we find that the native workers are compelled to live in slums. There they are crowded together in a ten foot by six cell which is called a room—six or seven together. This kind of poverty has called forth a new kind of building construction in the native locations. This is an innovation of the twentieth century. These buildings are constructed as follows:- four poles are erected with a flat roof placed over them. This roof is covered by pieces of old paraffin tins. The walls are made partly of earth, partly of tins and old coal bags. Such buildings have the special name of hovels, and this is where the natives live. In summer these hovels become turkish baths, in winter the inmates experience polar conditions. The hut is full of holes and as a result it is filled with dust, or in rainy weather flooded by water. The furniture consists of old parafin boxes and tins. The sleeping accommodation for the family is all bundled up in a corner. The stove is a paraffin tin with holes and two irons across the top. This stands in the centre of the room. Here they cook. Coal is expensive, but the plentiful smoke costs them nothing. There are no sanitary arrangements in the native locations and hence they live in filth and dirt. In the centre of the location is a water pipe, where they all fetch water in paraffin tins. There are no streets, and in rainy weather they walk from one bog into another—dirty water everywhere. The bad smell is overwhelming.

Due to small wages, the men, women and children are underfed. This continual state of hunger undermines their health, and together with dirt and filth of yard and street causes us to look at the latest statistics of the health department. Infantile, death, mortality in native locations is 800 per 1,000. They live in hunger, Poverty, desease, and all kinds of vermin surround them. The life they live is one of utter despair. Hunger and poverty force them to crime. They cannot move about without a special. If they do'nt pay their taxes they are flogged at the pass office or flung into jail.

If they walk in the streets the pickup van is always in their wake. They are arrested for a hundred and one minor offences. Forgetting to carry tax receipt, a native is arrested; failure to exihibit a pass and he is taken into custody. Therefore we find that two thirds of the natives spend most of their time behind iron bars, in handcuffs and chains. Very few schools are to be found among them and therefore they are illiterate and backward. The few native teachers that there are, are not recognised as teachers and are paid a starvation wage. They have no recreation—no culture with the exception of a very small minority. These people who find themselves in such horrible conditions will be no different from those in other countries who have suffered as they do and, who were the dynamic force in the struggle for the bourgois democratic revolution. These native people of South Africa are therefore the people to whom it is a matter of life and death to attain a better human society and they are ready and prepared to give freely of their life and blood in the struggle to bring about a real democratic government.

In the beginning of the 19th century, we find similar conditions existing in England among the workers and peasants. These horrible conditions forced the workers and peasants to seek a way out and hence they commenced Trade Unionism and political organisations. These they found were the weapons by which they could achieve better economic and social security. Hence we find at that time a wave strikes of agricultural and city workers. In South Africa we are going through the same stage. We find the natives eager to build up trade unions and political organisations. Many trade unions and political bodies have already been formed, such as The National Liberation Movement and the Non-European United Front. For long years these people with heads lowered to the ground and crawling on their knees, have begged the rulers to improve their conditions, but without avail. Now these black people are taking up the line of struggle, as followed by the workers and the oppressed people in all countries. The Non-European united front already claims 100,000 supporters and there is reason to believe that this movement will grow in strength and number.

The condition of the Coloured and Indian people is not much different from that of the natives. Save for nimor exceptions they live a similar life. Hence we find recent efforts to unite the Native, Indian and Coloured people in their common struggle for recognition as human beings and the right to live a better life. There is no doubt that in the very near future we shall witness a great struggle by these people in South Africa.

To the Editor, June, 20th, 1936.

of "South African Worker".

As a constant reader of your paper, I find that it is the only paper which is continually advocating better conditions for all people. There is no doubt about it, that we black workers are appreciating your efforts on our behalf. We are beginning to look upon your paper as our only friend that stands on our behalf at all times, demanding for us freedom, bread, education and the right to live as human beings. As a black man I can assure you that our sufferings are beyond human endurance. We are suffering from starvation due to our small wages. We can only see a piece of meat and a piece of bread sometimes, just on a holiday, but we also suffer from so-called homes where we live.

POLICE RAIDS A NIGHTMARE.

I wish, Mr. Editor, you would come over to the location where I live and see for yourself the rooms we live in. We can hardly afford to have one small room for a whole family of three to eight people. We sleep on straw spread out on the floor. We are covered with a few old blankets and sacks and it is horribly cold that our limbs get stiff so that we can hardly move. It is known to you that we are pulled out of our homes naked, in the middle of the night, by the police. This is the so-called "Night Police Raid" and how brutally they handle us. Picture yourself fast asleep after a hard days work. You hear a heavy voice "Open the Door" and before you know where you are the door is smashed open and the police pull the blankets off the sleeper and drag us all outside naked, in the cold; men, women and children. We have to stay outside until

the search is over. If they find no beer or criminals the police get into a rage, because they have found nothing, and they therefore deal with us more severely.

The "Police Night Raids" are a real nightmare. They haunt us day and night. Sometimes it happens that we forget to take out our passes, then we are dragged out in the middle of the night and are lodged in jail and very often get a good hiding. Through that we lose a couple of days before we are released and very often we lose our jobs.

Mr. Editor, I wish you could get a few responsible Johannesburg citizens to come and inspect Prospect Township after the rains. You will be confronted with a horrible picture. As the roofs of our rooms are full of holes, the walls and the floors are wet from the rains. The windows are covered with old bags, the doors ars mostly broken and the wind plays havoc with us. We shiver from cold and we have nowhere to escape from this misery. After rains our yards are stinking bogs. In the streets we can hardly walk through the mud without losing our boots. It is a real stinking swamp. It is no wonder that the mortality amongst our children is about 800 out of a thousand according to our municipality statistics. We are infested with all kinds of sicknesses and diseases and I think this is due to hunger, bad housing and the stinking water in the streets.

A railway line runs through the centre of the Location and is not enclosed. The children play on this railway line and accidents often take place. Only a few weeks ago there was an accident on the railway line.

Mr. Editor, is it not possible for you to give us advice what to do, or help us. We pay heavy rent, that is £1.7.6 for a small room. The week we pay this rent we go hungry. For this money we do not get a room where we can rest, but we just get a bad smell. Cannot the municipality force the landlords to build decent homes for us, so that we should also have a little rest after a hard day's work.

Please Mr. Editor, publish my letter. Very likely it will draw the attention of good people, like the people who are prosecuting for ill-treating of donkeys. Our sufferings are terrible.

We are dressed in rags, in broken boots. We are always hungry. We live in broken huts. We are always cold. The pickup van is always after us. We are continually in prison for no crime whatsoever. The police are continually stopping us in the streets while we are looking for work. We work very hard for a hungry wage. We live in filth and dirt as we have no baths. We are kept without education, considering we pay heavy taxes.

IS THERE NO WAY OUT?

Mr, Editor, is there no way out for us? Must we always suffer and go on suffering?

CITIZEN FROM PROSPECT TOWNSHIP.

"Guardian", 27/5/38,

THE CAPE TOWN MAYOR'S APPEAL.

The Mayor, Mr. Foster, has once again shown that he has both courage and a sence of justice, by calling upon the non-European peoples to unite in a demand for the rights of citizenship, and the just wage which is their due.

What is important is the stress upon the need of the non-European to rely upon his own collective efforts. In the past there has been too great a tendency to depend on and follow the lead of Europeans who, in the long run, were not prepared to oppose the interest of the class with power, the employers.

The non-European must learn that he will command respect when he achieves unity, and joins hands with those sections of the European community whose interests are broadly the same as his own. The merchant and the industrialist whose only market is in the Union are directly concerned with raising the standard of living of all consumers. And the European worker must in the end find that his only protection against the competition of cheap labour is equal pay for equal work.

POVERTY AND SLUMS.

HELP FOR POOR RURAL FAMILIES UNFAIR CHARGE.

SOCIAL SERVICES SECRETARY.

During the last nine months no fewer than 80 families who came to Johannesburg from other parts of the country have sought assistance from the Johan-

nesburg branch of the Social Servive Association, and it is known that there have been many other families—all more or less destitute—who have also come to Johannesburg in search of a living.

This was disclosed to a representative of the "Rand Daily Mail" yesterday by Major R. E. J. Kay, secretary of the Social Service Association who gave it as his opinion that the time has arrived for the Union or the Provincial authorities to devise a means of preventing such families from coming to large industrial centres and to establish machinery for their rehabilitation.

POVERTY KILLS CHILDREN AT RATE OF 66 IN 100.

Outshoorn, Saturday.

"Sunday Times," Correspondent,

Bad housing, insufficient clothing and lack of nourishing foods were responsible for the death of two-thirds of the 168 children under five years, who died in Oudthoorn last year.

This "shocking conclusion" appears in the annual report of the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. G. Nel, for the year ended June 30, and is supported by a detailed analysis of the housing wages for all non-European families in the Municipality.

Surveys carried out by the Municipality Health Department and embodied in the report, show that 70 per cent. of the 1,300 non-European families in the town live on a weekly wage of not more than 22/6, while more than a quarter of them do not earn more than 15/- a week.

FAMILY BUDGETS.

The budgets of the families show that the bulk of their diet consists of coffee, sugar, rice, meal and potatoes. A survey of housing conditions undertaken at the same time shows that 65 per cent. of the 1,200 odd dwellings occupied by these families are slums within the meaning of the Slums Act.

In the opinion of the Medical Officer of Health, the crowded living conditions are also responsible for the fact that there has been no reduction in the mortality from tuberculosis among non-Europeans and the

poorest section of Europeans.

The Europeans are forced by the shortage of suitable dwellings and poverty to sublet and occupy insanitary hovels, where overcrowding is rampant and decency almost impossible, the Medical Officer of Health states.

"Rand Daily Mail" 25/1/39.

IGNORANCE NOT THE REAL EVIL.

MALNUTRITION IS STARVATION.

POVERTY PROBLEM MUST BE TACKLED.

To the Editor, "Rand Daily Mail."

Sir, The letters of "Citizen" about the failure of the public, and the M.P.'s in particular, to achieve any move forward in the malnutrition position, and also that of Mr. E. A. Hamblin, who rightly contends that it is not the modern mother's ignorance but the empty purse that is cause of that evil I prefer to call "starvation," prompt me to call attention to a striking example of the failure of politicians to realise the cruel conditions under which South African children, white and black, are being reared (or not reared, as luck would have it).

The example referred to is the discussion which took place in a womens party organisation on the "High Standard of Living" as though a high standard of living were seriously hurtful to any country.

The discussion dealt with the heinous crime of the purchase of electric washing machines, stoves and refrigerators by woman who perhaps cannot afford to pay for them easily. The only really worthwhile subject for discussion. "What is to be done for those poor unfortunate fellow creatures of ours who have no spare cloths to wash in the electric washer, no food to cook on the cooker, and certainly nothing left over to put away in the refrigerator?" remains shelved until such time as its convenient for the party to deal with it.

May the day soon dawn when women will cease to look to the men of their party for a lead in those matters which are woman's affairs; when they will no longer remain satisfied with dispensing a little charity

and forbear to criticise and condemn the poor women's departure from their own economic code, and when, instead they will put their brains and backs into initiating, considering and carrying forward some national and practical measure to relieve the starvation of every section of our population and to herald a new era.

R. R. HALL.

160, Pine Street, Pretoria.

POVERTY AND SLUMS.

SUBURB OF TERRIBLE SLUMS.
HUNDREDS LIVE IN MISERY IN HEART OF "GOLDEN CITY."
COUNCIL SAID TO BE UNAWARE OF TRAGIC CONDITIONS.

By Anthony H. Weeks.

"Daily Express," 17/1/39.

Thirteen Hundred People in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, have urgently petitioned the Johannesburg City Council for a slum clearance and rehousing scheme. I have seen for myself how real and urgent their need is.

When I agreed to make a tour of Fordsburg's slums with Mr. J. H. Scheepers, who organised the petition, and Councillor D. H. Epstein, M.P.C., I was prepared to see bad conditions, but even so, I was not prepared for the scenes of squalor or dirt and misery, or for the conglomeration of Europeans, coloureds and natives living huddled together in the most horrible conditions.

I went to Fordsburg prepared by what I had been told to be shocked. I came back appalled by the stories of hopelessness and misery I had listened to.

Merely to walk through the streets is not enough. The houses although old and dilapidated, present a brave enough front to mask Fordsburg with a semblence of respectability.

The district is riddled with narrow, noisesome alleys—it is at the "wrong end" of these alleys of misery that the most horrible and revolting conditions in which these white citizens of the Golden City exist and suffer.

It is terrible to think that these unfortunates, whose only sin is poverty, should have to live and die in such revolting conditions.

At the first place which we visited, we found forty Europeans, men, women and children, crowded together in eight so called "cottages" in the back yard of a house.

RESIGNED TO FATE.

Forty people herded into 18 tiny rooms, surrounded by a filthy yard, littered with rotting and useless rubbish, infested with flies and smelling evilly. I saw a little boy, not much more than a baby, asleep on a tumbledown sofa. Flies were crawling in scores over his sleeping body, over his closed eyelids and face, but they did'nt sting. Apparently he was used to it.

GLOOMY INTERIOR.

The only lights the inhabitants of the cottages have are candles or lamps. It was broad daylight when I was there, the sun was shining brightly, and yet the interior of the cottages was gloomy and dark.

"What can we do?" said one woman. "We cannot afford anything better. It is terrible to have to live here, but where else can we go?"

This woman is existing in two rooms with her five children. The children were playing in the yard—skipping about in bare feet in the muddly puddles which recent rains had created. The mother watched anxiously but she had long since given up the struggle to keep the kiddies neat and clean.

It is this state of hopeless resignation that typifies the inhabitants of this part of Fördsburg. They are, for the most part, people who have strived for years to keep themselves above the bread line.

They are not living in such conditions by choice. But the conditions have overwhelmed them. The hopelessness of their lives has made them resigned to their fate. They have almost despaired of any improvement being made.

SADLY MISTAKEN.

After this, my first visit into the lives of these "forgotten people" I thought that it would be impossible to encounter anything worse—but I was badly mistaken.

As I went on and on, I became more and more aware that nothing except complete expropriation and rehousing for these people will suffice.

At another spot I encountered whites and coloureds living cheek by jowl. In some respects they were better off than those at the first cluster of cottages—in others infinitely worse.

The overcrowding was not so severe—"only 16" people living in eight tiny dark rooms. But the rooms —stained with the water where rain comes in during every storm, verminous and dark.

A woman, in a desperate attempt to make the depressing habitation more attractive, had scraped and saved from her meagre savings and bought a cheap three-piece suite for her "front room."

She told me, almost with tears in her eyes, how, when the sofa had been uncovered to effect repairs to one of the springs—"armies of bugs has rushed out."

I looked around. On the ceilings were patches that looked to my uninitiated eye like mildew. But I was told later that they were nests of eggs of some loathsome insects.

Many of these people have known better times—they have been forced to live amid these surroundings purely because of their poverty. What chance in life have the children of the slums? They are born and bred in dark and dingy cottages, surrounded on every side by all types of humanity, natives, Indians and coloureds, most of them barefoot and tragically thin, their faces already bearing the marks of suffering that make them look like very old little men and women.

Within sight of these places are the cooling towers of a power station, and yet many of these unfortunates have as their only illuminations candles—when they can afford such luxury.

More than once I felt like giving up the tour of hopelessness and misery and rushing back to the city of fine buildings luxury flats and theatres of which we are so proud, but I went on.

Another place was a square yard fringed by rooms. An old woman, who lived in one of them with her two sons, was living in the next room to natives—"officially" only one native, but in reality the number of them eating, sleeping and living in the room varied from four to six.

DIRTY SHACKS.

"Room to let", stated a notice, I went inside and inquired. A white woman, old and careworn, showed me the places which were to let. Dirty wooden shacks, in the back yard—a tall man would have difficulty in entering without stooping. While I was inspecting the place I heard noises in the next "room."

I went next door and peeped inside. Eight natives were gathered eagerly in a circle on the floor—gambling. These I presume, would have been my neighbours had I taken the room.

The people of Fordsburg have requested of our city fathers a rehousing scheme. I will go further and say the people of Fordsburg must have a rehousing scheme.

I do'nt believe for one moment that the authorities are really aware of the conditions in which these people live—I cannot believe it.

They perhaps know that there are slums in this district, but the word "slum" is high praise for some of the places I saw.

If cows were kept in such conditions, there would be a great outcry. The populace would fear for the cleanliness of it's milk. I imagine the Public Health Department would be horrified and see to it that things were improved.

But these are human beings—and white people into the bargain.

Every city in the world has its slums. Johannesburg is still young enough to get a grip on the situation.

Great progress has been made in the city. We—you and I—are supplied with amenities which many and older city in Europe might well envy.

Slums have become more than a municipal question —it must be remembered that the municipal purse is limited. They are a national problem.

These people have been patient until hope deferred has made their hearts sick. Whatever the action taken, whether municipal, provincial or national—it must be taken soon, before the problem becomes too great even for Government action.

The people of Fordsburg—and many thousands of others in similar plight—must be given the right to live.

DAILY EXPRESS.

31/3/39.

LIVING WAGE NEEDED.

Mr. Foster, Cape Town Mayor, in his presidential address to a Society, made a slashing attack on the appaling social and economic conditions of the non-European worker, and pleaded that it was a matter of very urgent importance that their lot should be bettered.

"They were born poor, they lived poor, and they died poor", said Mr. Forster, "and the extreme poverty of the unskilled labour and its attendant evils shows that, while we have mastered the science of production, we have failed tragically in the art of distribution. To overcome this state of affairs, one has to strike at the root of the evil. One has to pay the unskilled man a decent living wage.

THE UNITED PARTY.

The United Party is the representative body of the Imperialists, the Chamber of Mines and the big Land-owners. The United Party government is a government of the rich and is definitely looking after the interests of the rich.

Prior to the fusion of the South African Party with the Nationalist Party of Hertzog, the present leader, Smuts was leader of the Hetvolk Party, which re-presented the big landowners of this country. There was another Party called the Unionist Party, which represented the interests of the Imperialists and the Chamber of Mines in this country. The fusion of these two parties brought about the Union of South Africa and the Party since then known as the South African Party. Such a fusion was very necessary for these two

bodies since they knew that when thieves quarrel the honest man comes to his own. They were afraid that by keeping up a continual criticism of each other the people of South Africa would learn the truth and they would then lose their power and the privileges of oppression and exploitation on behalf of the ruling class. Therefore to obtain fusion they agreed on a fifty-fifty principle to exploit the coloured people of South Africa together. This government made it their business to see that the Imperialists and Chamber of Mines should have a free hand in exploiting all the resources of South Africa. The big landowners were also to have a free hand and interest in the profits made at the expense of all people in this country. The South African Party therefore was very unpopular among the workers, since it was reactionary and always against the workers. It never considered the grievances of the workers or the people of South Africa in general, but ignored them, and hence we find that in 1913 a strike of the miners of the Rand broke out. Only after many mine workers had been killed and it was seen that the workers had the popular support of the people, was the South African Party compelled to give in to the demands of the mine workers. The victory of the miners was a thorn in the side of the South African Party government.

The workers learned from this victory that once workers were united and also had the popular support and goodwill of the people, they could eventually defeat such a government and replace it by a people's government. Such a victory by the workers was an inspiration to all other workers to build Trade Unions and unite. From it they learned that it was only by their unity and the strength of their Trade Unions that they could gain better economic and social conditions. Hence the Chamber of Mines, United Party government led by General Smuts, became greatly occupied in pulling wires in all directions. Eventually they succeeded by many methods to force the miners out on another strike in 1914. This time the government and the Chamber of Mines were prepared for it, and immediately they proclaimed martial law. Meetings of miners and workers were prohibited. False reports were sent out from the same sources that the natives were rising

and were preparing to massacre the white women and children. With such untruths they succeeded in mobilising many burghers in the backveld. They brought them into towns in military formation—armed, and ready to shoot down the miners and workers. This eventually led to the position that the gains and achievements of the workers in the 1913 strike were taken back by the Chamber of Mines Government.

Illegally they deported nine mine workers leaders, workers were arrested right and left and flung behind iron bars. Finally it ended by the workers submitting to the brutal force of the South African Party Chamber of Mines Government. When the war broke out in 1914, this very same Government intended to introduce compulsory military service and they aimed to send these soldiers to be slaughtered on the European battlefields on behalf of Imperialism. They were almost successful, but they failed thanks to the Afrikaner generals Beyers, Delarey and Fourie and many others who did not like the idea that Afrikaner blood should be poured on behalf of British Imperialism and the Union Jack, which had robbed them of their national independence.

A rebellion soon broke out among the Afrikaner people led by these generals. General Delarey was shot, it is said "by accident." General Beyers was drowned while being pursued by the government troops, and Japie Fourie was executed by a firing squad by the government. The rebellion, it is true, failed but it had achieved its aim of stopping conscription in South Africa.

It had saved the Afrikaner People from being forced to go to their death on behalf of the Union Jack, the symbol of oppression. This rebellion has also proved that in the hearts of the Burghers and the Afrikaner People there still smouldered the desire once again to be free, and once again to have their independent republic. It proved too that once a people have lived a free democratic life under their own Volksraad and leadership—their own chosen people—they will not be easily broken. At any time, should favourable conditions arise, such democratic people will always seek means to break the chains of their oppressors and once more become a free people. Hence, this readily explains why General Hertzog, as the National leader of the

Afrikaner People, at that time so rapidly gained a mass following, because the Afrikaner patriots who were for a National Home and National Independence looked upon Hertzog and the Nationalist Party, which he led, as a means of regaining their freedom and once more their independence.

On the 15th December, 1921, the Mineworker Union received an Ultimatum from the Chamber of Mines that as from the 1st January, 1922, the Chamber of Mines would break off the existing Industrial Agreement between them. This agreement clearly defined the kind of work which was to be done by White workers and also the kind of work to be carried out by Native and Coloured Workers. It was these points which the Chamber of Mines wanted to remove. These clauses in the agreement were known as the "Colour Bar Clauses." By doing away with this part of the Agreement, the Chamber of Mines saw that they would gain huge profits. They aimed to remove 5,000 White workers from the Mines and replace them by Native and Coloured workers. Practically it meant that 5,000 White Mineworkers who knew no other trade but mining, would be thrown out into the gutter to starve with their women and children, since there were no factories to absorb them. These Miners who were dismissed from the Mines were called by the Chamber of Mines "Redundant Workers." This ultimatum of the Chamber of Mines to the Mineworkers Union was received by the Mineworkers and the people of South Africa with the greatest resentment. The Mineworkers looked upon this ultimatum as a catastrophe since it meant for them insecurity as Mineworkers. They realized that the difference between the wages of the black miners and the white miners was very great and hence if they accepted the ultimatum the Chamber of Mines would be free at all times to remove White Miners and replace them by forced Native labour. Therefore the Mineworkers' Union were forced to reject the ultimatum and this resulted in a strike of the White Miners on the Reef.

On the 1st January, 1922, therefore, all White Miners downed tools like one man and came out on strike. The bitterness of the White Miners expressed itself in their great enthusiasm in carrying on the strike

until they would succeed in preventing the Chamber of Mines from removng this "Colour Bar."

After the strike had carried on for a short time, it became clear that the South African Party Government, which was the tool of the Chamber of Mines, was making efforts in every direction to break the strike of the miners. The workers and people of South Africa became clearly aware that not only would they have to fight the Chamber of Mines but that the real enemy was those people who held political power in South Africa—the South African Party Government. The workers became concious of the fact that the Smuts Government was looking for excuse to proclaim martial law and drive back the miners to work at the point of bayonet.

It led them to realise that if they were to win the strike it was necessary to send their representatives to all parts of South Africa to explain the reasons for the strike. The result was that the people gave their sympathy, their good wishes and their material support to the miners in bringing the strike to a successful conclusion. No efforts were spared in ensuring that the strike should be carried on peacefully. The Mine-workers Union organised mass meetngs from 8 in the morning until one in the afternoon, where they explained the reasons for the strike and discussed its development. After these meetings the miners would disperse and go home.

It is a tradition in South Africa, that in any abnormal time the people always form themselves into commandos. Instinctively they feel security in such Commandos as they are thereby bound more closely together and one viewpoint and idealogy is created among them. It was worth while living to witness, that after the conclusion of a mass meeting of the miners, they had within a few seconds formed themselves into commandos and marched away in all directions. The enthusiasm displayed by these commandos instilled a feeling of security and comradeship among the people and therefore we find that they were welcomed by the people wherever they came, whether in hamlet, town or village. As a rule, women and children would follow the commando and were always eager and

anxious to help them in any way possible. The impression given to onlookers was that these were honest, determined workers who would not easily submit to the spitting out of their lungs and enrichment of the robber class, they themselves remaining in poverty and suffering. One could read on their faces that they were determined once and for all to prevent the Imperialist Chamber of Mines and big landowners from re-establishing slavery in South Africa. They were clear on this point.

They would have to walk the streets tightening their belts every day more and more. They knew they would hunger and suffer during the strike and that the robber class would try to enrich themselves at their expense. And as events showed, the miners' commandos acted in the spirit of Paul Kruger and his burghers. Just as Kruger and the burghers with arms in their hands had defended their liberty, their bread and their independence, so did these honest workers in the tradition of their forefathers defend with arms in their hands, their living, their families, and their independence.

It was an inspiration to enter the Trades Hall and see the comradeship existing among the workers. You found there a stall where an honest miner had become a bootmaker overnight and there he would sit mending the boots of his fellow strikers.

At another stall sat miners repairing trousers and patching clothes for their fellow strikers. At another stall was a complete butcher shop fitted out with primitive tools. Many stood there chopping and sawing hefty chunks of meat which had been given them by sympathisers, to be distributed to the strikers. At yet another stall were many miners distributing vegetables and products sent to them by farmers from all parts of South Africa.

Groceries sent in by many shopkeepers were also being given out amongst the strikers. By collections much money was raised from all classes of people, and so the miners peacefully carried on the strike for many months and all students and learned people expressed admiration at the quiet conduct of the strikers.

Deputation after deputation was sent to General Smuts. The goodhearted Tielman Roos was one of the leaders of these deputations to the Government, who pleaded for a peaceful settlement of the strike but it was all of no avail. The only answer of Smuts was "I am awaiting development." Then it flashed like a thunderbolt across the Reef that two miners, Ackerman and Botha in a peaceful demonstration by a commando, had been shot dead by Captain Fulford. This was a provocation to drag the miners into committing themselves to violence since the Government could not act as long as the miners carried on peacefully. This was the kind of development which the Government desired since this gave them the excuse forcibly to break the strike. I was at the funeral at Boksburg. Over 30,000 people were there from all parts of the Reef and from the expressions of the people and speakers there, you could easily see their determination to carry on the strike. Many stated that if the Government intended to break the strike by murder, they would most decidely retaliate like men.

Soon after this event, things began to happen. The miners discovered that all vegetables and farm products sent to them by farmers from all over South Africa, were being purposely allowed to stand and rot in sidings.

By this means the Government, attempted to starve them into submission.

Following this, a proclamation was issued by the Chamber of Mines that Mines were to be re-opened and all who wished to come back to work would be safeguarded by the police. This was an open attempt to create strife among the workers by means of encouraging scabbing. It is easily understandable that by such tactics the Government and the Chamber of Mines aimed at creating bitterness, strife and violence.

In all countries you will find backward people who do not understand the issues which face them. The Chamber of Mines offered good wages to those who would scab and they found individuals who undertook to do so.

The Miners were therefore forced to picket the mines in order to prevent scabbing. Troops and soldiers were brought by the government from all parts of South Africa. They were stationed everywhere and hence struggles soon developed between police and miners over these attempts at scabbing.

It can be definitely said that the government's protection of these scabs changed the whole tenor of the strike. Where previously the miners had carried on the strike peacefully with good humour, it was now seen that they had become embittered and restless. They began to see that their chances of winning the strike were decreasing. False rumours were freely spread which were deliberate slanders and lies against them. I yet remember one of them.

I was once told by English miners that rumours were spread to the effct that the Afrikaner people were preparing to kill off the English. There is no reason to doubt that these romours were purposely spread by the Chamber of Mines. They were aimed at creating a split in the ranks of the miners. I pointed out to the miners the true significance of such a split. A week later it was proved that this rumour had done a world of harm to the strikers. A procession was to take place where all miners were called upon to participate. All Afrikaner Strikers were there, of the Almalgated Engineering Union members who were mostly English and numbered over 400, only one turned up and that man is well known among the workers as an old stalwart of the movement . . . . Old Jimmy Brown. This incident took place in Benoni. Here it can clearly be seen that the Imperialist Jingo press of South Africa had succeeded by racial propaganda in splitting the ranks of the strikers and weakening them. I am positive that the creation of this division, was one of the main reasons for the defeat of the strike. There is an old saying "We should not live in the past" but we should learn and draw leasons from the past. This incident should be well remembered by all workers of this country. They should not allow themselves to be deceived by racial propaganda. Since there are yet many struggles to come for the workers of this country, they should avoid this danger in the future. This incident, which was witnessed by all, gave the strike a bad turn. The air grew thick with danger. All people in South Africa felt in their bones that a catastrophe was imminent. What with the arrest of miners, incidents such as the bayonetting of a young fellow in Johannesburg, and the daily struggles with the police, the whole Reef became a military camp. Wherever you turned, all that could be seen was police and axe handles,

rifles and bayonets, mounted troops, workers commandos moving to and fro, aggravated, downhearted, being provoked wherever they turned. The clouds were rapidly gathering. The atmosphere was heavy with the approaching storm. Many people with their women and children began to leave the towns on the Reef. You could feel the nervousness and tension of the people. The tradition of South Africans rather to fight and die like men, than to cringe and crawl prevailed—the workers took up arms. They fought as did their fathers before them. They freely shed their blood in this battle. It is said that six hundred workers were killed and about four hundred police. They knew that the odds were against them, but they meant to leave to their children the heritage of Democratic Justice for which they had fought and died like men. This gallant struggle lasted for four days. All people supported them. This heroic episode will forever be remembered, as a struggle for bread and against Imperialism.

The miners' struggle was against the Chamber of Mines, the chieftains of the Imperialist robbers. It commenced as a class struggle. At an early stage, even before the workers took up arms, it could easily be seen that as the fight went on, it would develop into a war for national liberation and national independence against British Imperialism. This explains why the English participation in the strike gradually grew less and less. The Government did not hesitate to drop bombs among the people. Aeroplanes were busy all over. The Mine-workers' Hall in Benoni was deliberately wrecked, and similar actions took place all over the Reef. The strikers were defeated and driven back to work at the point of the bayonet. Thousands of arrests took place, and those arrested could be seen being driven under guard of police with fixed bayonets from prison to court, from court to prison, from prison to police station, and again from police station to court. So it went on for months. The people could not move about without a permit since there was Martial Law. The Government tried its best to humiliate, degrade and break the manhood of the miners in every way possible. On many occasions when miners went to the mines to find work they received the answer "Voetsak!"

Heavy sentences were meted out to these miners. Three miners, leaders, Hull, Lewis and Long were hanged. These three condemned leaders ended their lives on the gallows with the "The Red Flag" on their lips. The workers Hanekom, Smit and Dowse were deliberately shot. Two Miners' leaders, Fisher and Spendiff, were found dead in a room. It was stated that they had committed suicide, but this is very doubtful. But the workers did not forget the treatment they had received from General Smuts and the South African Party. The 1924 election came and the workers immediately brought the issue of the 1922 strike to the forefront. The election was fought around this issue. I witnessed one election meeting of the South African Party at that time. As soon as the speaker got up to speak the audience raised an uproar and prevented his speech. They demanded not to hear his speech, but to have their questions answered. The questions were: "Mr. Speaker, tell me how many men, women and children were killed by aeroplane bombs?" —no answer. "Mr. Speaker, how many babies were killed by bombs?" "Mr. Speaker, you are in the know, how many workers were murdered by Government forces?"—no answers came. The audience grew excited and it ended in the breaking up of the meeting. I witnessed another similar meeting. There, from forty to fifty workers marched in with the Red Flag flying and singing "The Red Flag." When they had finished singing these "Reds" began to bombard the speaker, Mr. Papenfus, with questions. Similar questions as previously mentioned were put, but no answers came. The meeting was broken up. This breaking up of Johannesburg meetings gave the lead to workers and people throughout South Africa, as to what was to be done at South African Party election meetings. A couple of days later a meeting was broken up in Benoni, where the South African Party speaker was sneaked out under police escort. Still later a meeting at the Durban Town Hall ended in a like manner. Workers were not allowed to come in, but the workers soon found a way to enter. All the doors and windows were broken, and the meeting came to a swift conclusion. This happened throughout South Africa. No meeting could take place except by card invitation, and unless it was well guarded. The workers and people of South Africa

freely gave full support to General Hertzog, who at that time led the Nationalist Party. They were not afraid to vote for the Nationalist Party. They were not afraid to vote for Hertzog, for he stood for Republicanism as against Imperialism. They backed him up for this very reason, for they considered Hertzog and the Nationalist Party honest in their desire to break the yoke of British Imperialism, and establish a democratic republic. Hertzog did not carry on racial propaganda. He did not try to instill bitterness and hatred among the people. Rather, he tried to unite all people of South Africa so that they might, in their unity, bring about this objective, and so after a lively campaign, Hertzog soared like a rocket. Smuts went down like a ninepin. Hertzog gained a big majority. The victory of the people was complete. This is the lesson to be learned from the past. The ruling class must not think that it can forever mislead and betray the people—oppress and exploit them. There comes a time when the workers and people unite against their common enemy, and they are then capable of defeating and smashing him, After the strike, it was also discovered that the Martial Law proclamations had been printed previous to the strike taking place. This proved that the Chamber of Mines and the South African Party Government had engineered and prepared the strike.

THE PACT GOVERNMENT.

The Nationalist Government came into power with the goodwill of all people of South Africa, English Afrikaners and Jews voted for the Nationalist party. The previous Smuts Government was opposed to the development of Industry in this country. The little industry, which there then was, came abount during the War period, since the industrial countries of Europe did not have the time to send this country industrial commodities, being occupied with cutting one another's throats. This is how industry came to be established—not by the goodwill and encouragement of the Smuts Government. As before stated, this industrial development was opposed by the South African Party Chamber of Mines Government, the Imperialists and the big landowners. Hence Hertzog was welcomed as it was understood that he would support a policy of building up industry and also try his best to solve the problem of the unemployed poor whites who at that

time were already reckoned at about 150,000. The building up of industry did not require to be subsidised, the only thing necessary was to stop the competition from the great industrial countries, so as to give South Africa a chance to develop its industry from a small beginning. It would be reasonable to say that it was simple for the big factories in Europe to send one shipload of goods—whether it was boots or furniture, and sell it at a low price. This was sufficient to undercut the small factories in South Africa, thus forcing them to go bankrupt. Therefore Hertzog was expected to give protection to local industry by taxing all imports. The Industrialists of South Africa were pleased with the little protection given them by Hertzog, and were then prepared to invest their money for the building up of Industry, and this is how industry developed in South Africa. But it seems that Hertzog did not carry out his programme. It seems that he gave British Industry the same chance as local industry. He did not give South African Industry a preference over British goods, as over other foreign goods.

Hertzog did not try to abolish Poor Whiteism, and Hertzog did not carry out his promise to combat Imperialism and establish the Independent Democratic Republic. Hertzog and the Nationalist Party gradually began to take up a policy identically the same as that of the previous Smuts Government.

Hertzog at many times explicitly stated that he would not go off the gold standard, but finance Capital, the representative of Imperialism in this country issued a declaration that South Africa was off the Gold Standard. The next day Hertzog called together the Cabinet, and they accepted with good grace this challenge of Imperialism, and South Africa went off the Gold Standard. This proves that Hertzog did not have the power of mind or the necessary determination or the will to fight Imperialism, and gradually and surely we find that Hertzog forgot this pledges about Imperialism and Republicanism. Very likely this was due to pressure from his supporters, the big landowners, but I think it was his own viewpoint and outlook which was not far away from that of the ruling class in this country. Hertzog was looked upon in the early days as a progressive, and one on whom the Afrikaners could place great hopes as one who would

restore their independent republic. These supporters are today greatly dissilusioned, particularly since Hertzog did not make any determined effort to solve the poor-White problem. He tackled the problem as if it were charitable philanthropic issue. He tried to patch up the trouble but made no attempt to get at the root of things which would involve the raising of taxes on unimproved land, and the confiscation of land from the big companies of land-owners. 66% of land in the Transvaal belongs to big companies. Under the Hertzog Government we therefore find that the poor whites who in 1914 numbered 150,000 reached the huge figure of 400,000.

He did not tackle the problem of forced semi-slave labour which is responsible for the poor white problem. Hertzog forgot the workers and poor people who supported him. He went over completely to the ruling class of South Africa. He proved by his cable to Chamberlain that he was in full agreement with Chamberlain's general policy, and his policy in Spain in particular. This meant that he endorsed Franco's fascist policy of taking over black troops from Africa to murder the Spanish Democratic people. This gives ground for the belief that in the event of the people of South Africa going out to fight for democracy Hertzog would not hesitate to use black troops to murder them. Hertzog thus openly associates himself with the Chamberlain policy which has robbed the people of Spain, Austria, Abassynia and Czechoslovakia of their independence and Democratic freedom.

When he was asked in Parliament whether he would lay on the table of the House of Assembly the correspondence in connection with the barter agreement between the Union and Germany, General Hertzog said he could not do so as it was of a confidential nature. To my mind there is too much confidential correspondence between Hertzog and Hitler. Such an answer does not sound democratic. The apologies of General Hertzog to Hitler in connection with the statements of the Mayor of Port Elizabeth on the character of Hitler would make it seem that Hertzog has deep Hitler sympathies. Hertzog never took steps to stop Greyshirt and Blackshirt organizations from using public platforms for abusing a race and instiling hatred among the people of South Africa. Hertzog also tried

to push through a Bill in Parliament to curtail the press and free speech, and to stop intellectuals, teachers and all students from participating in politics. Hertzog attempted to put through the Segregation Bill. This Bill aggravated all coloured people and create hostility between black and white. It definitely favoured the ruling class. It would divide the people and so they could then be more easily exploited. The Hertzog and Smuts Government have placed on the statute book the Registration of Aliens Act. This is the beginning of the extension of the pass system to the whites in South Africa starting with the Jews and then all other South African people. Hertzog has no policy in connection with South West Africa because he wants none. If he were a Democrat his policy would already be clear to all people in South Africa.

Hertzog delayed the Factories Act Amendment as he is against improving factory conditions. The hopes placed on the Wages Board by the chemical workers have not yet been realized. Here is an article published in the "Guardian" 10/6/38:

"God Save South Africa." Dock-Railway workers appeal to the Public." The men who live on 4/6 a day and are frequently employed only for two or three days a week—the non-European employees of the South African Railways and Harbours are planning to put their case before the public. They have taken up a suggestion made in the last week's Guardian that their appaling wages and conditions of work are a real cause for a mass meeting of indignant citizens. Time and again they have appealed to the Administration for consideration of their grievances. Memorandums have even been submitted, deputations have waited on the Administration. But these men have received no improvements in wages or working conditions. Today with increased cost of living they are worse off than ever before.

Sir Edward Thorton, Secretary for Health showed clearly in his last annual report that 80% of the native population in this country were suffering from malnutrition, in plain words, starvation.

Mr. Justice Krause recently stated that our prisons are flooded with natives whose freedom had been prescribed by statutory regulations fifty per cent. of which would on enquiry be found to be ultra vires

and illegal. Pass laws, vindictive taxation and unsound liquor laws are making criminals wholesale out of the native population. All Native Bills passed in Parliament have a policy of repression. The hobnobbing of Pirow with only the dictators Franco, Hitler and Mussolini shows where his sentiments lie. He did not go to visit Dr. Negrin, the Republican Democratic Prime Minister of Spain where he could have learned all he wanted to about civil war and the causes of it, but he went rather to Franco, the murderer of the people to learn how to murder and oppress his own people. This leads one to believe that the people in South Africa who voluntarily registered themselves for National Service for the defence of South Africa from Fascist aggression and on behalf of Democracy will be grieviously disappointed in finding themselves forced to fight on behalf of Fascism in this country under the leadership of Pirow. Pirow has already put forward another demand on behalf of Hitler, that Hitler should be compensated with big payments for the territories lost in the last war. Such huge sums of money would give Hitler more means for a long time to come to rule the German people by brutality. The knobkerrie justice of Hertzog when the workers in Cape Town came to protest before the House of Parliament is not forgotten. Hertzog's police in 1930 came out with knobkerries and smashed the skulls of the workers. This is how he helped the workers of South Africa. Hertzog went over holus bolus to the oppressors and exploiters. His whole regime has been one of oppression and exploitation. Hertzog did not protect South African industry. In 1934, the import of blankets was £282,603, in 1937 it reached £458,064. This shows that he does not protect the workers by preventing unemployment in South Africa. Still greater is the importation of furniture and many other articles. All this increases unemployment. These articles reprinted from many other papers prove that the regime of Hertzog and Smuts and the United Party Government has increased poverty and slums and starvation amongst the people of South Africa.

In some quarters it is said that by the passing of such reactionary Bills against the people, General Hertzog and Smuts had the intention of drawing the Nazi Teeth of the Malan Party but it is now evident

that the Nazi Malan Party has succeeded in extracting from the Hertzog-Smuts Party, the few democratic teeth which it had and left it with the Nazi teeth only. It won't be surprising in the near future to find that a fusion will take place between the two parties. Since we are already used to fusions such a fusion will complete the picture as it will bring complete fascism through parliament and will introduce a new era of brutal fascist terror in South Africa.

BITTER SWEET: "STARVING PAY OUTCRY." LOWEST WAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. SAYS SWEETMAKERS' UNION.

South African sweetmakers are faced—not with the problem of cost of living, but with the cost of starving, according to officials of the Sweet Workers' Union, who are indignantly protesting against the latest recommendations by the Wage Board for the sweetmaking industry.

Miss D. Hartwell, Secretary of the Union, told me that under the new recommendations "the miserable" wage of £1.5.0 to £1.15.0 a week was provided for what was known as a "general worker."

"The industry can well afford to pay a weekly wage of £2.5.0 at least to female employees," said Miss Hartwell. "The standard proposed by the board will be the lowest legalised standard of wages in South Africa."

UNION'S WARNINGS.

Miss Hartwell said that a number of employers in Johannesburg paid some of their workers £2.0.0 to £2.5.0 a week. Under the old Wage Determination the minimum was £1.10.0.

"Unless the board is prepared to give the general workers in the industry a higher standard of wages," she said, "the union will refuse to accept any of the board's proposals."

"How can the board expect young women workers to feed and clothe themselves on £1.15.0 a weeek—quite apart from those workers who have to help their families?"

"The Union also objected to the differential rate of wages for the magisterial districts of Volksrust, Kingwillamstown, Pietersburg, Worcester, Oudtshoorn and Umtata.

"The employees in the factories in these districts," said Miss Hartwell, "worked equally as hard as the employees in Johannesburg."

"The union fails to see why they should not receive the same wages, especially as wages are so low in other districts," she said.

PROFESSOR GRAY LECTURERS T. U. OFFICIALS.

The low economic level of large numbers of the Union's population is to blame for the spread of Nazi ideology, said Professor J. L. Gray, of Witwatersrand University, to a meeting of trades union officials in Johannesburg's Trades Hall on Tuesday evening.

A resolution to combat the Nazi menace was put to the meeting and carried unanimously: "This meeting of the executives of trade unions urges the calling of special meetings of unions to deal with the danger to the continued trade union activity, and that the Trades and Labour Council be asked to circularise all affiliated bodies accordingly."

THE POOR.

CHARITY IS NOT ENOUGH.

To the Editor of "The Star."

Sir.—The letter by "F.C.I.S." in The Star of June 26 re land values and the poor has hit the nail on the head. As he says, what have all the wonderful boards, etc., done to alter the state of the poor? Year after year we are told that the number of the poor have increased, we are told of the slums, malnutrition, unemployed, low wages, etc., etc., and what is done about it? The present system of dealing with the poor has proved an absolute failure, and yet, year after year they go on in the same way. making more and more beggars and poor whites.

It is, of course, the easiest way out of the difficulty, just to go on giving and giving for nothing, but in what way does it benefit the poor? It certainly does not make them self-respecting and self-reliant. No wonder there is an influx into Johannesburg. Do not social workers want to rehabilitate the poor. It is too much trouble, or don't their studies include the subject of how to build up the less fortunate, and to give them hope and encouragement for the future. If they are only taught how to organise an office and to distribute food and clothes, they might as well give it up.

Practical schemes can be thought out to keep the poor, and to build them up, if the question is tackled seriously, by people who honestly mean to work for the betterment of the poor. We have plenty of land lying idle in this country, it seems strange that those in authority would rather see the people living in slums than making use of this idle land. Adults are made useless and helpless by the present demoralising system, and so are the children. In this thinly populated country it is important that everyone should he physically fit and of some use, yet very little is done about it. One simply cannot understand why it is thought necessary to make people useless and helpless. What is the idea?

Not a single charitable worker, would like to be treated in the way in which the poor are treated, if they were down and out. It is indeed surprising that men and women of intelligence cannot think out a better system.

LIBERTIES CUT DOWN.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR IS ON."

BISHOP SPEAKS TO SYNOD.

Addressing the 20th Synod of the Diocese of Zululand at Vryheid, the Right Rev. A. W. Lee, Bishop of Zululand, said that the problem which faced the world was the discovery of a method by which the two principles of democracy and authoritanism, at the moment in complete antagonism to each other, could be reconciled so that the antagonism might be merged into a new way of life for the future.

The solution of the problem would mark the end of the present political epoch.

Referring to threats of war in Europe, the Bishop said the democracies in order to be in a position to ward off threats of war are more and more forced into using the psychological weapons of their opponents. The use of totalitarian methods in France and Great Britain is becoming less and less resisted by their peoples.

"Compulsion is used in spheres of life from which democratic principles have hitherto kept it.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR"

The psychological war is upon us and has been upon us without our knowledge for a long time. The

liberties we have enjoyed for centuries are narrowing down increasingly and the danger is that in warding off a physical war we shall lose the very liberty which such warfare would be fought to preserve."

This hopeless state of the world called for renewed spiritual effort.

Speaking on native affairs, the Bishop said there existed a world of difference between segregation for the benefit of the native and segregation imposed for the sake of European interests. He said that certain taxation measures now before the country "can easily take on the appearance of being ultimately aimed at providing forced labour for industries which do not in themselves offer sufficient rewards to attract an adequate and willing supply.

Of mealie control measures, the Bishop said whatever might be said in its favour in the European areas, its effect on the native African producer seemed to be disastrous.

The Synod ended yesterday.

MALNUTRITION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SCIENTIST ADVOCATES CONSUMER SUBSIDIES.

PAID BY THE WEALTHY.

UNION NOT MAKING BEST OF FOOD RESOURCES

In a paper on nutrition in South Africa, which he read at the Congress of the South African Assocation for the Advancement of Science here today, Dr. F. W. Fox, biochemist at the South African Institute for Medical Research, said that the very fact that the world had problems connected with overproduction of foodstuffs, indicated that man, through science, had solved the problem of the production of food. The era of plenty had become possible, but economic and political obstacles to its achievement were as formidable as ever.

"Unable to believe in our new-found powers, we have merely become embarrassed by them," he said.

"We now read of the "grave problem" of gigantic world overproduction of wheat. Milk is thrown into the canals of Holland, the American farmer is being paid not to raise hogs, the Brazilian planter burns his coffee, the English farmer is fined for producing too many pigs or potatoes and here in South Africa we are puzzling over what to do with record crops of mealies and oranges that no one is supposed to want."

Dr. Fox said he did not doubt that "this splendid problem of plenty" would be solved as the problem of production had been solved, but the world could go backwards and the problem would never be solved by doing away with plenty. Once it had become possible to establish scientifically the maximum and minimum standards of nutrition, far more political and economic action towards realising them could be taken than when equally real hunger was expressed in unassessable terms.

If organised society determined that the need should be solved and was prepared to meet the cost, the problem became purely an economic one. How weak was the link between the needs of the producer and the consumer had been stated a little badly by the Secretary for Agriculture in his last report in which he said that agricultural products could not be sold at prices which were inadequate, even to cover production costs, merely to ensure that all sections of the community were properly fed.

LOW NATIVE WAGES.

ROTARY CLUB ADDRESS—ANALYSIS OF CAUSES.

Professor C. S. Richards said there was an "enormous disparity" in the wages paid to Europeans and natives, when he addressed the Rotary Club today, on "The Native and His Cost of Living," Professor Richards is head of the Department of Commerce at the Witwatersrand University.

Professor Richards said the principal reasons were prejudice, the colour bar and tradition, which militated against natives being paid their real worth in industry.

After stating that the percentage of natives in urban areas had increased from 11 per cent. in 1911 to 22.44 per cent. in 1936, Professor Richards said that some of the natives were attracted to the towns, but others were driven there. Much of the legislation that had been passed in the interests of the Europeans was directly responsible for this, such as the policy of protection and the establishment of industries, which required cheap native labour.

Other reasons included the under-development of the native reserves, the inadequacy of land (only 8 per cent. being native reserves), taxation (which compelled the natives to come to the cities to work for cash),

conditions on Europeans farms, the increasing social needs of the native, and effective recruitment.

A recent investigation by the non-European affairs committee of the Rotary Club had shown that the total monthly expenses on a minimum basis for a native family of five was £7.10.0. Wages earned by the householder were from £2.10.0 to £3.10.0 below this amount. The difference was bridged—where it was bridged—by the wives or children working, brewing, illicit liquor dealing or by the accumulation of debt, resulting in malnutrition, bad health, gambling and theft.

Remedial measures which had been suggested by the committe included the fixing of native wages by agreement or determinations, the reduction of the cost to natives of food, local and Government assistance through the reduction of charges, the organisation of native workers and the education of the public to a realisation of the position.

Professor Richards explained a questionaire which the Rotary Club had drawn up about natives in employment. Natives were usually suspicious when they were asked by the Government enumerators for information about themselves, as they felt, not always without justification, that this would not be used to their benefit. He thought that Rotarians would be able to obtain the co-operation of natives in this matter. The scope of the investigation did not include domestic servants. Forms should be returned to the secretary of the club, Box 3712, Johannesburg.

THE GOVERNMENTS £20,000,000 NATIVES LAND SCHEME.

This announcement in the papers reassured many honest and learned people in South Africa that at last the Government intended to help the starving natives in South Africa—that they were giving the native a chance to live a farming life and earn a living by it. But it was not very long before dissillusion came. The government announced that this land for natives was to be bought in all districts throughout South Africa. It became especially clear when Smuts made a speech to an audience of Free State farmers (Guardian, 3/6/38). The government's buying programme would be so arranged that natives settled on such land would nevertheless be forced to leave it to work for the European

farmer. He indicated to his audience that the natives would be unable to earn enough to pay their rentals without leaving their reserves to search for work. So much for segregation which the gallant general claimed as a unique South African contribution to the native problem, in his Rhodes memorial lectures.

The cat is out of the bag. The fact of the scheme became clear to everybody. The £20,000,000 which the Government is spending on land for the natives is not for the benefit of the natives but simply to enable the big landowners to get starving natives to work on their land. As observed even in the daily press, the land already bought under the scheme is dry, rocky and valueless to the big land-owners. In the daily press you see complaints against the price paid on such land which is three times its value. Where a morgen of land was valued of 10/- or £1.0.0, the government paid £3 or more. It is a scheme to enrich the big land-owners at the expense of the starving natives, who will have to pay the full price and interest on it. Such land is to be bought in all districts, and since these natives will not be able to make a living from it and will be always in a state of famine they will be forced to seek work. This will remove the complaint of the big landowners that they have trouble in obtaining native labour. They will now have an abundance of starving natives begging at their doors for work. The hoax of the segregation scheme as it is loudly spoken of becomes evident. It is simply a phrase used by these individuals to keep up the colour prejudice. One minute they speak about segregating black and white which they well know is impossible, and the next they spend twenty million pounds to plant these natives among the whites all over the country.

This £20,000,000 scheme will be an indirect means of chasiry off the the middle-class farmer and white byowner from the land and create a larger poor-white problem for the big farmer will find that he has cheap native serf labour handy at all times.

In the very near future therefore we shall find very few white people occupied in agriculture. We shall find there and there the mansion of a big landowner run entirely by black slaves. All and everything will be produced by the black slaves. No civilised men will be able to live on the land.

INTERVIEW WITH Dr. Y. M. DADOO. LEADER OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

In an exclusive interview with the Johannesburg representative of the "Guardian", Dr. Dadoo declared that despite all representation and protests the much discussed Asiatic (Land and Trading) Bill has been promulgated into law on the 14th of June.

"This discriminatory and ruthless piece of legislation hits at the very source of subsistence of the Indian people in the Transvaal, and its effect, if not resolutely opposed, would be to throw a majority of them on to the scrap-heap of unemployment in the next two years. Except for Commerce, all other revenus of livelihood are closed to the Indian, and the 1939 Act erects a strong barrier against this only means of livelihood.

"The Union Government, retreating in the face of the rising force of the Non-European Front in the Cape, has fallen back to the piece-meal policy of dealing with seperate actions. But this time the Government will not find the Transvaal Indians napping; they are prepared to fight with their backs to the wall for their existence and their self-respect," said Dr. Dadoo.

The Mass Meeting of Transvaal Indians convened by the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress to be held at the Indian Sports Ground, Natalspruit, City and Suburban, Johannesburg, on Sunday, 9th July, will belie the farcical allegation of Minister Stuttaford that it is the work of a "noisy crowd." August the 1st has been provisionally fixed by the Passive Resistance Council as the date for starting Passive Resistance.

"I appeal," said Dr. Dadoo, "to my brethren in the Transvaal to come out in a determined fashion to put a stop to the racialist, semi-facist policy of the government of the country."

"It is also an opportune moment for Natal Indians to take up the demands of the poor Indian labourers for better living conditions. This struggle which appears on the surface to be one of Transvaal Indians, is in reality a struggle of all peace-loving, democratic people against the suppression of liberty, and the deadly enemy, Fascism, which is raising its ugly head in the body-politic of South Africa."

MALAN'S GREYSHIRT AND BLACKSHIRT NAZI PARTY.

Summing up about the Hertzog-Smuts Government, all intelligent people will agree that the Government has created a lot of distress, poverty and discontent throughout South Africa. The Imperialist Chamber of Mines and big Landowners know this; they are well aware of this poverty and discontent, and realise that they are confronted with a danger. The poverty-sticken people of South Africa may begin to seek a way out, and may link up with the revolutionary organisations. Hence, behind the scenes they have created the new party, a party to rope in all these discontended people—a party which will represent the interests of the Imperialist Chamber of Mines and big Landowners, and be at all times unscrupulous in betraying the people and misleading them deeper into the mire of distress.

To get these people into such a party they utilise the growing national consciousness of the Afrikaner people and their deeprooted republican sentiment. We therefore find that Malans Greyshirt and Blackshirt Nazi Party at once displayed the signboard, Nationalist Republican Party.

It is nesessary for the people of South Africa to make a close study of such a National Republican Party. All people who have read history will agree with me that at all times in all countries when a people struggled and strived to gain national independence, we find that millions of people of other countries have come to their aid morally and materially. Hundreds of thousands of people have flocked to struggle under the banner of national independence. When the Burghers and Paul Kruger were engaged in their last struggle for independence and a democratic Republic, the British people, in particular opposed their own robber class. In many other countries material aid was given to these heroic fighters. I also make a definite statement to the effect that the Jews all over Russia at that time collected much money to help these Burghers in their fight for independence. Much money came from Christians and Jews in Russia to help them in their struggle and to help the women and children who suffered as a result of it. I would substantiate this statement by saying that letters of the Burgher Generals like Cronje and

others, mentioning names of the donors can be found in the Pretoria Museum. I myself have seen them.

When the English-American people fought for their Independent Republic, we find that the English and French people, not only gave them material aid, but thousands of men went out to fight on their behalf. In the history of the Balkan Wars of Independence, and also that Italian War of Independence, we read that learned men and democrats of many countries joined with the victims to help them in their fight.

Only recently we saw the Spanish people, in their fight to maintain their independence and democratic Government, helped by over one hundred thousand people from all countries who flocked to their aid. These were the International Brigade, who freely gave their lives for the maintenance of freedom and democracy. Every country of the world had its men there including South Africa. Tens of millions of pounds were collected in all countries including ours, and sent to Spain and China. It then becomes clear from these facts that all learned and honest people, workers, and specially national minorities are anxious to do everything possible to help a people who are fiighting to throw off the yoke of an Imperialist Robber power which oppresses and exploits them, for the struggle for independence is a democratic one.

So we see that all people who have fought for national Independence have obtained the help of all other countries in their struggle. But the first necessity in the struggle for independence is to mobilise all people in the country for such a struggle. Is Malan's Nazi Party making an effort to bring this about? The propaganda which Malan's Party is giving out not only makes no efforts in this direction but rather serves to aggravate the position in South Africa.

In all countries where the struggle for national independence took place the political party which was foremost in the struggle came to the people and told them the truth of the position. They clearly pointed out to all people of that country, why they were suffering and who was responsible. When the entire people were clear on the position and when they had gained confidence in this party, they rallied under its banner and helped in the fight for independence. Eventually this led to their gaining their independence. Such an Independence, if it extends democratic liberties

to all people in the country, helps the workers to obtain better economic and social conditions. It helps the peasants on the lands, it gives the people a higher education and culture and it safeguards the civil rights of all and everybody in the country. Such improvement would make it a powerful country as it would have the support of all its people. It would be truly an independent democratic state. All other democratic countries would appreciate and respect its independence and would be prepared to come to its aid. It is true that Malan's Greyshirt and Blackshirt Nazi Party did get 247,000 votes in the last election. This number does not represent even half of the Afrikaner people. It does not represent the English People, or the Jewish people or the eight million black and coloured people of South Africa. From a National point of view it does not represent even 20% of South Africa's people. Over 80% are definitely opposed to Malan's Nazi Party, and it is not necessary to go far to find out the reason.

Malan has begun to build his Party, not on behalf of all the people of this country, but is aiming to establish the Nazi model of Government in South Africa He is indifferent as to whether it is British Imperialism or German Imperialism, but he would prefer the German brand. This means that he does not aim at a free democratic country but a state on the lines of Hitler's regime in Germany. And what is the Nazi idealogy in reality but to rule by brutal terror and to remove all democratic rights. This will mean that the workers will not have the right to bargain in respect of their wages. They will not have the right to organise Trade Unions, and it is only by Trade Unions that they can obtain better conditions. It would defeat the peasantry in their struggle to obtain more land from which to make a living. It would remove the right to vote so that the people would not be able to elect their own representatives. As Malan rightly realises, the time is not far off, when the ruling class will not be able to mislead the people of South Africa any longer, and they will use their democratic rights to remove them. Hence Malan, servant of the Imperialist Chamber of Mines, and big Landowners is trying to set up a dictatorship after Hitler's example before it is too late, and while the people of South Africa are still disunited. Malan is not concerned about South Africa being a

Republic or free from British Imperialism, but since the sentiment of the Afrikaner people is so bitter against British Imperialism, and in favour of a Republic, he promises them that he will struggle against Imperialism for a Republic. These are the methods he uses to get the support of the people, and should he happen to get into power he will forget his national Independent Republic, while you can be sure that he will give the people Hitler's Nazism. Whether Nazism will serve to exploit the people of South Afica on behalf of British Imperialism or German Imperialism will not concern him. Through a Nazi dictatorship the ruling class of South Africa, whoever they may be, will be in a position .to oppress and exploit without any opposition.

It is well known to all people that the robber-class in order to oppress and exploit a people, first of all divides the people into factions and brings them to a point where there is rioting and faction fighting as in India and Palestine today.

Malan is doing this in South Africa on behalf of the ruling-class. His racial agitation between English and Afrikaner, between Jew and Afrikaner, and his demand for oppressive measures against the Coloureds, Natives and Indians makes all people an easy prey for exploitation by the Robber class. From his propaganda and agitation it is then clear that he is not striving to unite the people but rather to make it impossible for the people to struggle unitedly against their oppressors.

Malan claims that he has 247,000 supporters. I strongly dispute that these are genuine supporters of his policy. They have voted for him because his true policy is not known to the people. The people are misled in regard to his true policy. They voted for him since he claims to be a Nationalist and a Republican. Nazism has not been explained correctly to the people and hence they do not understand it. He gained his votes by distorting the truth. 90% of these voters were misled. They are Nationalists and Republicans, but they are not Nazis. They are honest, hardworking people, seeking an escape from their poverty and hunger, and do not know that Malan does not intend to carry out his promises. They do not know that Malan is a tool of the robber class that impoverishes them. As soon as these people find out the truth of Malan's Nazi

aims they'll run from him as they would from a pest. Here is an example:

16th December, 1938: People of Goodwood, Cape, vote for Democracy—Cape town Trade Unionists are congratulating Mr. W. H. Ross, organiser of South Western Province Building and Allied Workers Union on his success at the Municipal Election at Goodwood. The three successful candidates, Ross, Viljoen, and Winn represented democracy. In this Municipal Election, Goodwood made a stand against the Malan principles of these three Nationalist candidates—Messrs. Boomzaaier, Legrange and De Villiers, who were defeated.

Nazi Malan is trying to get supporters for his party by promising that should he come in to power he will strip naked the Jews of all their possessions, and enrich the Afrikaners.

Nazi Hitler also said it. He stripped the Jews naked and robbed them of all they possessed, but the poor German got no benefit thereby. It is the Imperialist robber class and the fascist gangsters who have enriched themselves. The German people are today in greater poverty than ever they were in the past. Nazi Malan would do the same.

But will he give this loot to the Afrikaner people? No! He will do as Hitler has done. He will enrich the robber class of South Africa by it. Malan tells the Afrikaner that the Jews are exploiters, but the Jewish Capitalists are no better or worse than any exploiters. The Jews have succeeded in building up many industries in this country, and thereby made it possible for tens of thousands of Afrikaners to obtain jobs, and make a living. It is true that the wage of the workers is not what it should be which is due to the fact the Afrikaner workers have not yet learned the importance of Trade Unionism which helps them to obtain better economic and social conditions. But gradually they will learn to organise themselves and conditions must then become better for them. Nazi Malan never tells the workers and people of South Africa of the condition of the Afrikaner by**wo**ners, **or** how the big Afrikaner Landowner exploits the poor Afrikaner farmers.

In 1930 Afrikaner girls employed in the Garment Trade went on strike as a protest against low wages and unendurable working conditions. They were ruthlessly ridden down by mounted police acting on orders from Hertzog and Malan, now the self-constituted defenders of Afrikanerdom. As in the Boer War and as in the 1914 rebellion, Malan was callously indifferent to the sufferings of his people and thought only to secure his own safety and interest by aiding and abetting the oppressor class. The poor Afrikaner farmer who has lost his land is forced to go to the big landowner and from him he gets a piece of land which he cultivates on a third share basis. When the crop is reaped the landowner comes and takes two-thirds of the crop. After selling his part the poor farmer is left with £5 or £6 a month income. For this magnificent sum, he and his wife and children have laboured the whole year. They were starving all the time. They lived in a hut, the windows covered with old sacks. It is a horrible life. I have seen it. Some poor white byowners have rich landowning relatives and they work on their land on the same basis, living in the same manner. Nazi Malan does not speak about the exploitation by the big landowners. He does not tell the Afrikaners that the big landowners employ native slave labour because it costs them nothing and therefore the Afrikaners cannot obtain work on the land at a civilised standard. Malan never tells the Afrikaner people that the Land-Bank is the agent of Imperialism. The Imperialists have invested their money in the Land-Bank on interest. This Land-Bank lends the money to the farmers and mortgages their land. These loans are only half of the value of the land mortgaged. Three or four years pass by and the farmers manage to pay the instalments due. But bad crops came along and they get low prices for their products. A couple of such seasons impoverish them and they are unable to pay the instalments to the Land-Bank. The Land-Bank takes the land from them and drives them off their land. The Land-Bank resells this land to a wealthy farmer at full value. This is how the Imperialists and their agents the Land-Bank enrich themeselves at the expense of the farmers. Thus the poor Whites increase day by day. Malan does not tell the Afrikaner farmers that the only way out of their poverty is to confiscate the land of

the big Companies and landowners and close down the Land-Bank. Such land must then be given to all farmers who suffer and hunger because they have no land. Nazi Malan says nothing of this because he is an agent of the big landowners and he is looking after their interests. When Malan was in the Cabinet he made no endeavour to help the poor Afrikaner workers. He made no endeavour to help the Afrikaner farmers who were living in poverty. He was one who helped the robber clique to keep these farmers and workers in poverty. Malan is sending his puppets into all the cities to undermine Trade Unions by fomenting racialism and then smashing them. Malan's Nazi Party is making all efforts to split and break the Garment Workers Union, which is the foremost and most advanced Trade Union in this country. His excuse is that a Jew is Secretary of this Union, but he knows quite well that the Union is managed by its women garment worker members. The whole executive committee of the Union are Afrikaners. Its leaders and organisers are Afrikaners who are well known throughout South Africa—Johanna and Hester Cornelius, Anna Scheepers, and Dulcie Hartwell. Nazi Malan knows quite well how the Afrikaner Garment workers have suffered. It is due to the efforts of Sachs—a Jew, that their wages and conditions of work have greatly improved. The Afrikaner Garment workers have learned to understand the value of a Trade Union. They are today inspiring all other Afrikaners to build Trade Unions and not to allow wreckers and traitors to break these Unions by racial issues. Here, Malan is the answer of the women Garment Workers to your misleading propaganda:-

"GARMENT WORKERS SUPPORT SECRETARY AT CITY DEBATE."

Daily Express Reporter.

"On the shoulders of his supporters and to the tune of 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow,' the Secretary of the Garment Worker's Union, M.. E. S. Sachs, was triumphantly carried from the Selbourne Hall, Johannesburg, last night, following a debate with Mr. D. B. H. Grobelaar, of the Reform Organisation (Hervormingsorganisasie).

After the speeches a vote had been taken. On a show of hands Mr. Sachs was given the support of all except 20 of the 3,000 people present.

Mr. Sachs began his speech amid wild cheering. "We built our Union to fight against sweating, starvation wages, and exploitation, and to make the lives of our members happier and easier," he said. Our conditions were terrible when hundreds of workers slaved for little as five shillings a week. We no longer work for a few shillings a week," he told the excited garment workers, who answered him with cheers.

He said that the Union's opponents were trying to break up the Union and discredit the garment workers in the eyes of the Afrikaner people by means of Jew-baiting.

Replying to the Eric Louw and Co. threat, he said, "I draw my inspiration from Russia; they also draw their inspiration from Russia—Tsarist Russia."

"Are you workers going to be misled by Jew-baiting and lies?" he asked.

"NO," came the reply from nearly 3,000 throats.

Mr. Sachs stated that he stood for the United Front of all workers in the towns and the poor people in the country, a decent standard of living, and a society free from slavery.

FRANTIC CHEERS.

He sat down to the frantic cheers of almost every person in the hall. The cheering lasted for many minutes.

Mr. Grobelaar, who then rose to speak, was booed.

The Chairman of the meeting, Miss Anna Scheepers, called for order and appealed to the audience to allow Mr. Grobelaar to speak. The audience quietened down

and Mr. Grobelaar began by taking exception to this booing before they had heard what he had to say. Because of the attitude of the audience he was able to speak for only about four minutes of the fifteen minutes allotted to both speakers. He was booed when he stated that Mr. Sachs had been banished from the country for inciting the natives to revolution and creating ill-feeling between Europeans and non-Europeans.

He tried to read excerpts from a Supreme Court report, but was howled down.

NEED SALVATION.

"Those who boo me are those most in need of salvation," he said. Referring to the three members of the Union who went to Russia last year, he said that they had been sent at the expense of the Union. (Cries of "No, no!" and "Chuck him out!")

Concluding, Mr. Grobelaar said, "You can cut my throat, but look out for your own interests and don't be misled by Moscow."

The Chairman replying to Mr. Grobelaar's statement that the Union had paid for the delegates to visit Russia, stated that members of the Garment Worker's Union had donated what they desired, and if they desired.

After cries of "We want Sachs," Mr. Sachs spoke again. He stated that Mr. Grobelaar had failed to give the real facts concerning his deportation.

"Even now I challenge Mr. Pirow to prove his affidavit that sent me into exile."

Ballot papers were then distributed by the stewards, but it was decided that the vote on whose policy the members of the Union preferred—Mr. Sachs or Mr. Grobelaar's—should be decided by a show of hands. Nearly all voted for Mr. Sachs. About 20 voted for Mr. Grobelaar.

Mr. Grobelaar protested against this method of voting.

Cheering wildly, the garment workers rushed forward over the Press Table to the stage and chaired Mr. Sachs. Many booed Mr. Grobelaar.

In an interview after the meeting Mr. Sachs stated that he appreciated the enthusiasm and loyalty of the garment workers. "I am convinced that all the slander published about me during the last few years has had little or no effect on the 6,000 workers," he said.

Mr. Grobelaar told me that the method of voting was contrary to the agreement.

"I am convinced . . . ." he was saying when he was chaired off the platform by his supporters.

Banners with various slogans such as "United we Stand" and "Down with Grobelaar" were rushed to the stage at the conclusion af the meeting.

It is well that the Afrikaner people should know that Malan agrees with Chamberlain's policy of smashing all independent democratic countries. The whole of Malan's press is in full support of Chamberlain's policy. Malan is supposed to be an Afrikaner patriot and a man who should carry on the traditions of his forefathers in struggling for their independence and their democratic republic. Then how is it possible that Malan and his press should associate themselves with Chamberlain's policy of breaking the independence of peoples, breaking their democratic governments and placing them under the yoke of Imperialism. Every good Afrikaner patriot should ask himself this question. Let their eyes be opened so that they may see Malan is no patriot and does not carry on the Afrikaner tradition. Afrikaners, are you not craving to be free? How is it that Malan who claims that he struggles for your freedom helps Chamberlain to trample upon the rights of a people who were once free and make of them a subject people. This same Malan openly formed a bloc with the Greyshirts and Blackshirts in the last election. This means that he agrees in policy with the Nazis who are openly in favour of bringing the people under German Imperialism and depriving them of national independence.

MALAN AND HIS TITLE DR. OF DIVINITY.

Malans propaganda and agitation in Sotuh Africa is creating bitterness among all people—bitter hatred between one people and another, distrust between man and man. He is trying to sink to the lowest depths of brutality, to pander to the worst instincts of the more backward people. I would ask Dr. Malan whether he can show me in any religious books that Christ and Christianity have given his people such teachings? According to the divine books people must be kind and good and help one another. Here is a letter by an Afrikaner about fascism, dated 3rd June, 1938:

"FACISM AND THE AFRIKANER."
"FREEDOM BOUGHT WITH BLOOD."

The Editor, "The Guardian."

Sir,—As a sincere democrat, it grieves me that some of my fellow Afrikaners may become the prey of Hitler's propaganda. But I feel convinced that if they know what Fascism will bring to them, they will be in the vanguard of the fight against this menace, as the desire for freedom and democracy is something inherent in our blood. This is proved by the fact that the freedom we possess today was bought with the blood of our fathers and grandfathers.

Many people are under the impression that Fascism is only directed against the Jews. This is a serious mistake, because if we study fascism in Germany and Italy we find that the working people and the middle class are actually the people who suffer under the iron heel of a Facist dictatorship.

"ONLY A SMOKE SCREEN."

Anti-semitism is only a smoke screen the Nazis and Fascists uitilise to cover the nakedness of their economic policy, or rather, to enable them to substitute racialism for food, and to feed the people with intensified nationalism and patriotism.

The fascists in South Africa want to tell us that the Jews are responsible for all our poverty and misery, but it is interesting to note that in Australia, where there are few Jews, and this argument holds no water, they utilise the Irish Catholics as the scapegoat. India and China are two countries which have very few Jews, and yet economically they are worse off than any other countries in the world.

BLACKSHIRT POLICY.

A few weeks ago, at a Blackshirt meeting, I asked one of the Blackshirt leaders to explain their economic policy. I received the following answer: "Hit the Jews on their noses till their ears become bigger."

It is quite certain that Germany produces some commodities which are far superior in quality to those from England; yet, when we compare the prices of the commodities of these two countries, we find that the prices of the German goods are below those of the English articles; Why? Because in Germany the workers are deprived of all democratic rights and are unable to

organise for better wages, which means that they are helpless, and are left to the mercy of the German capitalists who exploit them as much as they like. This enables Germany to compete on the world market at the expense of the German workers.

A REMINDER.

The doctrine of Fascism has a great attraction for the middle-class who live in the state of fear that they will be squeezed out of their position by the concentration of capital, and regard Fascism as their savious. I do not intend going into the economy of Germany to prove that the middle classes are living in a state of desperate insecurity; but I just want to advise my readers of Hitler's purges in Germany.

Ten month's after Hitler's advent to power over a hundred of his Brownshirt storm troops were shot, because these people were of the middle-class, and demanded that Hitler must fulfill his promises. Only a few months ago the German frontiers were closed, and people were massacred, not the workers who are always in a state of fear that they may be locked up in a concentration camp—these people were officers of the army.

A tree is judged by its fruits, so is an economic system. Nobody with any humanitarian aspirations, who knows what Fascism stands for, can feel otherwise than repelled by the Swastika. The fate of the Abyssinian people is still fresh in our minds; so is the slaughter of innocent women and children in Spain by barbaric Moors imported by Fascist Franco.

"CHRIST OR HITLER?"

The armed invasion of Austria by Herr Hitler's troops should open the eyes of everybody who values national independence. Some people may think that the terms I use against Fascism are too strong, but do not forget that the soil of South Africa was soaked with the blood of our fathers and brothers for national independence, and we are not going to allow Havemann and Weichardt to sell it to Germany.

No Afrikaner who has a drop of Huguenot blood in his or her veins can ever become a follower of Fascism, because this regime has tried to destroy the religion which our predecessors struggled bitterly to obtain the right to practise. Herr Rosenberg, the

Fascist philosopher of Germany, declared: "Hitler is greater than Christ." We are not going to worship Havemann or Weichardt instead of Christ.

The Blackshirts accused me of being an agent of the Jews. I am not a lover of the Jews, but a lover of the working class and independence.

P. L. VOGEL.

On a General Election Meeting, on the Rand, 13/5/38, Mr. Robertson, Labour, who stood for Parliament was asked the following question; "What is your attitude towards the Jews?"

My attitude is exactly what the attitude of Dr. Malan was on May 16th, 1936, when he declared in Parliament, when the Greyshirts started, my answer on the platform was clear "that we could not discriminate in this country against the Jewish people or against any other race!" All who are Europeans in our country ought to be on terms of equality, political and otherwise. If there are complaints against the Jews, if it can be said that they are parasites, or a danger on economic grounds, then I say that there are other who are just as much parasites, and I cannot punish the Jew while the others who are just as much parasites, are allowed to go free. My fight, concluded Mr. Robertson, is against an economic system and the most powerful representatives of that system, not against any race or creed. A question: "What will the Labour Party do in the event of another War?" Mr. Robertson, "It will fight on the side of Democracy against fascism and oppression."

Here is a speech given by Mr. J. A. Van der Berg, President of the South African Mineworkers Union to the Natal Coalfields Mineworkers Union at Dundee, he pointed out that although Afrikaners should retain their language and culture, they must refuse to be misled by demagogues who attempt, to lure them away from their Unions on the grounds that their position as workers is less important than their racial origin. Organisations such as the Mynwerkersbond, make a cunning emotional appeal to some individuals. Their arguments go something like this "You are an Afrikaner. You are descended from Voortrekker Pioneers who braved the wilds to live their own lives. How can

you expect any but Afrikaners to promote your interests? Come to us and we will lead you out of the wilderness. This is the theory, but if you want to see how it works out in practise, just cast your mind back to 1922—17 short years ago Afrikaner miners went on strike for better conditions. They were mown down by machine guns, bombed by planes and finally executed for high treason. Were they shot as Afrikaners? Not a bit of it. They were shot as miners asking for more pay. As workers they lived and as workers they died. Strong and cohensive unions are, and will remain the workers only salvation, whether they speak English or Afrikaans, whether they are white or coloured."

Here is the voice of 66,000 organised workers in South Africa—the Trades and Labour Council resolution on Nazi German attrocities. On 18/11/38 the National Executive Committee of the Trades and Labour Council representing more than 66,000 workers passed a resolution expressing its horror at, and protesting against, the brutal treatement to which Jews and Catholics are being subjected to in Germany. The resolution adds that condonation of these unparalled attrocities by leaders of the German people is a clear indication that Nazi idealogy must lead to the total extinction of all Christian doctrines and civilised conduct. The resolution has been forwarded to the Prime Minister for diplomatic action and to the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Germany in Pretoria.

On 18/11/38 The Labour Party protested against the Nazi brutality to Jews and Catholics. A resolution was unanimously passed at a meeting held by the Labour Party outside the Municipal Buildings, Benoni, calling upon the Union Government to protest at these atrocities being perpetrated on the Jews and Catholics in Germany. The speakers were Mr. W. P. Madeley, M.P., and Mr. M. J. Van der Berg, M.P. It was also emphasised that in the interests of South African democracy the German aquisition of any territory in the African continent must be most strenuously opposed.

I here republish an Editorial from "The Guardian," the outstanding Democratic paper in South Africa.

NATIONALISM AND THE NATIONALISTS.

Movements for the emancipation have always obtained the sympathy and support of democrats and

progressives. That support was given, for example to the struggle for the unification and independence of Italy and Germany, and to the Balkan States and Greece in their wars against Turkey. For these movements, which united all classes against a foreign oppressor, roused millions of people in Europe to demand for themselves political and economical rights, eventually from their own ruling class.

In South Africa the national movement has been limited to the fight of the Afrikaner for independence. In the course of it, he succeeded in gaining equality of rights with the English speaking section, but he has not reached his final goal, independence, from British Imperialism. Time and again he has been held back by the desertion, common in all movements, of his leaders to the camp of the ruling nation.

The achievement of independence must remain a dream until the Afrikaners have learnt that it can be gained only by drawing the mass of people regardless of race or colour, into the national movement. Only in this way can it obtain the force to overcome the resistance of the interests that are attached to the Imperialist connection.

Snch a united effort would without a doubt lead to the abolition of the primitive social relations that hold back the development of the great mass of Afrikaners; it would destroy feudalistic labour laws that cripple agriculture; and it would emanicipate the non-European peoples. It would be essentially progressive, and would receive the support of democrats not only in South Africa, but in Great Britain as well.

Today, however, the democrat in the Union and elsewhere is increasingly suspicious of, and hostile to, the party that, more than any other, is looked upon by the Afrikaner as the champion of his national aspirations, The national movement in the hands of the Malanites has lost all claim to being progressive; they have turned it into a force of the vilest reaction.

Malan and Eric Louw, with their lieutenants, represent a class that is not less interested than the "Imperialists and Plutocracy" which they attack, in the exploitation of the mass of the people, white and black. They want freedom—to reap all the fruits of the ex-

ploitation of their own class. To them a united movement of the South African peoples for National liberation is unthinkable.

Today they hope to find another basis for support in Germany, which they believe must sooner or later come into armed conflict with British Imperialism. Hence the Nazification of the Nationalist Party; its propaganda for fascism; its acceptance of Fascist race theories; its absorption of the Greyshirts (did they act under "instructions?); its attacks upon democracy, Jews, Liberals, Communists; and its evident indifference, so unlike its past attitude, to the reaction of the English speaking section.

The Malanites are prepared to exchange British Imperialism for another and worse Imperialism, that of Nazi Germany. But the struggle for genuine national liberation must not on this account be abandoned; it must be carried on by the people of all races; under the banner of freedom both within and for South Afrika.

THE IMPERIALIST DOMINION PARTY.

The Dominion Party is a relic of the Old Unionist Party which openly represented Imperialism prior to the fusion between the Unionist Party and the South African Party. The methods of the Dominion Party are identical to those of the Nationalist Party. They play on the National sentiment of the English speaking people and make them believe that the Afrikaners are seeking an opportunity to cut their throats, or strip them naked and chase them out of this country. The Dominion Party propaganda conveys such impressions to the English speaking people. It serves to keep alive among these English people their national sentiment for their country. The Imperialist robbers cunningly link up these sentiments with jingo Imperialism and use this as a weapon to keep them apart from all other people in South Afrika.

The Imperialist Dominion Party just as the Nazi Malanite Party do their utmost to keep the people of this country apart. This is their surest means to weaken the people and make it easy for them to continue their exploitation. There is no incident to report of riots or progroms of the Afrikaner people against the English people or vice versa in South Africa. Rather do we see mixed marriages and a close understanding jointly to

build in South Africa a home for both of them. It is here where the danger lies for Imperialism and hence the Imperialists give the Afrikaner people a Nazi Malan and the English speaking people are provided with an Imperialist Stallard, both of whom carry out the destructive work of dividing the people, causing them to live in strife. One pulls up the Union Jack, the other the Vierkleur. One sings "God save the King," the other sings the "Stem van Suid Afrika." Add to this the biased national agitation on both sides and the picture is complete. Sentiment runs high. Both sides vote for representatives of their robber class—the big landowners, the Chamber of Mines and the Imperialists. Hence they are once again in power. They smile in satisfaction. They can continue to impoverish South Africa's people for a long time to come. This is the game played with the people of South Africa.

The followers of the Dominion Party are the well paid officials who are prepared to obey the command of their Imperialist masters. They are comparatively well-off and they look upon the Imperialists as their benefactors and bread givers. The Dominion Party is not interested in the people of South Africa and the conditions under which they live.

Their interest lies rather in finding ways how better to be able to trample on South Africa's people, impoverish them and retain South Africa as a colony of British Imperialism.

Recently, at their last conference, they hooked on "Democracy" as a party slogan. This they hope will serve like a bell on their tail so that its ringing may draw the attention of the people. By such means they have succeeded in making some of the English people believe that they wish to advance their national well being. But such "stunts" are being gradually and surely exposed and the English speaking people will turn their backs on such a party. Since Stallard organised the Dominion Party they have always tried to make the Natives, Indians and Coloured people believe that they are their firm friends. Loudly they always proclaim that they very much desire to improve the conditions of the oppressed people. But empty paraffin tins make the most noise. This is known to everybody. Examine only the reactionary oppressive laws passed by the United Party against the Coloured

people recently and you will find that the Dominion Party supported them. Such Imperialist Jingo Parties are to be found in almost every colony and dominion of the British Empire. They are planted there so that they should at all times be in a position to help British Imperialism to retain such colonies for the benefit of the British robber class. When the question of South Africa's status as a Dominion was discussed in Parliament did not Stallard's party bitterly oppose the granting of the smallest independence to South Africa.

THE UTOPIAN LABOUR PARTY.

A couple of decades past, the basic and small subsidiary industries can definitely be said to have been run by skilled workers imported from highly industrialised countries. These workers coming from industrialised countries brought with them their long history of working class traditions. They had been reared in a working class atmosphere. They already knew of the importance of trade unions. Many of them were politically advanced and looked upon trade unions as a means of bringing about socialism on behalf of the working class.

We find in the early days of South Africa, particularly on the Rand a fine body of workers with a European working class background. These workers brought with them the experience gained in the countries from which they came and therefore they ran their working class organisations along the same lines as they were used to doing in their home countries.

These workers succeeded in building the workers movement in this country. During the time of this development, workers born in this country began to work in the factories and mines. They replaced the foreign workers to such an extent that we now have 90% South African born workers in the mines and industries. The foreign workers who were well experienced in running working class organisations overseas, were not capable of appreciating the complicated problems confronting the workers of South Africa.

From what I know of them they were, in so far as they were concerned with South Africa, not highly politically advanced with the exception of a few and were therefore not amenable to South Africa conditions. They continued to run the South African workers movement on the model of the movement in the highly industri-

alised countries, but they failed to recognise the fact that South Africa had different problems. They did not realise that South Africa was a colonial country, and undeveloped agriculturally. They failed to appreciate that Afrikaners who came into industry did not have any Trade Union traditions behind them, and knew very little about the struggle for better conditions. They were confronted with the question of cheap labour—Native and Coloured people, but they did not take the trouble to adjust themeselves to this situation or solve the problems which arose. They made no effort to find ways and means of settling the native problem in a working class manner.

In the early days the majority of the skilled workers in South Africa were English-speaking people. They conducted the Labour Party on the lines of the English Labour Party. Therefore they became isolated from thousands of Afrikaners who were pouring into industry.

The conduct of this English Labour Party in South Africa created the impression that they were trying to Anglicise the Afrikaner workers. They tried to infuse these workers with the British Imperialist spirit. It was'nt necessary to seek far to see from their outlook that the leaders were part and parcel of British Imperialist tradition.

The workers of South Africa looked upon this party as a supporter of Imperialism. This was proved in the 1914 War. The leaders and many of the workers supported this Imperialist war. You could find these labour leaders on all Imperialist platforms in every street urging the workers to go to war and pouring out vicious racial propaganda against the countries with whom British Imperialists were figthing, and trying to justify morally the mass slaughter of all people, by the robber class of all countries. The few honest working class leaders who were in the labour party and who had the courage to point out that such a policy was not a socialist policy, but a policy of treachery and betrayal of the workers and people were flung out. Many honest workers and people who had supported the Labour Party all their lives, left it in disgust.

The Labour Party Leaders at that time were not content with this but they forced the foremost leaders

W. H. Andrews and S. P. Bunting to resign. And so the Jingo Labour Leaders isolated the best men from the working-class movement, and prevented the workers from gaining honest leadership and advice in their future struggles. Since then, the Labour Party has never again found the correct path. It became a nest of careerists and job seekers and all the bourgeois who had grievances, flocked into the Labour Party, became its leaders and used the Labour Party for their own ends, even as a stepping stone to ruling class standing. The workers were misled in all labour disputes. They never received a correct lead in their struggles and thus the Labour Party today finds itself in a state of dissolution. In the Miners strike of 1922 Field Marshal Madeley and his General, Bob Waterstone, decided to aid the workers in their struggle by giving them a line as to what they should struggle for. Their line was, "White South Africa." This line at once placed the miners in a wrong position. It was linked up with the maintenance of the colour bar. The workers of all countries understood from such a line that the miners and the working class movement in South Africa had come out on strike and were struggling in order further to oppress and persecute the Native and Coloured people in South Africa.

It gave the idea that it was the workers who were oppressing and persecuting the coloured people in South Africa. It created the impression that the workers in South Africa were backward and were trying to keep the coloured people in their status of semi-serfs. On the other hand it placed the Chamber of Mines, in the eyes of all people, as being progressive, since they were insisting on removing the colour bar. This meant the removal of the status quo which fettered the native people and debarred them from performing all kinds of work in the mines. It was understood then that the Chamber of Mines was giving more freedom to the native and coloured people, to learn all trades—to become skilled, and thereby earn a better living. But this was not the case. The Chamber of Mines, as the most ruthless exploiter in South Africa did not remove the colour-bar for that purpose at all. It aimed to replace white miners by forced native and coloured labour, and to carry out the work previously performed by white miners at the wage of semi-serf forced labour,

since it meant millions of pounds extra profits for them. They had no intention of placing the native workers in a better position. The White Miners did not strike against the natives. They had no grievance against the native miners. The white miners who were struggling against the Chamber of Mines were aiming to prevent the Chamber of Mines from having their skilled jobs performed by forced labour at a lower wage. For this reason the Labour Party slogan was misleading. It was wrong. It should have been:- "FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE COLOUR BAR."

"EQUAL WORK—EQUAL PAY."

In the 1924 election the Labour Party formed an election pact with the Nationalist Party, based on mutual hatred of the Chamber of Mines.

Workers gave full support to the Labour Party and Nationalist Party. The workers and people went to the elections with their minds made up. They meant to chase out the robber bandits from Parliament. This they successfully achieved, and the Pact parties came in with a big majority. The Labour Party had the deciding vote in Parliament and hence the workers had great hopes that they would benefit thereby, and receive improved economic and social conditions. But instead of fulfilling their promises to the workers, a scramble for cushy jobs commenced among the leaders. All of them, being occupied in obtaining fat jobs, forgot their electors, the workers, and it led ultimately to a split in the Labour Party. The workers who supported the Labour Party, demanded that Parliamentary Labour group—the elected candidates should not join the government, but rather should use its deciding vote in order to get benefits for the working-class. The leaders stood for complete collaboration with the ruling-class and cabinet jobs, and hence the split. The role of the capitalist press in helping **completely** to break the Labour Party was very outstanding. They handled the sitiuation very cleverly. One day you found articles in the Star, the Rand Daily Mail and all other capitalist papers written on these lines:

"The life of Creswell as a man of high birth."

"Due to his honesty he joined the working-class movement to help the workers in their struggle." He was described in these articles as a great, intelligent man

and as the best leader the workers of South Africa had ever had. "He sacrificed his high bourgeois social standings on behalf of the workers." and other such tripe. These articles concluded by stating that Creswell was the proclaimed leader of the Labour Party and that his leadership was endorsed by the entire Labour following. Such writings in the press led people to believe that Creswell had captured the Labour Party. In a week or two you again found articles in the press on the subject. This time the articles were entirely different. They pictured Madeley as the champion of Labour in this country, well learned, highly intelligent, honest to the backbone—a man who used his many virtues on behalf of the working class. He, they stated, had actually built up the entire movement—he had offered his life entirely for socialism. Whereas in the previous statement they had made us believe that Madeley was simply a babler, they now pointed out that it was Creswell who was the babler. They concluded the article as previously, that Madeley was the proclaimed leader of the Labour Party and had the undivided support of its followers. So they carried on for a long time and the followers of the Labour Party who had no great experience or understanding of politics became confused. They knew not whether they stood on their heads or their feet. They knew not what to do or think. This helped in the breaking up of the Labour Party. It should be known that all the leaders were hunting for fat jobs. All were willing and anxious to collaborate with the robber' class. All betrayed the cause of labour.

When the pact was formed, the Afrikaner supporters of the Labour Party believed that the Labour Party recognised the fact that South Africa was a colony in the iron grip of Imperialism, and would co-operate with Hertzog in uniting the people of South Africa to obtain independence and a republic. But from the utterings of Labour leaders at public meetings it became clear that the experiences of the past had taught them nothing. They did not recognise the Afrikaners as being an oppressed people, and still retained their British Imperialist jingoism. Therefore they did not give help and encouragement to Hertzog, and they did not put forward the path of struggle for such independence. This allowed Hertzog to come nearer to the Imperialists and allowed the Pact Government to become a tool

in the hands of the robber class. Here is what an ex-Labour Party member of Parliament, A. Barlow, has to say about it:-

To all English speaking peoples "God save the King" is a sacred anthem. There are four things which you cannot take away from the English in South Africa. They are the English language, the Union Jack, "God save the King," the monarchy. The only way to remove these four would be by a bloody internecine war in which the English would have to be beaten to the ground."

He went further and warned Parliament and the cabinet that they must never forget that they were in office solely because they had received 97% of the English vote and could only remain in power by the grace of the English vote. This is the mentality of the Labour socialists in this country and it is the view and ideology of almost all the labour leaders. It was rightly said that the Labour Party and the church create the social basis for Imperialism and are its safeguard. I hope that every follower of the Labour Party will consider these utterings of the so-called Labour Leaders

It is no wonder that Dr. Venter, Odendaal, Erasmus and others left the Labour Party as they recognised that the leaders of the Labour Party were extreme British Imperialist jingoes. Such chauvinistic expressions of these leaders lead one to understand that the English speaking people have the right to be independent, and the British ruling-class have the right to oppress all people of all countries. They have never recognised the fact that the Afrikaner people of South Africa are an oppressed people and that they crave to regain their independence—and that they therefore, look upon the Union Jack, "God save the King," the monarchy, as symbols of the robber class, who have humiliated and robbed them time and again. Such sentiments will be found amongst all people in every British colony.

For these reasons the Labour Party did not make any impression on the South African workers and is still regarded as foreign. The Labour Party still continues the policy of olden times. It does not study the conditions in South Africa. I do not recall the Labour Party at any time making an effort to build up Trade Unions in this country. They do not see the necessity for carrying on propaganda among the workers or

educating the workers on the existing class differences. They have never made an attempt to organise the workers in the secondary industries. The only time when the workers become aware that there is a Labour Party is at the time of the elections. After the elections the Labour Party goes out of business until the next election. The Utopian segregation policy of the Labour Party affords them the opportunity of avoiding an explanation of conditions to the workers of South Africa. For these reasons the Labour Party has not made itself felt among the workers of South Africa. The followers of the Labour Party uphold a longstanding practice in supporting the Labour Party. They are used to supporting labourites and continue to vote for them. Very few of these followers understand the working-class movement. They believe the Labour Party to be the champions of the cause of Labour. They do not realise that the Labour Party possesses no line, no policy and no tactics on behalf of Labour. These 44,000 Labour votes come from middle-class followers. They are not class-conscious, neither do they understand politics. In recent years we have witnessed the growth of Nazism in South Africa. It took almost five years before the Labour Party realised this danger. It was only last year that they adopted the struggle against Fascism in their programme. But did they go out to the workers and people or did they continually hold meetings to educate the people to the danger. They did very little in this connection. Their adoption of a campaign against fascism therefore remains theoretical and the fight has in fact been shelved.

Madeley stands by the robber-class. His forceful demand that the Segregation Bill be passed will make all his followers realise that he is helping to divide the people and impoverish them. His demand for severe punishment of the organisers of the protest meeting of the workers in Cape Town is a disgrace to the working-class movement in South Africa. These workers, in their demonstrations protested against their poverty, their hunger and their suffering. They had reached a point beyond endurance. They also protested against the provocative measures being passed in Parliament against the Native, Coloured and Indian peoples. Did field-marshal Madeley demand such measures against the workers in 1922? It proves, Mr. Madeley that you are colour prejudiced! It proves

that you are an agent of Imperialism! You are following the line of the robber-class! You help to divide the people so that it may become easy for the British Imperialist robbers to rule them!

All honest workers of South Africa should know, that a similar policy by Ramsay McDonald was instrumental in bringing about the semi-fascist government ruling today in Britain.

Such treacherous viewpoint held by these Labour Leaders eventually lead to their repudiation by their followers and Madeley too will be sent to the same place where you find all Labour Misleaders.

It is known to the workers and people of all countries that when the workers come out in protest demonstrations it is because of their suffering. Such protests are meant to attract the attention of all people to their sufferings, and to expose the ruling-class. When such events take place, it makes no difference how peaceful they may be, the ruling-class immediately send out their thugs and police, who brutally assault these people and create a state of violence. They purposely do so in order to make the people believe that this was no demonstration of improverised workers but simply hooliganism. Here is a statement by a Cape Town Councillor, Mrs. Z. Gool (31/3/39).

"It was a very orderly meeting, as the press could not but admit. The demonstration on the parade, in spite of its size, was one of the most orderly seen in Cape Town. I consider that the leaders should be congratulated.

Any disturbances were not at the instignation of the Committee of Action or any of its leaders, but due to the indiscriminate lashing out of the police, who attacked innocent people and infuriated the crowd by hitting out at people walking on the fringes of the procession.

Throughout the meeting the speakers appealed for order and discipline, and I am convinced there would have been no trouble if the procession had been allowed to march past the House of Assembly. They wanted to shout "Down with Segregation" loud enough for those inside the House to hear their protest. They did not want violence.

It was unfortunate that Mr. Duncan Burnside held up the procession by addressing it from the steps of the House.

My opinion is that the calling out of the police armed with rifles was unwarranted and aroused the anger of the demonstrators. This was one of the worst blunders the police authorities could have made. It was this and the police attack on orderly demonstrators which led to the very regretable incidents that occurred.

It gave a very unfortunate ending to what was one of the finest demonstrations staged by non-Europeans in the history of South Africa."

It becomes easy to understand why most of the old Labour Party leaders have deserted the Labour Party and are now to be found in the camp of the enemy—in the United Party, the Nationalist Party and the Dominion Party. Creswell, Ben Jenkins, Bob Waterson, Jimmy Clarke, Teeger, Boydell, "The Socialist Spitfire" Kentridge (in spite of the good thrashing he got from the Smuts police in 1922), and many others.

When I recall all these leaders—their outlook, their views and their behaviour as working class leaders, then I think the Star in its editorial, a few weeks ago, is correct in stating:-

Don't be in fear of Socialism in England, the official opposition in England is the Labour Party, and the views of the Labour Party are as bourgeois, conservative, and reactionary as those of the Conservative Party." This also applies to the Labour Party Leaders in South Africa.

Charlie Henderson is the General Secretary of the Labour Party—the Party which is supposed to stand for higher culture and higher civilisation for all people in South Africa—the party which is supposed to demand better conditions for all people—the party which is supposed to struggle to unite all people that they should better be able to achieve these aims. In a Parliamentary by-election in Woodstock some years ago, he openly demanded that the coloured and native people should be deprived of their vote.

This is the voice of our socialist leaders—our champions of the working-class and oppressed and downtrodden masses in South Africa.

Well, Charlie! We know each other for a long time and I do still remember one thing about you. You have always tried to "come in." You never considered line, policy, tactics, workers, middle-class, capitalists! These were none of your concern. Your ambition was to

come in—to be elected. You have tried hard, whether it was Municipal, Provincial Council or Parliament, you never failed to be there. But it is remarkable that you always failed—you never came in on a public vote. Perhaps your defeats are due to your name "Charlie"—perhaps to the shortcomings in political outlook.

As to you Jimmy Briggs, we know each other for almost half a century. Jimmie! You old fox! It was no surprise to me when you resigned from the Senate to fight a seat for Labour in the last election. It seemed to all that you had really taken up the fight of Labour, but you knew, and I knew, there would be no sacrifice on your part. In the event of your being defeated, another easy job would be waiting for you. Your expectations were correct, the government did provide you with a soft job.

THE RISING INDUSTRIALISTS OF SOUTH AFRICA

In recent years we find time and again reports in the Daily press of statements by industrial leaders, particularly Presidents of the Chamber of Commerce. In their statements you will find that they advocate better wages for all unskilled Labour—white, native, coloured and Indian. They rightly maintain that higher wages would put in the hands of South Africa's people a greater amount for circulation. Such an increase in money circulation would be an encouragement for industrialists to expand industry in South Africa. This would gradually absorb the poor whites, who are penniless. It would give them work at a decent wage. It would increase the wages of all coloured people. Such a turn in South Africa would create a home market, not only for the industrial products, but it would solve the agricultural problem. Such industry with its increased number of better paid workmen would also create a home market for agricultural products. The farmers, then would be able to realise a better price for their goods and this would assure them of a more secure living. It would remove the necessity for sending our footstuffs to other countries. The people of South Africa have to pay taxes and this money the government hands to other countries in the form of subsidies so that they may take our food away for nothing. From what we learn from scientists, and our press—South Africa suffers over much from poverty, starvation, malnutrition.

Our ruling-class, callously gives away our labour, our hard-won food and keeps the people of South Africa in hunger. The rulers of our country know all this, and they also know the remedy but they are determined that as long as they have power to rule in this country· they will not allow industry to develop here. As they are content with the wealth they have ammassed and are still amassing in our country, they desire no change. They are satisfied with the present position. First and foremost they realise that by allowing industry to develop in this country, the industrialists would surely take away the political power from the Imperialists, Chamber of Mines and big Land Owners, and would use this power on their own behalf.

In all other countries this change was called the Industrial Revolution. Such a change always raised the economic, social and political level of the workers, the peasants, and all people.

The present rulers would suffer from such a change, since it would deprive them of forced semi-serf labour in their mines and on their large farms. This would deprive them to their profits and super profits. Such a change would open wide the doors of South Africa to workers and people of all countries that they might come and participate in industrialising South Africa, and helping to make it an advanced nation.

Under the present Government South Africa will never become industrialised since it does not protect the little industry which there is. There are no protective tarriffs against goods in order to prevent overseas products from undercutting South African products. In recent years you find in the press, reports of protests against the Government policy of not protecting South Africa industry from foreign competition. Our industry is young, and the investments of capital are very small. It still stands on shaky legs. One shipload of goods from the big factories of Europe is enough to send many of our factories into the bankruptcy court. This we see every day. That is why people are afraid to build factories since there is no Government protection. This is the method of the present Government, representing the Imperialist Chamber of Mines and the Big Lond-owners, by which it prevents industries from developing in South Africa. South Africa is a vast country, and rich in all kinds of raw material and

minerals. This wealth is in the hands of the big Imperialist Companies who hold these mineral rights and disallow their exploitation since the same companies hold similar rights on minerals which are already being exploited in other countries.

Dr. John Firminger a student of economy thinks this is the reason why from 1934 to 1938 43,519 English people entered the Union and during the same period 41,426 English people left the Union. This means that in 4 years South Africa gained only 2,093 English people.

These English people left South Africa because they had nothing to do here. If there had been room for these people they would have remained here and would have proved an asset to the country. They would have helped to industrialise South Africa and provide work for all people. Half of the poor whites would have been absorbed in industry and a lot of poverty would have been eliminated. Dr. John Firminger states "We are not utilising to the full resources which nature has placed at our convenience to use." He then goes on to state of the raw material and minerals which our country possesses and declares that they are innumerable. He refers to the Iscor Steel Works, stating that this plant does not produce one quarter of the demands of the South African market. He asks why the Iscor Works cannot yield from 3 to 5 times its present capacity. He is surprised that although there is so much wool and cotton yet there is no industry to produce the finished articles. He saw in Natal how sugar cane was being burnt in huge quantities. To my mind three fourths of the people of South Africa are too poor to use sugar as its price is too high. The same South African sugar can be had in Europe at a third of the local price. He finished up by saying "Wake up South Africa! We must develop new industries."

Follow the line of England, Canada, U.S.A. and now Australia.

RESOLUTIONS ON LEVIES FOR PROTEST MEETING.

The Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend W. A. Palmer appeals to all registered voters who wish to ask the Mayor, Mr. J. J. Page, to call a public meeting on the Maize Levy, to sign a requisition to the Mayor which will be in the porch of St. Mary's Cathedral for signature on Sunday at 12 noon and 8.45 p.m.

He appeals to the clergy of all denominations to give the members of their congregations an opportunity to sign the requisition after the services on Sunday.

Copies of the proposed resolutions may be had by such ministers today at the Deanery, Clarendon Circle, Johannesburg, or from the Verger at St. Mary's Cathedral.

Lists of signatures should be sent to the Dean by first post on Tuesday morning.

RESOLUTIONS.

The Mayor agreed yesterday to the following resolutions prepared by Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones for submission to the meeting:-

(1) That this meeting of citizens of Johannesburg, convened by His Worship the Mayor, while fully recognising the necessity for help being given to agriculture in the present special circumstances, is strongly opposed to this help being in the form of levies on the food of the people; and it asks of the Government to withdraw the levies now imposed on mealies and other foodstuffs.

(2) That this meeting also calls on the Government to give more effective voice to the consuming public on the bodies which determine the food policy of the country, more particularly in respect of those products which are the staple foods of the poorest sections of the population.

The meeting will be asked to appoint a deputation consisting of the speakers at the meeting, who will be decided on later, to present the resolutions to the Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog, and the Minister of Agriculture, Colonel W. R. Collins.

MAYOR'S WIRE TO PREMIER.

South African Press Association
Port Elizabeth, Friday.

The Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr. J. A. S. Maclean, has sent the following telegrams to the Prime Minister: "I have been asked by the Mayor of Kokstad to call a public meeting regarding the action of the Maize Control Board in demanding a higher price for Mealies for Native consumption than the price of the same article for consumption by cattle.

Will you please inform me by return.

(1) Whether 12 of 19 members of the Mealie Control Board are producers of maize?

(2) Whether in the circumstances you intend to take any action in the near future to rectify this deplorable state of affairs? and

(3) If so, when?"

Let us assume for the moment that there are in South Africa two million unskilled labourers, white, black and coloured. Let us imagine now that the wage of these people be increased by 3/- per day, which is not very much. What would happen? It would mean a greater money circulation to the extent of £9,000,000 per month and of £108 million per year. Think for a moment what would then happen to South Africa. You would find that hundreds of industries would spring up overnight! There would not be enough workers here to build the necessary factories. We would be obliged to open wide South Africa's doors, and import workers. The population would increase by leaps and bounds. The people, would be able to consume not only the products of the city industries but also our farm products. This industry would immediately absorb all poor whites. Very likely many of them would go back to the land and would there peacefully toil and make a living.

This would immediately solve the poor white problem, and would help to decrease our poverty and slums. It would bring closer understanding and friendly relationship between all people in the country.

The racial bitterness and strife which is going on in South Africa today is due to poverty. Improve the economic position of the people then you remove the racial hatred and strife.

DEMOCRACY.

I think that by now it is well known to all people of all countries that Democracy did not come from the empty spaces! The higher civilisation which is called Democracy and which many people in South Africa enjoy came to us by long years of bitter struggle by our forefathers and by us ourselves.

If you go through human history, you will find that many people have had to sacrifice their lives to obtain it. Millions were killed in the struggle.

In the age of Feudal Lords, the individual Lord enjoyed all power. His word was law. He had the power of life and death over all people who lived in his domain. When he gave the order that men must be hanged on the gibbet, it was done. No one could dispute his command.

If he had a quarrel with another lord, and the two started a war his peasants would have to go to war, and kill or be killed on behalf of their lord. The lives of the people in the lords domain were entirely in his hands. Hence we find in history great struggles of the people against the lords.

As a result of these struggles the workers and peasants won many rights and liberties which constitute "Democracy." What are these rights?

The peasants obtained the right to travel from place to place without a pass, from the lord. They obtained the right to possess land or other property. Courts of law were brought into being, where a person could come and defend himself. They obtained the right to act as a witness in the courts of law. The workers obtained the right to bargain for their wages. The number of hours to be worked a day was fixed by law. Child labour was abolished. Flogging was abolished. They obtained the right to build organisations, trade unions and political parties. They obtained the right of assembly, free speech and a free press. They obtained the right to elect their own representatives, whether to municipalities, provincial councils or parliaments, and to have a say in the administration of their country. They obtained the right of free compulsory education for all. They obtained the right to have a say in the educational and cultural institutions of their country.

In some countries they also succeeded in abolishing compulsory military service and when it was a matter of deciding whether the country should go to war, they had the right to decide. They succeeded in creating "International Law" governing the rights of nations. There are many more which can be added. All these hard won liberties helped to a great extent to relieve their hardship and suffering and raised them to a higher human level—to the civilisation of which we are so proud of today. In brief, we have partly succeeded in removing the power of individuals and placed it in the hands of the people. We have today reached a stage

in life of man where individuals are trying to steal these democratic rights from the workers, peasants and people and once again put it in the hands of individuals like Chamberlain, Mussolini, Lord Halifax, Malan, Hitler and Daladier. It is known to all people that such individuals are bitter enemies of democracy which means, bitter enemies of the workers, peasants and all people of these countries. The idealogical struggle which is going on in Europe today expresses itself in this form.

"Will the people allow themselves to become robot soldiers and always be under the command of savage individuals, or will the people succeed in removing such enemies of the people?" Many people in South Africa say "We have nothing to do with European affairs or their idealogical struggles." Malan's Greyshirt and Blackshirt Nazi Party in particular speaks of remaining neutral, of having nothing to do with these affairs. Think over it for a moment and you will see that we have everything to do with it. Whatever is happening in Europe will affect South Africa. Assume that a war breaks out today in Europe. On one hand are all the Nazi Imperialist countries; and on the other are all Democratic countries. Should the Nazi Imperialists countries win, they would over-run the whole of Europe and would plant Nazism everywhere. They would establish it in South Africa as well since we would not be able to oppose it.

It then becomes clear that should these Democratic countries lose this right, their people would be deprived of their democratic rights.

In South Africa too the Nazis would take power, deprive us of our rights and push us back to a state of savagery.

If Nazi Malan had been a democrat and valued the rights of the people, he would at once have said "We must go to the aid of the Democracies and defeat these Imperialist Nazis", as he would not have wanted South Africa to become infested with the Nazi plague. But Malan is a Nazi and it is not yet time for him to expose his Nazi aims to the people, hence he takes cover behind "neutrality." He knows well that "neutrality" which means indirect aid for the Nazis in Europe would help to bring about a victory for Nazism. It would lead to the introduction of Nazism in South Africa. That is why his party has taken up the "neutrality" issue.

Therefore it is the task of the people of South Africa to expose the cunning phrase of Nazi Malan's "Neutrality" and demand from the Government that they should openly associate with the Democracies and in the event of a struggle, come to their aid.

All this leads us to understand why Malan's Greyshirt and Blackshirt Nazi party have discarded the 18,000 Afrikaners in South West Africa.

He is not concerned about these 18,000 Afrikaners, nor is he concerned about the whole of the Afrikaner people in South Africa.

Malan wants Hitler to get South West Africa as this would assist him considerably in his efforts to become the Nazi Führer of South Africa.

He is well aware of Hitler's methods. As soon as Hitler comes to a new frontier, he immediately fortifies it and prepares his army to over-run the neighbouring countries. When he broke up Czechoslovakia he proclaimed Slovakia an independent state. Now he has overrun Slovakia with armed troops and planted himself on the border of Poland.

From there he aims to invade Poland. Should South West Africa become Nazi territory we will witness the same method in South Africa.

Nazi Malan knows all about it and he is anxious that such events should take place in South Africa since it is now quite clear that he is the representative and mouthpiece of the German Imperialists, and the big Landowners in South Africa.

"Daily Express", 24/12/38,

THIS YEAR AND THE YEAR THAT LIES AHEAD.

Are the lights going out in the world?

We look back upon a year of almost unrelieved gloom. We think of the martyrdom of China. We think of the long drawn out agony of Spain, where the tragedy of a nation's suffering is deepened by the farce of non-intervention. We think of the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. "Betrayal" may seem a strong word, but is it not true that, if Czechoslovakia had been given only six months warning that she would not count on the support of England and France, she would have been able to secure far better terms from Germany than were eventually accorded her?

We think of the seemingly final eclipse of the principle of collective security, which, we had hoped, would through the League of Nations give us peace, and of the renewed ascendancy of the old power politics, now degraded into something very like international gangsterdom. We think of the diplomatic defeat sustained by France and England, with its twofold consequences, a severe blow to the principles of democracy and freedom, and the re-orientation of the policy of the smaller nations towards Berchtesgaden.

We think of the way in which whole nations, from youth upwards, are being indoctrinated with the cult of war. We think of the piling up of armaments and recall, that in the past, re-armament has always been the prelude to war. We think of the catastrophe which war would precipitate.

We think of the supersession of the free spirit of the independent citizens by a standardised mass-mentality, of the degredation of the citizen into a mere soulles atom in the fabric of the omnipotent state, of the heartless persecution of religious and political minorities. We think of the new barbarism of Anti-Semitism, which has gone so far in dehumanising Germany, and seems to be spreading like a poisonous infection from nation to nation."

SOUTH AFRICA NOT IMMUNE.

"Yes, the lights of freedom, of tolerance, of civilisation do seem to be going out in the world.

What of South Africa?

In many ways, this is perhaps the happiest part of the earth's surface. There are some things, even in this year of gloom, on which, as South Africans, we can look back with satisfaction. The General Election of May, quite apart from its political aspect, did provide evidence of a substantial measure of national unanimity. In the Voortrekker Centenary celebrations there was a very great deal that was elevating and inspiring. There are many signs of progress, in the spiritual as well as in the material development of our common nationhood. And yet South Africa is not immune from the tendencies which have shown themselves so forcefully in the world outside, and, as one looks below the surface, one sees undercurrents potent with evil for the future." There have been indications of a desire to use political power

for the undue restraint of freedom. Moves are afoot which would strengthen still further the intolerant elements in our Governments; the Voortrekker celebrations have stirred the wells of sentiment, and there are those who would deem it to be to their political advantage to prevent the waters from subsiding; intolerance in relation to those who are politically or numerically weak is definitely on the increase. Nor can South Africa insulate itself from the current of world affairs. Apart from anything else, there is the dangerous possibility of Germany coming back to Africa, and, with an outpost of the Germany of today on or near our borders, all the subversive tendencies in our own land will be tremendously strengthened.

The struggle in the world today is one which goes down to fundamentals; it raises vital issues for the future of humanity. In accordance with the tendency of our time to obscure essentials by the use of high-sounding words, we talk of it as a conflict of ideologies—the ideology of dictatorship. That suggests that it is only really of theoretical antagonism into which we need not allow ourselves to be drawn.

SAY "NO"—AND MEAN IT.

We must not let ourselves be deluded. The issue is one between freedom, which is the condition of man's future progress and welfare, as it has been the foundation of the civilisation he has so far built up, and tyranny, which can in the long run only mean the destruction, the suicide of humanity.

In the world today that issue presents itself at every point—we cannot evade the necessity of assuming position in regard to it. By attempting to do so. We merely range ourselves on the side of the forces of reaction.

In his October broadcast to America, Mr. Winston Churchill recalled the remark of Alexander the Great that the people of Asia were slaves because they had not learned to produce the word "NO." The world retrogression of our time has largely been due to inability to say "NO."

Manchukuo, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia—again and again the democratic peoples—having failed to say "NO" merely stand aside. An unwillingness to say "NO" may have the effect of an abject surrender. It may of course be that England and France were lacking in the military

preparedness necessary to enable them to say "NO" in regard to Czechoslovakia. But Mr. Chamberlain's recent speech certainly seems to imply that England is now strong enough to say "NO."

That speech surely cannot be the prelude to a refusal to say "NO" to the proposal to grant belligerent rights to France, which would have the effect of adding the betrayal of the Spanish democracy to the betrayal of Czechoslovakia.

So then, as we look back on 1938 and seek for the lesson which its events suggest, we can find it, I think, in the necessity of being strong and firm to say "NO." If we are to save democracy and freedom, and so to save civilisation, the democratic nations will have to be strong and firm to say "NO." And here in South Africa it may well be that issues will arise in 1939 calling for a greater strength and firmness to say "NO" than some of our leaders have displayed of late.

If that lesson is indeed going to be learnt, then, gloomy though this article may have seemed, I, for my part, have no fear for the future. In the battle between the forces of dictatorship and tyranny, we who stand for liberty start at a disadvantage. Our strength is not easily mobilised. The initiative lies with our opponents. The initial victories will almost certainly be theirs. But, ultimately, the forces of freedom are great, and will prevail. Dictatorship is a self-devouring force—liberty is a self-restoring force. One point will suffice in confirmation.

The underlying conception of dictatorship, Führer principle, is such as to check the development of new leaders to take their places in various spheres of activity as the need arises; the principle of Freedom is to stimulate the free development of the human spirit in all citizens.

HUMANITY MUST WIN THROUGH.

But, apart from that, there are certain world-forces which dictatorship may check for a time, but cannot overcome. Humanity is on the march—it is a forward march—it was the assertion of the principle of freedom which started it on that march—through the centuries it has gathered momentum in its march—and no dictator or group of dictators can hold up for long the forward march of human destiny.

If then we believe in humanity, we must believe in the triumph of freedom in the struggle which is being waged today. And for the confirmation of that faith the message for the Xmas season, rightly understood, cannot fail to serve.

J. H. Hofmeyr.

FASCISM.

Fascism is a ruthless and brutal method, only introduced in such countries where the ruling class are no longer able to carry on their oppression and exploitation. These are usually democratic and semi-democratic countries. When the people of a democratic country peacefully aim to take away the political power from the robber class, whether through a Parliamentary Election or otherwise, then the robber class introduce the ruthless Fascist terrorist methods. In particular are these introduced in such countries where the workers have built Trade Unions by means of which they are in a position to improve their economic and social conditions. This curtails the profits of the ruling class. It forces them to pay higher wages. Hence Fascism is definitely introduced against the working-class, particularly in order to break their Trade Unions and political organisations, and scatter these workers and make them an easy prey for these ruthless exploiters and placing them in poverty and slums.

Most of the people in South Africa think, from the propaganda received from the Fascist gangsters, that Fascism is directed only against the Jews, as their propaganda is only a stream of slander and lies against the Jews. Therefore we find many people following these Fascists.

By this method they aim to come into power. The Fascists are irresponsible hirelings of the ruling class. They go amongst the impoverished and suffering people who are seeking an escape from their poverty and fling promises at them from all sides. As soon as they come into power, so they say, they will immediately remove the poverty of these suffering people and make a paradise on earth for them. In Germany these Fascists gangsters promised the impoverished peasantry that they would confiscate the land and cattle from the big landowners, the Junkers, and hand it to these poor farmers—thereby giving them the means to make a living.

Therefore the backward peasantry of Germany

helped the Fascists to come to power, but after six years of Fascist rule in Germany we find that the big landowners in Germany possess more land and cattle, and are richer to day than ever before, and the poor peasantry are today 100% more impoverished. The middle class peasantry have no right to sell a calf, pig, poultry or fodder unless they have an official permit from the Fascist Government, when they may sell it at a price laid down by the Government. The city middle-class business people also helped the Fascists into power as the Fascists did not hesitate to give them many promises. They promised that they would protect these middleclass business people from the competition of big monopoly chain stores. Today we find these middle-class shopkeepers ruined and almost wiped out of existence. They promised the workers of Germany Socialism. That is why they called themselves National Socialists. They gave the working class a solemn pledge that they would confiscate all factories from the robber class and hand it to the workers and thereby they would abolish exploitation and do away with the poverty of the workers. The robber-class today—the big factory owners are carrying on a racket in Germany. Germany today has got 1200 more millionaires. The dividends which they get from their factories today reach fabulous sums, and from the report which we hear the robber class are definitely "all right." They have obtained great benefits from Hitler's Fascism. As to the German working class they are not "all right." This is known throughout the world. The honest leaders of the German workers had their heads chopped off with the axe.

Ask any honest man who knows something about the world, and he will confirm this. Their Trade Unions are smashed and their funds have been confiscated by the robber class. The hard won eight hour day for which the German workers struggled so long and bitterly has disappeared and its well known that these workers today work from twelve to fourteen hours per day. They cannot leave one factory to seek work at another, without a pass. If a worker dare grumble it is called "high treason" and he is due for the axe.

The whole population of Germany, virtually lives in a prison. All are haunted by the shadow of the Gestapo. If they are heard grumbling it means the concentration camp and the torture champer for them.

"Strength through Joy"—working for the big land-owners—the Junkers—on empty stomachs. So they end their lives by suicide.

Here I reprint a speech delivered by W. H. Andrews, the foremost stalwart of the working class movement in South Africa.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE NAZI MENACE.

South African Trades and Labour Council Conference Report.

The report of the Ninth Annual Conference of the South African Trades and Labour Council, which took place at Kimberley during Easter is now published. Particularly interesting are some of the resolutions dealing with menace of Nazism and the methods that should be adopted in the fight against. it.

One of the most pointed and forceful of these speeches was made by the Trade Union veteran, Mr. W. H. Andrews.

He moved that Conference emphatically protest against any attempt to return or cede any territory on the African continent to the Nazis for the following reasons:

Nazism will certainly destroy the Trade Unions and the political Labour movement.

It will more certainly enslave the colonial people, and destroy the liberty and democratic rights of the mass of the people in such territories.

It will use such ceded territories as fortified military, naval and air bases in order to attack the colonies and self-governing, dominions, in particular the Union of South Africa, in order to bring them under Nazi rule. Conference therefore pledged itself to fight to the bitter end the introduction of Nazism on the African Continent and to co-operate whole heartely with all other organisations which oppose the policy of giving concessions to dictator states.

"Permit me a brief reference to the past," said Mr. Andrews in putting the motion to the Conference. "The Botha-Smuts invasion was debated in Parliament in 1915. I found myself in opposition to my Party, which supported the invasion.

"My view was that it was pure Imperialist brigandage, and I said so. My attitude, which I knew was opposed to public sentiment at the time, cost me my membership of the Labour party and my seat.

"When the war was over, the allied powers violated all the pledges given by President Wilson and the allied powers, who said they were fighting for democracy and the self-determination of small nations.

"The Versailles Treaty dismembered Germany and parcelled out its colonies. Great Britain and France got the lion's share under mandate from the League of Nations. The mandate for South West Africa as you all know, was given to the Union.

"The German mercantile fleet was confiscated. The Navy was destroyed. Guns, forts, and aeroplanes were destroyed, and the army was reduced to the dimensions of a police force. Vast quantities of railway rolling stock and other material was taken and in addition a colossal war indemnity was demanded.

PITIABLE MISERY.

"I was opposed to this inhuman treatment of a fallen foe, I saw the effect of the economic blockade on Germany when I was there in 1923. The Misery of the German people was pitiable.

"Why, then, you may ask me, am I able to ask this Conference to adopt a resolution which opposes the return of territory which I say was unjustly torn from Germany?

"I shall try to explain.

"Germany even under the Kaiser. was certainly capitalist and Imperialist. But so were Britain, France and their allies.

"In those days the German people had some measure of self-government. The trades unions, political parties, cultural and other organisations existed, and made progress against the Kaiser and the reactionary Junkers and industrialists. Science, art and general culture were encouraged.

"When the Kaiser was driven out by the disillusioned and suffering people and Germany gave itself a Social Democratic Government, one could have expected that they would have been treated justly if not generously, by their former enemies. BUT THE LEADERS OF THE VICTORIOUS ALLIED STATES DECIDED OTHERWISE. They hated the democrat Weimar Republic as much as the Junkers and military caste did.

"Their cynical brutality and the resentment it

engendered in their victims is one of the most direct causes of the Nazi movement which now plagues the world.

"We cannot bring back the past.

THEY WOULD BE DESTROYED.

"What is our attitude to the demand of Hitler for the return of the German colonies? What is our attitude to the return of South West Africa in particular?

"As trade unionists we must strongly oppose any African territory being handed over to Hitler. Its effect would be greatly to strengthen Nazi influence in the Union. It would be the beginning of Nazism in our country.

"What would be the effect on our organisations and effort to benefit the workers? The motion explains. They would be utterly destroyed."

FACISM.

As to Malan's Greyshirt and Blackshirt Nazi Party's desire that South Africa should become a colony of Nazi Hitler's, before any person in South Africa, for various reasons, thinks of giving support to Nazi Malan, I would advise him to try and find out from the people in Nazi Hitler's colonies whether he should give his support to Nazi Malan.

It is now known to all who read, that the colonies of Nazi Hitler are not very happy under Hitler's "Strengthh throngh Joy" movement. Incidents of a bloody nature are daily occurences. The Austrian and Czecho-Slovakian people as a colonial people under Nazi Hitler are not appreciative of the Third Reich, but are rather grimly determined to oppose, by all means, the bloody terror of Nazi Hitler. Even the daily press here reports on the grim struggle which these people are carrying on against German Imperialism.

It is today known that the aim of Nazi German Imperialism is to keep Austria and Czecho-Slovakia as backward agricultural countries, and gradually to remove into Germany the great industries which were to be found in those countries.

The workers and the people of these colonies are transported every day into the glorious Nazi Reich and they are forced to work on fortifications as low-paid unskilled labourers.

Nazi Malan, Hitler's bosom friend, is well aware that Hitler and the German Imperial robbers are definitely depriving the people of the Third Reich of all education and culture, and are imbuing in them brutal and savage tendencies. These savage hordes have already been condemned by Hitler's Imperial bosses to be massacred and killed in their millions in the coming war, which is being forced upon democracy and civilisation by Chamberlain, Mussolini, Lord Halifax, Hitler and Daladier. Such a war is aimed at destroying effectively and forever all civil rights and democratic liberties and education and the culture of the whole world.

BEASTS OF PREY.

"Guardian", November 18th, 1938.

In the course of a long and tortuous history, man has known and steeled himself against dangers and sufferings that come from nature and from fellow man, the famines and earthquakes, the diseases, poverty, persecution and war.

But, even in the primitive tribe, he has obtained protection from his society against attacks upon his person and property, as long as he conformed to the laws and standards of the ruling classes.

It has been left to the twentieth century to see the abandonment of this principle, the very foundation of social order, by the heads of states.

The evil of the progrom in Facist Germany and Italy is that it is sponsored by the Government, which make no attempt to justify their crimes against the law on moral grounds.

The Jews suffer, not because they have broken the law, but because they are Jews, a state for which they are not responsible, and from which they cannot escape. In the worst persecutions of the past of religious sects the members could save themselves by renouncing their beliefs. A man cannot renounce his racial origins.

To maintain power, to escape from the consequences of its own evil actions, Fascism murders and plunders defenceless people outside and within its territory. It is a monstrous threat to human security and civilization, it is a beast of prey that will have to be destroyed before humanity can resume its march along the path of progress.

CONCLUSIONS ON FASCISM.

The Fascist gangsters have entrenched themselves in Central Europe by rattling the sabre. The Fascists are, with the conivance of the cowardly and dishonest rulers of certain of the Great Imperialist Powers, seizing one country after the other and preparing a new world slaughter. The thick-headed and insolent soldiery, the Landsknechts, mercenary troops of German Imperialism, have declared relentless war on all that is intelectual. Knights of the Swastika, priests of the new cult of "Religion of Blood" and the awakened blond beast" are taking up arms against human reason. In place of the culture of creative reasons, they are introducing their savage ideology of barbarism, of mass extermination of mankind, and the destruction of cultural values. To stifle the consciousness of the masses. They are implanting ignorance. To drown the rising protest of the working people against their slavish existence, the Fascists are spreading the stupefying dope of "Exalted" Mysticism. In order to drive their people into a predatory war for the benefit of the Imperialist Robbers, they are kindling the lowest brutal instincts. They are inciting dull-witted "people of instinct" against men of reason. They are organising a savage crusade against the Intellectuals.

The Fascists in all spheres of science attempt to eliminate everything that is incompatible with Fascist obscurantist ideology and not necessary for war preparations. Fascism is an enemy of culture; Fascism and culture are incompatible. This is becoming evident to all who hold culture and progress dear, and to all who believe in the cause of Peace and the cultural development of mankind.

FEAR RATHER THAN FACTS.

JEWS NOT TO BLAME.

Mr. LOUW MUST LOOK FOR ORIGINS.

To the Editor, "Rand Daily Mail."

Sir,—Judging from the little personal contact I have had with Mr. Eric Louw, M.P., I should say he is as kindly and humanitarian in his private dealings with his fellow-human beings as is the ordinary man one knows.

It comes, therefore, as a shock to find him sponsoring a new Bill before Parliament to inflict great injustice and hardships on human beings already lawfully in the Union.

Just as, in his Blood River speech, Dr. Malan showed his fear of the natives, and so his ignorance of the economic causes of the poverty of the poor whites, so, by putting forward his new Bill, does Mr. Louw show his fear of the Jews in our midst and his ignorance of the economic causes of the proverty of our people.

It is only fear that could make a kindly and intellectually able man like Mr. Louw propose anything as harsh and cruel as the measures contained in his new Bill.

Mr. Louw and his fellow-Nationalists are beside themselves with fear about the future of their fellow Afrikaans-speaking citizens whose poverty is beyond description. There is appalling poverty among the people of every race and colour in South Africa, but it is the poverty of the Afrikaans-speaking people and the growth of the "poor whitism" among them that rightly terrifies Mr. Louw and should terrify us all.

When one is afraid, one's urge for self-preservation will override in the most humane of us any sense of justice or tolerance. One feels one must crush that of which one is afraid, no matter what hardship or injustice that may involve to others.

Mr. Louw, taking what I hold is a wrong and shortsighted view of the matter, seems to think the Jews are responsible for our poverty and other social and economical ills, and so he, like Herr Hitler, sets out to crush them.

Let us suppose Mr. Louw succeeded up to 100 per cent. in ousting all the Jews from South Africa: How far would he have gone towards ending the poverty which is destroying our people? Not one inch! The system under which the people suffer and groan today, the system which allows the few to oppress and exploit the many, would not in any way be changed from what it is now. If there were no Jews in South Africa, would our landowners demand any less rent for the land they own; would our maize or sugar brokers exact any less from the consumers for the products they deal in? Of course not. The system of monopolies and exploitation would go on as merrily as before.

There are very few Jews in Scotland, but that country has some of the most shocking poverty and slums to be found anywhere. There are very few Jews in New Zealand, but there is great poverty there. I believe the same is true also of the Argentine.

No. Mr. Louw and his friends cannot solve the problem of the poverty of their people by anti-Semitism or any other form of injustice. He must get down to the cause of that poverty. The people he is concerned about have been, and are in course of being, driven off the land. Their whole affection centres in the land. High land values and high rents—the bywoner pays as rent one-third to one-half of his year's crops—make it impossible for thousands of our rural population to remain on the land, though that is where they want to be, and it is for work there alone that they have any training.

Then the poverty in the towns means a poor market for the farmer's produce, and that in turn drives still more workers from the farm to the town, there to aggravate the already serious state of affairs.

The solution of our poverty problem lies in restoring to everyone an equal right to use and enjoy the bounties of nature, the earth, the air, the rain, and the sunshine. It is the power that today lies in the hand of the landowners, to hold land out of use, that is the cause of poverty, which in turn is the cause of racialism and anti-Semitism. Let Mr. Louw help to break that power and so end poverty. When we have done that, no one will be able to exploit anyone else, and no one will then worry about whether his neighbour is Jew or Gentile, English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking because there will be room for everybody to make a good living.

The problem of anti-Semitism, of anti-Indian, or anti-native feeling is at bottom an economic one. The natural tendency in human beings to hold themselves aloof from those who are different either in language or racial characteristics is ever present, but it feeds on and grows fat on the fear of poverty or a belief of a lack of the opportunities we are entitled to enjoy. End that fear and give each one unlimited opportunities to make use of his capacity, as we could quite easily do, and anti-Semitism and other forms of racialism, as well as Communism and Fascism, would fade away.

Advocate F. A. W. Lucas,
Empire Buildings, Johannesburg.

MY CONCLUSIONS.

The deep-rooted hatred of the Afrikaners against British Imperialism is a historic one, since it is the Imperialists who robbed them of their country, their national independence and their democratic republic.

You Afrikaners cannot forget your men and women who perished in the wars brought upon you by the Imperialists. You cannot forget how you were humiliated and driven from your homes time and again. Never will you forget that it was the Imperialists who deprived you of your cherised hope of being a part of your mother country Holland.

Todays hundreds of thousands of your Afrikaner people find themselves in poverty, distress and suffering. You rightly consider all this has come about because you are under the rule of British Imperialist robbers. Therefore you express your struggle for better conditions, by fighting for your national independence. You rightly think that Imperialism is the root cause of your poverty and hence you Afrikaners are at all times ready to support a party which is honestly aiming to help you to regain your democratic republic and national independence.

Many Afrikaners who have read my criticism of Dr. Malan and the other leaders may think that it is directed against the Nationalist Party. But I sincerely believe that the cause of the Nationalist Party is a just one and one which must triumph.

To bring about the emancipation from British Imperialism and the establishment of an Independent Democratic Republic it is necessary to enlist the aid of, and to mobilise all sections in South Africa. The struggle will be long and bitter. Without unity of all the people it is impossible.

British Imperialism has a stranglehold on almost all the economic resources. Many work for, and depend on, this great force. The Nationalist Leaders of today are determined that this unity shall never come about. Their policy is to divide the people. They know that a united people spells the doom of the robber class of which they themselves are members.

Afrikaners—remove these deceivers who preach Afrikanerdom. Their past shows that they have continually misled you. In the hour of need they have always failed you. Strive for democratic rights for

all the people. Only in this way will you create unity, and be in a position to break the death grip of British Imperialism and found an Independent Democratic Republic.

The Imperialists, the Chamber of Mines and the big landowners have cliqued together. They hold political power in South Africa and use it for their own benefit. They all have indentical interests in running the gold and agricultural industry profitably. To make their huge profits from these basic industries, they require first and foremost cheap forced semi-serf labour. This forced labour is limited, and their policy is therefore to hinder industrial development in South Africa. They see to it that the Native who lives on his land cannot make a living. By hunger, he will then be forced to seek work at a hunger wage. These teeming millions of coloured people possess no purchasing power and are therefore no encouragement for the building of industry in South Africa. For that very reason poor whites are increasing day by day on the land. Poor Whites are increasing in the cities since there are no factories to absorb them. This is how the robberclass impoverishes South Africa.

People of South Africa It would be to your advantage to rid this country of the robber-class! The English-speaking people in South Africa have interests identical to those of the Afrikaners. You English people may love your home country, but never for a moment must you forget that your are living in South Africa, that you make your living in South Africa, and that to be just to your children and to yourself you must see to it that South Africa must be in a position to give all its people a civilised life. The Imperialist robbers, if they are British, do not care a rap as far as the English people are concerned. You English people do not benefit by allowing the British Imperialists to pauperize South Africa. Your interests are identical to the interests of the Afrikaners. English people you must join with the Afrikaners in the struggle for a democratic independent South Africa.

The Jewish people in South Africa have become a part of the country. They have settled here with their families, and they strive to make a living and to make South Africa a home for themselves and all other people. You Jewish people have suffered enough at the hands

of the Imperialist robbers. You know from experience that in independent democratic countries you can at all times find refuge from oppression and persecution. You have helped to build many countries but as soon as these countries fell into the hands of individuals, they brutally misused you to cover up their own misdeeds. Don't be misled any longer! No longer must you place your hope in the promise of the Imperialist robbers that they will grant you your national independence in Palestine. These gangsters will never fulfill their promises. Forget about them! Turn your mind and attention to South Africa! Your interests are identical to those of the Afrikaner and the English here. Unite with them and struggle with them for an Independent Democratic South Africa.

The life of the coloured and Native people of South Africa is a picture of suffering. There is nothing for them to admire in the white man's civilisation since they get only the rough end of it. Poverty, hunger disease, crime and hovels, with lice, and bugs thrown in is their lot. You have nothing to admire in the regime of the Imperialist Chamber of Mines and big Landowners. They sit like leeches on your back, sucking your life-blood, and you know that they mean to remain there. To get out of your miserable conditions you must organise yourselves into Trade Unions, the National Liberation movement and the Non-European United Front. Link up your economic struggle with the struggle for complete independence of South Africa. Help to rid the country of the Imperialist robbers and the Chamber of Mines, and then it will become easier for you to help the people of South Africa to overthrow the power of the big landowners. Hand in Hand with all people then you can struggle to establish a democratic independent republic in South Africa.

The trail left by the United Party in the history of South Africa is a trail of the oppression and exploitation of all people of this country on behalf of the ruling class. The cries of the hungry, black or white—are ever growing louder. You rulers—you have never honestly attempted to help the white farmers—nor yet the coloured people of South Africa. Your wage Boards and commissions which you have established due to the crying demand of all people, have always managed to delay their decisions for years and years, even though these decisions means only small benefits to the workers and people of South Africa. Your party can be rightly named the "Party of the Lesser evil," but another party of your kidney in Germany helped and allowed Hitler to come to power. You have already brutalised every section of the people of South Africa. You have instilled bitterness and hatred among them, by impoverishing them. In your trail you find bloody massacres of white workers in the 1913, 1914 and 1922 strikes. Against the native people, the Zulu rebellion, the Bondelswart massacre, the Bulhoek massacres, and many others. You are preparing and smoothing a path for the easy advent of Fascism in South Africa. Your Minister of Defence Pirow, demands bigger taxes on the people that the money may be given to German Imperialism. Thus they will be able to uphold for a longer time the brutal fascist regime in Germany. Such a demand in the disguise of compensation for South West Africa will amount to tens of millions of pounds. When this has been done, he will come with further demands on behalf of his bosom friend Hitler.

Hertzog and Smuts go about, speaking about Democracy, but this is empty talk. This is to be witnessed in the case of J. H. Hofmeyer. He was a thorn in your side as he was trying to stop your rapid march to Fascism. You have recognised in Mr. Hofmeyer, an honest intelligent democrat, and you could not tolerate him in your cabinet. You siezed him by the scruff of his neck and threw him out of your cabinet. This was'nt enough—you went further and kicked him out of the United Party caucus. And so gradually and surely you get rid of honest democrats in your party. There is no doubt that in your party will remain only the Knights of the Swastika, priests of the new cult of

Fusion with Malan's Greyshirt and Blackshirt Nazi Party. I am sure that if the people of South Africa will examine honestly and without bias, your deeds as a government and how you have led all people into such a horrible swamp, they will stop supporting you, and will seek a new party which will honestly undertake to lead them out of the swamp. This new party will help the people and give them an honest lead in their struggle to obtain the Independent Democratic Republic in South Africa.

To the Afrikaner people I definitely state that Malan's Greyshirt Party is opposed to the National Liberation movement in South Africa. Its method and its propaganda push away most people from such a movement, and hence you Afrikaner people are further away from your national independence and democratic republic than ever before. But since you have a natural desire for your national independence and democratic republic you must then follow in the footsteps of all other oppressed peoples who have struggled for their independence. You must unite all people of South Africa. You must point out to all South Africa's people that what will benefit each and every people of South Africa will be the Independent Democratic Republic. You must struggle with all people in South Africa for civil liberties and democratic rights, and a better life for all.

As to you Malan, you have gained your votes by bluffing your own people! Lies don't go far! You know as well as I that should your Afrikaner followers find out your Imperialist Nazi aims, they will turn their faces from you, and leave you high and dry. The time is fast approaching when your followers will discover that you are misleading and betraying them and hence these people will build a mass party of all people of South Africa. Jointly they will march forward with the courage and heroism of their forefathers to build a happy Independent Democratic Republic in South Africa.

To the English followers of the Dominion Party, I say to you definitely that by backing up the Dominion Party, you are doing no good to yourselves or South Africa. The Dominion Party is at all times carrying

out the commands of the Imperialist robbers who mean to keep our people as the backward people of a backward colony.

Rather, you must read the history of how your English Forefathers struggled bitterly to gain their civil liberties and democratic freedom. Take an example from New Zealand whose population is entirely English. Due to terrible poverty and suffering which they endured for a long time at the hands of a similar Imperialist Jingo Party, they ousted it in the last elections and put in a peoples government. This Labour government it trying its utmost and has greatly succeeded in removing the poverty and suffering from amidst the people of New Zealand. They are building industry, raising the wages of the workers and greatly improving their social conditions. They help the peasantry and have greatly improved their social conditions. This is not to the liking of the Imperialist Jingo Party. Therefore we find that they sabotage and do all harm possible to the peoples' government of New Zealand. They organise all bad elements into fascist organisations and are trying to bring about civil war. Hence the peoples' government was recently forced to search every cargo boat entering New Zealand's ports for arms. They aim to make civil war. This will give them the excuse for saying the People's Government is incapable of governing the coutry. They will then ask the Imperialist robbers to send over to New Zealand, warships and militia to restore order. Such military forces will murder the peoples representatives and will graciously bestow on New Zealand's people an Imperialist robber Government again. All I have here stated is known to the English and all other people. Therefore you English people in South Africa—cast aside Stallard and his hirelings and let his voice become as a voice in the desert. Rather join with the Afrikaners and all other people. Jointly you must struggle and strive to bring about a greater well-being for all the people of South Africa, which can only come through an Independent Democratic Republic in South Africa.

To the followers of the Labour Party many of you, having read my comments on the Labour Party may think I am against your Labour Party. This is not the case! I have only tried to show you the shortcomings

of your party and that it has no leadership, no line, policy or tactics. The way the present Labour Party leadership carries on, leads, directly and indirectly, to the confusion and division of the working-class movement, and this helps the robber class of South Africa to intensify its oppression and exploitation of the masses of South Africa. The working-class possesses great power, when all the forces of labour are united. Such unity can only come about when the workers adopt an international working-class outlook and when they rid themselves of national, racial, and color prejudices. They must realise that an injury to one worker is an injury to all workers, irrespective of who they may be. All workers are confronted with a common struggle. They all suffer as workers, from poverty and slums. They are all exposed to the danger of being forced, now and again to fight the battles of the robber-class. Such battles devastate whole countries, and the workers have to make good for it. Indirect taxes are placed on the shoulders of the workers. From their hunger wage, they have to pay them. Thus they are impoverished more than ever. Besides this, the workers have to provide the cannonfodder for the massacre and slaughter which takes place to enrich the robber class.

Your Labour Party leadership never carried out a line, which could lead to such unity and never educated the workers in this direction, but this is the only line which can bring unity to the working class.

The Labour Party leaders when they do come out from their highclass flats at election time, take up a confused, dilly dally, attitude to bring in the votes. In some constituencies they preach segregation, as they hope that it will bring them votes. In other constituences, they come out with a great revolutionary demand for pavements. In another they come forward with the great revolutionary demand for a State Bank, which is the bee in Madeley's bonnet. Empty phrases--meaningless—leading only to confusion. When we regard their election propaganda we can come to only one conclusion—it is a petty bourgeouis squabble. The workers don't go to the polls to vote.

Through bitter past experiences the workers have become disillusioned. To their cost and sorrow they have learnt that the Labour politicians are as indifferent

to their welfare and progress as those of all other parties. The Labour Party is the home of self seeking political careerists. Its candidates are those who can finance their own campaigns. These men of means who look only to their own glory become the party leaders and to foster their own interests see to it that there will be no party policy likely to injure them. The sincere worker, prepared to fight the cause of Labour is deliberately pushed into the background. This also explains why the labour leaders have never been, and never will be, prepared to educate the party followers, who remain hopelessly confused politically. Right through its history the Party has been casual about the sufferings and aspirations of the Afrikaner workers. Its leaders and organisers have never bothered over a period of thirty years even to understand or learn the language of these people. Because of this shabby treatment its Afrikaans following has always been a fleeting one. Sincere Afrikaners have left in disgust, others have stayed just long enough to make a profit. Thousands of Afrikaner workers today are looking for an honest leadership but the Labour Party betrays the whole working class movement by deliberately or stupidly failing to make the least effort to provide it. It is a tragedy that the party that should offer a political home to thousands turns them adrift.

True to their Imperialist leanings these leaders have wantonly helped Smuts, Hertzog and Malan to widen the split between white and black workers and have even preached violence against the latter when they have peacefully asked for redress of their grievances.

The Labour Party does not rally the masses for political struggle. They do not come to the workers with issues upon which the workers life and liberty are dependent. I want you to remember that the leader of a similar party in Germany—Social Democratic Party —Noske went on his knees and begged and obtained a pension from Hitler. Blum, the leader of such a Party in France with his confused policy, helped directly to settle on the Spanish people, a fascist government. A similar party in Britain, the Labour Party, is responsible for keeping Chamberlain—archenemy of the working class and all people—in power.

I am definitely opposed to the Labour Party Leader-

ship in South Africa. I consider the present leadership to be a corrupted one. I look upon the leaders as stunters. Their political acrobatic stunts confuse the workers and people of South Africa. Their vague and confused method of catching votes dulls the mind of many honest workers and people so that they cannot think straight. I suggest to you, Labour Party followers, to get rid of your present fossilized leadership, elect a leadership of honest workers and honest intellectuals! You have got them in your ranks. See to it that a line, a policy, and tactics should be adopted in every issue by your Party. See to it that the future labour leaders should link up the workers struggle, the anti-fascist struggle with the struggle for independence since the sufferings, poverty and the plague of Fascism in South Africa is mostly due to Imperialism. To struggle successfully for independence we must struggle for Democracy. We must rally the masses under the banner "for Bread and Freedom." South Africa must become free from the death-grip of Imperialism. We must not be a colony any longer. We must not be treated any more as a backward people of a backward colony. We must remove the political power of the Imperialists Chamber of Mines and the Big Landowners. We shall achieve all this when we come out honestly to the workers and people of South Africa and unite them to struggle for the Independent Democratic Republic.

THE UNITED FRONT — OR CIVIL WAR.

South Africa is a vast country. It is almost 800,000 square miles. Its land can be cultivated profitably. With scientific aid it can give a comfortable living to tens of millions of people. It is rich in minerals and raw materials. If these were to be thrown open for exploitation it would give work and a comfortable living to millions of people. It would in no time absorb all the poor whites and unemployed in South Africa. This would be the means of building a great nation in South Africa. But to the sorrow of its people, South Africa is in the death grip of the Imperialist, the Chamber of Mines and the Big Landowners. They hold the political power in their hands. Parliament is in their control. The ruling class have tricked the people time and again. By cunning trickery they managed to befuddle the people and bring Parliament under their

command. They use the lowest means of betraying the people. Nazi Malan does not hesitate to use the fine sentiments the Afrikaner people have for their independence, as a means of tricking them into Nazism on behalf of the ruling class. South Africa in spite of its vastness and its wealth and small population, is nevertheless one of the poorest countries in the world. It is not necessary to emphasise the poverty and suffering and despair of the natives or the coloureds, or of the Indian people here. But let us just examine the slogan of the robber class "White South Africa." We have a small white population of two million in this vast country. I doubt if you will find a hundred thousand white families, who would say that they are "comfortable," and making a comfortable living.

1,500,000 out of the two million whites are not "All Right." They are below the bread line. You find them living in great poverty in the slums, you find them on the irrigation schemes, living in tin shelters built by the Government—this is the beginning of the concentration camps in South Africa. They are deprived of their homes separated from their women and children. They are isolated from the whole world like prisoners. Should these people refuse to take on Government jobs of this nature they would have to starve. Their wages are small. Their children get no education. Their future is one of blank despair. This very same people, not so long ago, lived a civilised life and today the robber class have brought them down to the mealie-pap level. But they are not prepared to submit meekly to such conditions. Every day they become more desperate. Every day they realise more than ever how deeply they have been pushed into the mire by their own Afrikaner leaders who preached Afrikanerdom and whom they so blindly trusted because they were of their own flesh and blood. They trusted and were betrayed time and again. Many of them now begin to realise that the slogan of the robber class "White South Africa," is one which benefits that class only, and impoverishes all the other people of South Africa. Hence they seek a way out. Not being in a position to understand the workings of Bourgeois economy they are misled by the cunning and empty promises of the preachers of Afrikanerdom who are trying to lead them into Nazism. The Francos are here and they are

occupying dangerous positions. They are only waiting for the psychological moment to plunge South Africa into civil war. The traitors of South Africa have already organised secret Nazi Ossewa Brandwag organisations. These Nazi organisations will be no different from those in Spain which devastated it by fire and sword and murdered and massacred millions of men, women and children.

It is well that one should remember that the Imperialist robbers of Britain were drawing out the life blood of Spain prior to the Civil War, and when the people of Spain began to threaten their power, then, as you all know, these robbers were largely responsible for instigating the Civil War. They supported the Nazis all the time and they were responsible of once again saddling the Spanish people with the merciless exploiters of old. They will act here in the same way. It is these Imperialist robbers who have brought about the poverty in South Africa. Hence it is necessary for them to create racial strife, bitterness, colour prejudices and the division of the people which eventually leads to Civil War.

The horrors of Spain, known to everybody, will be witnessed in South Africa. We must do all and everything to avoid such a situation and it can be done by immediately starting the UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, "SAY NO, AND MEAN IT!" The articles which you write are an encouragement to all lovers of Democracy and Peace. The speeches which you deliver on behalf of civilisation stir the mind and heart of all learned and honest goodwishers among the people of South Africa. SAY NO, AND MEAN IT! but express it in action. Hundreds of thousands of people in South Africa are waiting for a lead. They want to be united. Such Unity will not only stop the onward march of reactionary Nazism in South Africa but will lead to the greater happines and well being of all people in South Africa. You are well aware that Imperialism is the backbone of Nazism in South Africa. It is the backbone of strife. It is the foundation of discontent. Say NO to the Imperialist robbers and Nazi Gangsters and mean it. Come out to the workers with truth. Come out to the people with the truth.

Lead them honestly along the correct path of struggle. Teach the workers and people of South Africa to say NO to the robbers and plunderers of their country. You can mobilise all Democrats, all lovers of freedom, all men and women who are against aggression, all men and woman who are opposed to savages who murder intellectuals and aim to push back civilisation to a state of barbarism. Up to now you have been content to make speeches. We urge you to act. There are hundreds of thousands of good people in this country who are waiting for an honest and correct lead, and will be prepared to give everything including their lives, so that South Africa should become a civilised country —a progressive nation.

The struggle against Fascism in this country is not the struggle of individuals or just a race or just one nation. It is a national struggle. It is a struggle of all the people of South Africa. To struggle effectively against Fascism we must link up with the struggle against Imperialism, for the Independent Republic in South Africa. It is a struggle of everyone for Democracy.

Since all political Parties I mentioned have not honestly tried to unite the people for this struggle, we should immediately reorganise the National and Labour Parties to undertake this struggle.

These revitalized parties should put forward a progressive programme which will rally the masses under their banner of struggle. They should honestly and sincerely attempt to relieve the people of South Africa of their suffering and despair and then all of us together should make a mighty effort to deprive the misleaders and traitors of political power. We shall put in honest and learned men and women who are anxious to build up civilisation in South Africa and who will make all efforts to give the people of South Africa a better life, a life of well being—Bread and Freedom for all. This will eventually lead to a great united democratic nation in South Africa.
