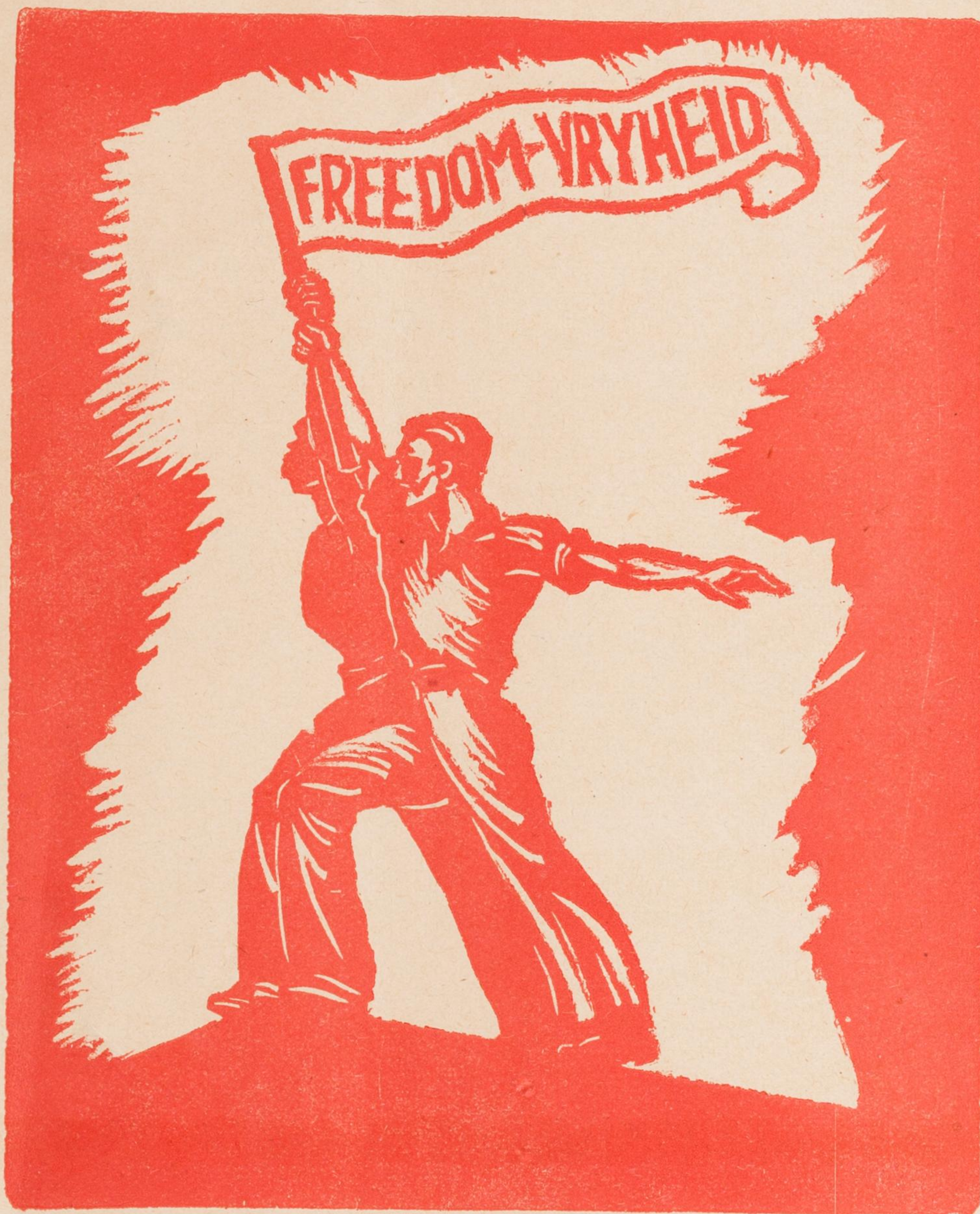


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# F R E E D O M

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As Communists we cannot conceive a serious political movement against the ruling class authorities excluding these sections of the African people. Like the African workers, they too suffer the innumerable disabilities and indignities under the despotic capitalistic system.

The experience and history of our South African Communist Party shows how we have become bogged in the "economism" of day-to-day demands, engaging mainly in struggles "promising palpable results". We have on the whole followed this policy in regard to both political and trade union activities. The net reward of pursuing this policy is a harvest of inferior Marxists, lacking confidence to expose and excel the "superior" apologists (teachers, priests, politicians and traders) of the capitalist system. Despite their continuous open betrayal of the people, we have failed to win the mass following away from these supporters of the ruling class oppression.

Hence very many members of the Party advance the protective excuse that the African priests, teachers, petty businessmen, etc. are the most reactionary people among the African people. What do we expect them to be? Communists? Can the capitalist directed and controlled schools and general social environment produce for us even inferior Marxists? No, in fact these sections cannot be less reactionary, sub-ordinate to and supporters of capitalist politics and ideology than the African workers. It so happens that there are only two ideologies -- the old, well established, capitalist and the new socialist ideology. There is no third one.

Since we Communists have failed in adequately carrying out our tasks, these sections, being more articulate than the workers and taking a more prominent part in the life of the African community, aspiring also to live a better and more prosperous life -- think this can best be acquired by adopting an attitude of slavish obedience to the ruling class; and they bark louder and consistently in support of their masters against our half-baked communists.

The fact remains however, that all these sections of the African people have their grievancees against the present order of government. This is in our favour. And the present world-wide conflagration is creating doubt in their minds and making them receptive to our propaganda.

Scope for organisation and enlightenment among the Africans is great. It is because of lack of organisation and experience in organised struggle that the position of the Africans is particularly depressive, ~~they are held in~~ contempt by other sections better off. Out of a population of 7,000,000 Africans, only a few thousand are organised, and struggle to improve their conditions.

In order to facilitate the work of and activise African Party members, it is necessary to elaborate further on the general tasks confronting them. These tasks consist of:

- (a) winning ever greater numbers of Africans to Party membership;
- (b) Helping them to acquire the required knowledge of Communism; and
- (c) building up mass organisations and leading the struggle for the day-to-day needs and national and social emancipation of all sections of the African people.

African/...



African Party members should be able to fulfil this, but in order to be able to do so, it is essential that they arm themselves fully with the theory of Communism; as to how Communism is to be established and how beneficial it will be to the masses of people as compared with the capitalist-imperialist system. They should be well informed on economic, political and social conditions oppressing their people. Possessing these qualifications, plus enthusiasm, energy and initiative, Party members must on the whole prove to be the most capable leaders among their people.

The need for capable and energetic leaders among Africans is to-day greater than ever. By their activities in the ranks of the people's organisations and carrying on all-round political exposure of the present system, Communists will win influence and confidence of the people as their indisputed leaders.

#### THE EDUCATED YOUTH.

Besides the African teacher, priest and petty trader, there is another much more important section of the people, the educated youth. The educated youth constitute a tremendous potential revolutionary force. But this force has been sadly neglected in the past by our Party. The theory and practice of Communism is an all-round, many-sided and world-wide scientific knowledge of human society and naturally the more educated a person is, the easier is he able to understand it. Not only that, but the youth is the man in the making and is yet to take his full part in the society of to-morrow. He is to be the worker, teacher, trader, priest etc. of the future. Unlike the adult, the youth is as yet not defiled by and saturated with the corrupting propaganda of the ruling class, or dragooned by the forces of society.

While the adult working man must be approached by Communists from the standpoint of his day-to-day grievances, exposing the present system which is responsible for his grievances and pointing out to him our solution - Communism; this is not necessarily so with the educated youth. The educated youth must be directly presented with the philosophy of Communism as a most superior conception of nature and human society, and as the real solution to capitalist-imperialist slavery. This should be done by means of discussions, pamphlets, books and lectures.

We must find ways and means of:

- (a) getting propaganda tracts and books on Communism to the students at high schools and training colleges;
- (b) initiating study classes; and
- (c) fighting for or taking up the grievances of the African students and demanding the same facilities as those enjoyed by the white students.

While conducting propaganda, agitation and training for workers, youths, teachers and others, particular attention must be paid to individuals showing more willingness to learn and who are active in the fight to improve conditions of their people, and for freedom. Those who are more advanced should be induced to organise study circles among the workers at their homes, and to assist in the organising, agitation and propaganda work.

Let us stress the fact that the training of the educated youth in the theory of Communism is the finest investment in the movement, both for national liberation and socialism. In pre-Soviet Russia it was, in France, China, India etc. today it is the students who play a very prominent part

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in leading the revolutionary struggles and raising high the banner of Communism to the oppressed and war-weary peoples. Let us not forget, too, that the most outstanding renowned and steadfast Communists the world over are chiefly those who are in the movement since their student days, including the illustrious Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

Today everybody is discussing the present world-wide critical situation and is curious to know what is to be the outcome and solution. Now is the time for us to put forward our solution, Communism, most clearly and energetically. Our contact with individuals and with organisations must be directed solely with this object in view - to make Communists and awaken the revolutionary consciousness of the masses.

John Gomas.

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WHAT SHOULD A YOUNG MAN DO ?

By R. Watts.

Comments are sometimes made on the presence in the Communist and near-Communist movement of healthy young men, to all appearances eligible for military service. There are some such men. We'll say something about them in a minute. But first a couple of comments.

(1) In a world threatened with a victory for fascism, no-one in his senses would join the Communist Party or any left-wing organisation for the sake of saving his skin. An advanced position on the field of battle is safe and comfortable compared with the position of a known Communist or Socialist in a fascist country. Their fate is practically certain and cruel, as is shown by the experience of every fascist-controlled country.

(2) The people who talk blatantly of revolution at the present time, who throw their cynicisms about on the subject of the allied war efforts and stir no finger to take part in them, are not the Communists or Socialists. They are the arm-chair theorists, the escapists from reality who clutter up every movement. The Communists, facing reality, know that though Allied victory will not usher in the proletarian revolution, it will create more favourable circumstances for the proletariat than any conceivable alternative at the present time, and that, however full of shortcomings the allied war effort may be, it is an important factor in securing the victory of the Soviet Union and thus of the workers of the world. It must therefore be supported whole-heartedly.

Why then does the Communist Party not take part in recruiting campaigns and compel all its members who are eligible to enter the armed forces?

The full utilisation of man (and woman) power which the Party advocates needs to be planned. Maximum war effort requires a scientific allocation of labour power between the armed forces, the supporting services and the essential industries. We use our influence in urging the Government to formulate a definite policy to this end, to introduce national registration as a step towards its realisation, and to prepare for the national conscription of labour and of wealth without which planning for victory cannot be complete. At present, vast resources of fighting power and labour power are lying untapped, owing to the racial policy of the Government. We believe that under pressure of the war this policy can be altered. For us to throw our limited resources fully into the recruiting campaign would, at the most, bring

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in a few hundred recruits (for, remember, most of those who listen to our message are already pulling their weight in the national cause in one way or another). For us to succeed in our efforts to secure justice for Non-europeans in the armed forces and their dependents, or to obtain concessions which will make the Non-Europeans feel that they really have a stake in the war, or in any other way to induce the Government to make this a real People's War in which all races in the Union can pull their wight, - - success in such directions as these will strengthen the national effort not by hundreds but by scores of thousands of men, and by the creation of a new unity, a new morale, a firmer determination to secure victory at all costs and a deeper understanding of the issues at stake which will radically transform and re-vitalise the whole war effort.

The Party urges all of its members to identify themselves to the utmost with the war effort. But joining the armed forces is not, in every case, the best way of serving the cause. The leadership of the Communist Party both, among the fighting services and on the home front, is one of the first essentials for an all-out war effort. Men and women are needed to make this lead effective. Sometimes -each case must be judged individually- they are making a far bigger personal contribution to victory in this than in any other work.

Our European population is riddled through and through with Fifth Columnists. Our Non-European population is largely apathetic, uninterested if not actively pro-Japanese. Who but the Communist Party can counter these dangers? The United Party, the Dominion Party, the Labour Party are all too sectional in their appeal. What Afrikaner with his ingrained suspicion of imperialism, or what Non-European revolted by the arrogance and oppression of the white man, would listen to reason or propaganda coming from such sources? Only the Communist Party can win the confidence of all sections of the working class. Only the Communist Party can give the lead for a real People's War. Only the Communist Party can voice the people's demand for real equality of sacrifice and for a real all-out war effort against fascism. Only the Communist Party can provide the skilled leadership that will be necessary to the workers and ex-servicemen in the political and social struggles that lie before them.

The Party has no use for slackers and cowards. War or no war, such people are a source of weakness to it. Those who are devoting themselves unsparingly - as many of our Party comrades are - to the political tasks outlined above are not likely to find comfort or personal rewards in doing so, but are definitely "key men" in the present struggle.

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RESOLUTION BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA, ON THE ANGLO-SOVIET PACT.

The Central Committee welcomes the Pact as a contribution of outstanding importance to the problem of defeating the Axis Powers and securing a favourable and progressive settlement of post-war problems.

The Pact reaffirms the determination of the Governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union to prosecute the war with all the strength at their command until the enemy has been defeated. Both parties bind themselves not to conclude a seperate peace with any Government of any of the enemy countries, that may be regarded as retaining militaristic and aggressive aims.

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The significance of this provision is that the replacement of the Hitler and Mussolini cliques by a military dictatorship will not be regarded as justifying a separate peace. The only kind of government with which peace can be concluded is one that by word and deed has shown a sincere desire to maintain and strengthen peaceful relations with other states.

The Governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union have in the agreement between them indicated that the nature of the peace settlement with the enemy countries will be largely determined by the extent to which the peoples of these countries participate in the destruction of the dictatorships that now rule over them. A definite responsibility is placed upon the people of Germany and Italy to do all in their power to overthrow the Nazi and Fascist criminals who have been directly responsible for the murderous attacks upon peaceful and freedom-loving peoples.

The Pact includes also a treaty of mutual assistance between the two States in the event of either being made the victim of unprovoked attack by one or more of the enemy countries at any time during a period of 20 years after the cessation of the war. This treaty is in full accordance with similar agreements concluded by the Soviet Union in past years with numerous other countries. The obligation of mutual assistance will contribute towards the maintenance of stable and peaceful relations between nations in years to come.

The two Governments have also bound themselves to abstain from intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The provision is similar to agreements previously entered into by the Soviet Union, as with the United States of America. It is in harmony with the general aims of Soviet policy that people should be allowed to work out their own destiny and to determine their form of government without external interference. In terms of the agreement, the people of Germany, of Italy, as well as of other countries, must be given the right to decide for themselves what form of government and state organisation they desire.

One of the most valuable consequences of the Pact is that it serves to dispel mistrust and suspicion on either side. In particular, it gives the lie to groups in Great Britain, the United States of America and elsewhere, who have been inspired by their antagonism towards the Soviet Union to spread suspicion, to create a belief that the Soviet Union may make a separate peace with Hitlerite Germany, to raise the cry that the Soviet Union intends to "bolshevize" Europe. On the other hand, Great Britain has bound herself to refrain from intervention in the internal affairs of the defeated enemy countries after the war.

The Central Committee believes that the most effective means of implementing the agreement is to attack the enemy countries on all fronts. It therefore welcomes the statement by the British Government that a second front will be opened in western Europe in 1942.

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OUR PARTY MUST BE MADE A LEADING FORCE.

By Ray Alexander,

Defend South Africa Campaign must not "end"

We have a campaign on the go. Meetings are being held, leaflets distributed. We are active.

What/....



What is going to happen when the campaign "ends"? Will there be a lull, a time of sweet quietness until the next campaign starts?

No! We must get away from this habit of thinking in terms of campaigns. Our party must always be on the go, our members always active. We must give local and national leadership all the time. Only in this way can the Party be made into a force capable of standing up to its responsibilities.

### Every Party Member a Leader!

That is our aim - every member a leader in his factory and street.

Our leadership is a collective leadership. That is, every member must belong to a group which will help him or her to give leadership in the factory or street or location.

Only when such groups have been set up will the Party be in a position to give continuous, daily leadership on the local problems of the people, as well as on the national questions.

### From Groups Into Branches.

It should be the aim of the District Party Committees to divide their districts into areas with a Party group active in each area.

As soon as there are enough members in a group - say from 20 or 30 upwards - the group should be formed into a Branch, with its own secretary, treasurer, perhaps a literature secretary, and one or more committee members.

It is only in the bigger centres that Branches can as yet be formed. But even in the smaller towns, the aim should be to divide the members into area groups.

Only decentralisation along these lines can transform the Party from a general agitational and propaganda body into a continuously active leadership of the people in all their difficulties.

The task of the branch or group is to apply the general policy of the Party in a concrete and direct manner in their areas where they can come into close and even intimate contact with the people.

### The Importance Of The Branch Secretary.

He must be the driving force. Someone who is a good mixer, who studies the Party members and knows the job for which each one is best suited, and who knows what is going on in his area.

He must not be a mere handy-man, who over-burdens himself with a mass of organisational work, such as distributing leaflets and selling our papers.

He should share in this work as a valuable means of getting first-hand experience of difficulties and coming into contact with the people.

But his main tasks are to study the needs of the area, plan a constant series of activities around those needs, and allocate the work to the members of the branch.

The Secretary should find out who are the municipal, provincial council and parliamentary representatives in his area, see that resolutions are sent to them, organise deputations to them, put pressure on them all the time for the carrying out of local demands.

Let/...



Let him get to know the leading trade unionists and other prominent leaders of the people. We must learn to work with such people, and to expose those who enter "politics" only for what they can get out of it for themselves.

### Training for Leadership.

Leaders don't drop from the skies; they have to be built up together with the Party.

Comrades who show themselves to be politically and organisationally reliable and who give the correct lead and organise the people into action for their interests, have the making of leaders.

Such comrades should be given special political training. Organise special classes for them in week-ends and on holidays. Teach them the working of the capitalist system and how to work for socialism.

They need not only theory, but elementary guidance in practical organisation. How to prepare for a meeting, or organise a conference in the area on a special issue, how to conduct branch work and draft leaflets. They must be trained to draft resolutions and reports for the press.

### Give Recruits a Chance to become Mass Leaders.

Think of the rate at which workers of all races are joining the Party. Think of the serious political phase through which we are passing. Can we come to any other conclusion than that the training of our new members is the most important organisational task that we must face?

Study classes, of course; but also practical experience of political work. That is what they must get. In particular our African, Coloured and Indian recruits. Most of them are workers, few have had much experience in trade union or other working class organisations. What many have had is experience in some sports club or church where they have learnt team work - collective leadership! That is useful, but it is not enough.

They must be given the general political background, the knowledge of the capitalist state, the tradition of the working class movement which our white comrades can acquire so much more easily.

What is more, they must be given all possible opportunity to go forward. We are the only party without a colour bar. But our anti-colour bar policy demands much more from us than verbal protest or other forms of agitation against race oppression. It demands that in our own ranks positive steps should be taken to develop and train Non-European comrades for leadership.

### Collective Leadership in Fact as well as in Form.

Our more advanced comrades, who are usually white because of the superior social advantages of the European section, should step back where necessary, to allow Non-Europeans to take the lead.

In our committees and groups, do not let the position develop where one or two comrades monopolise the discussion, examine the subject under discussion from every point of view, analyse all the aspects - and leave nothing for others to say!

This practice deprives the less experienced comrades, who have not such ready tongues, of the chance to show initiative and develop judgement. It is

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the negation of collective leadership.

Remember what Comrade Stalin once said on this matter:

"Single persons cannot decide. The decisions of single persons are always, or nearly always, one-sided decisions. From the experience of three revolutions we know that approximately out of every 100 decisions made by single persons, that have not been tested and corrected collectively, 90 are one-sided".

Follow this idea, and we shall have many more members who can lead in and outside the Party.

This does not mean that more advanced comrades, especially branch secretaries, should not think hard and take the lead. A great deal indeed depends on how much studied preparation goes into a campaign or decision of policy.

But the aim should all the time be to draw others into the discussion, to get them to describe their experiences, and to give them responsibilities.

Give all our comrades a chance to think and act.

#### The Importance of Local Politics.

One last point. Let the Branches and Groups get their roots into the people in their localities.

In a recent statement, the Central Committee of the British Communist Party said this:

"We cannot be satisfied with the present position where our Party hardly counts so far as municipal politics are concerned. It is this attention to municipal politics that has been the backbone of the Labour Party. It is through this that they are able to retain their leadership over decisive sections of the workers, for it is to the Labour Party that the people go for advice and leadership on questions such as housing, education, transport, sanitation, child welfare and rating problems.

We must ensure now that wherever there is a branch of the Communist Party, it is organised to play its part in such questions; that the Branch Committees understand that it is as important to discuss what the Party has to propose on these issues in particular villages, towns and cities, as it is to discuss the issues affecting the workers in a pit, factory or shipyard".

We in South Africa have a great opportunity of becoming the local leadership of the people. Let's get down to the job.

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We publish below the text of some of the most important resolutions adopted at the enlarged Central Committee Meeting of the Party held at Port Elizabeth during Easter. The present Party National Campaign was launched as a result of this Meeting. All Party members should study these resolutions carefully so as to understand them fully.

RESOLUTIONS/...



RESOLUTIONS ON THE WAR.

This enlarged Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of South Africa reaffirms the Party declaration that victory over the Fascist Axis powers, Germany, Italy and Japan by the world alliance of peoples headed by the Soviet Union, Britain, China and America, is in the interests of the people of South Africa. The Central Committee pledges the full support of the Communist Party for every measure directed towards the speedy defeat of the Fascist enemies.

The continued advance of Japan and the threatened offensive of Germany and Italy create a situation of extreme gravity. South Africa's strategic position places us in danger of direct attack. In order that South Africa may play its full part in the world alliance, and to secure our country against attack, the Central Committee of the Communist Party proposes the following immediate and urgent measures:

1. The immediate ~~arming~~ and ~~full~~ training in all sections of the armed forces of non-Europeans as the most vital and urgent step to be taken, and the admission of non-Europeans to the army on an equal basis with Europeans;
2. the provision of a proper and comprehensive system of air raid protection for all sections of the people;
3. Institution of a proper system of home defence to include every section of the population;
4. State provision for improved pay, family allowance and pensions for all soldiers and proper support for returned soldiers;
5. Fullest mobilisation and development of the productive resources of the country by:
  - (a) the establishment of workers production committees;
  - (b) elimination of waste and inefficiency in industry;
  - (c) transference of all industries to a war basis;
  - (d) the abolition of the "cost plus 10%" system in war contracts;
  - (e) the closing down of all unessential industry and the opening up of new war industries;
  - (f) abolition of colour bars and craft barriers; and
  - (g) improvement of wages and conditions to ensure the highest efficiency.
6. The introduction of a national register as an essential measure for the full industrial and military mobilisation of man-power,
7. The suppression of Fascist and Fifth Column organisations and the arrest of their leaders.
8. The closest relations of friendship and mutual aid with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics;
9. Proper rationing of food supplies, increased food production by means of:
  - (a) State Planning and assistance to small farmers;
  - (b) the development of idle land and the extension of land to non-European small farmers to enable them to produce adequate food for the people; and
  - (c) the abolition of all forms of control which restrict and hamper the distribution of food.

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In order to secure the effectiveness of these measures and to achieve the unity of all sections of the South African people for defence and victory, harsh and discriminatory measures which oppress the non-Europeans in particular, and stand in the way of their whole-hearted participation in the war, must be abolished, such as:

- (a) the Pass Laws, Poll Tax and Permit system;
- (b) Non-recognition of African Trade Unions under the I.C. Act;
- (c) Police raids for passes, beer and similar offences; and
- (d) segregation and the withholding of trading rights to non-Europeans.

In view of the extreme urgency of the situation, the Central Committee resolves that all our energies be directed to carrying this message to all the people of South Africa and that a National Campaign for this purpose be immediately launched.

#### RESOLUTIONS ON PARTY ORGANISATION.

1. This enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa recognizing that only a well-organised, disciplined and efficient mass Communist Party can lead the people of South Africa in the struggle for a hundred per cent war effort, declares that all Party Groups, Districts and Branches must be placed on a sound organisational basis so as to be able to carry out the tasks imposed on the Party.
2. It declares that such an efficient, well-organised and disciplined Party can only be built on the basis of each Party member belonging to and doing work in a Group or unit of the Party. It therefore recommends that an immediate instruction be issued to all Districts, Branches and Groups to reorganise their work on this basis.
3. This meeting declares that the present situation makes it imperative to win over the largest possible section of European workers to the policy of the Party. It therefore resolves that every effort shall be made to extend the influence of the Party amongst the European workers and the Trade Unions so as to bring them into closer co-operation with the Party and its policies.
4. This meeting resolves that every effort be made by the Districts, Branches and Groups to increase the Party membership and that recruiting campaigns for Party membership be held in the various Districts and areas.
5. That in order to carry out effectively the programme of the Party, every Party member must be drawn into some aspect of Party work. This meeting regards it as the duty of every Party member to undertake his or her proper share of work on behalf of the Party and any failure to do so can under present circumstances, only be considered as a serious dereliction of duty to the Party and the entire working-class.
6. In order to build a strong and well-disciplined Party it is necessary that all Party members shall receive a thorough training and political education. This meeting therefore instructs all Party Groups and Districts and Branches to carry out proper schemes for Party education. This meeting instructs the P.B. to draw up a National syllabus for Party education for circulation among all Party centres.



7. This meeting considers it essential that a National Organiser be appointed and that recommendations be called for from the various Districts and Groups for a suitable person.

Suggestions as how to meet the expenses of such an Organiser should be considered by the Districts and Groups and be submitted to the P.B.

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RECENT PARTY LITERATURE.

By G.S.

Japan - Friend or Foe?	by Moses Kotane
Away with the Passes.	Johannesburg D.P.C.
10.000.000 for Freedom.	do.
Arm the People.	do.
Keep calm - don't panic.	Durban D.P.C.
Protect Capetown.	Cape Town D.P.C.
Seven Words.	do.
Vier Woorde.	do.
Meet the Communists.	do.
A New Year's Message.	do.

The past six months have been characterised by an increase in party activity. Party literature has shown a corresponding increase in quantity and quality. The pamphlets listed above are all good but we must widen the scope and distribution of our literature if we are to face up to the serious tasks of our times.

Paper restrictions make it difficult to publish as many pamphlets as the situation demands. But while the Party should co-operate loyally with the Paper Controller in the conservation of paper, it should also be stressed that the pro-Nazi and Fascist press is obtaining adequate supplies. This is an illustration of the hesitant manner in which the Government deals with Fascist activities.

The times are grave. What is the most urgent task for us? We have to do what we can to defeat the Fascists. This is the most important task. Everything else is subsidiary, for if the war against Fascism is lost, all is lost. Our chances of building a socialist South Africa, of ensuring decent living conditions and security for our people, depend upon victory.

THEREFORE EVERYTHING MUST BE SUBORDINATED TO THIS.

Our literature must take this into account, particularly since there is a shortage of paper. It follows that pamphlets dealing with socialism in the abstract, like "Meet the Communists", "Seven Words", are luxuries which we cannot afford at the moment.

It is true that many are turning with new interest to the Communist Party and its aims, and it is necessary to give them a general outline of Party policy. Nevertheless, this must wait until the urgent crisis of the moment is over.

The C.P.S. pamphlets are examples of the kind of literature needed. So also are the pamphlets issued by the Johannesburg District Committee on the necessity of arming the non-European peoples. The New Year's message issued by the Cape Town D.P.C. is an admirable piece of work, well-written and to the point. The cover design might have been more worthy of the contents.

Japan/..



"Japan - Friend of Foe" is also very timely and constructive.

But this is not enough. We need more pamphlets dealing with immediate problems. We have not issued enough matter dealing with the necessity for creating a second front in the West. This is now a matter of life and death. South Africa has not made its voice heard sufficiently and yet the reverse in Lybia makes it vital that such a diversion in Hitler's rear must be created. To many of our people it is still a case of leaving it to be decided by others. We have a stake in this issue and we MUST SPEAK OUT.

It is scandalous to hear stories of workers slacking and of employers who are concerned only with increasing their profits. We must expose these evils and urge the formation of workers' production committees.

We need a labour research bureau which will provide accurate information about production possibilities. This does not require an elaborate organisation, for much of what is needed can easily be found in existing publications. For instance, it should be possible to give facts and figures with regard to the necessity for restricting gold-mining. It is not enough to ask abstractly for the closing down of the mines. This is not practical at the moment unless we can show that the immediate transfer of labour and machinery to more useful fields is possible. It is unlikely that we could show it to be possible, but it is certain that the extension of mining activity in this field is unnecessary and harmful. We should be able to show in detail how much restriction is desirable.

Our literature should reflect the urgency of the present situation. The happenings of the next six months will decide the history of the next twenty five years or more. Do comrades realise this sufficiently?

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#### THE GOLD INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The gold industry employs directly some 40,000 Europeans and nearly 400,000 Non-Europeans and indirectly another  $\frac{1}{2}$  million other people. The aggregate payability is low compared with other countries.

The gold refined each year realises about 110 million pounds. This is exported and represents  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the value of the export trade of the country. It provides a large revenue by taxation to the state. It attracts capital to the country.

There is the immediate disadvantage that it takes up labour, machinery, rail and shipping transport, needed for both the fighting forces and for the transport of munitions of war. It bolsters up an unhealthy economic system which will lead to economic slumps as the mines become exhausted.

In considering any change of policy, we must remember that there are strong political considerations for maintaining the status quo, because it is an easy and profitable way to create employment and to organise the general economy of the state. On the other hand, as the monetary policy of the country is carried out in paper money, the gold itself is not used, and twice as much employment could be given if the gold was returned to the ground as fast as it was mined.

By/....



By creating a favourable trade balance in exporting gold as a commodity, we import numerous luxuries and such essentials as machinery oil and rubber. It is probable that industries could be developed to produce many necessities and the balance could be met by existing exports other than gold, such as wool, hides and basic metals. The balance of trade could be partly met during the war, by the Lease-Lend Act as the U.S.A. are apparently keen to extend the trade to this country.

We must remember that owing to the necessity of expanding the internal markets, there must be a rise in the wages of African labour. This will increase the variable capital of the gold mines.

We must consider that steel production in South Africa is limited, hence the number of individuals that can be changed from the gold industry to munitions will at first be small. Secondly, with regard to the personnel of the fighting forces, it is futile to increase the size of the army unless there is a sufficient increase in industry to supply the larger army.

Conclusions. Advantages:

- a. A means of carrying out the economic life of the country.
- b. Helps to develop the Africans into a proletarian class.
- c. Attracts capital to the country.
- d. Pays off capital debt.

Disadvantages:

- a. Obstructs the war industry.
- b. Prolongs an unhealthy economic system.
- c. By reason of its approaching exhaustion, it will produce by slump, and by capital withdrawal, considerable social misery which will again be intensified in the class war of profits versus standards of living.

A policy must therefore be advocated whereby the main industry of the country is changed to that of heavy and general industries in as short a time as possible, having the immediate view of providing fighting personnel and war munitions, and with a long distance aim of liberating the country from the miseries of a backward colonial state and recurring slumps.

The keystone of this policy, as pointed out in the van Eck report, is the technical training of the masses for these new industries. This training will take time and there will be an interval before these new developments have progressed sufficiently to employ the labour formerly used by the Gold Industry and to reorganise the general economy of the State. The difficulties of this interim period may be, to a great extent, solved by extracting only the highest paying ore from the mines, with the corresponding minimum use of labour and machinery. This process, known as plucking the eyes out of the mines, is in effect, the climatic conclusion of the report.

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The above statement has been  
endorsed by the Pretoria Branch.



"FREEDOM" BELONGS TO YOU -- USE IT !

If you have ideas about Party policy or organisation, if you have criticisms to offer, suggestions to make - let's have them!

Any point of view will be welcome, as long as it is expressed with the aim of strengthening and developing the working class movement.

Don't think that your knowledge and your ideas are familiar to every one else. Put them down on paper so that others may have the benefit of your experiences.

Don't go about grouching to yourself that this thing is wrong in the Party or that something else should be done. Silence won't help to put them straight. You are the movement; its weaknesses are your weaknesses. Use "Freedom" to overcome them.

Articles are wanted on:

1. Questions of organisation - how to organise and run Party branches, train new members, prepare for meetings, get out propaganda;
2. Questions of theory - our policy with regard to the national front, trade unions, colour bar, the republican issue, etc.
3. South African history, economics, social conditions
4. The recent Report of the Agricultural and Industrial Requirements Commission raises many important questions affecting the future of the Labour Movement. Study this report and let us have your opinions.

Remember that our Party is built on a scientific study of society. There must be continual discussion in our ranks about the problems of the Labour movement. Only in this way can we have a live, intelligent and interested Party membership, which can lead the people to Victory for Socialism.

So sit down and write your article for Freedom now -- You can write in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu or any other of the African languages.

Address articles to:

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