

has alienated the Dutch workers, hence in past deaffiliation of Unions. A broadening of the functions of the Communist Party would soon knock out the Labour Party in the industrial⁷ centres.

The South African Industrial Federation.

This Federation includes most of the Trade Unions of the Transvaal, and is aiming to bring in the other provinces. It functions in the Orange Free State, and is gaining over the Natal Unions. So far it has not been able to win over the Cape Federation owing to the radical difference of attitude towards the Coloured workers in the two Provinces.

The old Federation of Trades in the Transvaal which took up a militant revolutionary policy culminating in the uprising of 1913, was smashed up by the debacle of the 1914 movement, when Smuts brought 60,000 armed burghers into Johannesburg and deported nine Trade Union leaders to England. Crawford was one of the deportees. He was then a noted exponent of Anarcho-Syndicalism. On his return to Africa at the outbreak of war he took up the honorary duties of the almost defunct Federation, and was in office when the resurgence of the Trade Union movement took place. He hitched on to the Chamber of Mines from the stand, and carried on the policy of class collaboration until today to an almost open champion of capitalist interests. There are spasmodic revolts against his policy, but since it is not yet bankrupt of results, the revolt has not yet taken definite shape.

Archibald Crawford has few other colleagues of importance. The opposition to his policy is reflected by the Communists, with Andrews, a metal worker, as its chief spokesman.

The Federation includes about 60,000 workers. The Railwaymen, loosely organised, & Coast Unions, not yet in the Federation, round number about 40,000. Statistical details to follow on receipt of same from South Africa.

D. Ivon Jones
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for South African Delegate

RGASPI, 495/64/4/20-4

Original in English.

Handwritten.

Inscriptions: 1) Archives of the Comintern

(in Russian)

No. 4009.

Moscow

2) 26.  
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7. There is a crossed-out word before 'industrial'.

**Statement by D.I. Jones to ECCI,  
[September-October 1921]<sup>1</sup>**

THE CRISIS IN COLONIAL NATIONALISM.

To the Chairman and members of the Executive Committee of the Committee<sup>2</sup>

Comrades,

I wish to urge the formation of a COLONIAL BUREAU OF THE COMINTERN on the lines of my proposals placed with the Secretary, Comrade Rakosi.

A crisis is at present discernible in the Colonial National Movements which calls for the unremitting attention of the Comintern. Right and Left wings are emerging, and the dangers of compromise of Right Nationalists with the Imperial domination becoming more imminent.

Egypt. In Egypt, the Adly Pasha official delegation is gaining adherents and Zaghoul Pasha in the Nationalist Centre seems prone towards more pacific methods under pressure of the Capitulatory Powers. A left wing movement is appearing, calling itself Socialist, under Dr. Hussein, and the Communist Group has an important function to perform in keeping up the uncompromising struggle through the Left Wing Nationalist elements.

India: In India, Gandhi's boycott movement is gaining huge proportions, but is reactionary in its economic results as far as the movement back to hand spinning goes, although the native mill owners are meanwhile reaping the benefits. The recent rising of the moplals<sup>3</sup> reported last week indicate the lower mass struggle against both Indian and Imperialist exploiters, and Gandhi, with Mohammed Ali, the Moslem leader, have been requested by the Government to go and pacify the rebels. The need of a Communist Party right on the spot in India is very urgent.

Ireland: The Republicans in Ireland have concluded a truce which has produced a Left Wing movement among the fighting Brigades, which are composed almost wholly of working men. The Left Wing elements have turned towards the Communist Group for guidance and aid in renewing the struggle should any form of compromise take place. Unfortunately, the data at the

1. This document is not dated. The date has been established on the basis of its contents (2nd Pan-African Congress that took place on 28 August-6 September 1921 is mentioned as a 'recent' event).

2. Obviously, the Comintern.

3. The mophlah - Moslem part of the population of Malabar in India's Madras province. The mophlah uprising against the British and the local feudal landlords in 1921 was one of the biggest peasant uprisings in India.



command of the Comintern is meagre, and a joint delegate from the Communists and the Brigades who spent a week here on urgent business had to return empty handed owing to the danger of provocateurs and the lack of the necessary information in our archives to confirm credentials, which information it would be the task of a Colonial Bureau to collect.

Africa: A Pan-African Congress of the Negroes of the world was recently held in London, Brussels and Paris, promoted by Americans.<sup>4</sup> The negroes of Africa have no bourgeoisie. This Pan-African movement has therefore no progressive traits like the other Colonial National movements. The African Negroes are beginning to move along class lines. The Governments are using the Pan-African idea to divert them from it. The great COLONIAL AND SUBJECT NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS are unprovided for the technical apparatus of the Comintern, and it is my duty as a Colonial delegate to plead for the Comintern to place itself as the only co-ordinating head of these movements, not only in word, but by the formation of a COLONIAL BUREAU, at first to gather data and watch events, later to be extended to any function that may be deemed necessary.<sup>5</sup>

D. Ivon Jones,  
Communist Party of South Africa.

RGASPI, 495/64/160/44.

Original in English.

Typed. Copy.

Inscription: Archives of the Comint (on the back of the page) (in Russian)

## 16

### Minutes of Meeting, Presidium of ECCI, 10 January 1922 (Extract)

#### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PRESIDIU OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMINTERN

Present: Cds. Zinoviev, Radek, Thomas, Kuusinen, Lozovsky, Rákosi, Gural'sky, Humbert-Droz, Remmele, Bela-Kun, Brandler, Safarov, Souvarin, Tsigler, Brichkina.

4. Second Pan-African Congress (1921) convened by W.E.B. DuBois.  
5. According to 'Minutes of the Preliminary Meeting of the Bureau of Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries at ECCI' (RGASPI, 495/154/76/1) such a Bureau had already been created (See footnote 1 to document 11, vol. D). It would seem that Jones was not satisfied with the fact that it existed only on paper and wanted a stronger body with a better technical support.

[...] Discussed:

18. About the South African united Communist Party.

Decided:

To take cognisance of the information about the unification of the old party of South Africa with several other groups and inform the ECCI about this.

General Secretary of the Exec. Com. of the Comintern  
O.V. Kuusinen

RGASPI, 495/2/11/5, 6.

Original in Russian.

Typed.

Stamped: 1) No. 691 12 Jan. 1921

(in Russian)

SECRETARIAT

Exec. Communist Internat.

2) ARCHIVES OF THE ECCI

(in Russian)

Inscription: To Com. Zinoviev

(in Russian)

## 17

### Report of D.I. Jones to ECCI, 15 March 1922

#### MEMORANDUM ON SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION TO THE PRESIDIU OF THE COMMINTERN.

(per Comrade Kuusinen, Secretary)

15 March, 1922.

Comrades,

The news in today's 'Pravda' indicate a state of bloody civil war in South Africa, arising from the strike in the gold mines.<sup>1</sup> I have submitted several notes on the Press reports of the situation. I shall only repeat here that the issue of

1. The strike of thousands of white gold miners began on 10 January and was joined by white workers in related industries. The strikers protested against wage cuts and against the employment of black workers whose wages were much lower. On 10 March, after the strikers mobilised armed commando support, the Smuts government called in the army and the police and suppressed the strike, subsequently called the 'Red Revolt'.