

Strangely enough your letter came through – like a draught of life giving wine in the midst of this welter of hopelessness. Let me express relish &⁸ appreciation of your remarks concerning Youngelson – what a doughy specimen, not a spot of yeast in him. So many of his kind come for credentials to Russia, so well dressed & shiny. Perhaps paid 3 months branch subs!⁹ Oh, always bought the paper if not a regular subscriber. After this late bloody sacrifice of super men it seems the great Lenin would say to any man ^{of sense} coming to Russia – you would have done well to have remained in the land you came from. As for the lice men they should have the sanitary work to do.

Regarding your valuable & valued self we are all so thankful you are in Harbour & not at the Fort.

Our foreman Printer was 'wanted' I do not know whether he is still at liberty. At one time the Press was in danger of being smashed (before Martial Law was proclaimed) by a certain element – you can guess the instigators – who said we were 'scabbing' when printing strike leaflets. All the printers came out loyally, except the 'Star' and S.T. & R.D.M.¹⁰ who stayed at work to print that the workers were 'riff-raff', 'a sorry lot' bandits, assassins. 'Bolshevik plot discovered!' 'Immense sums of money from overseas for ammunition', etc.

Poor Mrs Margren's room was raided at 2.45 am the day before yesterday.

I am collecting the daily Press & will cut the most necessary columns out to send to you as you say do not send bulky papers. I trust the others reached you which I sent regularly up to last week.

Saturday March 18th. Trades Hall still guarded, soldiers inside & out.

The Govt is talking about its friendship & protection for the Black Workers against the strikers banner for a 'White S. Africa'. You will know how our tiny ship 'Communism' has been tossed about from rocks to heavy seas. Is it to sink? As I approach some of our well dressed members à la Youngelson they say 'Oh the Party is finished now, quite finished in this country'.

But ^{again} Communism approaches as a dusty dishevelled Worker you have hardly seen before comes & grips your hand with 'By god, Comrade, we've got some organising work in front of us now'.

Sunday, March 19th – A little better news, the wives have been allowed to see prisoners for the first time since arrests and S.P.B.¹¹ is in the Fort. Another comrade's house raided. H.B. not yet found.

Monday 20th, Trades Hall still full of armed men, what will the office be if I see it again? I am taking the correspondence from the P.O. Box to my room of course.

8. There is a crossed-out word after '&' in the text.

9. Subscriptions.

10. The *Sunday Times* and the *Rand Daily Mail*.

11. S.P. Bunting.

I must post this now as must send it to Capetown Comrade to post for mail.
Can you give me anything to do?

F.

RGASPI, 495/64/159/218–23.

Original in English.

Handwritten.

Inscriptions: 1) Letter from Comrade Andrews' typist, Party member.
(The hand-writing is different from that of the text)

2) South African insurrection
(The hand-writing differs both from that of the previous inscription and of the text).

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**Statement of D.I. Jones to ECCL,
25 March 1922**

FURTHER STATEMENT ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION.

25th March, 1922.
Moscow

To Comrade Kuusingen. Secretary, Comintern

The latest news by mail from Africa tend to modify my previous statement that there had been no outbreaks of violence between black and white workers. It appears that several tragic conflicts of minor character occurred between Black and white workers side by side with the main struggle with the Government forces.

These incidents are all the more tragic in that they make the task of the Communist Party far more difficult in the future, unless a great change of attitude takes place in the minds of the white workers as a result of the present events.

It is precisely because of the new political alignments that will result from the conflict that it may be wise for me to await some report from the Party before returning to South Africa, especially if in the meanwhile the proposed Anglo-American-Colonial Bureau will be formed.

The strike and insurrection was not officially led by the Communist Party, although participated in by Communist speakers. Comrade Andrews, our Secretary, was arrested with five other members of the Left Wing Movement, on a charge of 'inciting to¹ violence'. Meanwhile, the actual leaders of the

1. There is a crossed-out word after 'to'.

Commandoes, especially a member of Parliament named Waterston² who has no fixed principles and disclaims any revolutionary intent, were left unmolested by the police right up to the open conflict. The Government seemed to have welcomed an armed clash, as long as it was³ led by volatile, non-Communist elements, in order to settle once for all with the white workers, and gain a free field for the exploitation of cheap native labour.

The Communist Party office, in common with that of the Trade Unions in the same building, is occupied by the police; and there is no doubt that our printing press and Party newspaper 'The International' are suppressed. The charge against Comrade Andrews and the others will no doubt be now changed into one of High Treason, making it a question of life and death. The best of our membership will have suffered terribly in the conflict, and the whole organisation shattered.

It remains to ascertain whether the conflict is the last revolt of a non-revolutionary white working class driven to arms by the very insecurity of their economic position over against the native masses. In that case the conditions for a Communist Party based on white militants have disappeared, and the Comintern will henceforth have to take over the direct responsibility for the native masses.

On the other hand it is possible that⁴ along with the discouragement of the workers on the economic front, a political revulsion may ensue which will result in a Labour-Republican block. In such a block, Comrade Andrews, by the universal respect which he commands with the rank and file, would play an important role for the Communist Party; and the anti-Imperialist forces, hitherto divided by chauvinist cries, would be for the first time united. This implies an extension of the principle of the United Front to include the Anti-Imperialist farmers Party.⁵ But in Colonial questions the Comintern has already recognised this tactic in principle.

It is for the Comintern to decide whether⁶ these Colonial movements play any part in the general revolutionary process, whether the world revolution is not all one piece and not a European or Central European affair, whether these outbreaks at the periphery of capitalism are not as essential to its general collapse as those at the centre. It is to be regretted that by working on the opposite theory the Comintern takes an interest in these movements after the crisis, and when⁷ it is already too late. Moreover, the absence of clear

knowledge as to the place of the Colonial movements in the Comintern strategy leaves Colonial delegates and revolutionaries undecided. For example, I have no personal ties with South Africa apart from the Comintern, and my home is England equally with the Colonies.

The whole of English speaking society, especially American and Colonial, is afflicted with a festering sore in the question of the negro race. Whether Colonial movements play a part or not in the revolutionary movement, the Revolution will later on be confronted to its peril with this terrible incubus of colour hatred implanted in the breast of the English speaking peoples by generations of slave dealers. Apart from the immediate strategy of the Revolution, the Comintern has a universal human appeal to make also, (in other words, grand strategy), especially in regard of the Negro Race. In South Africa we have tried hard for the last seven years to concentrate on the issue, for in our complex Society it is immediately bound up with the issue of the Revolution. We were too weak however to bring about the desired rapprochement of the Black and White workers in time to influence the present crisis. After this and the aftermath of animosity aroused between black and white I am afraid we shall be weaker. The Gold Mining Capital of the Rand, which Walton Newbold⁸ declares to be the fulcrum of world finance capital, enters upon a new era of further expansion in Africa as a result of the crushing of the White workers' revolt.

There remains the need for agitating and informing the Labour movement in London in order to check the ferocity of White Guard Justice.

1. The Presidium should decide whether this should be done, either by myself or someone else.
2. To decide ~~whether~~, if the Smuts Government maintains its political as well as military position, and the milieu for Communist Party still further narrowed as a white workers party, whether it will take on direct work through a South African Bureau among the Native masses.
3. To decide, in the event of a political revolution, the role of the C.P. in an Anti-Imperialist block.
4. To decide the question of financial support.
5. The formation of an Anglo-American-Colonial Bureau.

D. Ivon Jones.
(South African delegate.)

RGASPI, 495/64/6/5-7.

Original in English.

Typed. Copy.

Inscription: 48B.

8. The identity of Walton Newbold could not be established.

2. 'Bob' Waterson (Waterston?) - an MP on the ticket of the South African Labour Party. During 1922 Rand strike he proposed a 'Republican Resolution', calling on the Nationalist and Labour MPs to proclaim an independent republic and form a provisional government. The resolution was met with enthusiasm at a meeting of the strikers but was rejected by the Parliament.

3. There is a crossed-out word after 'was'.

4. There is a crossed-out word after 'that'.

5. Reference to the National Party.

6. There is a crossed-out word after 'whether'.

7. There is a crossed-out word after 'when'.