Instruments of Destiny.

At last, in this election, the voters of South Africa have been asked to pass a sentence of death upon a typically capitalist Government, headed by one of the most plausible dragons of world imperialism.

The main objective of the election is to attack and destroy this power, to depose perhaps one day to impeach — the oppressor whose lips give out "idealistic" phrases but whose hands drip with the blood of myriad thousands of colored and white fellow-countrymen — both white and black.

**THE FALL OF SMUTS AND HIS PARTY, NO MATTER WHAT ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT REPLACES THEM, WILL BE A STEP FORWARD.**

To achieve it will not only be a blow to the local ruling class but will help in no inconsiderable measure to unnerve the whole international banking of financiers, the chief of the cosmopolitan capitalism, which still tyrannises over the lives of the inhabitants of five-sixths of the earth's surface.

History has designated the Nat-Lab pact to administer the blow, and incidentally, it demonstrates how imperfect may be the instruments of progress.

In the first place, let us never forget that the South African electorate excludes the great majority of the working and petite bourgeoisie, that is, the class that produces the bulk of the profits and is thus the chief mainstay of capitalism. So much the greater condemnation of a Government which has aroused among this group of deprived white people a false enthusiasm and a false hope.

As such a bourgeoisie look as the Government's, a detestation so intense that its defeat appears likely even without the aid of the proletariat, and at the bands of a coalition so incongruous as that of the Pact.

If, in the cause supreme of the moment, of defeating the Smuts Government, we receive, as we must, in every case to support the opposition, i.e., in every case the Pact candidate, and refuse to be a party to any splitting of the opposition vote, nevertheless in doing so we cannot be blind to the grave shortcomings of the opposition parties. For, should we entertain any false hopes of substantial improvement should they attain office, that is not the point. It is not their policy or programme, but the Government's own enormities that will dig its grave; and it will not be long before the Pact in turn will dig a grave for itself and the working masses advance yet another stage nearer real FASTER AND MORE KALEIDOSCOPIEAL EVERY DAY TOWARDS THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITALIST ORDER. To-day we are out not merely to make propaganda, still less to enjoy office within the bourgeois machine, but to stimulate rapid changes in the existing order and towards the new society of Communism. And the Government has the same one step at a time "because we are now more confident than ever that it will quickly be followed by the next, bringing with it a "Red Dawn" or "Green Dawn."

In such a sense then all workers of town and country should support, whether directly or indirectly, the Pact candidate in this election. The Labour Party may be a party with no real Labour basis, with no clear recognition of the class struggle, no mass working-class membership and next to no support but it is a party of the unemployed and disenchanted workers. The National Party may include such ill-assorted elements as the landlord bywonders and the big land- owning backwoodsmen who hold them in undiluted contempt and its attitude to the native masses may be even more overbearing and narrow-minded than that of the S.A.I.P. Even so we can acknowledge that coming together to police the town and the road during the 1922 strike will be carried a stage further by the Pact; and the Nationalists have at any rate A SAVING SPIRIT OF REVOLT against imperialism which may preserve some sort of rebel psychology in the Pact and modify that demoting bar sinister on the Labour Party's "creatchen, its flago bourgeois- *patrilocal" and its respect for "law and order".

The main weakness of both Pact parties, however, is their impotence in face of the very problem to which they rightly give foremost prominence — the declining position of the white smallholders in South Africa. They sincerely bemoan this decline, they declare truly enough that the S.A.P. regime has hastened it, they promise to remedy it, but they refuse to face the problem with the courage necessary for a capital reorganisation of the South African labour which is behind it all and is not a local problem only, it is of the very core of capitalism THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, and will be stopped not by idle practices of "aggregation" — fancy a million and a half South African whites "aggregating" the 120 million blacks of Africa!— but only by a world-wide defeat of the capitalist order.

And the only way that this defeat is seen is the SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR — all labour, including of course the cheap labour in question itself. It is absolutely essential to draw the cheap labourer and poor peasants of the world to the side of the world Labour movement. But apparently the Pact parties would sooner see the white man go to perdition than have any dealings with that throng. Well, we can offer our white fellow-workers A MOST SOLEMN WARNING, THAT THIS ATTITUDE IS SIMPLY HASTENING THE FALL AND STRENGTHENING THE CAPITALIST POSITION THAT COMPASSES IT.

Again, both Pact parties adhere to the sacred institution of "private property." They refuse to see what is only too obvious to-day, that bourgeois property means proletarian propertylessness, that the big land-owners can only exist because hundreds around him are landless, that property is gained and held by the few only at the expense and to the exclusion of the many. They refuse to recognise the only alternative, Communism; they glory in being entirely guiltless of "Bolshevism!"

They talk of national unity, which to-day, is the unity across the only unity that can, function in the coming struggle for human emancipation — class unity; they fail to admit that a defeat of exploitation and the want of the workers of each nationality AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS OF THEIR OWN NATIONALITY no less, perhaps more, than against the foreigner. They talk of national self-respect, and ignore that to gain it the masses of all nations and races must combine to abolish class rule, i.e., to abolish the ruling class, as a whole — the rest destroyer of national and all real human self-respect.

Yet in spite of all these culpable failings, class-conscious workers will vote for the Pact because the fall of the Smuts Government is an essential stage in the fall of capitalist government throughout the world, a natural step along the most probable and practicable line of emancipation for mankind, something that should be assisted even if it means that the native voters (for instance) who think they see in a Nationalist-Labour Government a scorpion compared with the S.A.P. whip.

To quote a Socialist: it is too much to sigh for land and liberty: to get these we must grasp clearly what stands in our way, and when we find the nags is the entire world-wide capitalist exploitation machine (including the British "Thames monsters"), then we must put off childish things, 'loyalties and superstitions, we must cease to look to capitalist governments for "protection" and aim only at weakening them all, and we must use all available weapons at hand, no matter how intrinsically reactionary, to achieve our purpose, confident that in turn will lead us to our aims. Thus we shall approximate ever nearer to a world clear-cut "workers and peasants" movement both at home and abroad.

"God moves in a mysterious way"

**Anti-Socialist "Winnie."**

Winston Churchill may be a political twister but he can see more clearly the trend of the world and organise his Labour leagues. He realises what so many Labour leaders, political and industrial, either do not see or are not honest enough to declare, that the great fight between organisation and its captors, between the organised labour must come, and in the not far distant future. He aspires to lead the army of capitalism, and there are indications that although at the moment under a cloud owing to the facts that a number of his associates have flown on and flitter "safe", Labour leaders of the Snowden-Thomas-MacDonald type, his time is coming.

He aspires to be the Mussolini of Britain, and if he gets his chance some yellow labourites who pride of goodwill to the interest of the whole community and deny the essential class antagonisms of capitalist society will get a rude shock.

The class-conscious worker agrees with him, but will see to it that the Socialist movement, in spite of Labour Fabrics, fools and traitors of all kinds, does not retire from the contest.

**EXCUSE . OUR INTERRUPTION, BUT HAVE WE RECEIVED YOUR SUBSCRIPTION LATELY?**

the rest destroyer of national and all real human self-respect.

S.P.B.