

Party² at the present time was directed towards the white workers, and it was not possible to expect them to carry out such a task.

Com. REESEMA stated that it was not accidental that Amsterdam had interested itself in S. Africa. The natives felt that the British imperialists were protecting them against the Dutch Boers, and Kadalie was working as an agent of British imperialism.

Com. YOUNG opposed the suggestion made by Com. Rathbone that we should organise those workers not touched by the I.C.U. This meant, he declared, to organise a new native union in opposition to the I.C.U. This was contrary to the policy of the resolution of the C.I. which stated that we must work inside the I.C.U.

Com. LAGUMA, in reply to the discussion, stated that with regard to the activities of the party members within the I.C.U., it was very difficult to do what was expected of them in view of the fact that they had been expelled from the union, could not take part in any of its meetings, etc. The I.C.U. had recently printed a new constitution in which no reference was made to the expulsion of the communists. The Central Committee of the Party had taken advantage of this and instructed the members to apply for membership. Com. Laguma stated that he had applied, but was refused, other applications having met with similar results. But he was not in a position to say as to what had happened to less prominent comrades in the party.

With regard to the resolution of the C.I., Com. Laguma explained that he was in Cape Town and he had sent the resolution to the C.C., defending it at the same time. On receipt of the letter from the C.C., he had made it the subject of debate in the party in Cape Town, and at a meeting of the National Congress, and it was enthusiastically received and agreed that it was the correct line. Even the Europeans, with one exception, approved of the resolution in Cape Town, while the non-Europeans were unanimous.

With regard to Kadalie and Amsterdam, it appeared that Kadalie was already disillusioned about Amsterdam. In an article in the 'Labour Monthly', Kadalie stated that he applied to the Amsterdam International for affiliation with the object of bringing the South African Labour question into the international arena, but that he was aware that the R.I.L.U. had always been in favour of organising the colonial workers. Laguma thought there was a possibility of getting Laguma³ to change his policy.

In conclusion, Com. Laguma stated that they all agreed that the Party in S. Africa should be predominantly non-European. He pointed out, with regard to the question of organising the native workers in those areas where the I.C.U. had not yet spread, that the African National Congress had just recently at their

2. Here: Communist Party of South Africa.

3. Undoubtedly Kadalie.

convention decided to form an African Labour Congress, and it would be possible to do this work through them.

RGASPI, 495/72/27/198-202.

Original in English.

Typed.

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**Draft telegram from ECCI to Sixth Congress, CPSA,
22 December 1927¹**

Confidential²

**DRAFT TELEGRAM TO BE SENT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN
COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS TO BE HELD ON JAN. 1ST, 1928.**

The C.I. sends fraternal greetings to the 6th Congress of the South African Communist Party with best wishes for its successful work. The South African Party has big tasks before it. It is the only force able to organise the native workers, to overcome the prejudices of the white workers cultivated by imperialism against their native brothers and to create a united front of the white and native workers against imperialism.

To accomplish these tasks three conditions are absolutely necessary. First: that the Party shall concentrate its work among the native masses whilst continuing its work among the white workers. Only in this direction can the party create a sure foundation for its fight. Secondly: the Party must mobilise all its forces to detach the ICU from the Amsterdam International. The Amsterdam International is the tool of imperialism and it is necessary to prevent the native trade union from being used as a part of this instrument. Thirdly: the Party must work inside the ICU and mobilise the native masses against the dangerous policy of Kadalie as the only way to bring this native union onto the path of class struggle. The Party must explain to the masses the nature of the Amsterdam International which is using its connection in South Africa on behalf of world imperialism.

All these points are included in the CI resolution already submitted to the South African Party.³ We urge the Party Congress to have very serious

1. This telegram was written and sent as a result of the discussion of La Guma's report in the Anglo-American Secretariat.
2. 'Confidential' in Russian in the original.
3. The CPSA.

discussions on these questions and to accept the resolution submitted by the CI as the line for their every-day practical work. If the party will create a firm ideological and organisational foundation it will be a big step forward in the struggle for the emancipation of the South African toiling masses from capitalist exploitation and will advance the general fight of the working class and the oppressed people against world imperialism.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
(Gallacher)

RGASPI, 495/64/59/10-11.

Original in English.

Typed. Copy.

Stamped: 1) 1066 - 22.XII.1927.

2) Archives of the Comintern

(in Russian)

3) Material for the Secretariat

(in German)

Inscription: Manuilsk.

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**Letter from W. Demar to Secretariat, ECCI,
24 December 1927**

TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE ECCI

Confidential
24 December 1927.

The telegram to the Party congress of South Africa is underwritten by Com. Gallacher, who is now the Executive Secretary. However, I fully share the responsibility and ask to accept the following explanation.

1. On the essence of the matter.

On 9th August the Anglo-American Secretariat forwarded to the South African Party¹ a resolution² with the enclosed special letter, which had been worked out by the Anglo-American Secretariat and discussed by the Politsecretariat of the ECCI.

1. Here and elsewhere in the document: the Communist Party of South Africa.
2. See document 45.

On the 1st of this December Com. La Guma reported to us at a meeting of the Anglo-American Secretariat that this resolution had not been approved by the present Central Committee and that measures should be taken to discuss it at the congress which begins on 1 January. The Central Committee does not agree to one of the main points, i.e. to the question of focusing the work on the native masses. Simultaneously we understood from La Guma's report that the Party has done next to nothing in regard to winning the sympathy of the masses inside the only native trade union³ in South Africa. The expelled communists remain outside the Union and a tendency towards the organisation of native workers outside this Union appeared.

Since the discussion of the South African resolution by the Comintern a number of events took place. Kadalie, Secretary of the aforementioned native trade union, took part in the Congress of the Amsterdam International and at the Labour Conference at the League of Nations.⁴ People from Amsterdam advertise their connection with colonial workers, trying to refute, with the help of Kadalie, our agitation about Amsterdam not being interested in colonial peoples.

On the basis of all this information the Anglo-American Secretariat resolved at its plenary meeting on 1 December:

- a) To instruct Cd. La Guma to do everything possible for the Central Committee of the Party to adopt the resolution of the ECCI;
- b) that the South African Party must pay special attention to the struggle inside among the native trade union attempting to reinstate the expelled and organise the left wing for the struggle against Kadalie;
- c) that the Party must concentrate its attention on the work among the Natives and head for becoming a mass party of Native workers.

Such instructions were given to Cd. La Guma, and it was resolved that the South African question would be considered by the Politsecretariat. Because of the Party Congress this could not be done and La Guma left.

2. About sending the telegram.

The congress will take place on 1 January, and La Guma left Moscow on 5 December to attend the meeting of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels. It was necessary to make the instructions drawn up by the Anglo-American Secretariat known to the congress at any cost. Therefore, 3 points adopted by the Secretariat have been worded as a telegram. In order to avoid sending the telegram from Moscow it was decided to hand it in to Cd. Inkpin for the dispatch from London. Cd. Inkpin stayed in Moscow for 8 days after the

3. Here and elsewhere in the document: Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.
4. 1927 Labour Conference in Geneva sponsored by the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations.