

**A. Marty's Report to G. Dimitrov,  
11 March 1936<sup>1</sup>**

Strictly confidential

**INFORMATION OF THE FACTIONAL STRUGGLE IN THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

A factional struggle has been going on in the CP of South Africa for many years. It became particularly intense after the 6th Congress of the CI around the slogan of struggle for an 'Independent Native Republic, put forward for<sup>2</sup> the CP of South Africa as the final perspectives of creating Republic of the anti-imperialist struggle'. Bunting, the secretary of the Party at that time, and a number of other comrades (Roux) did not agree with this slogan which demanded that the chief activity of the Party should be directed to work among the mass of the Natives. In February 1931, the Party under the leadership of Comrade Nzula, were expelled from the Party the Right opportunist chauvinist wing which the Bunting group had become. Comrade Nzula died soon after that, the factional struggle became animated again and increased year by year. In 1933-34 the factional struggle developed between the Kotane group (the then secretary of the Communist Party) and the group of Comrade Bach (secretary of the Durban Party Committee). At the end of 1934 Comrade Kotane was removed from the leadership of the Party on the ground of interference from here by Rimond, Mofutsanyana and others and others.<sup>3</sup> The leadership of the Kotane group was replaced by the group of Rimond, Mofutsanyana<sup>4</sup> and other supporters of the Bach line. In spite of these changes, the factional struggle continued. At the present time, it is directed against the majority of the Political Bureau (the group of Rimond, Mofutsanyana and others), supported by the majority in the Johannesburg and Durban committees,

1. Most probably, this document was a draft prepared by R. Naumann. The text was thoroughly edited by hand. There are at least two Russian versions of this text in the archives. One (RGASPI, 495/64/155/58-60) bears the same date as the English text and is identical to it. The other (RGASPI, 495/74/611/3-4) was done later and contains information about delaying Bach's departure from Moscow until the completion of the work of the commission and about the sacking of Zusmanovich. The description of internal struggle in the CPSA in it is, however, shorter than in the first one.
2. The words 'Independent Native' are transferred from another place in the same sentence.
3. 'Rimond', 'Riymond' - Raymond.
4. Rimond, Mofutsanyana - in both names the spelling is corrected, in the first case, wrongly, in the second, rightly.

while the opposition group of Kotane and Roux is supported by the Capetown District Party Committee. (Roux is a member of the PB).

The pretext for the factional struggle was always:

- a) The interpretation of the slogan 'Independent Native Republic'
- b) Divergence on the question of the character of the Native bourgeoisie.

The following addressed themselves to the CI in connection with the factional struggle in the CP of South Africa:

1. Kotane, Gomaz and Roux (leaders of the opposition) with a request that the ECCI should immediately intervene against the mass expulsions and the split of the Party (September 14, 1935).

2. The Political Bureau of the Party, accusing the opposition of splitting the Party (September 17, 1935).

3. In a letter to the ECCI and to all members of the CP of South Africa, dated September 20, 1935 and signed by 10 comrades, the opposition explains its viewpoint.

4. In addition, Comrade Gomaz, the secretary of the District Party Committee in Capetown, sent <sup>to the E.C.C.I.</sup> letters on Sept. 16, 1935 and Sept. 26, 1935 and also sent <sup>the</sup> correspondence <sup>he had held</sup> with the PB.

5.<sup>5</sup> On Sept. 1935 the Comintern Secretariat demanded that the expulsions cease and called to Moscow Comrades Rymond (first secretary of the Party) and Hilton (~~representative~~ <sup>member</sup> of the Political Bureau) ~~from~~ <sup>for</sup> the Polit-Bureau and Comrades Kotane and Roux ~~from~~ <sup>for</sup> the opposition. In September, the PB of the Party replied that there had been no mass expulsions and that only five comrades had been expelled, among whom there was not a single leading comrade <sup>and Roux removed from the P.B.</sup> <sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding a number of repeated calls, Comrade Raymond has up to the present not arrived and puts forward all possible pretexts so as not to come. Comrade Richter,<sup>7</sup> as the representative of the PB (though he is not even a member of the PB), arrived instead of Comrade Hilton. Comrade Roux did not come on account of a number of prosecutions taken out against him, and Comrade Kotane arrived November 9 (having left in August, before the call came from the CI).

A whole year ago, Comrade Kotane on the one hand and Comrade Bach on the other were called to Moscow to settle the question of the factional struggle. Comrade Kotane refused to come for almost a year. Comrade Bach came, and, owing to the absence of Comrade Kotane, was sent to the KUTV, where he has now completed the course.

5. The figure '5' is inserted by hand. There is a note on the margin opposite it: 'Insert from page 3'.

6. In another version of the same text (RGASPI, 495/14/156/85-7): 'Roux was removed...'.  
 7. Maurice Richter.



5.<sup>8</sup> In November 1935, we received a comprehensive letter from Comrade Roux about the slogan for an Independent Native Republic.

For the purpose of investigating the factional struggle in the CP of South Africa, a special commission was organised in Comrade Marty's Secretariat under his personal leadership.

The Secretariat on November 27 demanded that the Communist Party ~~members~~ immediately stop the factional struggle and unite the Party on the basis of a struggle for everyday demands. The Secretariat called ~~in Comrade~~ <sup>again here</sup> Rymond, Secretary of the Party, ~~a second time~~. Up to the present he has not arrived. The Commission cannot wait longer and is concluding its work.

RGASPI, 495/14/347/62-4. Another version of the same document: RGASPI, 495/14/156/85-7.

Original in English.

Typed.

Stamped: 0601- 11.MAR.1936.

(in German)

RETURN

20 days

Inscriptions: 1) '8'

(typed)

EK/Tr.Russ./Crosby

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11.3.36.

2) No. 1

3) C. Marty

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### Address of A. Marty to South African Commission, 13 March 1936

MEETING OF COMMISSION ON SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

MARCH 13, 1936.

Strictly confidential

Present: Comrades Marty (chairman), Mingulin, Randolph, Arnot, Hardy, Raylock, Loba, Vitol, Potechin, Yugov,<sup>1</sup> Eugene, Richter,<sup>2</sup> Kotane,

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8. The figure '5' is inserted by hand and underlined by a double line. The paragraph is enclosed in a square bracket in the left margin. There is a note opposite it which reads: 'Transfer to page 2'.

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1. Paul Richter.
2. Here and elsewhere in the text 'Richter' is Maurice Richter.