

5.⁸ 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~~ ^{again here} ~~~~~~~~~ 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.

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2) No. 1

3) C. Marty
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## 61

### 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.

Naumann, Williams, Stepanov, Kraevsky, Sawyer, Brigadier, Patterson, Henderson.

MARTY: After the last meeting, December 1st, we made a report to the Secretariat of the ECCI and it was decided to once again call Comrade Raymond, the secretary of the South African Party, here. We have called him four times but the Secretariat decided to call him once again. Why? Because we have here one of the leaders of the opposition in the Party, Comrade Kotane, (and it is necessary to add that he arrived eight months after he was sent for) and it is necessary to have the others. I repeat that we are very glad to see Comrade Richter here, a member of the District Committee of Johannesburg, but this is not sufficient. We have asked that two members of the Political Bureau come here – Comrades Raymond and Hilton – but neither of them has come.

It was just as much necessary for some delegates from the CPSA to come to the VII Congress of the C.I.; it is very astonishing. For a number years we have a hard factional struggle in South Africa; since 1933, the struggle became still sharper, but neither the leaders of the Party nor the leaders of the opposition sent a delegate to the VII Congress of the C.I. Is it possible that such Communists exist in the world? Everyone should come to the World Congress of the C.I., but, of course, it was impossible to send everyone. But, from South Africa, no-one came to the World Congress. Delegates from the biggest Communist Parties were here – from Germany, France, Spain, etc.; there were also delegates from America, North and South; from China and Japan, and it is very difficult to come from these countries; also, there were delegates from Australia and New Zealand, which are very far away; the C.P. of New Zealand sent delegates here, but the CPSA did not.

Sometimes, the South African comrades say that in Moscow, they do not know anything about South African matters. It was just the occasion to send someone here, to explain to Comrade Dimitrov what is taking place there, to explain to all the comrades and to the World Congress of the C.I., but the comrades did not come. Probably the delegates from the CPSA could have explained to the World Congress of the C.I. the beautiful successes of the C.P. there, of the 150 members, and I am not sure that, out of these, about one-half are foreigners, not Africans, either white or Native.

But we of the C.I. intend to help the CPSA. I said this at the first meeting of the Commission, and I repeat it today. But we want plenty of explanations. That is why we asked for Raymond to come here. Why Raymond? Because, as the secretary of the Party, he is responsible for the whole policy of the Party. The Party answered in November and explained that Raymond must be in South Africa on Dec. 16th because then there were two big conventions taking place – the anti-fascist convention and the convention, of the African National Congress. So, we are waiting; three months have passed and he is not here. Probably Comrade Richter will explain how it is possible that he is not here.



But we cannot wait any more; it is impossible. We thought he would leave at the beginning of January; now it is already the 13th of March and it is impossible to wait any longer; we are waiting two and a half-months. The whole Secretariat of the ECCI cannot be kept busy for six months on the South African question, and therefore it is necessary to finish. I ask the members of the Commission to consider the fact that Comrade Raymond is not here. This is the first question.

Secondly. No-one came here from South Africa to the World Congress of the C.I., but all the main speeches were published in English, in pamphlet form and in the *Inprecor*. For seven months there has been a big discussion all over the world on the VII Congress of the Communist International in all the labour press, in the bourgeois press; Comrade Arnot can tell us how the British papers spoke about the speech of Comrade Dimitrov, and are still speaking about it; all the resolutions were published.

In South Africa, the two groups – the leadership of the Party and the opposition – say that they agree with the decisions of the VII Congress. This is good; we are very very glad, but we are revolutionary workers and cannot have any faith in assertions only; it is necessary for the leadership of the Party and the opposition to prove that they agree with the decisions of the VII World Congress of the C.I.

Therefore, I ask Comrade Naumann, before beginning the discussion, after I will have finished, to explain shortly what the CPSA has done for explanation and application of the decisions of the VII Congress. There are plenty of strikes in South Africa; there is an unemployed movement. Probably Comrade Naumann will explain what the Party has done to build a united front against imperialism, for the struggle for the defence of the democratic rights of the toilers and for the extension of equal rights to the Native people, etc., and then perhaps the comrades from South Africa will correct and add to what Comrade Naumann says.

Thirdly. The Commission must give its advice on the main questions that are put before the CPSA, on the factional struggle which is destroying the Party.

At the last meeting, on Dec. 1st, I proposed to send directives to the Party and also immediately do away with the whole factional struggle; I proposed to suggest to our Party to fight for the united front, etc., and not to continue the factional struggle. Since there are many new comrades, I propose to read the proposals. (Reads proposals).

I must say that here, in this room (Comrade Patterson, do not forget it), there was unity immediately, but against; the comrades who are in the leadership, the opposition, and the students – all were united. They say, we will continue the struggle; very interesting. At last, the proposals were adopted.

I have gone before the Secretariat of the C.I.; I raised the question, and the Secretariat accepted these proposals to send to our Party, and they were sent. Probably Comrade Naumann will explain how the Party put these proposals into practice in its everyday work? Now it is necessary for the Commission to finish, that is, to decide if it is necessary to extend, complete and develop these first proposals. Perhaps it is necessary to propose to our party a programme of

action, a very broad programme for the development of the struggle in the united front of all workers and all peoples – white and Natives – against British imperialism; perhaps it is necessary to explain once more the character of the slogan of the Independent Native Republic, and, if necessary, the comrades will explain what the future revolutionary government in South Africa will be. During these three months, I suppose all the comrades have had time to read all the speeches of the VII Congress, and surely they know the theses, resolutions and line of the VII Congress of the C.I. Therefore, I put the following two questions: (1) the question of preparing a programme of action for the Party, but only in the main lines, because it is impossible here to give exactly all the daily demands; and (2) the question which they have been discussing for seven years.

(Comrade Naumann follows.)

RGASPI, 495/14/349/2–6.

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Stamped: 'Strictly confidential'.

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## 62

### **J. Mpama's Statement to South African Commission, 13 March 1936**

Strictly confidential

#### MEETING OF COMMISSION ON SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION MARCH 13, 1936

The Comrade in question is Marks not Roux.  
Henderson

Henderson: Comrades, I just want to say a few words with regard to the opposition. I know nothing about the opposition, if I participated I would know. I participated in a little thing but as regards Katane opposition I am not quite clear.

Firstly, we were discussing the question of Comrade ~~Roux~~<sup>Roux's</sup> not coming to Moscow. When I came here I was called to the C.I. and asked some questions on what I thought of ~~Roux's~~<sup>Roux's</sup> not coming. I told what I know. Comrade ~~Roux~~<sup>Roux</sup> was called here up till now. It is a full year Comrade ~~Roux~~<sup>Roux</sup> has refused to come and he is still supposed to be secretary of the Party. I think it is rather a dangerous situation to keep Com. ~~Roux~~<sup>Roux</sup> in the leading