

It seems that we can expect many more of these 'amalgamation' stunts as soon as the white workers realise that they have another means of exploiting the blacks – as a catspaw.

The remarks of the person Mrs. Rebecca Bunting in opposition to the slogan of a Black Soviet Republic was reported in the capitalist press here who were somewhat jubilant and gave great publicity to it.² The other result is that we have already received a letter and comments from non-Europeans outside the Party, that it seems the Communist Party South Africa is 'running with the hares and hunting with the hounds'. It is in my opinion a disgrace the way the Social Democrats are trying to sabotage the freedom of the blacks of this country.

La Guma
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RGASPI, 495/64/77/24.

Handwritten.

Stamped: 1) 002341 – 1.OCT.1928

2) 2211 – 3.OCT.1928

(in German)

Inscriptions: 1) Native Laundry Workers Union  
(on reverse side, in La Guma's handwriting)

2) received 29.9.28.

(in German)

## 65

### Minutes of Meeting, Central Executive Committee, CPSA, 20 September 1928 (Extracts)

MINUTES OF MEETING OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE  
HELD ON THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 20TH 1928 AT 8 P.M.  
AT ASHERS BUILDINGS

Present. M. Wolton (Chair), La Guma, Sachs, Weinbren, Molobi, Thibedi,  
D. Wolton, Danchin, Kalk, Diamond, Phooko.

[...]

Thibedi's Allegation Com. Thibedi reported that in looking through the drawers in the desk used by Comrade D. Wolton he had found a typewritten document which he thought had subsequently been despatched to the E.C.C.I. He had copied extracts from the document as follows.

2. The reference is to articles in the mainstream South African press that claimed that Rebecca Bunting had warned of dangers of 'a black South African republic'. See, for example, the *Cape Times*, 25 August 1928. In fact, she made no such statement on the floor of the Sixth Congress. See: *The International Press Correspondence*, VIII, 48 (11 August 1928), p. 839.

'Financially the Party depends on donations from S.P. Bunting or some of those who aim to visit Russia eventually and claim allegiance to the movement. A definite non-European section of the Party is persistently clamouring for recognition and accordingly the white members of the Party see their privileged monopoly being threatened.

Definitely hostile acts are being resorted to in order to stem the development of non-Europeans within the Party.

In Johannesburg the majority who function (about 10) are ably represented by S.P. Bunting and the majority of blacks who function (about 10) are inarticulate or have through a course of selection of years, merely support because they have no reason to suppose any other policy is available.'

Com. Thibedi further stated that after the receipt of the newspaper report of the speech of Rebecca Bunting Com. Wolton had said to him in conversation 'For the last 10 years some members had been trying to get Buntings out of the Party – this is now their chance.'

Com. Thibedi alleged that Coms. Wolton and La Guma were carrying on intrigue within the Party and that Com. La Guma had in his possession a document that was being circulated amongst members of the Party.

Com. Weinbren read Comrade Bennett's speech from Inprecorr in which was stated that the recent successes of C.P.S.A. were due to the resolution submitted by the E.C.C.I. Com. Weinbren thought that misleading communications were being sent to E.C.C.I. by individuals in the Party and he strongly protested against such communications being sent.

Com. Wolton stated that he was preparing a report on the Party organisation in South Africa and he had made considerable notes. The report had not been submitted to E.C.C.I. He described as a lie the statement of Com. Thibedi that he had used the implication that 'now is the time to get the Buntings out of the Party'. In reply to Com. Weinbren he said that statements were submitted in the Minority report on the Resolution. Com. La Guma stated that he had prepared a document for submission to members of the Party, such document was in support of the E.C.C.I. resolution on South African and that the document was held in readiness. He further stated that frequent communications were passing between he and members of the E.C.C.I.

Motion. Weinbren moved seconded Diamond 'That the C.E. hereby warns all those concerned that this squabbling and antagonism be stopped otherwise the suspension of such members will be enforced'.

Sachs moved an amendment seconded Kalk 'That the C.E. appeals to all comrades to cease personal squabbles which are destroying Party work, and to carry on political discussion in a disciplined and comradely fashion.

Amendment – 2 votes

Motion – 4 votes Motion declared carried.

It was agreed that Com. Wolton's statement that the document had not been submitted to the E.C.C.I. without reference to the Party.



It was therefore accepted that the Com. Thibedi's accusation fell to the ground. [...]

RGASPI, 495/64/75/39-40. For the full text of the document see: RGASPI, 495/64/75/1-41.

Typed. Copy. Corrections by hand.

## 66

**Resolution of Political Secretariat, ECCI,  
19 October 1928 (Extract)<sup>1</sup>**

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION. 19.X.1928.

[...] While developing and strengthening the fight against all the customs, laws and regulations which discriminate against the native and coloured population in favour of the white population, the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of AN INDEPENDENT NATIVE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC AS A STAGE TOWARDS A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' REPUBLIC WITH FULL RIGHTS FOR ALL RACES BLACK, COLOURED AND WHITE. [...]

RGASPI, 495/20/653/43. For the full text of the document see: RGASPI, 495/20/653/39-49.

Typed.

Stamped: 1) Valid. (in German)  
2) Pol. S-t 9/14-19.X.-28 (in English)  
3) Pol. Secr. 19.X.28. (in Russian)

1. This brief extract from the 'Resolution on South African Question' is included as it contains the final version of the slogan of an independent native South African republic as adopted authoritatively by the ECCI at the conclusion of discussions during and after the 6th Congress of the Comintern.

## 67

**Report of V. Danchin and W. Kalk to Anglo-American Secretariat, ECCI,  
[5 December 1928] (Extract)<sup>1</sup>**

REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Internally, the Party is faced with the problem of its attitude to the policy decided upon by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in regard to the slogan of a 'Black republic'.<sup>x</sup>

[...]

This slogan, has produced considerable discussion in the Party since it was put forward a year ago. The consensus of opinion, including that of the majority of the native comrades, was definitely against its adoption. Although accepted by the Capetown branch, it was rejected by the Johannesburg branch. At annual conference of the Party in January it was decided to refer the matter back to the Central Executive (consisting of 8 whites and 5 Natives) which, in turn, was divided on the matter, the majority being against it and the minority consisting of three, being in its favour. The principal grounds for opposing the slogan are as follows. It is generally recognised in South Africa, both by the black and white sections of the population, that the position of the white race there is radically different from that of any other 'colony', in so far as it is made up of a nation of 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> million people, comprising all classes, who regard the country as their permanent home. Further, the white working class, who number close on 200,000 and whose numbers are growing, despite its present attitude of 'leaving matters to the Pact Government', had produced an important labour movement, politically and industrially, which is capable of, and practised in, militant action against the capitalist class. A good deal of progress in their ranks has been made by the Communist Party in recent years in its propaganda that the interests of the white and black workers are identical, and some notable practical achievements have resulted. On the other hand, our native propagandists have popularised this idea amongst the black workers, who, as a consequence, have, on several occasions, shown their readiness to fight side by side with the whites. In sharp contradictions to these

<sup>x</sup> The following passage gives the arguments against the slogan adopted by the VI World Congress of the Comintern. The Resolution of the ECCI on the South African Question completely rejects these arguments: but they are instructive for us as showing the ideas which we have to liquidate. Our last letter to South Africa stressed the line of the Comintern on this question. NEAL.

1. This document is undated but minutes of the meeting of the Anglo-American Secretariat of 5 December 1928 indicate that a report on South Africa was delivered on that date by 'Johns' and 'Brown'. See: RGASPI, 495/72/43/22-3.