

indication the line of the Party is pursuing with regard to the ICU. It would appear from the minutes that the CEC is not completely united on the question of bringing about a unified native trade union movement. This was revealed in the differences on the question of unity of the Native Trade Union Federation with the ICU. The resolution of the 6th Congress makes quite clear that one of the objects of the Party is to strive for a united trade union of native workers. The decision of your CEC 'to maintain friendly relations' is not a correct interpretation of the spirit of the Congress resolution. It may be you have since had the resolution before you and are clear and united on the policy that should be pursued. If so, we shall be glad to hear what is your decisions on this question.

We are also concerned with the apparent lack of harmony among the CEC members as revealed in the minutes. We consider that, with the immense tasks before the Communist Party of South Africa, where the Party is so small, it can ill afford to spend sessions of the Executive Committee in personal recriminations. By this we do not wish to minimise the importance of self-criticism; we must frankly and boldly analyse and criticise our weaknesses and shortcomings, and do everything possible to overcome them.

We notice that the Secretary was preparing a report on Party organisation. We should be glad to have this as early as possible, as it is apparent from the CEC proceedings that there is need for a certain reorganisation which will eliminate many small questions coming before the CEC and leave their hands free to concentrate on the political tasks before the Party.

We have taken the opportunity of the arrival of the Lenin<sup>2</sup> students to have a report from them on the general situation in your country and in the Party. On the basis of their report it appeared to us that it was desirable that your conference should be postponed to allow the membership to discuss the South African Resolution adopted by the World Congress. From the attitude taken up by many of your members towards the slogan of a Native Republic, there is a need for considerable ideological clarity on this question. A purely mechanical acceptance of the slogan, or acceptance with reservations would not be beneficial for the Party, but indeed harmful. We fully understand the implications of this slogan and the difficulties which the Party will have to overcome in advocating it, but we think the arguments in our resolution are so convincing, that if the members are given an opportunity to discuss this resolution, they will fall into line and be united with the C.I.

In conclusion, we understand you are having some difficulties in sending the quota of native comrades for the Lenin School. We have gone into the question of rendering assistance, but we consider the main part of the problem is at your end. If you can arrange for the students to reach Europe, we will be in a position to assist them. We have to remind you that the last provision made

2. Obviously, students who came to the International Lenin School, i.e. Danchin and Kalk.

was for the native students only, and must on no account be utilised for any other purpose.

Yours fraternally,  
For the Anglo-American Secretariat.

RGASPI, 495/64/77/12-13.

Original in English.

Typed. Copy.

Stamped: 3125 - 18.XII.1928

69

**Letter from T.W. Thibedi,<sup>1</sup>**  
**7 January 1929**

COPY OF LETTER RECEIVED FROM T.W. THIBEDI, GENERAL SECRETARY,  
S. AFRICAN FEDERATION OF NATIVE TRADE UNIONS;  
DATED JOHANNESBURG, 7TH JANUARY 1929.

Our C.P.S.A. conference has ended last week. The majority are still not satisfied with the new slogan, the South African delegates to the 6th World Congress of the C.I. are trying to convince the majority for that slogan, but all in vain. The new Slogan has and still is doing the Revolutionary Movement a lot of harm. The C.I. should quickly reconsider their decision on the matter. The R.I.L.U. can do us good<sup>2</sup> by considering the Black Republic more especially from a revolutionary Trade Union point of view. Tell Comrades Losovsky, Bucharin, Stalin and the C.I. Secretariat for dealing with the Negro problems, also the 'Agitprop'. The Federation of Non-European Trades Unions, representing about 2,808 black workers, consider the Black Republic slogan a mistake, and that a 'Workers and Peasants Republic' would really rally the black and white workers in this country. Since this new slogan many workers seem not interested, white as well as black.

Comrade J.A. La-Guma, who was elected several times to official positions in the Party, and whom we all trusted, has left for Cape Town some months ago, he never informed the Trade Unions nor the Party of his departure, he left the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions without a word of good-bye. He is no longer active in the Trade Unions or the C.P. he has opened a business, a Tea-Room or something like that, in Cape Town. I have been elected General Secretary of the Federation; during La-Guma's time the Trade

1. There is no addressee on the copy of this document found in the archives.

2. [good?] unclear word in the original.



Unions were declining, now, since he has left, much life is shown by all. The following is our membership: Laundry Workers 800, Furniture Workers 600, Clothing Workers 400, Motor Drivers 200, Bakers 300, Transport 200, Food & Drink 100, Meat & Cold Storage 30, Dairy 60, Steel Workers Union, a new Union, 118. I may say that I intend to set up Committees in the Mines, but at present I am worried by the financial question. Kadalie, Ballinger, are always trying to smash or to capture our Trade Unions, but so far have failed. Comrade, I am busy night and day and my sole desire is to get all these Trade Unions 100% revolutionary. I wish to hear much about the R.I.L.U. and the Agitprop. Re-students I have no hope of getting a Pass-port from this Government. ??Try.

The slogan should be considered immediately. Those who pretend to be for same are only afraid that the whole of the C.P.S.A. might be off from the C.I. All the Trade Unions demand 'Workers & Peasants Republic for Africa', not a white or black Republic. Show the letter to Losovsky, Bucharin, Stalin and those of the Agitprop. Tell them and Willie<sup>3</sup> to write to me.

Yours for a speedy revolution,  
(signed) T.W. Thibedi (Native)

RGASPI, 495/64/80/59-60.<sup>4</sup>

Original in English.

Typed. Corrections by hand.

### 70

#### Letter from A. Nzula to R.P. Arnot, ECCL, 19 March 1929

Johannesburg  
19th March 1929.

Mr. R. Page Arnot,  
Room 59, E.C.C.I.,  
Moscow.

Dear Comrade,

In reply to your letter of the 26 January 1929 re appointment of a Negro Comrade in South Africa to assist the Negro Bureau in the work ~~so far as~~ in

3. 'Willie' could be Willie Kalk who was doing a course at the Lenin School in Moscow at that time.

4. A slightly different version of the same text is found at: RGASPI, 495/64/80/61-2.

South Africa, the Congo etc. I am instructed by my Executive to inform you that Comrade A. Nzula, assistant-general Secty<sup>1</sup> of the Communist Party in S.A. <sup>and</sup> actg.<sup>2</sup> general secretary.

I shall write soon and send in my first installment of articles.

Yours Fraternally,  
A. Nzula  
Actg. General Secty.

RGASPI, 495/64/85/37.

Original in English.

Typed on the letterhead of the CPSA.

Stamped: CONTROL

Inscriptions: 1) Negro Bureau file

(in Russian)

No answer

(in English)

2) Received when?

By me on 23rd April.

Did it come through ordinary post?

R.P.A.

(in English)

3) AngloSax.

(in Russian)

### 71

#### Report of B. Idelson to ECCL, August 1929 (Extract)<sup>1</sup>

#### COMRADE L'S REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA AUGUST 1929

[...]

Although hatred of the white oppressor is common to all the sections of the Negro population, there is as yet no class carrying on a consistent struggle against the oppressor. This hatred is extended to all the classes of the white population: the white proletariat has not yet shown its sympathy to the black population in any way, and the CP is only beginning to win its

#### Doc. 70

1. Secretary.
2. Acting.

#### Doc. 71

1. The archives contain both the original Russian manuscript of this report and a typed copy (RGASPI, 495/19/189/2-17; RGASPI, 495/64/82/1-31). One typed copy of the Russian original was sent directly to Stalin on 31 August 1929 (RGASPI, 495/64/82/1-31). This copy has an inscription in Russian: 'To com. Stalin. Confidential, 31.VIII.29'.