

much regret that circumstances did not permit me to come and give a verbal report on this particular instruction.

I am looking forward to a brighter future in all aspects of our work.

Sheik, Suz and Potechin¹⁶ we expect much from you

Cheerio,
R.¹⁷

RGASPI, 495/4/346/75-82.

Original in English.

Handwritten.

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**Minutes of Politbureau, CPSA,
26 January 1937**

**POLITBUREAU CPSA. MINUTES OF THE MEETING
HELD ON 26TH JANUARY 1937 AT 6 PM.**

Present: Comrades Mofutsanyana, Wolfson, Kotane, Marks and Basner.

ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION & ELECTIONS.

Comrade Mofut.¹ said that we decided that Comrade Basner should go forward as a candidate of the A.A.C. for the coming election as Senator. At present the AAC is only a sham, but the elections are agitating the minds of the people. Through the AAC the Cp has been in touch with voters associations and this has shown much support for our nominee.² But the E.C. of the AAC cannot

Doc. 71

16. E. Sik, A.Z. Zusmanovich and I.I. Potekhin who were Marks's lecturers at KUTV.

17. Raymond.

Doc. 72

1. Mofutsanyana.

2. There is a triple line in black pencil in the left margin opposite this sentence.

arrive at any agreement on one candidate and have put forward Jones,³ Basner, Ballinger. The final decision has however been delayed until the E.C. meeting in Kroonstad on the 7th February. The A.N.C. is also convening a meeting of all Location committees at Boksburg on Sunday to pledge their support for one candidate, and we will have to see that Boksburg gives the mandate to us. The Native Chiefs are also in a difficult position, as they have to chose between pleasing their people or becoming agents of imperialism. We must send emissaries to the Native reserves. The difficulty however is finance. They will at all costs fight against communist candidates.

Comrade Basner said that the A.N.C. will endorse us and they are fairly influential at present, and we must get the AAC to do likewise. This depends on how Comrade Mofut. works. We can get the Transvaal E.C. members to adopt me, and then we can get the OFS⁴ to accept me on this basis. If the CP works correctly we will win over some of the OFS members in Kroonstad. We need money and we have not given this sufficient thought. We need at least £1000., which must be raised at all costs.

Comrade Marks said the people are keenly interested in the elections. The CP has not realised the significance of the elections and has not propagated decisions amongst the rank and file of the CP. The Elections are very important because we are not yet strong enough to lead in a complete boycott of the Hertzog Native Bills,⁵ and we must thus participate in this indirect representation. The AAC should be the United front of all Native people in S.A., but at present a lot of discredited elements are leading the AAC. The leaders of the ANC are in the same category, and this is a serious problem. I personally feel that a CP Senator will raise the prestige of the party amongst the Natives. Sundays meeting of the ANC will fly to our side except Dr. Seme. Unless the Cp gets into the agrarian areas and makes contact with the people there. This of course depends on finances. We are in touch with a number of chiefs. Most of the Natives in urban areas are disenfranchised. In Newclare Location out of 30,000 people only 192 voters. The ANC is a better known organisation than the AAC, but we must build AAC which will depend on what line we will take. If they reject Basners nomination it will be a severe blow to A.A.C. CP must be more active in mass propaganda.

Comrade Wolfson said that we must come forward with our programme of demands and we must use all possible means of raising finances for this campaign.

COMRADE KOTANE'S POSITION. Comrade Mofutsanyana said that Comrade Kotane had told him a few days ago that he was giving up work as a party functionary and that he was leaving Johannesburg. On being further

3. The identity of Jones could not be established.

4. Orange Free State

5. There is an exclamation mark in red pencil in the left margin opposite this sentence.

question he stated that he was going to Cape Town. Comrade Kotane should make a statement at this meeting about his position.

Comrade Kotane said it was unnecessary to recapitulate all he had said in the past from time to time. The condition in the party has brought him to this stage. I must have a holiday. When I was overseas I said I did not want to be in the leadership and I signed a document that I would not start a fight. I am not satisfied with things in the CPSA.⁶ I am not going to ask you whether I can go or not. I am ceasing to be a functionary. I know the discipline of the party but I feel justified in and am not going to listen to any discipline of the party. We have a party membership to which we do not account for our work and I feel we cannot account to ourselves. I am prepared to accept the consequences.

Comrade Mofutsanyana said that Com. Kotane was quite frank.

Comrade Marks said that Comrade Kotane's remarks narrowed the scope of the discussion. I must sharply criticise his defiant attitude which show he is not subject to any discipline. He is very incorrect. If he has any feeling that CP is not what it should be then he should make a statement. I do not see eye to eye with him on many questions. When he feels that the Party leadership is not responsible to the rank and file and if he is a communist why does he not bring about the necessary consciousness, instead of defying the party, which in the present situation can only weaken the party. He has not referred to any concrete issue. I feel he is not a communist. His signature of a document does not prevent him from exposing something that he consciously sees is wrong. If he does not it is rank opportunism. His decisions to sign the document must have been arrived at after lengthy and serious discussion and questions.⁷

Comrade Basner said that he came prepared to support Kotane on his complaints and grievances. But I have to agree with Comrade Marks on the form of his statement. I have nothing to say and I cannot support Kotane. Over the last three years on certain things I supported Kotane but I can never support his attitude to the party. It is something different to ours. If a man feels he is right he should fight in the party for his point of view. If Kotane thinks he can accomplish his work in any other party then he is wrong in being in CP. I know Kotane a long time and he fully knows that only one party CPSA can liberate the S.A. people. We know the structure of our party and the struggle for the line of our party which is carried on in PB and in CC. Kotane has not rectified if the line is wrong and he has not attempted to hammer it out. Last aggregate would have led to big struggle if Kotane spoke. The line of the party is quite clear as laid down at our last conference. Differences arise in carrying out line and I agree that we have to consider changing composition of our leadership. If Kotane brought pressure line can be changed. I agree that we do

6. There is a triple line in black pencil in the left margin against this part of the paragraph starting 'Comrade Kotane'.

7. There is a double line in black pencil in the left margin opposite this paragraph.

not do sufficient work amongst the Natives and I agree with him, but he is doing less to rectify the position by his attitude. I appeal to Comrade Kotane to change his attitude and fight within the party. His attitude is 'I don't give a damn what you do.'⁸

Comrade Wolfson said that it was incumbent on Comrade Kotane to make a political statement either verbally or in writing for his present attitude. His undisciplined and defiant attitude was not one that was to be expected from a man of his training and experience and was absolutely uncommunist. Comrade Kotane knows fully well that the leadership is responsible to the membership and in case of bad mistakes, failures, sabotage, etc., the leadership could be dealt with. The line of the party was adopted at the conference and Kotane was present and did not raise any objections to the line which was adopted. Comrade Kotane was given almost a free hand to do work, no one interfered in any way with him, and his present attitude is very peculiar.⁹ If anything is wrong in the party it cannot be rectified by members especially leading members running away. I maintain that we must have a political statement from Com. Kotane as to why he has contemplated his present action.

Comrade Mofutsanyana said that after discussing with Kotane he felt he had a case and wanted to know how we could rectify it. His attitude is very peculiar. He spoke about the line of the C.I. and signing a document. I am sure that the CI remembers Lenin's remarks that a fight on two fronts is the fight for the right line of the party. If he sees anything wrong it is his duty to rectify it. He ought to be frank at PB and place his point of view. He is not doing anything but telling us his decisions and telling us he is not under discipline.

Comrade Kotane refused to make any statement and the meeting closed.

10 p.m.

RGASPI, 495/14/350/8-9.

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2) Incom. no. 222 |C

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8. There is a double line in black pencil in the left margin opposite this paragraph, except the 2nd and 3rd sentences.
 9. There is a triple line in black pencil in the left margin opposite this sentence.