provinces; that the policy of non-cooperation between whites and non-whites should wherever practicable, become that of the Congress; that secession from the white churches to non-european churches become part of the Congress doctrinal propaganda; removal of white pictures from the homes of non-europeans should be encouraged in order to enhance race reliance and efficiency.' – Star 24/10/29.

On the question of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the agrarian revolution, the absence of a native feudal class, and a native bourgeoisie, we think that Comr. Bunting gives most of the facts but rather distorts the picture as we see it. Though it is no doubt true that the complete racial emancipation of the African will probably not be achieved before the social revolution, it is still possible to distinguish the present democratic phase of the revolution when national-racial demands (and liberal demands such as education) take first place, from a theoretical later stage when the African proletariat will be stronger and more homogeneous and when the demands of the social revolution will predominate.

The fact that large numbers of the native peasants are indentured for work on the mines and farms does not alter the essentially imperialist character of the exploitation of the peasantry in the reserves and the need for an agrarian revolution to set matters right. Even in the detribalised areas native land hunger and conditions are as strong as, may stronger than, in the reserves. We are therefore justified in endorsing the statement of the Sixth Congress that 'the national question in S. Africa, which is based on the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in S. Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with, and under the leadership of the working class.' With regard to a native feudal class it is true that such a class is practically non-existent in S. Africa. Nevertheless the role of the chief must be taken into account. The chiefs have certain traditional powers and privileges which imperialism utilises to strengthen its hold over the tribesmen and their country.

On the question of the native bourgeoisie Comr. Bunting underestimates the role of such petty bourgeois elements as exist (teachers, clerics, independent artisans, small traders etc.) though again most of his facts are correct. The native intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie, though small in numbers, are of great importance in the present stage of the democratic revolution and should not be ignored. The fact that many of them are in the

pay of the Government is no reason for underestimating their importance as Comrade Bunting tends to do.

With Communist Greetings,
Fraternally Yours,
A. Nzula,
on behalf of the Executive Bureau
of C.P.S.A.

RGASPI, 495/64/85/14.
Original in English.
Typed.
Stamped: 57 – 1.JAN.1930

The Daily Mail about the Role of Comintern in Events in South Africa, 20 November 1929

NEWS FROM ABROAD, TASS, 20 NOVEMBER 1929 MORNING ISSUE, NO. 2, FV.¹

On Native Disturbances in South Africa

To Com. Piatnitsky

London, 19/XI (TASS²). According to the 'Daily Mail', the role of 'Moscow' in the disturbances of South African natives is confirmed by the news that on 26 September the government of the Union of South Africa intercepted telegrams sent to communist leaders in Durban. In these telegrams the uprising of the natives is set for 16 December. In this connection last week the authorities sent troops to Native settlements situated on the coastal strip and in the Durban area. It is reported that the authorities expect the arrival of a ship to Kapstadt³ in order to capture some documents and luggage.

RGASPI, 495/19/189/22. Original in Russian. Typed.

^{4.} Most probably, the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' was adopted under the influence of James M. Thaele, president of the Western Cape branch of the ANC. Thaele studied and got his degrees in the USA and was strongly influenced by Garveyism. He had a militant race consciousness and often used the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' in his speeches and writing.

^{1.} The meaning of this abbreviation is not clear.

^{2.} Soviet news press agency, 'Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union'.

^{3.} Cape Town.