

and black workers (see decision of V Congress of RILU, which shows in detail the forms and methods of work in this sphere).

6) The anti-imperialist struggle for freedom of the toiling native population must not only receive the fullest and widest support from the Party, but must be at the centre of its attention and must be organised by the Party.

The Party must carry on systematic work to expose the treachery of social-reformist organisations and leaders (The African Congress, Kadalli, etc.). The attention of the masses must be concentrated on the struggle against all slave conditions and the political lack of rights of the Negro population, and at the same time this struggle must be linked up with the direct struggle of the working class and the struggle of the peasant masses and agricultural workers against the farmers, landowners, planters, etc.

Mass activity of organisations for the purpose of repulsing imperialist violence must be supported by proletarian methods of struggle, chiefly by mass political strikes and demonstrations, which will be carefully prepared for by all previous work.

By organising in the cities, villages, plantations and mines elected committees of action representing all the workers for the purpose of carrying out such activity, the Party must make use of the directions in the organisational resolution of the V Congress of the RILU so as to carry on tireless work to guarantee proper Party leadership and to struggle against the working masses becoming subservient to petty-bourgeois elements. The organisation of the Anti-Imperialist League in South Africa may serve as that form of mass organisation which will guarantee the proper proletarian leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle of the TOILING Negro masses.

7) The main line of Party work in the country will be on the one hand the organisation of agricultural workers in trade unions and on the other hand support for the development of the mass peasant movement, the movement of landless peasants, small rentiers and sharecrop farmers for the lowering of rents, against taxes, against forms of compulsory and slavish work, for the carrying out of the slogan 'a South African native republic'.

The Party must take steps to see that the trade unions endeavour to find proper forms of contact with groups of workers who are returning to their own villages.

In addition to this it is necessary to extend as widely as possible the contacts of workers' organisations with every kind of radicalism and revolutionary peasant committees of action and with organisations which have been formed in connection with the struggle for the partial demands of peasants.

8) In connection with the sharpened form of the strike struggle and with the growth of repression against revolutionary proletarian organisations, the Party must immediately commence to form mass organisations of proletarian defence based on the factories, mines, plantations and villages. All white workers should be attracted to join workers' defence corps and their international education should be extended in every possible way.

The Party must also not forget that success in its work will inevitably cause the government to move against it. This makes it necessary for the Party, at the same time as it develops its legal organs, to prepare an illegal apparatus composed of the most reliable and faithful comrades.

9) The Party must immediately widely and seriously discuss the letter from the ECCI dated May 5th, 1930 and also the present letter. It must draw all the necessary conclusions from these letters, must carry them into practice with Bolshevik directness and decisiveness. Only in this way can the Party ranks be strengthened and the Party converted into a real Bolshevik vanguard.

RGASPI, 495/4/399/29-33.

Original in English (Comintern translation of the Russian original text).

Typed. Copy.

Stamped: 1) Archives of ECCI (in Russian)

2) No. 3689 10.9.30

3) FINAL TEXT (in Russian)

Inscription: Tasks of the CPSA (in Russian)

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**Report of E.S. Sachs to ECCI,
8 October 1930**

Johannesburg.
8th October, 1930.

REPORT.

I arrived home on the 1st October¹ and on the second attended a meeting of the E.B. of the Party, at which I submitted a report on

- (a) World Negro Conference;
- (b) R.I.L.U. Congress.
- (c) Discussion with C.I. letter of the 5th May and latest resolution.

I was informed that the C.I. letter of 5th May was not received here and I must ask you, therefore, to forward a copy of the letter to us immediately as well as a copy of the resolution adopted recently.

Use this address for all private matter:

1. Sachs attended the International Conference of Negro Workers in Hamburg and 5th Congress of the Profintern in Moscow, both in July 1930.

Miss B. Morris,
P.O. Box 4410,
Johannesburg,
South Africa.

I propose dealing in this short report only with the state of the Party and will send a report of the general situation shortly.

1. I found the Party here in a worse state than four months ago. Hardly any work of importance is done by the E.B. or other party organisations or even considered and all the time is taken up in faction fights, which, although superficially appear to be of a personal character, reveal on closer examination a revolt on the part of the followers of the C.I. line against the Bunting leadership. So far, however, the quarrels still bear a purely personal character, but I feel sure that the letter and resolution will have a very good influence and may assist in the creating of a nucleus of a Party for South Africa.

2. At the E.B. meeting, which was attended by four white and two native comrades, very little was done. One of the Native comrades present, Nzula, who is by far the best, most able and loyal member of the Party was drunk (I have no hesitation in saying that he was driven to drink partly by the Party leadership, who threw him out of the General Secretaryship of the Party, which position he filled for some time with great ability, and has always tried to find fault with him because he would not kow tow to white chauvinism and stood for the C.I. line). A quarrel, which was started between the Buntings and Nzula, broke up the meeting.

Before the meeting broke up, however, I managed to raise a series of important points, but from the very beginning, I could see clearly that Bunting and his followers do not want to see the mire in which the Party has been rotting for years ^{disturbed} and would sabotage any effort to rebuild the Party.

3. I informed the E.B. of the discussions I had with you and that, together with a study of Lenin on the National and Colonial question have convinced me of the correctness of the C.I. line for which I was going to work wholeheartedly in the future. This was received with sneers on the part of the Buntings. I then suggested that we should now start a proper discussion on the C.I. policy, not as we had hitherto, where only the few leaders argued and ^{the} membership knew nothing about it, but a discussion with the fullest participation of all members. Bunting's reply was, 'What, another discussion. Have not we had enough of it?'

I then raised the question of re-organising the Party on a nuclei and group basis. This would be very opportune at present as the branch meetings in Johannesburg have been turned into one endless squabble and no party work of any description is being done thereat. I suggested that we should immediately elect an organising committee from the E.B. and all the active party members, who are becoming demoralised as a result of the quarrels, should be formed into concentration groups, each group concentrating on the

mines, locations or factories, where we have already a foothold, and instead of the Branch we should have groups inside the places where the workers work or reside. There was no opposition offered, but the suggestion was, nevertheless, passed over without anything being done.

4. I then raised the question of the Railwaymen, who are having their wages cut considerably, and also the attempt of the employers to reduce wages on a national scale in every industry (see Press), but this too failed to rouse any interest. The night before a stormy meeting of 4,000 railwaymen took place at Johannesburg, but there was no one to give a lead. I then raised the question of the line of our followers at the Unity Conference (4th October) and also what policy the Federation should follow. Here again nothing was done, but I was given more or less a free hand to do as I like.

I then stressed the importance of a General Secretary for the Party and suggested a native comrade should be appointed immediately (the Party has no General Secretary at present). Bunting asked where is the money to come from, although he received some £26.² recently.

Party Congress and training of cadres I also raised, but these too were received coldly.

However, some headway is being made. With the co-operation of a few comrades we managed to start a training class, which will have at the beginning about twenty native comrades, also a few whites. So far I have taken charge of courses and intend dealing with

- (a) The national and colonial question.
- (b) Bolshevik organisation.
- (c) Work in mass organisations and our relation.

Other comrades are attending to questions of a general theoretical character, and, as soon as funds are available, we shall try to draw students from other parts of the country into the class.

As the Buntings are practically out of it, I feel confident that good results will be shown shortly. Together with one or two other comrades, I am trying to put the letter and resolution of the C.I. into practice. An attempt was made to draw me into the personal quarrels and to discredit me generally, but without success so far.

With regard to the Trade Union Unity Conference, I had to do everything on my own. I drafted the open letter for the Federation, which the Federation adopted, also the statement for our fraction at the Congress, a copy of which I will send you by next mail. There was only one day left for the Congress and

2. '2' is crossed out in the original and another, barely legible, number is written above it in pencil, either '7', or '9'.

everything had to be done in a hurry. The E.B. had not even considered our attitude to the Congress, but endorsed my action.

I will send you a further report next week.

A. GREEN.

ENCLOSURES: (1) Mines leaflet.
(2) Open letter of Federation.
(3) Meeting leaflet.

RGASPI, 495/64/100/6-9.

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(in Russian)

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(in German)

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Minutes of Ninth Conference, CPSA, 26-8 December 1930 (Extracts)¹

Strictly Confidential

REPORT ON NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA. (JOHANNESBURG, DECEMBER 26TH-28TH, 1930)

Presidium: The following comrades were nominated and elected:

Ngedlane, Jose Mpama, Mackay, Sachs, Safarov, J.W. Ford, Roux and Rathbone.

Opening of Conference: The Chairman of the Presidium (Com. Ngedlane), welcomed the delegates. He paid tribute to the late Com. Nkose² and the Conference stood in silence for two minutes in tribute to the memory of the late Com. Nkose.

1. Selected extracts present the first open attack on S.P. Bunting by A. Nzula, E. Roux, and D. Wolton in line with the drive towards the bolshevisation of the Party.

2. Nkosi, a militant propagator of the 'South African native republic' was mortally wounded in Durban during a country-wide campaign to burn pass-books that was launched by the CPSA on 16 December in support of the slogan of independent native republic and in compliance with Comintern's proposed tactics.

Fraternal Delegates: Phofolo of the Independent I.C.U. said: 'My organisation asked me to represent them at this Congress. There is no special message except to say that they wish the Congress every success.'

A letter was read from the General Secretary of the Independent African National Congress, Cape Town, expressing regret at inability to attend Congress owing to the fact that they are having their first Congress on the same dates and also financial difficulties.

General Political Resolution.

Under this item Com. Wolton stated that the Chairman should have reported but owing to short notice asked Com. Wolton to report.

Com. Wolton said:

'We see that the struggle between the various imperialist powers in the world is greatly accentuated. We see that the struggle for markets is becoming a fiercer and wider struggle every day. There are many things which demonstrate these facts. We see an unparalleled wave of depression sweeping all over the world. We have seen a general decline in world prices in agricultural products in every colonial country of the world. We have also witnessed a phenomenal rise in unemployment, which is computed at the present time to have reached two million throughout the capitalist world and we see this figure mounting and rising rapidly. Imperialism today is in a very serious position. In every front we find that WAR DANGER, ATTACK ON SOVIET UNION, etc.

When we come to our conditions, we find there are various deficits: there is a sharp drop in the price of maize; there is increasing difficulty in the gold market.

There is a rise and deepening revolutionary struggle of the masses against the conditions imposed upon them. With the drop in prices and the low standard of life of the working class arising out of the economic crisis, we find an increasing demonstrations on the part of the revolutionary masses throughout the world to fight back against these - to fight against the worsening conditions which are imposed upon them, etc. [...]

Third Session, resumed 2.30 p.m. on 27th December 1930.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA, REPORTER COM. NZULA.

'Comrades, in the report on Party work, I think the first thing we ought to consider is what big undertakings the Party has carried out this year. I would like to draw attention to certain important events that we have taken part in this year and by which we can gauge our success. The first, I think important event this year was the Negro Conference.³ The C.I. in its policy for S.A. has

3. The reference is to the International Negro Workers' Conference (founding conference of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers) in Hamburg (Germany) in July 1930 attended by E. Sachs.