

Com. Bukharin: We must at least find a general solution to this question. I believe that it is not permissible for local bodies to disavow their delegates who are expelled by the congress. In doing so we would our⁶ power in the struggle for our policy in the trade unions. On the other hand, I am against the immediate organisation of a new trade union. This would be a mistake in the other direction. The situation is rather difficult here. We have rather limited influence and there is a danger that we would be isolated. If we start organising a new trade union immediately we lose the trump card in the struggle for trade union unity. Since in this case the issue is the black trade union we would lose politically.

Therefore it would be better that our followers vote against the exclusion of those who have been expelled. If they are expelled by the congress for those reasons, they should advocate co-operation among those expelled, especially in the struggle for reinstatement in the trade union. I believe that is sufficient in the current situation.

My practical suggestion: we do not accept this general resolution but form a small committee, perhaps of three comrades, whose task it should be to define this important problem properly based on the principles which we feel are correct or, in the event that another proposition is accepted, based on the principles of that proposition. Then we will accept a separate resolution that the VTsSPS,⁷ several foreign trade unions, etc. send telegrams of greeting, and nothing else. [...]

Accepted.⁸

RGASPI, 495/2/71a/128, 137-9, 142, 148.

Original in German.

Typed. Steno.

Inscriptions: 1) South African question

2) Pres. 16.3.27.

(typed)

6. A verb after 'would' is missing in the original. Perhaps, 'weaken'.

7. Abbreviation for Vsesoiuznyi Tsentralnyi Sovet Professionalnykh Soiuziv (All-Union Central Council of Professional Unions), the central body of Soviet trade unions.

8. Bukharin's proposal that a committee of three draft a resolution on South Africa was accepted. The resolution submitted by the British Secretariat was rejected.

**Resolution of Presidium of ECCL,
16 March 1927**

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

16.III.1927

The expulsion of five Communists from the Executive of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa confronts all the revolutionary workers of that country with the question of the forms and methods suitable for the struggle against the expulsion and splits.

The Communists should pursue the following line in connection with the Congress of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, to be held on the 25th April.

1) To bring protest resolutions at all Locals¹ against the expulsion with the demand, appealing to Congress, to have the Executive's decision annulled.

2) In the case of Congress confirming the expulsion of 5 Communists, all opponents of expulsion at the Congress should bring written protests against it, but should in no circumstances either leave Congress or give grounds for disruption.

3) All opponents of expulsion should strive for the non-expulsion by local organisations from their ranks of any workers who may be expelled by the Executive or by Congress.

4) If the leaders of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union exclude from the Congress all who support the expelled Communists, all excluded from Congress should form an Excluded Members' Committee which should take the following actions:

a) Send an appeal to all local organisations of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union demanding their coming forward against the disruptive activities of the majority at Congress;

b) Send in demands to all local organisations for the convention of an Extraordinary Congress and the withdrawal of the resolution;

c) Embark on a campaign in all local organisations for the support of the expelled workers;

d) Express themselves in favour of the preservation of the unity of the Union, making the keystone of the whole campaign the necessity of taking back all those expelled and of the establishment of the unity of the Union for the purposes of the successful struggle against the bourgeoisie.

1. Local branches.

5. The whole struggle, before, during and after Congress whatever the manoeuvres of the reactionary leaders, must be carried on under the flag of revival of the unity of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the demand for the right of workers of all tendencies to express their views within the general trade union organisation.

RGASPI, 495/2/71a/163

Original in English.

Typed. Copy.

Inscription: Attachment to the Minutes of Presidium of 16.III.27 (in German)

43

**Memorandum of D. Petrovsky to Presidium of ECCL,
17 March 1927**

Confidential

17.III.1927

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDIUM
COPIES TO MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH SECRETARIAT

I could not stay until the end of the meeting of the Presidium. Statements by members of the British Secretariat as well as comments by members of the Presidium compel me to make the following statement.

1. Com. La Guma was summoned at the suggestion of the British Secretariat to inform it on issues of the South African movement.
2. After the arrival of Com. La Guma it turned out that his presence in South Africa was extremely urgent and therefore it was desirable to let him go as soon as possible.
3. On the 10th of this month a meeting of a part of the British Secretariat with Com. La Guma was held to consider the most urgent tasks. A short resolution was worked out together with Com. La Guma and was presented to the Polit. Secretariat on the 11th of this month.
4. The Polit. Secretariat decided not to consider the resolution and proposed that Com. La Guma remain at the meeting of the Presidium to hear a detailed report there.
5. A specialist in South African affairs presented a short introduction to the resolution for the British Secretariat and the Presidium which was a topic of the discussion at the meeting of the British Secretariat on the 16th of this month.

6. Both at the first and the second meetings we proceeded from the understanding that we would consequently thoroughly discuss all questions concerning the South African labour movement, but until then we would confine ourselves to answering the questions, that, in our opinion could not be delayed.

7. It is a pity, indeed, that an unfortunate expression about the antagonism between the Dutch and English population crept into the introduction. The economic precondition of the antagonism is clearly sufficiently stated. But I repeat that the introduction was not intended to be sent anywhere.

8. At the meeting of the British Secretariat on the 16th the point about a campaign on behalf of the Labour Party¹ did not evoke any disagreement. We proceeded from the assumption that reorganisation of the Labour Party and its conversion into a party based upon collective membership is possible only if communists conduct a campaign simultaneously in the trade unions and in the Labour Party itself. This discussion at this meeting was focused first of all on different wordings in the introductory part of the resolution. Com. Duncan offered to formulate tasks pertaining to the national movement separately for the resolution section, and also to find out more about the question of forms of contact between the British Communist Party and the Communist Party of South Africa.

9. It was not assumed that the resolution section would be sent. There was only the discussion about practical instructions to be given to Com. La Guma (verbally).

10. Participants at the meeting on 10th March were: Rathbone, Reesema, Young, Hunt, Demar and La Guma; at the meeting on the 16th participated: Murphy, Duncan, Rathbone, Katayama, Feinberg, Hunt, Demar, Hardy, Young, Smolyansky, Reesema, and La Guma.

D. Petrovsky

RGASPI, 495/72/25/47-8.

Original in Russian.

Typed. Copy.

1. Here and elsewhere in the document, the South African Labour Party.