

the reformist unions, which contain hundreds of thousands of workers who cannot be won for the W.U.L. from without. Thirdly, there is an insufficient consolidation of the factory, district and national leadership, and they have insufficient connections with the masses. The provisional character of the leadership must be done away with and the election of leading committees and their responsibility to the membership established throughout the W.U.L. A collective leadership must be developed and this must follow the line of giving concrete instructions and stimulating activity and self-criticism by means of personal contact. All the members of the leading committees must work directly in the factory committees and opposition groups, taking up concretely the problems arising therein. The election and promotion of new forces to the district and national leadership must be undertaken immediately in view of the depletion of cadres due to arrests and deportations. The most active members in the factories, mines and mills and among the unemployed must be charged with leading work and the old and experienced comrades must give them the maximum assistance. Measures must be taken to educate the active members by organising classes, etc., in theory and especially in practical mass work.

The press of the W.U.L. must in the future play a greater role by widening and developing its circles of factory, mine, mill and unemployed correspondents. The central organ must give leadership to the Union, factory, and unemployed press through a self-critical discussion of the weaknesses and shortcomings of the W.U.L. work.

The W.U.L. has the task of mobilising the whole working class for the daily struggle **against imperialist war and intervention** against the U.S.S.R. The fact that the whole capitalist way out of the crisis leads to war and that the capitalists' attack upon the workers' wages and conditions and political rights is an integral part of their war preparations, must be explained in simple and concrete terms. It is necessary to combat and expose the social-fascist and reformist demagogy and pacifist propaganda. The work must be directed towards developing concrete mass actions against the imperialist war policy of the Canadian government and the manufacture and transportation of war materials.

By militantly and actively organising and leading the workers in the day-to-day struggles, the W.U.L. must transform itself into a powerful mass organisation, capable of fulfilling its role in the mobilisation of the workers in the fight against the capitalists and their reformist agents for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

OUR PROBLEMS

Urgent Questions of the Work of the C.P. of South Africa.

(Letter from South Africa.)

By J o h n s.

(Continued.)

Forms of the Mass Struggle for an Independent Native Republic.

The national-reformists and opportunists in the Party considered that the revolutionary struggle could not achieve freedom and independence for the African peoples. The national-reformists could only see the power of imperialism and could not see the weakness of imperialism—the proletarian revolution, the U.S.S.R. and the mass movement in South Africa. In 1929 the Party called on the masses in a revolutionary manner to fight for their freedom and rights, not by means of petitions to Parliament and the other organisations of the oppressors, but by a direct struggle against the slave laws, by mass violations of them. The Party called on the masses to burn passes on **Dingaans Day**. Thousands of workers in various towns responded to the call of the Party and burned their passes, thus stating that they would act the same way both with the laws which Herzog's Government was

trying to pass and with all the serf and slave laws of the imperialist government. Under these conditions the burning of passes was a form of mass revolutionary struggle for an independent native republic, for freedom, for land, for the improvement of the life of white and black workers. It would seem that the Party was bound to see the limited significance of the burning of passes, to explain to the masses the necessity of other more effective and higher forms of struggle. The burning of passes had the aim of struggling against the pressure of the slave owners, orientating the masses to the revolutionary struggle, mobilising the masses for mass activity against one of the most pernicious of laws. However, it would be a mistake to single out one of the laws, one of the calamities and not the worst one, and make it the centre of all the activity of the Party.

The Party had to take the path of mass action, but these direct slogans and appeals, while in the long run helping towards the aim of the struggle for an independent native republic, should have arisen from the direct needs of the masses, should have been real and urgent for the masses. Instead of passing on to a new form of mass struggle, once the old forms were out of date, the Communists converted the burning of passports into a virtue. A theory began to go round in the Party that anyone with a pass is not a genuine Communist. It is known that without a pass it is impossible to move about or to get work. What sort of Communist was that who could not move about, work and earn his living, and all because of the notion that "a Communist must not have a pass". This is a distortion and not conscious reliable Communist activity in rousing the masses to the struggle.

However, while stubbornly clinging to worn out and harmful slogans which isolate the Party and separate it from the masses, the Party did not put forward sufficiently and concretely the **struggle for an independent Native Republic**, **did not** determine how the masses should struggle for it in every locality and at the given moment.

In our **May Day Manifesto** there is the appeal: Not one peasant or labourer to sign the contract; refuse to pay hut tax and poll tax; drive the recruiters out of the reserves, refuse to pay debts to the European landlords, traders and government.

All these appeals have the character not of appeals to the masses but to individuals, not calling for the organisation of mass non-payment of taxes but for personal heroism.

The revolutionary movement must arouse and develop personal heroism. Our movement will be strong and stable if the majority of its supporters, convinced of its truth, are prepared for heavy sacrifices for the success of the struggle. But personal heroism is great and powerful only if it is connected with the general mass movement and the mass struggle. We must strictly distinguish between direct calls to the masses for action and our general agitation which explains the necessity for overthrowing the regime, the repeal of any particular law, etc. Always and under all conditions Communists are irreconcilable opponents of slave laws and all exploitation, and they are consistent supporters of the destruction of all exploitation through the revolutionary mass struggle. But it is not always and not every slogan which can be taken as a slogan of action. In order to call the masses to any particular form of mass struggle, to any particular action—strikes, refusals to pay taxes, etc.—we must have conditions in the form of the readiness of the masses for this action and the activity of the vanguard to be at the head of these masses. The readiness of the masses can only be known by maintaining constant everyday contacts with them, through agitation, the press, the trade unions, etc.

The Party did not think which forms of mass struggle had matured for action, which forms of struggle must be prepared for, and which forms of the struggle need only to be explained to the masses, and how to call the masses to such actions. We must call the masses to this, prepare them to organise their forces, but to call them immediately to carry out some slogan of the mass struggle we must take into account the circumstances and the degree of preparedness and training of the masses. We must not throw out slogans wildly, discrediting them, undermining respect for the Party on the part of the masses. This is the lesson which we **brought out**. (To be concluded.)