

there is a trade union functioning.

A further difficulty is that unemployed workers after a certain period are deported to the countryside. Ever larger numbers are now being deported to the Bantustans. Overnight urban workers are turned into direct migrant-labourers, placed in peasant environment without land and no opportunities of employment there. He is faced with contract labour, when it is available, or starvation.

These difficulties account for the present low level of trade union organisation. In the "African Communist" No. 78 1979, L.E. points out that less than 2% of the African working class is organised and comments that this is one of the major weaknesses in the South African national and social liberation struggle.

WHEREVER THERE ARE WORKERS THERE MUST BE SACTU

URBAN AREAS:

In the enterprises SACTU' activists

must not only be good revolutionaries but at the same time outstanding workers. Even though employers under the migrant labour system look more to a low wage sheet, than to efficiency, they are nevertheless reluctant to sack outstanding workers. Being a good worker gives a SACTU activist a chance of a longer working life in an enterprise.

Organising and mobilising at the point of production also means the training of workers themselves to take over political and trade union leadership. So when a worker is fired at one place he will, as a matter of course, continue political and trade union activity at the next. Get every worker into SACTU, make every worker a leader - is a good organising slogan.

RURAL AREAS:

Agricultural workers on big farms and estates could be classified as:

(a) Migrant labourers;

MK



SOLDIER

Mass Action and Armed Struggle

EXTRACTS FROM A DISCUSSION PAPER PRESENTED BY *LUMKILE MBHELE*

Our strategic goal is the armed seizure of power. The logical question which flows from this statement is, what do we mean by that. What do we envisage when we talk of

armed seizure of power?

When we talk of armed seizure of power we visualize a situation where we will wage a protracted revolutionary armed struggle till the overthrow

- (b) Forced and prison labour;
- (c) More or less regular farm hands with ties of a feudal nature to the landowners. Here, too, trade union organisation is necessary.

Migrant workers who are in the urban areas for periods of contract labour but regard the countryside as their home and feel an attachment to the land can be activated on both the issues of workers' rights and the land question. These workers could be prepared for trade union activity already prior to their departure for the period of contract labour.

Special attention should be paid to organising the unemployed in the Bantustans. Burning tasks to be tackled are questions of the right to work at an occupation of one's choice, the right to domicile and the right to movement.

The whole issue of trade union work in the rural areas brings into focus the close links between workers and

peasants - worker and migrant worker-peasant, agricultural workers-farm-hands and the land hungry peasants. The migrant labour system has greatly narrowed the traditional gap between urban and rural areas. The worker-peasant problem in South Africa is closely interwoven.

The rural areas, including Bantustans, provide fertile ground for trade union activity and at the same time enable the liberation movement headed by the African National Congress to promote and strengthen worker-peasant unity.

CONCLUSION

Revolutionary trade union tasks and problems are, of course, tackled within the framework of the national liberation movement headed by the ANC.

At all times there must be close co-ordination with and direction from the African National Congress.

S' VIEWPOINT

wal of the racists, when the ANC as the alternative government will then seize power. Now immediately we make the above statement a lot of issues come to one's mind. What about the strength of South Africa, its technological advancement and so forth? How on earth do we hope to realize our aspirations?

For an answer let us turn to the "Strategy and Tactics of the ANC"; "Except in very rare instances, the people's armed challenge against a foe with formidable strength does not achieve dramatic and swift success. The path is filled with obstacles and we harbour no illusions on this score in the case of South Africa. In the

long run it can only succeed if it attracts the active support of the mass of the people. Without this life-blood it is doomed."

This passage needs no further elaboration, for it speaks for itself. Without the inclusion of the masses in the armed struggle not only as supporters but as full-time participants, we can never hope to succeed.

A HIGHER FORM OF STRUGGLE

Firstly we must understand that armed struggle is a higher form of struggle and since it is not only logical but practical to start climbing the ladder from the lowest rung, therefore we can never hope to wage a successful armed struggle without mass actions.

Mass actions help to educate the masses. Through their involvement in mass actions the political consciousness of the masses is heightened. It makes the people realise their potential strength and also the need to take the struggle to higher plains in order to succeed.

Another important point is that the enemy will always respond to mass actions viciously. Therefore, mass actions have the effect of stretching the enemy, who whilst having to keep a close eye on the masses also has to contend with guerrilla actions. Thus the enemy line is stretched to the limit, thereby weakened.

Mass actions, as I said earlier on, increase the political consciousness of the masses, not only of those who are involved but also those who are sta-

nding on the side-line and watching. Through mass actions, organisations spring up. This is where the leadership springs up and is recognised by the people, also it makes it easier for an underground movement to draw cadres for the underground work and also cadres for the army.

OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLE

As I have said earlier on that armed struggle is the highest form of struggle, it is therefore necessary to understand that armed struggle can never be looked at in isolation from other forms of struggle. Other forms and facets of struggle have of necessity to be examined.

In this connection our "Strategy and Tactics" states:

"When we talk of revolutionary armed struggle, we talk of means which include military force..."

The above quoted passage clearly demonstrates that armed struggle comes as a result of many factors. It is part of the methods employed for the furtherance of our revolutionary goals. It is not as if other methods are no longer in use or the importance of them has been relegated but it is that in order for our struggle to succeed we have to reply to fascist terror with revolutionary violence.

The fact that our strategic objective at the moment is the armed seizure of power demonstrates that armed struggle is part and parcel of our day to day struggle. It should not be understood as a short cut to victory. That is why it is necessary

to think of the armed struggle in conjunction with other forms of struggle, especially mass actions.

The involvement of the masses in the armed struggle further means that the masses must recognise armed struggle not as a prerogative of a few specially trained individuals who, like a messiah, will come and liberate them. They must of necessity feel that the armed struggle is their own. For that is when we are going to get the full participation of the people. When we are firmly rooted among the people we will then be able to translate the concept of a people's war into practice.

It will be impossible to involve the masses in armed struggle if we portray the armed struggle as complicated, sophisticated and sensational - a form of struggle which is very special and therefore for very special people. It must be portrayed as simple and within everybody's grasp. It must build confidence not only in its success (which in itself is very important) but also that the people must feel capable of carrying it out themselves.

MASS MOBILISATION

Le duan in his book **THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION: FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS, ESSENTIAL TASKS**, says:

"Before the seizure of power and in pursuit of that aim, the only weapon available to the revolution, to the masses, is organisation... It is for combat that the masses are organised; conversely it is through combat that they are further orga-

nised and educated and the forces of revolution expanded. Therefore propaganda, organisation and struggle must go hand in hand, the common purpose being to form and enlarge the political army of the masses in preparation for the decisive leap."

Mass mobilisation is basically the building of an organisation. And in our case the organisation is for armed struggle. You don't mobilise without any purpose, you should have a purpose. Mass mobilisation in our case should be for building organisation for the revolutionary armed struggle.

That means that in our everyday work we should never fear to make the people know and understand that in the end we will have to fight it out with the boers as we are already doing. Lenin in **SELECTED WORKS**, Vol.3 p.385 says:

"The masses must know that they are entering upon armed bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory..."

This is exactly what I mean when I say that the masses must realise that the armed struggle is their own.

Even pure political actions like strikes, boycotts and other forms of struggle must be understood as a process of development of our struggle towards the fulfilment of our strategic objective. We should teach the people that when they act they don't just act for the sake of acting but this is part of the development to higher forms of struggle with armed struggle being the highest form.

Our mass mobilisation should ensure that the struggles of today are not a rehearsal of the fifties, but they should reflect the higher stage in which we are in our struggle. So that our mass mobilisation whilst not relegating the importance of other forms of struggle, should reflect the fact that we are mobilising for armed struggle, that we are rooting our struggle in the people who are the anchor of this revolutionary ship.

INTER-CONNECTION BETWEEN MASS ACTIONS AND ARMED STRUGGLE .

Here one is not talking of the people's war as a concept, but one is talking of the people's war as a tactic.

Here one visualizes a situation when armed struggle will be firmly rooted at home, where the people as a whole will be carrying out armed actions themselves. (When I talk of 'people as a whole' I am not referring to an ideal situation when all the people to a man will be involved in armed struggle). When the people will be part of the revolutionary army, Umkhonto We Sizwe being the core of that People's Revolutionary Army.

As I said earlier on that mass actions help to educate the people, it helps to make the people realize their own potential strength, it also helps to make the people realize the shortcomings of other forms of struggle which do not include armed struggle. This is particularly so because the enemy is bent on always frustrating the efforts of the people.

Besides, the people's war as a tactic is the only tactic that ensures not only victory but that after winning the war, the revolutionary gains will be successfully protected. For if the people feel that the war is their own then logically they will also feel that victory is theirs and anyone who seeks to reverse that victory will be strenuously opposed not by a few conscious persons but by the masses as a whole, for one protects with all his might his own. It is exactly in this spirit that Le Duan in his book, VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION: FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS; ESSENTIAL TASKS; p.43 says:

"The revolutionary violence aimed at toppling the ruling class must necessarily be that of the masses, of the broad masses that are oppressed and exploited."

The next logical question to ask is: How do you get to this ideal situation? For an answer I suggest we turn to the statement of the National Executive Committee made in 1973, at the close of its second session of that year:

"Our movement as the vanguard of the national liberation revolution must step up its activities inside the country, teaching the oppressed new and revolutionary methods of struggle. Guerilla warfare skills must systematically be made available to our operatives."

This means taking our politico-military skills to the people at home.