

MASS CREATIVITY, MASS WARFARE

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As revolutionaries it is never out of place to assess and address ourselves to the new challenges that must inevitably emerge from a situation as dynamic as our own. New challenges, which do not just switch on like bulbs do, but that build up and accumulate from the old. When we correctly say that the mass upsurge at home knows no precedent we are voicing the view that the demands upon the vanguard have never been higher. Furthermore, when we say the enemy's brutality equals none of its previous spates of terror we are imposing upon ourselves the duty of tightening loose ends like never before.

Nothing is being left to chance in the gambling hope that it shall develop on its own, nothing should be left to spontaneous action when it is within our means to give organised command and control. To disperse the enemy, waste his resources, put him on edge, destroy his confidence, generate a psychosis of panic and stoke the fires for a crisis, the smallest of the people's actions has to be encouraged.

SEASONED EXPERIENCE

Each sacrifice we count should have been called by necessity in all situations where the seasoned experience of the African National Congress can be brought into play. It is never enough to say we are with the people. It is, as our President says, the people that are saying the ANC is their sole and legitimate vanguard. It should never be said that the people's initiative, no matter how primitive in form, has never been given proper consideration.

To say that people are a blank sheet of paper upon which some leader writes is both Maoist and criminal, reducing people to rocks that must be mechanically moved from one spot to another in endless-succession. Our revolution is a mass and conscious realisation by our people to fight. The approach of our organisation is that of mass mobili-

sation, mass participation and mass fighting which is the only way in which the mass creativity of our people shall not be layed to waste.

SIMPLE TO COMPLEX

As a fighting people we do not move from complex to simple tasks but from the simple to the complex as a sign of our maturing growth. More appropriately, we move from simple to developed warfare. To say that the enemy is sophisticated, strong and developed does not divorce us from not only engaging, but by actually promoting the simple and easily accessible methods of war. As we ascend into more complex methods of fighting we should not find ourselves making sudden breaks with the lower levels of fighting which the majority of our people still pursue.

The African National Congress teaches us that yawning distances should not be allowed to develop between the few that is advanced and the majority that is still learning. Literally the vanguard should be so placed as to carry the people along by giving full attention to their smallest contributions and sacrifices. It is by giving recognition to the simplest contribution that we shall make each feel that his participation has been given the credit it rightly deserves. As we conquer this approach we shall be channelling and building the nucleus for entrenching our political and military footing. To sustain a self-magnifying presence demands that we prepare ourselves not for jumping victories but a hard grinding preparation and organisation and only then shall we be best prepared for the testing and trying endurance.

PRIMARY CONTRIBUTION

Our country is inhabited by millions of individuals that are willing to partake effectively in engaging the enemy. Our people see their primary contribution not as giving shelter and food to the fighters but in becoming fighters themselves. But the extent to which each is prepared to go differs from the next. This is by no way surprising knowing as we do that our social positions, political exposure, social commitments, cultural backgrounds, physical abilities and disabilities, family position differ. But all want to fight in ways that shall accommodate them, at least at first. The one may be prepared to carry a petrol bomb but not to the extent of an assault rifle. How do we conduct ourselves here? When Bertolt Brecht was saying "... and there are those who struggle all their life and they are the ones we cannot do without", he was aware that this truth is not always plentiful.

When we said in 1961 that the time had come to fight arms in hand we were actually giving the affirmative reply to the question: "Has the time come to arm the masses?" The time had come not only for the vanguard but for people themselves, lest it would have been a conspiracy. Furthermore when we were saying the time had come to arm the masses we were far-sightedly putting into motion the gradual and steady process of placing arms in the hands of individuals and groups that have been painstakingly put through an overall programme of education and training. We need no reminder to tell us that a liberation movement works from a position of being materially disadvantaged. At no time shall it be possible to place rifles, explosives and landmines in the hands of each individual willing to contribute.

But fight, everybody must, not only give support but fight. Vietnam has a popula-

tion far more numerous than our own and it was in this country that we witnessed one of the most massive people's wars. Not all those millions were armed, but all fought. In the Soviet Union, a country of enormous might, during the Great Patriotic War, it was not only the tank divisions and Katyushas that won the war but also the employing of ordinary tactics of blowing railway lines in the enemy rear. The might of the country notwithstanding, simple methods were used.

When a farm worker, for whatever reason, it could be to settle a personal score, sets whole fields of a boer to flame, using a box of matches, we begin to think whether such action cannot be given proper control and impetus. When an ANC flag is suddenly hoisted in the Lamontville upsurges we have reason to rejoice but also to ponder on whether our grandmothers cannot be given the task of sewing together black, green and gold strips of cloth to be hoisted more often, so that at the most our national

days are properly honoured.



When administrative buildings are gutted to ashes by petrol bombs, the ANC thinks of how better to employ this weapon to needle the enemy with havoc. When slogans on walls appear saying "Long Live the ANC", its cadre gives this process encouragement and better organisation. When workers go on strike and decide to pour corrosive sugar into the machines, the vanguard becomes concerned about how to promote this assault. Each action is uplifted by us on the theatre of organisation and specialisation, monitored and developed.

The revolution does not demarcate between first and second rate forms of participation but honours and promotes every form. Each small action that erupts needs to be subjected to our advanced discipline of organisation. The consciousness of the people does not develop independently, the vanguard gives it better content and form. In each action the vanguard sees the birth pangs around which future battles shall be fought. The vanguard harnesses the mass creativity of the people to enjoin it firmly and unbreakingly into a winning people's war.