

the pace it does, the need arises for raising our academic knowledge so as to cope up with the present demands of military science and art. This of course can be accomplished with no difficulties with the help the socialist countries, led by the USSR, are rendering us.

Our main objective should be to ensure that each soldier is helped to develop high combat, moral, political, psychological and physical qualities and is able to cement them into a single whole in order to attain high levels of combat skills, mental stability and flexibility in solving military problems no matter how complicated they are.

In our conditions where the enemy is desperately in need of doing the impossible - of crushing our army wherever he finds it - combat readiness

MK**SOLDIER**

LET US ORGANISE

(OUR TASK TO THE WORKING PEOPLE)

PART ONE

- KHUMALO MTGWE

The question *'What is to be Done'* is now a formal question for our entire movement. Comrade Oliver Tambo, our President, in the 1983 political yearly message from the National Executive Committee, has categorically declared that everybody, indeed each and every member of our glorious and popular vanguard movement, the African National Congress, should pose this question to oneself and seek to find an answer.

The question of *'What is to be Done'* is, certainly, the most burning question of our liberation movement, and no matter how we may twist and turn with the zig-zags of the struggle, it confronts us, South African revolutionaries, with particular stubbornness and insistence. It is not a question of what path we must choose (as was probably the case in the beginning of the sixties when new historic conditions forced our movement to adopt new strategies), but of what practical steps we must take upon the already chosen path and how they shall be taken. It is a question of the system and plan of practical work, a question of the character and methods of struggle. This emphasis has to be made deliberately in order to avoid the unnecessary differences of opinion within our ranks, differences of opinion often arising from a failure to distinguish the immediate demands (what is at issue right now) from the general tasks and permanent needs of our liberation as a whole.

is one of the most important conditions we need to meet. Having sound political understanding as the basis, one of the most important conditions for a soldier is the knowledge of military ethics. This, combined with the preservation of some traditions and norms of our society, builds conscious military discipline of a people's soldier.

In this Year of United Action, as we are celebrating 21 years of the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe, a period regarded as that of maturity, we need to use this maturity creatively in hastening the liberation of our oppressed masses. Let us emulate those who have sacrificed their lives for the preservation and the consolidation of the rich fighting heritage of our people.

S' VIEWPOINT

Understood from this angle, and this is the only practical angle, the call is meant to wake those of us who are basking in the glory of our popularity. The point is, of course we are very popular, and this cannot be denied, but how do we harness this popularity in order to guarantee the certainty of our victory? The point (in analogy) is not whether or not we are playing the soccer match (of course we are undoubtedly playing it) but rather whether or not we are scoring goals, whether or not we are marking time, whether or not we are moving closer to victory, and whether the gains so far achieved can be consolidated and guaranteed against reverses.

This is an approach that calls for a forward look, a judgement of our achievements in terms of the distance yet to be covered more than the distance already covered. These are the pressing requirements of the movement which can be answered only in a resolute, not feeble way. Now things have changed. The present situation can no longer tolerate timidity, hypocrisy and back-patting: it requires boldness, it requires revolutionaries to cry out: *"The Emperor is Naked!"*, if needs be.

WHERE DO WE BEGIN?

"Obviously", said Amilcar Cabral in Havana in January 1966, "other cases differ from that of Guinea, but our experience has shown us that in the general framework of daily struggle this battle against ourselves - no matter what difficulties the enemy may create - is the most difficult of all, whether for the present or future of our peoples." (Address to the Tri

continental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America).

Cabral was obviously referring to the struggle against our own weaknesses. This is where we should begin, for unless we check those things in our own movement that retard our progress and those that keep us away from victory, we are running a grave risk of being condemned to failure, a reversal of all that has been gained so far.

We, the advanced detachment and vanguard of our people, are we organised sufficiently to lead the masses of our people in victorious mass actions, in victorious combat, on our way to victory?

It may be said without exaggeration that we are now passing through a period in which our people, especially our working people, are engaged almost daily in sharp conflicts with the racist regime both at the factory floor and in the community (even the rural toilers of far-flung Mtubatuba in Zululand have come out to confront our colonial oppressors in outstanding mass engagements). The main characteristic of the present phase of our liberation struggle is the mass manifestations of our people, in action and in combat, of their refusal to remain in colonial slavery or to submit to racist violence.



Workers on strike.

In their thousands and tens of thousands, our angry people, men and women alike, who work all their lives to create enormous riches for their racist-capitalist exploiters, are no longer satisfied about perishing from constant starvation, dying prematurely from diseases caused by horrible poverty conditions, overwork and wretched residential conditions, now they are choosing rather to die like Lenin's hero, of whom he once wrote:

"He is hundred times a hero who prefers to die fighting

in open struggle against the defenders of this infamous system rather than die the lingering death of a crunched, broken-down, and submissive nag."

These desperate outbursts of our people - noble anger of the masses for their oppressor - point to the imperative necessity for a combat-ready revolutionary organisation. Without a strong organisation, an organisation that is in a constant state of readiness to launch organising activity among the spontaneous mass outbursts, under all circumstances and all times, there can be no question of waging a skilled political struggle for victory. We ourselves have first to be organised, be self-critical and strong, before we can be capable of uniting all forces and support every protest and every outbreak *"and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle"* (LENIN). This is the first step.

Now, what does it mean to have our organisation organised? It means first and foremost having a common strategic and tactical perspective, a common political and military perspective of the line of march. We declare emphatically that under the present conditions, we should not only be clear of our general strategic orientation, but we need to elaborate a precise and definite plan for organising for this strategic direction, a concrete programme of action that shall involve all the sectors of our movement in one pace and common direction - the knitting into a single rope of the many organisational threads. Only this creates single team work in our whole organisation, only this overcomes petty differences of opinion on *'What is to be done'* and helps solve the problem of where two people - simply two people - in one organisation, have different understandings both of the strategic and tactical direction and also of how to go about achieving such goals.

In the final judgement, it shall not be the quantity of sweat and energies we have produced in struggling that will count for the certainty of our victory, but instead whether such sweat and energies were concentrated towards common achievement in each place and time.

In the second instance, we can only be called organised when we are disciplined, disciplined certainly in all respects. This is not a simple thing to achieve, no wonder not all the class forces and strata can ensure this discipline. To be disciplined or not, in the final analysis, makes all the difference as to whether an organisation is revolutionary or reformist. This is no exaggeration! When Karl Marx and Engels pronounced in the Manifesto of the Communist Party for instance that of all the classes that come face to face with the bourgeoisie only the working class is the most revolutionary class, they were implying among other things, that only this class has been created by the economic conditions to have a truly disciplined

character. Discipline means taking principled uncompromise on revolutionary positions, it means resolute defence of the organisation against opportunist corruptions and moral vacillations. Discipline is timeliness, not only in the attendance of meetings but precisely in the political field - a punctual response to a political situation. Untimely action, it has been said, is just as dangerous as untimely inaction. The working class alone is scientifically endowed with the capacity for consistent political positions under gruelling and torturing conditions. These then are the qualities that our organisation should acquire in order to fit the definition of an organised political movement.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.

The road to collaboration

(EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE MAC MAHARAJ)

Q: How has the decision of the Labour Party to participate in the "President's Council" been received by the oppressed?

A: The decision of the Labour Party under the leadership of Reverend Allan Hendrickse at Eshowe in January this year has been received by the masses of our people with unqualified revulsion and anger. At the same time Botha and his racist regime have reacted to it as if it is furthering their cab and a triumph of the cause of racist domination. This decision has got once more sharply into focus a question that will live with our national liberation struggle, that has lived with it from its birth and will live with it to its triumph, a question of the road to collaboration, a question of the road to reformism. There is no doubt today in the minds of our people that the Labour Party's decision is the decision that has firmly taken it a step on the path towards collaboration. This is evidenced in statements made by Reverend Boesak and others. This is the time that whilst we mobilise our anger and increase our pressure to bring about the unity of the oppressed forces and all progressive forces in our country, we should also take stock and develop a better understanding of the roots of collaboration.

However, our starting point, the point that distinguishes those who take a road to collaboration and those who remain committed to the revolution, is what we should always remember in formulating our strategy and tactics. It is the question of the nature of our exploitation and oppression. We are assured of victory as every oppressed and exploited people in history were because any system of exploitation and oppression depends on the minority living on the backs of the majority. That is an objective in-built fact of a system of exploitation and oppression, and that means the