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Cover: Makanda - leader of our people in their struggle against colonialism. This month we commemorate his death, which took place on 25th December 1819 during his heroic escape from Robben Island.

year of the spear



Editorial Comment

DECEMBER 16

This month, on December 16, we celebrate the eighteenth anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe - our People's Army. At the same time we bow our heads and clench our fists in memory of the heroes and heroines who have already sacrificed supremely for our freedom. We also commemorate the death of Makanda, leader of our people in their struggle against colonialism, who on the 25th December 1819 drowned off the Cape Town coast during his heroic escape from Robben Island.

December 16 is a great day in our revolutionary calendar. It marks not only the coming into being of the armed wing of our movement on that day in 1961. It marks, most importantly, the beginning of a new era; a new phase of our struggle... we could say - the final phase of our struggle - the phase which will be ended by victory.

Our history and the objective conditions of our struggle led us inextricably to that day in 1961, when the first blast waves of a more determined, more organised and more skillful struggle rattled the champagne glasses in the parlours of power. It was from that day that those who were feasting on the spoils of centuries of exploitation began rapidly to realise that their time around the table of power was shrinking fast.

The eighteen years which have passed since then have served to increase the confidence of our people in victory, and to intensify the panic of our oppressor.

In these eighteen years our people have learned much, not only of armed struggle, but also of political struggle. In these years our movement has plunged headfirst into the cauldron of underground struggle, and despite serious reversals, has emerged unbroken, with its underground machinery well-established and growing daily.

In these years we have seen the flexing of the muscles of our working class in the strikes of 1972/73.

In these years we have seen the massive politicisation of our youth in their major confrontation with all the viciousness of the racist machine in the uprisings of 1976.

In these years we have seen the development of our armed struggle from purely sabotage campaigns to the infiltration of large numbers of fully-armed and trained cadres into the country and the first armed confrontations with the enemy.

Yes, these years have shown that December 16 1961 was a turning point for our people.

But it was also a turning point for our enemies - both internal and international. These years have forced our enemies to devise new methods of oppression. They are learning to use different combinations of brute military force, economic bribery, dirty diplomacy, blackmail and gentle persuasion.

Internally we see our enemy trying to paint flowers on the ugly face of apartheid, while at the same time noisily bringing up the big guns to warn us that if the flowers don't get us, the shrapnel will. We see our enemy trying to drag Southern Africa into a stranglehold of states, to drag whoever it can down with it into the pit of history. We see our enemy desperately trying to throttle the revolution with the hangman's noose - the noose it is now trying to place around the young neck of James Mange.

Internationally we see our enemy - the imperialists - doing all they can to save Southern Africa for 'the West'. At the moment they are very pleased with the results of their Lancaster House talks. In the ruling circles of imperialism there are currently many gin-drinking snobs patting each other on the back in congratulations for the 'jolly good job' they did on Zimbabwe, and promising to do their 'damndest' to do the same in Namibia and South Africa. We can see these dandies giggling gleefully over the increased profits they now expect to reap from Southern Africa.

But let us, in this month in which we celebrate the birth of our People's Army, in this Year of the Spear - let us remind

the racists and the imperialists that all their contortions are ultimately in vain. No one can outmanoeuvre the people. No one can twist their way out of the path of history.

In Zimbabwe the people are already adapting themselves to new conditions of struggle. The British governor in Salisbury and Maggie Thatcher in London can cheer themselves to their hearts' delight with dreams of the return of the old British empire. But if they don't give the people of Zimbabwe genuine freedom, the people will take it, one way or another.

The 'Western Five' can scheme their hearts away on how to preserve the diamonds and uranium of Namibia for themselves. But if the Namibian people don't get what they want, they will take it, one way or another.

In South Africa our people are showing as never before that the days of racism's and imperialism's free hand in our country are clearly numbered. We are seeing our people standing more and more firmly on the principle of no compromise with the racists on the fundamental question of power.

We see our workers once again demonstrating their enormous strength as they defy all legal and economic restrictions to tackle the exploitative system at its roots.

We see the banner of the African National Congress raised higher and higher in the esteem of our people. We see our Freedom Charter fast becoming a universally accepted political programme for the vast majority of our people.

We see our people rally behind their son and hero, James Mange, and his fellow fighters.

We see the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe proving again and again that it is possible to tackle the racists militarily. The time is well-passed when repression goes unrevenged.

In this month in which we celebrate the formation of the Spear of our Nation, when we celebrate the beginning, 18 years ago, of a new era in our struggle, in which we commemorate our fallen heroes, in which we remember our great Makanda: we warn the enemy that his manoeuvrings are serving only to increase our determination, our vigilance, our discipline and our understanding. The brutality of starvation, unemployment, forced removals and naked repression will not go unchallenged. The death sentence on Comrade James Mange will not go unchallenged. With all the people of Southern Africa we will fight until final victory.

A M A N D L A!

WHY DID DINGANE KILL RETIEF?

- Lionel Forman

Lionel Forman was an active member of the liberation movement until his early death in October 1959, 20 years ago. He was editor of the newspaper 'New Age', a member of the South African Communist Party, and of the Congress of Democrats. He was one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial. He wrote many articles in which he uncovered the real history of our country.

Every year, on December 16, there is a spate of claptrap from pulpits and platforms and press about how, at Blood River, on December 16, 1838, the forces of civilisation and of light, the messengers of God Himself, destroyed the power of barbarism and darkness in the shape of Dingane's Zulus.

It might be a good idea to arm ourselves in advance against being submerged in the wave of emotion by taking a look at the facts.

It is one of the facts of history up to now that in the relations between tribes or nations, when two neighbouring peoples have had an urgent economic need for something of which there was not sufficient for both, the stronger community has seized by force that thing from the weaker.

It is only when man obtains rational control of his society, and is able by his use of science to satisfy the economic wants of all, that wars and all the horrors that go with them will cease to be the stepping-stone of history.

South Africa's history is no different from that of other countries in this respect. In the quest for good land for men and cattle, the strong dispossess the weak. They did it by trickery if possible; by brute force if necessary. And those who were defending their land used the same weapons.

While the Europeans were establishing their rule in the Cape, the Free State and parts of the Transvaal, the Zulus were establishing theirs in Natal.

ZULU AND ENGLISH MEET

When the first Europeans - Englishmen - came in 1824, the Zulus gave them permission to settle and establish Port Natal (now Durban).

In 1828, the Zulus, disturbed by the behaviour of the

Whites, sent some of their men, including a chief, Jacob, to the Cape to study the way the Europeans had behaved towards the Xhosas there.

Jacob reported:

"At first the white people came and took part of their land, then they encroached and drove them farther back... they built houses (missions) among them for the purpose of subduing them by witchcraft... the soldiers frequently asked what sort of country the Zulus had... and said 'We shall soon be after you'. They would then build a fort, when more would come and demand land, who would also build houses and subdue the Zulus and keep driving them farther back, as they had driven the frontier tribes".

In spite of this explicit (and prophetic) warning, Dingane, who succeeded Tshaka in 1828, took no hostile action against Port Natal, although the white settlers, numbering, until 1836, no more than thirty people, were completely at his mercy.

Three times his councillors recommended the destruction of the settlement, and three times Dingane vetoed the proposal.

He did not molest them even though he had cause for resentment because the Port Natal white settlement, happy to have black labour and black allies, was providing a haven for the Zulu tribe's outlaws and political refugees. The white settlers were treated as chiefs by no fewer than 3,000 of these people and in the words of Theal, "exercised power even of death over their followers."

"The European settlement", noted the White settler. H.F. Fynn, "was objectionable not only because it was an imperium in imperio (i.e. a kingdom within a kingdom) but because it harboured many that could be assumed to have vowed everlasting vengeance... and were consequently plotting to bring about his downfall". In addition the settlers were actively fomenting tribal feuds and disunity.

Alarmed at the possibility that Dingane might attack them, the Europeans held a meeting and agreed to approach the Zulu ruler and give him an assurance that they would not be attacked.

PREDICTION

Dingane willingly entered into a pact with the Europeans in April, 1835, saying at the time, "I will keep my word, but I know that the white people will be the first to break the treaty".

Fynn comments, "As the despot himself correctly surmised... it was indeed broken and surprisingly soon".

Two white traders, Halstead and Snelder, were, within two months, hard at work in the Zulu territory smuggling Zulu women through to Port Natal, where there was a great demand for them among the Europeans.

In spite of these infringements, the general effect of the treaty satisfied Dingane.

A year of close co-operation between the Africans and the Europeans followed. When in 1836, Dingane launched an attack on the Swazis, one of the colonists noted:

"The whole of the British inhabitants with three or four exceptions have volutarily joined the Zulu army and by means of their firearms killed and wounded a number of his enemies for which they have been handsomely rewarded with the cattle they have captured".

(Those who cite Dingane's wars against defenceless tribes as examples of African savagery should be reminded that Europeans with their guns formed the spearhead of the Zulus in at least one such attack. Savagery knows no colour bar).

BOERS ARRIVE

In 1837, the Voortrekkers arrived in Natal. Dingane saw them in a completely different light from the men at Port Natal. He saw the Boers as a threat to the Zulu people. He believed that they would seize the Zulu land as they had seized the land of other people before.

Nevertheless, his first dealings with the Voortrekkers were friendly. On October 31, 1837, he wrote to the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief, telling him that he had discovered another chief in possession of a number of sheep belonging to the Boers. He returned the sheep together with the letter.

Retief followed this up with a letter asking Dingane for a grant of land. "Our country is small, and we, becoming numerous, can no longer subsist there," he wrote. Dingane replied on November 8, saying that he was considering the request, but charging the Boers with the theft of his cattle:

"A great number of cattle have been stolen from my country by a people having clothes, horses and guns. The Zulus assured me that these people were Boers... the Zulus now wish to know what they have to expect.

"My greatest wish, therefore, is that you should show that you are not guilty of the matters alleged against you, for at present I believe that you are. My request is that you recover my cattle and restore them to me, and if possible, hand over the thief to me. That proceeding will remove my suspicions, and will give you reason to know that I am your friend: then I shall accede to your request. I shall give you a sufficient number of people to drive the cattle that you may recapture for me: and they will remove all the suspicions that the stolen cattle are in the hands of the Dutch".

Piet Retief assured Dingane that it had not been the Boers, but a Basotho chief, Sikonyela, who had stolen the cattle.

Whether or not Sikonyela had stolen any cattle, no one knows. But Retief and his men, accompanied by some Zulus, without further ado, made for his kraal.

They were already acquainted with Sikonyela, for he and his tribe had helped to show the Voortrekkers the best way to get their wagons from the Highveld through the difficult Drakensberg mountains into Natal.

RETIEF'S TRICK

Retief received a hospitable welcome, and in return, offered to demonstrate to the chief a pair of handcuffs he had with him.

Sikonyela was kept bound for three days until his people had rounded up a sufficient number of cattle for Retief. The helpless tribesmen, according to an account by Dr. John Philip, asked Retief indignantly: "Is this the way you treat the chiefs of the people?"

"Being answered in the affirmative, with coarse and offensive expressions, he asked, 'Would you treat Dingane in this way were he in your power?'

"To this they made reply: 'We shall treat Dingane in the same manner should we find him to be a rogue'.

Unknown to Retief, there was one of Dingane's councillors among the Zulus with him.

"From that moment," said Philip's informant, "Dingane's councillor became restless and uneasy, and as soon as it became dark he disappeared, proceeded with speed to Dingane, related his story, along with his own impression; and the chief taking

fear from his councillor, made his preparations for the destruction of Retief and his party before their arrival with the cattle".

REASONS FOR FEAR

Though this may have been the deciding factor, other facts have also been cited as confirming the view of Dingane's councillors that the Boers were a very real danger to Zulu security.

The Zulus had heard from Retief's own lips how the Boers had defeated the Matabele and massacred them - and the Matabele were the kinsmen of the Zulus.

And according to the short biography of Dingane in Mveli Skota's 'African Yearly Register', "on more than two occasions reports were brought to him by his spies that the Boers were seen by night on all sides of the village in which the Royal Kraal was situated".

It is also suggested that the Zulus who accompanied Retief on his raid on Sikonyela reported back that the cattle seized there were not those which had been stolen from the Zulus, thus confirming Dingane in the belief that the cattle had been stolen by the Boers.

Theal records too, that there were very strong rumours at the time that one of the British settlers had influenced Dingane in his decision to kill Retief by telling him that the Boer claim that they were short of land was patently untrue, for they had left good land in the Cape, that they were deserters from British rule, and that the British therefore, would not view their punishment with disfavour.

When Retief and his sixty followers came to Dingane's kraal with the cattle, the Chief, who now, in his own words, "had no doubt that they were enemies masquerading under the guise of friendship," tricked them with professions of friendship, just as they had tricked Sikonyela, and had them killed on the spot.

Then immediately the Zulus attacked all the Boer camps in Natal, killing on the Boers estimates, not fewer than 375 white men, women and children and two hundred of their African servants.

COUNTER-ATTACK

The Boers and Britons immediately united to counter-attack. Thirty Durban settlers led an army of over 1,000 Africans against Dingane, while 350 Boers mounted and armed with muskets attacked from Pietermaritzburg.

The Zulus won a series of extremely costly victories and on April 26, the missionary Owen, recorded: "the whole country is at their disposal".

But Dingane did not follow up this victory. The writer, Inguni, says:

"With Port Natal at his mercy and with the enemy taking to the boats Dingane returned to his capital. This major blunder was due to the fact that he thought still in terms of tribal war ethics. He had shown his superiority and he thought the enemy would now live in peace with him; so he did not extend his sway over the Boer-British force he had routed. The Boer-British front exploited Dingane's politeness, regrouped, and under Pretorius, killed 3,000 Zulu soldiers at Blood River".

DECEMBER 16

That was on December 16, which the Afrikaners now celebrate as a public holiday to mark what they have been taught by Nationalist historians to believe was the "decisive" battle between white and black.

In fact however, Blood River was by no means a decisive battle. The Afrikaners lacked the military power of the British, to whom must go the dubious honour of having won the engagement which smashed the main tribes, including the Zulus.

It was only in January 1840, when Dingane's treacherous brother, Mpande, placed himself at the head of a number of dissident Zulu tribes, united with the Boers, and led an army of nearly 6,000 Zulus, spearheaded by 400 mounted Boers, against Dingane, that the latter was defeated and forced to flee.

The Zulu military machine remained relatively intact, but Mpande became a puppet chief in the service of the Boers.

But just as there was nowhere a black man could go and be left in peace by the white man, so there was nowhere a Boer could go and be left in peace by the British.

Within a few months of the establishment of the Boer Republic in Natal, reports reached London that there was valuable surface coal in the territory. At the same time awareness was growing of the value of Port Natal as a naval base.

In 1842, after a short battle with the Boers, the British took over.

For the Zulus it changed nothing.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE QUESTION
OF THE TERROR TACTIC

- Khumalo Migwe

Is individual terror justified as a tactic or not?

In the first place, this question cannot be approached from a purely abstract moral point of view, although that does not mean that there is no moral question involved. Secondly, to attempt to answer yes or no to the question without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation at the given moment at the given stage of the development of the revolutionary war of liberation would be a metaphysical approach to the question and would completely ignore the scientific dialectical method of judgement. Thirdly, we should not permit emotional, subjective considerations to sway our judgement. Our evaluation must be based on the objective analysis of whether such action fits into the immediate aims as well as the long-term goals of the movement; whether such action mobilises the people for the revolution or for the oppressor.

THE PRESENT WAR OF LIBERATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA

The essence of the current combat operations in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress is the political struggle of the overwhelming majority of the South African people against racist dictatorship, with a view to destroying it, seizing and maintaining power, and thereby creating a democratic People's State that shall in turn be anti-racial and anti-imperialist. Guided by these revolutionary ideals and by a revolutionary strategy and tactics, the ANC therefore subordinates all military means to political ends - the contrary is counter-revolutionary.

This makes it possible, therefore, for all our combatants to realise that we are engaged in a national war and not in a single act of combat. Under these circumstances each fighter, even in isolation, knows that he enjoys the support of the people and is fighting for the cause of the people. With this understanding - of a guerrilla as a political organiser - it becomes clear why the terror tactic must be justifiable not only to the person or persons who employ it, but to the whole strategic aim of the movement. The people, who bear the brunt of the war, will not forgive actions of those who are only

concerned with needless bravado and not with what is best for the struggle as a whole. More than that, since we are not engaged in some romantic adventure against the Pretoria regime but are fighting a matured and calculated war of national liberation, any senseless and strategically unco-ordinated action can at best benefit the enemy and seriously harm the revolution.

PLAYING INTO THE ENEMY'S HANDS

It is quite understandable how the unbearable conditions of organised state violence, murder and repression against the people, the rivers of blood that flow in all the provinces of South Africa, the daily misery and sorrow heaped upon our people by a racial minority, spur certain individuals to unplanned and anarchic terror tactics. After all, our people can no longer turn the other cheek.

Left to itself this type of action, however, cannot achieve revolutionary victory. It is the type of response brought about by feelings of deep anger and hatred, and true enough, one cannot have a drive for carrying on the war of liberation without deep hatred of the enemy and anger at injustice. But these sentiments should not determine the nature of the tactics to be used. Frustrated liberals easily turn to these tactics because they do not have a revolutionary theory and above all they have no support from the masses. Opportunism often manifests itself in a revolutionary war of liberation by these nihilistic tendencies.

The enemy also uses terror as a pretext to launch a counter-attack on the people, an attack the rulers have always been contemplating but without the public legitimacy. Even the most brutal of governments endeavours to win a great degree of popular support for itself, and seeks to justify even the most fascistic of its activities. This battle for mass support, between the oppressor (who also uses intimidation if bribes don't work) and the vanguard movement, determines finally who wins the war. Suffice it to remind ourselves that in his plan to justify the wanton murder of anti-fascist forces in Germany, Hitler fabricated a frame-up against Georgi Dimitrov (the Bulgarian revolutionary who was in exile in Germany), accusing Dimitrov of setting the Reichstag on fire, thus shifting the blame for terror from the Nazis to Dimitrov and the communists.

Lenin's advice to Russian revolutionaries is most appropriate:

"Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror" ('Where to Begin', Collected Works, Vol. 5 p. 18).

Nelson Mandela stated at the Rivonia Trial:

"I do not deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love for violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the Whites."

Going further, to show how he always understood political goals to be supreme and primary to military actions, Mandela said:

"If I formed the organisation I would at all times subject it to the political guidance of the ANC and would not undertake any different form of activity from that contemplated without the consent of the ANC."

MASSES SHOULD FORM THE BACKBONE

A revolution without the active support and participation of the masses is not worth the name of revolution. The most dangerous thing about the terror tactic as a principle is that it separates the masses from the revolution. It creates an atmosphere in which the masses feel that the revolution is the business of a conspiratorial elite which alone knows how and when liberation will come. Frankly speaking, even if individual terror could succeed to scare the enemy out of political power, it is highly unlikely that the revolution could maintain itself against counter-revolution.

This article has not set out to disprove that terror tactics at certain moments and at certain stages of the revolution are not justified. But to emphasise the terror tactic in place of mobilising the masses is a manifestation of anarcho-liberalism and a nihilistic tendency born of theoretical ignorance and frustration. We must be clear that armed struggle is a people's struggle; a struggle for national liberation from the apartheid colonial rule. Guns do not make a revolution, but the type of man behind the gun determines the pace of the revolution. Power will always belong to the people.

W H Y I J O I N E D M K

- Mongezi Sigule

Under the present system in South Africa anyone within the ranks of the oppressed is bound, at one time or another, to come to a stage where he realises his/her slave conditions. One comes to realise this as a result of poverty right where he stays, harassment by police in the middle of one's sleep, in the street and everywhere, through ill-treatment at administrative buildings and at work. In short - everywhere. This is the general situation.

People may seem to be indifferent to what is happening to them; others, through greed for luxury and selfishness, become collaborators. Through the hard work of a political organisation like our African National Congress, more and more people are drawn to the struggle for their emancipation. Consequently they not only become aware of oppression but come to know how to get rid of it.

I first heard of the ANC from a conversation amongst the old people talking about the old days of the Congress. Later I read about its activities in the past five decades. At this stage I can mention the Black consciousness movement, which contributed in developing my political awareness. Newspapers during the seventies had a lot about the black consciousness movement. Because our organisation is banned inside the country and because of the difficulty of getting revolutionary literature, the Black consciousness movement helped many like me.

During the course of time my friends acquainted me with Radio Freedom. This way I got to know more about the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. I began to realise that I am part and parcel of the suffering masses of our country whom the African National Congress leads and whose fighting arm Umkhonto we Sizwe is.

The sabotage acts carried out by the ANC activists and the many trials involving MK combatants brought more light to me. The uprising in 1976 followed by the murder of Steve Biko and many other opponents of the system made me more aware of the oppressive nature of the racist regime.

There were also external factors that contributed to my political consciousness: the 1974 Pro-FRELIMO rally and the brutal response of the racist police against those who took part; the victory of the Mozambican and Angolan people over Portuguese colonial fascism and the intensification of the

revolutionary armed struggle in Namibia and Zimbabwe. These proved to me that we too in South Africa can bring an end to the system which oppresses us.

The time had come for me to take action, to take up arms and join in the war for the liberation of my people from colonial racism and exploitation.

There was no other way but to join MK.

I am happy to be in the ranks of a People's Army.

"THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO LEFT THE COUNTRY BEFORE THE SOWETO UPRISING OF 1976 DID SO FOR MANY REASONS; OTHERS REMAINED BEHIND TO CONTINUE WITH THEIR EDUCATION. WHATEVER KNOWLEDGE THEY ACQUIRED WILL BE NEEDED AT SOME TIME DURING OR AFTER THE STRUGGLE.

"AMONGST THOSE WHO LEFT ARE A SMALL MINORITY OF UNFORTUNATE CASES WHO 'DROPPED OUT' AND DEGENERATED INTO SOCIAL MISFITS. SOME BECAME PIMPS AND OTHERS BECAME ADDICTED TO DRUGS; INTO THE RANKS OF SOME OF THESE THE ENEMY MADE INROADS, RECRUITING SPIES AND INFORMERS.

"BUT THE BIGGEST GROUP AND THE MOST HONOURABLE IS ONE WHICH WE ARE PROUD TO WORK WITH, THOSE WHO HAVE JOINED UMKHONTO WE SIZWE. THEY HAVE PREPARED THEIR MINDS FOR THE HARDSHIPS THAT LIE AHEAD. THEY HAVE FIXED THEIR SIGHTS ON THE ENEMY AND ARE READY FOR ANY EVENTUALITY. IN A NUMBER OF CASES THEY HAVE ALREADY SEEN ACTION AND ACQUITTED THEMSELVES IN A WAY THAT DESERVES HONOURABLE MENTION. WHEN THE ENEMY TRIED TO INSTIL FEAR INTO THEM THEY DID NOT FLINCH, AND THEIR COURAGE AND DETERMINATION FILLED THE ENEMY WITH RAGE. SO LONG AS WE HAVE SUCH YOUNG PEOPLE IN OUR RANKS WE NEED HAVE NO FEAR FOR THE FUTURE".

- THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, -

No. 79 Fourth Quarter 1979.

THE BATTLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA IS ON!

Recently, P.W. Botha told the world that South Africa was already in the midst of the Third World War. Whether or not that is the case remains to be seen. We are not war-mongers. We do not want to involve the world in a major war. We are not fighting to protect privileges or to show off our might. We are fighting a just war of liberation. Nevertheless, Botha's statement underlines the fact that that liberation war is on.

More and more frequently, the racists are forced to admit to the intensifying activity of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country. They have stopped boasting that they have "broken the back of the ANC".

Since Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed in 1961, we have had to work our way through many years of adverse conditions and setbacks. But gradually and irrevocably we are entering a period of sustained assault on the apartheid regime. Particularly since 1976, the activities of MK inside the country have escalated dramatically.

In this month in which we celebrate the anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in this Year of the Spear, we publish a list of armed actions that have occurred inside the country since 1976. The list is incomplete because not all incidents are reported. Those that are made public are reported according to the regime's version of them, and the regime is always keen to place our movement in a bad light no matter how successful the operation.

Nevertheless, we publish this list as an indication of the development of our armed struggle. It shows clearly that the Battle for South Africa is undoubtedly on.

19 March 1976: Hundreds of ANC pamphlets were scattered outside the offices of the Rand Daily Mail in Main Street, Johannesburg, when a pamphlet bomb exploded next to the building.

9 July 1976: Two pamphlet bombs exploded in the midst of rush-hour crowds at Johannesburg Station.

October 1976: A bomb exploded at Jabulani police station in Soweto.

30 November 1976: Two policemen were injured when four combatants of the African National Congress they had apprehended in the Eastern Transvaal escaped by throwing a hand-grenade into the cab of a police vehicle.

- 14 December 1976: Pamphlet bombs exploded in the centre of Cape Town scattering hundreds of ANC leaflets. The bombs exploded in Greenmarket Square and on the Parade.
- 15 December 1976: A pamphlet bomb exploded during the evening rush hour at the Mowbray bus terminal in Cape Town.
- 7 January 1977: A bomb exploded on a railway line near Soweto.
- 15 June 1977: A clash occurred in Goch Street, Johannesburg in which two whites were killed after three MK combatants were accosted during a routine police check.
- 15 June 1977: Two bombs exploded on railway lines in Soweto.
- 15 June 1977: A bomb blasted the Durban-Umlazi railway line, disrupting rail traffic for seven hours.
- 7 August 1977: Two pamphlet bombs exploded in the centre of Cape Town during lunch hour. The bombs went off in the Greenmarket Square and at the corner of Burg and Strand streets. Lunch hour shoppers and traffic stopped as the leaflets fell to the ground. At the same time a banner reading "The ANC Lives" was seen hanging from the top storey of the Parkade in Strand street. It was left hanging in full view of hundreds of passers-by for about 25 minutes before the metal clasp holding it fast to an iron railing was sawn by police.
- 26 September 1977: Two security policemen - a major and a sergeant - were wounded in a gun battle with a guerrilla in Dobsonville.
- November 1977: A clash took place between guerrillas and police near Pongola.
- 6 December 1977: A bomb explosion took place at the Germiston police station in the early hours of the morning. Extensive damage costing thousands of rands was caused to the station and to vehicles parked in the area. The explosion was heard 16 kilometres away.
- February 1978: Police and guerrillas clashed near the Swaziland border. Two policemen were killed. Police Minister, Kruger, says there have been other undisclosed battles like this in the Eastern Transvaal.
- 18 February 1978: A 2,5 kg bomb was found and defused fifteen minutes before it was due to explode in the basement of the 22-storey Bosman building in central Johannesburg.

21 February 1978: A BOSS agent - Bhekithemba M. - was found shot dead in his car at Umlazi.

22 February 1978: A bomb exploded at the Daveyton police station near Benoni.

10 March 1978: A bomb exploded outside the Port Elizabeth Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

April 1978: Abel Mthembu, former member of the African National Congress, who gave evidence in many ANC trials, starting from the Rivonia trial of 1964 up to the Pretoria 12 trial of 1977/78, was gunned down at his Dube home in Soweto.

26 June 1978: Orphan "Hlubi" Chapi, a black police sergeant who took part in the shooting of schoolchildren in Soweto during the 1976 uprisings, was gunned down in the yard of his Rockville home in Soweto.

August 1978: An MK unit was forced into action against the regime's 'Elite Task Force' and counter insurgency units assisted by units of the Bophuthatswana National Guard. The battle took place near Rustenburg, 75 miles from Pretoria. It lasted for many hours during which the enemy used planes and helicopters and saturated the area with gunfire, napalm, defoliants and teargas. It was reported that 10 members of the Task Force were killed and that the MK unit took successful evasive action, losing one cadre captured.

10 September 1978: Leonard Mkosi, former member of the ANC who turned his back on his people and joined the ranks of the enemy, giving evidence against many combatants of MK, was gunned down whilst in bed at his Kwa-Mashu home near Durban.

October 1978: A major clash between guerrillas and police took place in an area between Vryburg and Mafeking, about 300 kilometres from Johannesburg.

27 October 1978: 3 guerrillas clashed with security forces in Bophuthatswana.

30 October 1978: In a clash between three guerrillas and police about 50 km west of Louis Trichardt, a police sergeant was seriously wounded, while the guerrillas escaped.

November 1978: A police patrol despatched to investigate the presence of "terrorists" in the Mara district of Northern Transvaal was taken by complete surprise in a successful ambush.

22 November 1978: A farm in the Tshipise area was attacked by an armed man, and the owner of the farm wounded.

30 November 1978: There was an explosion in the guards van of a train near Pretoria. The bomb was believed to be in a mail-bag, and it destroyed mail and damaged the van.

7 December 1978: The house of a security policeman in Sebokeng was petrol-bombed.

7 December 1978: A bomb blasted the old Urban Bantu Council Chambers in Soweto, which currently houses the Soweto Community Council.

16 December 1978: The railway line between Berlin and Fort Jackson in the Eastern Cape was sabotaged by a bomb blast.

13 January 1979: A gun battle took place between police and guerrillas in the Derdepoort area.

18 January 1979: Two guerrillas escaped from prison cells in Johannesburg abducting a black police constable.

20 January 1979: A bomb exploded near New Canada station on the rail route to Johannesburg.

22 January 1979: An explosion occurred on the Johannesburg-Soweto railway line.

24 January 1979: An unexploded bomb was found near Pierie Station in the Eastern Cape.

29 January 1979: Three men approached an employee of the Bureau of State Security as he sat in his car in Umlazi and shot him dead.

21 March 1979: A Vereeniging security policeman was shot in Sebokeng. He was shot three times in the arm, face and stomach by three people who escaped afterwards.

24 February 1979: A black police sergeant stationed at John Vorster Square was killed.

4 March 1979: A land-mine exploded on the SA/Mozambique border.

23 April 1979: An unexploded bomb was found on the railway line between Vereeniging and Johannesburg.

23 April 1979: 3 kilograms of explosives were found on the railway line between Nancefield and Kliptown stations, near Soweto. The rail was closed between 7,30 am and 10,00 am

while the explosives were being removed.

1 May 1979: Hundreds of South African Communist Party pamphlets were distributed at different points around the centre of Johannesburg. The pamphlets were also distributed at a crowded bus stop near Faraday station, Westgate station, on the corner of Bree and Sauer streets and in Diagonal and Hoek streets. All these areas were crowded with commuters.

1 May 1979: SACP pamphlets entitled "Why they hate the Communists", printed in English and Afrikaans, were distributed in various parts of Durban including the Warwick Avenue Indian business area, at the busy African railway commuter station at Dalton and in strategic places in the Kwa-Mashu and Umlazi African townships.

3 May 1979: Three combatants of IK attacked the Moroka police station, killing one policeman, injuring two and destroying the police records.

May 1979: A bomb exploded at the Daveyton police station near Benoni which blasted a hole in the station, caused the death of a black police constable and destroyed police records stored there.

15 May 1979: A fuel tanker was derailed between Durban and Stanger. Three of the derailed trucks caught fire, destroying 80,000 litres of petrol.

15 May 1979: A powerful briefcase bomb exploded in an office in the Supreme Court in Cape Town at lunch time.

22 July 1979: Two forestry officials were wounded in a shoot-out in the Drakensberg. The incident occurred in the Ndedema Gorge, near Cathedral Peak after five forestry officials encountered two men in the area.

5 August 1979: A petrol bomb was thrown at a patrol car at a speed trap near Apies river. The inspectors manning the trap were amazed to see a bottle of petrol burning next to the car after hearing a bump on the roof. A man was seen disappearing into the bush.

5 September 1979: Hundreds of pamphlets, which consisted of at least four varieties and with quotes of South African leaders [redacted] were spread shortly before lunch time on the corners of Hoek and Noord streets near the Johannesburg railway station.

5 September 1979: More than a thousand pamphlets were dropped in Sauer Street. The pamphlets showed pictures of the President of Cuba, comrade Fidel Castro as well as of President Agostinho Neto and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the ANC's Revolutionary Council, shaking hands in Luanda. The pamphlets were distributed to commemorate Dr. Dadoo's 70th birthday. People in the streets below scrambled to pick up the pamphlets as they fluttered down. Many people gave them to passing motorists.

2 November 1979: Orlando police station in Soweto was attacked by a group of guerrillas. Two black policemen were killed and one wounded. The police station was extensively damaged. The guerrillas escaped despite an intensive police search.

"WE IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DO NOT IMAGINE THAT THE DEFEAT OF IMPERIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE QUICK OR EASY. WE REALISE IT WILL BE LONG-DRAWN AND BLOODY. BUT WE ARE CONFIDENT OF THE FINAL OUTCOME. AS OUR FORCES DRIVE DEEPER INTO THE SOUTH, WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WILL BE JOINED NOT BY SOME, BUT BY THE WHOLE AFRICAN NATION; BY THE OPPRESSED MINORITIES, THE INDIAN AND COLOURED PEOPLE; AND BY AN INCREASING NUMBER OF WHITE DEMOCRATS.

"TOWARDS THIS VICTORY WE WILL FIGHT TO THE BITTER END".

- COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO -

THE PIETERMARITZBURG TWELVE

From a Radio Freedom Broadcast by the
National Commissar, Comrade Dilinga.

The African National Congress and its allies have always said that the contention that the South African racist judiciary is unbiased is a myth. The Pietermaritzburg trial has put paid to any misconceptions about this contention.

Twelve revolutionaries were, on the 15th November 1979, sentenced in a most callous manner, in a trial which was a mockery of law and justice. They were charged for high treason and 43 counts under the so-called Terrorism Act. As a result of these serious charges their lives were at stake.

They asked the racist court that the trial be open to the public because of the gravity of the accusations, because they needed the moral support of the people and their relatives, and because the things they were alleged to have done were in the interest of the nation. The people were required to be there to know if in fact these men were traitors and if those giving evidence against them were patriots. The people were to be there to testify to the impartiality of the racist courts. This request was not granted and when they insisted they were sentenced for contempt of the racist court. The racist judge declared that they would be tried in their absence. For this they earned themselves sentences of 12 months and 18 months.

Since when has the right to struggle for one's freedom been treason? Is it treason to defend your people from economic exploitation, human degradation and political repression? Is it treason to fight a system which has been declared by the international community as a crime against humanity?

The world community could not have so soon forgotten that the South African fascist police killed thousands of people during the uprisings of 1976 simply because junior high school children had dared to ask for better education.

What does the world expect from our people when a peaceful demonstration by children is met with the imprisonment of thousands of our people, a spate of deaths in prison cells and the massacre of so many people?

Does the world community expect the oppressed masses to sing praises to the fascists for such brutalities? Is it treason to join a liberation movement to fight against these brutalities?

If it is treason to do so then the world community was committing treason when it joined forces and lost many lives in

fighting the Nazis and fascists in the Second World War.

We all know that the present South African regime is a regime of men and women who believe that it was treason to fight Hitler. We know it because they opposed South Africa's participation on the side of the Allies and were prepared to die or go to prison for this.

So less than a year after the racist law courts had caused a young patriot, Solomon Mahlangu, to march to the fascist gallows in spite of the fact that the court knew that he had not killed the two whites and in spite of world-wide protest, another young patriot has been sentenced to death by the racist court.

James Mange, aged 24 years, an Umkhonto militant, has been sentenced to death and eleven of his comrades have been condemned to sentences between 16 years and 18 years imprisonment.

Even the BBC could not help but comment that it was the first time since the Second World War that someone has been sentenced to death for a case which does not involve the loss of life. Let us therefore find out why James was sentenced to death.

In the words of Judge Hefer, he was sentenced to death for having a repulsive character. Can you beat that? Does having a repulsive character justify the death sentence? That Comrade James had a repulsive character is an opinion of our racist judge. I have known James and my opinion of his character differs from my learned friend. How many people has this bloodthirsty monster killed for such flimsy reasons under the pretext of administering justice, and how many is he still going to murder for the same type of reasons? That is a good taste of the impartiality of the racist and fascist judiciary.

It is clear that this act was also a personal vendetta on the part of Mr Hefer. Young James must have hurt his white supremacist and racist pride during the course of the trial. Knowing himself to be a feared killer he could not countenance this young black man not being scared of him. He just could not stick the guts of these eleven revolutionaries who were not intimidated by the host of fascist police and cowardly racist judge. He could not stomach the fact that black people in danger of their lives should behave like dignified human beings.

This act was also a political decision to try to restore some authority to the degraded fascist legal system by intimidating our people and our militants into being afraid of

fighting for the restoration of their motherland, their legal rights and liberation.

Let us make it abundantly clear to this Nazi, criminal and murderer that we in the African National Congress, allied organisations and Umkhonto we Sizwe will never be intimidated. Nor will they intimidate our people, who have gone through so many Sharpevilles and Sowetos.

We want to remind him of a tradition of the men who belong to the ANC and Umkhonto. If he should ask those who have had the misfortune of meeting our comrades in battle, they will tell him of the tradition of no surrender, part of which he saw with his own eyes in that court. Maybe he will remember that men like Vuyisile Mini and his colleagues who went to the fascist gallows singing revolutionary songs were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

I do not think his memory is that bad that he should forget the demeanor and words of young Solomon Mahlangu who said, 'My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom'.

We call on all who believe in freedom and self determination for our people to stop the fascist regime from getting away with murder. It is time the international community came out concretely in punishing this system which they have declared to be a crime against humanity.

Pressurise the South African regime to stop legal murder. Let James and his colleagues and other political prisoners be freed. We call on all progressive workers' movements to use their labour power to pressurise their governments to stop supporting the South African fascist regime.

Let South Africa know that it can not defy world opinion the second time without feeling it. The Organisation of African Unity, United Nations Organisation and other non-governmental bodies should organise to save the life of James Mange. Those who believe in human rights should show it by acting. What human right is there more than life itself?

To our people, your tested organisation the African National Congress and its Allies, say: Defend yourself against mad judges like Hefer who hang people because they do not like their faces. Hefer himself is a murderer who is still going to kill more of our people if we do not stop him. This type of justice is what P.W. Botha and his clique say is improvement. Let us organise demonstrations for the release of political prisoners and save our son from the gallows by organising a campaign to save his life. Let us use our collective

labour power to strike in protest. Let us destroy these so-called courts which give murderers scope to murder without fearing repercussions. Tomorrow you may hang for not possessing a pass, for refusing to go to the Bantustans, for refusing to be a foreigner in your own country and just for being black.

The Nationalists are behaving like a wounded buffalo. We need to unite in action to bring this animal to ground.

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"THE LENGTH OF THE TERM OF SLAVERY DEPENDS
LARGELY ON THE OPPRESSED THEMSELVES AND NOT
ON THE OPPRESSOR... WE HAVE THE KEY TO FREE-
DOM - NOT THE OPPRESSOR. IT ALL DEPENDS ON
HOW MUCH WE SACRIFICE OURSELVES FOR FREEDOM...
WE DETERMINE THE PACE NOT THE OPPRESSOR".

- CHIEF ALBERT LUTULI -

"WE HAVE NOT EMBARKED UPON THE COURSE OF
VIOLENCE OUT OF CHOICE. ONLY GANGSTERS DO
THAT. WE HAVE ADOPTED THIS COURSE BECAUSE
ALMOST EVERY AVENUE OF LEGAL AND CONSTITU-
TIONAL STRUGGLE HAS BEEN CLOSED BY THE STATE.
THE FACT THAT WE HAVE EMBARKED ON THIS COURSE
DOES NOT ALTER OUR BELIEF THAT THE MASS POLI-
TICAL MOVEMENT IS THE CORNERSTONE OF THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY".

- UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, MESSAGE TO CELEBRATE
ITS FIRST ANNIVERSARY IN DECEMBER 1962 -

THE POLITICS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

Part One.

✓ - William Pomeroy

In commemoration of the 18th anniversary of the formation of our People's Army we begin publication of this series of articles on guerrilla warfare. This series is a transcript of a talk recently given by William Pomeroy to an ANC discussion group. William Pomeroy, an American, is a well-known writer on guerrilla warfare. He took an active part in the 'Huk' guerrilla movement which was active in the Phillipines in the 1940s and 50s.

The subject of the discussion, as given to me, is "The Politics of Guerrilla Warfare", which is rather a broad subject and really has theoretical implications, but I'll try to avoid too much theory.

Actually, I don't think I would call myself an expert or authority on guerrilla warfare. I've had experience in only one armed struggle -- in the Phillipines -- as the Comrade Chairman mentioned. But like you and your fellow members, and the liberation movement you belong to, my tendency is to learn from experience and from necessity. If you waited for everybody to become an expert or an authority in the subject before they did anything or took any action, no struggle would probably ever occur. People learn through doing things, through their experience, through the necessity that is presented to them, before which they have to work.

So I don't intend to speak from a standpoint of authority to you, or to deliver what you would call 'doctrine', but just to present some opinions, a few ideas, raise a few questions, to stimulate some thought and some discussion.

Most of what I have to say you may have already heard before, but even so I think it's important enough to bear some repetition.

I'd like to start with something that is probably very familiar to you, and that is the statement that "War is the extension of politics by other means" -- a very well-known statement -- but nevertheless it's a good starting point for this discussion.

It's a statement which is true of all wars - large or small, just or unjust. It means that warfare or wars are rooted in political or political-economic reasons or motivations. All wars are of this character. And this is also true of guerrilla warfare. In Southern Africa today, for instance, the present guerrilla wars that are occurring are an extension of liberation politics, an extension of those politics by other means.

Incidentally, this fact (that wars are an extension of politics) did not stop some people a few years ago from advocating very strenuously that guerrilla warfare itself could create a political situation - a revolutionary political situation.

This theory, which is commonly known as the 'guerrilla foco' theory, became very popular, especially amongst some Latin American peoples. Che Guevara, for instance, was identified with this theory, and he attempted to put it into practice in the country of Bolivia - creating first an armed unit conducting an armed struggle, with the intention of provoking the political situation to create a revolutionary situation. The French theorist, Regis Debray, was also connected with this theory.

Essentially it was rooted in a rather distorted concept of the guerrilla war for liberation in Cuba. The theory was that the forces of Fidel Castro, in an armed way, provoked the situation which led to the overthrow of the Batista regime. This, I think, is a distorted view of the Cuban struggle. It really has a much more complex character than that. Many more forces than those of Castro's guerrilla group were involved in the struggle against Batista.

At any rate history and the events of history have taken care of this theory of the 'guerrilla foco' - that the guerrilla struggle produces the political situation. In truth no revolutionary struggle (and guerrilla warfare can be a form of revolutionary struggle) can take place without very clearly defined conditions first existing - clearly defined political, economic and social conditions - which create a situation whereby guerrilla warfare is possible. Furthermore, each guerrilla struggle that has occurred, or ever will occur, arises from a set of conditions peculiar to the country where it occurs.

In other words, it is not possible to formulate a complete blueprint of guerrilla struggle that can be applied to all countries and all situations. It simply cannot be done, because

each guerrilla struggle has its own character, its own identity, flowing from the conditions produced in the country where it takes place.

In the decades of the 1960s a certain mystique developed about guerrilla warfare, especially amongst students and intellectual groups. People were impressed very much by the very great victories of guerrilla struggle that had occurred in Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria, or were going on in the Portuguese colonies of Africa at the time. And the idea grew up that guerrilla warfare is in itself revolutionary warfare. In other words, guerrilla warfare is people's warfare - that was the idea that developed in the 1960s.

Now this is not really a true concept. The fact is that this form of struggle - i.e. guerrilla struggle, which is conducted by comparatively small groups using conditions of secrecy, surprise and very great mobility - is used in a great variety of ways by all kinds of forces, both revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces, both progressive forces and reactionary forces.

For example, in Southern Africa today, guerrilla warfare is used by the ANC in South Africa; it is used by the Patriotic Front forces in Zimbabwe; it's employed by SWAPO in Namibia. But it's also employed by such reactionary groups and counter-revolutionary groups as UNITA in Angola, the anti-FRELIMO armed group which has been publicised recently in Mozambique, and even to some extent by the so-called 'Sellous Scouts' in Zimbabwe - the counter-insurgency unit of the Smith-Muzorewa regime in Zimbabwe.

In other words, guerrilla warfare can be utilised by all kinds of people - by revolutionary forces as well as by counter-revolutionary forces. So it is really not correct to say that guerrilla warfare as such, as an entity, is revolutionary or a form of people's warfare. It is not the form of warfare itself that makes it revolutionary, but the political aims of its leaders, of its organisers - the political aims that are represented in the guerrilla struggle, in the guerrilla movement - i.e. the politics of guerrilla warfare are its key factor.

Not surprisingly, Marxists, with their very deep ideological and political commitment, have been the most effective practitioners of guerrilla warfare, although even Marxists, at the beginning, were not so sure of its use.

The first time that we saw a major use of guerrilla warfare by Marxist movements was during the 1905 revolution in

Russia. At that time armed groups were organised by the left-wing peasant and trade union movements and were conducting guerrilla warfare against the Czarist regime. Many of the Marxists in Russia at that time questioned this kind of warfare because it was drawing into its ranks certain elements who were not formally members of mass organisations, even lumpen elements from the cities and people with rather unsavoury backgrounds who were willing to take up arms and fight with the left against the Czarist regime.

So a lot of questions were being asked about this, and Lenin at that time wrote a very significant article called 'Guerrilla Warfare' (it was dated around 1905) in which he defined what guerrilla warfare really was from the Marxist standpoint and how it should be used. I'd like to quote a section from this article by Lenin because it pertains to the topic under discussion:

"It is said that guerrilla warfare brings the class-conscious proletariat into close association with the greatest drunken riff-raff. That is true, but it only means that the party of the proletariat can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only or even the chief method of struggle. It means that this method must be subordinated to other methods, that this method must be commensurate with the chief methods of warfare and must be ennobled by the enlightening and organising influence of socialism. And without this latter condition, all, positively all, methods of struggle in bourgeois society bring the proletariat into a close association with the various non-proletarian strata, above and below it, and if left to the continuous course of events, it becomes free, corrupted and prostituted."

In other words, what Lenin is pointing out is that guerrilla warfare, if its going to be practised by the people, needs a clear-cut, as he said, "ennobling influence of socialism" - i.e. a clear-cut political leadership - in order for it to become a revolutionary movement.

To be continued...

ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Part Two.

- Z. Makhosonke

Despite the failure to achieve the total isolation goal, the international campaign to isolate South Africa has gained ground. Though she has not been excluded from the United Nations, South Africa has been expelled from many international bodies -- e.g. ILO, FAO, from the Olympic Games and many other international sporting bodies. There can be no doubt that the present so-called policy of 'multi-national' sport is the Boer government's response to the increasing isolation from international sports competition. She has been forced into isolation. The use of public funds by the Department of Information to buy friends internationally so as to undermine the isolation strategy is illustrative of the regime's desperation to ward off international attacks and isolation.

The primary weapons the enemy uses against the people and the national liberation movement remains brute force. As part of a subtle ruse to gain credibility for her policies, she has embarked on an aggressive policy of expediting the independence of the bantustans -- thus making the Africans have a stake in this diabolical bantustan programme and equally to show that she is 'decolonising'.

It is significant to observe that it is the very bantustan leaders that are undermining the liberation movement's strategy of disinvestment. They sing the same song as the imperialists, the international monopolies and the South African fascists. International imperialism and the monopolies are no longer insensitive to the demands for breaking off relations with South Africa -- hence the changes in the way of continuing the policies of exploitation. They are constantly looking for loopholes to weaken the spread of the isolation strategy and adopting new tactics.

Reacting to mounting pressure for disengagement, the major imperialists today do not blatantly sell arms to South Africa but sell patents and licenses. Today French Mirage fighter planes are manufactured in South Africa. It is within this context that we must see the French President Giscard D'Estang's announcement of a ban on arms sales from France to South Africa.

Besides the sale of patents, the imperialists have resorted to the use of third countries wittingly or unwittingly as conduits and fronts for their operations. Recently it has been

disclosed that Antigua has been used for the testing of shells destined for South Africa, produced by the multi-national company, Space Research Corporation of Canada. Again South Africa was able to procure embargoed US military equipment through Iran during the war of aggression against Angola.

This military co-operation shows no sign of diminishing. Of late it has taken the form of nuclear collaboration, with the active support of mainly the Federal Republic of Germany and France. Inevitably this capacity to possess nuclear weapons will be used by the racists to blackmail Africa.

Given that economic power helps in strengthening South Africa's military capability, it is incumbent that in the interest of international peace and security, the UN invokes Chapter VII of its Charter and imposes comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, which will embrace the withdrawal of foreign investments in South Africa, and the stoppage of trade with the fascists.

However, we need something more than UN resolutions to stop racist and imperialist plots in Southern Africa. The isolation policy necessitates the building and strengthening of a powerful and broad mass movement: that goes beyond the left and traditional support groups to embrace all the strata of society - men and women, youth of the most diverse political orientations, ideologies and religious creeds, committed to a common goal. The isolation strategy and campaign against apartheid should not be circumscribed by any more or less closed structure or political sector, for this would be at odds with the tasks of struggle and with the possibilities of mustering the broad masses of the people - trade unions, youth and students, intellectuals, etc.

The South African case is not isolated and it does not affect only South Africans. Africa's peace and security is threatened by the existence of the apartheid regime. The workers in the arms industries must be apprised of the criminal role played by their bosses and the workers' own direct implication in the genocidal policies of the Boer regime. Would they have been indifferent to those who produced gas chambers to kill their kith and kin, we should constantly ask. Thus the international solidarity movement should also aim at:

- (a) The mobilisation of the workers and democrats against the alliance between monopoly capital and racism at both international and national level.

- (b) The elimination of the social and economic foundations of racist policies. Racist prejudices have been and are still being used methodically by capitalism.

As imperialism operates on global and regional levels, the solidarity movement must always be in a position to expose and frustrate its schemes, at its base and tentacles. Linking up the international workers' struggle against the national bourgeoisie and multi-national companies in their national and international activities will help educate the people of those countries about the predatory nature of imperialism.

In fact, in some cases pressure on some governments at grass-root level has been so great that, for example, the Canadian government was pressured into discontinuing subsidies to Canadian investors in South Africa. This is only a partial victory because present Canadian investment in South Africa can be ploughed back into the country without any interference from the Canadian government.

The consumer boycott must be explained properly to the ordinary person. By boycotting South African consumer goods, the international community will be denying South Africa the much-needed foreign currency which she uses to purchase military hardware and technology; helping to disrupt South Africa's trade plans and patterns with all the consequences that this entails; expressing their solidarity with their exploited Black fellow-workers who do not benefit from such sales.

Put bluntly -- by calling for disinvestment, sanctions, consumer boycotts, we mean the conscious economic undermining of the present fascist system of government. The help that international imperialism gives to the fascist dictatorship makes it more difficult to isolate it and equally makes it easier for it to pursue its policy of exploitation, repression and terrorism. Hence we need to cut the umbilical cord through which the dictatorship feeds.

It should be clear to both supporters & the liberation movement that imperialism's strategy for strengthening the Botha regime is simultaneously a strategy for the destruction of the forces within South Africa that seek to bring a genuinely popular change.

By isolation we seek to weaken the enemy -- morally, politically, economically, militarily, etc. -- so that greater scope and impetus is given to the revolutionaries and favourable

conditions created for the overthrow of the apartheid dictatorship.

Isolation has been an effective weapon of psychological warfare against the Boer regime if the desperate efforts by South Africa's Department of Information to buy off friends is anything to go by. South Africa must be reduced to a situation of seeing its allies destroyed or neutralised and having to fight without them. She must find herself in an environment where there is no room for racists and fascists.

Maximum mobilisation of opponents of apartheid internationally should make it difficult, if not impossible, for imperialists to intervene militarily on the side of the racists. Equally, greater isolation of the fascists themselves could be a restraining factor on South Africa from unleashing a programme of naked mass genocide on the Black population. Whilst we believe less and less that Britain, the US, West Germany, France, Japan and others can be persuaded to desist from supporting the fascist South African regime, it is important that the criminal nature of the regime be brought to the attention of the world at all times. The world community should be sensitized to the dangers to international peace that South Africa poses.

With imperialism's desperate efforts, particularly after the demise of Portuguese colonialism, to intervene (directly and through South Africa) and impose reactionary and pliable neo-colonial regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the chances of widening the conflict are increasing. Rabid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the ideological justifications for imperialism's meddling into the affairs of Southern Africa. The dangerous trick in this is to isolate the liberation movements from their allies - the Soviet Union and the socialist countries - from where they receive inestimable support, particularly material support without which it would have been near impossible to wage resistance wars in Southern Africa.

Therefore, it should be clear from the aforementioned that the enemy of the South African Revolution is not only local white fascist reactionaries but also international imperialism and its supporters. With all the wealth that our country possesses, it is going to be a tough task to dislodge the racists and their international backers. We cannot, under such circumstances, ignore or even underestimate the relevance of solidarity in our struggle. To do so would be to our detriment.

It is instructive to note that British propaganda was successful in equating the Kenyan Peasant Revolt popularised under the name 'Mau-Mau' in the early 1950s with barbarism, cannibalism and savagery inspired by the 'forces of darkness'. This can be attributed to the lack of international support for the movement that led the revolt, thus giving the British forces of repression unlimited opportunity to act with indiscriminate ruthlessness in suppressing the revolt.

In conclusion we need to re-state that the isolation strategy is inseparable from the campaign to support the national liberation movement. Having accepted the inevitability of imperialism's support (unless we can stop them) for the racist South African Government, it is the internationalist duty of progressive mankind and the international solidarity movement to counter this by rendering all-out moral, political and material support to the liberation movement - the African National Congress - and its military wing - Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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"AT THE PRESENT MOMENT THE BIG IMPERIALIST POWERS AND THEIR JUNIOR PARTNERS SUCH AS ISRAEL ARE QUITE CLEARLY RANGED SOLIDLY TOGETHER AGAINST THE LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE. IT IS THEY WHO HAVE CONSISTENTLY DEFIED THE CALL BY THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO ISOLATE AND DESTROY THE CRIMINAL APARTHEID REGIME. IT IS THEY WHO HAVE SUPPLIED THE ARMS FOR THE BUTCHERY OF THE EIGHT-YEAR-OLDS, WHICH CONTINUES TO THIS DAY, AND WHO HAVE GIVEN VORSTER THE MORAL STRENGTH TO DEFEND THE SOUTH AFRICA RACIST SYSTEM WITHOUT REGARD TO THE LOSS OF HUMAN LIVES. THEIR HANDS ARE THEREFORE AS SOAKED IN THE BLOOD OF OUR PEOPLE, WHICH RAN IN RIVULETS IN SOWETO, IN ATHLONE AND ELSEWHERE, AS THOSE OF VORSTER HIMSELF.

"MANKIND AS A WHOLE IS, HOWEVER, STILL MOVED BY THE DREAD HORROR OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. THE TIME HAS COME TO CRY OUT 'ENOUGH! NO MORE!'."

- COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO -

(From a statement to the United Nations -
26th October, 1976).

NOTES FROM THE GALLOWES

by

JULIUS FUCHIK.

Imprisonment, torture and death in detention have become a way of life in our country, an unavoidable part of the sufferings of our people in our march to freedom. By means of brutality the racists try to trample our revolution into the ground. They have learned this tactic from the many reactionary regimes that have tried, and are still trying, to reverse the inevitable progression of mankind. They faithfully follow in the bloody footsteps of the Portuguese PIDE, the Chilean DINA, the Iranian SAVAK, and the Nazi GESTAPO.

But while the racists of South Africa are learning from the world's oppressors, we are diligently studying the experiences of the world's oppressed. It is for this reason that we begin this month our serialisation of Julius Fuchik's book 'Notes from the Gallows'.

Julius Fuchik was a leader of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party before and during the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia at the time of the Second World War. He played a leading role in the underground resistance to the Nazi occupationist forces until he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1942. He was kept in prison for a year, during which time he was brutally tortured. Although beaten almost to death he refused to divulge any information or to betray any of his comrades. In September 1943, he was executed. Knowing that he was condemned to death, Fuchik wrote 'Notes from the Gallows' on pieces of paper which were smuggled out of prison by a sympathetic prison warder. At the end of the war, the notes were collected by his wife and published.

'Notes from the Gallows' has been read by millions of people all over the world. The courage and dedication which it expresses are an inspiration to all peoples struggling now against the last remnants of fascism. We South Africans can draw profound lessons and courage from this brave book.

NOTES FROM THE GALLOWS

P r e f a c e

Sitting at "Attention", your body rigidly erect, your hands gripping your knees, eyes riveted on the yellowing wall of a room in the former Petchek bank building - this is certainly not a position conducive to meditation. But who can force your thoughts to sit at attention?

We shall never know who or when, but someone once called this hall in Petchek building "the Cinema". The Germans called it "domestic imprisonment", but "Cinema" was a stroke of genius. The spacious hall contained six long rows of benches, occupied by the rigid bodies of those under investigation. The bare wall before their staring eyes became a screen on which they projected more scenes than have ever been filmed, as they waited to be called to another hearing, to torture, to death. The film of one's whole life or of some minor moment of life, a film of one's mother, wife or children, one's broken home or ruined life. Films of courageous comrades - or of betrayal. The film of the man to whom I gave that anti-Nazi leaflet, of blood which is flowing again, of a firm grip of the hand which held me loyal. Films full of horror or of brave decision, of hate or love, fear and hope. Our backs turned to life, each of us died here daily before his own eyes. But not all were reborn.

I have seen the film of my life a hundred times, thousands of details. Now I shall attempt to set it down. If the hangman's noose strangles before I finish, millions remain to write its "happy ending".

JULIUS FUCHIK.

Written in the
Gestapo prison at Pankrats, Prague
in the spring, 1943.

In five minutes the clock will strike ten. A beautiful, warm spring evening April, 1942.

I am hurrying as fast as I can while pretending to be an elderly man with a limp - hurrying to reach the Jelineks' before the building is closed at curfew, at ten. There my "adjutant" Mirek is waiting. I know that he has nothing important to tell me this time, nor I to tell him. But to miss an appointed meeting might cause panic, and I should hate to cause extra worry for those two fine souls, my hosts.

They greet me with a cup of tea. Mirek is there - and the Fried couple, also. That is an unnecessary risk. "I like to see you, comrades, but not together this way. So many in one room at once is the best way to jail, to death. You will either have to stick to the rules of conspiracy, or quit working with us, for you are endangering yourselves and others. Do you understand?"

"We understand."

"And what have you brought me?"

"Copy for the May first number of Red Rights."

"Excellent. And you, Mirkor?"

"There's nothing new. The work is going well..."

"That's all. See you after the first of May. I'll send a message. So long."

"Another cup of tea, chief."

"No, no, Mrs Jelinek. There are too many of us here."

"At least one cup, please."

Steam rises from the fresh-poured tea.

Someone rings at the door.

At this time of night? Who can it be?

The visitors are impatient. They bang on the door.

"Open up! The police!"

Quick through the window. Escape. I have a pistol; I'll hold them back. Too late. Gestapo men under the windows, aiming pistols into the room. Detectives have forced the door, rush into the room through the kitchen. One, two, three- nine of them. They do not see me because I am behind the door through which they came. I could easily shoot them in the back. But their nine pistols point at the two women and three unarmed men. If I fire, my five friends will fall before I do. If I do. If I shoot myself, there will be shooting anyway, and those five will die. If I don't shoot, they will sit in jail

six months or a year, and the revolution will set them free, alive. Only Mirek and I will not come out alive; they will torture us. They won't get anything out of me, but out of Mirek? A man who fought in Spain, a man who lived through two years of concentration camp in France, who came from France back to Prague illegally in the midst of war - no, he will never tell. I have two seconds to decide. Or is it three seconds?

If I shoot, I don't save anyone, except myself from torture - but I sacrifice the lives of five comrades. Is that true? Yes. So it is decided. I step out of the corner.

"Ah, one more!"

The first blow in my face. Hard enough to knock a man out.

"Hands up."

Another punch, and another.

This is just as I imagined it would be.

The orderly apartment is now a pile of furniture and broken things.

More blows and kicks.

"March."

They drag me into an automobile. Pistols always pointing at me. They start on me in the car.

"Who are you?"

"Professor Horak."

"You lie."

I shrug my shoulders.

"Sit still or we shoot!"

"Well, shoot."

Instead, they punch me.

We pass a streetcar. It looks to me as though it were draped with white. A wedding car - at night? I must be feverish.

The Petchek building, Gestapo headquarters. I never thought I should enter here alive. They make me run up to the fourth floor. Aha, the famous II-A section, anti-communist investigation. I seem to be almost curious.

A tall thin commissar in charge of the arrest unit puts a revolver in his pocket and takes me into his office. He lights my cigarette.

"Who are you?"

"Professor Horak."

"You lie."

The watch on his wrist shows eleven o'clock.

"Search him."

They strip me and search.

"He has an identity card."

"The name?"

"Professor Horak."

"Check up on that."

They telephone.

"Of course, he is not registered. The card is forged."

"Who gave it to you?"

"Police headquarters."

Then the first blow with a stick. The second, third... shall I count them? No, my boy, there is nowhere to report such statistics.

"Your name? Speak. Your address? Speak. With whom did you have contact? Speak. Their addresses? Talk! Talk, or we'll beat you."

How many blows can a man stand?

The radio squawks midnight. The cafes must be closing, the last guests going home. Lovers stand before house doors unable to take leave of each other. The tall thin commissar comes into the room with a cheerful smile.

"Everything in order, Mr. Editor?"

Who told them that? The Jelincks? The Frieds? Why, they don't even know my name.

"You see, we know everything. Talk! Be reasonable."

In their special dictionary to be reasonable means to betray. I won't be reasonable.

"Tie him up and give him some more."

One o'clock. The last streetcars are pulling in, streets are empty, the radio says good night to its last faithful listeners.

"Who else is a member of the Central Committee? Where are your transmitters? Where is your printing shop? Talk! Talk! Talk!"

By now I can count the blows again. The only pain I feel is in the lips I have been biting.

"Off with his boots."

That is true, my feet have not yet been beaten numb. I feel that. Five, six, seven - as though that stick shot up to my brain each time.

Two o'clock. Prague is asleep. Somewhere a child will whimper, a man will pat his wife on the hips.

"Talk! Talk!"

My tongue feels along my bleeding gums and tries to count how many teeth have been knocked out. I can't keep count.

Twelve, fifteen, seventeen? No, that is the number of commissars conducting my "hearing". Some of them are visibly tired. But death still does not come.

Three o'clock. Early morning moves in from the suburbs. Truck-gardeners drive towards their markets, street-sweepers go out to work. Perhaps I shall live to see one more day break.

They bring in my wife.

"Do you know him?"

I swallow the blood from around my mouth so that she will not see... but that is foolish because blood oozes from every inch of my face and from my finger tips.

"Do you know him?"

"No I don't."

She said it without betraying her terror by even a glance. Pure gold. She kept our pledge never to recognise me, although it is almost unnecessary now. Who was it gave them my name?

They led her away. I said farewell with the most cheerful glance I could summon. Perhaps it wasn't cheerful. I don't know.

Four o'clock. Is dawn breaking or not? The darkened windows give no answer. And death is slow in coming. Shall I go to meet it? How?

I strike back at someone and fall to the floor. They kick me. Stamp on me with their boots. That's it, now the end will come quickly. The black commissar pulls me up by the beard and shows me a handful of torn out whiskers with a devilish laugh. It really is comical, and I don't feel pain any longer.

Five o'clock - six - seven - ten. Then it is noon, the workmen are at their benches, children are in school. People buy and sell in the shops, at home they are getting lunch. Perhaps mother is thinking of me this moment, perhaps my comrades know that I was arrested and have taken precautions against being caught themselves... what if I should talk... no, I never will, you can count on me, truly. Anyway the end can't be far off now. This is all a nightmare, a horrible feverish nightmare. Blows all over me, then they throw water on me to bring me back. Then more blows, and shouts. "Talk! Talk! TALK!" But I still can't die. Mother, Dad, why did you make me as strong as to stand this?

Afternoon. Five o'clock. They are all tired out by this time. Their blows come slower, at long intervals, kept up out of inertia. Suddenly from a distance, from an immeasurable distance, comes a calm quiet voice, as kind as a pat:

"Er hat schon genug. He has had enough."

Some time after I was sitting at a table, which kept falling away and then coming back to me. Someone came in and gave me water. Somebody offered me a cigarette, which I couldn't lift. Now someone tries to put on my slippers, but says he can't. Then they half lead and half carry me down stairs into an auto. As we drive someone covers me with his pistol, which seems laughable in my condition. We pass a streetcar, garlanded with white flowers, a wedding car - but maybe that is just a dream. Either a dream or fever, or dying - or death itself. But dying is hard, and this is easy - or it isn't either hard or easy. This is light as down - if you take a breath you will blow it all away.

All away? No, not yet. Now I am standing again, really standing alone, without any support. Just before my face is a dirty yellow wall, splashed...with what? With blood, it looks like...Yes, it is blood. I raise a finger and smear it...yes, it is fresh...it is my blood...

Someone behind me hits me on the head and orders me to raise my arms and bend my knees to squat. Down-up-down. The third time I fall over...

A tall SS-man stands over me, kicking me to get up. It is quite useless to kick. Someone else washes my face, I am sitting at a table. A woman gives me some sort of medicine and asks where it hurts worst. I say all the pain seems to be in my heart.

"You have no heart," says the tall SS-man.

"Oh, I certainly have," I say, and am suddenly proud that I have strength left to stand up for my heart.

Again everything vanishes - the wall, the woman with the medicine and the tall SS.

When I come to, the door of a cell opens before me. A fat SS-man drags me inside, pulls off the shreds of my shirt, lays me on the straw mattress. He feels my swollen body over and orders compresses.

"Just look," he says to the second man and wags his head. "Look what a thorough job they do."

Again from a distance, an immeasurable distance, I hear that calm, quiet voice, as kind as a pat:

"He can't last till morning."

In five minutes it will strike ten. On a beautiful warm spring evening. April 25, 1942.

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To be continued.

T H E . M K O A T H

I shall go:
Where all men are deaf
Whether dead or alive
Where all sounds are all one
An echo upon an echo
Where bones brittle
In a kiss with copper
Where blood like crude
Oozes from sabotaged lines
Because I have taken oath
In the People's Court
To march forward into the Battle Storm

I must go:
As big guns roar
And tanks rumble
Whilst bombs thunder
Like vicious volcanoes
And pistols spit
Like poisonous snakes
And ricochets screams
Like wicked witches
Where rifles hiss
Like cornered cobras
And grunts and groans are common cries
The signals of the silent world
For I have taken oath
In the People's Court
To march forward into the Battle Storm

I'll be gone
To where sappers swing
In solemn solos:
"A mine a man"
That's their sweetest song
The only chorus with a safe note.
Since I have taken oath
In the People's Court
To march forward into the Battle Storm.

- WELLINGTON SEJAKE -

B E F O R E I D I E

i want to force my pen
to write
before the sun sets
for those who will prematurely fall
on the battle-ground before my eyes
for those whose devotion and courage
will meet six in the morning
in Pretoria central
before the black masses rise above the sky
i want to write now
for i may not be there
to write for the unknown
to scribble lines indelible
on the unbroken rock of time
for those to fall
before the grass is green
grilled and beaten
tortured to non-recognition
mained and killed
the fallen the brave
the brave and the fallen
the burning torch of freedom
i will write now
before my pen fails me
stopped by a bullet
from a shivering stray shot
fired with fear of reprisal
for those whose monuments
will glorify the city centres
whose tombs
will for ever glower
above the golden beauty of my land
i will write now
to appease my dead limbs
covered by millions of sand particles
will not allow me to write
i will write now
before i die.

- DAVID KGABANG

C O M R A D E P R E S I D E N T

Gone as evaporated
cooling rain sprout
on hot summer days
Beloved Comrade
Patriot of the nation
trees bow their leaves
in silent reverence as
the age old bark
stands erect in honour of a man
son of Angola
Beloved leader
teacher of peace and wisdom
gone as angry dark clouds
giving way to radiance of blue sky
yet
his name lives on
his deeds will never be forgotten
oceans hiss and waves
hurriedly spread
the message of sadness
for mankind to know
that nature
has lost one of its beauties
the wind whispers
heart wrenching songs
and carries scarring wails of mothers
who've lost their son
solitude embraces atmosphere
of liberated Angola
and heaves sighs
of brothers who've lost
a comrade and friend
ANTONIO AGOSTINHO NETO
man of peace
lover of nations
The autumn leaves
fallen in September breeze
solemnly stir golden sheaves
in morning
to honour the son who fallen
was birthed in month of spring

Statesman
Comrade
death is but a passing storm
your heroism
dedication and
sparkling example
guides as glorious
morning star
the continent
you so loved
to freedom and peace
for all
ADIEU
Comrade President
Antonio Agostinho Neto.

- GLORIA MTUNGWA -

"... THE RULERS, THE RACISTS, THE IMPERIALISTS EVEN, TREMBLE WITH FEAR BEFORE THE MEANINGFUL ART OF THE PEOPLE, BECAUSE SUCH ART BESPEAKS THEIR INEVITABLE DOOM; SUCH ART IS REDELOODED AND BRILLIANTLY HUMANISTIC. IT UPLIFTS THE SPIRIT OF THE MASSES. IT DOES NOT DIVIDE AND SEPARATE, LIKE APARTHEID. IT DOES NOT GROW ON SEPARATE LINES, LIKE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT; BUT IT CONVERGES, AND MERGES PEOPLE INTO A UNITED WHOLE. IT CREATES A NATION; IT DOES NOT FRAGMENT AND BREAK UP THE NATION".

- COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO -

**DISCIPLINE
IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY**

our battle cry is
and will continue to be
VICTORY OR DEATH
WE SHALL WIN!
- Comrade President
O.R. Tambo

**Learn well how to seek revenge.
Courage but intelligent courage!**

**SOLIDARITY WITH
COMRADE JAMES MANGE**



**STOP
THE EXECUTION**