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Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

SOUVENIR ISSUE

Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately, and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years

have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage
NEC of the

where we have almost no rights at all.

Chief OR

— Chief AJM Luthuri —

the

Victory or Death - Statement of the

ANC delivered by Comrade Commander-in-

Tambo on Heroes Day December 16, 1986 on

occasion of the 25th anniversary of MK, . * *1

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of

The Longest Three Minutes in My Life

..... .7

the people's defence, It will be the fighting arm
of the people against the government and its

The First Known Explosion. .8
The Happiest Moment in My Life

..... 10

of the victims of race oppression. It will be the striking

December 16, 1961 in Durban

..... . 13

force of the people for liberty, for rights and

Though We Had No AK47's Nor Revolvers..... .14

for their final liberation,

The Least Dramatic Contribution

..... 16

* MK manifesto

Dynamite Thieves ..

.....

17

Yuyisile Mini	19
What were we/ the leaders of our people, to do?Were we	How MK Grew
. 120	
to give in to the show of force and the implied	Sawing Electric Pylons
. 21	
threat a ainst future action, or were we to fight it and,	The Sabotage
Campaign.....' 24	
9	
if so, how?	MK is Born.....25
We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight.	Joe Slove — A Profile
. 28	
Anything else would have been abject surrender. Our	30
problem was not whether to fight, but Was how to	Washington Mpumelelo Bongco
. 31	
The Longest Night	
.	
.	
continue the fight. We of the ANC had always stood for	The Second Stage: Aiempts to Get
Back 33	
a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action	The Wankie Campaign
34	
which might drive the races further apart than they	Chris Hani - A Drawing by a Close
Political	Activist*
already were. But the hard facts were that fifth years	
of non-violence had brought the African people nothing	Crossing the Zambezi
.39	
but more and more repressive legislation, ami fewer and	Basil February
. T 40	
fewer rights.	Zambezi Took A Share. 41
It may not be easy for this court to understand,	The Adventurer Episode
. 43	
but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been	The Military Code of Umkhonto we
Slzwe 44	
talking of violence — of the day when they would fight	The Battle of Nyatuwe
47	
the white man and win back their country — and we, the	1976 to the Present.
. 49	
leaders of the ANC, had nevertheless always prevailed	Operation Ingwavuma
. 50	
upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful	Richard 'Barney* Molokoane
. 54	
methods. When some of us discussed this in May and	No Surrender
. 55	
June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy	How We Captured a Hippo
to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had	
achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning	
to lose confidence in this policy and were developing	
disturbing ideas of terrorism.	

— Nelson Mandela, First Commander-in-Chief of MK
a people's

In building up our own popular army we aim
interests.
therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist
soldiers
regime, we aim also at building up a politically
and

conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of
most ex-
its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic
reasons
functions and guided by our revolutionary
the
orientation *

Commander-in-Chief O.R. Tambo.

Umkhonto is a people's army fighting

war. We fight to liberate our oppressed and ex-
ploited people. We fight for their

Umkhonto has no mercenaries, no paid
or conscripted troops. It consists of the sons

daughters of the most oppressed, the
exploited sections of our people. For these
we claim with pride and truth : Umkhonto is

Spear of the Nation. .W;t

/ — MK, military code *

25 YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE

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victory or

death

defence of our people, our future
and freedom/1 knew then, as

Statement of the NEC of the ANC delivered by Comrade Com-
mander-in-Chief O.R. Tambo on Heroes Day, December 16, 1986.
Manifesto, that

we stated in the

on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of MK,-» we were "striking out
along a new road for the liberation of
the people; that once we took
THIS day 25 years ago bomb youth tempered in the crucible that road there
would be no blasts in several main centres of battle. On behalf of the going back; a road that
was going rocked South Africa. Thus was African National Congress and its to necessitate total
dedication, bom Umkhonto we Sizwe, the allies I salute you on this the self-sacrifice and a
determin- People's Army of our countr 25th anniversary of the birth of ation that knew no
surrender; a try* Umkhonto we Sizwe. road along which the commit-
By that time the demands of Umkhonto we Sizwe was bom ment not to submit
but to fight pur people were loud, persistent out of a sense of the heavy would have to be
transformed and clear: All our efforts as a responsibility that history had into the uncompromising
warrior people, the whole record of ihrust uPon OQr people- We had pledge — Victory or
Death! relentless struggle under the sought by every non-violent Let us cast our minds
back to leadership of the African Natio ago, to un- those days, 25 years
ago, to un- nal Congress wefe being met with the liberation of our people. In derstand the immensity of
that ever increasing violence1 and pursuit of this goal, the decade decision and the courage of
those repression by the racist state; of the fifties demonstrated the patriots who founded and parti
The time had arrived when we overwhelming commitment of cipated in the
early actions of the masses of our oppressed Umkhonto we Sizwe.
needed to reinforce our mass the Bambatha Uprising in 1906
Not since peoples to freedom. Under the had patriots taken
political action with the hammer leadership of the Congress AU- organised form. The
to arms in an blows of an armed struggle. ction to State violence
people's rea- The formation of Umkhonto ance headed by the African
ihad con- we Sizwe was a response to these National Congress all classess
years, Vith the needs and the demands of our and strata as . well as the di~
Umkhonto we Si- formation of

people. December 16 1961 verse population groups of our zwe we were
 gathering together
 accordingly marked an his- country steadfastly pursued this in an organised form all
 the best
 toric turning point in our long objective. Our people mobilised fighting traditions of
 our past
 march to freedom. With the as never before to challenge in order to stride into
 the future
 formation of Umkhonto we white minority rule* The decade along the path of the seizure
 of
 Sizwe our people were now of the fifties was a decade of power by the majority of the
 better equipped to grasp history truly great achievements. But people.
 into their own hands. true to the traditions of coloni We knew then that anger
 alone
 Bom of the people, combat alist rule and the ideology of race would not bring
 victory. We
 ants of Umkhonto we Sizwe superiority the rulers of our knew that our people
 had been
 pledged themselves in our Mani country paid no heed to the deliberately deprived of the
 skills
 festo to, complement the actions demands of our people. They of modem warfare and
 denied
 of our national liberation move drowned our efforts in blood access to weaponry. We
 knew
 ment by means of organised and brutality. The Sharpeville then that our terrain
 presented
 revolutionary violence. These massacre of March 1960 epito its own special
 problems which
 past 25 years are a proud record mised this reality* could not be answered
 from the
 of a risen people making their classical textbooks of guerriia
 then that des- The formation of Umkhonto warfare. We knew
 own history with their blood, we Sizwe was our people's pite the sweep of the
 African Re-
 sweat and tears as we live out answer to this historic challenge volution we would
 have to deve-
 that commitment. from the racist rulers of South lop the armed struggle
 without Africa, in the clarion call of
 From those small beginnings our Manifesto we declared that the advantage of rear
 biases in the
 Umkhonto we Sizwe has emer^ "the time comes in the life of neighbouring States.
 We knew
 ged today as the guarantor of our any nation when there remains then that we faced
 a formidable

people's future and the indispensable fighting arm of our people. that combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, you are the flower of successive generations of our means within our power in we knew

only two choices : submit or

foe underpinned by

that con-

tight5' and that South Africa's

If this was the reality

many disadvantages

fronted us with so

move for-

ntages how were we to

ward? Above all else

1

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too that our strength lay in the enemy reckoned masses; that in striking out along liberation by

imprisonment of Wilton Mkwayi

But if our

and others, it appeared as if the

that the struggle for

a new road for liberation nothing snuffed out by would count as much as our faith wrong

guns of MC had been silenced for all time.

a people could be victory in one battle, how

in the masses; we knew that Umkhonto we Sizwe, born of the the prisons and

Unprecedented state repression and enemy conduct which

they were to be the country, in

people, had to be rooted in the camps situa-

violated every norm of humanity

in remote military

combined to smash our network masses and strive with the countries of our

within the country- Even the

ted in distant

people. Despite the immensity of continent Africa we set

courage of our masses appeared

mother

the odds but immersed with this journey of re*

to have cowed before the tyr-

out on the long

faith, those early combatants replenishing

rant's might.

grouping ourselves

took to battle. With home-made resolve and

u But the founders of Umkhon-

our courage and

bombs and explosives taken from by inch to reach the enemy we biased a glorious seemed to van-

to we Sizwe and the leaders of our national liberation move-

fighting back inch lise a dream that

trail ment had already taken steps ish into such a distant future. And what a glorious trail it has which would ensure that what

t>een!	ever the twists of history, our	Looking back over those 25
Those early exploits struck accord proper fear into the hearts of the	people would soldier on to vic-	years let us today
enemy. Not since the battle of Isandhiwana in 1879 had our rulers been so shaken by our		place and recognition to that ge-
fighting formations. They could pot understand what moved giants like Mini, Mkhaba and		neration of MK we know as um- gwenya who by force of circum- stance and in the face of such
Khayinga to go singing defiantly to the gallows rather than trade their lives for the life of a fellow		diversity became the core for our regrouping and the torch-bearers of our revolution. Vith super-
combatant by giving evidence for the state. The Minis, like many		human dedication to the cause of our people they held aloft our dream and lived with only one
before them and many more since, emblazoned with their lives h		purpose in mind — to get back into our country, to be enjoined
" I ■ ■ . i - ■		once more in the bosom of our people whose servants we are and
into the emblem of Umkhonto		to pursue the revolution. This is
■		
we Sizwe the uncompromising motto r Victory or Death! Let us On the occasion of the 25th anni- versary of Mi salute these heroes for their commitment to the just- ness of our cause and for	Commander-in-Chief , .	not the place to record every ef- fort, to recount every ingenious means with which we pursued this goal Let it be sufficient to note that we traversed many countries on toot and by
other	0 R Tambo	
imprinting in the history of our		means. Every failure to reach home became a spur to further
struggle a standard that we must	tory. Thus it was that in the face	
live up to. Let it be recorded to- daring. Ufe	of such a massive setback the	efforts and greater
day that this has been our stan- land* by sea and	only cohesive organised force of	sought to go by
dard from the first days of Um- had comrades	our revolution that remained at	by air. We even
khonto we Sizwe.	the time was the comrades who	traverse our country to
reach Le-	had been sent out of the country	sotho* Our
Even in those early days by umgwenya never gave what cruel twists history sought		up hope and never spared their

to underscore both our mistakes
of our his-
and the immense difficulties that
many comrades,
our revolution faced. Within less
Flag Boshielo,

than a year our first commander,
the Afri-
Ode, Nelson Mandela, was cap-
Congress and com-
tured by the enemy. Within two
Umkhonto we Sizwe.

■
•**

a
years of our birth the cream of
Mozambique
our leadership was captured at
with our bro-
Rivonia farm, brought to trial
to probe

with Ode. Mandela and senten-
country. But
ced to life imprisonment where
period be-
they remain to this day. In his
we made in

statement to the court Cde, Man-
combined force
dela, confronted with the pros-
fighters we
pect of the gallows, defended the
Zambezi into the

justness of our cause and defian- And now we were faced with the
order to hack a -
tly proclaimed that for these ac- imponderable prospect of being
our brothers

tions "I am prepared to dié" By
themselves in their
the end of 1964, with the
daring ef-

2

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to train in politics and the art of
modern warfare. We had left our
country in search of knowledge

and skills denied to us in the
country of our birth. We had left
our homes imbued with the

dream that we would surge back
into South Africa to lock imme-
diately into battle with our fas-

cist rulers. had left our coun-
try in the belief that when we
came back with our martial skills

we would be received by our lea-
ders occupying the front tren-
ches and guiding us into battle.

cut off from the lifeblood of
our revolution — our people.

efforts/ In that phase
tory we lost
among them Cde.

member of the NEC of
can National
missar in

In Portuguese-ruled
we joined forces
thers-in-arms Frelimo

our way into our
the true epic of that
longs to the effort

1967 when as a
of ANC and ZAPU
crossed the

then Rhodesia in
path home and for

to entrench
mother country. That

fori is known as the \tenkie our struggle is written in the an-
revolution

try. From then on our

Campaign in which our combatants of the Lutuli Detachment* caught alight with renewed inten-

ants fought gloriously against the That role of Umkhonto we sity and our people have surged

combined racist Soufh African Sizwe has been emulated over and ahead in united mass action such

and Smith forces. How the over again. Let us on this occasion as never before seen in the his-

enemy forces were rendered salute the Luthuli Detachment tory of our struggle.

panic-stricken by the relenttess whose members lie buried in The imperative of the armed

courage of our combined forces many countries, whose members struggle as the key component

who, on the banks of the Zam language in prison and whose of our revolutionary way for-

bezi, before they marched into members even today serve in our ward which underlay the forma-

the hostile territory of Rhodesia, front ranks. If the revolution sur tion of Umkhonto we Sizwe in

were named, in memory of our vived those darks days, it sur 1961 was burned into the minds

great leader, the late President- vived to a significant extent be of our Soweto generation by the

General of the African National cause of our Lutuli Detachment* savage massacres perpetrated by

Congress, Chief Albert Lutuli, and who are known since then and for all posterity as the Lutuli Detachment. In battle after bat

tle the racist forces were over whelmed by the courage and fire power of our gallant fighters* In instance after instance the cow*

ardly enemy broke ranks and fled, abandoning their weapons, their injured and their dead.

Many members of that indomit- able detachment fell in battle in

Wankie and on the Eastern front, Their names are inscribed in the

roll-call of honour of our revolu tion* On this day, every year, we

pay special tribute to those illus- trious combatants who fell on the sacred fields of Zimbabwe

with the warrior cry "Victory or
 Death" on their lips, immortal
 fighters such as Peter Mhlongo,
 Del mas Sibanyoni* James Ma- the racist soldiers and police!
 At the same time our com-
 simini, and Basil February who rades who were incarcerated in The brutal gunning
 down of 13
 in several battles refused to re- year old Hector Petersen turned
 treat, fought the enemy to the the prisons turned prison into a the protesting youth of
 1976 in-
 last bullet; heroes such as Patrick battleground. Cut off from the to the warriors who
 flowed into
 masses, they waged campaign af-
 Molaoa, President of the African the ranks of Umkhonto we Siiwe
 ter campaign and their invincible
 National Congress Yough Lea- spirit flowed out of the prisons giving fresh impetus
 to our
 gue, Michael Poe, Andries Motse- armed activities. Almost over-
 pe, Jack Simelane and Gandi to inspire our people. night the Soweto
 generation fin-
 The flame held aloft by the
 Hlekane, all of whom gave their Luthuli Detachment and the ally enabled us to
 breach the bar-
 lives in the noble cause of our re- riers by which the enemy had
 volution* spirit that continuously surged sought to separate us from the
 from the prisons where our lea-
 IRhy do we recall these explo- masses. The enemy which by de-
 its? Surely it cannot be simply ders and fighters have been held sign and fortuity had
 deprived us
 to record the difficulties we fa- in captivity inspired and merged of the generation of the
 mid-six-
 ced and the endurance and cour- with the revival of the fighting ties to the mid-
 seventies now un-
 age we showed* More. In the un- capacity of our people inside wittingly threw into
 the ranks of
 folding of our revolution it be- South Africa. Activists who had
 came the sacred duty of Um- been cut off by wave after wave the revolution an
 army of youth
 khonto we Sizwe to revive the of repression and activists re- whose anger and
 courage knew
 spirit of revolt among our people, emerging from the fascist prisons no bounds* Within
 the ranks of
 to kindle the embers so' that the joined forces with a new gener- Umkhonto we Sizwe
 and under
 flame of revolution would once ation of freedom fighters and set the tutelage of the
 umgwenya
 more flare up* How Wankie re- about organising the masses. The they proudly
 absorbed the heri-
 vived the spirits of our people in- wave of strikes waged by our tage of struggle that
 resides in

side our country, restored courage
in the face of repression and re-
vitalised the revolution! That
indelible page in the history of
of the

the various formations of our na-
workers in 1973 became the pre-
cursor to the Soweto explosion tional liberation movement and
of 1976 that shook our coun- were awarded the title

3

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June 18 Detachment. They were elsewhere such as Mot so Moklabu- The special
significance of
to be rapidly joined by the Mon- di, Mduduzi Guma? Krish Rabilal, these lessons has been the
growth

cada Detachmcnt who have been Zwdakhe Nyanda* Nomkhosi in the understanding as to how
followed by detachment after Mini (daughter of Vuyisile). Da- the masses should
be mobilised

detachment swelling the ranks of vid Skosana, Titus Jobo and Ha- to fulfil this perspective. Accor-

our revolutionary peopled army. rold Dan tile (Morris)- The spirit dingly, we have had
to elabor-

And what glorious pages they of the Patrick Molaoas and Basil ate on concrete
programmes that
are writing! Februarys who fell in Rhodesia would enable the masses to
be

Ill the decade since the So- has been relived by combatants transformed into
political revolu-
we to Uprising Umkhonto we Si- who have fought it out to the tionary bases. It has
also meant
zwe has becojne entrenched in- last bullet or hand grenade, com- that we have had
to develop a
side our country. Combat oper- deep and thorough-going under-

ations have dramatically increa- rades such as the Silverton heroes, standing of the
inter-relationships
sed in number^ in daring, auda- Thami Makhubo, Wilfred Madela between the
four pillars of our
city and sophistication. Our com- and Fani Mafoko, Linda Jabane struggle which we
have charac-

batants, by our operations, have — *the lion of Chiawelo' — Khu- terised as the
building of the un-
wrenched away the mask of in- dugaMolokwane,the Dobson vi He
vincibility that the enemy sought schoolteacher, and Clifford derground network of
our move-
to wear. Inspiration and hope Brown. ment, the mass action of our

and the certainty of victory to- We recall and salute Richard people, the expansion
of Umkho*

day surge through the veins of Molokoane (Barney), one of our nto we Sizwe inside
South Afri-

the masses of our people. mobilisation	most outstanding field comman-	ca and the further
The catalogue of achieve- ■ community	des who died with Victor Khayi-	of the international
meats is studded with the brilli isolation of	yane and Vincent Sekete during	aimed at the total
ant attacks on Saspl, the military headquarters at Voortrekhoogte, and continues	a daring bid to attack Sasol once again with rockets, Linda Khu-	the apartheid regime, MC has played
the nuckftr power station at Koe- zwayo, who fell in Ingwavuma, to play a crucial role in the devel berg, the bomb blast outside the politi-	Livingstone Gaza, Vincent Tsha- opment of our masses into	
headquarters in Pretoria of the their	balala, Lucas Njongwe, Eldridge cal	revolutionary bases. By
racist South African Air Force, combatants	Yakiti, Jerry Nene, Clement Mo-	heroism and tenacity
the attacfcS'On enemy communic have	lapo and Samuel Segola, and of Umkhonto we Sizwe	
ations, the limpet and landmine our	many more, courageous combat won not only the respect of	
attacks inside the bordeis and deep within the country. Um- to	ants to the last who were prepa peoples but their willingness	
kbonto we Sizwe combatants the all-round	engage themselves in the armed red to welcome death in order	struggle. Without
meigmg with the combat groups participation of the masses	that our people should be victo	active
that are springing up all over in the townships have made grenade develop People's War	rious in the end. They have been immortalised by our revolution,	we cannot
attacks an everyday event. Even John Venter Square, the head their deeds shall inspire our army	their deaths gave meaning to life, and our people for all time and	in the fullest sense. The revolt of the
masses of quarters of the hated Security become a tidal		our people has
Police» has reverberated from the amount of repres	their spears have been picked up	wave which no
exptofikm of the limpet mine. At of	by others.	sion and violence on the part
last enemy soldiers and police longer ca-	Only if we place Soweto and	the racist state is any
walk fearfully in our townships of	the decade since into historical pable of containing. The State	

and they are learning that they real-
cannot escape death as they have become a permanent
been led to believe. dimension of significance. Be instrument for the racists*
uncer-
tween the Rivonia arrests and the
We have a long road ahead and Soweto Uprising it can be said tain survival. The
masses have
many obstacles to overcome but that the question as to how to made our country
ungovernable
we can justly say that there is no advance revolutionary warfare for the regime and
rendered apar- target that is impervious to our without safe rear bases in the theid unworkable.
combatants, there is no area of neighbouring States appeared to How far then
are we from
our country beyond our reach elude practical answers. The re truly realising
People's War? In
and that the oppressor and his newed actions of Umkhonto we our daily lives our
people have
army will be conquered. Sizwe on a sustained basis and abundantly
demonstrated that
In this decade of mass revolt the continuous upsurge of the apartheid has -become
intoler- able. At the level of united mass
the traditions of the Minis have masses provided the answer to action our people
been relived by the Solomon
are surging
Mahlangus, the Jerry Mosololis, this question and showed that
the Marcus Motaun^ and the our bases would of necessity ahead. Every
organised forma have to be located among our tion of our people
Simon Mogoeranes who have
— our wor- people. Along this path our kers, our women, our
proudly faced Pretoria's hang rural peo-
men living up to our pledge "Vic theory and practice of revolutio ple, our youth and
students, the
tory or Death'* On this day we nary warfare came to be properly township residents,
religious con- understood in terms of People's gregations and
solemnly recall those warriors
leaders, our tea- War. chcrs and those in various
who fell at Matola, Maseru and
profes-

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sions, our progressive whites — future — they therefore only de account!
are beginning to act in concert. fend a cause already lost whose In tribute to the
independent

Revolutionary violence has path is increasing demoralization. states of Southern
 Africa and
 become part of the arsenal of our It is only in this framework that other states in the far-
 flung cor-
 people. It is imperative that all we who know how to die for the ners of our continent
 who have
 classes and strata, especially our future can understand the majꝑ enabled us to become
 the force
 workers and the rural population, esty of our young lions who have that we are and at
 this moment
 should become part of the comꝑ taken to war and side by side when the racist
 army with the
 bat forces of our revolution. Our with Umkhonto we Sizwe moved support, tacit or
 otherwise, of
 youth should not be left to our masses to make People's War imperialism are
 threatening their
 a reality. As a tribute to these heꝑ
 shoulder ihis burden alone. This is roic young lions who are daily independence and
 sovereignty we
 the true significance of our call losing their lives it is appropriate make this pledge : We
 have
 to the people : Every patriot a that we in Umkhonto we Sizwe, always shared the common and
 combatant — every combatant a the People's Army, should on noble ideal of freeing our
 conti-
 patriot! this 25th anniversary of our nent of colonialism and racism.

We are witnessing today the foundation pledge ourselves that As we in Umkhonto we Sizwe teꝑ
 masses steadily taking to arms; they shall not die in vain. And naciously pursue the
 enemy in
 we are in the midst of death* that our revolution in its triumph his den, wherever we
 find you,
 defying deeds where combat shall rebuild for them the child' our friends and
 brothers, threa-
 groups supported by the people hood that they have lost. tened, we shall
 unhesitatingly
 are erecting barricades, stringing At this moment, as we reach stand shoulder to shoulder with
 barbed wire across roads, digging into the high tide of our revoluꝑ you in defence of your indepenꝑ
 defence trenches, driving enemy tion, let us remind ourselves that dence against
 this common
 forces into death traps, mining we face a vicious and inhuman enemy. We salute
 the indepen-

petrol bombs against armoured
Southern Africa
vehicles, arming themselves by
preserve their

dispossessing the enemy of his
sovereignty and
weapons, ridding our townships
\\

of informers and collaborators,
in battle
eliminating enemy personnel.
people

foe. Our enemy is now commu-
ted irrevocably to a course aimed

at destroying the mass resistance
of our people to the extent of

perpetrating genocide. It has
marshalled all its power to des- with the heroic fighting

dent states of
fighting to

independence,
territorial integrity

We pledge our unity

The full majesty of these ac- troy Umkhonto we Sizwe, the of Namibia under the leadership

tions lies in the determination of
wing

our people to lock in battle with
the enemy forces and annihilate
moment in

them physically.
ever*

MC units are today being
manoeuvre

welcomed and their leadership
our move-
and guidance sought by our peo-
our people

ple, Side by side with this devel-
our goals.

opment, township after township
reaction and

s building the foundations of
already

People's Power which are trans-
strategy. Faced

forming them into fortresses of
strength,
the revolution.

Through centuries of white
domination our people have
learnt how to die for a future.
African Na-

Today even our eight-year old
renounce

course on marauding the indepe-

ndent states of Southern Africa in

pursuit of reducing them to

abject client states. It has ekpo-

sed itself as a cancer in the body

politic of our beloved continent

and a threat to world peace. It

has left independent Africa with

no choice but to share trenches

with us in the front line of bat-

tle*

We cannot let this day pa-
without paying homage to that

great son of Africa, our com-

our history we need to be

vigilant against every

not only to annihilate

ment but to deflect

from the realisation of

The forces of

counter-revolution have

spelled out their

with the reality of our

they seek to entice us with the

possibilities of peaceful change

by demanding of the

tional Congress that we

children in the townships defian
abandon the al-
tly pit their strength against the
South African

might of the racist soldiers and
that we se*
police. The cream of our youth
the social-

have begun to mobilise themse
particular with

ves into mass combat groups de
the German
terminated to ensure that the re
and Cuba.
gime will never again restore its
demands

control over the lives and des
the funda-

tiny of our people. The enemy
comes out of
forces are being compelled to re
existence of Umkho

cognise that the only cause that
they have to defend is the
been

survival of a dying order; that
in Pre-

even in death they can only die
for the past and not for the
armed a c-

= Page 8 =

tivityl Combatants of Mi , you been offered their release if only
this long

are the guarantors of our future;
achi-
without you our people and the
made

leader of our revolution, the
where
African National Congress,
al-

would be a voice without force.
learn

rade-in-arms, the late President
Samora Machel of Mozambique,

cruelly murdered by the Pretoria
regime. His life and his death sy

mbolise the close unity in strug

gle of our people. JVK combat
ants trained together with him
and other Frelimo comrades; for

years we shared the same milit

ary camps; at times we even
shared the same trenches on Mo

zambican soil before its libera
tion. And he lost his life on

South African soil at the hands

of our common enemy. We toria, London, Washington or
pledge to bring his murderers to Bonn because of our

violence, that we

liance with the

Communist Party and

ver our relations with

ist countries, in

the Soviet Union,

Democratic Republic

What do these

amount to? WhatL is

mental lesson that

25 years of

nto we Sizwe?
Our people have only

taken seriously whether

In the course of

they would renounce so-called march we have scored great

violence. Our commander Nelson evements, Ue have also

Mandela firmly thrust aside these many mistakes but we are

overtures by getting to the heart we are today because we have

of the matter. All the violence in ways had the capacity to

our situation emanates from the from our mistakes as well as
 Our history has taught us that racist regime. It is the racists who from our achievements; to
 learn

people's power cannot come have to renounce violence not us* from our people as they
 learn
 through a change of heart from from us.

the rulers. When we resorted to the We are born of
 Those who ask us to desert armed struggles we said in our
 the people. manifesto that this choice is not As long as we remain part of
 our allies ask us to forget the en the
 the during bonds that we have devel ours, it has been forced on us by people and move ahead
 with the

oped together in the trenches. the violence of the apartheid people victory is certain. Condi
 The South African Com state. Untit our people have won tions have now matured in our
 munist Party in particular is ine their freedom there can be no country for us, together with
 our

xtrically woven into the fabric turning back. people, to mount an all-round
 of-

of our struggle and by its com It was not by accident that fensive in order to
 advance to
 mitment and actions earned itself we launched Mi on December People's Power.
 16. White South Africa observes
 the honourable place of being a that day as. the triumph of their It is within this
 context that
 worthy and indispensable com military might over our people. I now present you,
 our glorious

ponent of the national liberation The violence that they celebrate People's Army, with
 your Battle

movement. As for the socialist is the violence of a minority Orders of the day;
 countries, let it be said unequiv aimed at subjugating the majority
 ocaly that they have proved by of the people of our country; the
 word and deed that they are true violence of white over black. In I order :
 lead our peo- * train, arm and

friends of our people's cause; reality it is a celebration of injus ple into battle;
 that without them and other tice. and inhumanity of man * defend our
 people in towr
 friends Umkhonto and our na against man. We chose that day and
 countryside;

tional liberation movement hea to show how different we were : * sever the
 enemy's lines of
 ded by the African National Con to show that the path that had communication
 and power;
 gress would not have become the been forced upon us was in pur * disperse and
 immobilise the
 force that we are today. suit of the establishment of jus enemy forces;

On this historic occasion let	tice and humanity for all the	* destroy the enemy's
econo-		
us pledge ourselves once more to	people of our country — black	mic resources;
the unity of our struggle; commit	and white. The racists celebrate	* attack the enemy
on all fronts		
ourselves again to defend the Al	December 16 in the name of a	* and annihilate
his forces;		
	make People's \tor flourish in	
liance and always uphold the fra	false god - a celebration of war	all its dimensions
in every		
ternal bonds that unite us with	in pursuit of an unjust cause* We	part of our
country.		
the socialist countries, those wes	celebrate December 16, our He-	
tern countries which have unre	roes Day, to underline our com	
	Victory or Death, we shall win!	
servedly aligned themselves with	mitment that we are waging a	Forward to People's
Power!		
our just struggle and the democ	just war in pursuit of freedom,	Long live the
Alliance of. our		
ratic and peace-loving forces	democracy and peace.	
throughout the world.	The racist regime is today	People!
Let us repeat we shall never	trapped in an irreversible crisis	Long Live Umkhonto we
Sizwe!		
allow Umkhonto we Sizwe to be	and our road to victory is open.	Long live the
African National		
emasculated! Wien we took to	Vë shall have to face many obs	Congress!
the road of armed struggle those	tacles. The history of these 25	Amandlha Ngawethu!
25 years ago we knew that there	years of Umkhonto we Sizwe	Maatla ke Arona!
would be no turning back* Our	proves that there is no obstacle	All Power to the People!
leaders in prison have repeatedly	which we cannot overcome.	Mayihlome ke nako!

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THE LONGEST THREE MINUTES

THEORY apart, this venture into	IN MY LIFE	covered it. But when the
a new area of struggle found us		moment came, I found that the
ill-equipped at many levels.		military authorities had decided
Among the lot of us we did not	AN EPISODE BY COMRADE	to have their
monthly spring-		
have a single pistol. No one we	JOE SLOVO, CHIEF-OF-STAFF	clean. I entered the
hall through		
knew had ever engaged in urban	OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE	a side door and
found myself in		
sabotage with home-made explo		the presence of about fifty Black

sives. Some of us had been in the army but, for all practical purposes, our knowledge of the techniques required for this early phase of the struggle was extremely rudimentary.

The most experienced ifilitary man among us was Jack Hodgson who was appointed to the Johannesburg Regional Command of MK. Unlike me, he had really been through the war; a veteran of the Abyssinian campaign and a 'desert rat' during the early

stages of the North African war,

he was demobilised for medical reasons. He returned to civilian life to become one of the full-time leaders of the ex-service organisation " the Springbok Legion"

I have learned not to assume

that every person who puts on a Communist garb is necessarily a dedicated revolutionary* But Jack certainly wore that garb asked

cleaners who were removing the chairs, polishing the floor, etc*

I wondered through the complex in an attempt to locate another suitable spot. It was past five in the afternoon and the Ad-

ministrative offices seemed empty of staff. I chose an office with huge wooden cupboards, turned the bottle upside down and was about to place the car-

rier bag behind one of the cupboard when a clipped military

voice came from behind me: Can I do any thing for you, sir?"

Although I feared that it might be too late, I had prepared for this moment,

I told him that my brother had received call-up papers but was about to take an important exam and could I be informed

Joe Slovo

who I see about a possible exemption. The sergeant-major, who obviously had no inkling of potash permeated walls, curtains, my real intentions, politely

carpets and every crevice. We had learned that this sub-

stance more commonly used in waiting lettuce mixed with aluminium powder and catalysed by a drop of acid, could make an effective explosion. For timing device we had to experiment with

various thicknesses of paper and cardboard in order to establish the time it took for the acid to eat through. We also managed to improvise an incendiary device

using acid as the catalyst. The acid was placed in small bottle whose outlet was covered by a specific thickness of paper or

cardboard and just before placing the device in the target area* one

me to follow him. I did so with racing pulse, knowing that the

acid in that small bottle had begun to eat away at the flimsy cardboard* Had our kitchen laboratory calculated the fifteen minutes correctly?

Fortunately for both of us the

officer dealing with exemptions had already left and I was politely advised to come back another day. I gave him a sweaty hand and walked briskly away.

I

As soon as I decently could, opened the tennis ball cylinder box which housed all the ingredients and snatched the bottle.

The three or four minutes which preceded this were perhaps the

Jack Hodgson had to turn the bottle upside longest in my whole life.

with distinction» He expected down. We were to discover the following day that Molefe, the first MK cadre to die in action, was killed in the vicinity of his target. Jack and Rica's flat became our Johannesburg bomb factory. It was with this rather primitive by a premature explosion which I Sacks of permanganate of potash tive device that set out to burn must have been caused by a de- were bought and we spent days down the Johannesburg Drill fact in the acid bottle cover. with mortars and pestles grinding Hall which had housed the pre- Some hours after the drift hall this substance to a fine powder. paratory examination of the incident I felt somewhat redeemed. After December 16 most of our Treason Trial (1956), I had ed when, as part of a team Jack

houses were raided in search of reconnoitred it carefully on more Hodgson and Rusty Bernstein, clues. By ,a stroke of enormous than one occasion and had cho- we dealt successfully with a sen the spot which would have manhole in the Johannesburg/ luck the Hodgson flat was not ignited not only the enormous Pretoria road which housed the among the taigets. Had the police gone there they would wooden floor but also the hun- telephone cables between the have found that permanganate of dreds of wooden chairs which two cities*

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THE FIRST KNOWN EXPLOSION

foe which, with superior arms, care to ensure secrecy and safety, In this article, one of the founding was ruthlessly plundering the for, if the bomb blast was detected or the blaze created by the members of our People's Army land. The late Jack Hodgson, a vete- Molotov cocktails spotted, relates some of his experiences ran of the war against Hitler, whole operation would be the with comrade Nelson Mandela, together with others, had been endangered, and our plans en- the first Commander-In-Chief of revealed. our army. summoned to help in organising

the forces and weapons necessary. Reading this, comrades in MK must remember that

The year was 1961. The call for a He was a master at improvisa-
 we had no
 national ooravention had been ig- tion. He set.to work with a will, access to the sophisticated
 wea-
 nored by the government. During to produce the bombs and Moto- pons available to them today.
 the three-day strike called for by lov cocktails, which were the Everything was a hazard. Almost
 Mandela in his speech in Pieter, initial weapons to be used. We all of us were being closely wat-
 maritzburg, many comrades had had already tested the possibility ched by the Special Branch — we

been beaten, shot and gaoled. of cutting telephone wires, elec- had been known for years. And
 But the forces of the regime felt trical wires, and various other under these circumstances, right
 frustrated. They were unable to means of dislocating communica- under the noses of the SB, we
 arrest the leaders, or determine' tions. The operations took place had to undertake all these very
 where they were hiding out. months . before MK as such sensitive and
 exceedingly danger*

Their enemy ftfo* 1, Nelson started operations, - ous experiments and
 operations.
 Mandela, had been named the We would hit at all the symbols Just the slightest
 mistake could

**Black Pimpernel" by the media. of apartheid, but under no cir- be fatal.
 They certainly were seeking him A place had to be found. This
 here, there and everywhere, but place would have, to satisfy the
 there was not & sign, not a clue,
 of his whereabouts. Every police-
 man in South Africa had been
 alerted to keep a look-out for
 him, and to hold him, to capture
 a
 him at all costs. But not finger
 had been laid on him. He was
 tike a fish swimming in the area
 of his own people.
 There were important matters
 to be attended to. The decision
 had already been taken by the
 movement to move into the area
 of armed conflict, A High Com-
 mand had been established, with
 Mandela as the Commander-in-
 Chief. Various area commands
 had also been established, and re-
 cruiting was very selective. It was
 made crystal dear , to
 every MK cadre that politics
 took precedence over military
 affairs, but that armed struggle
 would now become part and
 him.
 parcel of the fight for freedom

be fatal.
 A place had to be found. This
 place would have, to satisfy the
 High Command. We found it;
 it was a disused brickworks
 known to one of the comrades
 involved in -the operation. We
 reconnoitred the area. It satis-
 fied everybody. Derelict buildings
 still remained, and several pits
 from which the clay had been
 extracted, surrounded by all
 sorts of paraphernalia. All brick-
 works are allowed to use dyna-
 mite to blast, so as to loosen the
 soil for making bricks. This was
 ideal, as any blast coming from
 any brickworks (and there' were
 several in the area) would not
 attract any attention.
 The team of Inspection had
 been chosen. It,' of course, in-
 cluded the Commander-in-Chief
 who insisted on being present,
 in spite of the-fact that the
 Nelson Mrndela police were out looking for
 We Had arrived at the scene of

operations and hidden
when a man
galvanised iron

FACTORY

PERSUASIVE

the persuasive

who was Zulu-

effects were abandoned, all of us made a very hurried bee-line for the automobile, piled in, and made as hurried and bumpy an exit from that territory as

any automobile has ever made.

But we felt triumphant and cheered at the effect created.

Comrade Mandela was buoyant with pleasure and excitement. He advised very soberly that certain adjustments and alterations be attended to, and con

gratulated and thanked the comrades all round as we sped away from the scene. He proposed that as soon as we were certain that the timing was properly mastered, we should report to the High Command so that every other unit throughout the area be put on alert and properly briefed as to the correct use and working of the anti-apartheid bomb.

*> coo 7 v £ T ie # o f

Q BEP C ,0i)O & £ ĩftfíó ú

Several days after, a reconnaissance of the scene was made. The

the two of them were in deep smilingly assured us

A decision had to be made. One

watchman

conversation* with one arm of of the more experienced comrade that, although it had been an

Comrade Nelson around the rades clambered down, gingerly explosion, nooody

usually loud

shoulder of his newly acquired lifted the contraption and slowly enquiries, and all

had made any

friend. We noticed that the brought it up; an impulsive act,

was well.

watchman was nodding his head

it is true, but it worked. Soon

vigorously, and then he walked Jack adjusted the charge, every

Today, those who

have been

away from the scene. We waited more sophisticated

thing was again placed in position,

trained to use

for him to disappear, Comrade be aghast at

and many hands were proffered

equipment would

Nelson explained that he'd persuaded the man to accept our presence there.

the contraption which was contrived for use in the initial stages

of sabotage. But one can only

have admiration for those who

constructed the device. Comrade

Jack was a genius at this special-

cocktails. Every time a bottle exploded and burst into flames, Comrade Nelson shook his head gleefully, and smiled the smile of victory. We all joined in his ^lee and enthusiasm* of course.

These were the first explosions

ised work. You will understand what I mean when I tell you that part M the timing of the explosion included the thin tubing contained in plastic ball pens. You can also imagine the surprise of some shopkeepers when we bought up

of the new era.

all their stocks of this particular

But there was more to come!

kind of biro.

After dowsing any flames still
licking at the walls and other
pieces of wood and rubbish
lying around, we moved to the

I have often wondered over
the* years exactly what Comrade
Mandela said to this man, and

open spaces, and chose our pit
for testing the bomb.

also whether the subsequent
events made any impact on him.

According to our calculations,
that container placed at the

Jack Hodgson

But I am sure of one thing:

Comrade Nelson Mandela was

an

bottom of the pit would explode
within fifteen minutes. We all
our coun-

excellent judge of our people

to pull the comrade out of the

th^ ordinary people of

stood waiting expectantly, as
judgement of his
near to the edge of the hole
have

pit. Hardly had he been lifted

try. And this

as we dared. Five minutes^
working

safety taken by all, when an

faith in the ordinary

went by. Ten minutes. Fifteen
minutes. No explosion. Twenty
wrong, that

almighty explosion took place, man of our country. For if his
causing a huge cloud of dust judgement had been

minutes. Still no explosion,
led the

to rise up into the air, and tons

watchman could have

of earth to go tumbling down to police to catch up with us,

ALMIGHTY EXPLOSION
also, what

drown anything left of tbs bomb

1 shudder to think,

This was not the normal bang the owner of that brickworks

What to do? We certainly of dynamite. It sounded more
told to-

would think if he were

Could not leave it there, for like that of a giant thousand- day how Cmknonto we Sizwe
obvious reasons. Nor would pounder.

tested its first bomb on his

we know its effectiveness or not.

Further curiosity about the

property

moment in my life

JOE MODISE, THE ARMY
COMMANDER OF UMKHONTO
was
WE SU WE, RELATES HIS
ROLE DURING THE FORMA
TIVE DAYS OF OUR PEO

PLE'S ARMY,

PRIOR TO THE launching of
our
Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961
formation
there was a feeling among the
youth that the old form of strug
continued amongst

gle, which was non-violence, was
contacted,
not going to meet the demands
my involve-
of our situation and bring about
actions
the desired change. We as a disci
discussions
plined group of young people felt
the top leaders

that if the movement felt that
the policy of non-violence was
correct* we had to follow it,
But we had misgivings about it.
However with the suppression of
the African National Congress

after the Sharpeville massacre,
this feeling of a different method
of struggle gained a lot of promi
nence in our discussions and

Comrade Gqabi took a unit we'd done a reasonable job.
that was going to blow a railway The following morning it

line with a stick of dynamite reported in the newspaper that
smuggled out of the mines. saboteurs destroyed the main
The stick of dynamite was atta communications as well as the

ched to the railway line and overhead telephone lines linking
according to their report it went the Vaal Triangle and Johannes

off but the damage was minimal. burg, These were some of

This was due to the fact that first actions before the

apart from the lack of material of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
we also had very little experience* Discussions

Realising that this was not a

the leaders and I was

very big success, we undertook

apparently because

to carry out another operation

ment in these early

aimed at destroying the tele-'

was known, I had

phone communications. We went

with pome of

at the time, like the late Com
rade Duma Nokwe and Comrade
Walter Sisulu. We had discussions
separately before we were offici
ally brought together in Stanger,
Natal, at Chief Albert Luthuli's

place where the African National
Congress, South African Com
munist Party, Coloured People's
Congress, South African Indian

many people felt that there was no other way except to resort to armed struggle. We acted even earlier than the actual launching of MK, With the declaration of the racist re^g public in May 1961, people were organised to strike. We felt that in order to strengthen this call we should also act independently but in a different way, no longer in a passive and peaceful way. So the late Comrade Joe Gqabi, myself and a number of other the late Com- comrades decided to stop the the late trains that ran between Soweto Mashaba and and Johannesburg. We consulted from the East technician friends who told us surprise, {we that if we threw a wire over the whom we were mains that supplies power to the walked Com- electric trains, this would bring who was in about a short circuit and there told us would be no power generated had decided onto the time to enable the struggle and trains to move.

home we felt that not enough that we were going to be part of I led a unit that went to New work had been done. We thou^g that, machinery. I think we were Canada, We arrived there at ght we should give the enemy amongst the first units. I don't about 3 in the morning, took a á little more work in restoring think we were the only group be-

stone, tied it to a wire and threw communications. We decided to cause subsequently when we it across the line that was supply^ go for the overhead telephone went to collect our. material and ing electricity. We saw a blue lines. We cut off some barbed get the little training that was flame coming out of the electric wire from the fence next to the given to us, we met other com^g

Congress and Congress of Demo- crats met to discuss this new method of struggle. After two days of consultations, it was agreed that the ANC and SACP were going to undertake this new form of struggle whilst the other movements that were still legal should continue working legally. It was then decided that MK was going to be launched* I was told that I had to serve in MK and instructed to report to a house in Ophirton. When I Joe Afodise got there I found there was a trunk line with rade Jacob Masondo. lots of telephone lines running Comrade Andrew underground. Our aim was to another comrade destroy this, using the knowledge Rand. Then to our imparted to us by the late Com^g were not told rade Jack Hodgson who was a going to meet) in thoroughly efficient teacher. We rade Nelson Mandela had a pliers and cutters with hiding at that time. He which we ripped the wires off that the movement completely. On our way towards to embark on armed

wire when the contact was road, tied it to a stone and rades who were also coming for made and were sure that there threw it over the telephone theirs. At that time things were was going to be a short circuit. lines, then tied the wire to the still done a bit amateurishly and But to our disappointment an back of the car and pulled it. We the question of security was not hour later the train passed* felt satisfied that for the night given proper attention.

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= Page 13 =

DECEMBER 16 before the first one exploded. So burning and started moving towards the fence rapidly.

I was given the responsibility for units in the Soweto area, Com-TM It had been drilled into us h'Ch W3S OUr meetl"g during our training (of not more

rades Masondo and Mashaba *' m r PYPincinw than five minutes) that under no were given the Pretoria area. But 15,0 EXPLOSION

for December 16 the former and On our way, halfway towards circumstances should we be near

these explosives when they go myself were given tasks in the our target we heard a very big off because we would be blown

Soweto area* I was to deal with explosion. We got worried be- the post office in Kliptown and cause the whole operation throu- to pieces. So our main concern

Comrade Masondo together with ghout South Africa was coordi- was to get away from the point

the other comrades in Soweto nated, so as to ensure the security where the explosion was going

to take place. We reached the were to deal with the administra- of the comrades who were going tion offices in Meadowlands and ^o the various areas because if fence. Under normal circumst-

ances even at night it's not a White City. In my unit were these explosions, particularly serious problem to move back to

Comrade Tladi and a comrade those in the same locality, went the point which you used for

who was the chief of volunteers before the others, the enemy entering a yard, but under these

in Alexandra township. We were woul<* be alerted. And whilst the circumstances and especially be-

told that wewould^et our mate- enemy would be looking for cause of our fear for explosives,

rials at a place which was going people who might have been in it was difficult for us even to

to be given to us later. volved, it would come across see the opening. When we even-

I was later contacted and in- People who were still going to problem

structed to go to a place in the their targets. We were a bit appeared as if

centre of Johannesburg. I went worried and thought that it Nevertheless we

into the basement where I was tonight have been because of through and ran

given a bundle of dynamite ^ck of discipline or may be the form a

sticks with fuses. When I walked out of that basement where I got

my training and a little paperbag where I put in my material, in walked Comrade Uriah Mokeba* wearing a big overcoat. It was obvious we had come for the 1 same purpose because after I had left and moved towards the bus

rank, I saw him also coming with his little parcel on his way to-1 wards Soweto,

As Pve said, our unit consisted of three people* One was going

\$ to place explosives on the wall^ ,

the other one was going to set it

alight and the third would be keeping watch for our security. We went to reconnoitre the place and noticed that it was^ fenced behind with a 2 metre high diamond mesh wire. We

9

organised a pliers that could k cut the wir\$ and handgloves to explosions

so that when we touched the wire no finger prints would re- 'i°mrades *?ad not understood main. Comrade Masondo's unit . the instruct,ons correctly Never- and thirthy

was to use chemical explosives, theless we were

a mixture of permanganate of ^ saw

potash and aluminium powder* which would be detonated by* die introduction of glycerine, «^server, was also given the task Comrade Maso-

tually found it, it was a

to get through. It

it had shrunk.

managed to get

towards the trees that

boundary between Pimville and Kliptown,

To our surprise we found the three minutes taking too long, much longer than the three minutes that had been deter- mined by our instructors. I suppose this was due to anxie- ty on our part because we

started getting worried and thou? ght that something might have gone wrong. We started asking one another what could have happened but before we could

finish the explosion took place.

It was big bang. I've never been

so happy in my life. I felt that the actual struggle had begun.

FIRST CASUALTY

We rushed home, running for about 12—43 kilometres* On our

way we heard other explosions going off. We heard

in the direction of White City

and Orlando East

minutes later, whilst

still running home, we

police cars moving in various

„ ' , ml „ directions. Wti reached home

Comrade ltadi, who was our

safely and found

ndo back with his unit. He and

We were going to deal with it for us. Other comrades, also from
Alexa- one object because the distance from behl"nd> beca"se " ff"nt ndra township, slept
at my place.

we had to cover was long and were security guards and there The following
morning news they were going to deal with two was also a small building which wa brought to me (I
think by

I thought was being used as a
objects because they were going 1 M a
, J " " police station because there were Comrade Duma} that an accident
to use chemical explosives. This K in that area took place. The explosion
that

fimp fn ^iways policemen in mat area
—
m
would give them enough time to and we knew that they always we heard on our way to
Klip- place both and retreat, whereas sat in front of this place. We town was at the Dube municipal
we were going to use dynamite went in. I had a, piece of clay office. The late Comrade
Joha- which goes off instantaneously. which I used to position the nnes Molefe was
blown up in
So we wouldn't have the oppor- that accident. He was together

— . explosive against the wall, whilst
—
tumty of placing " e c arg comrade lit it with a burning with Comrade Ramotse
who

one and then move to the second , cigarette by applying the cigare sustained bums on the hands
and

— ' ' —
—
one and then move
tte tip to the fuse. As soon as the face. He was taken to hospital,
* Uriah Mokeba is the ANC Chief fuse caught fire, sparks began which was a mistake on our
part,
Representative to Angola.

coming out and we knew it was because he was arrested after ex -

perts checked his clothes and Johannesburg and just before we that flew them out. But because
established that, he was involved got to Johannesburg (at Rand- we were aware that we could not
in that explosion. We struggled fontein) I jumped off just when be able to use charters for a
to bail him and to our surprise the train pulled off and made it long time, firstly because South
the regime agreed. I think at that impossible for them to get off Africa and the British' would

time they were rich, as prepared. Fortunately another tram pulled
the owners, exert pressure on
and vicious. They are now, up which I boarded to Johannesburg
were very and, secondly, they
After his release on bail, it was Johannesburg and got off before I
reconnoitred a expensive, we

decided that he should leave the reached Johannesburg, at West- route to
Kazungula. We found
country* I brought him out of Durban where I took local transport a local person who
was willing
the country» We travelled in a port home. to assist us. I was involved
in

car of one of the comrades past the reconnaissance with this man
Dinokaneng where the two of us TRAINING ABROAD and when we
returned he agreed
were dropped and proceeded on During this period whilst I was to help us with
transport as he
foot up to Lobatse, where arrangements were made for Comrade I was also given instructions to
charters went Meanwhile the
rade Ramotse to go abroad* in from comrades that they should do. There may have
been two

After the December 16 operation start recruiting cadres that were or three more until the one
tions I was given the task by the going to be trained abroad. I also which was to charter the head
High Command (that is before had to work out methods of, quarters was sabotaged by the

I was incorporated into it) of communication so that when the boers. So the Kazungula route
helping with the creation of comrades were sent from Natal, became the main route. From
MK on the ground. We had to Eastern and Western Cape to Kazungula, recruits went to Livingstone
organise Umkhonto in Natal, Johannesburg, headquarters had Livingstone where we acquired the
Eastern Cape, Western Cape and to be informed in time. assistance of UNIP,
Zambia too

Kimberly. I went out initially After some time comrades was still under the British,
by car, drove up to Durban started coming out. The first
where I met comrades who were unit that came out was from the We managed
to get a few
already brought together and Eastern Cape. loads of comrades through
Livingstone

we established the Natal Comrade Subsequently units came also Livingstone*.
Sometimes we would
mand. From there I went to from Natal and the Western come with a group of
about 30
Port Elizabeth where I met Comrade Cape. They came to Johannesburg comrades on the
truck, at times
rade Govan Mbeki who handed Johannesburg where we found accommodation 35,
me over to comrades who were tion for them amongst sup Transportation
of comrades

going to form a regional comrade porters of the movement. We from their areas up to Johannesburg
mand. I then proceeded to Cape then organised transport for Johannesburg from there to Botswana,
Town, set up the Cape Town them to be taken to Botswana. Zambia and finally to
Tanzania

machinery and returned to head The first group to leave was cost a lot. At that time the
quarters. taken straight to Francistown. movement did not have the
re-

I went back to Port Elizabeth From there we hired a truck sources that we are having now,

on a second occasion to get re- that took them to the border even friends' then
 were not as
 ports as to how far the* com- between Botswana and Rhodesia many as today. So
 the question
 mand structure had organised (Both still under British rule). of funds was a serious
 problem.
 units on the ground. Locals near the border informed Most of the money
 that was
 As I was leaving Port Elizabeth us that provided they had the used for transport
 during those
 on my way to Cape Town, I rea- local Rhodesian currency it days came from the
 movement.
 lised that I was being trailed by wouldn't be difficult for them to It was only in Tanzania where
 police. This surveillance was con- get transport. This we acquired we got assistance from
 some of
 stant right up to Cape Town at the border through exchanging the governments that were go-
 where I had a very difficult time* with people coming down from ing to give us training facilities.
 They chased me all over the Rhodesia. We gave them direc- We got assistance from the
 place until I managed to shake tions as to how they were going Ethiopian, Egyptian and later
 them off, using back doors and to get to Dar-Es-Salaam* the Algerian
 governments. The
 passages. I saw the Unit in Cape From Rhodesia they found Algerians sponsored
 our initial
 Town and took their reports. their way up to Lusaka and from training and later
 the Chinese*
 I then had to go to Kimberly to there they proceeded to Tanza- I think we sent
 one group to1
 set up the machinery there. For nia. The next group that came China from then
 onwards we
 security reasons I was to board out came up to Kazungula. At acquired most of
 our training
 the train in Paarl and was driven the time the roads were clear from the Soviet
 Union. We had
 there by a white female comrade. only from Lobatse up to Frances- one unfortunate
 incident that
 But to my surprise when I got town. Between Francetown and also made me to
 leave in a
 into the train I discovered one of Kazungula there were no roads hurry. Some
 comrades crossed,
 the white Security Branch offi- to talk about, just a little bush we gave them
 instructions and
 cers who were chasing me around track which was so faint, and at we hoped they
 would make it
 Cape Town on the same train. It some places there was nothing at with the
 assistance of UN1P.
 was obvious that I was being all. The Rhodesian route was Unfortunately when
 they got
 followed even to Kimberley, I used once. The second time there to Livingstone,
 they were arres-
 did not know the place and I were students who were coming ted and deported
 to South
 was going there for the first time. out (the comrades amongst Africa. After this
 incident it
 I was given an address and was whom was Thabo Mbeki. They_ became clear (I
 was already serv-

afraid that if I get off in Kimberley, I would lead these security forces naturally to Botswana. Rivonia) that as soon as they reached South Africa and to meet. I decided to go back to and managed to get a charter were, tortured I was going to be

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arrested* After their return, the- Mhlaba, we came through Rho- This enabled us to pass through enemy started looking for me desia with false Malawian documents, stating that we'd been up to Lusaka where we were Africa with Comrade Raymond deported from South Africa, assisted by UNIP up to Tanzania,

DECEMBER SIXTEEN, '61

IN DURBAN

■ ERIC MTSHALI

It is a known fact that I was in correctly. i because we were the military the first Regional Command of We then sat down and reviewed the command in the region. We had MK in Natal* I say it is a known our operations and came to the to direct operations, recruit and fact because one of the members conclusion that although our establish new units. That is why of that first Regional Command operations were a success, they we could not immediately em- wrote a book "My Road to the were then not what we wanted back on new operations after Left* That was Bruno Mtolo them to be. We attributed that to December iQt Secondly, we

who was known as 'Mr X' in the our being inexperienced in the wanted to make sure that when Rivonia Trial* in this book he field of explosives and we were we recruit, we recruited the exposed everything and every- determined to improve and per- best of people to serve in MK. body, and in some cases exagger- feet ourselves. We did not have We had no knowledge of ex- ated things. But Bruno, myself plosives or military science* We

and the other Comrades; Billy, Cumick and Ronnie, were in the first Regional Command of MK in Natal, We got elementary training in explosives from the late Comrade Jack Hodgson, known as the "desert rat". We also

learned some other techniques from Bruno himself who taught us how to make a time bomb.

Our first target in Durban was the Durban pass office. BiUy, Cumick, Bruno and my

self went to plant a bomb there which we had made out of aluminium, potassium permanganate and coffee. I don't remember what other mixture was there. We planted this bomb at the door of the main office of the pass office in Ordinance road. When we were a few steps away, Bruno said there was something that we did not put in Durban correctly and he ran back to correct that. We then proceeded to another area where a pylon was to be blown up. This pylon was situated at a place called Morning Side, in Durban. First Our group, we went to prepare the material, to placed it at the target retreated. We then heard a big explosion read the following morning in being that of the High Command Natal Mercury. The enemy consisted of 32 young workers and flames covered that pylon. Johannesburg, It was a new experience to us, and we were very proud. We read stolen by communists. We then Pietermaritzburg. We left in June about it the following day in the took it to our hiding place and 1962, and were supposed to Natal Mercury. The damage was later removed it and dug some come back before December* quite substantial. This operator dead letter boxes in other town- That is we were given strictly six

was

away, Bruno said there was something that we did not put in Durban correctly and he ran back to correct that. We then proceeded to another area where a pylon was to be blown up. This pylon was situated at a place called Morning Side, in Durban. First Our group, we went to prepare the material, to placed it at the target retreated. We then heard a big explosion read the following morning in being that of the High Command Natal Mercury. The enemy consisted of 32 young workers and flames covered that pylon. Johannesburg, It was a new experience to us,

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had never been in the army, all of us were young trade unionists who were combining trade union work with MK tasks. We started bringing in some other comrades into the units and because of our strategic positions as trade union-

ists dealing with workers, we could recruit the best out of the working class. This applied to other areas of the country as well. Therefore, people who went out for military training

during that period of the 60s, were mostly workers, starting from the very first group; Mkwazi, Mhlaba, Gqabi and Mlangeni.

The reaction of the people was very good. MK was timely, especially to young people of our days and its formation

Eric Mtshitu

any material to use until Bruno welcomed with great enthusiasm, discovered a dynamite dump at a organised units

road-building site. So we went central, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg. for it. It was quite an interesting operation. The most exciting one I was then selected

in our case. We took 230 kilograms of explosives from that site to go and acquire the

dump. It was a very clean operation upon my return.

ation. No one was caught and it which was the second group

was very interesting when we visited the country (the first was the following morning in being that of the High Command Natal Mercury. The enemy consisted of 32 young

reported that about 230 kilograms from Durban,

grams of dynamite had been Port Elizabeth, East London and

bomb did not explode properly to comrades in Johannesburg and months as instructed* Some of and caused very little damage. Fort Elizabeth* those comrades fell in Wankie.

Well, #e thought it was because These were the two operations Others were given prison sente-

we were amateurs but later we I was involved in* After that we nces of 18 years and more, Billy suspected that Bruno must have were involved in 'organisational' and Cumick are out of Robben sabotaged it when he went' back work. The idea was not that we Island and active in the trade after we had placed everything should also be directly involved unions and the UDF,

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Ebrahim Ismail EbraKim is a founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He served TIMING DEVICES

in the Natal Regional High Command of MK with Comrades Billy Nair, Goerge We also did not have factory -

Naicker, and Curnick Ndlovu. He was arrested in 1963, became accused Mo, 1 in made timing devices. We had to

the ensuing Durban Trial, and was sentenced to fifteen years on Robfaen Island. solve the problem of how to

He spoke to DAWN. ignite the fuse. We discovered

I was approached to join Umkhonto we Sizwe at its formation in 1961, The leadership had identified certain activists from the Congress movement and someone would be delegated to approach you. At that time of

course the question of a change in the methods of struggle and armed struggle was dominating the debates at all levels of the movement. So from those discussions the leadership would pick the cadres whom they thought were favourably disposed to the armed struggle. The emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961 sparked off lots of enthusiasm among the people. Although we were not were detonators. We did not were carrying that many in the beginning, our government actjtons were very widespread* power lines, tele-

SE@S^f,,íS&IHí. I that if you pour a certain í . >-3- ?/£*í ri.- kL mical {acid) onto sulphuric ^ -I • : der, fire results. Then we had to develop methods of delaying the liquid from contacting the powder, We found that if you put it in a capsule, it takes about half an hour to eat through it. So once it eats through the capsule, it will contact the powder which in turn will bum, igniting the fuse. To prolong the delay to about an hour, we would pour the acid into a small capsule and put that small capsule into

a bigger one. At most, that was the time required by our transport to deliver us at our respective homes. Billy Nair

The attacks we

out were mainly on

installations:

With my unit we carried out at had to learn how to store and use phone cables, railway lines, of least eight acts of sabotage in it. And from that little stock of fices, etc. The instructions were the Durban Central area alone. dynamite we were able to supply that we had to be very careful

They resulted in many people other provinces as well. not to endanger or harm human coming forward in search of Despite that we were not well- lives. Only once did we blow up MK. Most of the people who trained, we suffered no casualties. the^ offices of the Nationalist

*

«

came wanting to join the or Natalia — and Píaiíy newspaper — ganisation were subsequently body was blown up. We really there were two minor injuries. sent out of the country to had the police worried. Despite But on the whole no lives were undergo military training. their intensive investigations, lost.

A significant feature of our they were not able to uncover us. BIG operations was that we were At one stage, for instance* they OPERATION One big operation not well-trained* We had re had themselves so organised: I was in- volved in was when we ceived a very crude type of I was living in an area called the whole of the plunged training. We lacked the pro Greyville., There was a police into darkness for Durban area fessionalism that our cadres station nearby. Immediately there We blew up a very many hours. display now and we were not occurs an act of sabotage any big pylon in exposed to the facilities of where in the area* the police a tilace nailed Montdear. iust outside Durban. Ronnie training we enjoy today. The would check on me. and I had gone to the Kasriis only form of explosive^ we They did that with a number area weeks

used was dynamite, which we of cadres whom they suspected earlier to conduct reconnaissance- stole, anpi that was all we had. were members of MK. At times ce. The place was hilly and spar- sely populated. We We had np revolvers and AK- they would wake me at two in route passing worked out a 47's , let alone knowing how the morning, demanding to know through some hou to use them. But given all that, when I came home. Then I would ses. we really had the state worried, know that there had been an One night we went to this area. We were four, for in that period, lots and lots attack somewhere. But despite including Billy

of sabotage attacks were launched that, with the correct use of time Nair. We planted the dynamites

ched. ing devices* we would plant an on two legs of the pylon. This re-

There's a bit of a story I recall explosive charge at a target and required lot of work. You had to

call about this dynamite we reach home in time, and when place the dynamite against the

stole. Next to the road construction the police came they always object and tape it to stick, get

tion sites then there used to be found us at our homes. It was the fuse and put it into the

little sheds where dynamite was only with the introduction of the charge. Then, at the spot, you

stored. Not knowing how big the 90 days detention without trial had to fill the capsule with

dynamite is and how it looks, we saw, the solitary confinement acid, making sure that the acid

went with a carrier bag, only to find and torture that went with it, does not touch you. Which is

I found that there were big boxes. that the police were able to not a very enviable task. Of

There were also little metal uncover some of our units course you had to use gloves.

pieces which we later learnt and bring some of us to trial. As I was walking home with a

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--- -- *-

friend, the whole DurDan area hear the explosion* That operation pipes, sealed them and put the

went dark* I then knew that our earned a lot of publicity* When explosive powder inside. operation had been successful* I walked past the area the following morning on my way to phone cable. We up a tele-

At this stage I was working for lowing morning on my way to phone cable. We then put this

New Age newspaper* Of work, I could see hundreds of pipe-bomb on it. We do not

course the editor. Comrade M.P* people crowding the area, watching know what happened because

Naicker did not know that I was ing the damaged lines. The when we went to check three

involved in this act. trains were delayed for many days later, we found the pipe-

The next morning the radio hours* bomb still hanging there. It had and the press carried it. I took We also blew up an office of a' gone off but nobody even noticed

my camera and went to the area stooge, AX Kadjee, He was it because it had done absolutely

in the afternoon to photograph collaborating with the government no harm to the telephone cable.

the pylon that was blown up. I
experiment* we

ment* We decided to get to his

Also as an

went to the local population to
with Molo-
enquire where the pylon was so
that nobody would think I knew
would stand on

office in the early evening. It was
in a passage. There were people
upstairs. We thought we would

attacked goods trains
tov cocktails! We

I
the place. When I got there
throw the
took the photographs for
passing goods
Agey and those were the first
they are

break in through a window and
New put the explosive in the office
so as to blow up the whole of

top of a bridge and
petrol bombs on
trains* As you know,

actual sabotage pictures to be
work* In
published in New Age.
with very

covered with thick canvas. That
fice. When We were about to
break the window, we saw the

also did not seem to
some cases it did but

VICTORIA BRIDGE

night watchman approaching. He
shouted at us* We had to run

minor damage inflicted.

Another operation I was involved
COMMAND
in was in the Durban Central
the Natal

away and he gave chase, he
thought we were thieves* So we

NATAL
Serving with me in

left the place to conduct fresh
Area. People who know Durban
were
will remember Victoria bridge in
Billy Nair,

reconnaissance* This time we Regional High Command
decided to make a very quick Cumick Ndlovu,

the old days* Underneath trains
were passing. Even here we did
some
thorough reconnaissance of the
area. We studied the time-table
was
and established all the times for

job* We put the explosives George Naicker, Ronnie Kasrils,
next to the door whilst some At first we did experiment

body was keeping watch on the form of ranking system but
night watchman. After placing abandoned it later. There

the charge we made a run for it, just a leader of the group,

the trains. We did not want to
destroy the railway line when
there was a train passing, in ac-
cordance with the instruction
that we should not endanger lives.
arrest of Cumick

disappearing into the busy streets Cumick Ndlovu. I was the
of Durban* leader of the Durban Central
Group*

We were away for hardly five
minutes when we heard a big ex-

After the

We also established the location
Billy Nair,
of the watchmen, the railway
to go

plosion* The damage caused to
the office was quite extensive

Ndlovu and later

police and how they operated.
'establishing the

This was one place where we

underground,

Again we used dynamite. At
structure of the

could not use the timing device

underground

this time the enemy was making because we thought the night Natal Regional
 High Command, watchman would discover the Unfortunately
 good use of police dogs- Mean Bruno Mtolo, ing that even if you had left the explosive before it went off. Mr X in the Rivonia
 .Trial, was Those were some of the big also a member. He is
 area you still had to see to it that operations, in the sense of that who decided to break and
 the man no traces remained behind* Some- col-
 one suggested that we use chilli time, I was involved in. There laborate with the police after his
 powder. After planting our char were other small operations. arrest. He led to many arrests, in
 ges, we left the area safely. There were also a lot of experi cluding mine* He also
 became the

An enormous explosion folwments that did not work out. For main state witness during our
 lowed. I was living about 31Á kilo instance, once we devised what trial.
 metres from this area and I could was called a pipe-bomb* We took

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THE LEAST DRAMATIC

CONTRIBUTION

Albie Sachs

%
 Of ail the people on the scene and could lead mass campaigns since they were not
 going to let at the time, 1 think I can lay without serious repression, when a white man (me) do
 better than claim to having made the least papers like Guardian could openly them.
 dramatic contribution towards express the people's wishes , the Later Denis asked
 if I could
 the launching of MK. masses were not in a mood nor give a class to a group
 of cam- I was an advocate in Cape were they physically prepared pers on a political
 education Town, and one day a comrade for armed confrontation with the holiday at a place
 called Mamre whom I had frequently defended regime. It was the State of Emer not very far from
 Cape Town*

appeared at my "chambers", gency and the banning of the weeks after- I agreed* and a few
 closed the door behind him, and ANC in 1960 that convinced us wards I was sitting
 in a tent, bent down as if to tie his shoe-, all, not theoretically, but in baking hot* talking
 about the
 laces. Dipping his fingers in his practice, that new forms of history of South Africa
 from a sock, he pulled out a tightly struggle had to be found. people's point of view' It
 was folded piece of paper and said: The Stay away Campaign of mid summer, and I.
 don't re- "Can you keep this for a little 1961, timed to coincide with the member what I said,
 but I do while, someone will call for it?" declaration of South Africa as a recall some of those
 present
 Some while later, I was back racist republic, was the last atte dozing off. The person
 in charge*
 at my desk working through mpt at using mass pressure on its Looksmart
 Solwandle, had a thin own. We threw everything into branch in his hand,
 some law reports, the slip of and every- it, but with meetings, newspapers time someone's
 paper securely tucked in my eyes closed, he and individuals progressively would flick the
 sock, when another comrade branch on the person's arm to wake him up.
 appeared* This time I bent "If the teacher makes them
 down as if to tie my laces, fall asleep" I told comrade
 pulled at the piece of paper and Looksmart "you should hit the
 handed it to him; he of course, in teacher". Looksmart, the gent-
 turn bent down as if to tie his lest of comrades was quite stem
 laces.... and the piece of paper when it came to respecting the
 was soon on its way out into the teacher, however, in any event,
 corridor down the lift and into the class was interrupted: the
 the street* Only afterwards did I
 ieam, or, rather, guess from police had arrived, and in large
 something which someone had numbers. The place was surroun-
 let slip, that that piece of paper ded, we were taken off to the
 had contained the MK oath, and nearest police station, and pro-
 that I had done my bit towards cessed one by one. There was no
 the launching of armed struggle hard evidence against anyone,
 in South Africa* and we were told to be ready to
 I was in my mid twenties then, banned, we just knew there had face charges on
 some technical to be a different response. The violation or other,
 part of a generation that had question then became: when the days when the
 (Those were grown up politically in the gol-
 police needed den decade of the 1950s* We had armed struggle started, where evidence!)

taken part as youth in the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People and the national work stoppage after Sharpeville. Introduced Often, during these years we had the wife of asked older comrades to explain Slowly she to us *from a theoretical point of the story of

view' how it was possible to believe had been de-lieve in a non-violent end to apartheid law, theid, let alone to capitalism in South Africa (we were all socialists, and came to nationalism interrupting to through socialism, just as a different generation today is coming until she to socialism through nationalism). story:

Our older comrades resolutely had been defended the possibility of peace allegedly after hanging full change, if the people, especially This was lly the workers, were sufficiently generation mobilised, and if the world took 'been tor-a strong enough stand, then it shock was

was possible to destroy apartheid there was and build a new society peacefully lawyers could fully. The fact is that at that an inquest, time* when the ANC was legal expose what

would it be, who would take part, what form would it take? I was doing a lot of public work, in the courts* writing and addressing meetings, Denis Gold* berg seemed to be around less and less, other people one knew

seemed to disappear. No one asked any questions. It was better not to know.

KEEN MOUNTAINEER

One day, Denis rolled up at my place and asked if, seeing reached the end of the

that I was a keen mountaineer, I could take a crowd of young people for a very vigorous hike on Table Mountain one Sunday. I agreed, and we met near the Kirstenbosch Gardens,

and I really took them up hill and down dale, till they were gasping and exhausted, though none of them complained openly*

About a year or so another knock on my 'chambers', and this was a woman who herself to me as comrade Looksmart. took me through how her husband tained under the 90 how the police had moved him from one police station to the next. I kept

say sadly that there was nothing we lawyers could do,

comrade Looksmart found dead* ing himself in his cell.

the first time in our that a comrade had tured to death. The

overwhelming. But something we as do. We could demand

and at least try to

had happened.

HEAVY BLOWS

This was a bitter time for all of us. Our movement was taking heavy blows, The dark decade of the 1960s was upon us. Our main function * was to survive and re

group* The capture of our leaders placi-
at Rivonia, with Denis amongst sandwiches and
them (so that was where he had though,
been!), led to more and more
and com-
detentions, and soon I was
booming of
amongst them, being questioned
the hills,
on \$ whole range of things, include
now scar-
ing the camp at íviamre. Fortuna
your ideal pic-

tely,- we had managed to get
many comrades out, which was
puzzling
not all that easy, Cape Town
cut our
being far from any border One
tough-looking
of them we were especially sorry
much more
to see go. His name was Martin,
solution
and although he seemed a bit
itself, "If only
soft for the city, having spent
that pad-

most of his life in educational
the manu-
institutions in the Transkei, ht
the lock
had been virtually the only ANC
even need wire-
intellectual in what we called
*the locations1, the other in
puzzled ex-
tellectuals being mainly with the
"Once

PAC.

offices, But to be honest we had

Ronnie Kasrils

([You're not doing enough!J> the one paid this peculiar white

burly figure of our commander, couple much attention* We

Joe Modise, snapped at us. dly munched our

We were meeting him secretly sipped our cokes even

in a sugar cane field near Durban. what with the dust

The year was 1962* He was motion and distant

down from Johannesburg, dynamite blasting in

shortly after the ^arrest of our the once rustic scene

Commander-in-Chief.% Nelson cely qualified as

Mandela, and he was addressing
Cumick Ndlovu, Billy Nair.

nic spot.

I knitted my brows,

myself and other members of

how we would need to

the Natal Regional Command

way through the

of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

fencing. Eleanor was

We had opened our comoai,

practical than 1. Her

account on December 16th 1961,

was simplicity

with home-made bomb attacks

we could get over to

on government targets and were

locked gate and check

busy building our network* After

facture and number of

comrade Mandela's arrest in

we wouldn't

July, 1962 we had recorded our
protest with petrol bomb attacks

cutters" she observed.

In answer to my

on goods trairis and regime

pression she explained:

you can get the number of any

I remember going to fetch self-Martin one night to take him the key. to a safe hideout, the police sale in the were after him* A car in which that padlock he was travelling had been to me” found to contain ANC pamphlets, and this required real courage on my part, since the dogs taking ad-

in the location set up such a activity in howl, and there was no way of sauntered over to convincing them that this white To my man marching along nervously noticed was a comrade who believed in serial number the Freedom Charter. padlock, yet Twenty and more years later, the better

at the ANC National Consultative Conference in Kabwe, a comrade fairer sex (at grade comes up to me, stares at my face, looks again, and asks departed. if I am comrade Albie Sachs* I week we stare back at him, there is hard-something familiar about him* Durban. Eleanor but I can't really recognise him. such ex-

“Remember me?” he asks “from Henwoods in West the camp in Mamre...” And are” she another comrade, and another, handing me all were in the first detachments and key

not been active enough.

In the Transvaal there had been some spectacular actions with dynamite smuggled out of the mines* One of our number proffered the excuse: "If only we had dynamite like ybu comrades on the Reef, comrade Joe.”

Modise cut in: “We’re getting small quantities from sympathetic mine workers. You’ve got quarries here in Natal”, he growled, “get your own supplies and get on with it!”

With that meeting was over and we felt both sheepish and determined to prove we could deliver the goods* We ordered comrades to be on the lookout for sources of dynamite.

Word soon came in of a road construction camp outside Pine-town, near Marianhill, that was

using dynamite. Cumick Ndlovu, our regional commander, ordered me to reconnoiter the place. I drove out with a fellow MK

lock it's possible to buy the

same one and with it All the makes are on hardware shops and looks a common type she confidently The suggestion while exploring and

vantage of a lull in the our vicinity I the gate in question. surprise I immediately the brand name and ber engraved on the

another example of observation qualities by the so-called least over this male finished our picnic and During the next

checked-out the various ware stores in returned from one

cursion to Street* “Here you coolly announced, a copy of the padlock

of MK, and saw action in Zimbabwe
Marianhill*

before being imprisoned for
later Billy,

a dozen years by Smith's forces.
Isaacs who

Now they and I are together
assembled

again, all of us still struggling,
active and alive, parts of this
that a soli-

indestructible thing called the
drinking

ANC, hugging each other in celebration
pm.

bration of our survival and of our
destination

confidence in the future. And
by some

there up on the platform, is the
idea about the

soft, solitary intellectual, only
mission and

now he is not called Martin
attending yet

any more, he is known as Chris . .
meeting in

* The Chris (Martin) referred to^
approached the

is the Army Commander of MK.
interest with bated

cadre, Eleanor Anderson (later

my wife) to locate the place.

We packed a picnic lunch and

after some searching found the

site*
A Toad was being blasted out

of the hills* There was a hive of

activity with vehicles and workers

busy on the mammoth task.

Unperturbed we set-out our

picnic quite close to a formidable

barbed-wire enclosure with

a pair of red-boxed magazines.

It was a challenging sight and

we imagined the desirable sticks

of dynamite stored inside* No

I had seen at

One night a week

Eric Mtshali, Mannie

was our driver, and I

for the raid. Additional reconnaissance
had established

tary guard always went

between 8 and 10

We arrived at our

leaving Mannie parked

bushes. He had no

true nature of the

thought we were

another clandestine

the bush. We

object of our

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breath. I clutched Eleanor's key through a red traffic signal and
never ceased

in my sweaty palm still doubting collided with another car.
best sight

whether it had the power to
fascists

We knew next to nothing

human, life but Jack

to tell us that "the

in the world was dead

open the gate, Billy and Eric had about using dynamite let alone
He was

large wire-cutters in case the key
our success

storing it* I was dispatched to

cops in the gutter".

simply delighted with

failed us. We carried crow-bars to
congratulated us for

the Durban library to consult

and warmly

force open the magazines - bur- books on mining and explosives. our initiative and daring.

glar-style! I had a pistol in my To my horror I read the safety Joe Modise was a happy man

belt but fortunately the watch regulations: "Never drive in ex too. He dispatched Abdullay

man was relaxing, as expected, at cess of 15 m.p.h, when transport Jassat to us to collect supplies

a local shebeen. ing dynamite'* was one rule; "It for the Reef and the ijape. Comrade .Modise also sent deto is forbidden to strike a match or nators because although

DESPERADOS make sparks where dynamite is we

stored" was another; "Dynamite found dynamite sticks, gelignite, We skulked up to the gate cordex and safety fuses in our and quite a band of desperados must be stored under cool* well haul we must have dumped the

we must have looked* I fiddled ventilated conditions" was yet all-essential detonating caps in

with the padlock and engaged one more chilling rule. the steam* MK now had teeth of

What alarmed me far more the key* It fitted easily enough. than the recollection of the dynamite and our sabotage

One turn and the lock clicked campaign took-off with a venge-

open. What a gratifying sound .ance* Electric pylons, railway that was* We were in! liites and electrification masts

We went quickly to work as as well as transformers were cut as though made of buttir and crackers. Sparks cut the night air pass offices and other administra- as we jemmied the magazine tive objects were demolished*

doors open. We began emptying the contents* Box upon box of Next step would be combat explosives piled up. We had not action proper when trained cadres and weaponry would arrive from abroad. Eric Mtshali was one of the first from Durban to take the underground road north. But we underestimated the ene-

earned box after box over to my's reaction. We had not Mannie's station wagon. He was mastered the art of clandestine perplexed at the sight of all the organisation sufficiently. More boxes and Billy told him we were particularly wb tru&Led the abili-

ty of comrades to withstand collecting propaganda material. solitary confinement and torture. There were so many boxes we Ron me Kasrih Many cracked under interroga-

tossed what we could not take violent way we had cracked- tion and some rats sold-out to away into a nearby stream. open the magazines and our save their own miserable skins

"Get moving!" Billy shouted rapid get-a-way was the horri revealing our secrets* It was this and Mannie drove off in a cloud fic thought of our explosives rather than the enemy's skills of

of dust. Eric and I lay on the sweating miserably in the small, detection that led to the collapse
boxes of dynamite in the rear of stuffy store-room of the school. of our underground network.
the vehicle as we careered along Now I realised why the magazines

a bumpy, gravel road. The idea had ventilation slats and other Cumick and
Billy were
had been to take our haul to ■ such design features. amongst many who
were arres-
Eleanor's flat in central Durban We soon installed an electric ted. They were
sentenced to
but we had not expected such a fan in the storeroom and pro? twenty years each
but emer-
large booty. We needed some? ceeded to construct caches around ged from prison
with no regrets

where more remote. "Head for the outskirts of Durban* Thoughts and have thrown
themselves
George Naicker's place**. Billy were already turned to our next back into the fray*
George
commanded and after forty minu? round of MK action. Naicker served 14
years and is
tes of the adrenalin racing through with us in exile as cheerful
and
our veins and the vehicle speed? "DESERT RAT" unperturbed as ever*
Eleanor and
ing through the night we reached Abduilhay were arrested but
our destination on the outskirts For that we required expert ad? both made daring
escapes. The

of town, vice, Jack Hodgson, "the desert three of us met up in Dar
Es
George was as cool as an Eng? rat" who had taught us how to Salaam where I was fortunate
lish cucumber. On his instructions manufacture our first chemically to marry Eleanor in 1965.
the goodies were stashed in the based bombs was sent from Jo? We also met Jack abroad
and
store-room of a school opposite hannesburg to give us expert were privileged to
work with him
his home* It was school holidays tuition. He was not only a war until his death in
London in
and he had access to the store? veteran having served against the 1978, Mannie
dropped out of

room key* fascists in the North African things and died of natural causes
in Durban. To this day I still
Next morning the Durban campaign, hence his nickname,
newspapers carried the sensa? but he was also an ex-miner and work closely with
Joe Modise in
tional headlines: "HALF—A— knew as much about dynamite as our People's
Army, Umkhonto
TON OF DYNAMITE STOLEN Alfred Nobel himself. We could We Sizwe.
NEAR PINETOWN!" as Mannie not have asked for a better quali? Those were
thrilling, pioneer?

Isaacs drove to work he glimpsed fied, more cheerful and inspiring ing days of MK. We
would not

the news posters carrying that
anything
headline and in a daze drove

instructor. At that stage our
policy was not to endanger

have changed them for
in the world!

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VUYISILE MINI!

The cadres of Umkhonto we
active youth of the congress
Sizwe were drawn from the

(Adapted from a radio script by RMT Ngqungwanat
steep- movement. It was the dedication of men like Mini that

When we speak of martyrs and During this period of mobilisation red the infant MK
into shape.

heroes of Umkhonto we Sizwe and reorganisation Mini and his The fundamental
training was
we speak of men and women family were to suffer continuous carried out secretly
in houses
who were deliberately murdered harassment } as he had become and in the bush.
At one time a
by the racists for their ideas and very well known throughout the football field was
used for de-

activities; we speak of men who country by the police. monstrating
manoeuvres and
were killed for their part in the By 1961 Mini was going up how to place bombs on a
target.
struggle to rid South Africa of and down the country fully Arms and explosives had
to be
the scourge of racial and class involved in the formation of manufactured and
distributed.
Oppression. We speak of the our people's army, Umkhonto None of the
command had
heroic Vuyisile Mini, whose courage we Sizwe* These travels are filled ever received
thorough military
age never faltered even as he with many stories and escapades: training as no
African had ever

marched fist clenched, singing Around August 1961 Mini and a been drafted into
military service
freedom songs to the gallows. fellow comrade Brian were travelling
Vuyisile Mini along with Willem ing for consultations in Johannesburg. From that time the infant
son Khayingo and Zinakile MK was to acquire one of its first
Mkhaba were the first Umkhonto- MK was to acquire one of its first On the evening of
Saturday
into we Sizwe combatants to be weapons, they made inis gam December the 16th 1961 the

murdered by the racist hangman during a confrontation with a whole country was to reverberate

in 1964 He was a man who was never daunted by the possibility of danger* Mini was a member of the volunteer corps of the ANC and forerunner of Umkhonto we Sizwe* He was a youth leader and trade union organiser

charged with many tasks like being the organising secretary of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Stevedoring and Dock-workers Union which was an affiliate of

SACTU.

He was an active participant in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, For his role he was sentenced to three months imprisonment. He was also later to be arrested

during the 1956 Treason Trial of 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance. The trial ended in acquittal because the state failed Donald

to prove treason in the activities of the then peace preaching ANC becoming

and its sister organisations.

This was however not to be the end as he was again to be detained along

tained in Rooi Hell (the North End Prison in Port Elizabeth) with Govan Mbeki and Raymond and

Mhlaba. It was here that Mini by

was to experience real hell when evidence

the prison officials forbade him Mkwazi even

to sing revolutionary songs in his famous baritone voice. The sadistic warders were to react to his refusal to stop singing by locking

him and his fellow detainees up for twenty four hours a day. his ideas

from explosions, taking the whole country by surprise. The regime's natural response was to arrest anybody and everybody they suspected, like Mini and semi-blind old men, some of whom did not even believe that the

ANC could be involved in 'terrorist' activities. The ECC (Eastern Cape Command) was not crippled. The following day after their release the Eastern

Cape was rocked by explosions.

Coupled with all his work of pioneering the formation of MK, he was also actively involved in the work of the ANC and SACTU.

But time was running out for him as the reign of terror was

being intensified. The notorious special branch policeman Vuyisile Mini

J Card was specially dispatched to hunt and standing in the passage of the train Mini. But it was

carriage, the boer guard who was apparent that the fly was within.

trying to get past spoke to him in Mini was arrested and tried

a very naughty manner. Mini with Wilson Khayingo and Zina faced him and said: "Look kile Mkhabela, During the trial here you must mind your language Mini displayed his heroism

age, brother" he said, looking the courage. This was illustrated

man straight in the eyes. The Mini's refusal to give

guard was taken aback and provoked

against Wilton

duced a revolver. Through quick

work they disarmed him, and

though he was certain

left the train making a speedy

be executed. He

retreat.

reprieved at the expense of a fellow patriot, a former in-

He handled all situations in a

cool, calm and collected manner, this being one of the major

arms

His voice his beliefs,

UNDERGROUND factors for his appointment to still live on in his songs, in his
the Eastern Cape Command. He work, in our history and shall
The racist regime was getting was a member not from reckless? continue to do so
even beyond
more violent. The African Natio? ness or a sense of adventurism the attainment of freedom
in
nal Congress was finally banned. but from a deep conviction mat South Africa.
But this did not silence comrades this was the only rriethod that His name shall be
written in
like Mini and he, like many others, would achieve the freedom of his bold letters on
the Roll of
decided to go underground, people. Honour.

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<p>HOW MK GREW</p> <p>I joined MK in 1961 when was I recruited into the Durban Central unit. We were four in our unit and my commander was Ebrahim Ismail. One of the first acts of sabotage we committed was blowing up an office of an Indian businessman who was closely collaborating with the enemy, namely A. Kadjee. Our charge was a fire-bomb made out of a mixture of petrol and oil.-. Unfortunately a guard spotted us and we had to retreat» We ran in different directions with the guard chasing us, blowing his whistle. Fortunately we were too fast for him and got away*</p>	<p>tioning my friend convinced them that I was at his place for about 2-3 hours listening to music. Our second operation was blowing the Victoria railway lines below the Victoria bridge. This was one of our major operations* We blew up three tracks and a signal box. Here again going home was a pro- blem for me. It was very late at night and I had to catch a taxi and jump off at least 2 Km away from home and run home to be on time in case one came and asked what time I came home (I had told my mother earlier that in case the police asked what time I came home she was to say at nine)* And indeed whilst I was asleep I heartf a knock and as usual</p>
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We reassembled at an agreed spot and decided to still do something questioning. the police were there. They left after a brief questioning. nces for the movement as this

that night. We went to the Durban municipal bus depot, using a pipe - would have been a kind of terrorism* I think the judge when out was unsuccessful

with the intention of burning a number of buses, but again to different considering sentence realised that bomb. Our engineering the regional command had not was experimenting with

our disappointment the depot had instructed our unit to carry out forms of charges because we was well guarded. that act. The judge was convinced, difficulty getting material* We and rightly so, that MK had created this pipe-bomb using always spared human lives. Our certain chemicals. We put this

bought tickets to the Lower North Coast and boarded a train targets were government structures, powerlines, railway lines, charge against an electric pole. The charge did not go off and

at about 2100hrs* Once inside the coach, two of us, (one later turned a state witness. He 'is We then planned once more to the following morning when I passed the place I could still see the charge attached to the

in London now, David Perumal) took up strategic positions so as to keep guard just in case anything happened (we were still armed with the incendiary bomb only in Natal use of proper explosives. If I re not involved) most dramatic member weil we used either acts of sabotage not which was in the possession of gelignite or dynamite. Our squad but the country as a whole was

one comrade). 1 covered my face with a newspaper as if 1 was Germany and consisted of" four, one was on the destruction of the pylons guard while the other three in Montclear, New

reading so passengers could not see me clearly. Suddenly 1 saw Ebrahim and the other comrade carried out the act. It was a Sania. There very successful operation* I very strategic pylons. The unit walked past the office the that carried out that operation

running out of the coach. The train was about .to reach the first station and it was already destroyed. There was a lot of made this operation such a publicity * given to the destruction and timely

to panic* As the train was about intelligence work. of MK. On my way home (I was studying and

to stop we jumped out of the acknowledged

still moving train, crossed an at Rivo-

overhead bridge and disappeared. planning and

Subsequently, during our trial, we pra-

we learned that the bomb was whole of Durban

placed under the seat of an old into dark-

black man. Thanks God it did expect

not go off* It seems there was would be

something wrong with the timing carry out such

device* If one recollects now and sabotage.

look at what is happening today news-

one would regard that as a soft headlines about

target* At that time we were a bit adventurous* We wanted country who

to act by all means that night What a

whatever the cost* Fortunately the bomb did not go off other* very rudiment-

wise the result would have been used basic

disastrous with serious conseque*

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living in Cato Manor about 6-

this during our trial and came 7Km out of town whilst the

other comrades stayed within

the city) I was stopped by the

police* They demanded my iden*

tity and asked where I came

from. I told them that I had

gone to visit a friend. (I had pre*

arranged with my friend that in

the event of any enventuality

\ he was to say had been

with him from early afternoon

till late). the presence of Cubans and

They took me to my friend's Algerians in the

house, left me outside and in*

quired from my friend whether he knew me. He said of course

he knew me and I was a good

friend of his. On further ques-

The state also

out with maps captured

nia. Due to proper

intelligence gathering

ctically put the

and surrounding areas

ness. The enemy did not

that at that stage MK

in a position to

professional acts of

The following morning

papers ran bold

the presence of Cubans and

Algerians in the

carried out the act.

joke it was to us.

We were given

ary training and

lo

chemicals make timing devices.

We did not use watches

SAWING ELECTRIC

and modem electronic devices

for timing* We merely used1

sulphuric and nitric acid* and

capsules. We were also not

PYLONS

armed like MK is today* But we were already involved in the Department of Man struggle and we knew the enemy during the Sabotage We were learning, and the enemy was also learning, learning from

us, from the* mistakes we were Rural Areas making. Eventually it was the passing of the ninety-day deten^{ti} Maya), tion law and the Bruno Mtolos two that led to our capture. Many key members of the regional and active

district command broke under expres- torture not only inr our region but throughout the country. This led to a chain reaction and did of course I was also rounded up in

on the 7th August 1963, They came to my working place, a October restaurant where I was em^{pl}oyed as a waiter. I had no chance of escaping, the back Um- door was locked. The security reminded branch led by Steenkamp who

subsequently became a deputy going commissioner of police detained Chief, me,

I was taken home and the place was thoroughly searched. and Let me add that I had realised the dragnet was closing and acts of although I had a passport I decided not to leave the coun^{tr}y senior try as I was not instructed by

Comrade Andrew Masondo is the Director of the ANC power Development, A veteran of MKr he relates his role Campaign*

The Sharpeville and Langa mas^{es} In the Regional sacres in 1960 and the banning Committee I was working with of the African National Congress people like Castro (Kati created a new atmosphere Vuyisile Mini. It was these amongst the people of South comrades with whom I was Africa and within the liberation very close and both were

I movement* People began to in Volunteer Corps that question the concept of a non^{vi}olent struggle* There began we Sizwe and be involved in sporadic acts of violence* Even violent struggle* Though I liberal elements began to think not know then that Mini was

of resorting to violence and the Regional Command* consequently began to form an It was not until

organisation committed to armed 1962 when Mini came back action, the African Resistance from the Lobatse Conference Movement (ARM), that he recruited me into

Some members of the Congress khonto we Sizwe. He

Movement were attracted to^{me} that the two of us were in

wards ARM. This was an indic^{at}ion fact being indisiplined,

ation of the impatience of the against the word of our

membership of the 'movement Govan, who had advised against with the concept of non-violence my joining Umkhonto we Sizwe.

in the midst of the brutality He then Isold me that my task of the racist regime* was to create MK units

The idea of the movement command them. I was not to moving away from its non^{vi}olent involve myself in

violent stance was discussed sabotage* Inspite of the oath to within youth circles even earlier obey instructions of my

than 1960. I remember that a commanders I once more defied

my command. Little did I know that the dragnet was also closing units in the

in our command which was set up at Kloof in Northern part of Victoria

Durban after the Rivonia arrests and called Little Rivonia. I was heavily tortured and I realised

the police had all the information them*

which they obtained from other my work as

members of my squad and of areas.

course the traitor Bruno Mtolo. at

Our trial ran simultaneously with stock

the Rivonia Trial and lasted for four months. There were ^18 of this

us. The minimum sentence given against the

was five years and the maximum the

was 20 years, given to Billy and Cumick who are out now and once again playing a prominent contour

role in the UDF and trade unions. court

I got ten years and was released in 1974*

Finally the birth of MK was as soon as I could find out how. peasants

practically, in a very classical sense, the beginning of people's question with Comrade Govan Mbeki. He told me that he was must build them because they form of struggle was initiated by not very much interested in me ;had no work* In this way we

the people themselves. Our peasants and

organisation was inside, our base because he had given me a task developed a powerful movement was inside and our rear was in which he thought was as important of peasants.

side. Our strength was within the ■ ant. At that time I was working masses, the oppressed masses. as a rural area organiser in the

This is how a people's army area from King Williams Town we

grows, this is how MK grew.

group of us at Fort Hare actually another order. formed a group to prepare for

I created three

the eventuality of an armed Victoria East area and one in struggle taking place. the Middledrift area* The

We gave ourselves the task East units consisted of one in to gather information about Fort Hare, and two in Ntsela-military camps in the country* manzi, We used to act in all the

The group did not go far because units and acted with al] of

we then lost contact as some I continued to do

left the country and others did an organiser in the rural

not keep up the correspondence. One of the burning questions

One of the weaknesses of the the time was the culling of

group was that we were not and the rehabilitation scheme* a homeogenous group ideologi The peasants were against

cally. Therefore it is not suprising scheme* They were

that the group died. fencing of the land and

When Umkhonto we Sizwe contouring of their fields. In j announced itself, for me it was Gaga one of the peasants something I received with en ploughed against the

thusiasm and envy because I was lines and we had to go to

not a member of the founding and fight his case.

group. I promised myself that One of our units was detailed

I shall join Umkhonto we Sizwe to cut the fences and we did

this consistently. The

One day I discussed the whole were employed to build the fences and we agreed that they must build them because they ;had no work* In this way we

joining Umkhonto we Sizwe organised

the

OBSTACLES

One of the obstacles

faced was lack of explosives

<p>I could not get explosive chemicals from the university because they were guarded closely. We started to reconnoitre the pillboxes that were found in the quarries.</p> <p>One day we left Alice for Debe Nek where there was a quarry, and decided to go and break the pillbox to get dynamite. We sent one of our comrades in KwaNgwenya to reconnoitre the place. He gave us the information that the pillbox was the usual one made of planks. This was false because when we reached the target we found that it was steel and we could not open it. We had taken a risk and had travelled the distance for nothing. While we had no explosives we busied ourselves with cutting telephone wires. This we did every week* We were very close with the students in Lovedale Institution</p> <p>Elizaoe</p> <p>because we had an ANC branch the elimination there. We kept on hearing that Bantustan leaders one of the teachers was playing coming to Fort a foul game against the students February who were political. They kept to bring on saying we must do something the job, He about him. I was not happy about these reports and told my comrades, Rex Lupondwana and Relu that I am not sure if the reports were true. comrades we One day one of the African</p>	<p>Andrew Masondo</p>	<p>lousa shot just above Mdwai's head. It is a pity he did not hit him because if he, did maybe he, Khayingo and Mini would be still alive. It was Mdwai who sold them. We left the house quickly. Later we sent one of our comrades to plaster the hole in the wall. He did not take the bullet out. He also painted the wall. After I had been Mdwai took the police to Peter to get the rifles, but fortunately Peter denied knowledge and when the police searched they did not get the rifles, because he had shifted them. Then Mdwai took the police to the house and they dug the hole and found the bullet. Mdwai said it was Peter who did that.</p> <p>how We should deal with the not even there that night but pylons. I then checked on the he got 20 years for it. information about the grid and how the switches work. It Whilst I was in Port</p> <p>became clear to me that we we had discussed could saw the pylons and pull of one of the them down. I also found that who would be if there is a cut the switches Hare in April 1963. In go off and that if we chose 1963 Mdwai was sent a good pylon we could affect me a pistol to do a big area, brought the pistol. Fortunately I then instructed one of the for me I was arrested comrades from Ntselamanzi to 1963. He would reconnoitre a particular' pylon out if I had done the job I had spotted as one on a junction to a number of lines. I sold out the other worked with*</p>
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Special Branch told me that 1963 I this teacher was working for the had sent to	instructed him to check the place day and night to check	Middle of February asked the comrade I
enemy. Even then I was not convinced, until one day when I job the had gone to a meeting in the report. I mountains with the peasants were no at night and I was passing through the job. the town I saw the SB's car and reconnaissance I hid myself. To my surprise use the I saw this teacher with the white formed at the	on traffic. During this period I went to Port Elizabeth to consult with the Regional Command. I used to do so periodically to give reports and get instructions. It was during these times that I made acquaintance with Wilson	reconnoitre the pylon to report as we wanted to do the very week. He had no then told him we longer going to do Instead I did the myself and decided to new unit I had
Special Branch. We then decided to petrol consisting of bomb him. We prepared our Nelson Dick bottles. It was myself, Rex and Ntselamanzi Relu. We then threw the bottles university. through the window. Unfortuna- best comrade. tely when Rex threw his bottle were involved he held it with a hankie which was brave had his name. The following day he was picked up with from the Relu. Relu had a good alibi. and Mdi-	Kayingo and Zinakile Mkaba. My immediate contact was Koli- sile Mdwaiyi, who sold out later. One day Mdwaiyi told me that we should go to Peter in the Red Location (New Brighton) to make arrangements to get a 303 rifle so that in the evening we could practise how to use it. We went and then in the evening we went to Peter by car driven by	University. It was a unit four, and comrade who came from but was not at the This man was my The two of us with all the units. He and I trusted him The two comrades university were Vakala
Rex was then arrested but he Nelson to never squealed against us. We sawing the got him a good lawyer and he to meet me was sentenced to 5 years. This 20h00. I told was in December 1962. come to	one comrade. We took the rifle and on the way we picked up comrade Mkaba and went to the house of the driver's brother who was away with the family. my house at 19h00. Mkaba was the instructor.	ngi. I arranged with prepare the tools for pylon, and he was in the evening at the other comrades to The comrades came at
ELECTRIC PYLONS 19h00.	Mdwaiyi and I were in front of	

The fact that we had no preparing to go explosives was frustrating us gate and I because we wanted to blow that I had	him. He showed us how to load and cock. He was demonstrating how to balance the rifle for	When we' were out, we went to the then said to them
some electric pylons. One day whilst travelling by car from dropped. We East London to Alice we noted house. At	an uneasy feeling and therefore shooting. The rifle was pointing in our direction. He then pulled the trigger thinking that there	the job had to be went back to the
that some pylons were made of wood. This gave me an idea of go because	19h30 it began to rain. I then was no bullet in the chamber. The next moment we heard a	told them we had to

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the weather was good for the job. and three of	When the friend with the shoes left he was intercepted. They	We were charged us were sentenced. 1 got 12 years,
We then left and at 20h00 8. Vakala we reached the spot where I 1965 I said we would meet Nelson for furthering but he was not there. So we member-crossed the river and went to soliciting	took the shoes and told him not to tell me and he did likewise. The next mistake 1 made was not to wash the jersey I had on. We washed everything except that	Nelson 9 and Mdingi was discharged. Then in was charged again the aims of the ANC, ship of the ANC and
his place. We found him and The charge started our journey which was a aims of the mile from Fort Hare. arid I got	jersey. We left it in the bathroom Unfortunatly 1 also had some documents which were incriminating. I had the Freedom Charter, Ten Point programme and the	funds for the ANC, for furthering the ANC was withdrawn
I had a pistol, a .22 Browning, funds. The which Nelson and I had bought, PAC basic document. I was concurrently with for \$5 from a Mend, who said- he had dug it out of his garden.	one year for membership and 2 years for soliciting two years ran making a comparative study. the twelve years. I therefore I also had Guerrilla Warfare served 13 years on Robben	
It was rusted and had no part by Che Guavara, the April Island, which was moving. We then trial a com-	Thesis by Lenin and boxes	During the second

oiled it for some time and of Mandela's Speech in court rade who was part of our MK ultimately we got it working. I had distributed two boxes servicing unit gave evidence To our happiness when we and was going to send thesa against me. It was a pity because took out the magazine it had two boxes to East London. he was very useful to me. He six bullets. Before I left for the job'I had used to work at the post office When we reached the spot said that the following day J and could get all parcels ad-

we started to work on the would take this material to the dressed to me in my many pseu pylon. We sawed the+ pole, and places where I used to keep it, donyms. The member of our unit then pushed it. When the cables This was another mistake. 1 who did not do his work and broke the air was electrified and should have cleaned before I thus caused our arrest also gave we fell. We woke up and started left. evidence. running. One of the cables had I shall always salute the late

landed on Nelson's thigh and The comrade who did not Rex. He died on his way to burnt him but because of the fulfil his task of reconnoitring Lesotho in a car accident. When situation he ran with us, feeling did us a great deal of harm be I was in Umlazi he was on his the pain. After reaching my cause we would have acted a way to see me when he was in- house we all dispersed. We had week before, volved in a' car accident that been working in the rain and The police had said I should killed his fiance. I dip my re

we were wet and muddy. go to the police station to sign volutionary cap to my comrades Then my wife told me that for the documents. The follow who went to the gallows singing, the police were there at home. ing day I went. They asked me Mini, Mkaba and Kayingo.

I then gave one of my friends who where I had been, I told them were occupying my servant's it was not their business. They quarters my shoes to take to then made me sign and left me. another worker friend of mine. It was on a Sunday. On Monday This was a mistake because when at about 16h00 the sabotage

the notice left because of the squad led by Donald Card came darKne&K caused by our operation to the house, searched and found they left a policeman three houses the jersey with the wood chips. from mine to observe. I was arrested. Then later my

The sabotage campaign

	about the balance of the mem*	
The launching of MK and the Command,	putting some rather weak home	members of the High
sabotage phase which followed it was en-	made explosives in relatively in	which we did and
up to 1963 is a distinct stage given	nocuous targets. Politically they	dorsed. We were then
in the development of MK. proceed to.	were effective blows but inno	the mandate ■ to
First of all it was the formative all the	cuous from the point of view of	create MK structures in
period with the basic purpose of Regional com-	the kind of target one thinks of	main regions.
the sabotage campaign which established in the	in terms of hurting the enemy	mands were
was undertaken being to make Johannes-	and his personnel.	main urban centres,
a break, in revolutionary pra	We attacked the symbols of	burg; Cape Town, Port
Elizabeth	the economy like pylons, symbols	and East London*
ctice, with the previous half-a-	of oppression like pass offices,	Initially the command
century of non-violent politics. con-	and making sure that it was all	sisted of Mandela,
Non-violence had quite deep Sisulu, Mbeki,	done at night so that nobody	Mlangeni and Mhlaba.
roots in the movement as a Joe Modi-	would be injured. Not taking	se was put onto it
whole and it was necessary to later, before	life at that stage was also a	he left the country.
demonstrate on the ground that Kathrada,		
a new phase had been embarked and.jGoldberg were in,	deliberate approach, it fitted	Goldreich
upon. We must remember that* auxiliaries and were	in with the whole nature of this	volved as
initially at any rate, Umkhonto	beginning.	part of the Johannesburg Re
We Sizwe was not proclaimed as together with	The response of the regime	gional Command
the wing of the liberation move	was increased repression. It was	Hodgson and
Motsoaledi. This	clear to all and we had demon	high command
ment be it the ANC or any produced a docu-	strated to the movement and to	ment called
other body. When MK was 'OperationMayibuye*,		
formed it was decided to pro	the leadership elements which	which was discussed
both by the	were in doubt that there was	ANC and the Party.
ject it initially as an indepe		
Basically	no way forward short of pre-	its purpose was to
ndent military body which would plan for the	paring for effective escalation of	return of the
announce that it was acting in people who had	revolutionary violence. And, as	been sent out to be
support of the liberation move		
trained as		

ment. matter of historic record» it is guerrillas and simultaneously to
That was deliberate and there clear that we were not ready prepare politically
for their return
were a number of legal reasons organisationally to take the coun to the country*
for it. One of the political, ter offensive which was eventually The whole country was
divided
ideological and organisational launched against all levels of into a number of
operational re- the movement* It is also a gions. Political
reason for it was that we had the movement* It is also a
organisers for just emerged from a phase when matter of historic record that each region were to
be employed

the whole congress movement Rivonia occurred and in the immediately so that
structures had not officially broken with few years following Rivonia would be prepared. At
the same * old policies* Some sectors of the all the heroic efforts made by time a political
campaign was to the movement to reconstitute be prepared to
alliance like the Indian Congress coincide with the return of this
were very deeply committed to in the underground failed. And
trained per-

approaches of defiance rather for all practical purposes the in sonnel to the various
parts of than active aggression* To make ternal movement as an organised the country. We
had a rather an open break with the past structure had been destroyed* euphoric expectation
of what therefore was one of the purposes of that phase. the African states would be
FORESIGHT prepared to do for us* We thought
Fortunately there was a certain they could even provide aeropl
degree of foresight during that nes to drop our
TARGETS CHOSEN
personnel. We were a little naive.
The nature of targets chosen period of rather low level of This is the point where
had a specific meaning. At that military activity, i.e. the sabo
I left

stage it was deliberately decided tage campaign. When it became the country. A meeting
to go in for rather low scale clear towards the middle of that
of both the ANC and the
kind of objectives. The pro campaign that it was necessary
Party, having examined 'Operation Mayibuye1
clamation (MK Manifesto-ed) to prepare for a long term build and having in
which accompanied the opening up of a real people's army, a
principle adopted its main guidelines but still
of the sabotage campaign con large part of the energy of the having to discuss
details of the tained in it an appeal to the High Command and its struc implementation*
decided that it authorities which in effect said tures was then devoted to was urgent that this
plan be

to them: We are demonstrating mission of what we can do and will grow our needs and escalate. This is just the further with	sending out of the country a contingent of many hundreds of experienced political cadres	taken to the external the ANC so that could be discussed
beginning, a mild beginning. It governments. It was is not yet too late to change JB Marks course and there may yet be Mayibuye\ still time for reason to break	at all levels who were subseque: ntly trained in the. art of guerri ² lla warfare and military struggle.	the African decided to send me and with 'Operation
through. whole Nobody in their wild imagin ² external mission	THE HIGH COMMAND AND THE OPERATION MAYIBUYE	We met Tambo and the leadership of the
ings dreamt that one could Mayibuye\ actually overthrow the regime or missions to Algeria	To constitute the High Com ² mand the ANC appointed Mande ²	and discussed with them the contents of ^Operation Steps to send
bring about a revolution through with the pur- overturning a few pylons and	la and the Party appointed me. We were instructed by both	and other places

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pose of establishing what was do much more than we eventually by facts like: the Communist possible and what was not were discovered we could. We under² Party was made illegal in 1950, immediately taken. Within about estimated the potential for the Between 1950 and 1963 there

six weeks of ray arrival there growth in viciousness of the was not a single communist or (I was due to go back with enemy security apparatus and sympathiser convicted of partici² the answers and to then continue the fact that the counter revolu² pating in the underground. True, functioning underground), while tion' éarns from the revolution. we had not engaged

in public awaiting for these missions to to come back, Rivonia occured, propaganda but our existence was known. All of us were both We, of course, made many

It became virtually useless to wrong estimations of what could in the Party and the ANC, from be done. Rivonia too, looking the early 50's attempt to implement * Operation onwards. We had

Mayibuye* because of the des² back on it, was bound to be been banned and subjected to discovered and destroyed. For all kinds of truction which had occured. restrictions. Yet

Internally we had decided on crimes every an example people like me were we committed three a very extensive programme of in Rivonia three times every day, single day of our lives: attending beginning to manufacture our moving from my chambers. 'Same meetings, leaving the area you own equipment inside the country with Bram Fischer' and others. were prevented from leaving try in preparation for the implementation of 'Operation May i- People who came to see the except with permission, etc. and leadership from other parts of we were hardly ever caught. The the country were taken to point I am trying to buye\ Denis Goldberg was in make is charge of that aspect of the Rivonia, And this in a way was that we had a decade where work. We had a programme for also determined partly by the the weakness of the other the manufacture of 50 000 hand- contempt in which we held the side lulled us into a feeling that enemy* we could do much more grenades, We had a way of doing than it successfully, using local material, This euphoria was influenced in fact we were able to do later. But of course everything fell by the way as a result of the Rivonia arrests.

POST MORTEM

MK IS BORN

I always say that looking back on a situation is easier than Looking forward to it, because when you look back on it you know The banning of the African At that level - i.e, the masses'

STEVE TSHWETE

things that people in that situation did not know, which were the chapter of "legal" non-violence - there could, of course, still be a violent struggle against the fascist regime. There were a number of factors which influenced the rather inexperienced the country the pertinent question methods of struggle". Under the influence of the various approaches to aspects of the minds of the oppressed standably so, if one takes into what we had to do. First of all South Africans was what was to account the fact that at that an important factor was our belief that the vanguard time the reality of armed struggle misassessment of the situation. of the national democratic struggle still remained a strange concept. We were still working on the struggle had been banned without the concept to the whole of the sub-approach that the enemy security demands of the oppressed and continent.

...rity apparatus was what we exploited being met. It was a But the very idea itself of the

*

...knew in the fifties. We did not legitimate question by the exploration of other means and sufficiently realise that the be majority of our people who ways by which liberation could

...ginnings of armed struggle would had seen the ANC amassing be 'attained was an important lead to the very steps which the strength and generating tremors signal for the democratic move enemy took. The enemy sent of fear and panic within the ment spearheaded by the ANC. out specialists for training in ruling classes in our country. It was a vindication of the correct Algeria, the United States, from There were views that the ness of our strategy and tactics the North Korea war, Vietnam struggle could still be prosecuted in just over 45 years of legal

...etc. They came back and com and led by the same movement political agitation, i.e. taking pletely refashioned the security under a different name. But the masses along with us every

...apparatus. However firm the old such a conception would have inch of the way and getting them type of policemen like Spengler presupposed a smothering, of to say, with their own vanguard were, they were not torture/s. the revolutionary demands and organisation; "

Here we stood and

Not only did they create a aims of the movement. It would here we fell. Here we retreated

...new force but they also began to also, have meant a deep-going and here we still fell, so let's go

...legislate for new techniques. In revision of our entire tactical forward and fall marching for-

...a sense up to about 1960/61 the approach to a struggle whose ward " underground struggle was fought mass character could not be For in the absence of that

...on a gentlemanly terrain. There Jeunioned for purposes of pro frame of mind, in a situation

...was still a rule of law. You had tecting legality. where the biggest majority of

...a fair trial in their courts. No At the same time there was the people feel that other

...body could be kept in isolation, the more popular idea that methods other than revolutionary

Up to 1963 I know of no in somehow some other methods violence could still tie explored, cident of any political prisoner of struggle other than "legal" the prospects of armed struggle being tortured. The whole legal should be pursued for the re cannot auger well. In our case, structure which existed lulled alisation of the freedoms en we plodded with the masses all

...us into feeling that we could shrined in the Freedom Charter, the way right up to the AUr

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...in'Africa ConieiTtiiCe in Pieter his words s when puppet Sebe inspired by one's love for his

maritzburg in 1961 where the people to be named his, so-called crack militia country and the

oppressed people of our country tary unit Ikrele leSizwe - Sword liberated. Oh, yes, that prepared-chanted the clarion call to action - of the nation. And I laughed not to lay down one's own life

against the fascists: 'Wobamba kubi when I remembered that the so that others might live. They siyaya enkululekweni * Even if it instrument in our whole * way so treasured life that they were is hard we are getting to freedom ", of life* that it is to*day associated prepared to lose theirs to en-

Nothing had changed in their ted with tsotsism and thuggery. sure others of theirs. Invariably

conditions of existence) But not MK, It is our -people's they were their physical representation

They had seen the Langa and army for the express purpose of the spirit of no-surrender,

Sharpeville massacres, they had of correcting their Uslinifchat society the sort of attitude of mind that

gone through the state of emergency and experienced the in post-apartheid South Africa. of MK combatants and the young tensification of savage oppression and brutal exploitation in a lions in our township streets today.

country which refused to see them as human beings. But the reception of the new child was not homogeneous. "DIE ALONE" So* when on the 16th of As we have just said, the oppressed When it came to

how one December 25 years ago exploded seed and exploited South Africa should deal with the police plosive devices were detonated cans blessed the baby and even in the event of arrest, the

in major cities and towns of the showered it with adoring nicknames slogan was "die alone". Under

country excitement leapt heavens names. On the other hand the no circumstances were you ex-high. privileged white clique sneered, expected to reveal the positions of

7s it possible? f "Yes, if is. jeered and cursed. The birth the underground. If the degree of

We have done it. We have proved of the child was a nuisance to torture had become so intense

the point that the African their God-ordained orderly life that you could no longer take it,

is not inferior** liA bomb by an It was an expression once again the way out was to implicate

African ? ** "Yea, You must go of the barbaric character of a yourself and nobody else. The

and see the post office *\
there for

This type of whispered con-
Boers for one's

versations one would come across
cells.

in trains and buses, even in
here and

sheebens. A tremendous achieve-
commanding

ment by MK within hours of
its birth. It did not only raise

hopes in the 'hearts of millions

of admirers, but also instilled
confidence in their own ability
succumbed.

to liberate themselves. It blasted
broke under

to smithereens the myth that by
that

reason of Sur colour and race we
people's

were fatally confined to the
compromised the re-

knob-Merire and the assegai

The African can do it. MK
became the apple of our peo-
people are hostile

ple's eye. They just loved it
traitors today

I remember one instance when
of ungovern-

one old man was reminiscing
early

to me along these lines; ,IYou
an in-

he pulled his
see, my boy!'*

grizzled white beard. "The name
reflection of a

of this army is fantastic. In the
conscious-

olden days in our traditional
justification

society we would take the
to the

spear in defence of our very
physical

savage race of infidels. " Maar underground was not

Julie kan nie ver gaan niet Koos*

one to trade to the

eh se vir jou Ons sat die donor

escape from the

se kaffirs vlinters slaan. Nie daar-

There' were lapses

die kak hierso nie".

there, and some in

sectors of the underground. But
A typical drinking mutual re- it was only almost after two years

assurance among Afrikaners in that the fascists were able to

cheap pubs and other drinking root us out with the help of
sports. In no way very much those of us who had

different about the foregoing

But even those who

type of gossip about MK in 'its torture knew perfectly well

early days, one would read high they had betrayed the

pitched speeches by prominent

army and

ruling class spokespersons about revolutionary aims of the ANC by

the capability of Africans ever such actions.

waging a successful armed struggle

The way our

gle against the "baas1**

tlDaar is

to informers and

niks van daaraie soort Waar het

in the conditions

jy sien *n kaffir skiet? "

ability reminds one of the

They were obviously attach'

days of MK, Hatred for

ing leftist connotations to the former, an enemy agent and
entire notion of armed struggle collaborators is a

as conducted by black people

high degree of political

That is why they desperately

ness. There can be no

tried to convince their followers,

for one crossing over

that Moscow was practically in

enemy for fear of

existence as people Even when
already dead

things start going wrong within
thought of

a given family we would take
enemy, too early

the spear and go to the kraal to
this moral.

propitiate the ancestors. And
would not

thing? would go right No more
was* there

cattle giving birth to still-born
play with

calves or makotis'(newly weds)
breaking their legs. That is the
too. I re-

effect of Umkhonto my boy.
instance when one

It is a fitting name and I am

sure that we are going to get
“Look

what we have set ourselves\

He took his tobacco pouch
Luthuli, not this

made of goat skin, tottered
is not an

towards the kraal and there
bloody f- —

urinated in an obviously agitated
therefore a soldier

frame of mind. He has since
bliksem you

passed away, but I remember
captured soldier”.

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involved in the sabotage campaign.

We did not care what they said

and thought about MK. In due

course, the nature of our own

operation would demonstrate

that this was a popular discipline

plined army, and not a mercenary

assortment of thugs who have
no respect for human life which

does not belong to the “mens”

DISCIPLINE

The men and women who

were recruited to the ranks of

MK thus became an embodied

ment in concrete form of re

volutionary discipline that peculiar

liar blend of discipline which is

death when one is

spiritually by the very

giving in to the

combatants knew

And for those who

abide by it the option

to stay at home and

the cat:
The police knew it

member an

cadre was told by one of the

most notorious torturers;

here! I used to understand the

old Congress of

thing of Mandela/This

organisation but a

army. You are

and I am going to

lik\$ is done to a

The policeman, true to type in all structures that are an expression
reality

all places of reaction everywhere expression of that satanic system. To the Congress of a “free” black
in the world failed to read the called apartheid had to be stan he started working energetically
new signs. He did not realise that blasted and set ablaze. And call in East London where a
changed circumstances demanded dynamite and fire were exchanged long line of “ambassadors” re-
changed methods of struggle. But exceptionally good messengers in presenting all the reactionary

it was important and very significant
set

can't for our movement and our very clique that the ANC and the up. This sort of divisive arrangement

entire people that he acknowledged

conveying to the white reaction chiefs in the Transkei was

oppressed people of our countryment had not yet been in

To give some veneer of

ledged the fact that MK was an had now entered a new phase of troduced to this extent in other
 army. In so far as treatment of armed struggle. The sort of good areas of our country. The pe

oaptured combatants was con life that they enjoy by their culiarity of a "free" homeland
 cerned we do not share his villification of our own life was still an exclusive experience

sentiments nor do we expect had to be terminated forthwith. of this part of the
 country.

mercy from him since it was ' For too long they had been
 by no accident that one found lotting on the lap of luxury and And were the white
 people so

oneself in the ranks of the privilege while our people were happy with it! They
 never even

bothered to r think about the
 people's army, sweating blood in the gold mines prophetic observation by
 one

and potato fields of the Trans
 DISCIPLINE vaal. The young MK had just to Comrade Zanzolo in the African
 Communist that "independence

Revolutionary discipline also knock them in the nose and this and freedom are such
 dynamic

manifested itself in the selection it did with tremendous effect concepts in the
 continent of

of targets for assault. The point for an organisation whose com Africa today that
 whosoever

was made abundantly clear to all batants could only be afforded tries with them is
 playing with

and sundry that loss of human just the very elementary skills fire". (Quotation
 remember. It

life should be avoided by all in the art of this type of warfare. might not be exact).
 "Yes\ they

means possible. It took a leader There was no question of a would say, quite
 happy with

ship to make such a directive in "rear" base, Tanzania and Ghana themselves, "you
 are going to

a situation where a particular were thousands of miles away. rule yourself in your
 own coun-

racial group has taken it upon The young MK base was an try away from the
 baas".

itself to carry out an obviously empty room in a residence in the

genocidal campaign against township, suburb.or somewhere The people were
 very angry

another racial group. In such a along a bushy river bank, in a with this sort of tom-
 foolery.

situation of racial arrogance and word our own people became the The people had
 never seen

fcrutalfty as one finds in South base. Similarly with logistical Matanzima as belonging
 to them.

Africa where every single de resources! The young MK relied He had been
 persecuting them

privation that befalls a bláck on resources inside the coun all along the line for their
 refusal

person is generated 'from the try - and these were and are to be alienated from
 what histori-

white clique camp, it is even belongs to more difficult. their	still galore - loving South Africa cans had to come up and give	cally and naturally them. He had burnt down
But the ANC has never even what they were able to acquire taxes from dreamt about the possibility of to boost the striking capacity of brutal abandoning its principled and the young people's army. Any him and scientific approach to the problem - including an ordinary ambassador blem facing our country. It has a carpenter's saw - that could help made life		kraals and extorted them to finance his schemes. They hated they detested his henchmen who had
always resisted the temptation bring down a pylon, dislodge a once back of seeing the whites as a homophobe rail line or set on fire a pass Transkei from generous satanic grouping and office was welcome in the MK the blacks as an equally homophobic armoury. generous but upright entity. This found perspective hail to filter down in certain regions the directive "in this	It did, of course, happen that	difficult for them at home in the the city. The young MK command structures in the area themselves caught up
every command structure of the to spare human life was flouted. should they young MK. Mata-	This was particularly the case in	situation. What do? Should they allow
I am not aware of any liber-, bases and ation army having to exercise thousands of ANC such restraint in such outrageous by force	the Border and Eastern Cape regions where houses of collabora- tors and informers were attacked	Matanzima to build up divert those and MK supporters
conditions of racial oppression camp? They trnd exploitation, where every proud of the white person is virtually a move- licence bearer to kill and maim in and out of the interests of so-called western tempted to civilisation. When we look back that	with resultant loss of life. This should not, however, be seen as an instance of indiscipline. Rather it should be looked at against the background of enemy reaction any activity in this part of the	into the Verwoerd were certainly image of the democratic ment in the area conviction were believe, quite correctly,
over our shoulders artd see how that twenty-five years of restraint and blasting a ordered control have dealt such telling Wows within the white	country. The Verwoerd regime had just started its course of setting up what today are the so-called	blasting a Matanzima is not much different from pass office.

ruling classes in apartheid South
departures apart, I

Africa, we cannot but beat our
performance

breast with pride and look
between 1961

forward to a bright future for
exceptionally

all South Africans - black and
considerable

white.

fascists

Post Offices, power lines and
underground

stations, railway installations and
close

independent homelands, Trans*

kei's Matanzima had become

their blue^ye boy and as such

had the task to do his master's

dirty work * to become the

grease-boy of the machinery of

fragmentation, oppression and

exploitation.

These slight

want to say that the

of the young MK

and 1963 was

good. It took a

period of time before the

could unravel our

structures inspite of the

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frequency in our. operations.
Draconian legislation, which al-
lowed for indefinite detention
in their torture chambers, had tor-
be introduced to crack the
pioneering combatants /They were
slanderous

tough, and the new skills they
able to

had acquired inside the country
Slovo^

under the nose of the enemy in-
spired them throughout their

operational life. Some died under
become a house -

torture, refusing tq part with any
people*

information that could compro-
mise the revolutionary move-
ment they so dearly loved.

Others had to leave the country
amakhoma-

for more advanced training whilst
permanent

JOE SLOVO

Magagula

How does one begin to write i by applying these

profile on Joe Slovo 5' He has techniques it would be

been operating in underground distance and isolate Joe

conditions for the last thirty from our people, history has
six years. These have not been proved it fatally wrong. Joe

ordinary years in the history Slovo has

of our struggle. They have been hold name among our

and continue to be pregnant Schools and parks in the black
with the hazards of torture, ghettos have been defiantly
detentions, assassinations, mas- named, ^fte^ him. Songs like
sacres and executions. Yet this *USlovo noTambo

has been a period which has n^° have become a

a few broke down and sold out.
revolutionary

witnessed the gathering of re- feature among the

There were no pitched battles volutionary storms and hurri- ranks. Among his fellow com-
against the enemy personnel- But canes in our country. In this rades in Umkhonto We Sizwe he

demolition work by means of ex- heroic period, Joe Slovo has ^ simply and effectonately
plosives at hand was the major found himself in perfect relation known as OUR ARM CHIEF

thrust and this was quite success- with both great men and events. 'OF STAFF*
ful in the major regions such as It- is said that great people Sometimes when
people are
Natal, the Transvaal, the Western fly best and easiest in the hurri- showered with these praises they

Cape and the Eastern Cape. They cane begin to develop a cancer of
were very few cases in which, Of course, Joe Slovo is not personality cult. But Joe Slovo's
comrades were caught in the act. marching alone in this great political clarity and his
sincere

This can be attributed to the journey*- He is together with belief in the might of our people
high sense of secrecy, vigilance the best sons and daughters 35 the true makers of history
and discipline* These attributes of our motherland. No single has made him to rise above this
themselves were historically ac? important event in South Africa disease.

Perhaps this is a can be attributed to him alone unique feature of the ANC*
quired because most of the but one can be sure to always He has remained
cadres who manned the under? as modest as

ground command structures were find his well defined footprints ever though he can be very
per- in the thorny path that has been sistent and vigorous in

drawn, in the main, from the and continues to be walked by across his point when he
pushing

ranks of people who were mem? so many of our oppressed he is correct. Anyway modesty
believes pGOple can be a sign of immodesty*
bers of the movement before and For obvious reasons one can- Over the years he has
after the ban* So that under?

ground unit work was not some? developed

thing strange to them. not write a complete profile on an extraordinary quality of ksten-
Combat readiness was also yet a man who has played a leading inë to the views of others

no -another tenet that was uncom? role in the formulation, planning matter what rank one holds.

He promisingly taught to all mem? and execution of almost all the 13 ^dependent per-

bers. When you go to bed you telling blows against our com- son; ^f course, he does not
must not think that the day mon enemy, There will come a swallow everything. In fact his
has ended. You could be called day when we shall be able to interventions can be as
sharp

to duty any time of the day*, and penetrating as a fish bone*
which meant that you had to re? do this. In Dar-es-Salaam I once asked
Weinberg when SMEAR CAMPAIGN Comrade Violet

main sober all the time. Drun? she first knew Joe Slovo. She
kenness was never to be counten? If there is any leader oi the replied me with

these simple

anced* African National Congress and words: "I knew him as a young
At the same time, if you had to indeed the South African boy selling newspapers.

Did you National Liberation Movement think he has never

be away from home at a parti? as a whole who has been singled boy 7 " Then I knew
been a young

cular point in time, then your why he is
out and targetted for a smear

immediate command had to I so humble and humane. He rose
 campaign by the enemy in all
 know where you could be found its shades, it is Joe Slovo, These from the ranks and
 he under-

Besides discipline, vigilance have varied from the South stands the problems of
 the rank
 and secrecy, organisation had, African racist regime and their and file. When you
 come to him
 thus become one other important international allies, the Pan Afri even with a
 personal problem he,
 factor in the early days of this canist Congress, the Group of tries his best to help
 solve it. He
 invincible people's army. Even Eight and the backward ele will never say T do
 not have
 personal organisation. Your own ments within the black con time for it, ' He is
 extremely
 family programme had to be sciousness movement on the one approachable and
 sensitive to
 madé to fit the movement one hand and the ultra leftists on problems that
 concern the re
 and not vice versa. the other* He has been called volution. This is one of
 the

It is on the basis of all these by various names; " a KGB qualities of a real leader.
 points that one can safely Colonel who has infiltrated the Let us briefly look at
 his
 conclude that the 1961-63 opera ANC on behalf of Moscow, humble growth and
 development.
 tional period was quite good public enemy number one, an Joe Slovo was bom
 sixty years
 and with more propitious time at assassin, a bard core terrorist, ago in Lithuania in the
 Soviet
 its disposal the young MK would a hooligan etc." Union. He immigrated to
 South
 have messed up the Boer regime, If the enemy believed that Africa with his parents at
 the

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age of nine. He has never been bannings of all those who in different accidents at
 a time

officially naturalised for when opposed apartheid * This situ when our region is yearning for
 he applied for this it was rejected ation did not find Joe Slovo their steadfastness and farsighted
 on political grounds. Of course, wanting. Involvement in the ness. B«t they have planted the
 Joe Slovo was not applying to political struggle and experience seeds of genuine peace, a lasting
 be part of the racist clique but of the war had prepared him and peace that can only be a product
 part of the patriotic forces of his colleagues to fight through of stem struggle for the total
 our country. He has been duly these obstacles* By this time liberation of our sub-continent,
 naturalised by the fighting forces Joe had risen in the Party ranks Under the harsh
 conditions of
 of South Africa. to become a member of the Party exile Joe has played a vital role

At the age of sixteen he threw himself into a new course of life- a course of struggle which people

has become the essence and meaning of his life. He became a member and a shop steward of people's

the National Union of Distributive Workers. Thus his ideas and actions from the very beginning were forged and fused with those of the working class even though why Slovo

perhaps at that time it was still responsible a class in itself. As a non-racialist movement* He he could understand even at that REVOLU- time that no section of the Today working class can boast of free ranks of MK dom when the other remains of-Staff. He oppressed.

Naturally his cherished idea Natio- of the power of the working Committee of the dass led him to its highest time form of organisation - the Communist Party of South Africa. contradic-

WORLD WAR 2 organising for the People's Congress in 1955 which adopted Party,

Then the period of the Second has fully World War was ushered in by true patriotic- Hitler's barbarous attacks against international- most European nations. Joe Slovo mutually exclusive as an internationalist saw war in reinforce one

Italy, He was inspired by the fact the patriots

District Committee of Johannesburg - the industrial heart of our people* it can be justly said South Africa. that when you see our

In spite of all these problems rising up in their multitudes the National Liberation Movement against the enemy and movement led by the African National Congress

grew in leaps and power today, Joe Slovo did bounds...Joe Slovo, having practical and continue to play more than critical experience of the importance of the National Liberation Front in fighting fascism, It is not surprising

played no lesser part in this occupies so many

endeavour* This was a period of positions in our

mass campaigns. was a member of the

Joe Slovo was one of those TIONARY COUNCIL*

who did not see the banning of he has risen in the

the Party and the suppression to become its Chief-

of the revolutionary forces as is also a member of the Politico-

an excuse for passivity. To him Military Council and the

this meant further consolidating national Executive

the ties and links with the ANC while at the same

masses. He was one of those serving as Chairman

who played a leading role in SACP. He finds no

tion in serving the ANC as loyally as he serves the

the Freedom Charter. He was Over the years he

one of the accused in the 1956 grasped the fact that

Treason Trial, and used his tism and proletarian

skills and profession as a lawyer alism are not

to defend his colleagues. and repulsive but

By 1961 the racists had closed another. He is one of

that the Italians who formed the unconquer- backbone of the anti-Hitler Mus ² between the ANC solini Axis in Italy were organised insists that and led by the underground Com ² does not only munist Party of Italy. He must of a new have Known that the burden of of a new the war was being shouldered	all avenues for peaceful struggle by banning the ANC, No leader ² ship worth its salt could abandon the struggle and leave our people in perpetual servitude. The way forward had to be found. On ^December 16, 1961 Umkhonto	who have built the able alliance and SACP, He always true liberation consists in the hoisting flag and the singing national anthem.
by the Soviet Union whose citizens lost nine lives every Staff he minute of the war. This was the to him a lesson of how far a combatants inside socialist country can sacrifice building of for world peace. It must have people.	We Sizwe was formed. From the very beginning Joe Slovo played a vital role in the build ² ing of MK* He worked closely with our first Commander-in- Chief, Nelson Mandela,	As an army Chief-of- is playing a vital role in actions of MK the country and the our army among our
also occured to him that one politico- day there will come a time when with that outstanding leader of the model oi the South African patriots will the South African revolution of the take up arms against South African fascism whose seeds were SACP and veteran member of the Soviet Union already germinating. finest	On his way to exile he went military concepts. As an army man he is cut in the late Chairman of the SACP and veteran member of who used to insist on personal the NEC of the ANC Uncle inspection on even the	H^ has articulated many man he is cut in Marshal Vorishilov, one first marshals of
Ironically, three years after JB Marks. By coincidence on their preparedness the defeat of fascism in Europe great optimist a fascist party in South Africa - demagogy the Nationalist Party - assumed office. Not that before this the patriotic forces had been spared chief-of-staff	way from Francistown to Dar-es- Salaam they met Samora Machel and Peter Nanyemba ■ of FRE- LIMO and SWAPO respectively. They were stranded and asked if	detail ot military oi the army, A yet an arch-enemy of and rhetoric. It is often said a
of victimisation, but this event there was no space in the char ² is a dynamo, an engine of his exacerbated repression in South Africa to an unprecedented level. Umkhonto The first act of the Nationalist provide space for them who	tered Dakota plane* Two of our military unit. Joe Slovo is a comrades remained behind to well - oiled engine of We Sizwe. This is the man	

Party was to ban the CPSA under These two men played leading has helped to forge and build our the notorious Suppression of roles in the liberation of our military organisation upon whose Communism Act. This in fact sub-continent. Unfortunately bayonets the fate of the South

was the beginning of a string of both of these great giants left us African Revolution depends.

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WASHINGTON MPUMELELO BONCO

-STEVE TSHWETE

BORN in Mount Coke, a small vil From the shoulders to the head responsible for anything that might
lage on the outskirts of King Wil- it was just one big block. You happen to you on this day and
laims Town, Wellington Bongco is would not differentiate the head vouch that this is true inforrimtion .f
one of the most outstanding figh from the shoulder. The -eyes were Bongco signed and went away.
ters the National Liberation Move just red like red meat. I was sure
ment has ever produced. he was not going to survive. That AMBUSH
He was never much to school, is the occasion that inspired me to
only up to standard four or so. He write my first and perhaps last arti On that day he and another
worked hard to build the African cle in a newspaper independently. I comrade had guns and went tf> lay
National Congress during the 'roar wrote in New Age what I saw of an ambush for Card. They werp go
ing fifties', in the Trade Union field Bongco at Frere^ Hospital: 'Third ing to kill Card. Card had become a
he devoted al 1 his energies towards Degree Methods in East London * nuisance not only in the Border re
founding and building a strong Very miraculously he recovered gion but throughout the country.
SACTU branch in East London. He from that assault and when we Bongco never told us about this ex
worked closely with Masiza who went to Hospital to check him as perience. Mfe only learnt about it
died serving a twenty year prison we were paying visits regularly, we when it was led as evidence in
term in Rhodesia,, now Zimbabwe. were told that he had been dischar court. Card produced ail the docu
Masiza, a member of the Luthuli ged. Ws rushed to his place and ments Bongco had signed and when
Detachment of Mi , was captured only found his wife who told us she he was in the witness box the pro
in action in Rhodesia during the had not seen him. Vfe wondered secutor asked him if it was true

1967/68 Wankie/Sipolilo camp² what could have happened to him. and he replied :
 rTf&hrd had gone
 igns. Had he left the country maybe to that spot that day he would
 now since there were instructions al² be lying on his back and reading
 the REGIONAL COMMANDER ready from the National High Com² 'JDatly Zíípaícíi*
 six feet under the mand that he leaves the country. ground'71
 That was his popular say²
 Bongco was the Border Regio² Mat happened was that on dis² ing, used
 whenever he was going to
 nal Commander of MC . He was ar² charge from Hospital he went eliminate an
 enemy agent.
 rested several times during his life straight to the headquarters of the
 of political activity in the ANC, and sabotage squad of the security po² Bongco was
 arrested in August
 was a true embodiment of the prin² lice in Fleet street, East London. 1963, I was already in
 detention
 ciple of 'no surrender* and the idea There he met Card, the man who then, and we appeared together in
 of *d*e atone!. He was foremost in had assulted him. Sergeant Card was court. We were
 supposed to be
 the preaching of his particular con² in charge of the sabotage squad in seven but were five when we
 appea-
 cept "You must never reveal any² East London. Bongco told Card red in court. The sixth Masiza (refe²
 body with whom you are working that he had been beaten up terribly rred to above) had already left the
 to the enemy, and if you are tor² and had reached that point where country, and the seventh, Mdubi
 tured to a point where you can no he felt he could no longer carry on proved to had been a snooper. He
 longer hold out, then the best you with the' struggle. **I must now had been infiltrated
 in the regional
 can say is about yourself. Never in² work for you . / am going to give command. Bongco
 was sentenced
 volve the next man in it". That is you information, and I am starting to death on March
 23 in Queens-
 what he used to say. A very energ² right now. Ft He told Card that some town. Vhen the judge
 wanted to
 etic man he was* I grew up under time that week, on a particular day, know if he had anything
 to say be-
 his tutelage in a sense. . time and spot, there was going to fore a sentence of death was
 impo-
 be a sabotage instructor from
 Bongco would work overtime, Johannesburg. "He is going to meet sed upon him he
 said he had and was
 You
 called upon to say it. He said,f
 us there . / am giving you this in² are going to hang
 right through the night and in all
 Bongco but you
 sorts of weather. His dedication to formation and urging you to go and will never hang
 freedom*, and kept
 Congress work cost him loss of his surprise that meeting. And you quiet.
 job and had a telling effect on his must not bring a lot of men because
 health. Once he contracted TB and that might arouse suspicion, That was my first
 time to be
 had to be hospitalised but he stuck fll would prefer a situation with a man sentenced
 to death. We
 to his work as the MC commander, where you carry your radio. Take shared the same
 cell. For the rest of

in the region. At times he had to even to eat the escape from hospital to carry out imprison. Bong-

personally certain MC operations. invited us to join him

All this was revealed during his appetite. Among trial. Wfe close as we were to him, him and me smo-

didjiot know about some of his es made a fzoV and gave capades. It is the people who tur even in the

ned against him and gave evidence We were just at a

in court who revealed all these knowing what to

things, and he did not deny a sin parted (that is

gle one of them. He told the court Pretoria) he

that he had to do ali these thIntis me to give it

for the liberation of his country subsequently

and people.

your men and post them at the nea

rest police station to the spot?

uthick is the Duncan Village Police

Station. In the event of some trou

ble you can communicate with

them. But I am giving you my head

for it He is going to be there but

you must go atone. Just for you to

see that they are there ana radio

your men to come thereafter,"

Bongco said to Cara.

Card was excited with this piece

of information. He then apologised

to Bongco and was happy with him.

us it was difficult

food we were given

co ate his and

but we just had no

the five of us only

ked. He then

a 'skyf and 1 was not

form of smoking.

loss of words, not

say to him. Vhen we

when he was taken to

gave his clothing to

to his wife, .which I

did.

He was arrested in March 1963 He instructed Bongco to go back to hanged him, but like

and was heavily assaulted by the the movemen t and to never divulge will never be able to

police. When they released him (it that to any one. Bongco agreed and thousand Bongcos

was before the major swoop in the left. But as he was leaving Card cat take his place and

Border region in June and subs'7 j led him back. He demanded that he for freedom. The

The Boers

he said , they

hang freedom. A

have emerged to

advance the fight

quent months) they were just es upsurge sweeping

caping responsibility of him dying

I in their hands Yien paid him a visit at Frere Hospital where he was admitted from the Cell»' I was'fligh MEMORY!

tened. It was my first time to see a man assaulted and tortured to that degree.

surrender his reference book, so revolutionary

throughout the county is dear evi that in the event of anything hap

pening to him (Card) that day the, dence.

command at the Police station

would know that he was out on a

LONG LIVE HIS

tip-off by Bongco. He also made him sitn the following undertaking,

7 Wellington Mpumelelo Bongco am

THE LONGEST NIGHT

Immediately after the 16th of December 1961 the Security Branch raided a number of houses throughout the country trying to find a clue as to who the saboteurs were that struck on that day. Reggie's house was one	Indres Naidoo	streets of TJ, how they are moving material today reminds me of an incident, I had a pistol which I had to move from my house to a place about 5-6 km away. I was very nervous and wrapped it in paper, made a nice
of those raided where the police found a gas pistol, some test tubes and some nitro-glycerine*As a result he was amongst those who were arrested in December 1961, The Security Branch were convinced that Reggie was involved	T.V.;' * > j&iir-sE	parcel out of it, put it in a plastic packet and over it I put lots of food and other things, I carried it through the heart of T J but every time I saw a policeman I imagined that he could see right through the plastic bag* I was
in the acts of sabotage that took place. But the only evidence they had was those items found at his place. Reggie appeared in court and was remanded (at that time there were no detention clauses and a person had to appear in court within 72 hrs of their		on pins and needles right up to my destination, I remember another incident very well, I was sitting with Aziz and Essop Pahad in the restaurant owned by the elder Pahad when a chap came up to us and said he's got a machine-gun to sell for R100. We
arrests)* That meant that Reggie man and told	Spark, New Age, etc. But after	did not know this
had to spend Christmas and New Year 1961 in custody. When allegiance was to MK which	the formation of MK our first	him that we had
nothing to do		with it. But it worried
us that		
Reggie appeared in court in machine-gun	meant the other work had to	here we let go a
January 1962 he was found useful to MK.	suffer. Coincidentally I was elected Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Youth League at this	which could be
guilty but he had a very good alibi as to why he had these		DYNAMITE
items, Reggie was given a minor back into	particular time and as a result of	When Reggie got
fine of about R50 but the S,B, approached him	the added MK duties my tasks as	the unit a man
were not happy at all and decided to keep a tab on his activities. The regional Command decided	Secretary were neglected. This was noticeable because when we assembled for an appointment	stage it was very difficulty to
to suspend Reggie from the and in	either myself, Shirish or Reggie	get hold of dynamite

activities of MK for a short instruction was would be absent. We were accused every region an

while, of becoming lazy and it became given to try and find dynamite, difficult for us to find excuses. Reggie of course naturally told

DIFFICULT PERIOD Once we demanded a meeting this man that he is not interested,

This period was a very diffi- with senior Congress members but informed the unit. The

cult one for all of us. We were because there were lots of region was informed and pro-

all very young, had no experience issues that we wanted to clear mised to investigate this man

in underground work and we up. After a long time this meet Gamat Jardien. whose name is

Gamat Jardien. were all well known (S.B. knew ing was finally to materialise, After three months of

investiga- all of us active members of the but when we "were supposed to tion ttygy found that Gamat

Congress Movement) and yet at proceed to the meeting Reggie Jardien stayed in

Booysens, was a this stage we were going into and Shirish reminded me of petty crook with

tremendous the underground. We were un some duties relating to MK, I knowledge in the use of dynamite.

trained, our training was on the tried to explain that as Secretary The region thought not only

actual job. We were learning how I had to be present but they should we buy the dynamite to use dynamite, how to make convinced me and off we went from him but we also try to Molotov Cocktail, pipe bombs and as a result I missed the recruit him, Reggie talked to

and did a lot of reading. (At the meeting. My mother, my brothers him and found him a .very

time of my arrest the police and sisters all fought with me but willing person and was keen to

found a book published by the it was difficult for me to explain. join MK. He was then recruited

Americans which dealt with The following day at the offices and introduced to me and Shirish.

guerilla warfare as espoused by the young people gave me hell. We had a number of political dis-

Che* Guevara and Mao tse Tung, They accused me of all kinds of cussions with him and also poin-

published as a counter-insurgency things and I could just not explain ted out frankly to him that as

book but very useful to us). We my way out, Reggie and Shirish MK we were very naive in the

were told not to carry any each concocted some stories, use of explosives. He then pro weapons, to be absolutely certain Shirish said that his uncle was mised to teach us and we later

that we take no lives and to be sick and he had to drive his went out for experiments. very diligent. father to his uncle's home. 1 I remember one time going to

A serious problem that we	could not make such an excuse	a farm about 15 km
north of		
faced was the fact that we were	because my mother, sisters and	T J, Gamat Jardien
merely took		
all involved in the Transvaal	brothers were at the meeting.	out the dynamite,
sticked it onto		
Indian Youth Congress, the	Another difficulty we faced	a tree and lit it. It felled
the tree.		
South African Peace Council and	was transporting explosives etc.	We were impressed
with how he		
other organisations. We us^d to	If I think of our comrades	felled that tree. He then
showed		
sell the movement's newspapers,	carrying the AK 47 through the	us how to go about
it.		

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Then 1963 came along. Gama,t 200Lbs, not fat this was all that Td been shot. "Hey Koolie Jardien had shown us a very good muscle. We then agreed that if jy is harde bek ne?", with that target near a Coloured township anything happened Reggie would they brought him dqwn. They called Riverier We went over to be the guy to lead the attack on then worked on him breaking a the target and observed it and re? him. We returned to the car and couple of his ribs. We were ported to the region. The region moved towards Riverlea, We par? bundled into cars and taken to fully agreed that it should be ked the car as planned and got the police station. At the police our next target and decided that out. Shirish and I went to the sig? station my hand became very

we should go on the job on the nal. post, Gamat went to the tool swollen. It felt as if the whole 16th April 1963. Everything was shed and Reggie stood guard arm from the shoulder was planned but for some strange approximately 10-15 metres collapsing on me. I pleaded for reasons which I rcan*t recall, at away. Suddenly there was a a doctor or to be taken to the last minute the region decided strange noise, a long hooter hospital, but they refused, telling that we should postpone it for sound, We all looked up. The me: "hey you gonna die here".

the next day. sound died and yet there was no The policeman in charge later

Gamat came on the agreed time	car in sight. The main road was	made a call
(presumably con?)		
with his car and the dynamite	about 150 metres away from	sulting sbme senior)
and when		
and we informed him of the	where we were and no one could	he came back
said"Vat die		
postponement. Gamat seemed	see a car passing. Nevertheless we	koolie hospital
foe". I was taken		

very anxious and dissapointed	wrote it off* as some passing car.	by about four
policemen who		
and tried to persuade us to tackle	We then decided to go on with	literally picked me up
and threw*		
the job as planned. We explained	:the job and as I wa& fixing the	me into the, pick-up
van. At		

that when the region takes a dynamite to the signal post we Coronationville
Hospital the doc-
decision it is final. He then per* noticed that Gamat had made a tor, who was a very
nice guy,
suaded us to go and check the little fire near the tool shed, 1 had to tear my clothing off and
area and the target again. We got shouted at him asking him what then* he saw the
bullet sticking
to the scene, everything was the hell he^was doing. Reggie on out just next to the
shoulder

planned, where we'd stop, how the other hand became impatient blade: The
bullet entered
we were going to move, etc. We and shouted at me to light the through my arm
and passed
then observed the target again, ^ "bloody" fuse. I lit the fuse and on to between the
shoulder
After our reconnaissance, on as I .lit it we heard a police whittle. "blades where it got stuck.
All
our return as we were coming Reggie shouted telling us to run the doctor did was to pull it
down Bree street we heard a' for our lives. We ran, I jumped a out using a tweezer. He
ordered

knock in the car. We stopped and fence of more than one metre in that I be admitted but the
cops
thought that could be a serious my attempt to get away. refused. He then asked
them
problem as we needed the car We ran to where Reggie was to sign a document
stating that
for the job the following day. I and the three of us, noticing that they were taking full
responsi-
walked home while Gamat took Gamat Jardien was not around, bility because as
far as he was
the otheT two, comrades home, searched for him but Gamat -had concerned 3 was
to be hospitalised.
(it was on his route) in his bro^ disappeared. As we were approa^ He, i want to
emphasise, was
ken down car. The following day, ching the car the whole place lit very pleasant. He
gave; me some
the 17th April we prepared up. It was like broad day-light pain-killers which they
took

ourselves to go on the job, and the next thing we heard was away later.
Shirish and 1 attended a meeting "stop, put up your hands/" All When we returned
to the

earlier that evening and from; of us stopped simultaneously. police station Reggie and Shirish
the meeting, we went to Doorn- A revolver went off and my hand were, not there. The next I heard
fontein. I put on jeans* a. black was hit, I did not realise that I was their screams, I heard
them

jersey and gloves. We left home was shot. It was only later when pleading: ' 'Please
help leave me.
at about eleven in the evening I saw blood that I realised I was I don't know
anything." 1
and fremember my mother asking shot. We were surrounded by realised that
these chaps were
where 1 was going to that time dozens of policemen wearing being beaten up and
T thought

of the night.

railway balaclavas,

to myself: "my God I'm next/'

*

■ ■

■ '

m-\ ■'

We went to where Reggie was
out of that

It was early April and it was

When Shirish came

working as a waiter and he immediately
recognise him

bitterly cold. We were asked

room I couldn't

edately informed us that he was what we were doing there that
battered1. He couldn't

His face was

not happy with the behaviour time of the night. All of us
Reggie

even put his glasses on.

of Gamat Jardien* We were very without hesitation replied we'd
They put us

could hardly walk.

surprised that he could give us come with Gamat Jardien. They
and I was

all into separate cars

'the assurance that the car would asked us where Gamat Jardien
we got to

taken home.' When

be fixed. And indeed as we were was and we told them that his
cops just started

Doom fontein the

talking he arrived with the car sister JivecJ in Riverlea and he had
two bro-

banging the door. My

fixed as promised. He told us gone to her as we were having
my mother

thers, two sisters and

he took the car in the early a problem with our car. A cop
they saw

were shocked when

morning and told them that he was sent to look for Gamat but
shape and

me, I was in very bad

wanted it before five and got it. came back within a minute
an ex-

my family demanded

All three of us got into the car saying there was no Gamat. At
their

planation. They started

and drove to Reggie's home, that point the explosion went
pillows

search, cutting open

Reggie and myself got off and off. It went off with a tremend
went into the house. Reggie ous bang and Swanepoel shouted
tiles of the

and mattresses.

They broke the

gave me a rod to keep and told 4tAhah Mandela se soldate". fire place looking for arms and
me with the first false movef They then got stuck into us. ammunition. On finding the
Gamat make I must hit him very I was first in line and they hit me book I earlier referred to they
hard. At that time Reggie was a down. Reggie tried to protest remarked

^Oh so

you are reading

very big guy<tfhe weighed almost
'They also found

asking them if they could not see

guerilla warfare .

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lots of letters. Mac Maharaj was and RPG 7.
Africa

An MK that has almost everyone in South

staying at my place and ran a proved its worth in the battle² talks of MK, one reah*es the newspaper called Parade- In fact field. tremendous strides we have taken.

it was one of our papers. Mac MK has become a household MK has come a long way and it^sf

was the editor and the sole word in S.A. When we think through MK activities alid the

journalist on. They went through, our days when very few people leadership of the ANC i'm all those letters which included talked of MK and today when certain it won't be long before letters to SANROC and other almost every young person, South Africa is free. sporting organisations and took them away. During all this my

family became very agitated and refused the cops to sit down. I was taken back to Marshall Square, locked in a cell all by myself, with no blankets and 1 was in terrible pain. It was the longest night in my life

[The second stage:

Attempts to get back

After sentence, when we were in prison we hoped that MK would continue. We sat and listened to hear of MK activi² 1967/68 at-

Joe Slovo

, . . . From then it became clear that we were entering the second

WANKIE/SIPOLI^O There was the

ties and sporadically here and phase, which was the attempt to tempt to move through Smith's there we got news of an ex² reconstruct the political under² Rhodesia. Thereafter endless at-

plosion and we would jump with ground and to attempt to return tempts were made to try to send

joy. We met comrades who h^d to the country those activists cadres back to the country. These gone for training in Ethiopia. who had been trained in the art attempts literally involved land,

Amongst them were James Chirwa* and science of people's military sea and air routes. South Africa

a Malawian comrade who has just struggle. was at that stage still surrounded

completed a sentence of 20 years, Of course in one sense the two by a cordon sanitaire of imperial²

Ernest Malgas known as Jumbo, sides of these endeavours stand ist dominated states: Angola*

Henry Fazzie, and others. These in contradiction with one another. Mozambique, Rhodesia. So we comrades were a source of treme² On the one hand you cannot were completely cut off from the

ndous encouragement to us. We fight a people's war without the borders. But despite enormous questioned them about what was Leadership of a political organis² objective difficulties efforts were happening in Africa, whether ation, You need an underground, made to infiltrate personnel back they met O.R. Tambo when they which is capable of providing into the situation through these

passed through Tanzania, what both political and military leader² territories, most of them (efforts) he said to them etc, They brought ship, On the other hand the post- were unsuccessful.

some new songs to us and we
code named

sang them*
Then there followed a long
spell of lull when nothing hap
in
pened but we still had confidence
bought a
in our MK. We then heard of the
and
Wankie Campaign and later some
friendly
of the comrades who were in
it.
volved landed on the Island.
We questioned them at length
meant
about the nature of their trains
ingt what happened to them,
how it was in the battlefield,
etc. We kept on getting news of
comrades infiltrating the coun
Dur-
try. There was the case of James
it

April and the case of the com
rades who were picked up in
safely at the
1972, All this gave us a lot or
encouragement.
When I was released in 1973
there were hardly any visible
government.

activities of MK , The 1976
uprising took place and shortly
after there was the handgrenade
to
incident on the border with

Swaziland where two policemen
were severely injured. I finally
left the country in 1977 and
struggle.

came 'to Maputo where for the
was very com-

first time I came into direct
struc-

contact with the new breed of
ready to

MK. The MK of^ today is a
various

completely different MK. It is

Sharpeville and post-Rivonia suc

A big project,

cesses of the enemy had created 'Operation J' by our president,
such a demoralisation that with of landing about forty-five cad-
out the beginnings of armed acti res on the coast was planned

vity, without a demonstration of the early seventies. We

our capacity to hit at the enemy, boat in the Mediterranean

it was difficult to conceive of we managed to get a

people getting together in, any party to provide a crew for

large measure to reconstitute the Unfortunately the Suez Canal
political underground. was closed then. This

To put it more simply; with that the boat had to be taken

out political underground net to a friendly port on Africa's

work and internal leadership it East coast, all the way round
is not possible to engage effecti the; continent of Africa. It in fact
vely in people's armed struggle docked in Cape Town and

and, in our situation, without ban to refuel. But of course

the beginnings of military strug was quite clean at that point.
gle the task of political re construc The boat arrived

assumed difficult propor port from which the operation
tions, And thereafter we entered was to vbe launched. We were
a phase in which it became given very generous assistance
necessary, however long it was from that friendly

going to take* to find ways of At one point the boat was not
getting back into the situation on schedule and this govern
and to demonstrate that we were ment sent out its Airforce

able to hit the enemy as an im check on it. They pinpointed

portant factor in helping to it on its way up to the coast of
stimulate the process of political Africa. That was quite a moving
regeneration. So one would say commitment to our

from 1965/66 onwards the atten

The operation

tion of MK and its leadership

plicated. It involved having

the ANC, was devoted to at

tures inside the country

tempting to get our trained

receive the cadres on the

political and military cadres landing points which had been

an MK that is sophisticated, back. This is the second phase; chosen for the purpose. The attempts to get back. landing was to take using the AK 47* limpet mines place in

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K^axitūal landing boats oi the the situation. This went on till that here was a committed and

mother ship. Kadio^ signals were 1976 I would say, with one pro dedicated group which wa5 just worked out from inside, from ject or another, with none of going to continue knocking their he beaches, to indicate safety. tbem really succeeding. But our heads against this wall until some Arms and equipment were failures/, although one does not how there was a crack in it* I

specially prepared so that they plan for them have some kind of think this was a very important could float in* Trucks, bicycles impact* It could be seen by side-product of the efforts most and other means of transport everyone that the ANC was of which ended in failures. But were ready to take the men to persisting in its efforts without one wonders where we would various parts of the country* end despite enormous difficul have been without these stub Caches had been prepared in ties* People were becoming aware born attempts to find the answer..

various mountains, ready to receive a vast quantity of armament. Moumbaris was involved

in some reconnaissance work connected with the beaches which were eventually selected, and also in receiving the men as they came in. He was one apiongst quite a big team*

THE WANKIE

The boat set off and* within a day^and-a-half, returned, with the captain reporting that the radar equipment, which was quite necessary for the purpose

CAMPAIGN

Chrt; H«ni

of this project, was not function The Luthuli Detachment was one due to the fact that we had ing. Within a week we flew in those detachments that were well already crossed the first obsta new radar equipment. By this prepared and well trained* Fm cle, mainly the river and we were time it was becoming clear that saying this because I personally now all looking forward to par this captain and his crew were participated in the preparations. ticipating in the long march deep getting cold feet. When they A lot of time was allocated for into Zimbaowe and ultimately made' other excuses we started the detachment to be together in reaching our destination, South

testing the boat once again and the bush to be able to train to Africa. _ . ' , ^

discovered thatT both engines gether in order to ensure that The spirit ofcohesion and were not functioning. We sus physically we were ready for the unity between , ourselves and

pected sabotage but at that
 were
 stage we could not prove it.
 We dismissed this crew and
 went to search for another crew
 friction
 from another fraternal party. We
 This
 found it and flew it in within
 two weeks. This crew was ab-
 asses-

solutely remarkable. They re-
 the
 fused to surrender to any com-
 or the Wan-
 plication* Eventually they got
 one engine working and decided
 beginning we

to move with it* against the merely to help ZAPU and the began to notice that we were
 warning by experts against it. people of Zimbabwe, but it was not at all conversant with the
 The danger is that the boat, important to see it in its global terrain across the river. For in-

1 r

which did not operate by means perspective, the need for the stance, moving away from the
 of sails, would eventually be people of Zimbabwe and the Zambezi river we had expected
 smashed against the rocks if people of South Africa to fight to come across streams and ri-
 that engine failed. But this against an enemy, an enemy vulets with water, but as soon as
 crew said they were quite pre- which had forged an alliance, We we moved a few kilometres from
 pared to take a chance* all know about the alliance be- the Zambezi river we realised

So we embarked again. They tween Smith and V orster. For us that it was quite a dry area*
 set out and within, abdu sixteen South Africans what was also There were no rivers, no streams,
 hoiirs we received a radio signal important was the fact that we and people were getting water
 that the engine had collapsed. were moving home to participate from boreholes. So this problem
 Fortunately it was near enough in the struggle of our people in- of no rivers necessitated an
 to* port and a tug went out and side South Africa. So there was earlier contact with the people*
 towed the boat in* So the also this added dimension. According to our original
 plans

operation failed*
 We then attempted to tind
 were
 other ways of getting the same
 the
 comrades back into the country*
 strategic

We used various techniques, in-
 the
 cluding routes through what was
 at
 then still Portuguese Mozambi-
 this
 que, Swaziland and Bechuana-
 land. We also used Jan Smuts
 beginning

rigorous task that lay ahead. But ZAPU was magnificent* We
 in addition to the physical pre- working together as one unit,
 paration there was also the consulting and discussing to-
 political preparation, the -need gether, There was no
 for us to forge an understanding whatsoever within this unit.
 between the forces of Umkhonto is important to point out if one
 we Sizwe and the forces of ZAPU wants to give an objective

and to understand the historical ment of the operations of
 necessity of the battles of Wankie. Luthuli Detachment
 There was a need for us to feel kie detachment.
 that we were, not participating From the very

When we began the process we were not going to contact
 of crossing we were ready for the people that early* We
 anything and the spirit of MK going to postpone meeting
 combatants was very high. The people until we reached
 crossing point was not an easy areas within Zimbabwe* But
 one, it was a place which was reality of not having water
 quite rocky and the current of all forced us to establish
 the Zambezi was strong,. But contact.
 these seeming obstacles and Secondly, we were

airport* James April and others difficulties did not deter us at to run low on food supplies* So
 were many whom we tried in all. After crossing the river, there again we had to contact
 the various ways to put back into was a spirit of elation and joy, people. It is important
 in all

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military preparations, whatever- MK combatants passing through gime* For a long
 time they dis- military strategy is worked out, Zimbabwe. In other words (he missed MK's
 capability^ of to emphasise the need to con* whole concept of the Wankie actually coming
 down to the tact people* But it is dangerous campaign was to build bridges, south to engage
 them. They to contact the people at random a Ho Chi Minh train to South thought that because
 the and that is what we were forced Africa» That is why it was im? movement had suffered serious
 to do. It is important to follow portant to leave behind some setbacks with the arrest of the
 your own preparations, your MK combatants working with ANC leadership and
 High Com- own deliberately worked out ZAPU, creating conditions in the mand of MK they had
 incapaciti-

decisions as to at what point north and centre of Zimbabwe tated MK* So this caught them
 you are going to establish con? for the construction of this by surprise, and there
 was so tact with the people, who these bridge* Amongst those who were much panic that immediately
 people are,* what their political to remain in Zimbabwe were after this the regime in
 Pretoria views are, etc. Andries Motsipe, the commander dispatched rhoTe troops
 to Zi?

Of course things do not follow who fell in battle, James Masimi- mbabwe to fight
 the Luthuli a pattern always, sometimes ni., Sibanyoni, Charles,; Sharp Detachment* A big
 battle was you get into an area where anÚ a few others* now looming on
 Zimbabwean the organisation has no con? They made contact with the soil, not just between
 the settler tact and you have got to try enemy quite early, about two forces of Ian Smith but
 the com- very hard to establish a con? weeks-after we had parted. One bined forces of Smith
 and the tact* There is an advantage if of the battles they were engaged SADF. We noticed
 after three you actually go into a given to four weeks of our presence
 area with a contact in hand. In in Zimbabwe that there was a

our case there was no contact, we had literally to establish our own contact*

That has got its own dangers because you are likely sometimes to go to a person who is hostile to the liberation movement or you might meet somebody who

is actually working for the enemy* But in all fairness when we established this contact we were met with enthusiasm by the people. We were given water and even fresh supplies of food* This was very useful and enabled us to continue for a few days marching towards the South of Zimbabwe» Withing the game

reserve of Wankie a decision had been taken by our H*Q* in Lusa? undergone

ka that the unit had to split into two. There was the unit that had to move towards the east, to? wards an area called Lupane, and there was also the main unit ourselves and iie which had to march towards For a

the South* Within the unit always im- moving towards the South was participate in battle quite a substantial number of you prove those comrades whose mission training and was eventually to reach South there is nothing Africa and establish MK units stimulating to a within the country. In the unit whole re- moving towards the South with battle, your the eventual aim of getting to you are undei South Africa were comrades soldier Looks

Lennox Lagu, myself, Peter we were Mfene, Douglas Wana, Mbijana, we marched

lot of aereal reconnaissance by the enemy* Virtually the whole day there was a flurry of activi? ties and flights of spotter planes and it was quite clear from the way they were moving South, North, East and West that they were looking for us. They

wanted to establish exactly the direction of the other section of the Luthuli Detachment* We were sure that it was only a matter of days before we would have to engage the enemy. But interestingly enough there was a spirit of looking forward to battle with the enemy and I think there was a number of

reasons which one could attribute this feeling to* We had

very serious training, in the Soviet Union and other places and had always looked iorwatd to this historical engagement

in that will probably go down

in the history of MK military

operations as one of the most

heroic* Displaying outstanding

heroism and sacrifice they fought

like lions and actually kept

Smith's forces pinned down for

the better part of a day- We are

told that comrades like Sibanyo-

ni handles an LMG in a unique

manner, keeping away the Smith

forces. Masimini> although mor?

tally wounded, actually refused

to be carried by the comrades

between

forces of the enemy.

trained soldier it is

portant to

because that is where

the merits of your

at the same time

scintilating and

soldier as to test his

actions in actual

responses when

fire. I think every

forward to this and

no exception* So

the late Victor Dlamini, Castro, mostly at night*	and advised them to move away	to the South
Máshigo {the ANC Chief Representative to Lusaka), Pau Sithole, reasons why wp	whilst he individually remained	There were
sentative to Lusaka), Pau Sithole, night* We	as a covering group for the re	moved mostly at
Desmond ^Wilson' Msweli, Shooter once again that the	treat of those comrades who had	discovered
Makasi, Eric Nduna, Basil February and James April* Lennox	survived.	terrain was very bad. It was
	This premature engagement empty, with no cover except	
was the most senior in our group. especially as we	with the enemy enabled the	for shrubs,
I was the group's commissar. Zimbabwe	enemy to discover that we were	moved deeper into
The unit marching towards the in Zimbabwe in bigger numbers. Matebeleland* We had		towards
East was to base in Zimbabwe, He also knew that it was not would be		expected that there
the aim being to establish an MK was none. In	only Zimbabweans who were in	bush but there
presence in Zimbabwe which furious activity	volved in the battle but also MKr	the light of the
could be used in future to service and heli-	This frightened the Pretoria re	of the spotter planes

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copters, it was hazardous to move during the day. During modern	probably did not know exactly virgin victory for us since we where we were that they knew had never fought with
the day we took cover, dug we were in the Vicinity. In the weapons against the enemy. For foxholes and trenches in preparation	afternoon the enemy moved into us that day was a day of celebra-
paration for any possible engagement	the offensive by firing at random times because with our own
ment with the enemy and used enemy run.	at the sector where we had taken eyes we had seen the
the cover of darkness to cover position. frozen	We had seen the enemy
as much ground as possible in spirits	We had decided earlier on that with fear* That lifted our
pur march towards the south. each and everyone ought to be and transformed us into a fight	
But again I want to point out very economic with the ammunition force. We had also seen and that as a Commissar found the tion he had due to the fact that observed each other reacting to	
I	
spirit of the men quite magnific- we did not have access to enough the enemy's attacks. A feeling cent. There were no complaints ammunition except what we of faith in one another and re	
whatsoever and the comrades were carrying* In other words cognition of the courage of the were facing serious problems one was not to shoot until he unit developed.	
of water and food. We could had a clear view of the target so	This was important
and we	

only survive on game meat that we could account for every there was and that was also risky* Shooting bullet used. Of course the was in- and killing wild animals 'was a enemy had advantages. He had despite all way of signalling to the enemy communication means and could fighting away with and, his agents that we were communicate to his headquarters HQ actually around, Yet there were no to organise the dropping .of from alternatives. Back to this ques? ammunition and whatever wea? never a feeling tion of the terrain, one of the pons they needed* But with us it are in trouble

best lessons we drew military was different, Our headquarters attacked us.

speaking is that it is important were far and we had to rely on Lusaka*\ for the soldiers in any military what we carried on our backs, were all operation or march to have some in our knapsacks. So the usual were mov- data because if we had some psychological war of the enemy going to data as to the nature of the of, firing furiously at our sector after terrain t whether there was cover continued coupled with shouting fantastic feast* We or not, it could have helped us and calling on us to surrender. could have to prepare in advance how to re? From the very beginning during to celebrate act to the fact that the cover the course of. our preparations knew the was poor or- non-existent. But we had made it dear amongst organise re-

of course that belongs to his? ourselves that surrender was out think we had tory and I think those lessons of the question. We were not enemy or con- have been learnt Although going to fire back unless we had message, we faced these problems of a clear view of the enemy. The are not just food and water, in all fairness, enemy got impatient. They stood enemy must no comrades complained. The up and began to ask "Where are a serious spirit of understanding and of the terrorists ? " This" was when think the

knew from then on no going back. What teresting was that these odds, no back-up. from with no communication HQ, there was that: "Guys we

now the enemy has Let ws run back to On the contrary we looking forward. We ing and nothing was stop us* We moved on having that proceeded because it

been dangerous just and wait there. We enemy was going to inforcements. But I imparted to the veyed an important namely that ilwe pushovers , you know that we are fighting force" I

standing up to these difficulties there was a fuselage of furious lesson on

ties was tremendous. I think fire from us. That fuselage, the portray

the biggest legacy of the Luthuli furious nature of that reply, everything being

Detachment at Wankie was drove away the enemy. They problems. We

the sort of absolute commitment simply ran for their dear lives of food,

of our fighter* to the revolution leaving behind food, ammunition and our

to an extent; where left them and communication equipment. tattered. There

things like hunger and thirst "were In this first epic battle we lost where we

not primary. What was primary three comrades: Charles Seshoba, decent bath. But

was the requirement of our Sparks Moloi and Baloi. One taken in

movement to reach our destination comrade, Mhlonga was wounded. perspective. Despite

tion, despite all obstacles. This On the side of the enemy we basically our

was the spirit, and the spirit was must have killed between 12 to affected. There

maintained throughout. 15, including a lieutenant, a when the

Sergeant-Major, a Warrant Officer Then came the days of our and a number of other soldiers. fanatic in its

battles. The first, battle we week fought was in the afternoon. was

We had done the usual; taking afternoon

cover, digging ourselves in, deep hours our

loying and organising all round that the

defence of our temporary base. camp for the

After some time we noticed that would start at

the enemy was not far from us. morning but

We had detected the motorised they would

enemy earlier. The vehicles activities. They

visible from a distance. Since it and never

The rest literally ran helter-skelter for their lives. One

memorable thing about that encounter

counter was the fact that this

was the first time that we had

what I can call a civilised meal,

cheese, biltong, meat and other

usual rations carried by the regular

army. For us this represented

we ate a feast. So it was a good

capture. We also captured a brand

enemy learned that

that day. I don't want to

a situation of

easy. There were

were * running short

there was no water

uniforms were

was not even rivers

could have a

again this has to be

its proper

these difficulties

morale was not

were days after that

enemy was quite

aerial reconnaissance. A

after this battle there

another one. One

at about fifteen

advanced units noted

enemy was going to

day. The enemy

six very early in the

at about 1830hrs

stop all their

were inactive at night

was during the day we deliberated new LMG, some machine guns, bothered to do anything in the ately refrained from engaging uniforms and boots. evening. But this day the enemy the enemy at that particular must have discovered that we point in time. But it was quite It was a memorable victory were somewhere not very far for clear that the enemy also noticed and to every soldier victory is it decided to camp pending the that we were around. They very important. This was a resumption of activity the follow-

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3y R.M/f. Ngqungwana

The Zambezi flowed quietly, raft had been manufactured by ther I about turned and went to

meandering towards the Indian the "Frog men." Six drums placed the shore. "Comrade Chief (the Ocean, as we emerged from a in twos* and planks nailed to Cuban-trained Zapu men were gulley . Looking straight across, gether ahd placed on top of the exasperating about their 'Chief' sheets and nails. On top of the business) why don't the water was not visible. Only planks was placed the load, the other man that you contact when you tinned and looked side and ask

across at an "angle was it seen, I was busy with the men, ihm not to start the fray while checking their personal equi- we are in the drink. It a dim sparkle that seemed sta- ment and haversacks, giving last fair, it will not be will not be tic. All round prevailed a digni- instructions on order of move that the English are ever the fairness fied tranquility; boastful ment and did not pay attention o£ 1 mean I can't Far over the river could be to the loading. It struck me that can fight and swim imagine how 1 seen dimly, the escarpment silho and carry all

uetted against a dark horizon. the loading was taking rather too that load. . .** A hippo gave out a cry * Apparently long so I went to investigate and "Vundle, shut up", I said. found, to my consternation, that A long thick sensing a presence that he deemed rope was tied to everything we had was on that the raft and the intrusive. Or iff could have been a raft. - tree behind. It was pushed into the water. A few other end to a i remonstrated with the men metres from

we had to beware of; only we boarded the	but was informed that it had	the* bank five men
could not then know.	been DD's order to load every	thing. Boston swam
alongside,		
We retraced our steps so as to muscle	thing. I went in search of him	guiding the raft by
walk covered by a hillock and not be visible from the river or from the rope,	and found him together with ZAPITs Chief of Operations,	power.
across it. We walked eastwards, assist in con-	both under a bush. DD remained	We, behind, paid in
parallel with the river for a short not allowing	adamant that all sixty-one boxes	slowly. We had to
		trolling the raft by
distance.	of ammunition should be on that first load,	it to move fast.
As we emerged to an opening slowly, out of	"Comrade I disagree. We can't	Whhoosh-whoosh-whoosh, the thing moved in,
we were challenged by a muffled reached the middle	take everything we have in one	visibility. It
voice:	load. There are sixty one boxes	of the river where now the cur
"Lizwe"?	of ammunition, ten bags with	rent was strong and fast.
"Lilo", our scout answered.	guns (each bag containing eight	Then things
happened. Boston's		
A shadow rose up from the tranquility	guns) and a box of explosives.	voice pierced the
pound and leaned against a tree the river.	I cannot agree to that. What if	from the middle of
and beckoned. We moved forward Dontsa, Bapheraoantu,	the enemy appears when we are	"Hee,
4owiy. We had arrived at "Point doomed,	in the middle of the river? We dontsa" (Pull, men are	
LOLO" — the point from which we would cross the river into pull. Fast,	won't be able to save the guns." pull). He was unmoved. "Comrade	"Heyi, pull men,
Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.	I have noticed that your problem pull", I urged.	
Bie first man to approach had	is that you do not trust in the	With all the power we
us was Boston Gagarin. He waa work of others. This place has		we pulled back the
raft. It was		
recognisable only by his stature the thing had	been well reconnoitred, No enemy	now heavier, as if
and his gait. Otherwise Boston pulled,	will appear".	submerged already. We
was just indistinguishable from the Sibiya) one of	I wanted to ask if the man had	Guluva (David
darkness, being very dark himself running from	a working arrangement with the	the frog men, came
and short into the bargain, A small boat	men in Salisbury, now Harare,	behindr holding a
jovial little chappie who was a When he	but I was baulked by those	aloft, above his head.

wizard in softball back in Kongwa, words, "not trust in the work reached the water
 he made a I do not remember ever seeing of others". Besides I had had swift dive in which
 the boat him sulky. some arguments with the man landed on the water before
 his

Boston was already in his before, about some silly maps body fell into it Guluva
 was swimmin g trunk. He was the leader they gave me - they were surveying nimble,
 acrobatic and fearless. of the "Frog Men", as it were, of ors maps printed in 1942. Out The strong rowings
 he had re-

the HQ Reconnaissance Group-. of the thirty-siT of the advanced ached the raft; the third made
 Reccy was detailed to cross and Group or the Sipolilo Company him pass it. Then he dived out
 lead us to Base One, roughly {which was part of the Luthuli of the boat and swam
 eastwards,
 twenty-five kilometres from the Detachment) only seven of us leaving the boat behind. It was
 river, from where we would be were older than those maps. only then that I noticed some
 on our own devices. There were two of those maps. one struggling in the water. It
 For days before this night we The man was so cocksure was Robert Moyo, a mature
 had been carting materials from a that he even shouted over me, man from G wanda, South of Bu

point where our vehicles stopped. from where he was: "Right, lawayo. Moyo had tied his
 boots Now everything was ready. We carry on", Man, I even saw the by his laces and slung them
 were crossing and we were ex cited. echo of his words cutting the over his shoulder. He was
 now After consultation with DD river into Rhosesia. ! \$#w it, not being pushed by the current to
 the raft was dragged from under heard it. Mozambique and beyond.
 Moyo a bush to the river shore. The Without saying anything fur had never swam
 in his life.

■ Then there was an order from
 A drawing by a close political activist the above (the tough Eastern Cape
 ON being asked by the Dawn editor instructed the thin Chris to secretly Command) that we
 should dose to make a pen portrait of the pick up and carry a heavy suitcase down Bantu Education Fort Hare
 Second-in-Command of our victori wim clotnes ot an enemy agent into b.y force if
 persuasion fails. He was

ous Peoples Army Umkhonto we a nearby bush. They gave him mat part of the leadership core of four

Sizwe, on the occasion of its 25th ches to bum it. It had to be done — on whom this order fell to imple Anniversary» my immediate read a political order — without questio ment. We were not told how to use

tion and feeling was that of duty, ning the consequences of his future force nor given any means to do it. pride and honour to do so. It is an social relations with the agent. We were not trained in the art of

honour to have shared with com VWien I joined the ranks of force, but force had to be resorted

rade Chris Hani the most exciting these fighters in 1959 we naturally to if persuasion within the entire

foundation years of his present po blended and up to date. It is as leadership and membership failed.

litical frame. We were to see him from this stage that I knew better Heated and endless debates en

soon growing faster than the rest the future commissar of our peo sued in the leadership meetings

of us to what he is today, a single- ple army, in our leadership discus chaired by comrade Stan Mabizela

minded decisive young rhinoserus sions in that area and especially in and we failed to persuade or con-

who turns adversities and dark the implementation of those deci vince the rationalists of the system

storms into rainbows on which to sions first and foremost ourselves within the leadership on the need ride* a dedicated simple modest in the fore-front of the running poli to do this nor could we open the se-

cadre of the people with an im tical confrontations with the autlv cret and say it is an from above or-

mense political potential that can orities and the system. He was the der.

not be ignored by both friend and youngest of all the Fort Hare lead The core had to decide on other

foe* a subject of enemy intrigues ership and perhaps in the whole means. We decided to start by sabo

and assasination plots, a comrade university or within the Movement. tagging all nice-

timing, starting with

with a darity of vision and purpose the week-end and dancing parties in

for living, a man who strives to pra the main dining hail We failed in ctice what he says. action through being spotted by ap

I met the man at the University armed boarding master when we >f Fort Hare in 1958 — a rather too were on the roof of the hall.

young to be at Fort Hare chap, One other interesting episode in thin, tallish, rather shabbily dressed our political activity was when we with oversized trousers, virtually were told to be pari-of the nation-

one brownish sports jacket, tip-loe wide anti-republican 3-day stay-

striding, more than average to bril away as from 31st May 1961, Hav-

liant type of student doing "heavy" ing successfully organised our area

B*A. courses and majoring in Latin in readiness for the D day,

Comrade

etc*

Chris was still doubtful about the

I had not joined the Movement conviction of some lawyers who by then and I was to team later on might sabotage the 1

success of

that he hated some of us for indul the plan. He organised a core cal-

ging in frivolity — moving about led Force Publique which was cho

with girlfriends whilst he and others
pro- were busy with their free time doing
nature ing political work in Lovedale,
Alice and elsewhere. He had no girlfriend
the friend, at least in the Fort Hare.

sen beyond partisanship lines,

bably to introduce the mass

of our struggle, _At midnight) under
cover of darkness they attacked

rooms of the vacillators, throwing
huge stones through their windows,

PRODUCT OF THE SOUTH
the

Chris Hani

and for the next three days

AFRICAN REVOLUTION

campaign went on 100% success

there. Yet his ideas were the most fully:

He was an embittered product
CHAPTER of the South African revolution
who had very little time to attend
the most exciting to himself and bent solely with his
we learnt academic work and the destruction
politically, but of the oppressive system in the
and loyalty country, yet so jovial when free and
inspir- never apologetic or regretful for the
Eastern Caps, cause he had chosen for the rest of
that ve- his life.

sober, full of initiatives and influence

EXCITING

ntial. He displayed brilliance in articulating
the line of the Movement

It was indeed

as though he was an experienced chapter of our lives where

Congressite, ever critical of any to know each other

vacillations in launching cease fires at weaknesses, capabilities

tacks against the system in what to our people's cause. Our

ever way possible.

ation was always the

Despite the poor parentage political Command under

He was recruited into the ranks
Here we of our Movement in his teens at
Movement Lovedale High School by Cde Sipho
personal and Makana, another serious minded revolutionary and former Head Prefect
despite the poverty of Lovedale, now a member of
the order for some the NEC who has himself lived that
comrades from type of life unswervingly.
coun-

from which he came as was reflected by his dressing, he had no fears Mbeki (Isithwalandwe).

of victimisation for his ideas which learnt how to juggle the

were now widely known from mass above all else, beyond

meetings platforms we organised. parental wishes,

Besides political work among the of ourselves and our

inmates of the campus, he, together

Then came

with his underground cell inmates, ten politically good

would regularly go out to meet and the area to secretly leave the

address underground political cells try for a six months course

To baptise the new recruit into
who the spirit of the battles of secret underground work, to check his
not told* Qins refused to join the

of workers in Gqumashe and Ntse-

content we were'

worked hard for this plan although

lamanzi village, about 15 Kilometers

he personally

loyalty and discipline, and to enrich
 "the enemy and the
 or fortify his understanding of the
 The plan was 1991
 nature of the enemy who at times
 was to meet Chns
 can be a black working against
 soldier of our people
 Diacks, comrade Sipho, together
 years later in Lusaka
 With another comrade, one evening

tres outside. Other times he went
 out to paint slogans all over the
 University, Alice streets, the bridge
 and distribute hand-written under
 ground leaflets to even non-Move-
 ment members.

group, saying
 "struggle is here"
 successful and 1
 already a leading
 people's army ten

3 &

= Page 41 =

After Fort Hare he went to join or »
 25th
 m father in Cape Town* Here he
 threw his energies into the working
 thrir glorious
 class struggles, got introduced to
 political commis-
 underground structures of such
 COMRADE COM -
 working class veterans as Ray Ale-
 xander, Oscar Mpetha, etc* I don't
 know at what stage he joined MC
 and what forced him to leave the
 country at long last. In Lusaka he
 was already a resourceful member
 of the ANC's Revolutionary Coun-
 cil structures who had excelled in
 the grim battles of the ANC/ZAPU
 Alliance units in Rhodesia (Wankie
 1967)* Impatient with exile polit-
 ics, submission to problems and in-
 witnessed

a year he still has the

On the occasion of the

privilege to switch off, the routine anniversary of -MC , we salute our
 &A; be comforted fighting masses and

army and leading

sar! IHLOMILE

MISSA R!

CROSSING THE

ZAMBEZI

COMRADE TT Nkobi, the Treasurer-General of the ANC,

activity, he hacked his way through the crossing of the Zambezi rivet by the Luthuli Detachment (hat fought

odds homeward and was a leading in Wankie, Rhodesia, in 1967.

political cadre of an MC detach- The idea of going home via Oris, the Army Commissar, It
 wafr

ment the Luthuli detachment Rhodesia came from the soldiers really moving. I had never
 experi-

Prospects of reaching home themselves, the rank and file of ended something like that
 before, I

soon via Rhodesia were gloomy and Umkhonto we Sizwe* It was then asked two comrades,

Chris was sent by the leadership to thrown at the leadership to dicuss Nikita how they felt*These

two Lesotho to start and establish a poli- how feasible it was to send our for- used to ask me when we
 were going

tical and diplomatic presence of the
tell them

ANC there. His performance there
One of

can only be described as marvel-
heart was

lous. The enemy felt it* It made
through

many assassination attempts on his
afraid* I

life, leading to the Lesotho author
but

ities advising the Movement that he Representative to Zambia* Our the important thing is to be able to
be withdrawn. Headquarters was still inTanzania;. suppress it. Pointing to Crhis who

PEOPLE'S INTELLECTUAL MK soldiers decided they were had already crossed and was busy
You determined to go home through Zi- doing some exercises, I said:

-mbabwe* Preparations began and in see that man across there also has
He is impatient with lack of Jul 196? the reconnaissance team fear but he can suppress his

and

seriousness, indecision, dogmatism I io
doing * * t th river Zam^ conquer it. That's what he is

and theory that cannot^ put mto |loc^te points. The main as you see him jumping/
practice. He is a young articulate group followed in August* The

selfless people s intellectual who President and myself were there to On landing the

men had to be easily mixes with every class, group, witness the crossing. On the eve of rowed across. Two

comrades, Bos- the crossing we slept at the base we ton Gagarin and

Guluva, were of had established. A beast was slaugh- great importance in

a jovial, optimistic jokes-cracker tered that evening and we had a big making event. They

this history- even under tension, yet a lover* feast. rowing. They towed to and fro, tak-
were experts in The following day, very early in ing one across at a time.

He is an open-minded leader It was a body, including self-critidsm, but tf|e morning) we left 'for the river, long and tiresome

operation since without vindictiveness, bitterness east of Livingstone. We marched about 80 men had

to cross. The and grudges against those who dif- the whole day and spent that night process began in

the morning and fer with him, thus earning himself in the bush. The following morning lasted till late

afternoon* The Zam- current was very strong at the

no enemies amongst genuine we proceeded* Wien we reached time but we did not

fighters for the people s cause* He ILj^ river and were shown the points suffer a single

cherishes the counselling of old age had been for crossing casualty. The whole

operation was and experience but is strongly bia- could not believe our eyes. The meticulously planned.

The Presi- dent, while looking at Boston at his
sed towards the youth whom he Rcommalitler explained that those

believes can move mountains, were the best points because they job, remarked:
"Here is a great

guy." Both comrades are late now.
Chris has earned himself great were hazardous and difficult and Guluva died in a car
accident a few

respect for this balance of the arti therefore the last places the enemy years ago and
Boston of natural
cultivation and use of old experience could suspect. causes this year (1986).

and its creative application to new Ropes had been tied to trees and
conditions of struggle in more act* to reach the river from the bank The crossing of
the Zambezi

ive hands and limbs* Because of this one had'to get hold of the tope was terrific and
really moving. It is
ability and his dating readiness to and cling to it. From the height we pity we had no
camera to
throw off his overseeing leadership were you could not even see a capture the moment because those
garb, physically sharing the ha person when reaching the rivet men were making
history when go-
zards and risks of war ih the same down below* Only the sound of ing down and
crossing the river.
trenches with his men, he remains ll something landing in water would This history ought to have been

— "

v „

—
essentially a man of the people's U indicate that somebody had preserved in
photographs for future
army who is destined to play a ll reached the water. Proper defence &enerations. As it is now
we are for-
more vital role in the tough battles had been organised. Positions were g^ing some Of the heroes who
n
ahead against the enemy* He is eas- taken to cover the whole crossing crosse(j the Zambezi river and
ily approachable by any cadre of l [Operation in case the enemy made fought the Smith's
forces. Some fell

* *.

j
any rink and is deeply involved -----
in battle, others were arrested and

!— I— — ■ in l an appearance
the solution of their problems* sentenced to many years imprison-
Now in his mid-forties, Chris FIRST TO CROSS ment in Rhodesia* Many
changed
was bom from a politically involved course and went to Botswana after
peasant-worker family in the Tran- The first person to go down was running out of.
sup plies*
skei. Because of political persecu
tion by the racist authorities his fa
ther escaped into exile in Lesotho
in the early sixties. Perhaps a week

Somewhere in that area there
was a cinema* theatre or hall

(Pm not sure) with a number

BASIL FEBRUARY

COMRADE RODGERS, A VE- We were a small group and the of cars parked
outside. He got

RAN OP WANKIE, SPEAKS languages employed for commu into one of the
cars and sped

ABOUT PAUL PETERSEN nication were Ndebele and Shona away. As he was
coming out of

(BASIL FEBRUARY), As a result there was a tendency that town he met a
roadblock*

of isolating him in most conver manned by one soldier. The
When we entered Rhodesia in sations. Besides* being a so-called soldier related well
to him*

1967* it was to be our first com Coloured* most of the Zapu thinking he was
white. When

bat experience. While we were comrades viewed him with sus he realised his
mistake* he ran

undergoing training in Africa áfid picion because of his white for his gun but was
too late.

overseas* though, we were using skin. But all this did not worry Paul shot him dead
and drove

live bullets and were acquainted him at all. He thought it was away at a high speed.
He drove

to bullets whizzing over our best for the comrades to con for quite a distance
until he

heads, We had confidence in out - verse in the language they knew reached
Bulawayo, and we

selves* individually and as a group. best, He was inspiring in all wonder how he
managed it. When

Our mission was clear. We duties in the field* e.g. guard he reached Bulawayo, he
abanr

were to open a corridor to South duties, and was always rendering doned that car and took
another

Africa for our personnel and assistance to all comrades in one*

supplies* coordinating and co need along the way. Gradually
operating with Zapu, even those who thought he was He was intending to
go to

After several days in Rhodesia white ended up seeing him a Salisbury (now
Harare), As "fate

we discovered that the enemy better white. could have it he took a
wrong

was aware of our presence* The number of spotter planes turn somewhere and
found him-

There were many spotter planes in the sky was increasing. It was self heading for
Plumtree. By

in the sky. The detachment ran clear that the enemy was on our this time we had
already had

out of food and* knowing that enemy and our

we would have contact with the slightly northwards enemy soon* we decided to split main group the group. Plum-

Our group consisted of 21 men. It was led by Madzimba several control Matho (Zapu)* who was deputi from

sed by Andries Motsepe. I was Plumtree. What the third in command. It was clear.

decided that, we should go into that he died the interior to divert the enemy there, I think from the main detachment. We more powerful also had in our group a comrade would have who had a special mission. He Sometime later, was Paul Petersen. later, (I had

Of course we did divert the enemy. We had our first contact cells) I was

with the enemy on the banks of identify his Nyatu^ve river* between Wankie taken a photo- and Detti. The battle started at knowing half past eight in the morning instructions to the. and the enemy disengaged itself returned to the at 18,40 hours. Out of all our bottles in Rhodesia, the battle of Nyatuwe was the major one. a bit rough

Before I go into this battle let him.

me relate to you the story of Paul Petersen* fighter.

He was bom in Somerset a Cape

• trail. We decided to take Paul to

the nearest place where he could

get transport, For him it was

painful to part with the group

and he resisted but we convinced him that his mission was equally

important* If he had gone

through we were to contact him

in two months.

We took him to a train siding

that was nearest. He was armed

with an UZI pistol machinegun

and a pistol. He gave us his UZI

because it was going to be bulky

and cumbersome* and remained

with a pistol.

The train -did arrive and he

ran for it. We were watching him

from a distant bush, of course.

We saw the trait pulling off and

left. After ■ boarding the train the

conductor became suspicious of

this "white" man boarding a train

at a siding. The conductor fired

some questions at him which he

answered to the best of his

ability*

The conductor phoned the

next station* alerting the police

contact with the

direction was

of Plumtree* while the

■ was also moving towards

tree*

There were

posts along the road

Bulawayo to

actually happened is not

What came out was

with a policeman

if-he had a gun

than a pistol, he

done wonders.

months and months

already been sentenced and I was at the condemned

called to come and

picture. They had

graph of him. I denied

him. I gave

comrades when I

cell to do the same.

The enemy was

with me for not knowing

They were sure he was from our group* also a freedom

They: thought he was

West in the Western Cape. I it was a think he was between 24 and fights even 26 years of age* 1.85 metres They were tall* black hair with a goaty with the beard. His real name was Basil February, He was a so-called Coloured*	Paul was also suspicious of this chap and had decided to get off at the next station. So when the train reached the next station he got off to a white detective SB and two Africans. They came straight to him	Coloured. We; thought good, idea that he when he is dead. rough the same way other comrades. There is no doubt that this comrade is a true name must never be
We were, very close to each hero, whose other and I knew about his forgotten special mission, I knsw where tragedy that we and how to assist him. There where he are certain things one must were de- point out about this gi y* things taken to a1 which make me respect him South Afri-	and demanded his identity card. All three were armed. He drew in our songs and poems. It is his pistol and shot at the. white policeman twice, killing him instantly. He injured the two Africans, one seriously. While running for cover he also injured	regrettable and a do not know the place was buried. His bones finitely going to be free and independent
more than ever before* especially he was alive after we had split from the main be one of group'	the station master. Outside the station he found a bicv^ and rode away.	ca, He was young. If to this day, he would "ur greatest leaders.

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3y R.M,T. Ngqungwana		
The Zambezi flowed quietly, and went to meandering towards the Indian "Comrade Chief (the Ocean, as we emerged from a men were pulley . Looking straight across, their 'Chief' the water was not visible. Only you contact	raft had been manufactured by the "Frog men." Six drums placed in twos* and planks nailed to gether and placed on top of the sheets and nails. On top of the	ther I about turned the shore. Cuban-trained Zapu exasperating about business) why don't

when you tinned and looked side and ask	planks was placed the load,	the other man that
across at an "angle was it seen, fray while a dim sparkle that seemed sta- will not be tic. All round prevailed a digni- the fairness fied tranquility; boastful	I was busy with the men, checking their personal equi- ment and haversacks, giving last instructions on order of move- ment and did not pay attention to the loading. It struck me that	ihim not to start the we are in the drink. It fair, it will not be that the English are ever of 1 mean I can't can fight and swim
Far over the river could be imagine how I seen dimly, the escarpment silho- and carry all	the loading was taking rather too long so 1 went to investigate and found, to my consternation, that everything we had was on that raft, - tree behind. It was pushed into 1 remonstrated with the men the water. A few	that load..." "Vundle, shut A long thick the raft and the
uetted against a dark horizon. A hippo gave out a cry * Apparently up", I said. sensing a presence that he deemed rope was tied to intrusive. Or iff could have been a other end to a a warning that the river had its own ways of unco-ope ration that metres from	we had to beware of; only we boarded the could not then know. alongside, We retraced our steps so as to muscle walk covered by a hillock and not be visible from the river or from the rope, across it» We walked eastwards, assist in con- parallel with the river for a short not allowing	but was informed that it had been DD's order to load every- thing. I went in search of him and found him together with ZAPIPs Chief of Operations* both under a bush. DD remained adamant that all sixty-one boxes
distance. first load, As we emerged to an opening slowly, out of we were challenged by a muffled reached the middle voice: "Lizwe"?	of ammunition should be on that Whhoosh-whoosh-whoosh, the "Comrade I disagree. We can't take everything we have in one load. There are sixty one boxes of ammunition, ten bags with	it to move fast. thing moved in, visibility. It of the river where now the cur- rent was strong and fast.
"Lilo", our scout answered» happened. Boston's A shadow rose up from the tranquility pound and leaned against a tree the river.	guns (each bag containing eight guns) and a box of explosives. I cannot agree to that. What if	Then things voice pierced the from the middle of

and beckoned. We moved forward
Dontsa, BaphePaoantu,
#owiy» We had arrived at "Point
doomed,

LOLO" — the point from which
we would cross the river into
pull. Fast,
Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

The first man to approach
had
us was Boston Gagarin. He was
raft. It was
recognisable only by his stature
the thing had
and his gait. Otherwise Boston
pulled,

was just indistinguishable from the
Sibiya) one of
darkness, being very dark himself
came running from
and short into the bargain, A
small boat
jovial little chappie who was a
When he
wizard in softball back in Kongwa,
he made a
I do not remember ever seeing
the boat
him sulky.
before his

Boston was already in his
Guluva was
swimming trunk. He was the leader
acrobatic and fearless.
of the "Frog Men", as it were, of
he had re-

the HQ Reconnaissance Group.
made
Reccy was detailed to cross and
out

lead us to Base One, roughly
eastwards,
twenty-five kilometres from the
was

river, from where we would be
some-

on our own devices.

the enemy appears when we are "Hee,
in the middle of the river? We dontsa" (Pull, men are

won't be able to save the guns." pull).
He was unmoved. "Comrade "Heyi, pull men,
I have noticed that your problem pull", I urged.

is that you do not trust in the With all the power we
work of others. This place has we pulled back the
been well reconnoitred, No enemy now heavier, as if
will appear". submerged already. We

I wanted to ask if the man had Guluva (David
a working arrangement with the the frog men,
men in Salisbury, now Harare, behindr holding a
but I was baulked by those aloft, above his head,
words, "not trust in the work reached the water
of others". Besides I had had swift dive in which
some arguments with the man landed on the water

before, about some silly maps body fell into it
they gave me - they were survey² nimble,
ors maps printed in 1942, Out The strong rowings

of the thirty-siT of the advanced ached the raft; the third
Group or the Sipolilo Company him pass it. Then he dived

{which was part of the Luthuli of the boat and swam
Detachment) only seven of us leaving the boat behind. It
were older thpn those maps. only then thát I noticed

There were two of those maps. one struggling in the water. It

For days before this night we
had been carting materials from a
Bu-
point where our vehicles stopped.
Now everything was ready. We
were crossing and we were excited.
now

After consultation with DD
the raft was dragged from under
Moyo
a bush to the river shore. The
in his life.

The man was so cocksure was Robert Moyo, a mature
that he even shouted over me, man from Gwanda, South of
from where he was: "Right, lawayo. Moyo had tied his boots
carry on", Man, I even saw the by his laces and slung them
echo of his words cutting the over his shoulder. He was

river into Rhodesia. I saw it, not being pushed by the current to
heard it. Mozambique and beyond.

Without saying anything further had never swam

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Guluva dragged him back and
,SKS's the

reached another one who was Boston was still busy* pushing
river.

rolling in the water, Mlalazi,
of our Group's Reconnaissance,
Dece-

had last swam when he was still a
to move
toddler. He was now roughly
river.

twenty-six. When Guluva reached
MK Commander-

the boat he had a man in each
Chief-Of-

men. He headed them both into
around. We re-

it and pushed it. I was wondering
and I put

why he did not board the thing put the only tin 'we had of de
linger no

aid paddle when I noticed that
would

there was another man in the
night as I

Slowly the raft approached;

the raft encouraging the men
not to despair.

We pulled. The thing was

heavy. It reached the shore

at last. We unloaded what had

remained - one bag of guns.

Later we discovered that this

was the bag in which we had

the only tin 'we had of de

tonating capsules*

Guluva and his men reached

Soviet DP's* Bazookas

lot, fell into the

This was on the 26th

ember 1967. We had

back, away from the

Fortunately the

in-Oiief and the ZAPU

Operations were

ported the disaster

in a word that I would

more near the river. We

cross the following

water, who also had difficulty discovered before the shore. The boy looked as if feared to be staying square above the water- he had just gone for a short swim in a Municipality Swim We had crossed. he kept on going down head first. We had our personal arms and ammunition* The load was panicking. We tugged. Boston point was seven feet. lost had been destined for new recruits inside the country* So We carried all into the bushes, listing raft, pushing and helping boat and raft* arms could be brought to us in the two men who had held on The current had prised loose the country later on, to the thing* one of the drums and the raft The C-In-C did not voice oin-

We pulled, breathing hard. It had capsised after the drum had jectons and the Chief of Oper was just my luck to have chosen swum away into the Indian ations supported my stand* It exactly men who had never Ocean* was the Security Chief, DD, made it their business to learn All sixty-one boxes of ammuni who attempted to raise objections.

swimming. Like a fool I had tion (45,750 rounds) seventy* A red-eyed glare silenced him* not even tried to look for men two guns, fifty kilograms of ex Really the man had cheek. His who could swim, at least for the plosives, a few odds and ends argument was not based from a first crossing. like ropes, torches, picks, spades, security point of view but that

The small boat could carry saws, etc, went into the drink* the whole Sipolilo operation was only three men and so Guluva They are still there for all I know. based on our recruiting, training remained in the water, pushing The bag that had escaped the and arming the new cadres. A ditching was because it had held few pungent words that were against the current* I wondered on a nail. The bag contained the not complimentary silenced him.

why he did not cut straight. It old Italian Beretta nfles you We crossed on the night of the was only the following morning know, the lousy atiatr that 29th December, 1967 and were

when I noticed that there were kicks your collar-bone recoil thirty kilometres inside the coun-

boulders that he had been ing after every shot. AK's, try - Rhodesia - by 06*00
 hrs of avoiding. Papashas, Checkoslovakian She's, the 30th when we camped.
 = Page 45 =

IN 1971 the South African police — Ronnie Kasrils border post whilst engaged in
 an announced that they had made a operation. Theophilus was arrested
 big catch. They talked of haying in Pietersburg and Justice in Dur-
 foiled the dramatic plans of the ban. Hosey was trapped by the
 ANC to land Umkhonto guerrillas enemy as he handed documents
 and weapons along the Transkei and funds to a special branch who
 coast. Six comrades had been he thought was Justice. This re-
 caught and tried in what became sulted in what the enemy called the
 one of the most sensational trials of 'Moumbaris Adventurer Episode\
 that period. Four of the accused They had hoped to expose the ANC
 were MK combatants. They were as some kind of international
 Justice Mpanza, Theo Gholo, Petros terrorist organisation.
 Mthembu and Gardner Sijake. One Instead the people
 everywhere were inspired and amazed. The
 was a young Irishman Sean Hosey, imaginative episode really
 and the sixth was Alex Mourn bans.
 caught their minds even though the
 The MK combatants were part of Adventurer turned out to be a
 a group which had left South Africa leaky old tub. What was however
 in the early part of the IQSO's significant, was that we had suc-
 for military training. Theo and ceeded in infiltrating many trained
 Justice were senior comrades who cadres and that only a few were
 had participated in the earlier captured. The man who the boers
 activities of MK. Justice headed called James Bond was
 MK in KwaMashu and was part of
 subsequ- ently to shock the boers and the
 the Luthuli detachment. He fought world once again in 1979 when he
 in Wankie, Theo was from Peters- succeeded in escaping from
 burg and served in the movement in
 Pretoria Central Prison with Lee and
 Johannesburg. Petros also served ; Jenkins, Moumbaris was serving
 Johannesburg, while Gardner was
 a fifteen year prison sentence.
 from the Transkei. Hosey was an SPECULATION
 Irish internationalist and member
 of the Young Communists of Great
 Britain. Moumbaris was one could
 spe- There are many stories and
 say, a man from many lands. He is culations as to why Moumbaris got
 actually Greek, but bom in Egypt, endeavouring to build and infiltrate involved in our
 struggle. I would the people's army Umkhonto we say that his
 grew up in Australia, worked in background gave him a
 Britain and married a French Sizwe. strong sense of internationalism,
 al- woman.
 In Somalia a sea operation was though he did not come
 from a SETBACKS allegedly planned along the coast of political family. After he
 went to

Britain he began to associate with
Transkei. It was planned, the state communists. From there he learnt
Before going into the case one alleged, by OR Tambo, Joe Slovo a lot about the
communist resist²
should review the proceeding pe² and Moses Mabhida. The plan was ance to the
Nazi occupation of
riod. Following the Rivonia trial to land twenty-five highly trained Greece, and was
greatly inspired by
our movement suffered serious set² cadres from a ship called the the
internationalism of the British

backs. We had many trained cadres Adventurer which the ANC had communists. He
began to associate
abroad and they were to be infiltra² purchased. They claimed that with the ANC exiles
and in many

ted back into the country to our Moumbaris had reconnoitred the ways was an exile
himself. Ifte
underground structures. But the coast and with people unknown state revealed
that since 1967 he
blows of that period led to wide² to the state, organised the landing had been travelling
in and out of
spread roundups of our activists reception. However the Adventurer South Africa
transporting literature
and leaders- The subsequent arrest had run into problems off the East and material for
our movement. He
of Bram Fischer and Wilton African coast. On the high seas the had also once
unfurled an ANC
Mkwayi also seriously disrupted building in Durban. engines failed resulting in the boat banner from a

our plans. Mass struggle was at a returning to Somalia.
rather low ebb and the spirit of What followed was that the Like Moumbaris the
other com-
resistance was not high. These twenty-five guerrillas were infiltra² rades were also
sentenced to fifteen
factors made it extremely difficult ted over-land back to South Africa. years. Hosey served
a five year sen-
to re-infiltrate our combatants. Moumbaris was one of those who tence and then
returned to Britain.
But there was no question of provided border reconnaissance and The four Mi combatants;
Theoph-
surrender. Our leadership continued transportation. Unfortunately one ilus, Justice,
Gardner and Petros
to work on the infiltration of of the comrades who was infiltra² will soon be free, They
in all senses
combatants and weapons. So what ted was caught and informed the have proved to
be exemplary cadres
transpired from the state allegations enemy of Moumbaris's role and of our people's
army. Today Hosey
which really caught the public identified some of the others. and Moumbaris arc
active partici-
imagination, was that the ANC As a result Moumbaris and his pants in the
international solidarity
leadership had been constantly wife were arrested at a Botswana movement with our
struggle.

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The military code of

Umkhonto we Sizwe

Preamble

the opportunity to serve in the people. We light for their interests.

Recognising that our army. Umkhonto we Sizwe is at the forefront of the liberation struggle, Umkhonto has no mercenaries, no paid soldiers or conscripted troops.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, must define its aims and objects in order to meet the enemy and engage him. It consists of the sons and daughters of the oppressed, who are armed with modern weapons, to become a vanguard of the most oppressed, the most exploited sections of our people.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is determined to serve and protect the people and his fellow comrades-in-arms* with pride and truth: reasons we claim

the Politico-Military Council, acting on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa, has adopted the period of militant non-violent people's war, not by armed struggle alone, but first and foremost by political education, leadership and mobilisation. It is a

1. Umkhonto we Sizwe they could not satisfy their aspirations for people's war because the struggle is

— a People's Army struggle arising out of our mass participation in the active support and participation in the struggle against political activity and culminating in the overthrow of the apartheid system, discrimination, poverty and a revolutionary seizure of power. injustice*

The ANC and its allies created Umkhonto as a new and indispensable weapon in the struggle for people's support their army. When the time was ripe for violence, The people power* Unlike the armed forces of the apartheid regime, our people by providing it with recruits — their sons and daughters - food, shelter, and information about the enemy. They clearly understood and supported the decision to take up arms. They clearly understood as long ago as December 1961 The people open the way to the annihilation of the apartheid system and the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

mies of imperialism, Umkhonto we
enemy's

Sizwe is a People's Army organised
become a

and dedicated to waging a people's
struggle has

war for the liberation of our coun^{try}
not confined to

try. to armed struggle was submission, trained soldiers alone.

Umkhonto is an army of volun^{teers}
mobilises the people

teers. It consists of volunteers
drawn from the revolutionary sec^{tion}
combination of all

tions of our people. By joining Um^{khonto}
and non-

khonto, combatants commit them^{selves}
strikes and

selves to the solemn and noble duty
and non-

of sewing our suffering and dispos^{session}
educ-

essed people in the struggle that
people's war

will continue for each and all of us
arms

until victory or death.
of

1961, that our Movement had ex^{isted} guerrillas and make the

hausted all peaceful avenues, and path hard. Everyone can

that the oppressor had imposed on freedom fighter. The

us a war situation. The alternative many fronts and is

As the Umkhonto Manifesto dec^{lar}

The ANC

lared : The People's patience is not in support of the revolution
endless* The time comes in the life through skilful

of any nation when there remains forms of struggle : violent

only two choices — submit or fight* violent, legal and illegal,

That time has now come in South demonstrations, boycotts

Africa. We shall not submit anti we collaboration, propaganda,

have m, choice but to hit back by ation and sabotage, A

all means within our power in de^{feat} is fought by the people with

fence of our people, our future and and all other forms and methods

In the words of our founding our freedom* »
organised sup-

Manifesto, published on the historic
struggle

day of 16th December 1961 : 'Um^{khonto}
isolated and

Political and Military Struggle

is in danger of being

khonto we Sizwe will be at the Umkhonto we Sizwe is the fighting strangled, The enemy attempts to
front line of the people's defence. arm of the ANC and its allies. Our isolate us by launching campaigns

It wi^{ll} be the fighting arm of the armed struggle is a continuation of to win the 'hearts and minds' of the
people against the racist govern' our political struggle by means that people - of our people - the
oppres-

ment and its policies of racial op^{pression} include armed force. The political sed and suffering workers and
pea-

pression. It will be the striking for^{ce} leadership has primacy over the sants. To defeat the enemy, we
ce of the people for liberty, for military. Our military line derives must involve the entire people in
rights and for the their final liber^{ation} from our political line. Every com^{mitment} the National Democratic Revolu^{tion}
ation.1 mander, commissar, instructor and tion,

The founding Manifesto of Um^{khonto} combatant must therefore be
controls the state,

The enemy

khonto we Sizwe is our definitive clearly acquainted with the policy its armed forces, police and courts.
declaration of intent, and an essen^{tial} with regard to all combat tasks and But he does not command the
tial guide to the reasons for the missions. All of us must know clear^{ly} hearts and minds of the people»
creation and aims of this, the Peo^{ple} ly who the enemy is, and for what They are with us in a just war for
ple's Army. We append the Manifes^t we are fighting. Thus Mi cadres are national liberation. Their support
is

to to this Code, to be studied and not only military units, they are our chief weapon. What gives the
understood by every Umkhonto aslo political leaders and organisers guerrilla his advantage is lus politi^{cal}
combatant It was no coincidence of our people* That is the major cal superiority and people's sup^{eriority}

that MC Ts first operations were distinction between our people's report, As pointed out in Operation launched on December 16th, Din- volutionary army and the army and Mayibuye (1963) the most important gane's Day. Umkhonto will carry wholly militarised authoritarian and guarantee of victory is 'the support on the warrior tradition of our med forces of the racists, imperial port of the people who in certain situations people under the conditions of movements and reactionary regimes, Um situations are better protection than dem guerrilla warfare. khonto cadres, with arms in hand, mountains and forests'. Those who join Umkhonto are political activists and leaders, as we Sizwe, the People's Army, perform well as warriors. This combination Our People's Army form a sacred duty to our people, of political and military functions is a) Umkhonto we Sizwe fights to liberate our nation and the South African characteristic of all popular, revolutionary liberate our people from racial discrimination. Revolution, When we have liberated reactionary armies especially in the domination, national oppression and. ated our country, Umkhonto will phase of guerrilla warfare. exploitation. constitute the basis of the defence forces of our country and the Revolutionary People's War b) The common enemy is the racist minority which identifies with And lution, and will serve as an instrument Umkhonto is a people's army fight gives aid to the National Party re- ment of social progress. ing a people's war. We fight to liberate the creator and driving force An Umkhonto combatant - has attacked our oppressed and exploited of apartheid.

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Umkhonto we Sizwe Manifesto

Leaflet issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe (Secretariat of the Nation) made by the Nationalist Government which has reneged on T6 December 1961 every peaceable demand by the people for rights and free-dom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful non-violent attacks against Government installations, particularly violent strike action of the people in support of their rights those connected with the policy of apartheid and race It is now preparing its forces — enlarging and rearming its discrimination. armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs — for full-scale military Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new, independent body, actions against the people The Nationalist Government

formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Liberation" whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will front line of the struggle for freedom and democracy by new arm of the people, using methods, which are necessary to complement the actions and policies of the established national liberation organizations for liberty, for Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement. Umkhonto we Sizwe is not the Nationalist

has chosen the course of force and
deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville
Umkhonto we Sizwe will be al the
people's defence It will be the lighting
agamsr the Government and its
ion It will be the striking force of ihe people
rights and for their final liberation! Let
supporters who put it into power, and
toleranon of reaction keeps n in power,

Government as an invitation to use armed force against those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of the people of this country. Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past Afrika Mayibuye¹

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours: it has been issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe * Africa Return¹

C) Our programme is the Freedom Revolutionary Discipline and Consciousness punished. Such punishment is necessary to maintain the qualities of the Charter; it defines the goals of all consciousness necessary to maintain the qualities of ex-democrats regardless of colour, race To defeat the enemy in combat, expected of a people's army. Every

or creed. our soldiers' must be disciplined, attempt is made to correct bad d) The interests of the people and trained to obey commands prompt behaviour and rehabilitate members the demands of the revolution are timely, and ready to spring into battle for those who violate the army's code. inseparable and the main concern immediately when ordered. Vigilant But punishment is severe in cases of

of the people's army. discipline, alertness and readiness to enforce serious crimes, treachery and crime-

e) Our MC Manifesto declares that to gauge the enemy at a moment's not-minimal neglect endangering the safety of the army includes in its ranks South Africans are qualities that can develop loyalty of others and the security of Africans of all races* But the over-reliance only out of discipline, proper training the army. overwhelming majority are members of the army and political consciousness. Our procedure and rules are

the most oppressed and exploited Bourgeois and reactionary army well defined, precise and to the people. By this dedication and commitment like the army forces of the point. Military orders are issued

commitment and training, they represent racists, instil a mechanical and with a definite purpose and must be the vanguard of our people. In robot-like obedience in their units. obeyed. It is the duty and responsibility-

Umkhonto we Sizwe language* the army is The people's army has a different ability of every soldier to know the Spear of the Nation* conception of discipline and to understand the army's code of

Umkhonto insists on a high standard of loyalty, Umkhonto soldiers are expected to recognise his military

standard of selfless devotion to the revolution volunteers, willing and trained commanders, to be clear about his

revolution on the part of all its members to carry out orders in the knowledge of their own duties, and to carry out orders

members. They are required at all times to acknowledge that instant obedience is the immediately and without question.

to; only way to safeguard life, both of Orders must be obeyed. It is the

a) behave correctly to the people; the individual and his comrades-in- duty and responsibility of every

b) respect their persons and proper arms, and to protect the people soldier to know and understand the

ty whom he serves. army's code of conduct, to recog

c) refrain from molesting or inter Umkhonto soldiers pledge nise his military commanders, to be

fere^ with their legitimate activi themselves to safeguard the revolu clear about his own duties, and to

ties; tion al all times regagJless of carry out orders immediately and

d) assist them to solve their prob personal hardships, suffering and without question. Orders rhust be

lems and where possible give ma danger. A soldier who breaks discip- obeyed cheerfully, promptly and

terial aid in their labour; and line, disobeys commands or by exactly. A soldier who does not un-

e) demonstrate high moral qualities improper conduct betrays the high derstand an order has a right to

in word find deed. standards of our army will be have it explained. He must know

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when ro raise problems* to whom The wilful or negligent disclo tht perm to ion

of a competent sure of classified information to un authority to

he must report* and how to obtain

travel, move from one authorised persons, and the un place to another,

clarification. He must not, in any

or leave a camp, authorised acquisition and/ot reten base or

circumstances, refuse to obey a

residence to which they an

command or argue over the execu tion of secrets and classified docu assigned.

tion of an order. ments shall be an offence. The following acts or

ommissions

Outright disobedience and 2» All combatants mutt defend the shall be an offence:

failure to obey an order promptly ANC and be loyal to it the army a) Absence without

permission.

may have serious consequences. A and the revolution. The following b) Escaping or

attempting to escape

soldier who thinks that he has been acts or omissions shall be an offe from the custody

of a competent

given a wrong order must obey it nce : a) Disloyalty or deception de authority.

first and if need be complain after signed or likely to give assistance to

wards to his commander» Our com the enemy. 6. All combatants and

members of

manding officers, commissars* ins b) Rebellion or revolt against the the ANC and

Umkhonto jhafJ

tructors and others who are entrus army command or part of it or at observe high

moral standards and

ted with responsibility to lead must tempts to commit such an act of re show an

adequate sense of responsi

be above reproach* They are to be a bellion or revolt. bility.

shining example of modesty, sound acts or omissions
moral behaviour, correct attitudes
offence :
towards all members, respectful and
dagga or using other
helpful to every member of the
in unauthor-
army, regardless of his position.
same.

Commanders and Political Commissars occupy a central role in Umkhonto. Without them disorder can result. They are the principal target of the enemy and must be given the ANC and maximum protection» Umkhonto is promote engaged in guerrilla warfare against unity of the ANC, a powerful and remorseless enemy liberation movement which resorts to torture* banditry and terrorism» provokes

During the stage of guerrilla animosities or warfare, great initiative and resourcefulness are required of every combatant, Under such conditions, formalities such as the courtesy of saluting commanders are reduced to a minimum, while discipline and vigilance are maintained at the highest levels. to respect the

In our external training bases, Prisoners of War however* we have conditions and formal acceptance facilities similar to those of a regular army» Here we insist on full military procedures* including the practice of saluting commanding personnel; higher ranks; parades; tactfully observe roll calls; and fall-ins. These are new regulations and shall be

c) Conduct which causes despondency* spreads a spirit of defeatism* or undermines morale in any member or section of the army.

d) Cowardly conduct in the face of the enemy.

e) Impudent disobedience or refusal of

orders properly given by a commander.

0 Desertion from the army.

3. All combatants shall act in such a

manner that the people will put their

faith in the army, recognise it as their protector, and accept the liberation

movement as their legitimate and

authentic representative.

The following acts or omissions

shall be an offence :

a) Conduct that weakens the people's trust, confidence and faith in the ANC and Umkhonto.

b) Theft from a comrade or the

people* looting of property* or

other forcible seizure of goods.

c) Abuse of authority and/or power

d) Cruelty inflicted on a member of

the army or public.

e) Assaults, rape, disorderly conduct* the use of insulting and/or obscene

scene language, bullying and intimidation* whether against a comrade

The following

shall be an

a) Smoking

harmful drugs or being

in possession of the

b) Neglect of duty.

c) Drunkenness on

public.

7» All members of

combatants are required to

and preserve the

the army* the

and the people.

Any act or speech that

tribal or regional

spreads disunity by

nationalism and/or

offence.

8. Punishment.

All members of the

combatants are required

terms of the Geneva Convention

the Treatment of

in line with the

by the ANC of these

Any violation of these

be an offence.

All members of

Umkhonto. shall

the general

for oroeny camp lite and dis	or member of the public,	liable to the penalties
for ■	0 Shameful conduct likely to dis	offences under the
cipline and co-operation among regulations. The	grace the ANC, army or the offen	purpose of
guerrillas in combat zones. punishment is to deter	der* or bring them into discrepute,	members from
The inner forms of discipline, committing an offe		
arising from political maturity and offerfflers to rehabilitate	or provoke indignation and con	nce, assist'
consciousness of our struggle, are ANC, Umkhonto,	tempt against them, such as viol	and protect the
far more important and enduring revolution. In impos	ating the rights and dignity of the	liberation and
than a discipline enforced from the competent au	opposite sex, whether in operatio	ing punishment**'
above. But a proud bearing, alert	nal or base areas.	thorities shall be guided
by high	g) Unjustifiable homicide*	political principles to
ness and quick response to comm	h) Ill-treatment of prisoners of war	of personal
the exclusion	or persons in custody.	pf vendetta.
ands* a smart uniform, and respect animosity or any trace		
of leadership, commanders and Eupishment' shall hf		
commissars are the hallmarks of a with-		administered humanely ana
good soldier who is proud of his or cruelty.	4. All combatants shall protect the	out undue harshness
platoon, detachment and army. pumsnments may	leadership and property of the ANC	The following
Wth the triumph of our revol	and Umkhonto»	be ordered for offences
under the	The following acts or omissions regulations according to the	
ution* Umkhonto will be the offi-gravity	shall be an offence :	of the offence and the
cal army of our country* the true circumstan-	a) Falure to protect commanders ces under which it was	
shield of our nation, defending the committed ;		
people against external aggression and commissars against assaults or	1. Reprimand or rebuke adminis	
and internal counter-revolution. To attacks.		tered in private or public*
prepare ourselves for these noble	b) Vilful or negligent destruction, 2» Suspension from duty for a spe	
tasks, we must live up to the army's neglect or misuse,of the property cified period.		
code of conduct in all respects and and/or funds of the ANC and army»	3. Fatigue and drills.	
at all times during the present phase	c) Failure to submit and hand over	4. Restriction with hard labour for
of our struggle*	to the commanding authority pro a specified period determined by	
	perty seized or acquired during mi tribunal.	
General Regulations	litary operations.	5. Demotion from a position of
res-		
1. All army units shall preserve and safeguard political and military and rehabilitation	d) Negligence in handling, using or possibility.	6. Restriction in a
organisational information relating to the army's security and well being.	storing and loss of weapons.	
discharge.	centre*	
*	b. All combatants ere required to have	7. Dishonourable

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8, Solitary confinement for :i pe 10, The use of materials for emer other shall be entrusted to the Or- riod determined by tribunal. gency purposes has to be reported danance Department
9r The maximum penalty. to the appropriate authority, 13. Safety measures
fnust be obser-
10; Any other penalty not included 11« The security and care of wea ved when handling
weapons and ex- here in but appearing in the sche pons shall he. the responsibility of plosives.
dule of penalties for grave or se those entrusted with them, 14. Authorised persons
are not al- rious Grimes and violations» 12* All transfer and movement of lowed to handle
weapons under the Rules and Regulations Covering the war materials from one area to the influence of
liquor.
Handling of Weapons and Explosives
of our Movement.
Introduction
Among the most sacred duties of a THE BATTLE
soldier in Mi is to protect and pre serve the weaponry and other war
material of our anny - in cerain cir- OF
cumstances even with his life. The
loss of a weapon would be regarded
in the same light as the loss of a
limb and has serious consequences
for the body of our army.
Our weaponry and other war NYATUWE
materials are there to be used
against our enemy and must, at all
times, be maintained in a proper
state* of combat readiness and
must only be used to further our re
volley from the
volution. This is the duty of every lishing an outpost and detailing enemy, coupled with
white men voi- some comrades for guard duties, h ces shouting
organ and individual soldier entrus
“surrender” unnerved
ted with the task of handling such Masimini and the overall comman some of the
comrades. There was
material. der left for reconnaissance around some little confusion. Rut fortun-
In the interest of our revolution the the area. Nyantuwe is a river but it ately some of the comrades
took
following rules and regulations will be was dry at the time. position and returned fire,
Masimini
itrictlv enforced* On the side we had camped was shouting on top of his voice
there was a small bush which provi saying lie will shoot any son-of-a-
1, The Politico-Military Council un

der the direction of the NEC shall ded good cover against airplanes, bitch who ran away, ordering them

helicopters, and distant people, A to lire back. Others had merely

be the organ which decides on the distribution and use of all weapons hundred metres from this bush, on taken cover and were not firms at

the north-western side of the river, the enemy.

and explosives in any given area. I heard Masimini calling my

2, All members of the ANC who there was a hillock with huge rocks

possess a personal weapon or wea-; on top. On the other side there was name, coming towards my direc-

dry elephant grass.

tion. Besides him there were Kid

pons are under obligation to declare The hillock was a very strategic Marongrong (ZAPU) and Sibanyo-

it or them to the authorised organs

position because from it you could ni, nicknamed Ntsimbikayigobi,

or persons in the Movement for re observe allround and would be in a They saw I was pinned down, Masi-

gistration and for determining whe position to spot the.enemy from mini and Kid had sub-machine guns

ther the comrade should be authori (

afar. The sector of fire also would and Sibanyoni a light machine-gun.

sed to keep the weapon or surren

der it, be 360 degrees. But we couldn't oc With long burst the three guns spoke,

3, All weapons not supplied by au cupy it because of lack of cover and the enemy was forced to take

thorised persons in the hands of in from the air. After scouting the cover.

dividuals or groups must be report area we decided to have only one In a few seconds I was up, took

ed and declared immediately. Fail outpost with all-round defence, my bag and gun, told Masimini and*

Sibanyoni to follow me and orde

ing to fulfil this requirement con everybody sleeping at his position.

The sun was about to rise. We red Kid to cover me. On the way 1

stitutes a serious offence against the

Movement and carries with it a heavy had decided to camp there till met Zami (Bothweil Tamane) who

punishment. 16.30 hours, Ws would then clear was alone manning another posi

4* Unauthorised possession and use the area of traces for an hour and tion. firing at the enemy.

The fire

of weapons is strictly prohibited. continue with our march at 17.30 that side was very heavy. 1

thought

5. It is strictly forbidden Fo point a hours. After having meals 1 went to the enemy could be trying to

make

weapon, loaded or otherwise, at sleep. Our outpost was near, just at a breakthrough that side. I

instruc-

any person other than our enemy, the edge of the forest, and my posi ted Sibanyoni to take

position be-

6. It is serious offepce to abandon tion was +20m from the outpost. sides Zami with his

L.M.G. and or-

without proper cause, lose, misuse, At about 0.7.00 hrs a spotter dered Zami to cease tire and

wait

neglect or damage weapons, ammu plane circled over our position till the enemy was 50m

away. I told

niton and explosives, twice. We ignored it. Just when 1 him that the day was still young

7. Unauthorised exchange, barter or not to ex- transfer of a weapon(s) is strictly ammunition. forbidden* automatic rifles fire from all direc- Our survival depends o>i our occur-

8. All weapons, ammunition and gave them their explosives must be handled by au- thorised persons and must be totally enemy burst out concealed in public except during there were heli- combat marches in our training us. Vc took

A camps and schools and where permi- burst went off and the ZAPU com- positions (i and Masimini), joined ssion is granted to have weapons for were five. None rade who was manning the outpost by Sharp (MC). the defence of ANC personnel and 20m from me was hit. The enemy opened fire. The enemy was firing property. was firing from hip position and the

9. AH records, inventories of all war noise made by their weapons over- from the hip, rushing towards us.

When I estimated they were 50m materials have to be kept by Ord- whelmed ours. Their fire pinned me nance, Security and by any organ down, f lay flat as was on the and their fire was already pinning

I us down, 1 replied with my sub- entrusted with such material. ground, with bullets hitting the machine guns.

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Hell broke loose. We con centra It is in the afternoon and the oids 1 think was the fact that the ted our fire where the enemy had fire from the enemy, both from the enemy did not know our strengths taken cover and we are certain we air and ground, is so heavy, espec- It was also their first experience to injured and kilted many. I signalled ally on the hillock, where nothing be defied when they commanded; to Zami and Masimini to cease fire. except dust could be seen. There "surrender** and be replied with

Tie waited for about 3 minutes dur- were two helicopters attacking us fire instead. Never before had they ing which the fire from the enemy from above. To combat them we lost such a iarge number of white

had subsided. I retreated with both would all open long burst sjmulten- soldiers, including commissioned

Zami and Masimini. 1 was going to ously, aiming at the piot, the doof and non-commissioned officers.

collect the third L.M.G. which 1 with the 12,7mm machine-gun and Those who gave to Zami, My main worry was the tail where we suspected the fuel might think this is

the hillock. If we could allow the tank was, just a propaganda exercise should

enemy to capture it our position The first helicopter entered our référent' to the
 Rhodesian and South
 would be very precarious. We came sector of fire and flew away unsca² African papers of
 that period. They
 out of the bush and ran towards the thed. So did the second. But when could not
 completely hide their los²
 hillock. \Wien we were at the foot the first one came back for the se² ses. If that does
 not suffice the
 of the hillock a helicopter appea- cond time it did not last long with² court proceedings of
 our trial can
 red. It opened fire at us with its in our sector and we saw smoke es² also bear witness. A
 white captain
 12,7mm machine gunr Ufe ran back caping from its tail. It hever came of the Rhodesia
 Special Air Service,
 to the bush and took cover. back. Later on during interrogation who claimed to
 have^ought in Ma^
 The enemy sprayed the bush (after we7d been captured) we were laysia, was on
 crutches when he
 and the foot of hillock with a hail of asked if we had armour-piercing came to give
 evidence in court. He
 bullets.' This alone indicated their bullets or heavy machine-guns. No ptained our group.
 interest in the hillock. The enemy explanations were given for those An African
 Sergeant-major who
 suddenly appeared on top of the hill' questions but we later gathered from was also on
 crutches said the oper²
 ock. The white officer shouted: the sjffecial branch men that that ation against us was the first in
 "surrendert you're surrounded/' helicopter was damaged though it which they sustained such
 heavy
 This was communicated to us in managed to limp back to base* losses out of all the
 operations in
 Shona and Ndebele through an in² Mhambi came from the hillock, which he took part in
 Rhodesia. It
 terpreter. The comrades were wait² to* report that Masimini and Both- was also
 mentioned that a senior
 ing for me to issue the command to well were injured. Masimini's arm white officer, whose rank was not
 open fire, had been hit and the bone was pier² stated, was lying in hospital paraly²
 I crawled out of the bush into cing through the flesh. After he had sed. Elsewhere a white
 officer giv-
 the open space and saw the white been dressed he continued firing ing evidence in court was.interrupt²
 officer, his interpreter, his commu² with his light machirie-gun. Both- ted severai times by
 the Attorney
 nication officer beside him and an² well was hit in the leg. Mhambi also General because
 some of his state
 other African. Then I asked Ronnie told us that there were many boer ments were
 *'damaging fo ike
 Dube (ZAPU). . . to translate and corpses strewn all over Masimini *s army'\ The judge
 ordered pies-
 shout at them the following "we sector. men not to report them. He said
 he
 will never surrender?" Ronnie said At that moment the helicopters was not ashamed
 to say he ran
 it twice and their interpreter trans² came back in full force, with heavy away and was proud
 at least he did
 lated. i then signalled that we open reinforcement from the ground. not leave his rifle
 behind like some
 fire. Mhambi could not go back to the of his colleagues did.
 We opened a Jieavy volley, con² hillock to attend Masimini under

concentrated on the hilltop. An African that helicopter fire* From the hilltop Back to the main
 story. During
 can and the white officer (major) took only one light machine-gun our last battle (some seven or ten
 were shot down. The communication could be heard constantly. Masimini- days later) Bothwell was shot in
 the
 communication officer was pinned down because the noise could be heard after long intervals. Fortunately both were
 between the rocks. I ordered Sibanyoni to concentrate fire. L.M.G. went silent, only Masimini's fox-hole, put him in it and covered
 on him and also provide us with and Zami's sub-machine gun could it with his clothes, branches and
 cover. The communication could be heard. The sand, leaving a small opening for
 I took Zami, Masimini and Don- It was now late in the afternoon breathing,
 continued fighting
 Donda and gave them positions where I towards sunset. We were able to but were ultimately
 overpowered
 expected the enemy would appear send Masimini and other comrades to by the enemy, By then
 only seven
 from. And from that position they go and assist fetch Masimini and of us were remaining, five
 ZAPU
 would also be able to cover the hilltop Donda from the hilltop. They found comrades* myself and
 Both well 11
 took more effectively. I ordered Donda late. He was hit by a 12.7 The six of us were captured and did
 that under no circumstances were to be hit in the back, taking out a not expose Bothwell where we had
 they to leave that position. I knew a big chunk of flesh, After sunset I hidden him because we thought he
 I was giving this order to true soldiers went to see Masimini. He was in a still had a chance of surviving and
 died. I told them that the success of the mission depended on He couldn't move his arm at all* We find his way out.
 of the group's mission depended on He couldn't move his arm at all* We
 that hilltop. We tried all we could to carry him One of the military helicopters
 Both Zami and Masimini were along, from carrying him on our that were
 transporting us flew back
 snipers. Zami was once Chief of Operations backs to using makeshift stretchers to the spot
 (probably to fetch the
 Donda in Kongwa (the first MK but to no avail He told us to leave Rhodesian soldiers
 that were there
 camp in Tanzania) where he used to hide him behind and proceed, the corner (mainly) and
 landed 20 meters
 zero Frelimo weapons and ours. The order must be opened at all cost," from Bothwell's
 hiding place. The
 Masimini was trained as a detachment he said. Masimini left Masimini there with strong wind from
 the helicopter's
 command commander in the Soviet his weapon and ammunition and propeller removed
 the sand on top
 Union. I knew he had courage even took advantage of the night that of him and it was
 in that way he
 before we had contact with the had fallen to break out of the enemy was discovered and
 captured.
 enemy, courage that had been tested circled and continue our march We were
 both sentenced to
 perished by the commando course he home. Masimini was murdered by death, a
 sentence commuted to life
 underwent in Egypt. He is the man the enemy the following day. eventually, and we
 were released in
 who saved my life at the beginning What enabled us to hold out for 1980 when
 Zimbabwe became independent

1976 to the present	Some of the most important units which distinguished themselves in that new phase were	
Jo* Slovo	the *Gf units which fell under the Transvaal Command, They	
Then came Soweto 1976	action. There were, of course, attacked many police stations	
and the events connected to it Wonder-	periods of ups and down* but in like Orlando I Boyseens,	
in Southern Africa, i.e. the liberation of Mozambique, Ango ^{la} , the intensified struggle in Zimbabwe, etc. Real possibili~ we are still-	general the scale of action» grew boom, etc* and began to deal in intensity and sophistication. with enemy collaborators. This stage of armed propaga ^{nda} was extremely successful in Broadly speaking	
ties opened up not just for an or-	that it played a seminal role in	in this phase of creating
getting men and material inside both the	creating the political mood	ganisedanny internally in
the country but also continu ^{ed} and tack-	which led to the ferment and	urban and rural areas,
ing to service them and maintain targets but	upsurge which we have been	ling not just mute
some kind of contact which was well. Per-	witnessing for the last two	enemy personnel as
not possible previously* People one can	years in particular but had	haps within that phase
who went in were just cut off sub-	begun growing long before.	add that an additional
as it were. They had to rely on being	In the early 80's it became	phase is in a process of
their own resources in an atmo ^{sphere} act in such a	necessary to examine the need	entered, that is to
sphere where people were not in confron-	to change the quality of mili ^{tary}	way that the impact of
a militant mood and the country in the	tary activity. That is to move	tation is felt not just
was filled with informers* within the	from armed propaganda to mili ^{tary}	black- areas but also
1976 brought about a change. main con-	tary activity which lay some	white electorate, the
The mood created by the 1976 for the	foundation for peopled war.	stituency of support
uprising provided a political base in a very general way. It incorporates	In other words to move away from MK activity as being	regime. This sub-phase
then became possible to send countryside	against mute targets, however	the campaign in the

men in successfully.
at the

flamboyant and sophisticated.

on which we are engaging

moment. This campaign is directed against the white fanning community which we regard as part of the enemy's military and paramilitary apparatus. There are no countryside white civilians in the true sense of the term. They are all part of organised military and paramilitary groupings, there to prevent MK from entering and surviving in the

countryside.

Mine warfare has had an important impact. It has resulted in denuding portions of the countryside, particularly the border areas. It is therefore part of a very important process, of cleaning up the countryside to make it an area for freedom fighters. Also, one can say that up to a few years ago we were very

anxious to avoid civilian casualties. We still are anxious. But there were moments in our military activity when we could have engaged the enemy effectively but opted out of that possibility because of the danger of civilian casualties. We are no longer completely guided by that consideration * If there is a legitimate target, surrounded by white

That phase from 1976 on- and begin to deal with enemy houses, we can no longer be re-

wards had armed propaganda, as personnel because that is what restricted in engaging the enemy

its primary objective, i.e. to win the war is about in the end. just because there happens to be

announce once again the pre- As a result of that decision civilians in the vicinity. So in

fence of MK in the only way we witnessed the beginnings of that sense too we have altered

army announces its presence: organised assaults on the enemy. our approach.

LONG LIVE JUNE 16!

OPERATION INGWAVUMA

a.

UNDER normal circumstances, break with the conventional rule one questions since I was the military participants are expected to write their memoirs only when the war is over, to give over, them the advantage of looking at things more objectively, THE NATAL REGIONAL COMMAND MEETS Northern Natal, as I was actually born in Zululand and had already worked as a political operative in weighing both successes and failures unemotionally, and taking advantage of the total outcome of the whole war period to appraise the contribution of single battles. meeting to discuss the implementation of this plan in the underground Operational Head- We were expected to begin work-planning and implementation of quarters of the Natal Regional Command. Also present at the meeting was the sub-structure of this Command, called the Northern Natal Military Command (NNMC) whose task it was to execute this task. I was appointed the Political Commissar and Deputy Commander of this sub-structure of the Regional Command, and apart from available intelligence data as its Command, I was to work with as political information about a Chief-of-Staff, Chief-of-Intelligence as well as a Chief-of-Logistics. ing in that area, we reached a general agreement in our

with

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I took up my pen to write about our experiences in the underground Operational Head- We were expected to begin work-planning and implementation of quarters of the Natal Regional Command. Also present at the meeting was the sub-structure of this Command, called the Northern Natal Military Command (NNMC) whose task it was to execute this task. I was appointed the Political Commissar and Deputy Commander of this sub-structure of the Regional Command, and apart from available intelligence data as its Command, I was to work with as political information about a Chief-of-Staff, Chief-of-Intelligence as well as a Chief-of-Logistics. ing in that area, we reached a general agreement in our

‘Operation Ingwavuma’ for the following reasons:

1) I was asked to do so by the Editor of Dawn, who insisted that since a special issue of our army’s journal was being prepared to commemorate the 25 years of Umkhonto we Sizwe, telling the story of Ingwavuma would be a proper contribution to illustrate, by this example* how it is possible under South African conditions to build up a people’s army from within the country. We therefore

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assess-

As a result of the decision that

fore reasoned that if this story was told, this article would not only serve as concrete documentary inspiration to the people), which thousands of our combatants for whose task at this period is precisely 'to root our army among the people, but would population, also, for the first time, provide consider not the members of our Movement combat in general and of MK in particular, with a generalised strategic context of the circumstances and conditions that led of to the writing of 'The Diary of A Guerrilla' by Comrade Mungabe (Robert Dumisa), the first document of its kind in which our military history . I must admit that the driving force would be an organ of power. We also envisaged the development of mass peasants' political organisations and under- about this Operation, yet certainly the late Comrade Zweli Nyanda, ground units whose task would be to ensure that the aspects of the story can be told, more so Keith McPadden during a South African Defence Force raid in Swaziland. I highlight the name of the commanders of this area has been written a much publicised! of Zweli not because he happens we would not have allowed a si- diary, and also went further to be dead and has joined our situation where the military structures were to be the sole deterrents during their public trial in the Natal Division of calling everybody who dies a gwavuma and elsewhere in our zone. The point, however, and the South African Supreme hero* Comrade Zweli was a living hero of our armed struggle. I regret this we minced no words about Court. Comrade Mugabe's

diary was confiscated by the member him very clearly in that it was that we were supposed to police during the arrest of his meeting, sitting opposite me and develop a war in Ingwavuma, and unit, but we also managed to standing up now and again to war means the physical military get our own copy. pace up and down the room. elimination of the enemy and the I find these two reasons com. Then he would come back and imposition of our political will pelling enough to justify the quiz me with one hundred and over him. This war perspective

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was to be guarded against revert- ing back to the strategic period when our priority task inside the country was only to do political mobilisation with armed propa- repeating to "R", almost word for word, the response that is said to have been made by "Broz Tito to that soldier:

ganda serving as a secondary and supportive exercise. "Comrade, are you suggesting that we will never be able to fight guerrilla war in South Africa because there are insufficient forests? If the area you saw has no widespread jungles, then it is precisely the place we need to prove that guerrilla warfare does not depend on jungles!

Although the political situa- tion in Ingwavuma was not so promising, in the sense that we, had no political mass organisa- tion and other underground poli- tical structures involving the pea- sants as active political fighters for freedom and neither were t The Chief-of-Staff however, thought that I was making a mis- take by responding like this (al- though he did not say it in the meeting in the presence of "R"), Comrade Mugabe and he suddenly said to

there organised units to serve as reception bases, a few contacts, however* served as the initial group to receive our comrades. We also counted on the seething discontent of the people of that area about the apartheid regime's "R": as well as the building of safe bases in the terrain in the event "Okay, Comrade

plans to cede Ingwavuma and the KwaNgwane bantustan to Swazi- "R", thank land. of battles with the SADF break- you very much for the report. Indeed, when I made contact ing out and survival of a sizeable We shall discuss your report in

with a few peasants I had known guerrilla unit among them be- detail in a full meeting of the coming difficult. They were also Command, we shall then in-

they insisted that they wanted weapons and they would willingly join Umkhonto we Sizwe. If they were to be organised, they used to say, well and good but let this be done simultaneously with their being armed for that "R" had War against the apartheid regime. Ingwavuma, al- For us in the Military Command, was keen to de- these were sufficient sparks under the circumstances to kindle the fire of People's War in that part of the country. I seem to remember the basis for member Kark Marx advising his deed "R" came to us and re-examination and re- friend Kugelmann that "if his report that he did not believe feasibility of tory was made only under infallible that the area provided possibility of-Staff and bly favourable circumstances, it ties for the establishment of rediscuss would indeed be very easy to. guerrilla bases as well as training the plan against the background make it. I can add to this state of affairs, since, according to him, of "R" 's report and make a written report to the Regional Com- so, it would know of no heroes! being plain and without forest- ation where guerrillas can hide. It was after the meeting in our machinery that a decision was taken that I should go to RECONNAISSANCE We tried to find out if that view was also shared by Post* whom he had left behind. To this "R" said that this was his opinion as the Chief-of-Logistics, spend two persons, Comrade Post (who later died like the famous Matrosov of the Second World War Negative start, undeniably! Post in assessing the situation in when he gave his life to save the This was the report of a man the same manner in which their

members of his unit — I shall from the spot, who had spent unit had been assigned. I there fore left our come back later to this incident two weeks, and on whose information Headquarters for Ingwavuma together when I demonstrate the state of information all future plans were to with our Chief-of-Logistics morale of our combatants in be based. As we listened to his armed with

Ingwavuma) and "R" (about report, I remembered reading a pistols but hidden under the overalls we were whom we shall also hear more at book about the guerrilla war of wearing as we had to look exactly like the the appropriate time). the Yugoslav partisans under peasants in the area. We also carried sticks in the same reconnaissance in one area of In- There is an episode where a reconnaissance operative reported do in the rural areas way as all men of Zululand. During our weeks, during which time they that the terrain he had seen was were to stay with the families "as plain as the palm of my area, we were able to meet who were the contacts of our Military Command. The unit was conclusion that the brigade intensive discussions with them

supposed to assess the possibility would not be able to press and prepared those we thought ities of staying with the villagers through. I remember actually were suitable as receptionists for

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our combat units. Everywhere two basic decisions were taken, Ingwavuma also demonstrated

we went* the people received us 1) to proceed with our plans and the tremendous potential that well and often with enthusiasm, to establish combat units in the rural areas of our and although we had some with side the country with urgency, country for the establishment of

us, I can say it with all the power and guerrilla zones, which can prove of truth that we never spent even 2} to reassign if R" the task of ten-fold successful only if necessary a cent from our pocket? for food commanding another combatary political preparation and co-

or for anything we needed for unit that was to base in an ordination is done, as laid down our survival there. We ate breakfast other area, one of those we in the strategy documents of the fast in one hotne, and lunch in had reconnoitred in our ANC. Many Ingwavuma's can be mission. - organised, taking into another; we were fried a chicken consider-

in a different home and provided specific a sleeping place in another home* politics of each Such were the conditions that we met during our stay in Ingwavuma. sistance), and the first unit "R" *s unit was called "Nozi-shada" (named after an extra-ordinarily courageous Zulu warrior during the wars of resistance), and the first unit THE MORALE OF OUR ation, obvious^, the conditions and artea so selected.

Given these favourable conditions, we made further preparations in other sectors for the reception of our comrades; we also MK combat-reconnoitred bases as well as areas that could serve as training use long COMBATANTS which was then commanded I may mention that neither of these units was Comrade Mu- gabe's, since he commanded a separate one. The best method the morale of the ants that established their at Ingwavuma is not to

camps for small units of people to tell the in the localities. I must not leave the reader with a rosy picture of everything, broaden SHORTCOMINGS English adjectives, but OF THE PLAN story of how Post died, the commander of Maqedindaba. I have All our units that landed at In- selected Post in order to

however! Our movement was not at random, neither were the people who offered us food and places of sleep chosen arbitrarily. There was nothing man, "N"t about all this, and as I pointed out earlier, most of our contacts were taken care of by the local taken by the were people who were known to police for detention us through previous political well as information. tion. The comrades in the unit work in the area, and who sub- Perhaps more than anything got this report about 41NT' *s subsequently led us to others who else, In gwavuma proved that it is arrest, but decided not to be alarmed-

thought and felt like them about was a fre- the situation.. I think that this is a People's Army within the board to be arrested- important to emphasize because, ders of South Africa. We may re- ted for petty criminal offences in the villages: The unit, as a matter of fact, no guerrilla veal this much that between had committed a however, unit , no matter how lucky* it them, the combat units that were ing shown <eN" mistake of hav- is, can successfully stay among a established at In gwavuma trained where their un-

its way to unnecessary problems. about him. Poets should take
 Three days after *fNT' 's arrest, their pens and not wait for rhy-
 the unit again received a report thm and rhyme but write a war
 that a blue VW kombi was seen Linda Khuzwayo poem about Post, Where
 are our

in the village carrying a group of novelists ? Is their ink dry not to
 white men, which was a very to be the last warning history tell the story of Post ?
 provided.

The last time I saw Post was
 That evening or the following when I had gone to brief them
 day*s evening, Post left the base about the recent political situa-
 and went to the village to meet tion and also to give them some
 an important contact for the copies of Dawn and Sechaha

plus
 unit. He was only armed with a a few News briefings. I

stayed
 Makarov pistol. Very early in the with them {the whole unit) in
 morning before people could that very same cave which they

wake up and see him crossing the had made their underground
 fields and getting to his base, and base. Post made tea and kept on
 as he approached the base, he saying to the members of our
 discovered that the base was sur- Military Command that had gone
 rounded by an army formation to pay them a visit: "/ hope

that
 of the SADF, which was steadily the same experience is happening

encircling the base where four tn other parts of our country.

”
 members of Maqedindaba were We assured him, and I saw a
 sleeping. When Post saw this, he smile of satisfaction on his face.
 took out his pistol and fired In a way, the whole unit was
 shots which were clearly meant taken by surprise by our visit
 to warn the comrades in the base and this reminded me as well
 of the eminent danger. Post ob- about the visits that our leader-
 viously knew that by doing sot ship often makes to us in our

James Moropeng he would attract the fire-power various training areas* the differ-
 being of the SADF to himself and die, ence now being that it was

unusual thing in that part of the but his major concern at that made by us to the
 comrades in

rural world* This information time was not his life but those of their guerrilla bases
 inside

was communicated to the com- the members of his unit. If ever in this
 account I have

rades by their contacts in the vil- Indeed the unit heard Post^ painted a picture of glorifying
 lage precisely because they con- warning shots from his pistol, myself, please pardon me, since
 sidered this event as strange and and ail four of them escaped this was not my intention; with-
 a possible danger: I am sad to say through a secret exit. All four of out making the story a personal

that once again the comrades ig- them managed to break out of account, I could have run
 the nored this information and did the SADF encirclement, and risk of taking realities out of it

not change their base swiftly. they are still alive today and tell- and it would have remained
hol- Third warning: after about a ing the story. They all shame low and imaginary. Let
me con- day or two after the Kombi lessly admit that they owe their clude by paying
tribute to all event, the village was suddenly lives to their Commander, Post! whom T served with
in the North- visited by KwaZulu police units 'The fascist soldiers killed Post, ern Natal Military Command
as who spread the story in the vil and according to the information well as the heroes of that
struggle lages that they were hunting for we have been able to gather from both the dead and the three
that wild pigs. Vet clearly, the "wild the local population, the body of were arrested with Mugabe
and pigs" they were looking for were our heroic commander was tied are presently serving their
sente- our comrades. Still the comrades by a rope by the racist soildiers nces in Robben Island. Victory
is did not change their base. This and tied to a helicopter which in sight, and all our sacrifices
are "pig hunting7 event, however, was flew in circles around the village not in vain!

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Richard 'Barney' Molokoane

<p>RICtiARD "Barney" Molokwane 1980. He like many of joined the Afri can National Congress during the June 16 Soweto Students upris</p> <p>ings. In our glorious army Um khonto we Sizwe he belonged to Secunda, the June 16 Detachment. He was a very simple and hum</p>	<p>— Dikgang Nene</p>	<p>the SASOL plant in also commanded the unit that created history by shelling the ra- cists1 headquarters in Voortrek- kerhoogte the following year, and the unit that shelled in 1985, the latter being his last' mission. He also undertook many</p>
---	-----------------------	--

ble comraiJ*!, gifted in many fields. like all revolutionariefl he was eager to learn more, and he

did manage to learn more be cause he was a good listener and a good conversationalist. He was a very good footballer as well as a good guitarist. Besides the

■ above qualities he was above all an able commander, a disciplined

soldier, always vigilant and ready to defend the ANC and Umkho nto we Sizwe- He was very proud of being a member of our peo

ple's army and devoted all his life to the ideals of our Movement

and our army, lot

During his Me in our army he was given responsibilities* Barney sol-

or Buda, as his closest friends affectionately called him, could fighters

live in berth underground and the

aboveground conditions with added

ease. He always made sure that guns,

he was in good health and good com-

phydcal condition* He was once many

an instructor in tactics* He liked have

the * survival' course which he be had more

lieved prepared him for any con were

dition in the course of our strug soldiers

gle.

Action was his motto. He was 28

involved in a number of heroic forgotten by the

exploits undertaken by our com

other missions which are not mentioned here.

He met his death when they were intercepted by the enemy during their retreat after successfully shelling Secunda. Comrades Barney, Victor and Vincent

fought gallantly during this encounter* This battle which took

the lives of all three comrades lasted about four hours and was described by the enemy press as 'a violent shootout.*

Local residents who saw this dash describe the scene of the

J
Richard 'BarneyMolokoane

fight as another Lebanon. A

a reconnaissance mission in of ambulances came to fetch the 1978. This unit came into con dead and wounded enemy

tact with the enemy forces and a diers! Failing to corner these clash ensued, Barney's unit con three gallant and fearless

ducted itself exceptionally well of MK, the enemy sought'

and for the first time the boers in help of helicopters which,

Zeerust saw members of the to their mounted machine-

SADF humiliated. Barney was dropped napalm on our

shot in the leg but he managed to rades. It is obvious that

outwit and outmanoeuvre the more enemy soldiers would

enemy during the 200km re died if our combatants

treat to base. ammunition* So many

From 1978 till 1985 when he these dead and injured

died, Barney was most of the that the local people could not

time on missions inside the coun count them easily* November

try and was the commander in al

will never be

most all of them* Because of his residents of this area.

combatants inside the country. Im
Comrades Barney,
mediately after completing his
course of training he was selected
pic-

hatred for the enemy and his

The lives of

firm belief in the justness of our Victor and Vincent did not end
cause he led his units successfully in vain* Their spears will be

ted for a mission. He was one
our young
of those comrades who were on

fully . He participated in that daring
ing and sophisticated sabotage of

ked by hundreds of
lions*

Sabotage at Sasol Damage

Went to the tune of R66m

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NO SURRENDER

We reached Umlazi at 0600hrs
left in KwaMashu would be
and decided that the material

was fetched that afternoon. When
Mpandla came to collect me and

The 'Citizen' of September 9 1986 reported: "Weapons . ♦♦ were found in a car Thabane to
fetch the material

in which four suspected ANC terrorists were killed in a shootout with police
in Durban on Sunday night - * Th* were shot dead in a firefight with the I was somehow
occupied at

police after being cornered. . * At the time the police, including members of the home and could
not come with

reaction unit of the security police, were investigating an incident in which a them. They then
decided to take

KwaMashu house was fired upon and attacked with three hand grenades 20 cents and
Mbongeni.

True, four MK combatants fell heroically that Sunday. What the "Citizens"
deliberately forgets to mention is that they did not die alone. They took many
SPOTTED

ten soldiers and policemen with them. This is the battle in which Thabane
Mamela, alias Bridge Thwala, lost his life. Below follows the story as related by When leaving
KwaMashu the

one member of the unit.

blue crossida they were riding in
was spotted by the police. That
could have been due to the fact
that the area was heavily patrolled
led by the police following the
attack on Shabalala's house or

Mpandla, 20 cents and myself
self have been co-ordinating MK
actions in the Durban area since
the beginning of the year* Thabane
bane is one of the comrades
who were trained outside the
country and sent to Durban. He
joined our unit two weeks before
this battle.

some people could have seen the
direction taken by Mpandla and
the other comrade when they
were going to hide the AK's the
previous day. One more possibility
is that Thabane could have
been spotted by the police since
he was known by them and
wanted.

One of the main tasks we
gave ourselves was to eliminate
the notorious Inkatha leaders,
viz. Sabelo, Shabalala, Mlotshwa
and Bayetbe. This is important
so as to show the people

that MK is capable of dealing with their tormentors. We then divided reconnaissance tasks among ourselves with the purpose of locating their hiding places.

Mpandla found Shabalala's hiding place and gave me all the details. We then assigned 20 cents to conduct a much more

thorough study of the place and establish Shabalala's routine. After collecting enough data He hurled the we decided to pull the mission city police car out on Saturday, September 6. damaging the car

it due to the security situation* I took Thabane and three There- other comrades from one of our units. We left for Shabalala's was set

place in KwaMashu at 19DQhrs bridge where and reached the place an hour with an AK with later. He was not in the house was dropped* at the time and we decided to out of am- wait for him We were armed finally hit by with 2 AK's, 2 Makarov pistols helicopter.

and 4 FI hand grenades. Shabalala's house was fenced roadblock blocked by a high concrete wall and he quarry had a big and vicious dog. In a there the way the place was security tight. stopped. One little disadvantage on our cents, part was that we were not very familiar with the area, although fought

we had already established our ammunition. L

After their car had been spotted roadblocks were set up, while other police vehicles gave a chase* The first roadblock was set up between KwaMashu and Newlands, The comrades in the

car had decided to fight back, true, to the MK tradition of no surrender. Upon reaching the roadblock Mbongeni, armed with

two hand grenades, was dropped to challenge the enemy while others continued. ally we had agreed that we would

knock and force our way into hand grenades at a the yard but later decided against with four cops*

We decided to hit from a distance and killing all four cops. tance and retreat. after he was shot dead. We moved closer to the target The second roadblock

and hurled the four hand grenades up under Umgeni ades we had, backing them with Thabane, armed pistol and sub-machine gun fire. two full magazines, After the attack Thabane told us He fought till he ran that it was not wise to retreat munition and was with AK's all the way to Umlazi bullets fired from a

as they are not easy to conceal, That is how he fell. They had to be left a place nearby. The third

by. The problem with that was the highway just after the

the place he had in mind was road turn-off. Even

too near the target and could MK tigers could not be

be raided. But due to the time Instead they dropped 20

at our disposal we agreed to his also armed with an AK and two proposal on condition that the full magazines. He also

material would be removed not till he ran out of

route of withdrawal. There is also a police station only a mile from the target. Which meant that we could not spend a long time within the radius after

later than the following day. That is where he fell. Then the We then divided ourselves into car, driven by Mpandla, was two groups of two and three. I chased. At the Umlazi turn and two others retreated to our off he decided to stop. He meeting point, armed with pistols. pulled out his pistol and also

acting.

Thabane and one had to rush to fought till he ran out of bullets.

We waited till 2100hrs when a hide the AK*s first. Later they When he was trying to drive

man drove in in a mercedes-benz. him

safely joined us at the meeting away a bullet fatally hit

Before we could move 'into point Mpandla had organised

in the forehead.

action a number of hippos where we would base till early

drove past and we realised that in the morning when we would

PICK UP THEÏR

SPEARS!

we were .not safe at all. Initi

leave Kwa-Mashu.

55

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how we captured a hippo

Before leaving the country to join Umkhonto we Sizwe we be followed

were engaged in many activities. were not

One day in March we discovered face a big force.

*

*

that one comrade was collabor

ating with the boers. He had of my secu-

come to one of our meetings in a fcroer car. When we confronted thousand peopje

hkn he begged for forgiveness *

telling us that he had been forced the»

to inform. Since we consider it our task to educate the misled and we told

not successful as we had not anti- EVERY comer of our fend ts cipated that it would

mobilising and organising. Ka-

by four others. We

rJgwane is no exception. The

strong enough to

once quiet bantustans have

Another interesting incident

joined the march to freedom.

happened during one

rity rounds at Steenbolc town-

Robert Kurtene, a commander of

ship* About a

ohe people's security unit rel

ates :

were holding a meeting when

boers arrived* They asked us

told us he was forced to do so by

what we were doing

elements in our society we accep-
organising a
ted his apology and he promised
campaign. They gave us

to stop informing.
However, the following week
minutes
he was seen moving around in a
started firing*
hippo, pointing out comrades. As
responded by
the commander I had to take a

decision. One Sunday evening I
hippo jumped
summoned my unit* A decision
and his head met
that Mathebula had to die was
seized the
taken. We then took him, from his
jumped into the
house and took him out of the
captured a
location where he was elimin-
ahort
ated. apartheid."

After discovering his body the
unfortunately in my
poKce came to the area and kar-
rammed my hippo
assed the people. They were
was
hunting our unit. We then re? treat to
SADF boeTs

treated to the mountains. With
us we had four hand grenades
was on the

and one R1 rifle which had no
ammunition unfortunately.

One day we decided to
by
ambush the enemy* Four com-
respon-
rades hid themselves in a disused
of a com-
tictiet office and I challenged one
his house,

the law. In the end in fact the
whole interrogation exercise pro-

five minutes to disperse but, as
ved fruitless as he had no infor-
mation. Although X —
should let him go so as TM
example for others, the other
comrades felt differently. A de-
cision to execute him was taken
despite his pleas for mercy and
offers of large sums of money. His
time Was over. By his remains we
left a note reading: "We are not
fighting you, we are fighting

The fascist enemy was infuri-
ated. He besieged the township
the following day. We had to re- into a tree. I jumped out and

outnumbered in all respects* The
entire youth deserted the town-

ship, leaving behind only the run continuously. We were able
very old and very young. A day to fulfill only one more mission

after that the fascists withdrew before leaving* One policeman
and we returned to the township. the name of Manyesa was
That night we devised a plan
of digging a trench across the

them that we were
clean-up

usual, before the five
could elapse they
The whole crowd
stoning them.

One driver of a
. out out of panic
with a flying rock, I
opportunity and
hippo. We had finally
hippo! Off I drove for

3km, but
excitement I

chased by angry

shooting madUy*
By now our unit

sible for the murder
rade. We attacked

SADF soldier. He responded destroyed it well. He chased me right into the this incident ticket office and fell into the resigned. Those

trap. We disarmed him of his R1 subsequently and held him until the evening, township* when we took him to the moun then firebom- tains, followed by comrades come for us to

chanting: "Kill him, kill him! " Umkhonto we We first questioned him as to develop out why he was killing our people, acquire more especially innocent children* He weapons*

road at the entrance of the town ship' The intention was to trap a hippo so as to capture weapons

when it fell into the hole. The unit was deployed, armed with two R l's, a pistol, bows and arrows* and wooden AK's to give

an impression that we were more heavily armed than we actually were* In fell the first hippo but, unfortunately the mission was

fire bombed and Completely. After many policemen

who did not have moved out of the My house was bed. The time had

leave and ioin Sizwe. We needed to skills further and and sophisticated

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DISCIPLINE IS THE

MOTHEH OF VICTORY

give

ENEMY

NO i

Of AIMER!

25 YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE

= Page 60 =

% S MURDERED

BY

©3

J

THE BOER HANGMAN

MINI

MABHONGO

KHAYINGA
n

4, _____ M

MOTAUNG

MAHLANGU

p

MKABA.

MPENZE

MOLOISE

BONCO

MOSOLOLI

AVENGE

DEATHS NOW