

# DAWN

Monthly Journal of  
Dokotoo we Sizwe



13(7)

BA. 322.4205 DAW.  
S. 92/83

SOLOMON MAHLANGU F... DOM  
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Cover - Moshoeshoe, great Southern African statesman of the 19th century - Founder of the Sotho nation.

OUR BATTLE-CRY IS AND WILL CONTINUE  
TO BE VICTORY OR DEATH WE SHALL WIN!

COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO.

ISANDLWANA -

CLARION CALL TO PEOPLE'S WAR!



VENDA 'INDEPENDENCE'

Vendaland, the new forced-labour laager euphemistically called 'homeland', will come into being on September 13, exposing the myth that racism is going in South Africa.

No one takes this farce more seriously than P.W. Botha and his militarist Nazi regime. To ensure that this circus gets all the desired publicity, Piet 'Wapen' Botha went slumming through all the enclaves lorded over by his puppets preaching 'Constellation'.

While allowing the polecat, Botha, his only possibility of a tour given the fact that nobody in the outside world would really welcome a tour from this racist, the main purpose of Botha's tour is his pressing need to consolidating his 'Constellation' dream.

Following events in Iran and the exposure in Nigeria, the South African militarists have an urgent need for energy supplies. It is doubtful if Margaret Thatcher can continue to supply North Sea oil to her like-minded South African allies without invoking the wrath of the British and world community.

The much advertised project to develop liquid fuel from coal thus brings the 'homeland' enclaves into close focus. The constellations are needed to supply the resulting demand for increased labour for coal mining, and the bantustans will now have to justify the expectations for which they were originally designed - cheap labour without demands for the anathematic rights and tradeunionism as is shown by those working in the urban areas.

Even this expectation is seriously undermined by the growing need for black ndunas to man the borders against freedom fighters and to relieve the overstrained Boer army which is fraught with desertions and frustration. Perhaps Botha hopes that a 'Southern African Constellation' can save the situation.

The wankie campaign and the alliance of the

African National Congress with MPLA, FRELIMO and SWAPO has long shown the nature of constellation our people are interested in.

For us a constellation can only be a brotherhood of equals, based on common interest to rid our countries of all vestiges of racism, colonialism and imperialism. A true pattern of constellation is shown in Angola, where a firm trench for the revolution of Southern Africa exists.

The only alliance that comes from such a constellation is such as exists in the Front-line States where the independence of each member state is a prerequisite for co-operation as equals in the affairs of Southern Africa.

Because of the objective factors that have brought about our struggle and the correctness of our cause, true leaders in the mould of Malome Moses Kotane and Uncle J.I. Marks could leave their imprint on our struggle. Our cause for a future South Africa - a free nation, a democratic state and peaceful neighbourliness - that is the basis for constellation not bantustans.

We are happy that twelve years after the battles at Wankie, the forces of ZIPRA are firmly consolidated in the Patriotic Front to stop the traitors from hijacking the Zimbabwean revolution. This consolidation of national forces is the constellation that will set the path of a future free Zimbabwe within a southern Africa of peaceful cooperation.

It is in this same vein that we raise our flag to the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) which this month, 13 years after its inception, is confronting the Boers in every corner of Namibia, thus dictating where the battles should be fought.

We must warn the Boers that we consider it the ultimate of insults, that with the usual Boer arrogance, the murderer Piet Botha should dare to set foot in Soweto. No empty promises from him or his smooth phraser Koornhof, will make our people forget the seeds of death sown by these fascists in the streets of Soweto.

## WANKIE - UNITY IN STRUGGLE

- Max Moabi

The importance of the Wankie operations lies in the fact that these operations - Wankie campaign - constitute a clear expression of the joint efforts of two oppressed peoples to liberate themselves by force of arms from the oppressive white minority regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria which enjoy the all-round support of western imperialism.

The ANC-ZAPU alliance of the late sixties, which gave politico-military leadership to the Wankie campaigns is itself a concrete expression of the historic and fraternal ties that exist between the Zimbabwean and South African peoples, so that to speak of the struggle of the people of South Africa is to speak of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, and that of other peoples of our region.

The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed but embattled people of our country, under the tested leadership of the African National Congress started 67 years ago. This struggle, like that of the oppressed masses of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia under the leadership of their vanguard organisations, - the Patriotic Front and SWAPO respectively - has as its strategic objective the total liquidation of the Botha regime, for genuine independence and for the establishment in South Africa of a popular and democratic government.

The consistent efforts in struggle of both our organisations - one of the African National Congress of South Africa born in January, 1912, and the other, under the same name, the African National Congress of Rhodesia, formed in 1924, now ZAPU, entered a new phase with the opening of clashes between the Luthuli MK Detachment in alliance with ZAPU fighters against the combined Rhodesian security forces and the South African fascist troops in Wankie and Sipolilo in the East. These campaigns have gone down in the annals of the history of the liberation struggle of our respective peoples as one of the most outstanding feats of heroic patriotism and commitment to the just

cause of our peoples.

The long-standing ties of traditional struggle and political cooperation between our organisations and peoples, saw, with these clashes, the introduction of joint operations in the military field: i.e. the introduction of a common revolutionary strategy to counter the then imperialist backed Unholy Alliance between Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon.

It must be said here that it had become clear long before 1967 that the fascist white minority regimes that oppress our peoples could be dislodged only by violent means and not through parliamentary discussions and negotiations. Thus on the 16th of December, as far back as 1961, through a decision of the National Executive Committee, the highest organ of the African National Congress - Umkhonto we Sizwe - was formed the armed wing of the people. ZAPU by 1967 had long worked on the formation and moulding of its armed forces.

Once the decision to commit both forces into battle was taken, preparations for confrontation began. The joint ANC-ZAPU forces spent long periods of time in reconnoitering the operational area and subsequently bases were set up. At each base hide-outs and storage places were prepared. After intensive training and adequate preparation, the first unit of the Luthuli Detachment moved in. The joint forces confronted and routed the enemy in many parts of Zimbabwe which included the Zambesi valley, North Matebeleland, Bulawayo, the Wankie game reserve and the whole area between Victoria falls and the Kariba dam. The effect of these operations reverberated not only in Southern Africa but throughout the world. Even the limited accounts given by the enemy testified to the incredible and magnificent fighting calibre, heroism and courage displayed by our men. In recognition of their valour the enemy baptised them as "the Black Commandos".

It could not be otherwise for the Luthuli Detachment consisted of men of exceptional qualities, whose brilliant performance was shown in various battles. Besides they were well armed and prepared to make the supreme sacrifice for national and

social independence, if need be. This was, above all, a revolutionary detachment spurred on by absolute dedication to the lofty ideals of freedom.

The entire force fought with the determination and will that shocked the enemy and struck fear into his ranks. A Rhodesian army officer was forced to comment that "the attackers were very aggressive and their morale was very high". Amongst those who excelled, to name but a few out of a long list of brilliant fighters, are:

**DELMAS SIBANYONI:** A light machinegunner who halted the advance of a Rhodesian African Rifle's Platoon single-handedly and never withdrew until he was killed by helicopter fire.

**JAMES MASIMINI:** Who mortally wounded fought like a lion and covered the retreat of his comrades until he was killed.

**PAUL PETERSEN:** Who single-handedly fought the enemy refusing to surrender until he was killed.

How best can we honour their memory? By equipping ourselves better politically, militarily and technically for the long and arduous battles ahead, by fulfilling our daily tasks both as individuals and as a collective so as to ensure the complete dismantlement of that oppressive and hated system that has kept our people for so long under colonial bondage in their own country. By so doing, we will not only be giving the best honour to these gallants and heroes but will also be contributing positively towards bringing nearer the day of freedom.

We also remember the exemplary stand of comrades like Bert Tamane, Freddie Mnisi, Peter Tladi, Kenneth Nkomo, Alfred Scott and others who whilst captured and imprisoned in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana, remained and still remain firm and loyal to the just cause of our people.

Today as we commemorate Wankie Day, we pay tribute to the lasting memory of all the heroes and martyrs of the South African and Zimbabwean revolu-

tions; to stalwarts like Vuyisile Mini, Bram Fischer, J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Solomon Mahlangu, in Zimbabwe to J.Z. Moyo, J. Dube, Nikita Mangena and many others.

Our peoples will forever cherish the memory of these stalwarts and heroes, their best sons and daughters, who so generously shed their blood for the liberation of our Motherlands. Their blood was not shed in vain. It has undoubtedly laid the foundation for the construction of a new Zimbabwe and South Africa free from racial discrimination, fascist oppression and the exploitation of man by man, for a democratic and free Zimbabwe and South Africa, where there shall be a house, bread, employment, peace and social progress for all.

Thanks to the consistent efforts of the liberation forces of our region, the face of Southern Africa has changed radically. In Mozambique and Angola, true bulwark of revolution in Africa, the national liberation forces have genuine and reliable bases of support. Angola and Mozambique contribute concretely towards the national liberation and liquidation of colonialism, racism, apartheid and all forms of oppression in our continent. It is therefore in the best interests of the oppressed peoples and the entire progressive humanity to defend and work for the consolidation of the Angolan and Mozambican revolutions.

In Zimbabwe the forces of liberation as led by the Patriotic Front have scored significant victories. Armed struggle in that country has intensified and ZIPRA-ZNLA forces, the joint command of the Patriotic Front have continued to engage the enemy in well over two-thirds of the territory. The control of the Muzorewa-Smith forces is limited to strategic strong points in the country-side and the cities only. Running away from the barbaric repression of the Muzorewa regime, the people, young men and women, as well as in response to the call of the Patriotic Front, are swelling the ranks of ZIPRA-ZNLA by their thousands. Nothing short of politico - military defeat of the Muzorewa-Smith regime, by the Patriotic Front will restore the fundamental rights of the Zimbabwean people leading to their complete liberation.



In South Africa, the later years following Wankie have seen growing militancy by all sections of the oppressed. To the militant strikes and political battles waged by the black working class in alliance with students, working youth, and revolutionary intellectuals that have rocked the country, has been added the devastating blows of MK units. The working class which has consistently and courageously fought against apartheid is finding new ways of intensifying the struggle for national and social independence.

Despite the reign of terror unleashed by the fascists, our people continue to fight the regime. Threats, arrest of cadres, torture, imprisonment, banning orders and death itself cannot stop the march to freedom. Our struggle is just and it is intensifying on all fronts. The successful operations carried out by our forces, the forces of the people's army against the Botha racist troops and police in Goch Street, Umlazi, Durban, Louis Tri-chardt, Northern Transvaal, Zeerust, Rustenburg and lately against the Moroka police station in Soweto bear witness to that fact; the fact that the struggle is intensifying on all fronts.

Today combatants of the People's Army enter the theatre of war with twelve years experience of Wankie, with the enthusiasm of the first day of battle, 13th of August, 1967, inspired by the unequalled heroism and example of the Luthuli Detachment path-blazers, prepared and equipped to carry out even higher feats of valour.

While at the same time our organisation, working under extremely difficult conditions of fascist repression, continues to politicise and mobilise the mass of the people, all oppressed, anti-fascist and anti-racist sectors, so that they can participate conscientiously on the side of the revolution in a broad democratic front.

Unity in action is being forged at all levels and the enemy is being confronted as never before. And more than at any other time before, our organisation and people, firmly united to the heroic peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, who under the banners of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, fight arms in hand, for national independence and free

dom against combined South African and Rhodesian fascist regimes. For if there is any people interested in the final defeat of imperialism, all its vestiges, and the last remaining fascist minority regimes in our regions, it is the South African people, whose very existence is locked in a life and death struggle against the apartheid monster that prevents Africa from reaching her cherished goal - i.e. the liquidation of colonialism, fascism, imperialism and the attainment of complete independence and freedom.

If it is true that Wankie did not achieve its prime goal - that of carving the way home through Zimbabwe; Wankie served and continues to serve as a mobilising factor and clarion call amongst the oppressed to take up arms against their oppressors. Wankie further proved that it is possible to fight and defeat the joint South African and Rhodesian racist troops, for our men routed the enemy land forces at every encounter forcing them to resort to their highly sophisticated airplanes and embark on the strafing by bombs of the entire areas. The fascist South African Defence Force has, since then embarked on a long term programme of modernization and standardization of its defence force's airwing. This programme has been stepped up to such an extent that it relies absolutely on the air-force. And if we break their back in the air they will have no leg to stand on. We are not by any means trying to underestimate the enemy. Proper assessment at all stages must be made.

The fight before us, comrades, we know, will be long, bitter and arduous, but it must be fought. We, militants of the ANC and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, have the complete conviction that there can be no other out-come other than victory for the oppressed over the forces of reaction and counter-revolution: that South Africa will be free as a result of the efforts of her own people, with the militant solidarity of progressive Africa, the socialist camp and the world.

And it is for this reason that from Wankie, Soweto to Pretoria the struggle for people's power continues and victory is certain.

## AN INTERVIEW WITH SWAPO PRESIDENT

### COMRADE SAM NUJOMA

QUES: Comrade President, the British government on the 25th July, announced that it was appointing what was called a senior diplomatic negotiator on the question of Namibia, with the South African racists. What is the attitude of SWAPO to this new initiative?

ANSW: Well, as far as SWAPO of Namibia and the struggling people of Namibia are concerned, there is no more question of negotiations or talks or reopening the talks - with regard to Namibia's decolonisation from South African fascist colonial oppression and occupation. What is left out now really is the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435, of September, 1978, where the Resolution speaks for itself. First, it says: There should be a cease-fire, and SWAPO of Namibia is ready to sign a cease-fire with the racist South Africa and also we are prepared to fight the elections and there is no doubt that SWAPO will sweep all the seats. We are aware of the fact that there is no single Namibian who will vote for the continued illegal occupation, oppression and exploitation of the Boer fascist regime in Namibia. All Namibians want to be free and therefore they will vote for SWAPO, which is fighting for freedom and independence of Namibia.

QUES: Comrade President, given the fact that the racists have organised their own elections in Namibia, in defiance of the United Nations and even went further to create the so-called Constituent Assembly, does comrade President think that it is still possible now to implement Resolution 435?

ANSW: Well, the bogus elections which took place on the 4th of December, was condemned, rejected and declared null and void by SWAPO and the international community. Therefore the so-called Constituent Assembly which came into being as a result of the bogus elections on

the 4th of December certainly has to be dissolved, and after and only after elections supervised and controlled by the UN will the Namibian people form their National Assembly which of course will be constituted by members who stood for the elections - genuine election supervised by and controlled by the UN. Therefore, the Turnhalle puppets have to go with their Boer masters. SWAPO therefore, does not expect any negotiations. SWAPO will only participate in the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435.

QUES: Why have the racists denied that the so-called Constituent Assembly is a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)?

ANSW: Well, in fact there are plots being carried out by imperialists and their clients in South Africa. All this process of bogus elections in December in defiance of resolutions and decisions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council, are aimed at imposing a neo-colonialist solution in Namibia - but due to the vigilance and political consciousness of the Namibian people they have intensified the armed liberation struggle through their vanguard, SWAPO and People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) - the military wing of SWAPO, thus making it difficult for the enemy to impose a puppet regime on the Namibian people. We are therefore determined to intensify the resistance against imperialist plots and conspiracies against Namibia and its people. We have frustrated the enemy's diabolical policies and schemes of bantustans and 'homelands' similar to those of Transkei and Bophuthatswana in South Africa itself. The enemy intends first to create a bantustan in Northern Namibia and then to be followed by the so-called Nama bantustan, Okavango bantustan, Kaprivi bantustan, Herero bantustan, etc., But all these diabolical schemes have been frustrated by the political opposition to the regime and its puppets as well as the intensification of armed

liberation struggle. We have resolved to fight and free our country and our people, if there is no genuine effort towards a negotiated settlement leading Namibia to freedom and independence which our people decide for themselves,

QUES: Speaking about the policies of the racists in Namibia, as attempts are now being made to say that apartheid is being removed by means of various proclamations and decrees by both Steyn and the co-called Constituent Assembly in Namibia, could you maybe say what is the reality of the situation in Namibia now?

ANSW: As a matter of fact, SWAPO and the people of Namibia do not seek reforms in the colonial repressive system of oppression, but we are fighting completely to liquidate the illegal occupationist forces of the Pretoria fascist regime. We do not accept any reforms in the repressive laws, we seek to completely remove them and substitute these colonial institutions with the people's government. A government that will serve the interest of all the Namibians irrespective of their colour, race or places of origin.

QUES: Recently there has been a mass arrest of SWAPO members, leaders and supporters. What is the aim of this campaign?

ANSW: Well, the aim of the racist Pretoria regime is to suppress the popular political aspirations of the Namibian people towards genuine freedom and independence. That is why the regime has embarked upon repressive laws proclaiming Martial Law, through which it empowers its soldiers, para-military police and so-called security forces to arrest, massacre and torture leaders, supporters and members of SWAPO. But all these repressive measures will never deter the Namibian people from continuing with the struggle for the overthrow of the most hated fascist colonial regime in Namibia. The war of national liberation will continue with intensity until we score the final victory over the forces of darkness and death.

# THE MILITARISATION OF THE SOUTH

## AFRICAN REGIME

### P A R T 2.

- Jimmy Wilson

At the end of the first part of this article we left our principal characters, under the directorship of P.W. Botha, scurrying around parliament producing and amending Act after Act as part of their "Total Strategy" for the hopeless task of defeating the South African revolution.

While they are scurrying, their friends in uniform - the military strategists - are filling their ashtrays with stompies and their livers with KWV, trying to fathom out a way to stop an unstoppable force - Umkhonto we Sizwe.

One of their headaches, for instance, is that white farmers are running away from their farms in the border areas - particularly in the Northern Transvaal.

It was reported in the Johannesburg 'Star' of 4th April, 1979, that Lieutenant General Bob Rodgers, chief of the South African Air Force, was calling for measures to stop the "depopulation of the farming areas".

A bright suggestion came from a certain M. Coetzee, deputy Minister of Defence. He said the government was considering the establishment of small "defendable" towns along the borders where farmers from surrounding areas could live under "strictly controlled security". He suggested that the state buy the farms in the area and lease them out to the farmers. One condition though was that farmers should have had military training.

Another attempt to solve this problem is the establishment of 'MARNET' - Military Area Radio Network. The purpose of 'MARNET' is to "supplement vulnerable telephone communications in remote areas". It consists of radio stations in these areas which are in communication with a permanent control station at a commando head quarters. According to the 'Defence White Paper' of 1979, 'MARNET' has so far been established in the Natal, Northern Transvaal and North Western Command areas.

But despite special radio networks and garrison towns, the racists still can't rid themselves of terrifying visions of MM cadres darting unhindered through the bush. So Coetzee has promised that a permanent Defence Force presence will be maintained in the border areas to "strengthen the population" there.

No doubt the population they hope to strengthen is the white population - the ones who are running away. As for the black population - the peasants and farm workers who are more firmly tied to the land they work than are the landowners who exploit them - the intention is not so much to strengthen them as to increase their subjugation by more sophisticated and subtle means.

Botha and his colleagues have at least learnt this much from history - that it is the support of the people which makes people's war so inevitably victorious; that the people are the mountains and forests, the logistics supply, the communications network and the intelligence service of the guerrillas.

So Botha's strategists, their minds befuddled with desperation, have come up with what they think is a brilliant plan. They argue, with reactionary naïvety, that if the success of guerrilla warfare depends on the politicisation of the people by the guerrillas, then the answer is to get to the people before the guerrillas do - to "win the hearts and minds" of the people. They forget that they have been "getting to" the people for over 200 years, and that those years have taught the people that whether the oppressors come with shining white smiles or spattering guns, they are coming with one thing in hand - oppression.

Nevertheless the Boers are very pleased with what they think is their alternative to the laws of history and they are going ahead with their attempts to "win the hearts and minds" of the people.

So while on the one hand the South African Defence Force is pouring into the border areas with its guns, tanks, planes and other fancy equipment to "strengthen the population", on the other hand they are deploying special contingents of "nice Boers" to help the people with their shopping,

their farming, their education, building schools and clinics, giving away bibles and other choice literature, and generally "teaching the ways of the white man".

It's strange that these "nice Boers" are not doing these "nice things" for the people in other parts of the country where there is no immediate military threat. After all these people too have been waiting patiently for many years for clinics, schools and agricultural assistance.

Perhaps the reason for this is best explained by a certain Lieutenant Spiess, a low-ranking officer in the South African army in Namibia, who in an interview with an overseas film team in 1977 said the following:

"LT SPIESS: We want to win the favour of the local population. It's difficult to explain to them the situation they are in at this stage. Terrorists come over and they tell the local population a lot of stories that are not quite true. I believe it is in the interests of the local population that we tell them what is right and not right, and not the terrorists. We do not agree with their aims.

INTERVIEWER: You do not agree with their aims but the people do?

LT SPIESS: Yes, this is the problem. This is what the war is about".

A further indication both of the extent to which the militarisation mania has swept away with Botha and his plotters, and to which these plotters fail to understand the organics of people's war, is their never-ending introduction of new Defence Force units. This is despite the fact that the SADF already has a huge number and variety of units at its disposal - including infantry, mechanised, motorised, parachute, artillery, anti-aircraft, engineering and signals units, plus the many support units, technical, medical, logistical, etc.,

A handful of MK fighters battle it out at Rustenburg and the racists establish a "new battle school to provide continuous conventional training for all the army's conventional formations up to



divisional level".

Three men spend ten devastating minutes in Moroka police station and the racists established a new parachute brigade to "provide the army with a quick reaction force".

Then, perhaps in anticipation of the African National Congress extending its underground activities to underwater activities, the SADF has introduced a new special section of the navy - the Marines. The Marines is supposed to be a "counter-insurgency strike force specialising in land and seaward defence of all ports". To do this they are being equipped with a specially made patrol craft, fitted out with a 50mm machine gun, a 7,62 mm machine gun, scare charges, shotguns, radio and radar.

Botha and his guarddogs are not only licking the wounds inflicted by the Spear of the Nation inside the country. They also have to contend with the powerful ANC external mission and its friends throughout the world.

One of the fruits of the ANC's international work has been the United Nations mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. No one believes for a moment that this embargo has stopped all supplies of arms and military equipment to South Africa. But it does at least have Botha and the imperialists crawling like moles through all the loopholes they can find to get military hardware to the racists.

According to an article in the British newspaper 'The Observer', "Pretoria's network of military agents and arms buyers is far more extensive than the propaganda capers of the Information Department. There is also the strong suspicion that western intelligence agencies are carrying out secret arms deals with the South African government contrary to the policies of their own governments.

According to a book recently published by two American "strategic experts" immense shipments of tanks, guns, armoured cars and aircrafts have flowed into South Africa in the past few years from countries like Britain, France, the USA, Italy, Portugal, Canada, and Switzerland. This equipment of imperialism includes 40 Starfighter

bombers handed down from the West German Luftwaffe and "hundreds of American-built tanks".

In spite of this, Vorster - when he was still a member of the Botha family - was forced to admit in May this year that "SADF men did their operational duties knowing much of their equipment was not readily replaceable".

In order to reassure their supporters, Botha and company are constantly claiming that the arms embargo is in fact working in the regime's favour by forcing it to become self-sufficient in arms production. This is being said so often, in fact, that it seems that it is himself Botha is trying to reassure.

In 1977, by an amendment to the Armaments Development and Procurement Act, responsibility for the purchase and supply of arms to the SADF was centralised in Armscor. Armscor controls nine subsidiary companies whose functions include the design and manufacture of electro-optical systems, aircraft, guided missiles, rifles and artillery, explosives and ammunition, chemical research, the manufacture of armoured cars and other vehicles and the production of navy vessels. Armscor itself has overall responsibility for planning and administration and works in direct cooperation with the South African Defence Force.

In addition Armscor hands out tens of thousands of military contracts to private companies each year. One estimate is that over 1,200 private companies handle Armscor work. This means that a huge portion of the South African economy is caught up in Botha's militarisation web in a frantic attempt to keep up with the growing needs of the Defence Force.

The racists take great pleasure in announcing the development of this or that new piece of equipment. And each new development is announced as the most advanced in the world.

To take a few examples from the first few months of this year alone:

- In February, Botha announced that South Africa had made a "major breakthrough" in missile technology, and that they were now "totally self-sufficient" in missile production. He also claimed

that the "Navy's strike power was strengthened by the addition of the first two of a series of naval vessels constructed in South Africa" - a mine hunter and the harbour-patrol vessel mentioned earlier.

- In March it was announced that the Atlas Aircraft Corporation - one of Armscor's subsidiaries - was manufacturing light aircraft and the Impala strike and trainer military planes.

- In April Botha announced that production had started on a new generation of field guns "suited to South African conditions". The new "South African-designed" G-5 would, he claimed, "place South Africa in the forefront of the production of field artillery batteries at least till the end of the century". He has also claimed that it would provide a strong challenge to the Katyusha - which goes to show the contents of Botha's nightmares.

- At the same time he announced that South Africa's fighter planes have had their "lives extended by the addition of sophisticated missiles". South Africa's fighter planes certainly need their "lives extended" - in February this year the racists themselves announced that their airforce had lost R35-million worth of jet aircrafts in the past year alone - i.e. nine planes, three pilots and two navigators. Add to that the Mirage III, which crashed killing its pilot during training its pilot during training near Pietersburg in April, as well as the planes recently shot down by SWAPO and FAPLA, and you get some idea of their problem. In fact, MK cadres can take heart from the fact that every time they peer along the barrel of their guns at a South African Air Force plane, they have the potential of bringing crashing to the ground approximately R4-million worth of racist equipment.

- Again in April the racists boasted about the production of a new navy missile-carrying strike craft built in Durban. They reassured their nervous constituents that it was the "most sophisticated vessel in the world of its type and size" and that it was equipped with "some of the most advanced electronic systems in the world".

But perhaps Botha's proudest moment was when, once more in April, he introduced what he thinks is the alternative to the AK-47 - the "new light-weight, light-calibre R-4". Not everyone shares Botha's confidence in the R-4 however. The Johannesburg 'Star' of 27th April, reported that there is "unease in foreign circles" about the stopping power of the R-4's 5,56mm bullet. Apparently American 'Vietnam veterans' say that the bullet is "so light it can be deflected by a twig".

This incessant boasting about South Africa's new weapons and weapons-producing capacity seems as much a part of Botha's "Total Strategy" as the weapons themselves - perhaps it's the 'psychological' strand of the militarisation web.

We, MK cadres have enough of a fighting history behind us to look with scorn at an enemy who boasts too much before battle. Botha's chest-

thumping claim that South Africa has become self-sufficient in weapons production is of the same order as Chelmsford's vainglorious boast about the might of the British army before the Battle of Isandhlwana.

A recent interview conducted by Radio Freedom with a British journalist revealed that the racist's 'great new' artillery piece - the G-5 - was in fact designed and produced with the direct assistance of a Canadian-American company with the connivance of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

It seems that after the Boers got their backsides burnt by the Katyusha in Angola, they ran squeeling to the CIA who put them on to this American-Canadian firm which secretly shipped to the racists large quantities of newly-developed long-range artillery shell plus equipment for the establishment of an artillery research unit.

Time will tell just how much more of Botha's boasts are nothing but hot air. Nevertheless the rapidly increasing production and procurement of military equipment remains an important part of Botha's "grand" militarisation strategy, not only in relation to the intensification of the racist's military build-up, but also in its effect on the overall South African economy.

To be continued...

## O U R   G R E A T   T A S K

This is an extract from OUR REVOLUTION, an article written by Paul Petersen, which formed one of a series of lectures he delivered to members of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE units.

"Comrades we are faced with a great task. We live in a period when all mankind is emerging from centuries of strife and conflict. We live in a time when the prospect of peace and happiness has come within the reach of all. But before the dawn of a new life comes over the horizon there is still one battle to be fought. Before mothers may love their children and guide them into a world of peace and plenty, they will first see them being torn away from their homes. There is a bit of the idealist in all of us. Who can resist the temptation to take a peep behind the curtain that divides the present from the bright future? And having seen what tomorrow has in store for us it is hard to be patient, it is hard to wait when the joy of freedom is so near. No one can be blamed for wanting to tear aside that curtain and to step over the threshold into a new life. But we must be careful. Let us not allow tomorrow to be put once more beyond our grasp. It has taken much toil. But the last step will be the hardest of all. It has taken much care and preparation to bring us so invitingly close to victory. It will take more care and hard work to make the promise a reality. It would be a betrayal of those who have struggled valiantly if we should now, in one tragic act of recklessness destroy everything.

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON. Nothing can stop it. Nothing can prevent it. There are many soldiers of freedom. Nothing can stop them from being born. Each of us has his task in the great fight. Let us not despair. Despair is an enemy of the revolutionary. Let us truly believe that victory will come. Let us be eager but let us also take care that eagerness does not endanger the revolution. Above all let us take this business of revolution seriously. Let us take politics seriously because revolution is a political act. It is true that we

may not like politics. But then very few people like politics, many of us here would have preferred to be working in a factory or doing some such useful thing.

Many of us would have preferred to continue our studies. Many of us would have preferred in the arms of a sweetheart. All of us have mothers and fathers and brothers and sisters. Many of us have little ones. But such is the cruelty of revolution. These are the things that we have vowed should never again happen to the youth of our country. Let us not fail them comrades. Let us not act so that the generations of the future may blame their misery on our impatience. Comrades, mankind is about to step out of darkness into the brightness. Now there will be light. We, each one of us will play his part. We are participants in the greatest events in the life of mankind. As one of the greatest martyrs of freedom begged his people from the gallows, we must remind ourselves, "Comrades be vigilant".

"A REVOLUTIONARY DEDICATES HIMSELF TO THE CAUSE OF A BETTER LIFE. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS, HE WILL SACRIFICE HIS OWN LIFE. A REVOLUTIONARY LOVES LIFE AND HE KNOWS THAT LIFE DOES NOT END WHEN HE HIMSELF HAS DIED. HE KNOWS THAT LIFE, THE LIFE THAT HE LOVED, WILL GO ON IN THE SMILES, LAUGHTER OF HAPPY CHILDREN. HE KNOWS THAT LIFE WILL GO ON IN THE SMILES OF BEAUTIFUL GIRLS FOR THEIR YOUTHFUL LOVERS. HE KNEW THAT LIFE WILL GO ON IN THE HEARTS OF A NATION THAT WILL REMEMBER HIM. THIS IS THE LIFE FOR WHICH HE GLADLY GIVES HIS OWN".

- PAUL PETERSEN (BASIL FEBRUARY) - An Umkhonto combatant who when discovered by Rhodesian armed forces while on his way to South Africa, refused to surrender and fought single-handedly to the bitter end.

## MOSHOESHOE: A YEAR OF THE SPEAR PROFILE

- M. Nkomonde

The maxim that war is politics employing other means has become generally accepted as true since it was formulated. The obverse, that politics is war using other means, is less readily accepted. Among the great Southern African statesmen of the 19th century, perhaps no other man besides Moshoeshoe, the founder of the Sotho nation, grasped this truth more clearly. The independence of Lesotho today, though its territory is much reduced from what he had ruled, can be directly attributed to his skillful employment and ability to combine diplomacy with military force. In our day we have seen how wisely this tactic was deployed by our Vietnamese comrades during their wars of liberation against both the French and United States imperialists.

Moshoeshoe was the son of Mokhashane and Kholu of the Bakwena tribe, one of many Sotho speaking tribes then distributed along the length of the Drakensburg and westward as far as the desert of the Kalahari. He was born around 1786, near Butha-Butha. At birth he was given the name Lepoqo, and at his initiation into manhood was renamed Tlabutle. The name by which he became famous, Moshoeshoe, was originally a title bestowed upon him by the praise poets after he had demonstrated his military prowess during a short war with one of the neighbours. By 'shaving the beard' of his opponent (as the poets then described defeating another chief in battle) he was given the title Moshoeshoe, which is an imitation of the sound of the razor as it shears away the hairs of the defeated chief's beard.

Together with his brothers, Moshoeshoe grew up under his father's guidance at Menokhaneng. At his initiation he shared the initiates lodge with Makonyane, who in manhood was to be one of his chief counsellors and a commander of the Sotho armies.

During the years of Moshoeshoe's adolescence and young manhood, there was a well known ngaka (healer) and rainmaker, Mohlomi, living among his people. Mohlomi had travelled widely during his

time and had come to know intimately the other African communities to the east, the west, the north and the south. Moshoeshoe very early became a disciple of the ngaka. The sage's knowledge made a great impression on him and this was reinforced when after his initiation Mokhashane, Moshoeshoe's father, handed his son over to Mohlomi for further instruction.

As the repository of traditional knowledge, customs, lore and mores Mohlomi taught Moshoeshoe his first lessons in statecraft impressing on him that greatness lay not in holding power for its own sake but in using power to defend and protect the weak; that the great ruler was he who could attract people to him by persuasion and moral example rather than by force or bullying.

During Moshoeshoe's boyhood and youth, the Sotho speaking people were divided amongst a number of autonomous principalities including the Bakwena, Bataung, Bafokeng, Batlokwa, Bakhatla and the Baphuthi. Around the 1820s a series of political upheavals now known as the Mfecane (in the Nguni languages) or Difaqane (in the Sotho, Tswana and Pedi languages) erupted in South Africa. From his capital at Butha-Buthe, Moshoeshoe began moulding the separate Sotho groups into a centralised state under the leadership of the Bakwena. His plans were both interrupted and abetted by the Mfecane wars. In 1824, Matiwane and his Ngwane people, fleeing from war-torn Natal, attacked Moshoeshoe and his people at Butha-Buthe. Fighting under Moshoeshoe's command, the Sotho beat off the Ngwane advance, forcing Matiwane to turn his migrating people southwards where they fell on the Hlubi and the Mpondo forcing a route as far south as Mthatha. During the winter months of that same year, a similar migrating group, the Batlokwa, led by their queen Mmanthatisi, laid seige to Butha-Buthe and forced the Sotho to seek refuge in the mountains of their country. It was during this retreat that Moshoeshoe established himself on Thaba-Bosiu, a flat-topped mountain whose summit could only be reached through a few easily defended passes. Thaba-Bosiu has a rich topsoil, many water-holes and green sweet grass which made it possible



to sow corn and graze cattle. This natural endowment enabled the Sotho to hold out almost indefinitely against any invader. In the end, Mmanthatisi and her armies were forced to move on to more vulnerable targets.

This great victory won by Moshoeshoe, with very little loss of life on either side, immediately raised his prestige in the region. Fugitives from other tribes, including former enemies whose own communities had disintegrated during the wars now flocked to him. He also began to display what was later to be one of his main weapons, the combination of diplomacy and warfare, as two different means working towards the same end, during this time. The two most formidable threats to the rising Sotho nation at the time were the Zulu under Shaka and the Ngwane under Matiwane. Of the two, Matiwane was the principle threat. At no cost to himself or his people Moshoeshoe skillfully played off Shaka against Matiwane. Matiwane was defeated and thus the immediate threat was removed. He employed similar tactics when handling an invasion by Mzilikazi's Ndebele, in 1831. After soundly beating Mzilikazi's armies in the mountain passes of Thaba-Bosiu, Moshoeshoe sent the retreating enemy a gift of fat oxen to restrain the Ndebele from devastating the surrounding country-side in search of food.

From his secure base on the mountain, Moshoeshoe could afford to be generous and flexible whereas his rivals, Mzilikazi, Mmanthatisi and Matiwane were forced by circumstances to be more ruthless. He never attacked, he fought only to defend his people, their lands and his allies. To spread his influence more widely, he began to invite fugitives caught up in the maelstrom of the Mfecane to join him and offered protection to smaller tribes who would otherwise have been engulfed by the wars. Thus the Baphuthi became a tributary tribe to the Sotho but retained their autonomy in internal affairs and some aspects of military policy.

After beating off the invaders to his east, a new threat from the south-west appeared. These were the Koranna, an independent Coloured community

made up of Khoi, escaped slaves and Coloureds migrating from the Cape. Through longstanding contact with the European invaders the Koranna had become Christians, using horses, firearms and wearing European style clothing. They had lost their original languages and now spoke Dutch.

After they entered the areas north of the Orange river, then called Transorangia, the Koranna periodically raided Sotho cattle and other livestock in order to build up their herds. Despite Sotho pleas they were reluctant to enter into negotiations to resolve their differences. In order to build up Sotho defences against this new threat, Moshoeshoe resolved to do three things: To acquire horses so that his people would have the same mobility as the Koranna; to acquire guns to place them on an equal footing with regard to weapons; and to acquire the European skills which the Koranna were putting to such effective use. Thus in 1833, three missionaries from the Paris Evangelical society arrived at Thaba-Bosiu. That same year, Moorosi, chief of the Phuthi, gave Moshoeshoe his first horse from amongst the spoils the former had won in a raid against the White colonialists in the eastern Cape.

In 1837, a threat far greater than all his African opponents now faced Moshoeshoe. The Boer trekkers crossed into Transorangia with their wagons and horses. Moshoeshoe realised immediately that these were a section of the foreign invaders who were encroaching on the Xhosa, the Thembu and the Khoi of the Cape. They were a threat not only to his people but to the independence and freedom of all the African people of our country. The power the Boers wielded was burned even deeper into his mind when they used the Barolong as allies to smash the once powerful Ndebele army at Vegkop later that year. Fighting from the cover of their defensive laager, Boer firearms mowed down the Ndebele before they could close to make their spears effective.

The most important thing as Moshoeshoe saw was to bury the feuds and quarrels of the past and build a defensive alliance far wider than the one he had constructed among the Sotho and would have to embra-

ce those of the Cape, Natal and those inland. Common interest in resisting Boer aggression now made the Koranna more amenable to Sotho diplomacy. Starting with his immediate neighbours, Moshoeshoe built up an alliance with the Griqua, the Koranna and the Bataung under Moletsane. From his new allies, the Griqua and Koranna, he traded corn and other grain in return for horses and guns. The Sotho soon became excellent marksmen and within a few years had bred the tough 'Basotholand Pony' adapted to the rugged conditions of their mountainous country.

The French missionaries now also became valuable informants through whom Moshoeshoe familiarised himself with European politics and about the conflicts and rivalries dividing the Boers from the British. Using this intelligence, he began devising an elaborate diplomatic strategy aimed at isolating the Boers. As in the case of Matiwane and Shaka, Moshoeshoe realised that though the British were the greater threat, the Boers were the immediate danger which had to be dealt with. By isolating them from the British and exploiting the differences between them he would achieve two things: (1) He would buy time for the African people so that when the greater British danger presented itself they would have had time to prepare themselves to face it. (2) By dealing with the White invaders one at a time, the Africans would more easily defeat both rather than a united front of Boer and Briton.

Parallel with the diplomatic effort, Moshoeshoe began making military preparations. From 1838 onwards, all surplus Sotho grain went towards the purchase of firearms to narrow the disparity in arms between the Africans and the Whites. By 1843, the Sotho were known to have one of the largest arsenals amongst the independent African kingdoms.

In fact Sotho diplomacy resulted in war with the British before any real fight with the Boers. In their effort to isolate the Boers, the Sotho had opened negotiations with the British colonialists in the Cape. The outcome was a Treaty signed in December, 1843, by whose terms the British agreed to recognise and respect the Sotho borders. Five

years later, in 1848, the treacherous Sir Harry Smith, repudiated the treaty and annexed Transorangia as the 'Orange River Sovereignty'. In October of that year, Smith tried to impose an unequal treaty on the Sotho seizing large tracts of their land for the newly created British colony.

Moshoeshoe had seen this coming and prepared his allies for a confrontation. By this time the Batlokwa had been subdued. Mmanthatisi had been succeeded by her son Sekonyela and they had become allies of the Sotho. Satisfied that he was ready, Moshoeshoe rejected Smith's treaty. In a vain attempt to enforce it, Smith marched a column of troops into Lesotho in 1851. He was soundly beaten by the Sotho and their allies. The next year, still smarting from the defeat, three columns from the Cape under Cathcart, marched into Lesotho. At the battle of Berea, on 20th December, 1852, the Sotho fielded 6,000 horsemen besides foot soldiers. All the mounted troops were equipped with firearms.

Though the Sotho had off-set the usual disparity in arms between Black and White, their most effective weapons at Berea were still the traditional spear and battle axe. A squad of mounted British colonialist lancers was trapped in a pass at Berea. Descending upon them with these weapons, the Sotho warriors wiped it out almost to a man. Cathcart ran away with his tail between his legs, then advised the British government to abandon both the war and Smith's scheme to annex Transorangia.

Moshoeshoe had rightly foreseen that the effectiveness of his alliance system would persuade other African rulers to follow his example. Sekwati, king of the Bapedi, sought and made an alliance with Moshoeshoe. The political understanding was sealed with royal marriage in traditional fashion. Standing astride the cross-roads between the Cape and the people to the north, the west and the east, the Sotho could serve as a conduit for arms. After 1850, Pedi labourers regularly passed through Sotho territory en route to the Cape and later the diamond fields. With their wages they bought arms and ammunition. In this way, King Sekwati and his son Sekhukhuni were able to build

up an arsenal to defend themselves against the Boers in the Transvaal. To strengthen the general defences of the other African kingdoms, the Sotho dispatched their gunsmiths and marksmen to train troops in these areas. This was true in Zululand where Sotho marksmen helped Cetshwayo in developing two regiments equipped with guns.

In 1854, the British imperialists withdrew from north of the Orange river. Before their departure, they tried to arrange things in such a fashion that the Boers and Sotho would wear each other down in mutually ruinous wars, in fact trying to turn Moshoeshe's diplomacy against him. However, of the two the British favoured the Boers and wanted to make sure that the Sotho got the worst of any military confrontation. To make the Sotho more vulnerable, they made a pact with the Boers prohibiting the sale of arms and ammunition to the Sotho or any other independent African kingdom.

Unlike the present day 'embargo' against Smith and his Pretoria allies, the British imperialists strictly applied sanctions against Moshoeshe. To breach this embargo the Sotho encouraged smugglers and White deserters from the British colonists' armies to come into their territory. With the aid of these they could acquire guns and also learnt how to make ammunition and cast cannon.

The British-devised embargo bore fruit when war broke out between the Sotho and the Boer 'Free State' in 1858. While the Sotho had to make do with a trickle of guns bought from money-hungry smugglers, the Boers had been able to buy the most up to date weapons available on the world market. This included the new Schneider breech-loader and Enfield rifle. Apart from these they also had new British artillery pieces.

Despite these advantages, Sotho military skill and ingenuity won the day. From smugglers the Sotho had acquired a battery of six cannons from the Cape and had cast a brass three-pounder devised by White deserters and made by their own smiths. When the Boers advanced into Sotho territory, the foot-soldiers drew them deeper and deeper into

the mountains. Meanwhile, the Sotho mounted troops commanded by Moshoeshoe's son, Masopha, outflanked the advancing Boers and raided Boer farms in the enemy's rear. The Boers advance was stopped at Thaba Bosiu and while they made preparations to lay seige to the fortress, reports came in of Masopha's raids on their homes. Confused and terrified, the Boer army disintegrated into a hundred and one disputing factions and withdrew. From the west the Koranna under Taaibosch had also opened up a new front and harrassed the Boers. Faced with this prospect, the Boers asked for peace.

During the war of 1858, Moshoeshoe had fought with skill and from a position of immense moral superiority against his enemies. All onlookers,\* he had also out-generaled the Boers, forcing them to choose between two equally untenable alternatives: a long seige of Thaba Bosiu with little prospect of success while their farms were reduced to ashes in their rear; or a hasty retreat to retrieve what was left of these but leaving the undefeated Sotho free to attack their retreating armies. In the face of this, Boer morale broke and their army fell to pieces. The Sotho had emerged victorious in spite of British treachery and Boer aggression.

The balance of local and international forces in the 19th century did not however favour African resistance, no matter how skillful. In the following two wars against the Boers, this factor was to come into greater prominence. The arms the Sotho acquired through smugglers were of poor quality. During this time almost all the armies of Europe were re-equipping and their old weapons had begun to flood the world market. The Boers, who could buy direct from the new arms dealers or through the Cape, readily acquired the up to date weapons they wanted. The smugglers sold the Sotho the outdated muzzle loaders. The disparity in arms now denied the Sotho victory. The price the Boers paid for aggression was however still high.

Unable to match Boer firepower, the Sotho had to retreat into the mountains and try to fight using the terrain. When the next war began in 1865, the Boers were drawn deep into Lesotho and laid

seige to Thaba Bosiu. From August of that year till April, 1866, the Boers made repeated attempts to storm the fortress. Moshoeshoe's armies beat off each attempt. In their last desperate try, the Boer commander, Louis Wepenaar, was killed and the Boer army smashed in the rout that followed. At this point the Sotho monarch decided to turn to diplomacy and suggested that the British be invited to mediate between them. At first the Boers refused, confident that the drawn out war had exhausted the Sotho and put forward a number of punitive conditions for peace. Unable to accept these terms, Moshoeshoe began making overtures to the British to take his country under their protection.

The Boers now turned to harrassing tactics hoping to give the Sotho no breathing space in which to recoup their losses from the war. At the same time the ambitious Shepstone decided to help the Boers by putting military pressure on Moshoeshoe's eastern flank. Under these stresses, the unity of the Sotho kingdom began to crack. First Molapo, one of Moshoeshoe's sons, residing closest to Natal, the Boers sued for a seperate peace in March, 1866. Soon after the other chiefs followed suit and finally Moshoeshoe himself on the 5th April, 1866.

Moshoeshoe had decided to seek peace in order "to sow corn" as the Sotho expressed it. Buying time was a costly exercise at this time. The Boers demanded the rich farmlands on the banks of the Caledon river and the annexation of Molapo's chiefdom as 'Free State' tributary. However, the Boers were unable to occupy their newly acquired farmlands and thus enabled the Sotho gradually to re-occupy the land.

In 1867, the Boers determined to put an end to this and marched their armies into Lesotho once again. To secure their rear, the Boers waged a war of pillage and destruction, killing and burning as they advanced. Fighting with skill, the Sotho armies slowed down the Boer advance until March, 1868, when Wodehouse, the new British commissioner at the Cape, decided to respond to Moshoeshoe's

overtures and declared Lesotho a British "Protect-  
orate".

Moshoeshoe was determined that his country would not fall into the hands of the Boers and hoped to retain a great deal of control even under British protection. He had put a number of riders and conditions to his request for protection and though Lesotho lost its independence, some degree of local initiative remained. Two years after this, the great statesman died.

During his lifetime, Moshoeshoe had forged from the divided tribes and clans of the Sotho a unified kingdom which won prestige amongst all the peoples of southern Africa. With his system of alliances, he devised a strategy to defend African independence which proved itself at Viervoet, in 1851, and at Berea in 1852, and again in 1858. Had it been more widely applied, there is no knowing what other successes it might have won. By the skillful application of diplomacy and warfare, he preserved the integrity of what he had built. It is largely thanks to him that Lesotho is today an independent African state.

\*Corr: Page 29, Second Para, third line.

... All onlookers, including the British imperialists, were forced to admit that he acted in self-defence. Militarily, he had also...

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THE STORMY POLITICAL LIFE OF A 97-YEAR-OLD SOWETO MAN HAS LEFT HIM TIRED BUT UNALTERED IN HIS IDEALS. NOT ONLY IS MR WILLIAM SEBINA LETLALO ONE OF THE OLDEST POLITICAL THINKERS IN SOWETO, BUT WHEN HE WAS PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST FOR FIVE YEARS AT HIS DUBE HOME, HE BECAME AN HISTORICAL FIGURE. MR LETLALO WAS A MEMBER OF THE BANNED AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA) SINCE 1916. ...

"I AM NOW JUST ABOUT TO DIE AND WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO SEE MY PEOPLE LIBERATED. ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT THE TIME IS DRAWING NEARER WHEN ALL PEOPLE, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE COLOUR OF THEIR SKIN, SHALL LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AND HARMONY".



## WHEN WE STRIKE THEY SHRINK

- Vusi Africa

As the struggle for our birthrights gains momentum, and our telling blows leave visible scars on the face of ugly apartheid, panic unfolds itself in the Boer fascist laager. For the whole of July and part of August, 1979, the fascist Prime Minister Piet Botha, has been touring the bantustans seeing his stooges and puppets and promising them all the impossibles.

He tells them that they will have more land and thus more power, they will be like him and roam around the 'stans' talking about the necessity of preventing the 'terrorists' from coming into our 'peaceful' South Africa and suburbs to sow havoc and death. He also warns them that if they abandon the path he has shown them, that of hating freedom and loving baasskap, he will freeze their cheques. He also promises them that some great firms from abroad are going to bring stability by erecting gigantic factories in the bantuhomelands and border areas so everybody will be employed and taxation will be higher thus making the economy viable, that is domestic economy for the families of the Chief Minister. And the poor lost souls listen very attentively to their lord telling them all the possible fibs this earth can produce.

They do not stop to think why Botha all of a sudden has become such a benevolent friend in need, paradoxically. Botha is visiting them to woo them to agree to help him in his war with the nation, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Botha is aware that he cannot win this war, so he wants the puppets to supply him with fighting material, which is black soldiers, to fight the black nation.

Unfortunately these puppet thugs are clever when it comes to massacring their own people. They do not hesitate, the affirmative comes out as a bullet from their mouths: "Ja Baas", they all echo, "these terrorists are dangerous, they have just shot Nkosi dead in his bedroom and they are still at large".

On the other side one of them seems to think we are bloody fools: he says, "ANC exiles are welcome here provided they do not continue with their politics". ANC is politics, that is just why it was formed in 1912, and we do not need asylum in the reserves, we belong to South Africa, the whole of it, not bits and pieces of semi-desert land called labour homeland.

Amongst the myriad of reasons that have caused Botha all this pain to tour the barren lands is to cool the hot air that was blown by his minister of co-operatives, Koornhof, abroad and in the homelands. Koornhof went around the homelands forming committees without Botha's knowledge and he promised the puppets that these committees were pathfinders for real freedom, not the one prescribed by Verwoerd the architect of balkanisation of our land. Many were taken in and thought that here was some Messiah come from Nazareth to save the children of South Africa from bondage. Abroad, Koornhof declared for the world to know that apartheid was unworkable and was doomed to failure, because it was not acceptable to all the people of South Africa.

Now some of the chosen members that had previously agreed to serve in Mr Koornhof's committees are resigning. They are now afraid that the people might turn their wrath against them because right from the beginning the people told both the Boers and their puppets in the then reserves that they do not want bantustans, they want their whole land as it is - it belongs to them. But these stooges felt that half a loaf is better than no bread. And we really do not want half loaves when we know the whole loaf is ours. That is where the clock is at this time. The Boers and half loaf stooges on one side and the nation with its army - Umkhonto we Sizwe on the other; the lines are drawn.

Botha sees that he seems to be carrying the burden alone, the puppets are not forthcoming with soldiers and behind him his soldiers are deserting the barracks and the front. Those who have run away from conscription and are now living abroad have formed themselves into an anti-war organisa-

tion encouraging others to resist call ups, enrolment and being sent to the front. They must desert and join the resisters from the Boer army. So Botha has to find substitutes since he is the Minister of Defence and he started the war not only inside South Africa, he is spreading it to neighbouring countries, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola.

Black puppet soldiers would be ideal for the war which this fascist intends intensifying, especially since his own soldiers are deserting him and some are murdering each other in his military camps. Under the gag law newspapers are not supposed to report the events taking place in the Boer laager but some daring journalists come out with reports of the sacred secret and they all indicate that all is not well behind the apartheid wall. The notorious hangmen, Jimmy Kruger, had to be removed from that great seat where he dispensed with murder, hanging freedom fighters at random and murdering others in police cells only to tell the world and our people that the detainees have committed suicide.

It is unfortunate for the puppets in Botha's payroll that when the names of all wrong and evil-doers are called for retribution, theirs will be amongst the Boers' names and they shall be swept into the river of oblivion together with them and their sham armies. To the poor souls, we say please look a little ahead of your nose, and to Botha we say, you will not turn the entire nation into Leonard Nkosis or Mthembus - even your puppets do not trust you - they simply fear you and your purse deceives them but they are yours, have them, you will help each other on burial day which is nigh. We will certainly co-operate with you in destroying your rotten system, apartheid once and for all with guns in our hands, at that time the length and breadth of our country shall be a battle field and the whole unarmed nation will be armed with guns and courage. Be sure we are winning now.

## THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

- Connie Dlingea

The progressive international community is awaiting the month of September this year with special expectations. During this month the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement will be holding their 6th Summit Conference in the Cuban capital of Havana.

A meeting of such magnitude and importance will be the first of its kind taking place in Latin America. It is of special importance because its venue will be the Island of Freedom, socialist Cuba. It is of significance because of the topics that are going to be discussed there, all reflecting the major trend in the international political arena. It is important because so many changes have taken place internationally since the summit meeting which was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka five years ago. It seems this movement is destined to grow as more countries strike the progressive line of development. Because of this fact, and because of the fact that many African states, including Liberation Movements, belong to this movement, a short survey becomes necessary. It is all the more necessary because of the movement's positive attitude towards the total liberation of the African continent from colonialism, racism and apartheid.

The Movement of Non-Aligned countries formed in September, 1961, with just 25 member countries at the time, has evolved into one of the vigorous and dynamic political forces in the international community. Over 90 developing countries, including National Liberation Movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe belong currently to this Movement as full members or as observers. This number is likely to increase after the Havana meeting, as some countries have already expressed their readiness to join the Movement of Non-Aligned countries. An example is the declaration of the new government of Nicaragua, which expressed the country's desire to attend the Havana meeting and formally join the Movement.

The Non-Aligned Movement is approaching the 18th anniversary of its foundation. Its constant

evolution constitutes the most outstanding characteristic of the movement. The existence of common interests, the adoption of common strategies of action have helped to preserve and strengthen the unity in the movement, despite the diverse political systems, the different ideologies pursued and different levels of economic development of member countries.

The Non-Aligned Movement is composed of over two thirds of the members of the United Nations. This fact alone makes this movement a strong force in the United Nations. The intense activities of this movement in the community of nations have converted it into a determining factor for the solution of many complex problems of international relations. The change of the balance of forces in favour of the progressive forces finds itself well reflected in the manifold activities of the underdeveloped countries in search for a common language in their struggle to eradicate the backwardness imposed by the long period of colonial domination, in search of self determination.

The Afro-Asian Conference of Bandung, which was held in 1955, was an important milestone to the later intergration of the Non-Aligned Movement. One year later, in 1956, the Heads of State of Egypt, Yugoslavia and India - Gamel Abdul Nasser, Jossip Broz Tito and Jarwahl Nehru - respectively met on the Island of Brioni, in Yugoslavia to examine the perspectives of what was later to be become the Non-Aligned Movement.

In September, 1961, the first summit meeting of the movement was held in Belgrade, in Yugoslavia. This initial conference was attended by 25 countries. Cuba was the only Latin American country present, and this was two years after her revolutionary triumph.

The Non-Aligned States are working together on the basis of set principles. These principles are that these countries pursue an independent policy. They respect the principle of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. They support the National Liberation Movements. They do not grant military bases to foreign powers in their territories.

These basic aims which serve as a premise for the emergence, intergration and later development of the Non-Aligned Movement eighteen years ago, have been reaffirmed in all the summit conferences since the Belgrade meeting of 1961. These were underlined in Cairo, in 1964, in Lusaka in 1970, in Algiers, in 1973 and in Colombo, in 1976. These principles will undoubtedly be re-emphasised in the coming summit conference to be held in Havana, this coming September.

The progressive content of the Non-Aligned Movement does not please the imperialists, who would have liked to misuse this powerful movement to serve their aims. The anti-imperialist platform on which these countries operate, make it possible for them to be a strong political force to reckon with in today's international political arena. The numerical and political strength of the countries belonging to the Non-Aligned Movement, their commitment to the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid make them one of the natural allies of the people of Southern Africa, struggling against the racist regimes, for the seizure of political power, for black majority rule and social progress.

The importance this movement attaches to questions related to the support for Liberation Movements in Southern Africa has been clearly demonstrated by the fact that SWAPO, of Namibia, and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, have been granted the status of permanent members of the Non-Aligned Movement

The liberation movement of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, will certainly benefit from the deliberations, decisions and resolutions of this important international forum. The ANC of South Africa, as participant in this summit conference will find yet another platform to strengthen the support for our liberation struggle and to mobilise world public opinion to isolate completely the racist apartheid regime which still continues to exploit and oppress the Black people of South Africa.

## B O O K R E V I E W

HOW LONG WILL SOUTH AFRICA SURVIVE - R.W. JOHNSON.

Published by: Macmillan.

This book has a very attractive title, particularly for us South Africans actively involved in a protracted struggle to overthrow the Pretoria regime. More than that, this title gives one an impression that the author is either a prophet or a profound political analyst. We are dealing here with a confused and above all a highly contemptuous bourgeois economist.

The book attempts to examine, among other things, the causes of the SOWETO uprising in 1976. According to Johnson, the SOWETO revolt was caused by the United States of America manipulating the gold price, causing balance of payment problems, unemployment of blacks and therefore a fall in living standards. Had there been no fall in the price of gold, Johnson argues, the 'problems' in SOWETO could not have arisen.

Johnson is so obsessed about his belief that the United States is busy altering the price of gold in the international market so as to bring pressure on South Africa to change its "social, political and economic structure" that he sees, ultimately, as the key to the future survival or collapse of the racists, this economic factor. He argues that the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa was not brought about by an intensified and protracted armed struggle by the Angolan and Mozambican people, but, according to him, when Portugal was faced with the choice of continuing in Africa or joining the European Economic Community, since Britain which was providing her with markets was also joining, "it became natural and logical for Portugal to decolonise" in preference for the European Economic Community.

The last rubbish from this book is Johnson's seeing SOWETO as an expression of another blunder in the struggle by the black workers. In his view, it is futile for the oppressed people of South Africa to fight against the racial capitalist system

because "the ruthless State police will deal with them effectively". How effective were the ruthless State police at Rustenburg and Moroka? How effective were the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau?

The author is extremely wrong to assume that the United States, with huge economic investments in South Africa, would like to pressurise South Africa to alter the social structure. It is common knowledge that the United States derives embarrassingly super profits from the Apartheid structure. Again he searches for the causes of the SOWETO uprising from a completely wrong and irrelevant source, namely, the US manipulation of the gold price. While it would be unfair to look at SOWETO as an isolated event or to deny that SOWETO had its roots primarily in the crisis which had been building up at every level of International Imperialism as well as in the Apartheid structure itself, but Johnson has to appreciate SOWETO as a qualitative expression of our people's struggle for liberation. Only then can he understand why, after all, it is wrong to speak of SOWETO in the past tense as though it is something over and done with, like all commercial transactions between the United States and South Africa in the International Stock Exchange, it is very important for whoever analyses SOWETO to see the dialectical link between the execution of Solomon Mahlangu on April, 1979, and the mass killings on the streets on June 16, 1976.

SOWETO continues! Johnson or no Johnson! The real power for change in South Africa does not lie either in the United States or in the International Markets but it lies with the people as led by the African National Congress and its mighty hand: Umkhonto we Sizwe!

- Khumalo Migwe



## M O T H E R

You sit, on star - sprangled night,  
The silvery moonlight made harsh  
By unblinking, hostile flood-lights,  
Talking to neighbours, spared.

Night closes in, quickly, ruthlessly.  
You move indoors, where silence reigns  
Cospicuous by its very noise - chilling.  
Loneliness the monster has claimed its prey.

Two years since, with all your children  
around the fire. Glorious evenings spent  
laughing, jostling, talking even fighting;  
The now silent house pregnant with life.

How many sons, daughters do you have, mother?  
Two, three or even five? All gone?  
Yes, you are lonely but wonderfully dominant,  
Is consuming burning, choking pulsating Pride.

Yes Pride, For in the heart of Africa  
Your sons working in the sun, muscles rippling  
laughing, jostling, talking, always singing  
Determined brave cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

You are solaced, for though never again held in arms  
they live so fully, that there is no higher degree,  
You know they live and if need be  
Will die so that mankind will be free.

GETTY LULAMA