

I SPEAK MY MIND

Theme: Landmarks in our Armed Struggle

- EDWARD DILINGA

THE SABOTAGE CAMPAIGN.

Twenty years of hardwork and sacrifice have passed since the formation of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The founders of our People's Army were faced with the problem of organising and controlling violence which was beginning to show itself spontaneously from the people. They were also faced with the task of creating a revolutionary army out of a people who were barred from military training or use of any type of modern weapons or the use of explosives; be it for civil or military purpose. Some of our people had never seen a pistol, rifle or machine gun unless in the hands of a fascist white soldier or police.

The basic problem of the army at that time was lack of training, it was a question of learning whilst you do. Yet the thirst for this knowledge was great and in the process quite good operations were carried out. In fact the enemy himself paid great tribute to our work by saying that people who had trained in Algeria had arrived.

A I M S

The aim of our first operations was to introduce the new phase of the struggle. It was to prepare our people mentally to accept the fact that we were now entering a period in which the level of sacrifice was higher than thither to. Having been steeped in an era of non-violent methods it became necessary to convince them of the necessity of the change to revolutionary violence. It became necessary to convince them by practical acts that we were capable of entering this new phase.

It also became necessary for us to convince Africa and the world at large that we had to embark on this phase of struggle. It was crucial that we prove our ability to do something practical and also to prove that we had exhausted all peaceful methods. This was the reason why our first Commander-in-chief, Comrade Nelson Mandela, had to make his tour of

Africa and some countries overseas.

A problem the leadership had to solve was one of convincing the units that at this stage we were to avoid the loss of life during our operations. We could not understand this because the boers were killing our people and we felt that we must in turn kill them. It was the painstaking explanation of the leadership which convinced some of us of the necessity to prove that the African National Congress was not a terrorist organisation which was not sensitive to the preservation of human life, more so that even within the liberation movement it was not totally agreed that it was time to change the method of struggle to the highest form. It was necessary for the leadership to convince everybody that the change to armed struggle was not an adventurist feat.

LACK OF MATERIAL

From the practical point of view as an operator a formidable obstacle was the lack of material. We used all methods to procure material for operating. I remember a time when we travelled 22 km to a quarry site with the hope of stealing explosives from a pillbox, just to find that it was impossible to open it. You can imagine how we felt considering that we had to foot all that distance in vain and risking arrest because the tents of the quarry-workers were about 50 metres from the pillbox.

There was a time when the units in Durban had procured a good amount of explosives but did not have detonators and yet we in the Eastern Cape had a good supply of detonators but did not have explosives.

An interesting aspect was that most of the comrades who were sent outside for military training were people who had been baptised in actions of MK inside the country. We were building MK units which would receive these members when they returned. We were beginning to train within the country and hoped that these people on their return would enhance our skills and knowledge in military science and art.

We had the advantage that the African National Congress was still well-organised and therefore we could use its machinery to assist whenever we were in trouble without exposing ourselves. Another advantage was that during the day we were ordinary citizens who were doing their work like everybody else. We could move to place or from places without attracting attention.

I must admit that from the early sixties to now a great deal has happened and our army has grown and become more

sophisticated in its manner of operation. It has better facilities than we had then. What seems to remain a common feature is the spirit of no surrender.

We are confident that our army will grow from strength to strength both as a political organiser and as the spear and shield of our people.

FORWARD TO THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF MK!
FORWARD TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

- JAMES MAKHAYA

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RIVONIA TRIAL.

On the 11th of July, 1963 the fascist police of Pretoria raided the headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe at Rivonia, Johannesburg. Several underground leaders of our organisation, the African National Congress, were arrested. Amongst these arrested were Comrades Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Elias Motswaledi, Ahmed Kathrada and others. The arrest came at a time when our leadership was beginning active preparations for the launching of guerrilla warfare. The South African police hastened to boast of having "broken the back" of our Liberation Movement. But events that followed exposed the fallacy of the boast.

Of course the arrest of the leadership of our people was a serious blow on the movement as a whole. Yet the arrest cannot be attributed to the enemy's proficiency but to certain errors and miscalculations on our part. Perhaps it is necessary to look at some of these miscalculations.

The introduction of armed struggle in South Africa had far-reaching consequences. As expected the enemy was to respond more ferociously in an attempt to destroy all those connected with this new form of struggle. The effectiveness of the enemy was dependent on a number of factors. Among them were our organisation's capacity to make its internal movement and security watertight. As it turned out later, security safeguards of the movement proved inadequate.

ACTIVISTS KNOWN

Firstly the majority of the leadership and other ANC activists were known by the enemy and his stool pigeons from the period of public campaigning. Added to this, the underground headquarters got to be known by more cadres than was necessary, therefore registering a violation to the basic rules of

conspiratorial work that fighters should only know what concerns the fulfilment of his task - this was mainly due to experiences of some banned leaders who operated clandestinely for several years without serious casualties inducing an attitude of undermining the fascist special branch. Though there were plans to change the headquarters or distribute its task, they could not be appreciated as u r g e n t. The first victims of the enemy's swoop, mostly first-timers and inexperienced in the hands of the sadistic boer-fascist torturers, in spite of their determination, revealed important secrets. This was to lead to the fascist crackdown on and disruption of different areas of our underground machinery. As the great V.I. Lenin once observed:

"Every new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices inevitably 'disorganises' organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle... But this does not mean that one must n o t fight. It means that one must learn to fight. That is all."

ANOTHER BATTLEGROUND

The arrested leadership turned their trial, which opened at the Old Synagogue early in 1964, into another battleground. The battle-hardened and steeled leadership was to conduct itself in a manner worthy of emulation. What looked as a blow was in fact transformed into a new offensive against the enemy. The trial was a forum where our leaders w e r e t o show our people and the world the patient, moderate and modest way in which the African National Congress persuaded the racist regime to come to reason but to no avail.

The question of the enemy's counter-offensive means that revolutionaries should perfect their tactics. They should always aim at frustrating the enemy's reprisal methods and spy net-work. He who does not commit mistakes means that he is doing nothing. It remains true that the overthrow of t h e racists in our country can only be achieved through armed struggle.

Today it is beyond any shadow of doubt that the liberation movement of our country has long recovered from the post-Rivonia set-back and has fully recaptured the offensive. We owe it to the t e n a c i t y and resilience of our leaders and comrades who stood trial in 1964.

LONG LIVE THE RIVONIA TRIALISTS!

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WANKIE/SIPOLILO CAMPAIGNS.

In 1968 the servant of our oppressed but fighting people, Comrade President Oliver Tambo spoke dialectically when he said:

"The sound of gunfire can be heard from the banks of the Zambesi river. Very soon the sounds shall be heard inside the Republic itself. The tide of revolution will grow and develop until it covers the whole of Southern Africa. There can be no compromise with the fascists... until apartheid and oppression have been smashed..."

This was when fierce fighting was raging between the ANC-ZAPU combatants and the Smith-Vorster racist troops in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) during the prominent Wankie-Sipolilo Campaigns of 1967/68. Little did the imperialists and their myopic henchmen of Salisbury and Pretoria foresee that only 13 years later, Zimbabwe would be more than a year liberated and in South Africa an artillery piece using 122 mm rockets would be used to shell the stronghold of apartheid Pretoria, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base.

S I G N I F I C A N C E

The significance of the Wankie-Sipolilo Campaigns is that it exposed the enemy's myth that a black man could not handle modern sophisticated weaponry. Hence the enemy was forced to run for dear life and some of his apolitical troops even left their weapons behind. It is in these operations that our struggle gave birth to martyrs like Paul Petersen, James Masimini, Peter Sithole, Delmas Sibanyoni and many other heroes of our revolution. In these campaigns it was where the first genuine pioneers of our People's Army, the Luthuli Detachment, received their baptismal of fire.

This was also the situation where the manhood of the pioneers of our revolutionary army was tried and tested. The enemy who was using superior modern weapons, i.e. aviation, armoured personnel carriers and other sophisticated military equipment was forced to admit that the spectre of revolution was haunting Southern Africa. We also saw in this period the morale of the masses of our people in South Africa going sky-high.

In this way the Wankie-Sipolilo Campaigns confirmed the assertion that no force on earth however militarily well-armed



The ANC-ZAPU combatants in an arms-inspection parade,

it might be can deter a united and determined people waging a just people's war. This finds further confirmation in the escalation of armed struggle in our country, the most developed one in our continent industrially, economically, militarily and otherwise; shattering all claims by some reactionary circles that guerrilla warfare is inconceivable in our situation because there are no enough "jungles and mountains" to make bases.

J U N E 1 6

The L u t h u l i D e t a c h m e n t introduced other cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the June 16, Moncada, etc.,) to the political and military traditions of the ANC and MK. Today we see how the seeds that were sown by these revolutionaries of our Motherland are beginning to bear fruits. Their products of the June 16 aftermath are displaying the skills and know-how they inherited from this treasure of our people practically in the numerous battles raging inside our country. SASOL, Secunda, fascist police stations, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, electric power stations, etc., are fine examples of what the pioneers of our People's Army have taught their successors.

Therefore, in this Year of the Youth and the 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we urge our fighting people to stand up against the cancerous Apartheid regime and unite their actions more than ever before. As stated by our late leader, Chief Albert Luthuli that: "The length of the term of slavery depends largely on the oppressed themselves and not on the oppressor..."

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE WANKIE-SIPOLILO CAMPAIGNS!
LONG LIVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!

AN INSPIRATION TO ALL.

The 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe is an inspiration to all e a d r e a of our glorious people's army, both inside and outside our country. It is a bridge which had to be built t h r e u g h relentless hardships, so that we could enter with our rescue formations of devoted fighters to save the oppressed black majority, who for centuries now have been under the perpetual siege of the fascist Pretoria regime.

To us the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, December 16, 1981 is not a day of festivity but a day of rededication to the struggle for the liberation of our country and people from racist and colonial oppression. It is a day when we l o o k back to our past and assess the path already traversed in this long and bitter struggle. We ask ourselves, in the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo:

"Are we living up to what is expected of members of a revolutionary and fighting organisation? Is the OATH we took of any meaning and substance to those who swore to fight until freedom is won?"

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Military campaigns waged by MK combatants alongside the people's mass struggles have greatly intensified in the recent past, scoring successes on whose base future battles will be fought. Under difficult conditions of underground the faceless fighters of our Motherland have put the enemy on an anvil tearing his economic strength with devastating blows of sophisticated methods of sabotage. In oil refineries at Secunda and Sasolburg, electric power stations in Durban, Pretoria and Witbank, railway lines and other strategic economic and military infrastructures have been repeatedly attacked with their destruction costing millions of rands on the enemy.

The devastating attacks against racist police stations, the so-called department of cooperation and development and the shelling of Racist South Africa's fortress, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, exposed the enemy more than o n c e that he is failing to contain our growing people's war which is visibly spreading to all corners of our country.

The intensified armed actions inside our country h a v e spelled an eternal curse to the Pretoria regime. The hour of retribution is approaching at a terribly high speed for

the racists.

T A S K S

The dynamic situation inside the country charges us, on this great occasion, with the great task of defending each gain of the revolution we have so far scored giving the enemy no chance of recovering from his losses. Each one of us must rally behind our vanguard movement, the African National Congress and our revolutionary leadership responding with utmost precision to every call.

We are fighting a desparate carnivore, we have to be vigilant against all his attempts to devour us with his sophisticated military equipment and dogs of war by keeping constant offensive and repulse him. We must be vigilant against his agents infiltrated within our ranks. Closure of ranks in our People's Army shall frustrate all enemy manoeuvres within our midst.

Let us rededicate ourselves, entering the battlefield with no fear, devoting ourselves to the just cause of liberating our Motherland. We must draw our inspiration from our heroes who fell in Zimbabwe, Silverton, Dobsonville and Chiawelo. We must avenge the death of those massacred in Sharpeville and Soweto and our martyrs like Gqabi, Mdluli, Mini, Mkhaba, Khayinga, Mahlangu and many others.

LONG LIVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

STRAIGHT TALK...

Into the fire...

That is where all traitors and stool pigeons always end! But it remains quite incredible how some people can be corrupted by greed and mollified by good-boy-pats on the back. Maybe they envy the dog which is satisfied by a little brush on the head and a tossed bone - even though such envy is sufficiently ludicrous to all sane people. First it was Matanzima, then came Mangope and along came Mphepu, all dragging our people into the mud there in the pig-sty reserves euphemistically called 'homelands'. Now it is Lennox Sebe, cap in hand at Botha's doorstep clamouring for his own 'independence' pigsty.

Our people's protests and rejection of these evil schemes is the frying pan enough, but puppets seem to be