

DAWN



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HAPPY 70th BIRTHDAY!



WE WISH YOU A THOUSAND YEARS

Contents

Editorial Comment: Method in the butchery.....	1
Isolate Botha and His Murderous clique: ANC's NEC call to the people	3
Learn with DAWN: 9mm Makarov pistol	6
Unconsciousness and cardiac arrest — what to do	9
Poem:	15
70th Birthday Tributes to Nelson Mandela: What I have known of him on the	
Island	16
A born leader	19
Heroes of our Revolution:	23
In Lieu of a Book Review: A book by one of us	25
Obituary	31
DAWN PolitiXword No. 1	32

Many years ago, when I was a boy brought up in my village in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of the tribe telling stories about the good old days, before the arrival of the white man. Then our people lived peacefully, under the democratic rule of their kings and their 'amapakati', and moved freely and confidently up and down the country without let or hindrance. Then the country was ours, in our own name and right. We occupied the land, the forests, the rivers, we extracted the mineral wealth beneath the soil and all the riches of this beautiful country. We set up and operated our own Government, we controlled our own armies and we organised our own trade and commerce. The elders would tell tales of the wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland, as well as the acts of valour performed by generals and soldiers during those epic days. The names of Dingane and Bambata, among the Zulus, of Hintsa, Makana, Ndlambe of the Amakhosa, of Sekhukhuni and others in the north, were mentioned as the pride and glory of the entire African nation.

I hoped and vowed then that, among the treasures that life might offer me, would be the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggles. —Nelson Mandela.

— NELSON MANDELA —



EDITORIAL COMMENT

METHOD IN THE BUTCHERY

Towards the end of last year (1987) Magnus Malan in typical toughminded fashion repeated threats of violence against Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola for what he elected to term "the dire consequences of supporting the ANC". Hawkish Malan who is effectively the political boss of the SADF and able henchman to racist president P.W Botha almost always betrays the murderous stratagems of the Pretoria regime in all his "iron fist" ravings. Even as he made this threat which has become a near trademark with him it was evident that the floundering N.P leadership hemmed in by intra-party rifts on the one hand and an unabating mass democratic upsurge and the growing strength of the ANC at home on another, was once again opening the arsenals and posting its sick murderers abroad.

The Botha-Malan campaign against the people of SA and their leaders over the last few years has been modelled on

the basis of three satanic factors: 1) is an unbridled reign of terror and repression against the forces of progress at home; 2) cross border raids into neighbouring states to kill, maim and destroy (employing mainly elements of the SADF); 3) undercover but equally callous operations abroad - the targets of which are ANC leaders and membership. Taken as a totality the ultimate objective of such a scheme of deliberate butchery cannot only be the physical elimination of the ANC - a task which is as ominous as it is impossible - but at another level to antagonise the people and governments of those countries which host the ANC in general. Such business because it is cowardly and ignominious even for had cases like the Botha-Malan types, has always been done in cloak and dagger fashion.

COVERT COLLUSION.

It is most sorry that where these attempts against the ANC have succeeded in the past they did so not because of the

ingenuity of Pretoria's hit and kidnap teams, but because of covert collusion between the racists and some of their allies in the western world. Cases in point in this respect are:

1) the attempted kidnap of ANC leaders in London last year. It emerged during the trial of some of the culprits that top class British citizens and some members of British security institutions were implicated in one way or another in the plot.

2) It has now come to light that even with the callous murder of ANC Chief Representative Dulcie September in Paris on the 29th February a Frenchman Jean Taousson, an associate of a close collaborator of the French interior minister might have taken part in the preparation of attacks against ANC members. Attempts have also been made on the ANC Chief Representative to Belgium and Comrade Albie Sachs was latterly maimed by a car bomb blast in Maputo. There is a definite method in the campaign of butchery that the boers have now embarked upon.

Bedevilled by right-wing competition represented by the CP and the AWB maniacs and a failure to work out a comprehensive recipe to appease the white voting public and at the same time mollifying the Black majority, the NP regime has fallen back on the old dirty subterfuge of masquerading as omnipotent thus purporting to be inassailable and in

control of the situation. Yet this Hitlerite method cannot produce the desired results as it must harden the attitude of the oppressed and even consolidate the ranks of the conscious opponents of apartheid at large.

Pretoria is bent on keeping the conflict between the people's movement and white minority greed dirty and bloody. And it is doing so with despicable impunity and complete disregard of the dire repercussions in foreign lands. The moment has come when the world must once again be reminded of the lengths to which Apartheid has devalued human life. We must repeat here that to strike a moral balance with men who relish carnage will call for an equitable punishment which must be delivered soonest by the people of SA themselves. If there are still doubting Thomases' as to the justness of the armed struggle in SA, then this calculated butchery unleashed by the Botha-Malan clique must serve as a leveller and a call to militant action on all fronts.

A similar message must go to the international community which through the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions and related measures should contribute towards the overdue overthrow of the criminal apartheid system. For to defend the just struggle of the people of our land is to support the cause of world peace.

I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years. I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress, which was banned. — Nelson Mandela

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CALLS ON ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA:

ISOLATE BOTHA AND HIS MURDEROUS CLIQUE! UNITE IN ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER!

OPPOSE AND BOYCOTT THE OCTOBER LOCAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS!

FIGHT AND DEFEAT THE LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT BILL!

USE ALL MEANS TO SUSTAIN THE MASS OFFENSIVE AGAINST APARTHEID!

THE BOTHA REGIME IS ON THE RAMPAGE. IT IS STRIKING OUT BECAUSE OF THE CRISIS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. IT IS FIGHTING FOR ITS SURVIVAL. THE TARGET OF ITS COUNTER-OFFENSIVE IS ALL THE FORCES THAT FIGHT FOR A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY. IT BROOKS NO OPPOSITION OF ANY KIND. NO ONE IS EXCLUDED FROM ITS CAMPAIGN OF REPRESSION.

Compatriots:

The evidence of the gruesome acts of terror of the apartheid regime inside and outside our country stares us all in the face.

»Dulcie September, Sicelo Dlomo,

Mazizi Masekela and Johannes Nkomo have all been brutally murdered on Pretoria's orders by hired assassins.

»Albie Sachs is maimed permanently by decision of the Botha regime.

»Political activists have been hanged and are being hanged in Pretoria in a veritable massacre on the gallows.

»To accomplish their regional designs, the racists have butchered and starved to death hundreds in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the rest of Southern Africa.

Africa.

Now, in a continuing effort to intimidate everybody and paralyse the struggle, the same murderers have further extended the provisions of the state of emergency to make all democratic political struggle illegal - a crime for which all those who dare to raise the banner of freedom can be victimised by the apartheid courts.

»The UDF and other democratic organisations have been banned. banned.

»COSATU is prohibited from engaging in political struggle. struggle.

»Pretoria is preparing to declare strikes virtually illegal.

»Pretoria is preparing to prohibit international assistance.

The Botha regime is desperate because its guns and its prisons have not affected our will and determination to fight for freedom and justice. It has failed to make South Africa governable.

» The racists have failed to create their National Council thanks to its complete rejection by the oppressed.

» The mass democratic movement has withstood enemy repression and further increased its strength by drawing in new forces.

» The black workers have scored major victories against their oppressors and the exploiters and further increased their fighting potential by strengthening the trade union movement.

» Patriotic sections within the bantustan structures have, in action, rocked these apartheid institutions and expanded the frontiers of the democratic struggle.

» The combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe have delivered telling blows against the enemy while the people's army continues to grow in strength within our country.

» The new repressive measures imposed on February 24 have themselves drawn even greater numbers of people into struggle.

All this frightens the enemy of humanity and drives it to further acts of desperation. Through its actions, it continues to drag our country ever closer to the bloodiest confrontation that our continent has ever experienced. The death squads, the vigilante gangs and the kitskonstables, the police, the armed bandits and the enormous war machine are all being reinforced to increase their

capacity to inflict more death and destruction and to protect the iniquitous, illegitimate and oppressive structures of the apartheid system.

NO MAN OR WOMAN OF CONSCIENCE CAN STAND ASIDE AND WATCH AS A CLIQUE OF POWER HUNGRY MEN PREPARE TO TURN OUR COUNTRY INTO A WASTELAND. LET ALL WHO ARE OPPOSED TO APARTHEID UNITE NOW INTO A MIGHTY MOVEMENT OF STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUALITY. ONLY THROUGH OUR UNITED ACTION CAN WE RESCUE OURSELVES AND OUR COUNTRY FROM OUR PRESENT SUFFERING AND FROM THE TERRIBLE FATE TO WHICH THE BOTHA REGIME SEEKS TO CONDEMN US.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS THEREFORE:

CALLS on all forces opposed to apartheid to isolate the die-hard racists and militarists through struggle. Let us all unite in action for the eradication of the criminal apartheid system and the emergence of a united, democratic and non-racial society.

CALLS on all our people to mount a concerted campaign for the boycott of the October local authority apartheid elections. Let us all refuse to serve the interests of the Botha regime. Let us refuse to participate in these elections in any way. In the build-up to October, let us continue to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

CALLS on all our people and workers in particular, to oppose and stop

the passage of the repressive Labour Relations Amendment Bill. Through our united action, let us achieve this vitally important objective, draw more workers into action, reinforce the Living Wage Campaign and cement the unity of the democratic movement in general and the trade union movement in particular. As part of this offensive we have observed May Day in a fitting Manner.

CALLS on all activists and formations of the democratic movement to work for the highest organisation and mobilisation of the people into action around both local and national issues. Let us act bodily together with the people to take the battle to the enemy and, at the same time, to strengthen the ranks of our revolutionary movement by drawing in dedicated and disciplined fighters for liberation.

CALLS on all our people in the Bantustans, including the chiefs and patriots who serve in dummy parliaments, to intensify the offensive against these apartheid creations as part of our assault on the racist regime. Let the democratic movement raise its organised strength within these areas and work to unite the people around the perspective of a free and united South Africa.

CALLS on all the people to intensify the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees. Let this call continue to resound throughout the length and breadth of our country, accompanied by other specific demands :

» Observe Mandela's 70th Birthday on July 18!

Free Harry Gwala who is gravely ill in Pietermaritzburg!

»Let Govan Mbeki and all our leaders speak!

»Stop the hanging of patriots!

»Free our children who suffer torture in apartheid dungeons!

CALLS on the black soldiers and police to abandon those who are using them as a killing machine against innocent people. Turn your gun against the common enemy for your own liberation and the emancipation of the country of your birth.

CALLS on our white compatriots to make their due contributions to the attainment of the goals of freedom, justice and peace. Do not allow yourselves to be used for evil purposes by the Pretoria regime. Your fathers, brothers and sons must refuse to do Botha's dirty work in the neighbouring countries and our townships. The business community must break ranks with the racist regime and stop deceiving itself that its interest are best served by these killers. It too must oppose the Anti-Labour Relations Bill.

LET ALL WHO TRULY VALUE FREEDOM, YOUNG AND OLD, BLACK AND WHITE, BELIEVER AND NON-BELIEVER, MEN AND WOMEN, WORKERS AND PROFESSIONALS, RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENTS, UNITE IN ACTION AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY - THE BOTHA REGIME. LET US ALL COMBINE OUR EFFORTS IN A MANY-SIDED OFFENSIVE TO END REPRESSION, FREE OUR COUNTRY OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID AND TRANSFORM IT INTO ONE IN WHICH ALL OUR PEOPLE LIVE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP IN A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOCIETY.

LEARN with DAWN

You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter

9MM MAKAROV PISTOL

The Soviet-made 9 mm Makarov pistol is designed to engage the enemy at close quarters. The pistol fires 9 mm pistol cartridges by single shots. The best results are attained at ranges of up to 50 m.

The pistol is simple in design and easy to handle. Its weight and dimensions are small, making it convenient to carry. The pistol is magazine-fed. The magazine holds eight cartridges. Each pistol is attached with a wiper, a spare magazine and a holster.

The pistol comprises the following main parts:-

1. receiver
2. barrel and trigger guard assembly
3. slide
4. firing pin
5. extractor and safety lock assembly
6. recoil spring
7. firing mechanism
8. grip stocks and their returning screw
9. slide stop
10. magazine

ASSEMBLY AND DISASSEMBLY

The pistol is disassembled for cleaning, lubrication, inspection and repair. The following rules are to be observed when disassembling or assembling the weapon:

1. assemble and disassemble the pistol on a table or bench, and, when in the field, on a clean cloth.
2. put down parts and mechanisms following the sequence of disassembling.



9 mm Makarov pistol

The pistol may be subjected either to elementary disassembly (field stripping) or complete breakdown (detailed stripping). Field stripping will be done when you have to clean, lubricate or inspect the pistol. Detailed stripping will be undertaken when you have to replace defective parts or in case the weapon has been exposed to water, rain, dirt or snow. The pistol will also be completely disassembled for changing the lubricant and after prolonged firing. However, in this issue we shall only deal with field stripping.

FIELD STRIPPING

1. Remove the magazine from the grip (Fig. 3). Holding the pistol by the grip with the right hand, push the magazine catch back as far as it will go with the left thumb. At the same time pull the projecting portion of the magazine cover and remove the magazine from the grip.

See that there is no cartridge in the chamber. To this end disengage the safety

lock (push the thumbpiece down), pull the slide into rearward position with the left hand, examine the cartridge chamber and release the slide.

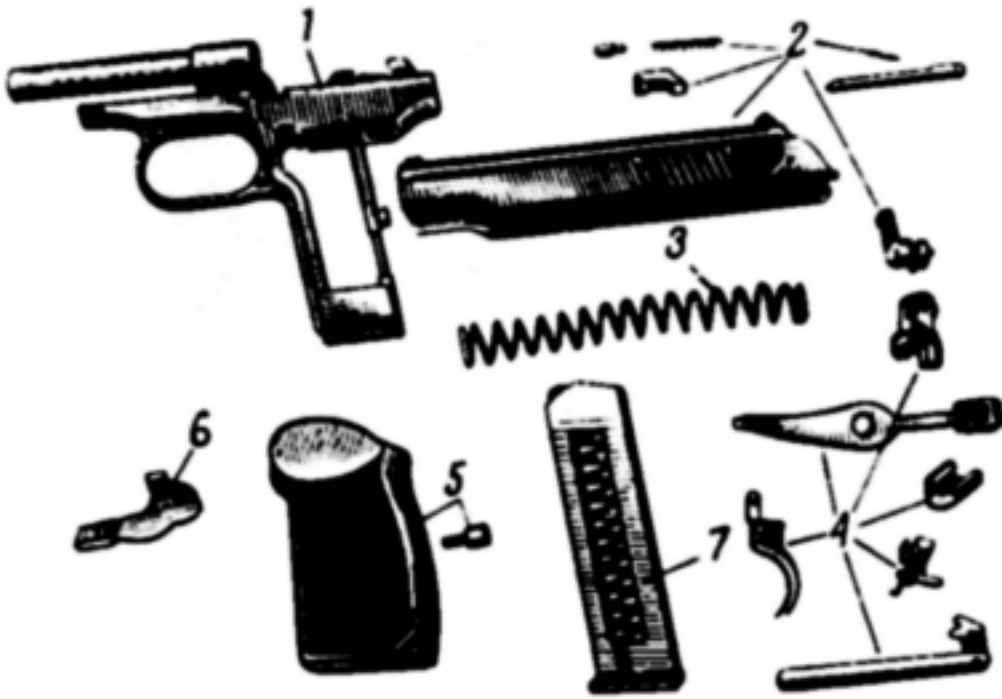


Fig. 2. Main parts and mechanisms. 1 - receiver, barrel and trigger guard assembly, 2 - slide, firing pin, extractor and safety lock, 3 - recoil spring, 4 - firing mechanism component parts, 5 - grip stocks and retaining screw, 6 - slide stop, 7 - magazine

2. Detach the slide from the receiver.

Holding the pistol by the grip with the right hand, pull the forward end of the trigger guard down with the left hand (Fig. 4) and shift it to the left or to the right so that its lug rests against the receiver and retains the trigger guard in open position.

With the left hand pull the slide into rearmost position, lift its rear end and gradually give in to let the slide move forward under the pressure of the recoil spring. Detach the slide from the receiver (Fig. 5) and then install the forward end of the trigger guard in place.

3. Remove the recoil spring from the barrel. Holding the receiver by the grip with the right hand, pull the recoil spring forth with the left hand and detach it from the barrel.

FIELD ASSEMBLY

To reassemble the pistol after field stripping assume the reverse order of operations.

1. Install the recoil spring on the barrel. Holding the receiver grip in the right hand, install the recoil spring onto the barrel with the left hand. See that first to come over the barrel is that end of the spring which is of less diameter as compared with the rest coils.

2. Couple the slide to receiver. Holding the receiver by the grip with the right hand, take the slide in the left one, insert the free end of the recoil spring into the slide hollow and pull the slide into rearmost position so that the muzzle end of the barrel passes through the slide hollow and protrudes outside (Fig. 6).

Lower the slide rear end onto the receiver so that the longitudinal ribs of the slide fit into the receiver grooves. Press the slide against the receiver and release it. Actuated by the recoil spring the slide will energetically return into forward position. Engage the safety lock (raise the thumbpiece).



Fig. 3. Removing magazine from grip

3. *Install the magazine into the grip.* Holding the pistol in the right hand, with the left thumb and forefinger insert the magazine into the grip through the lower opening in the grip base. Press the magazine cover with the thumb so that the magazine catch (i.e. the mainspring lower end) snaps over the lug on the magazine wall. A click should be heard at that instant. *Check the pistol for proper assembly after firing.* Disengage the safety lock (i.e. push the thumbpiece down). Pull the slide into rearward position and release it. After a short forward travel the slide should be retained in rearward position by the slide stop.

Press the slide stop knob. Actuated by the recoil spring the slide should energetically return into forward position, leaving the hammer cocked. Engage the safety lock (i.e. raise the thumbpiece). The hammer should jump forth to strike against the firing pin.

CLEANING AND LUBRICATION

The pistol should be kept clean and in good repair all the time. This is achieved by timely and skilful cleaning and lubrication, careful handling and proper storage. The pistol should be cleaned:-

1. everyday when in combat
2. right after completion of firing practice.
3. at least once every seven (7) days if the pistol is out of use.

Use the following items for wiping, cleaning and lubricating the pistol:

1. *alkali compound or liquid rifle oil* is used to neutralise the effect of fouling and to soften the latter on the barrel bore walls and other parts of the pistol affected by powder gases,
2. *rifle or liquid oil* is used to lubricate all metal parts of the pistol,
3. *gun grease* is used to lubricate the pistol before long-term storage,
4. *Clean cotton rags* are used to wipe, clean and lubricate the pistol parts.



Fig. 4. *Pulling down forward end of trigger guard*



Fig. 5. *Detaching slide from receiver*



Fig. 6. *Coupling slide to receiver*

FIRST AID No. 2 FIRST AID

UNCONSCIOUSNESS AND CARDIAC ARREST – WHAT TO DO

Introduction:

Having to deal with a comrade who is unconscious or one whose heart and breathing has stopped is difficult, especially for the first time. It is important therefore that comrades wishing to acquire first aid skills practice the techniques and manoeuvres described in the articles. Get together a group of comrades who are interested in learning first aid and ask a skilled health worker (doctor or nurse) to go through the various situations and techniques with you. S/he will probably have useful tips on how to improve your management of the problems. The essential thing is to practice before you find yourself in the real situation so that you already know what to do and what to expect.

A. Unconsciousness

By "Unconsciousness" we mean a person who looks asleep but cannot be woken up. There are many causes of unconsciousness e.g, a direct blow or injury to the head; severe injury elsewhere (chest or belly); too much alcohol or occasionally fits (convulsions). Sometimes people fall unconscious when they get a big fright, or have been standing up in a hot crowded place for a long time. This is called a "faint" and the person recovers very soon after falling down. It is usually harmless.

If you see someone who you think is unconscious, do the following:

(1) Try and wake her/him up by calling them or shaking them (don't shake the comrade violently as s/he may be injured)

(2) If you cannot wake the comrade get help. You need at least one other person to help if someone is unconscious. Also send someone else to call a nurse or doctor if this is possible.

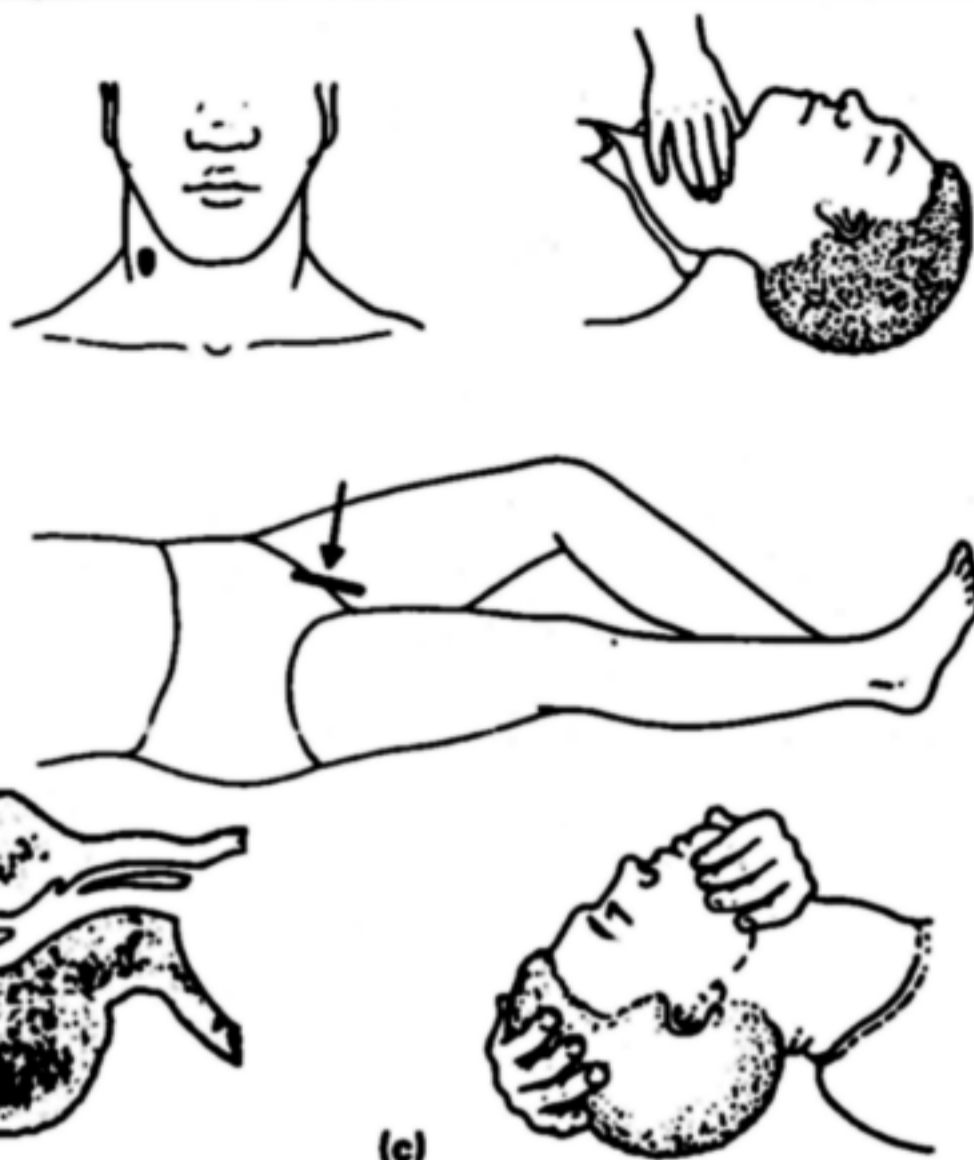
(3) Then check to see if the unconscious

comrade is breathing. Look at the comrade's chest to see if it is moving up and down as the comrade breathes, and also put your ear close to the comrade's mouth and nose – you will hear as the comrade breathes and feel warm breath on your face as s/he breathes out. Sometimes a very severe injury causes the breathing to stop completely, or the breathing may be noisy, as though there is a blockage in the throat. If the breathing is noisy it means that the comrade's tongue has fallen back and is blocking the throat so that only a small amount of air is able to get through to the windpipe and then down the lungs. The other cause of noisy breathing is vomit or broken teeth in the back of the throat (sometimes people vomit when they are unconscious.

(4) **If the breathing has stopped:** When the breathing has stopped completely very often the comrade's heart will have stopped as well. You need to do artificial breathing ("mouth-to-mouth"). Because the heart and breathing often stop together see under " Cardiac Arrest" for what to do.

(5) **If the breathing is noisy:** Sometimes you can see that the comrade is struggling to breathe – the chest is going up and down but only a little air is going in and out. You need to turn the comrade over to lie on his/her back if s/he is lying face down or on the side, so that you can free the blockage in the throat. You have to be careful how you turn the comrade over because there may be injuries elsewhere – put the comrade's arms by her/his side, straighten the legs and roll the comrade over. Do this gently, but don't take too much time because the breathing is obstructed and you must unlock the airway (back of the throat and the windpipe) as soon as possible.

Once the comrade is on his/her back open the mouth and put your fingers in to the back of the throat — if there is any vomit or broken teeth take this out with your fingers. Then you must "extend" the head and neck — this means lifting up the chin, just like when you bend your head back to look at the sky overhead. The effect of lifting the chin up is to cause the tongue to lift from the back of the throat and this allows air to pass easily into the windpipe (see diagram below).



(a)

(b)

(c)

Airway (a) blocked by the tongue, and (b) cleared by extending the patient's head and neck. (c) external view.

Extending the head and neck is easy to do — kneel next to or behind the comrade's head and put the fingers of both hands under the jaw and then gently but firmly pull the jaw up so that the head is bent back. As the diagram shows, this lifts the tongue from the back of the throat and unblocks the airway.

The breathing will then be quiet and regular. You may have to keep gently pulling on the jaw to keep the breathing normal. This manoeuvre of freeing the airway is extremely important and can save lives. Even if the comrade is breathing normally it is a good idea to extend the head and neck to make sure that the airway remains clear. An obstructed airway is a common cause of death in unconscious people.

(6) While you are checking the breathing you can check the pulse to see if the comrade's heart is beating. Don't feel at the wrist for the pulse — there are bigger arteries in the neck and the groin which are much easier to feel. The position of these is shown in diagram:

The position (a) and palpation (b) of the

neck (carotid) pulse. And the position of the leg (femoral pulse).

You will probably have to loosen the comrade's clothes to feel properly. Press gently with the tips of your fingers to feel the pulse — it should be strong and regular. If you cannot feel it straight away, keep calm, concentrate and feel carefully. If you still can't feel it after 15–20 seconds then the heart has stopped beating i.e there is "cardiac arrest" and you will have to do the cardiac massage (see later).

(7) If the comrade is just unconscious but the breathing is OK and the pulse is nice and strong and regular then s/he is relatively safe and you have more time. If there are no serious injuries to the chest, belly or limbs the comrade should be placed in the "recovery position" (see diagram).

The reason for this is again to protect the airway — if the comrade is left lying on her/his back there is a danger of the tongue blocking the airway, or if there is vomiting the vomit will be breathed into the windpipe. (It is not necessary to put



The recovery position

a comrade who is awake and conscious in the recovery position because s/he is able to protect her/his own breathing). When turning a comrade who is unconscious you need to be careful in case there is an injury to the spine. Turn the comrade in the following way:- Put the arms by the sides and straighten the legs. One person must hold the head and another the hips and then together gently roll the head as the body turns and don't bend the back. Then bend one arm and leg on the same side so that the comrade is in the position shown in the diagram. Finally you must check to see if the breathing is OK in the new position — extend the head and neck by pulling up on the jaw so that you can feel the warm breath on your hand. You may need to keep gentle pressure on the jaw to ensure that the breathing is OK. The comrade is then in a safe position while you wait for help to arrive — while you are waiting regularly check the pulse and breathing.

Summary

All of the above is not difficult or complicated to do. You must go through it though by practising beforehand — you and 3 or 4 other comrades can take turns in being "unconscious" while the others go through all the steps discussed above. The things to remember are:

- (a) If the comrade is awake and talking then the pulse and breathing are OK. It is only with unconsciousness that there is a risk of immediate danger from the pulse and breathing.
- (b) If the comrade looks unconscious try and wake her/him up.
- (c) If you can't — check the breathing. If there is no breathing, do artificial

breathing (see later). If the breathing is obstructed extend the head and neck by pulling up on the jaw.

- (d) Check the pulse (carotid or femoral) — if it is absent do "cardiac massage" (see later), if it is present check it from time to time.
- (e) Place the comrade in the recovery position (carefully).

B. CARDIAC ARREST.

Sometimes the injury is so severe that the comrade stops breathing or the heart beat and the breathing stop. Often the two occur together. This is obviously an emergency — people die within 3-4 minutes after the heart and breathing stop if nothing is done for them. You need to do the following:

- (1) Try to wake up the comrade.
- (2) If you can't, get help (at least one more person, preferably 2 or 3).
- (3) Check the breathing and extend the head and neck by pulling up on the jaw. If there is no breathing:
- (4) Turn the comrade onto her/his back — put the arms at the sides and roll the comrade over.
- (5) Check the pulse — if it is absent then the heart has stopped and you are now dealing with a situation of "cardiac arrest". Speed is now vitally important — don't panic but do the following as rapidly as possible:
- (6) Loosen the clothing and bare the chest — you must be able to see the whole chest and abdomen (belly).
- (7) Then do artificial breathing (mouth-to-mouth breathing) and cardiac massage. It is possible theoretically for one person to do both of these but it is extremely difficult and tiring to do alone. You need at least one other person, preferably 2 or 3 others.

MOUTH TO MOUTH BREATHING

- (a) Clean out the mouth and throat if there is any vomit or anything else (broken teeth etc) blocking the airway.
- (b) Kneel at the side of the comrade's

head.

(c) Put one hand under the comrade's neck and the other on top of his/her head. Then lift up with the hand under the neck and push with your hand on the top of the head so that the head and neck are extended to clear the airway (you can also do this by lifting the comrade's chin). However you do it you must free the airway by extending the head and neck.

(d) Keeping one hand under the comrade's neck put your other hand over the nose and squeeze the nostrils shut so that no air escapes. air escapes.

(e) Put your mouth over the comrade's mouth and press firmly, making an airtight seal (see diagram):



Mouth to mouth artificial respiration

(In the diagram note the following: 1. The hand under the neck, lifting up to keep the airway free; 2. The nose is being squeezed shut to prevent air escaping; 3. There is an air-tight seal at the mouth.)

(f) Then blow air into the comrade's chest, about as much air as you normally breathe. Then take your mouth away to let the air out. NB. As you are blowing in look at the chest — it must expand as you blow in air and it must fall back as you let the air out.

You must make the chest move up and down in this way otherwise you are doing it wrong and the comrade is not getting any air into the chest and therefore no oxygen. If you can't make the chest move as you blow in then extend the neck more by pulling up your hand under the neck, and try again. You will know when you are doing it right — the chest rises and falls as you blow the air in and then let it out. You may have to work hard to keep the head and neck extended in the right position. Also the comrade's skin colour will improve — it will look healthier and not so grey. To repeat once again the only way you can be sure that you are doing the artificial breathing correctly is to look at the chest — it must rise and fall as you breathe for the comrade. Don't blow too hard — the chest should rise 3–4 cm with each breath.

(g) Continue to breathe for the comrade in this way 15–20 times per minute, i.e. one breath every 4–5 seconds.

(h) Check the pulse while you are doing the breathing — if it stops you will need to do cardiac massage as well.

(i) If it is a child who has stopped breathing, the technique is only slightly different: you need to cover the child's nose and mouth with your mouth (see diagram) and do about 25 breaths per minute, i.e. once every 3 seconds. Be more gentle with the child, but remember that the same rule applies here — you must make the chest move as you blow in and out.

CARDIAC MASSAGE

This must be done when the comrade's heart has stopped beating, i.e. when you cannot feel the pulse. The aim of cardiac massage is to compress the heart between the breast bone and the spine so that the blood is forced out the heart into the big arteries. In other words you have to do the job of the comrade's heart for him/her.

When you do cardiac massage you must



Note: the baby's chest should be exposed so that you can see it move.

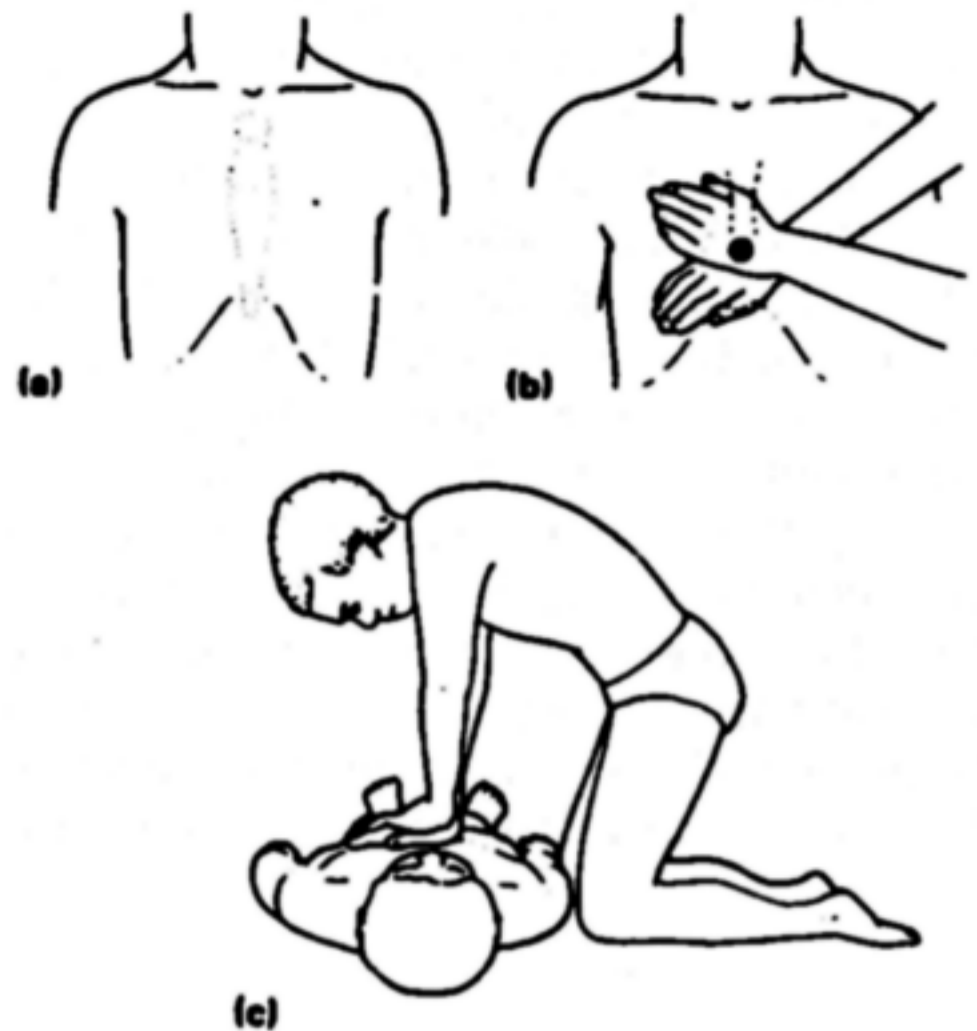
pay attention to detail, because the technique is often done wrong, even by skilled nurses and doctors. However, if you remember a few points it is not difficult to do correctly::

(b) The position of your hands is important. Put the heels of your hands (one on top of the other) on the middle of the chest, on the lower one-third of the breast bone, as shown in the diagram

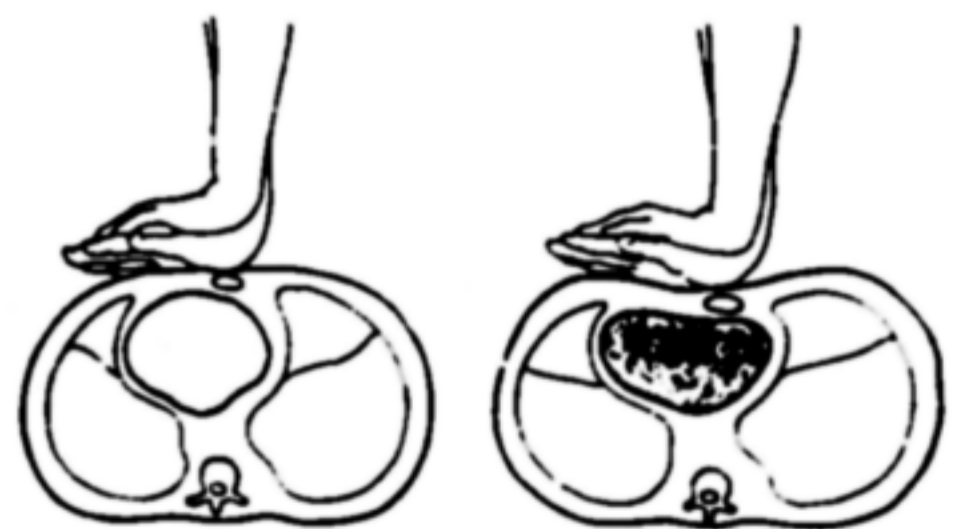
The heart is in the middle of the chest not on the left side, so you must press on the middle of the chest.

(a) The comrade must be put flat on his/her back on a firm surface, either on the floor or a hard bed. A soft bed which sinks in the middle is no good because you will be unable to compress the heart properly. Then kneel down at the side of the comrade's chest as shown in the diagram above and lean over the chest so that you can push down vertically onto the chest. Also loosen the clothing so that the chest is bare.

(c) Keep your arms straight, i.e. don't bend your elbows, and use your body weight to compress the chest. Press down sharply, hold the chest compressed for a split-second and then release. Don't press down slowly as though you are



External cardiac massage: (a) the position of the stenum showing the area (shaded) to be compressed:(b) the heels of the hands on the lower third of the stenum and (c) the straight arms working from the shoulders.



Pressing the heart between the breast bone and the spine.

trying to slowly squeeze the blood out the heart — when the heart beats normally itself the action is rapid so that the blood shoots out into the big arteries. You need to try and do the same, therefore give a sharp compression of the chest. (d) You need to do about 70 compressi-

ons per minute, i.e. about one every second.

(e) Continue doing the cardiac massage non-stop until the heart starts beating again. Don't stop for breaks or to see if the comrade is recovering — when you stop the comrade's heart stops as well and then no blood is being pumped to the brain and the other vital organs. There are only two occasions when you can stop, and then only for a second or two: firstly, if the other comrade doing the artificial breathing is finding it difficult to inflate the chest while you are doing the cardiac massage. You will then have to pause every 4–5 compressions to allow the chest to be inflated with air, but press

ndly, to check to see whether the pulse has started again — feel in the neck or groin, but again only for 3–4 seconds. If the pulse is back stop the cardiac massage, if it is still absent continue straight away. The diagram shows the technique of doing cardiac massage and artificial breathing on an adult.

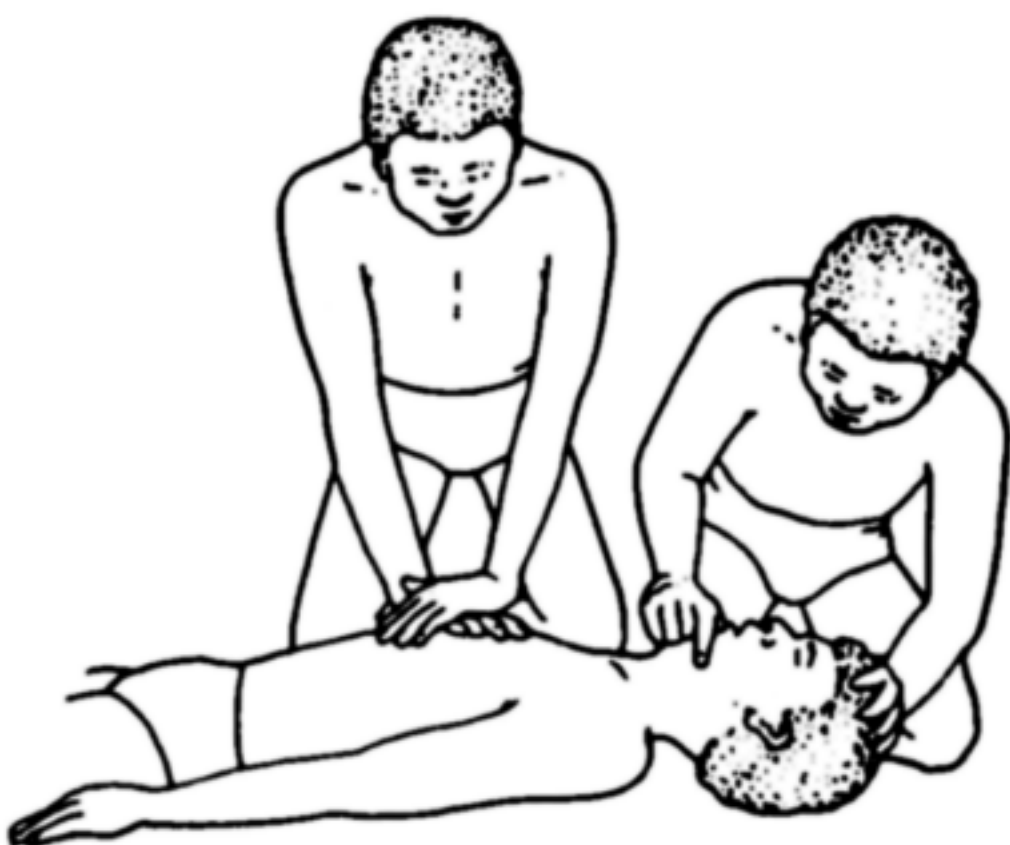
(f) For a young child use only one hand to compress the chest and for a baby use only two or three fingers (see diagram below). Also use less pressure when you push down. You must increase the rate though, to about 100 compressions per minute, i.e. almost two per second.



External cardiac massage on a child.



External cardiac massage on a baby.



External cardiac massage on an adult with two operators.

down straight away again as soon as the chest has been inflated each time. Seco-

When to stop: Clearly a situation where a comrade needs artificial breathing and cardiac massage to keep him/her alive is a life-threatening one. The comrade is obviously very seriously injured or ill and some of these comrades will die despite possible emergency first aid. If the comrade is going to recover s/he usually does so in the first five to ten minutes after you start the resuscitation (bringing back to life).

The longer it takes before the comrade

shows any signs of life, such as a gasp for breath or the heart starting to beat again, the less likely s/he to recover. If there are no signs of life within 30 minutes of starting resuscitation you should stop the procedure because the chances of the comrade recovering are almost zero. With a child or baby however it is worth continuing for longer, up to an hour, because children withstand the stress of cardiac arrest better than adults. If the comrade does show signs of life then you must continue for thirty minutes after that and work hard to try to save him/her.

With artificial breathing and cardiac massage it is possible to save comrade's lives, so it is always worth trying to resuscitate someone. Some comrades will die, it is true, but you will be able to save some. Therefore learn the technique well by practicing often so that you can go into action as quickly as possible.

Summary of cardiac massage

1. Try and wake th comrade up.
2. Get help — two or three other comrades.
3. Check the pulse and the breathing
From now on **move fast**.
4. Put the comrade flat on his/her back on a firm surface.
5. Kneel at the side of the comrade, put both your hands on the middle of the chest and, keeping your arms straight, press down sharply, hold compressed for a split-second and then release.
6. Do 70 compressions per minute.
7. Stop the cardiac massage only (i) to check the pulse, (ii) to allow artificial breathing to be done if this is difficult during cardiac massage. If it is not then continue doing both at the same time.
8. Cardiac massage and artificial breathing are hard work — take a break by letting someone else take over when you get tired.

NEXT ISSUE: Wounds, bleeding, and shock.



ADVANCE

Fast! Fast! Faster!

Molefe, Radebe, Ndlovu, Naidoo, Smith.

Pick up those spears!

Pick them up!

Come now, come! Stab fast, faster!

Continue, yes, continue! exactly, stab.

Continuously.

Don't stop! until we have completely

Eradicated this brutal monster,

Massive as it is, it's also mortal

Always bear that in mind!

This is one of those occasions

When these spears should be picked up

With greater haste.

Oh! What a loss!

What a loss!

But Botha, don't make a mistake!

These tears being shed now

Are definitely and surely

Not tears of sorrow,

They are hot tears of anger.

The people are fuming with anger.

Whow! Uyadela Botha,

Uzwe ngobani ukuthi UMKHONTO

Would let you get away with this?

Dedicated to comrades Cassius and Paul.

—Beauty Khuzwayo

WHAT I HAVE KNOWN OF HIM

A 70th birthday tribute to Nelson Mandela
of Umkhonto

The name of this great patriot of the liberation struggle in South Africa has become not only a household word in our country and the world at large, but also a synonym of freedom, peace and social progress. In a very real sense Comrade Nelson Mandela is a physical embodiment of the highest of all ideals — the liberation of mankind.

His gait, the sideway tilt of his head, the smile he wears (he can also be very angry, I'm told), the sparkle in his eyes and the stretch of the finger when he is making a point — all leave you with the impression that you are indeed in the company of a great man. That was my feeling when I shook his warm hand for the first time in Robben Island.

He is not the only giant in the leadership core of our revolutionary movement. We have them by the bucketful. But you will not fail to discern him amongst the indefatigable stalwarts that lead the only vanguard organisation of the oppressed people of our country — the ANC.

ROBBEN ISLAND

The conditions under which we survived on Robben Island were utterly deplorable to say the least. The boers were out to smash us politically and physically. But Nelso — popularly called by his clan name, Madiba, by all the comrades, together with his colleagues in the Rivonia trial, rose above that situation to inspire the entire prison population.

With him there was no question of postponing the struggle for a better moment outside the prison gates. The struggle against the racist authorities was in no way apart from the struggle for the liberation of our country. He

merged the struggle into a single entity.

During the time I was in prison he had written a series of letters to the fascists Pelsler, Vorster and Kruger. In all this correspondence he was not raising issues of a personal nature. He had a lot of such issues to raise if he would. Winnie Mandela, for



instance, was being preyed upon by all sorts of thugs that the racist regime was commanding, the driving idea being not so much to harass her as to demoralise a helpless Mandela in his "kulkut" (single cell).

On the contrary Madiba wrote to the boer racist leaders to address the fundamental issues of freedom and peace in our country. He pursued firmly but gently the line that

ON THE ISLAND

la by Steve Tshwete, the Army Commissar
to we Sizwe

the only reasonable alternative open to the terrorist clique was the national convention in which all the people of our country would participate in the formulation of a non-racial democracy in one united South Africa.

There is no way in which the racist regime can ever triumph over the victory of the libe-



ration movement. This conviction was beautifully encapsulated in one other letter which he had written to one of the sinister ministers of justice. I cannot remember which one of them was the recipient. But he said words to this effect: *neither you the Afrikaner, nor I the African can estimate the amount of blood that will have to be shed before we inevitably sit down and reso-*

lve the problems of our country."

ABSOLUTE DEDICATION

Such is the grandeur of the vision of the man who celebrated his 70th birthday in the apartheid cells of racist South Africa. His selflessness and absolute dedication to the cause of freedom runs in every vein of his body.

I remember an occasion when Johannes Coetzee who was heading the security police at that time came to him to report that Winnie's political activity was so embarrassing that the police would event-



ually have no option but to take strong action to clip her wings. As a husband, Coetzee told Madiba, he would have to intervene and order the wife out of politics. Madiba told this super-policeman that Winnie's political activities were not reduceable to the family arena. Winnie is a leader of our people, and in that capacity she is free to exercise her leadership role whether that embarrasses the police or not.

Of course Jimmy Kruger took action. He banished Winnie to Brandfort and

gave a press interview the message that press interview the message that he was taking her "from a situation of unrest to a situation of rest" — a message intended for the ears of Madiba. But he saw the regime's move not as a particular accidental action directed at a recalcitrant activist. On the contrary his view was that it was part of the general policy which the fascists have implemented and continue to implement against scores of militants all over our country. Winnie was no exception.

On several occasions Matanzima had written to him saying that his continued incarceration was a matter of serious concern in the circles of the Thembu royal clan. Whilst appreciating the anxieties of his relatives, he stuck to his view that the matter of his release was something completely out of the family ambit. It was and always will be a political question demanding a political solution.

After accepting his independence in 1976 the arch boss boy of Pretoria — the ready grease-boy of the machinery of oppression and exploitation — Kaiser Matanzima did not relent. He wrote to Madiba, obviously at the instance of Pretoria, expressing desires to visit Nelson for the purpose of explaining why he had opted for the fraudulent independence. Nelson flatly rejected the visit and stated that if Matanzima was to go and see him

then such a visit would have to be confined strictly to family issues.

REAL LEADER

A real leader of his people, an ardent lover of humanity, Nelson Mandela should not be left to languish in those apartheid dungeons longer than now. Everything within the reach of the movement he helped to build and strengthen, everything within the power of the army he played an outstanding role to found and lead as its first Commander-in-Chief should be fully exploited to secure his release and the freeing of all political prisoners in our country.

In the prosecution of that task, the ANC and the mass democratic movement of our country will count, as they always do, on the support of the international community. Across the face of our country and throughout the world, his 70th birthday should be observed in the most appropriate and fitting manner: a fighting birthday of one of the greatest patriots of our continent, the leader of the ANC and the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa.

A thousand years, Madiba!! Revolutionary greetings from all detachments and units of our glorious army inside and outside the country!

We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prison reach out to our people. With you we count those who have perished by means of the gun and the hangman's rope. We salute all of you -- the living, the injured and the dead. For you have dared to rise up against the tyrant's might.

Even as we bow at their graves we remember this: The dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany divisions among the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks, and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet to be won.

We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun.

— Nelson Mandela.

A BORN LEADER

A 70th birthday tribute to Nelson Mandela by Joe Modise, the Army Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe

I have known Comrade Nelson Mandela from 1947. There was a place called Freedom Square in Newclare Western Native Township where the ANC used to organise rallies. These rallies were organised on Sundays and since I would be at home (I was still a schoolboy) I used to go and listen to the oratory there. I was still young at the time and just beginning to be introduced to politics. I used to find Nelson Mandela to be very interesting and impressive. Mandela, the late uncle J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Robert resha and Edwin Mofutsanyana were very outstanding speakers.

When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 the tempo of political agitation increased. Meetings became more frequent and more interesting. The Youth League in Newclare and Sophiatown also intensified political work among young people. It is around this time that I joined the ANC Youth League.

In 1949 Mandela began to attain a very significant position in the thinking of young people. It was after the 1949 conference which decided on the Programme

of Action. Associated with Nelson Mandela, OR Tambo, Lembede, Mda and others, this Programme of Action was in everybody's lips. There was a lot of talk about the new militancy that was emerging and Mandela occupied a central position in this talk that went around South Africa, particularly among young people.

VOLUNTEER-IN-CHIEF

Mandela was very active during the preparations for the 1952 Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. He went to a

a number of places, including where we were, carrying out agitational work. His appointment to the position of Volunteer-in-Chief during the Defiance Campaign came as no surprise. It was expected by all.

He was among the first to defy the unjust laws and was arrested and jailed by the racist authorities. After the Defiance Campaign he was ban-

ned for almost the entire period he spent outside prison. Mandela also played a major role during the 1954 campaign against Bantu Education and the 1955 Congress of the People.

In an attempt to arrest the growing agitation and militancy among the people the regime arrested 156 leaders of the people in 1956 and charged them with



treason. Mandela was one of them for, to a very large extent, credit for that new mood among the people should go to him. Naturally he was not the only leader. There were other leaders but he was so outstanding amongst them. In all the campaigns that were organised he would always emerge at the head. An orator and a charismatic figure, he is a person whose presence could not be missed, whatever the situation. Even at social gatherings the moment he entered everybody would notice that a person who matters had made an appearance and would leave a long-lasting impression on all around. He was a born leader.

After the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the ANC in 1960 it became clear to our people that it was no longer possible to continue the struggle using non-violent means. The ANC began consulting its membership and a number of delegations from all over the country went to Stanger where the then President of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli, stayed to discuss the way forward. Chief Luthuli, since he was banned, could not travel to Johannesburg where Headquarters was, or to Bloemfontein, which was the traditional meeting place of the ANC. Mandela played a very prominent role in those discussions.

Mandela played a very important role in the preparations for the 1961 All-in African Conference which decided to call a national convention of all the people of our land, Black and white, to discuss an alternative democratic constitution for South Africa, in opposition to the racist republican constitution which the boers were preparing to introduce. The conference elected a steering committee which was to prepare for the convention and Mandela became its secretary.

The same year, after the organisation had taken the decision to embark on armed struggle, I was recruited to join Umkhonto we Sizwe. One day I was instructed to go to a house in Ophirton where our MK group was to be constituted. The late Masondo (Mavili), and the late Mashaba were also in the same group. There were two other comrades, one from Germiston and the other from Alexandra.



All-in African Conference PM'Burg, 1961

While the five of us were seated we heard a knock at the door. We opened and in came Nelson Mandela. He was underground already and was not in the usual attire we knew. Normally he was found in a suit and a tie but then he was seen in work clothes most of the time. He held a brief meeting with us and told us that the movement had decided to embark on armed struggle and that a few comrades had already

been selected to go for military training abroad. We (the five) were going to constitute a cell and he appointed me head. Mashaba and Masondo were going to be responsible for Pretoria and Alexandra respectively.

On December 16 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe announced its birth. I led a group which went to demolish the Kliptown Post Office while Masondo led a group which hit the Meadowlands Administra-



At Algerian military headquarters, 1962

tive Offices. Both missions were carried out successfully and there were similar operations in all the major centres of our country. The key man and co-ordinator of all these activities was our Commander-in-Chief, Nelson Mandela.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

After December 16 we carried out a few more operations. Mandela then pulled me out of the units and assigned me a task of moving round the country and set up MK

units where they did not exist, while consolidating them in areas where they already existed. The latter became the major task in fact because there were units already, initiated by him, in all the areas I managed to reach. Mandela was truly committed. In spite of the fact that he was underground and the police were searching for him, he moved around, appearing at different places at different times, meeting different people and issuing them their instructions.

Whilst directing the army he was also deeply involved in the building of the ANC underground, a task which was very difficult given that ANC activists were used to operating openly and had developed over the years an operational pattern which did not involve hiding from the enemy. The art of conspiracy was new to our people and there was lots of carelessness as a result.

People had to be sent out of the country for both political and military training. Under the leadership of Mandela, we began to organise. I was given the responsibility of ferrying people out of the country through Botswana, then still under British rule. From Botswana they would proceed, via Kazangula, to Zambia and ultimately Tanzania which was the only independent African country nearest to our borders.

In 1962 Mandela left the country to undergo military training and organise facilities for our people in independent Africa. He visited Tanzania, Egypt, Ethiopia and Algeria. When he came back I, together with one other comrade, was organised to fetch him from Botswana. He had chartered a private plane from Tanzania. We drove in two cars. Mandela was disguised as an old man.

We transported him across the border in one car whilst I, carrying his weapon

which he had acquired in Algeria, followed in the other. When we were back in Rivonia he briefed us about his trip. He told us that it was then possible to send people for training in Ethiopia, Algeria, Egypt and Morocco. During the same year, while on a mission from Durban, Mandela was arrested in Horwick. There was a lot of sadness in our ranks. The pain was felt greatly by the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. All those I met expressed grief. An outstanding leader of our people, organisation and army had been captured.

RESCUE

From Horwick he was transferred to the Fort (no.4) in Johannesburg. He was brought to trial, charged with leaving the country illegally. We employed good lawyers, including Joe Slovo, to defend him. During the trial an idea of rescuing him emerged. No.4 being a fortress (that's why it's called the fort) it was not possible to free him by force because we did not have the means at the time. We had very few rifles and pistols and very few amongst us could use them.

We decided on a two-pronged approach. One was to manufacture or acquire in whatever way a key to the cells at the Johannesburg magistrate's court where the trial was held. The other was to find somebody from the Fort, preferably a senior warder. Attempts were made and we managed to find a warder who agreed to help in freeing Mandela for a fee. He would create conditions for him to escape and demanded R7 000. We did not rely much on this jailer and opted for the first plan.

The plan involved a lot. Mandela was a very known figure, even to the police. There was absolutely no way in which he could come out of the court cells without

being properly disguised. We had to change his appearance from African to Asiatic. A wig and pads for changing the form of his face had to be made and that meant obtaining measurements of his face, the part around the crown, the circumference of his head, etc., so that the whiskers and wig would be the size of the face to fit properly. To obtain all these measurements up to the point when the wig was ready took a long time.

When the wig was ready and put on the face of Walter Sisulu it transformed him completely and we were convinced that the plan was going to work. Imprints of the key to the cell were taken. The key was made, tested and it worked. The wig was sewn in inside the the lining of the suit's jacket which was going to be taken to him as if it was just for changing when he went to court. We had worked out how somebody would sneak in and give him the key to the cell.

Unfortunately when everything was ready Mandela's trial was shifted to Pretoria and both plans were frustrated. Conditions in Pretoria were completely different but we did try to work out other ways of rescuing him. Meanwhile the trial continued. He was convicted and sentenced to five years.

I also had to leave the country in 1963. We were in Tanzania when news that the High Command in Rivonia was arrested and Mandela had joined them to stand trial reached us. Added to the five years he was already serving he, together with the other Rivonia trialists, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Those of us who served under him are very proud of having had that opportunity. We have confidence in his leadership and are looking forward to the day when he will be with us again. We will do all in our power to bring that day ever nearer.

HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

Two fellow combatants relate the story of Marcus Motaung, Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Mosololi

On June 9 five years ago the Botha regime's hangman terminated the lives of three young revolutionaries of our country: Marcus Motaung, Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Mosololi. At this point in our struggle it is necessary to remind ourselves what we, as members of MK, truly are by drawing inspiration from their spirit and reaffirming our vow.

In remembering them we cannot forget their outstanding contribution in the struggle for the seizure of power. Particularly because from their contribution and level



Marcus Motaung

of commitment we have to draw lessons and strengthen our own commitment in the face of the serious problems of enemy infiltration and the desertion of some of our combatants. Let us pick up their spears. The situation in our country demands of us, more than ever before, soldiers of the calibre of Motaung, Mogoerane and Mosololi.

GALLANT FIGHTERS

The three gallant fighters belonged to a

unit known as G-5 whose history dates back as far as the attack on Moroka Police Station. In 1979 the unit was deployed in Soweto where it based in a dug-out. This dug-out served as their house and headquarters from which they planned and executed operations. It is from this hole that in a disciplined and organised manner they took turns conducting reconnaissance and acquiring food. Nobody left the base without reason. Every movement was purposeful and timed. And, in terms of space, the dug-out was not at all comfortable for four people.

It is from this dug-out that the lightning attack on Moroka Police Station on May 3 1979 came. What is seldom related about this attack is that as the Police Station was aflame, a group of residents from the neighbourhood gathered to listen to the unit commissar addressing them about the importance and relevance of the operation, while the other members of the unit took positions nearby, covering the brief gathering. Soon thereafter the unit disappeared into thin air.

An attack successfully carried out in this manner brought real excitement and strengthened the bond of unity, comradeship and trust. The uncomfortable conditions of the dug-out became more homely. Soon thereafter the unit was to experience some problems, the most serious being the brief arrest of Marcus Motaung. He had gone out to collect pamphlets from a contact whom they had assigned a task of reproducing. On his way back he met police and was arrested. Back at base the unit became worried when Marcus failed to appear at the expected time, but decided to stay ready and fight it out from their base if he had deserted and sold them out.

Owing to his calm, he managed to pull wool over the eyes of the colonel on duty at Protea Police station. Marcus pretended an innocent student who had been

given the pamphlets by one old man. He was released and later joined the group which, and rightly so, doubted his story. He proved himself in action when G-5 attacked the Orlando Police station.



Simon Mogoerane

It is also these courageous combatants of our army, together with the likes of Nicky 'Ntsizwa' Hlongwane, who introduced other heroes of our revolution like Gordon Dikebu (the lion of Chiawelo), Theophilus Dlodlo (Viva Zenqwe), Anthony Tsotsobe to action through attacks such as the one against the Boyseens Police Station.

At the time of their arrest Marcus was the co-ordinator of two units, codenamed G-6 and G-7, which were based around Pretoria. Mogoerane was the commissar of G-6, which was commanded by Nicky 'Ntsizwa' Hlongwane. Mosololi was also in this unit. G-7 consisted, among others, of Viva Zenqwe and Phillip Mabatha who was popularly known as Kid and is presently serving 20 years on Robben Island. The two groups launched daring attacks on Wonderboom and Mabopane Police Stations and carried out many acts of sabotage of enemy installations.

Unfortunately Mogoerane and Mosololi's base was spotted by farm labourers and reported to the enemy. When the

enemy encircled the base Mogoerane had gone out on some mission and fell into the encirclement upon his return. Mosololi was found inside the base. The rest of the unit managed to escape.

ENCIRCLEMENT

Marcus Motaung's arrest at Stinkwater came as a result of Lake Mpiyakhe (Moses Bafana Madoda Mbatha of 2018 Rockville, Soweto) who bowed to advice and pressure from elements of his family and deserted G-7 and joined the enemy. He was also shot at by another traitor in Mpiyakhe's company. Such is the work of the weak ones in the struggle. They rob us of the true sons of our people.

Even when they were facing death in the hands of the enemy, these three heroes defied it and denied the enemy information he did not have, thus saving other comrades. We who knew them and worked with them say their families, relatives and friends must remain proud



Jerry Mosololi

for having produced such heroes for the South African revolution. For us their deeds shall remain a deep source of inspiration until the ideals they cherished have been brought to fruition.

IN LIEU OF A BOOK REVIEW

A BOOK BY ONE OF US

Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda, by Mzala (Zed Books Ltd. London and New Jersey, 1988).

Mzala is a cadre of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and a former law student at Ngoye University. He has been writing articles of considerable interest in Sechaba and the African Communist.

In my encounters with him I discerned a dynamic personality. He would always have an issue of revolutionary interest to discuss and apply his mind to penetrate it. **Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda**, a well researched and quite readable book, is fruition of such penetration into issues. The title of this book is apt and reflects adequately its balanced and enlightening contents.

I have had occasion to read Gatsha Buthelezi's speeches, listen to him on radio and T.V. Of relevant consequence, I had occasion to see and listen to him in person during the funeral of Robert Sobukwe in Graff-Reinet on 12th March, 1978. The treatment he received there is not of much significance to this review. What struck me odd — his powers to double talk and evoke sympathy and concern — is what Mzala lays bare in this book.

During this incident, after Gatsha had been escorted out of the stadium by the clergy, a brief press conference was held with him. I was part of that brief gathering. It so happened that one foreign correspondent pointed out to Gatsha that there was a spittle on his cheek. With composure, he took out a handkerchief, wiped off the spittle, and

simultaneously uttered that this reminds him that *'in a few weeks to come, we shall be once more marking the crucifixion of our lord, who was insulted, pelted and spat at because he fought for the liberation of the poor'*. One journalist asked if he likened himself to Jesus Christ because of what had happened to him a short while ago, without batting an eyelid he rejoined "yes".

I was at a loss whether he meant what he said, or that was just a trick to justify himself on the path of collaboration he has chosen.

"Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is the most controversial black politician in South Africa".

Mzala submits in the opening line of this book. Indeed, looking at Gatsha soberly, and objectively, his personality and approach to the struggle, makes him controversial. He is more refined, complex and intricate than other bantustan leaders. It is just not enough to discard him into the camp of sellouts without properly examining his standpoints. He has plausible facts to justify himself. Hence in many ways he becomes a case study.

Furthermore an examination of such a personality must be substantiated with undisputable facts. It must be a serious effort devoid to provoke untenable mudslinging from the chief. This quality has proved befitting in Mzala with his research capabilities, presentation of facts, and an apparent intimate knowledge of Zulu traditions and history.

For instance, Gatsha argues that as a Buthelezi he was preordained a prime minister to his contemporary Zulu king. His supporters, with his seeming connivance, state that the correct form to address

him is 'umtwana' or 'Infanta'. This is a title meaning prince and given to all direct descendants of Zulu kings.

This is a very serious claim. Our people hold their culture and traditions dear. To dispute issues based on these sentiments without facts could lead one to be mistrusted by the people. This is very dangerous, especially when one speaks from the positions of the liberation movement. Partly, it is through the penting up of sentiments like these that Gatsha prevails over the other bantustan leaders. Lack of adequate facts to disprove the Gatsha myth has over the years made many people to dismiss him only half-heartedly.

In chapter 6 of this book, entitled "Traditional Prime Minister", Mzala eloquently pierces through from a myriad of hypothesis. He states very clear that King Dinizulu had nine daughters in all. Princess Phikisile, the mother to the founding member of the A.N.C, Pixley Seme was the first daughter, while Gatsha's mother, Princess Magogo was the second daughter.

He states "Chief Buthelezi's position in the royal hierachy is no different from that of Pixley Seme, Rogers Shange, Kuthukakwenzeka Cebekhulu Gilbert Mbatha and Langaletu Dlamini, all of whom were sons of daughters of King Dinizulu. They too have a line of descent through their mothers which goes back to King Cetshwayo and King Shaka", (p.104).

But this does not make them princes as Mzala argues:

"The Nguni cultural group, of which the Zulus are part, is patrilineal in its tradition of succession. In Zululand, since, the time of Malandela, who lived six generations before King

Shaka, the general rule of succession was the eldest son of the great wife of the king succeeded his father, and only the sons and daughters of the king were refered to as 'prince' or princess or 'mntwana' not the children of the king's daughters, who would normally not marry another prince in the same tribe." (p.104)

TRADITIONAL PREMIERSHIP

On the traditional premiership of the Buthelezi, Mzala concedes that Gatsha's great-grandfather was the premier chief to King Cetshwayo. This fact is important. But a closer scrutiny into it reveals its serious distortion by Gatsha. This apparent slighting of facts brings to doubt his integrity. Especially that this specific subject has to do with his own family history. Mzala clarifies this point as follows:

"...it is certainly true that Chief Mnyamana was the premier chief or what Gatsha prefers to call 'Prime Minister' during the reign of King Cetshwayo. Chief Mnyamana did not inherit this title. He was appointed by the King in recognition of his leadership qualities. Each Zulu king appoinieu a councillor or premier chief, but it was certainly not always a Buthelezi chief who was so appointed" (p.104-105).

Mzala goes on to mention the names of the premier chiefs from the era of King Shaka up to King Dinizulu. This nullifies Gatsha's claims of leading Kwa-Zulu bantustan out of traditional considerations.

Also, Gatsha has on numerous occasions submitted that he has a political and moral right to lead the Kwa-Zulu bantustan. He argues this position from the premise that Kwa-Zulu is the ancestral land of the Zulus. Here the analogy is drawn between his bantustan and the former protectorates like

Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. Mzala counters:

"Buthelezi is a leader of the present Kwa-Zulu bantustan which, like all bantustans, was established on the basis of the 1913 Native Land Act which gave 7.5% of South Africa's land area to the African people, land which comprises today pieces of land that are a caricature of the Zulu territory on its original historic

GATSHA BUTHELEZI CHIEF WITH A DOUBLE AGENDA



MZALA

sense. Millions of people, whom Chief Buthelezi claims are in 'the land of their birth', were actually forced into these ethnic compartments by the relevant departments of the oppressor government, using bulldozers, police squads and other means" (p.30).

To this end, Gatsha's claims and assertions do not hold water. His juggling with the culture and traditions of the people appears to be both:

a desperate and well orchestrated plan to legitimise his role in the bantustan system. He cannot even claim to be the premier chief to King Zwelithini. In fact his wanting treatment of the King has led to a strained if not hostile relationship.

Moreso, the detailed study made by Mzala in this book exposes also the fact that Gatsha swindled his elder brother and heir apparent of the Buthelezi clan, Mceleli, of his chieftainship. The conflict led to his banishment to Sibasa. In this Gatsha's role was not a minor one.

BANTU AUTHORITIES

It is interesting that Gatsha portrays himself as the arch-opponent of the Bantu Authorities Act. This is the basic Act of apartheid. It institutionalised racial domination and discrimination and ethnic division amongst the oppressed and exploited. Through the 40 years of Nationalist Party rule it was formulated and developed. It has along the years modified its functional terms and tactics. But its fundamental tenets and objectives are still the same. The Kwa-Zulu bantustan, like other bantustans, the defunct advisory boards, UBC's, Community Councils and the Town Councils the regime is attempting to initiate in October, are intended structural expressions of this Act. Gatsha has made scathing attacks on this Act in the past, despite the fact that he himself is functioning within it. Whether his criticism is only tokenism in an attempt to command some respectability with the majority which opposes it, is another issue. For a fact he commented in a speech delivered in Mbali on 16 December 1983:

"I more than any other, fought the introduction of homeland machinery designed by Pretoria. I stomped the length and breadth of Kwa-Zulu leading the fight against the introduction of the Bantu Authorities Act". (p.60).

He has also gone on record condemning

the sham independence opted for by his counterparts. How sincere is Gatsha that he has always been opposed to this Act? Is he really honest in checking the fragmentation of South Africa in the form of bantustan independence? In response to these important questions, Mzala digs historical facts one by one. Their impact on Gatsha's claims of opposition to the system of Bantu Authorities and sham bantustan independence is shattering.

For a fact, he is virtually participating in the maintenance and development of the bantustan policy. He has become bolder in his defence of this system. But what is most interesting in this issue is that he actually did not see anything wrong in it. This comes to light in his response to an article in *New Age* 5/11/59 alleging his opposition to the Bantu Authorities Act. In a letter to the editor he wrote:

"I wish to correct a certain impression it has created. The writer states, inter-alia, that.... his absence from Eshowe function was interpreted by many as an indication of his open hostility to the establishment of Bantu Authorities, and rumours are rife amongst members of the tribe that Chief Buthelezi may soon be exiled for his opposition to the Government".

He concludes the letter by saying:

"..... never have I ever declared any hostility to the establishment of Bantu Authorities to your correspondent or to anybody either now or at any time. The Bantu Authorities Act is permissive and therefore voluntary, that is legally speaking. I have never opposed the Government either by an act of commission or omission as is averred in this article by your correspondent". (p.63-64).

The contradictory personality of Gatsha juts out immediately. The true nature of

his double talk always takes a definite side when it comes to a crunch. In every instance when there are doubts as to his position and direction, he chooses the side on which his bread is buttered, the side of the apartheid regime.

ALTERNATIVES

As the struggle for liberation heats up, so does the race for alternatives to the noble ideals thousands have perished for. In April 1986 Gatsha unveiled a plan typical of such a race. *"We are exploring for alternatives to apartheid"* (p.206) he said in his opening speech to the Kwa-Zulu Natal Indaba. What this meant is that Gatsha is proposing federalism and sharing power with the whites. In the South African context, sharing power which would be expressed in proportional representation, would only serve to perpetuate racism.

A closer analysis of Gatsha's hunt for 'alternatives' shows that he is seeking politically legitimate methods of opting for the sham Kwa-Zulu bantustan independence. He is in this venture with some industrialists and their intellectuals. For Gatsha and these people a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa of the Freedom Charter is an undesirable prospect. Indaba lays the basis for the strengthening of the positions of the bantustans in the future. It anticipates and encourages a scramble for South Africa by ethnic and provincial groupings. This is totally against the desires of our people, whose freedom of movement, association, residence and speech have been stifled to almost non-existence by the apartheid regime.

The book also makes interesting reading on Gatsha's positions on violence. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is seen by his followers in the international community and his apartheid paymasters as a moderate. They laud him for his non-violence stance for the attainment of political objectives.

NON VIOLENCE.

He who stands firm on the principles of non-violence, when thousands around him are being mowed, must be truly an exceptional man. There have been such exceptions, but the reality of the violence of apartheid is changing such men. This is not a surprise to those who are familiar with the operations of the nature's laws of development.

For every action there must be reaction. For example, the A.N.C turned to armed struggle only in 1961, 49 years after its founding. Its adoption of armed struggle came after almost all avenues of non-violent struggle were closed. It has stated repeatedly in its policy statements and directives to the people, as their leader, that its violence is and must be directed against the apartheid system. It has stressed, in the face of extreme provocation, that its violence is not conducted against the whites per se, but the apartheid machinery and its economic basis.

Gatsha has condemned this approach to violence by the A.N.C. What is important here is to find out if he is at all against violence. This is what Mzala sets out to do under different headings. The testimony contained in this book is enormous. For instance, Gatsha has threatened the Indian people with violence. Not very long ago the Indian people residing in Phoenix were attacked. In 1980 there was a student boycott in Natal. "He called for the creation of vigilante groups which would 'shoot to kill' if they found anyone interfering with school buildings. This step, he said, should be seen against the background of violence which the people were prepared to commit against him and members of his Legislative Assembly". (p.14-15).

In 1981 an Inkatha paramilitary camp was established in Ulundi. In 1983 Gatsha's Inkatha impis killed 5 students and injured more than 100 in Ngoye.

Referring to the current events Mzala states:

"An alarming feature of the South African political scene since September 1984 has been the emergence of vigilante violence in the black townships. Chief Buthelezi frequently refers to this phenomenon as 'black-on-black violence' "(p.138)

It should be pointed out that this feature is present even in the trade unions. COSATU was formed in 1985. Its positions as a progressive trade union federation are well known. UWUSA was founded in 1986. It stated in its policy statement that: "UWUSA shares the views of the President of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi, concerning the future political dispensation of South Africa". (p. 179).

In this book, details of two separate cases of UWUSA violence drawn from affidavits to the Natal Supreme Court are cited. In these cases, intimidation and violence often leading to the deaths of members of UDF affiliates is apparent. There is in most cases a clear collaboration with the Inkatha vigilantes, the police and management. The question how Gatsha is linked to these violent activities would be fair.

To secure a clearer picture, Mzala quotes from one of Gatsha's spine-chilling speeches when explaining his non-violent stance "... All I say is: God help anybody who stands on our way. Those who do it will understand more fully how determined we are. If they do not understand now they will understand it tomorrow after they have blundered because they did not understand. If they do not understand it tomorrow, they will perhaps understand it the second time when they have blundered more grievously. If they did not understand it the next time, they will most certainly understand it in the life

hereafter. We are the true sons and daughters of Africa, and those of us who come from this part of our country have warrior blood coursing in our veins. We are quite capable of adopting an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth philosophy for that which we cherish deeply". (p.158).

Inkatha vigilantes and UWUSA violence combined with Gatsha's spurious verbal attacks on opposition, coupled with the defence of such violence, puts him in the centre of these shameful events.

This book leads one, correctly, so, to the fact that Gatsha is a violent man. Gatsha has offered himself to be used as a tool by the racist regime. There has never been an instance when the violence of his Inkatha vigilantes was directed against the state. The members of the mass democratic movement, and those refusing to take up Inkatha membership have been the ones on the receiving end of his Inkatha's violence.

For example, a certain chief Maphumulo, then an M.P. for Mpumalanga was assaulted by Inkatha in full view of Kwa-Zulu police. The following day in Kwa-Zulu Bantustan's Legislative Assembly, Gatsha was reported to have stated that:

"... whoever challenged him, challenged the people and the people would deal with him". (Sowetan 3/10/83).

Chief Maphumulo's challenge to Gatsha was his refusal to join Inkatha.

ANC's ASSOCIATION

The ANC's earlier association with

Gatsha and its assistance in the founding of Inkatha is also clarified in this book. Its approach has an element of self-criticism and mature outlook by the national liberation movement. The problems of post-Rivonia and apparent lack of dynamic contact with the internal are elaborated.

The other interesting aspect of this book is the way it comprehensively deals with the issue of sanctions. Its approach is objective and presents a balanced argument concluding that sanctions could be a vital contribution by the international community for the demise of apartheid. Here Mzala makes a very commendable remark:

"Normally, one would expect Chief Buthelezi as an outspoken advocate of 'non-violence' to give a moral lead in this non-violent strategy for liberation; but this has not been the case. Chief Buthelezi opposes this non-violent method of seeking change, just as he has opposed other methods of non-violent struggle, such as rent and consumer boycotts". (p.204).

This book makes a good reading for a revolutionary approach to the bantustan leadership. It is factual and captures the concentration of the reader. It is unlike academic exercises which appear now and again purporting to be dealing with our struggle. It is not a book written for us, but by one of us.

—Grant moloto

And one person has come to embody the aspirations of all the South African people— Nelson Mandela. ...His life symbolises our people's burning desire for freedom, his imprisonment is the imprisonment of the whole South African nation, the fight for his unconditional release, and that of all political prisoners and detainees, is the glorious fight against injustice, racial bigotry, and man's inhumanity to man. — OR Tambo

OBITUARY

Dr. Thamsanqa Blessing Fihlela (alias Hugo Nkabinde) lost his life in an accident in Angola, a few days after his 30th birthday. He died on duty, selflessly serving our heroic people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Thamsanqa was born in Durban. Comrades recall that he became politically aware at a relatively early age, and was involved in many of the student struggles of the time, which culminated in the



1976 student uprisings. He schooled at KwaDlangezwa High School.

Overcoming all obstacles created by the apartheid system and its deplorable Bantu Education, he completed his matric and enrolled at Wentworth Medical School. During his second year he was detained for seven months, spending most of it in solitary confinement. After his release he left the country,

joined the ANC and was sent to the Soviet Union to further his studies.

Upon qualifying as a doctor he returned to Africa and did his year's internship in Tanzania, where he made many friends. He then volunteered to join and serve in our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, rejecting all the comforts of practicing elsewhere. One thing which was very clear to him is that there is an important task to be undertaken by our doctors in the army - that of ensuring that the army is as healthy as possible so as to fight better the war of liberation.

Because of his cheerful character and the sympathy and care he displayed to all in his hands, Dr Hugo became very popular with the comrades. He used to exercise patience with the injured and sick comrades, offering them the best of his skills. A doctor of outstanding ability, he demanded high standards of himself and others he worked with.

He missed no opportunity to pass his skills on and develop other comrades in the Health Department. He used to motivate all around him, urging comrades to accomplish tasks today rather than tomorrow. "Let's push on the struggle by a few more metres, comrades", he would say when carrying out an assignment. He was also impatient with outmoded and conservative ideas, and reluctance to change.

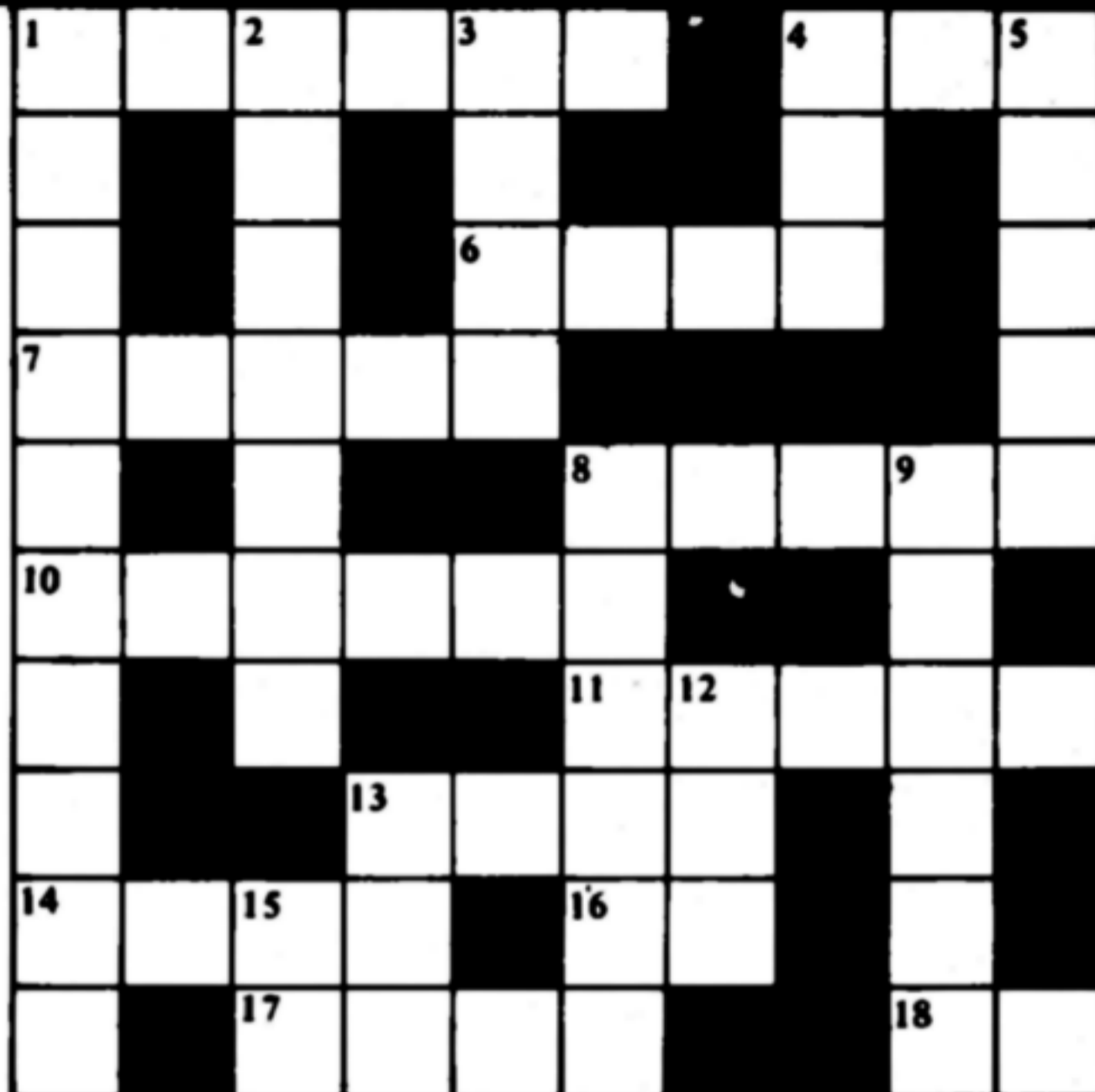
The struggle has been deprived of an outstanding son of our people. We have lost a dear comrade and friend.

Hamba kahle comrade Doc. Rest assured we will pick up your fallen spear and continue the struggle until final victory.



PolitiXword

No.1



CLUES

ACROSS

1. Aircraft that drops bombs
6. Temporary stoppage on march
7. Was Chairman of the SACP
8. Greek alphabet
10. Town in the Cape province
11. Smearred with tar
13. Organised method by which something is done
14. Leave base without permission
16. Carat
17. People of specified class
18. Nazi special police

DOWN

1. Post held on far side of river, facing enemy's position
2. Turns 70 on July 18
3. Imitate opinions of someone
4. Used for hitting the ball in table tennis
5. ANC leader who's gravely ill in prison
8. Opposite of defend
9. Vex by repeated attacks
12. Small insect
13. Leader of the Palestinian struggle
15. Preposition

See answers in DAWN Vol. 12. No. 2.

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

Radio Lusaka

Shortwave 31mb, 9505 KHz

7.00 p.m. Daily
10.15-10.45 p.m. Wednesday
9.30-10.00 p.m. Thursday
10.15-10.45 p.m. Friday

Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz

8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday

Radio Luanda

Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz
and 25mb

7.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday
8.30 p.m. Sunday

Radio Madagascar

Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz

7.00-9.00 p.m. Monday-Saturday
7.00-8.00 Sunday

Radio Ethiopia

Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz

9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily

Radio Tanzania

Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz

8.15 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Friday
6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday

**To move forward we must attack,
act in unity and unite in action.**

AWAITING EXECUTION

Sharpeville Six:

1. *Reginald Sefatsa (30)*
2. *Reid Malebo Mokoena (22)*
3. *Oupa Moses Diniso (30)*
4. *Tneresa Ramashamola (24)*
5. *Duma Joshua Khumalo (26)*
6. *Francis Don Mokhesi (29)*

Three from Oudtshoorn:

7. *Dickson Madikane (26)*
8. *Desmond Majola (27)*
9. *Patrick Manginda (23)*

Two from Sebokeng:

10. *Daniel Maleke (19)*
11. *Josiah Tsawane (29)*

One from Colesburg:

12. *Paul Tefo Setlaba (22)*

Four from Addo:

13. *Mziwoxolo Mkhonto (22)*
14. *Makheswale Mkhonto (30)*
15. *Ndumiso Mkhonto (25)*
16. *Similane Mkhonto (21)*

One MK combatant:

17. *Robert John McBride, (23)*

Three NDU craft stewards: from Vaal Reef (all sentenced to death three times):

18. *Tyeluvu Mngwenzi (28)*
19. *Solomon Mngwenzi Nongwati (38)*
20. *Paulos Tsebe Mngwenzi (38)*

Three from Bopama:

21. *Thomas Chauke (27)*
22. *Daisy Modise (25)*
23. *Jonannes Tshabalala (18)*

Six from Queenstown:

24. *Mzwandile Gqeba (22)*
25. *Mzwandile Mninzi (27)*
26. *Theminkosi Pressfeet (30)*
27. *Wahto Silinga (27)*
28. *Monde Tingwe (23)*
29. *Lundi Wana (20)*

One from Soweto:

30. *Bekisizwe Philip Ngidi (19)*

One from Kwanobuhle:

31. *Gilindoda Gxekwa (22)*

Two from Soshanguve:

32. *Sibusiso Senele Masuko (22)*
33. *Oupa Josias Mbonane (21)*

One from Tembisa:

34. *Joseph Chidi (23)*

Two from Port Elizabeth:

35. *Ledube Mnyamana (31)*
36. *Menzi Tafane (21)*

One from Port Elizabeth:

37. *Vuyisile Goni*

One from Tembisa:

38. *James Moseki (23)*

Three from Stutterheim:

39. *Mxoliso Mthembu (38)*
40. *Michael Mthembu (28)*
41. *Lula Mthembu (27)*

One from Mankai:

42. *Theo Mthembu (35)*

One from Port Elizabeth:

43. *Mthembu Bottoman Ngqandu (22)*

Shop steward from Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union:

44. *William Ntombela*

Two MK combatants from Soweto:

45. *Mtheleli Mncube (27)*
46. *Mzondeleli Nondula (24)*

SAVE THEIR LIVES!