

DAWN

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Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



DAWN

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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Front Cover

The spirit of the "Year of the Women"
together in the battlefield of our struggle

Back Cover

MK Manifesto says...

YEAR OF THE WOMEN



Editorial Comment

SHOVE KOORNHOF BILLS DOWN HIS THROAT

SOUTH AFRICA belongs to all who live in it, not just to the minority of 4 million whites, but to the overwhelming majority of 27 million blacks as well. Similarly it is one territory.

Yet to the colonialist regime and its followers, as was the case with its predecessors, South Africa belongs to the whites only. To realise this dream the racist rulers continue to herd millions of the African people into the tiny dry, barren and disease-ridden patches of land called the bantustans. Of the total surface area of South African territory these make up only 13 percent.

Life in the remaining 87 percent of the land is the privilege of the whites. There you find vast expanses of fertile farming land, large deposits of mineral wealth and modern industrial centres. In this paradise the black man has no place except as a slave who must ensure a luxurious life for the white masters.

In the face of the people's growing resistance against this blatant robbery and enslavement the Pretoria rulers have and continue to promulgate a network of fascist laws backed with batons and bullets. The latest of such laws is the so-called Aliens and Immigrants Laws Amendment Bill. It was read for the first time in the racist parliament during the first week of March.

The terms of this fascist bill are briefly as follows: Africans from the bantustans who are forced to seek work in the industrial centres or mothers and children who must join the breadwinner will be treated as foreigners. As such they will have to be issued with an entry permit by a racist official. Before getting such a permit one will have to deposit a certain amount of money or a bank guarantee with the racist official. This money or guarantee will be handed back when one leaves the industrial area.

If for whatever reason the Internal Affairs Minister's Director General feels that one has not complied with the conditions of the permit one loses the money. Failure to obtain or produce such a permit 'then and there' carries the heavy penalty of R600 or six months in jail.

While mention of a provision for exemption from the terms of this bill is made, it is clearly stated that the Minister of Internal Affairs is empowered to exclude anyone from such exemption. In addition to 'white South Africa' or and permanent residence will be lost should one remain outside the urban areas for a continuous period of three years or more. The same applies to any person whom the minister decides to deport.

The aims of the Botha-Malan regime are obvious: to speed up the process of forcing Africans into the bantustans, to ensure that the unemployed and homeless African workers are locked out, to further restrict the movement of the African people into the industrial centres of the country, and to increase the robbery of the African people of their money so as to finance the oppressive state machinery. Extremely restricted movement of the Africans will certainly disrupt the people's efforts to organise and unite for liberation. For example workers or trade unionists who stay in Mdantsane and want to attend a meeting in East London will not only have to pay but will also have to go through humiliation and provocation by racists officials who will deliberately

delay the process of issuing permits.

In other words the Pretoria racists are further intensifying the pass and influx control system. The much-hated fascist Orderly Movement and of Black Persons Bill is being introduced through the back door with a new but equally repulsive name of Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Bill. The regime hopes that it shall thereby evade the people's demand that Koornhof's Bills be scrapped. This is a clear demonstration of racist arrogance and sadism, deriving wealth and pleasure from the people's poverty and suffering.

This poses a greater challenge to the oppressed. The democratic trade union movement, community and youth organisations, church groups and organisations of women and the United Democratic Front are called upon to rally the people for a powerful offensive against the racist regime. The struggle against the Koornhof Bills must be extended to oppose the so-called Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Bill.

The need to organise the rural masses and draw them into active struggle is even more urgent. The resistance against the inhuman bantustan system and the demand for land must be raised to new heights.

All these actions must be combined with the struggle for the seizure of power by the oppressed. To guarantee victory over the enemy we must take up the gun to multiply and deepen the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

... THROUGH A POLICY OF MILITARY TERROR AND ECONOMIC STRANGULATION, THE RACISTS SEEK TO COMPEL INDEPENDENT STATES OF OUR REGION TO SURRENDER THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND, AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THAT SURRENDER, TO HELP EVICT THE ANC FROM THE WHOLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. NEVER WAS THERE A CLEARER ILLUSTRATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVERIGNTY OF THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE PEOPLES OF OUR REGION SHARE ONE COMMON DESTINY. CERTAINLY, THAT CAN NEVER BE A DESTINY OF SUBSERVIENCE TO THE CRIMINAL REGIME OF PRETORIA.

**THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HAS MET TO CONSIDER THE
CURRENT SITUATION IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA**



Alfred Nzo-Secretary General of the ANC

**THE MEETING RESOLVED TO ISSUE THE
FOLLOWING STATEMENT**

OUR PRINCIPAL TASK

Over the last few weeks, the racist and colonial regime of South Africa has been involved in frantic diplomatic, political and propaganda counter-offensive in Southern Africa.

Some of the principal objectives of this offensive are:

- to isolate the ANC throughout Southern Africa and to compel the independent countries of our region to act as Pretoria's agents in emasculating the ANC, the vanguard movement of the South African struggle for national emancipation;
- to liquidate the armed struggle for the liberation of South Africa;
- to gain new bridgeheads for the Pretoria regime in its efforts to undermine the unity of the frontline

states, destroy the SADCC and replace it with a so-called constellation of states and thus to transform the independent countries of Southern Africa into its client states and;

- to use the prestige of the frontline states in the campaign of the white minority regime to reduce the international isolation of apartheid South Africa and to lend legitimacy to itself and its colonial and fascist state.

In pursuit of these aims, the Botha regime has sought to reduce the independent countries of our region to the level of its bantustan creations by forcing them to join the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei bantustans in entering into so-called non-aggression pacts with Pretoria.



Zionists in Lebanon



Racists in Angola

Such accords, concluded as they are with a regime which has no moral or legal right to govern our country, cannot but help to perpetuate the illegitimate rule of the South African white settler minority.

It is exactly for this reason that this minority has, over years, sought to bind independent Africa to such agreements.

PRETORIA TO BLAME

The African National Congress is profoundly conscious of the enormous political, economic and security problems that confront many of the peoples of our region. The blame for many of these problems must be laid squarely on the Pretoria regime which has sought to define the limit of independence of the countries of our region through a policy of aggression and destabilisation.

We are convinced that this regime, which is dripping from head to foot with the blood of thousands of people it has murdered throughout Southern Africa, cannot be an architect of justice and peace in our region.

Neither can the ally of this regime, the

Reagan Administration of the United States, with its pro-apartheid policy of 'constructive engagement', be an architect of justice and peace in this region, while it is an angel of war, reaction and repression in other regions of the world, including the United States itself.

FOUNTAINHEAD OF WAR

A just and lasting peace in our region is not possible while the fountain-head of war and instability in this area, the apartheid regime and the oppressive system it maintains in South Africa and Namibia, continue to exist. The Botha regime knows that no peace has broken out: rather, it has resorted to other means to continue its war for the domination of Southern Africa.

The situation in our region continues to point to the correctness of the decisions of the Maputo Frontline States Summit held in March, 1982. That Summit observed that:

"Under the leadership of the ANC, the people through strikes and armed action, are vigorously rising against apartheid."

It went on to commit the frontline states:

“to intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements, SWAPO and ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of the national independence of their peoples.”

PREREQUISITES FOR PEACE

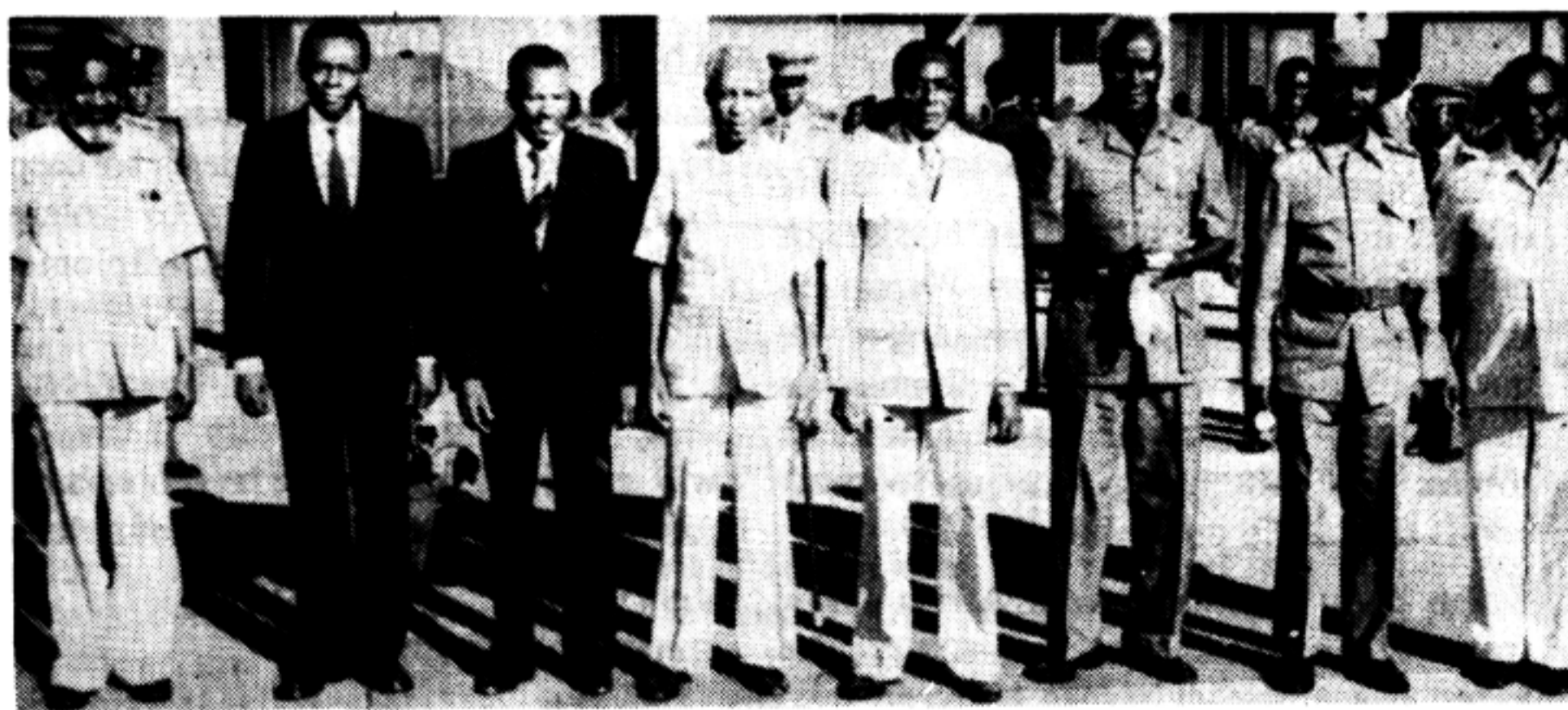
The statement was made in full recognition of the fact that the destruction of the apartheid regime and the liberation of South Africa and Namibia constituted the fundamental prerequisites for peace, stability and uninterrupted progress in our region.

That commonly agreed position reaffirmed the obligation of the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, to escalate their offensive, using all means, including armed action, for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the masses. We remain and shall remain loyal to this perspective.

The Pretoria regime is active in the manner that it is to try to extricate itself out of the crisis that confronts its racist and colonial system of apartheid. It hopes that after it has “pacified” our neighbours and driven the ANC out of our region, it will then have a free hand to suppress the mass democratic movement of our country and thus create the conditions for it to spin out its intricate web of measures for the refinement and entrenchment of the apartheid system.

PRINCIPAL TASK

Our principal task at this moment therefore is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa. This is the urgent call that we make to the masses of our people, to all democratic formations and to all members and units of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Relying on our own strength, through action, we will frustrate the schemes of the enemy of the peoples of Africa and continue our forward march to the destruction of the system of white minority colonial domination in our country!



Leaders of the Frontline states, SWAPO and the ANC: Sam Nujoma, Eduardo dos Santos, Quetta Masire, Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, Kenneth Kaunda, Samora Machel and Oliver Tambo



Within the South African borders the struggle against the racists for people's power rages

IMMEDIATE QUESTION

The central and immediate question of South African politics is the overthrow of the white minority regime, the seizure of power by the people and the uprooting by these victorious masses of the entire apartheid system of colonial and racist domination, fascist tyranny, the super-exploitation of the black majority and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

This question will be and is being settled in struggle, within the borders of our country and nowhere else. We are entitled to expect that all those, anywhere in the world, who count themselves among the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces, will join hands with us to bring about this noble outcome.

The peoples of Southern Africa know from their own experience that there can be no peaceful coexistence between freedom and independence on the one hand and colonialism and racism on the other. We are confident that these masses, their

parties and governments which have, over the years, demonstrated their commitment to the cause of the total liberation of Africa, will themselves remain loyal to this cause and firm in their resolve to stand with our people until victory is won.

We are equally certain that the rest of Africa and the world progressive community will continue to deny the Botha regime the legitimacy it craves so desperately, adopt new measures to isolate it and increase their political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the ANC.

The struggle for the liberation of S.A. under the leadership of the ANC, will continue and grow in scope and effectiveness until we have won our victory.

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

ALFRED NZO
 Secretary-General
 March 16, 1984

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OR TAMBO

On the Nkomati accord

On the allegation that the ANC uses Mozambique as a springboard

"... it is simply not true that the African National Congress has been launching attacks on South Africa from Mozambique. There is not a single occasion when we did. Of course, we went through Mozambique, an African country, as we have gone through other African countries, to reach our own country. We have launched no attacks from any country into South Africa. This is South African propaganda."

On transit to South Africans going back to their own country

"What are we going to do about clauses in this 'non-aggression' pact which forbids Mozambique to allow transit to South Africans going back to their own country? Well, we have had many problems like that in the past and that is how we relate to it - as a problem to be solved. What we do now is that our actions have been planned and staged in South Africa. We will continue to do that. We will find a way of intensifying those actions. In fact this agreement is a challenge to the victims of the apartheid system."

Our people are ready to meet this challenge.

"If we are required to stand alone, first alone, as the British once did faced with an offensive from the Nazis, then that is what we are going to do. We are absolutely confident about it. Our people are ready to meet this challenge. It has never been the policy of the African National Congress to burden the neighbouring states of Southern Africa with sacrifices that have to be made in order to destroy the apartheid system. They hate that system, knowing that while it lasted there was no freedom for them, no independence, no sovereignty, no peace, no stability, no progress. And if they are placed under constraints which restrict their capacity to support that struggle, a just struggle, a struggle of the people of the world, then the African National Congress will not complain. We understand."

LEARN with DAWN

GLYCERINE FUSE:

GLYCERINE FUSE:

When pure glycerine comes into contact with very finely ground potassium permanganate, an intense flame is given off.

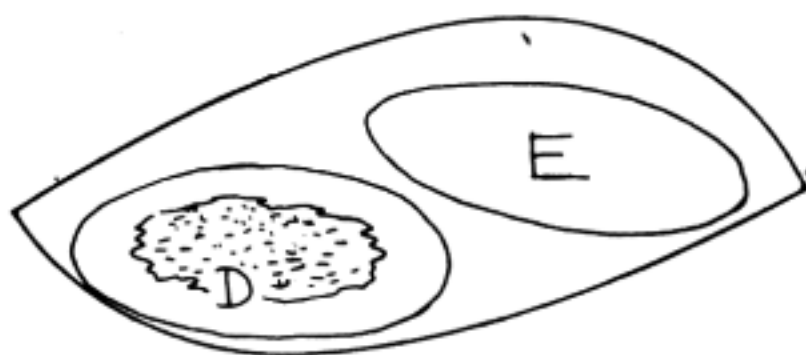
Potassium permanganate (common name *Condie's Crystals*) is used for all sorts of medicinal reasons including washing fruit and vegetables.



Unlike acid, glycerine does not eat through a capsule, but we can make a timing device as follows: **YOU WILL NEED:** tube, ballpoint pen, 2 cork stoppers, glue, tissue paper, tape.

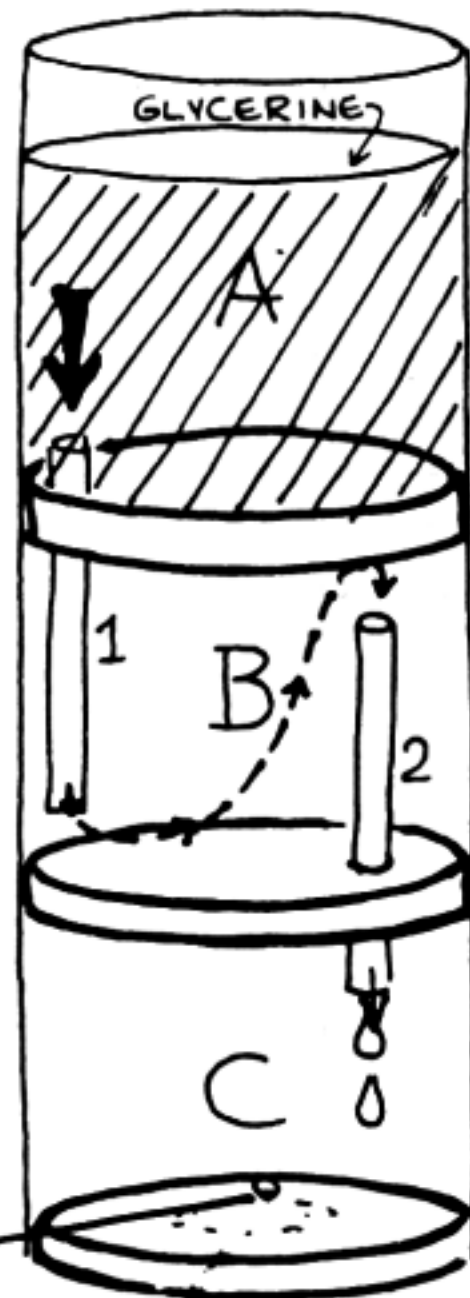
TO MAKE GLYCERINE FUSE:

- 1) Take a length of plastic or glass tube about 10cm. long, open at both ends. A tube for tablets will do - you can cut open the closed end.



You now have three separate chambers A, B and C completely sealed off from one another.

- 2) Remove the fine inner ink-tube from a ball-point pen and wash it clean. Cut 2 pieces approximately 2 and a half centimetres long from it.
- 3) Make two cork stoppers that will exactly fit in the tube. Make a small hole in each so that the ball-pen tube can be pushed through the



hole. Push the tube through the hole in the cork so that it sticks out 2mm. Glue around the ball-pen tube so that it is firmly in place and make sure you have a perfect seal which allows no leaks.

- 4) Now place the corks into the main tube as in the diagram and seal firmly into position. Again making sure that you have a perfect seal which allows no leaks.
- 5) Leave one end of main tube open. Other end is covered as follows. Cut two pieces of tissue paper same circumference as tube. Place finely ground potassium permanganate on one piece of tissue paper (D). Glue around edge of tissue paper (E) and stick (E) over (D) sealing the potassium permanganate within the tissue paper.
- 6) Push this neatly into bottom part of tube and seal end of tube with sticky tape so that the tissue paper cannot possibly drop out.

SAFETY WARNING:

Be absolutely sure that the chambers are sealed-off from one another. If the glycerine leaks down the sides from Chamber A to Chamber C you will have no time delay at all.

HOW IT OPERATES:

- 1) Glycerine is poured into open end of tube to fill Chamber A.
- 2) Glycerine drips into Chamber B through tube 1. When glycerine level rises in Chamber B to cover top of tube 2, it starts to drip into Chamber C.
- 3) The effect of glycerine dropping on to the potassium permanganate enclosed within the tissue paper in Chamber C, is to produce intense flame and heat.

Time how long the process takes and you know the extent of time delay. *About 10 minutes with a 10cm. tube.*

HOW TO USE IT:

NOTE: This is a useful combination because glycerine and potassium permanganate can both be bought quite openly at a chemist. But you will only get a good reaction if the potassium permanganate is very finely ground. Glycerine is used for treating sores in and around the mouth, but make sure the chemist gives you pure glycerine and not glycerine mixed with rose water.

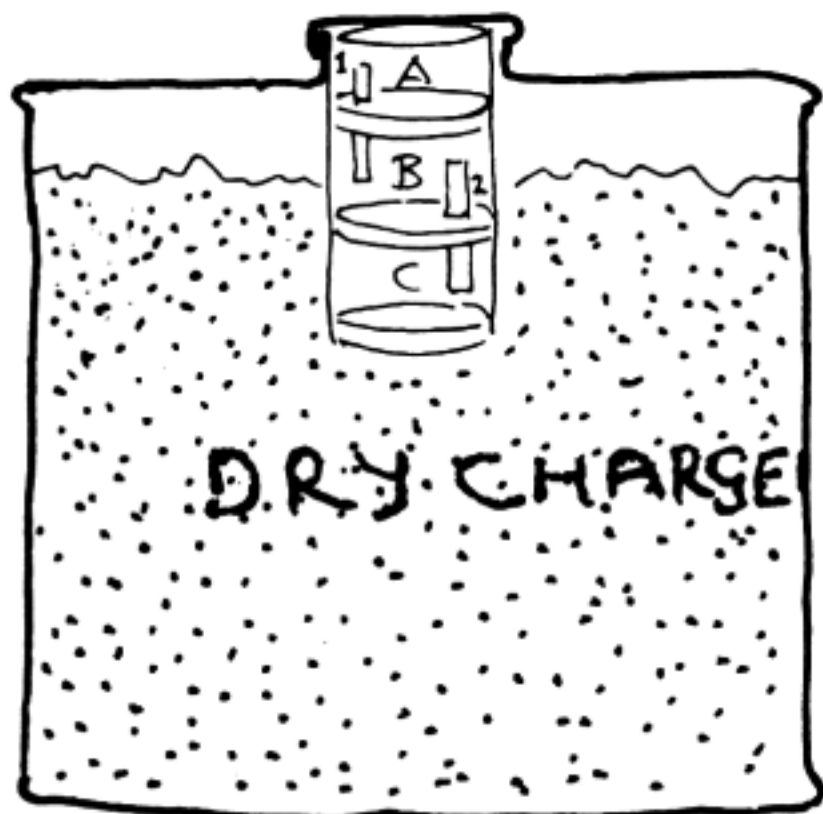
The longer Chamber B, the longer time delay. But you must have enough glycerine in Chamber A to ensure that tube 2 tops up.

SAFETY WARNING:

Double-check that the timing device does not leak before using it with an explosive. If it does the explosive will go off in your hands.

As a timing device to ignite wet or dry charges. But the device must always be placed in a vertical, not a slanting position. The tube can be made to fit neatly into the neck of a plastic bottle by wrapping a strip of cloth around it if the neck of the bottle is too wide for the tube to fit.

Carefully hollow out a space in the explosive powder so that the tube fits into position. After pouring glycerine into the tube, tightly close the lid.



STRAIGHT TALK...

LUCIFER FOR PEACE?

Our ears have been sufficiently pricked by Pretoria's dubious sermons on 'non-aggression pacts' and military disengagement. The sane cannot help but wonder: has Lucifer's angel suddenly become the high-minded preacher of peace and conciliation; has the decimator of life presently transformed into a sower of love and understanding? These questions have to be asked sharply even though the answers to them are daily screaming at all of us.

Let all those who have ears hear once again that, the boer-fascists have rejoiced over what they termed a diplomatic breakthrough and a positive manifestation of Pretoria's 'good neighbourliness' following an agreement with officials of the People's Republic of Angola on the withdrawal of South African troops illegally occupying parts of that country. And this happens at the height of the apartheid regime's biggest invasion of that sovereign African state.

IMPLICATIONS

The implications reflected by the withdrawal (which according to reports is underway as we go to press) are various. The keen observer will however be struck by the basic -- the political and military implications. Considering the extent to which the regime's fascist policies have earned its condemnation by the conscious world, and the fact that such condemna-

tion has correctly transformed South Africa into a pariah and the skunk of the continent, it dawns that the boer fascists must be thirsty for a foreign policy face-lift. Needless to say, Pretoria's war-time ally Ronald Reagan, has plunged his hand deep into the matter for obvious reasons: Reagan is currently faced with an election campaign to determine the next oarsman of the American White House. He therefore seeks a little make-up to put to rights his discredited foreign policy -- just for style, just to bemuse the skeptical American voter. Thus he sent Chester Crocker on a dog-faming mission to remind his watchdogs neither to bite too deep nor bark too loud during this season. The result has been that Botha took the stage to do his non-aggression and disengagement debut. It pains this talker's heart to recall that some well-meaning folks have been taken for a ride and are now embracing the vicious beast, and making suicidal promises under the guise of so-called pacts.

REASON

It is imperative that we note the reason for the haste in which the boers conceded to a withdrawal from Angolan territory. The occupation of southern parts of Angola by Botha's wild-geese types has been quite a costly affair -- draining the regime's coffers an estimated 500 million dollars per year when including the SADF

operational expenditures in Namibia. Against the backdrop of a staggering internal economy the boer government was definitely feeling the crunch. They needed respite, and fast too.

The political calculation stated above dovetails well with the economic factor, camouflaging it with a heavy smoke-screen of false benevolence, a pretence at changing heart.

On the other hand there is also the element of delayed acceptance of the severe reality that the invasion of Angola by South Africa was a no-win situation. It has to be repeated here that the heroism of the Angolan people, the staunchness of its revolutionary government and the determination of the popular armed forces has convincingly frustrated the greater objectives of Pretoria in league with international reaction. So they are pulling back, like you retreat a few paces after trying unsuccessfully to scale a high wall ...

REVOLUTIONARY WAVE

The internal political situation in South Africa fanned as it is by the reactionary policies of the regime has brought about a tidal revolutionary wave. The ANC and its allies, the responsible vanguard of the oppressed black millions has managed to this day to rally the greatest support for a principled offensive against the regime and its obnoxious practices. It is this offensive coupled with growing armed actions by Umkhonto we Sizwe which has driven fear into the hearts of the boer-fascists. Gripped by fear the enemy is adjusting his attitudes, he is making peaceful gestures here, re-organising his forces and withdrawing some there — for example from Angola. The underlying motive however is to re-fashion its internal defence in order to defend the laager

with even greater viciousness. The designs of Pretoria must therefore fool no one, they remain hateful and ill-conceived.

That the racists are withdrawing from Angola will never impress us as being anything significant, it is not even an initiative — they need not have been in that country in the first place. That they are signing '*non-aggression pacts*' should equally not delude us. The essence of the apartheid system is criminal, vicious and oppressive. It is its nature to be aggressive and therefore cannot be trusted to stick by even this one accord.

The yearning of the countries of Southern Africa for peace should be one of a desire to eliminate the generator of war and destruction in the sub-continent — racist South Africa. We take the cue from heroic Angola, which has played an exemplary role quite in-keeping with the spirit of commitment to a truly free and independent Africa.

In the context of the politics of the sub-continent freedom and independence will be concomitant to a realisation of the need to pull down the house of apartheid and condemn it to ashes. We the oppressed but fighting people of South Africa, led by the ANC, alongside the embattled sister people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO have to fight to the bitter end. For this is our sole option, for survival and in defence of our just struggle and for peace and progress.

Peace in our countries will prevail following our inevitable victory. Only through struggle can peace be won. Our people are determined to win, and their will to peace is a force '*strong enough to blunt the edge of the imperialists' bellicose policy*'. And let no one tell us otherwise, no one.

**FORWARD TO GENUINE PEACE!
DOWN WITH APARTHEID!**

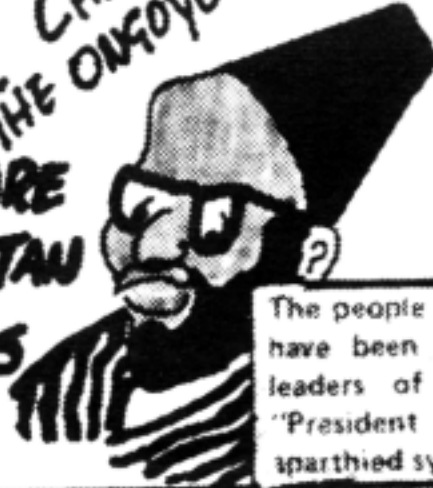
DAWNLIGHT: PUPPETS' EMBRACE

CHIEF SEBE
THE CISKEI TERRORIST
(SELF CONFESSED)



BOTH ARE
BANTUSTAN
PUPPETS

CHIEF BUTHELEZI
THE ONGOYS BUTCHER



The people resident in the Kwazulu and the Ciskei Bantustans have been victims of violence inflicted upon them by the leaders of these bantustans, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and "President" Lennox Sebe respectively in defence of the apartheid system.

HI! JACK I DID A WONDERFUL
JOB MAN... EVERY FAMILY
HAS ONE DEAD OR IN
DETENTION I'M DO
DAMAGE!



LOOK MAN... I MEAN
IT WAS FANTASTIC OH! I JUST
BUTCHERED THEM BUT I'M
NOT SATISFIED YET I STILL...



OH! BUTHELEZI
YOU ARE—
WONDERFUL!
KISS ME PLEASE



OH! HE IS
REALLY A GUY!



**WE HAVE TAKEN A DECISION
TO LIBERATE OURSELVES**

No people can accept slavery for ever.
We have reached a stage where we have taken
a decision to liberate ourselves, and no force
on earth can stop us from attaining that ob-
jective.

**UNITE!
MOBILISE!
FIGHT ON!**

UNITE UNDER THE BANNER OF SACTU

SACTU STATEMENT ON INTERFERENCE BY INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRES IN THE DEMOCRATIC LABOUR MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Today, there is an intense campaign in Southern Africa of interference by international trade union centres, led by the CIA-sponsored AFL-CIO, African-American Labour Centre, Fredrick Ebert Stiftung and others.

It is necessary for us in Africa, and Southern Africa in particular to remember what happened to trade union movements in Latin America. The Inter-American Regional Organisation (ORIT) set up trade unions and centres in different Latin American countries. Where organisations already existed, they were infiltrated. Where ORIT was opposed, it destroyed or split the unions. It was through the devious work of ORIT and the AFL-CIO that the Arbenz Government in Guatemala was overthrown. The blood coup in 1973 of the progressive Allende Government in Chile and the murder of President Allende was once again the dirty work of the CIA, in collusion with the AFL-CIO and the American Institute of Free Labour Development (AIFLD).

APARTHEID'S FRIENDS

It is against this background that we should view today, the intrigues and interference of the Western trade union centres in South Africa. The same illegal racist regime which has murdered, detained, exiled and banned SACTU and other democratic trade

union leaders, is welcoming foreign trade unionists in South Africa. The regime is trying to prevent us in SACTU from carrying out our struggle, while other trade unionists are allowed to move in and out of our country »assisting» black workers in their struggle. The officials of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and our colleagues in the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) are not allowed into South Africa.

Who are these friends of the illegal apartheid regime who also claim to be friends of the South African working class? It is only in children's stories that you can cross the river on the back of the crocodile's friend!

It is precisely because workers in South Africa do not have the freedom to choose their own friends, to decide whether they should affiliate to the WFTU or ICFTU, that we in SACTU feel that International affiliation should not become an issue at this stage.

POWERFUL WEAPON

Today the workers' struggle in South Africa has reached a crucial stage, with the formation of a national federation becoming a reality. The birth of SACTU on 5 March 1955 was in open defiance to racism. It was a bold declaration of unity. The »Declaration of Principles» on which SACTU was founded, embodies the principles of unity. Ever since, SACTU has regarded the unity of the labour movement on a local, regional and national level, as

Continued on Page 28

... Our main task as democratic and patriotic forces in South Africa is to spare no effort in ensuring that rural women are mobilised and organised on bread and butter issues into a united force. Making their daily lives a seedbed for powerful resistance against the apartheid regime. We need to cultivate, develop and inflame this force into mass revolutionary activity more than we did in the 50's when 20 000 women were mobilised against the pass laws.



NOMALIZO KOMANI

Bantustan women are the worst victims of apartheid rule. They have to scrape out a living from overgrazed, barren and unproductive lands. To subsidize their in-nutritious foodstuffs, they receive a small portion of their migrant husbands' depleted wage. Part of this slave wage is further reduced by Bantustan puppets in hut, land and livestock taxes, leaving almost nothing for food, clothings, education and medical care.

Given this dreadful position, our main task as democratic and patriotic forces in South Africa is to spare no effort in ensuring that rural women are mobilised and organised on bread and butter issues into a united force. Making their daily lives a seedbed for powerful resistance against the apartheid regime. We need to cultivate, develop, and inflame this force into mass revolutionary activity more than we did in the 50's when 20,000 women were mobilised against the pass laws.

The mass resistance displayed by women in 1956 was not spontaneous. It was an act of conscious mobilisation and organisation of women by the ANC Women's League and other women organisations. A

MOBILISE

task which the Federation of South African Women carried out with continued vigour. The legality of Women's organisations of those days should not be a shield for our complacency. We must always bear in mind that the racist regime and their puppets, to save themselves from destruction, have unleashed a campaign of terror and physical extermination of our people.

When dealing with the plight of rural women, we must also address ourselves to the socio-political situation of these rural communities, running from geographic isolation from one another, illiteracy, intermarried with old-age traditions that have become some of the major



A face of determination

problems which confine women's activities within kitchen walls, thus retarding their political development.

In the cities and towns, unlike the rural areas, industrialisation plays an important role in the development of worker's political consciousness, bringing them together from different localities for organisation and collective bargaining. Moreover, the exploitation of the workers

Our urgent task as revolutionaries is to reach rural women where they are, drawing them in as activists of the ANC, putting

them in their rightful place, as members of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe for the battlefield. We must also tackle the situation by mobilising and organising rural women on problems such as lack of schools, health care and even on the migratory laws themselves, and

THE RURAL WOMEN



helps to unmask their real enemy. One vivid example, is the victory scored by women in the Commercial and Catering Allied Worker's Unions for paid maternity leave.

As a result, the task for organising rural women is a long process and needs patience. There is no blueprint for this, as conditions differ from area to area. To succeed in our task, intense political education and campaigns addressing themselves to specific issues that affect rural women in their everyday lives must be carried out. Our propaganda must be made simple and where possible translated into the languages they speak and understand.

mount campaigns and programmes to fight them.

Since there are no rural organisations in the Bantustans, it is our duty to build them. Democratic organisations must send their activists to these areas to mobilise, guide the rural women and not wait for some crisis to erupt. Women organisations have an important role to play to mobilise and activate the rural women to fight for freedom.

**MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD
TO PEOPLE'S POWER!**

BOTHA THE BUTCHER**BOT**

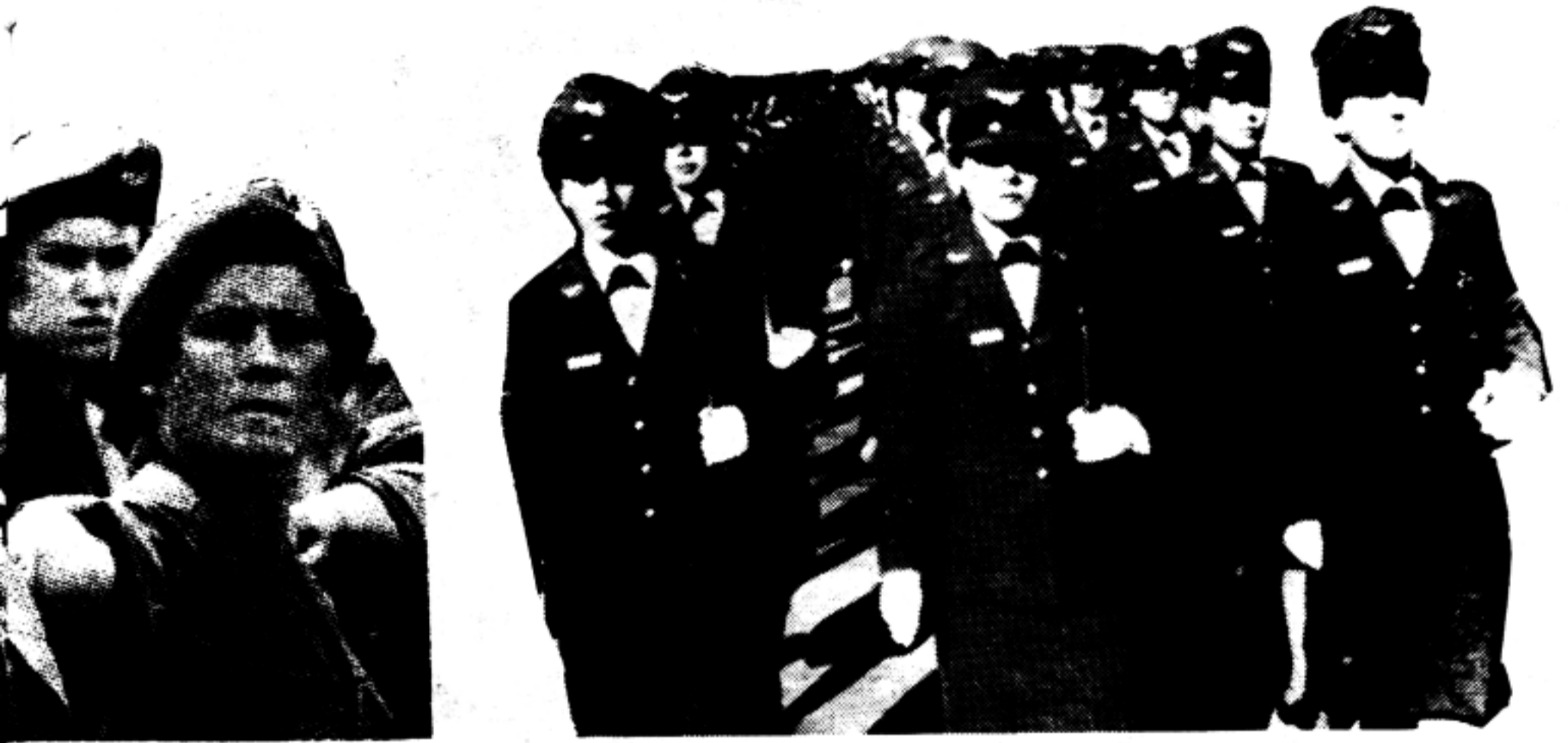
— BORIFI NTATHELA

While women in the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe together with millions of freedom-loving women all over the world were celebrating March 8th, the International Women's Day, and pledging to spare no quarter in the fight against oppressive and exploitative social systems, and the threat of war, more than a thousand white women were sweating it out at various bases of the SADF.

They are preparing themselves for a bigger role in defence of the oppression and super-exploitation of their black fellow countrymen, the illegal occupation of Namibia and parts of the People's Republic of Angola, and the continued aggression against independent South African states.

The racist army has recently launched an intensive recruiting campaign among white women. Quite a number of SADF bases, for example, Voortrekkerhoogte,

BOETHA'S ANGELS



Racist white women marching forward to their graves.

Simon's Town, the women's army college at George, Gordon's Bay, etc., offer facilities for their training.

WOMEN'S COLLEGE

The South African Army Women's College at George was founded in April 1971 for civil defence training. Up to 1976 a total of only 1016 had been through the college. In 1977 it was converted into an army training college, and by 1978 a steady increase of up to 300 was recorded in its annual intake. Today about a thousand women pass through the college annually. They are called "Botha's Babes" or "PW's Angels".

Women are trained in the college under a one year "voluntary national service scheme". They receive six months training and are then given posts for six months to "relieve men for operational duty". The public relations officer of the

SADF put it as follows: "Every woman who serves as a pay clerk or an instructor frees a male colleague for combat". They are then placed on the reserve list of civil defence units until they are 65, adding their figure to the already steadily increasing number of women in the commando (white part-time militia) units.

According to *Resister* (April-May 1983), by 1977 there were 6000 women volunteers in commando units, while the Citizen Force and Permanent Force now stands well over 2,000. Though according to the racist army's public pronouncements its policy is still that of reluctance to commit women to battles, a few have done their stint of border duty. They are known as "Ladies on the border". No doubt their number will grow as the war of liberation inside our country and in Namibia reaches higher summits.

HEARTS AND MINDS

Though to date service for white women in the SADF is still voluntary, the possibility of conscription is no longer remote. In speeches at women's passing out parades P.W. Botha consistently emphasises that compulsory national service for white women might be implemented in the near future. To this end a nasty wave of propoganda directed at white women has been unleashed. They are identified as one of the principal targets of the "to win their hearts and minds campaign".

Toddlers, irrespective of sex, are frequently taken from *nursery* schools and creches on visits to military bases. The children, usually aged between 3 and 6, are given rides in military vehicles and 'treated' to weapon demonstrations. At school, added to the classroom indoctrination under the "Youth Preparedness" programme girls are gradually being drawn into the holiday "Veld schools" and "adventure camps" where such subjects as "terrorist hunting" are being taught. At universities women students are encouraged to join the University Military Units (UMU's), while of late, like last December, around 55 women university and college students were taken on a visit to the operational area.

SUPPORT ROLES

Apart from direct physical involvement in the SADF, white women play other important support roles to the racist army. Competitions like the *Sarie Magazine Wooden Spoon — Ons Gee Om (We Do Care)* contest have become commonplace. In this particular competition entrants also submit with their cakes (the cakes are later sent to the "boys on the border"), the name of their chosen "boy on the border". Lucrative prizes like 3



The hearts and minds campaign.

Renault 5 cars, and 25 Southern Sun holidays are used to lure as many women as possible into entering.



Cakes for the racist soldiers.

Wives of officers and non-commissioned officers (NCO's) of the SADF are organised into the Defence Ladies Association, which is further sub-divided into Ladies Societies. Each base has a Ladies Society, composed of wives of its officers and NCO clubs, christmas presents for national sevice-men, etc. Funds are raised by holding morning markets, knitting competitions and other similar methods. Other racist women organisations like the Free State National Party Women's Action frequently raise funds in similar ways and make large donations to the SADF. They

also pay visits to the operational area.

Why all the moves towards the conscription of women, particularly at this pointing time? The reason is not too deep to fathom. The growing war of liberation inside our country, and the intensifying armed struggle in Namibia impose enormous strains on the SADF's personnel. Add to this the war of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other independent states of Southern Africa.

"independence" process and the creation of puppet armies are futile attempts to replenish and at the same time enlarge the fascist army's manpower pool.

To dissuade the white women in the SADF and the thousands who are about to find themselves in its ranks we must intensify our political work and propaganda in the fascist army and the white community in general. White democrats,



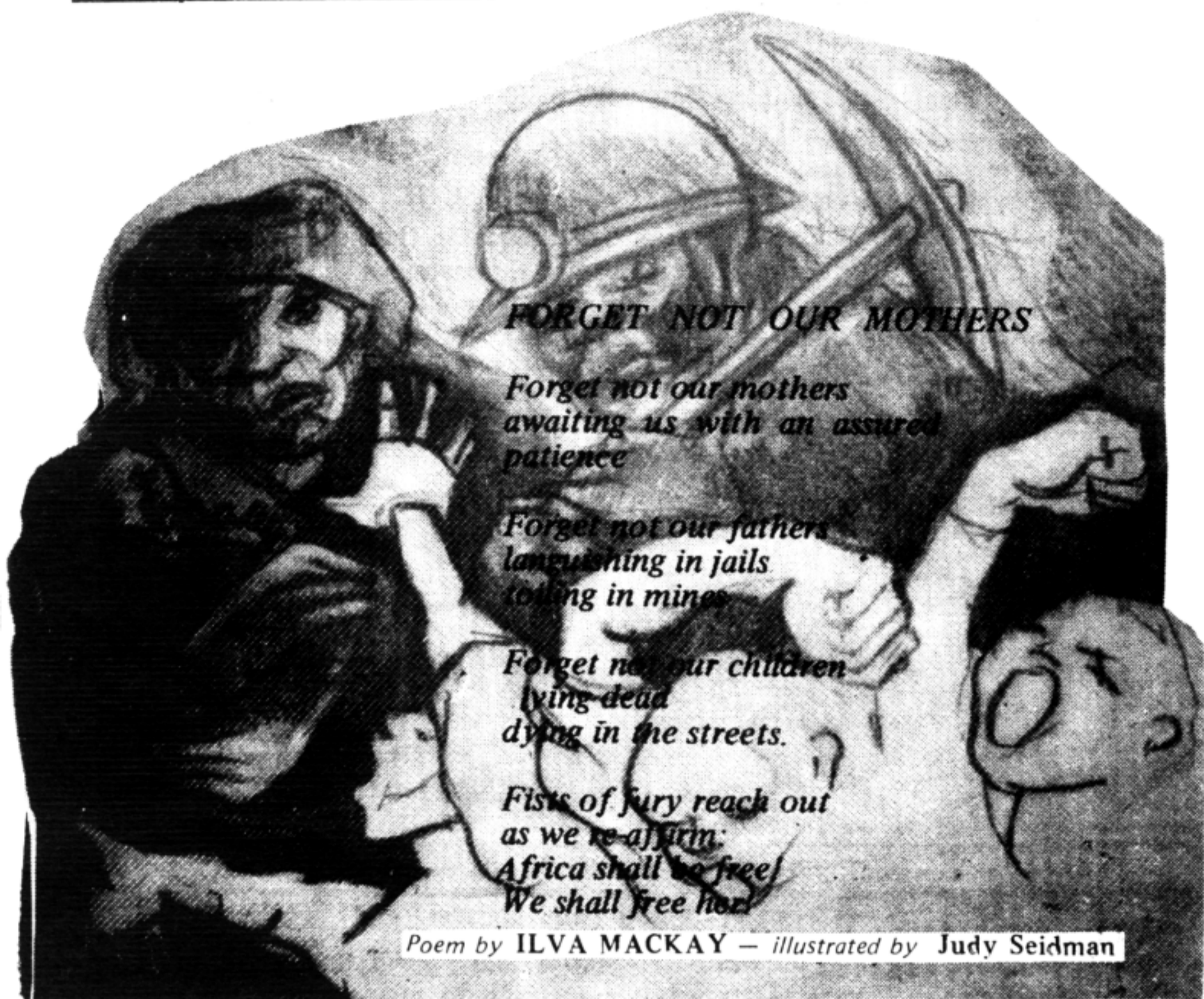
The butcher's babes with R4 rifle

The fascist army now finds the white male population inadequate as its sole manpower resource. All these schemes:

- the apparent gradual drawing of white women into SADF;
- the increase of national service to 24 months;
- the rise of service from 19 days per year for five years to 240 days served over eight years in the Citizen Force;
- the new constitutions's extension of call-up to so-called coloureds and Indians;
- the proposed amendment to the Citizenship Act aiming at conscripting immigrants;
- the speeding up of the bantustans

groups and organisations have an enormous role to play towards the accomplishment of this task. More and more white women need to be mobilised in the struggle for national liberation and add their weight to that of the Helen Josephs, Ruth Firsts, Barbara Hogans, and Jansie Lourens.

Above all, we must channel maximum energies into raising the level of armed struggle and display it uninterruptedly in battle that to fight for apartheid is to defend a cause long lost. Only then shall the white women realise that their proper place is beside Thandi Modise, in the ranks of the people's army, Umkhonto weSizwe.

**FORGET NOT OUR MOTHERS**

*Forget not our mothers
awaiting us with an assured
patience*

*Forget not our fathers
languishing in jails
tolling in mines*

*Forget not our children
lying dead
dying in the streets.*

*Fists of fury reach out
as we re-affirm:
Africa shall be free!
We shall free her!*

Poem by ILVA MACKAY — illustrated by Judy Seidman

DAWN POLITIXWORD NO. 1 — ANSWERS**ACROSS:**

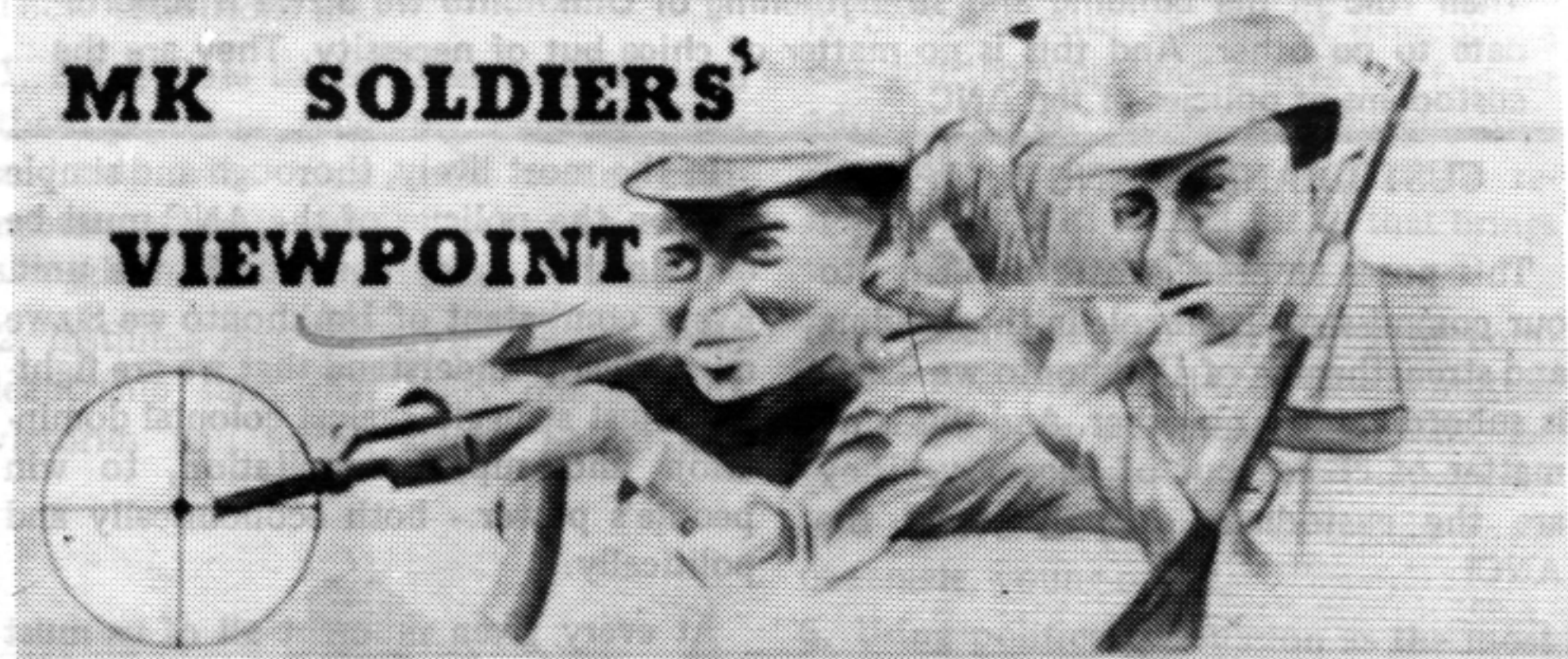
1. Sewparsingh 5. Offside 7. Re 9. Key 11. Mortar 12. ANC
14. Luns 15. Woe 17. Ignite 19. Freda 20. Stir

DOWN:

1. Snorkel 2. Push 3. Radio 4. Hazard 6. Fee 8. Atheist
10. Yankee 11. MC 13. NS 15. WG 16. ON 17. Ida
18. Ear

MK SOLDIERS'

VIEWPOINT



"For every Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg, for every Motsoaledi, Gwala, Nyembe or Hogan the enemy has captured, we must produce a thousand other."

PILLARS OF OUR ARMY

AMOS ALUKO



Presently we are faced with a situation in which we must fight till the last drop of blood, to win people's power over every inch of our soil. In this situation, Umkhonto we Sizwe the fighting arm of our people must produce cadres of a new type. Cadres who must be among the first to respond to the clarion call made to our people by our Commander-in-Chief, Comrade O.R. Tambo when he said, 'for every Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg, for every Motsoaledi, Gwala, Nyembe or Hogan the enemy has captured, we must produce a thousand others.'

'We have a duty to make our own sacrifice in the struggle to which they dedicated their lives. We must follow in their footsteps, learning from their experience, inspired by their courage and fired with the same love for the people and the same dedication to the cause which have made theirs to be household names not only in South Africa but throughout the world.'

Their role in the building and strengthening of Umkhonto we Sizwe is subordinate to no other. And this is no matter of choice but of necessity. They are the custodians of policies of the ANC.

CUSTODIANS OF ANC POLICY

This poses an even greater challenge to our commissars. Their role in the building and strengthening of Umkhonto we Sizwe is subordinate to no other. And this is no matter of choice but of necessity. They are the custodians of policies of the ANC!

It is the special task of commissars to ensure that the political line of the ANC becomes the essential component of the thinking of every member of MK and the unfailing guide to their actions.

Finally, all of us must be convinced that victory for our people is impossible without armed struggle and always be ready to fulfill all orders from our commanders aimed at the liberation of our people.

The fighting alliance between the ANC and the SACP must be defended by all of us on the basis of our knowledge and firm conviction that it is a guarantee to our victory.

Every soldier in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe must be able to correctly identify the enemy, namely, the colonial-fascist regime, the Oppenheimer class, the regime's puppets and world imperialism.

Instilling love for our organisation and leadership such that every one sees its victories and losses, strong points and shortcomings as his, and be ready to defend the organisation under all circumstances.

In the most lively, thorough and simple fashion the policies of the ANC must be explained to every comrade in the unit. Every combatant of Umkhonto we Sizwe must clearly understand that we are fighting a just struggle against colonial domination and super exploitation, to win people's power - both economically and politically.

At every given moment all of us must know, both in theory and practise, the different approaches to every section of our population including democratic whites with a view to involving all forces in a united and conscious struggle.

We must all know who our friends are internationally, and always strive to maintain close brotherly relations with them, including defending them.

Finally, all of us must be convinced that victory for our people is impossible without armed struggle and always be ready to fulfill all orders from our commanders aimed at the liberation of our people.

OUR EXPERIENCE

To achieve success in carrying out their vital tasks, our commissars need to always take their bearing on the experience of our People's Army. Drawing lessons from the twenty-two years of struggle which Umkhonto we Sizwe has gone through, they must always create such conditions as have been proved to be the ones which

shows that MK remains a people's army. These conditions are:

1. Being close to comrades to understand their problems including personal ones and help solve them. In the process commissars are able to explain our liberation struggle and impart optimism to them.
2. Instilling love for our organisation and leadership such that every one sees its victories and losses, strong points and



4. Encouragement of frank and comradely criticism with an aim of overcoming our shortcomings and ensure the further advance of our liberation struggle. This also raises a high sense of personal responsibility and respect for all that brings us together as comrades.

5. Maintenance and deepening of comradely relations based on love and mutual respect among all members of MK, regardless of whether one is a commander or a subordinate, trained or trainee, male or female, young or old.

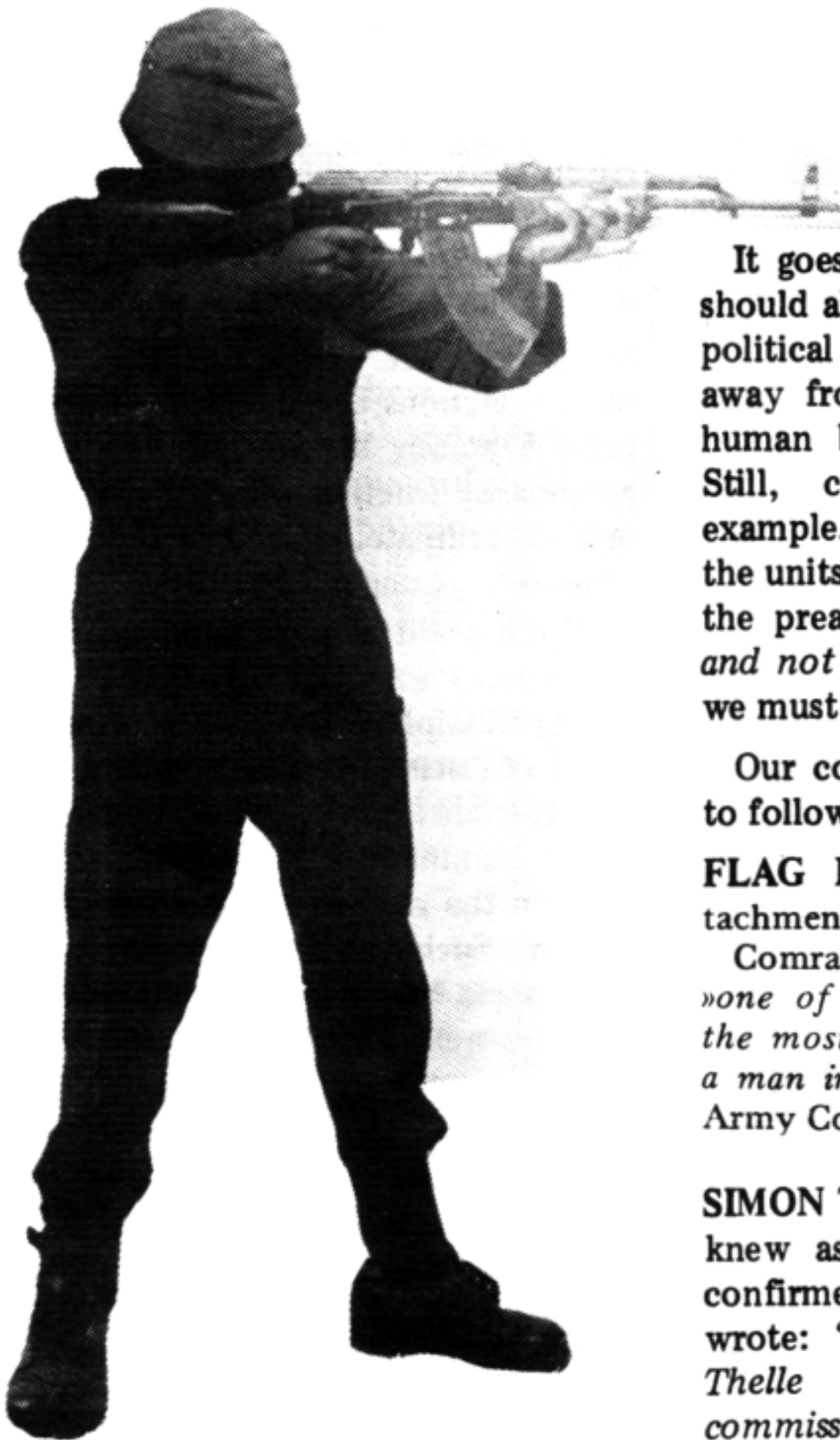
6. Using political persuasion as the most important method of solving problems of raising discipline within the units. The result of fascist practises in the SADF and all imperialist armies, where beatings, fatigues, humiliation and insults are daily used on the rank-and-file soldiers are well known. Such practises produce sadistic murderers, hatred among all and lead to desertions and mutiny. MK needs soldiers with conscious discipline based on one's conviction in the justness of our cause. Hence we must always rely on persuasion.

MK needs soldiers with conscious discipline based on one's conviction in the justness of our cause. Hence we must always rely on persuasion.

shortcomings as his, and be ready to defend the organisation under all circumstances.

3. Encouragement of open discussions on all questions relating to our struggle. We must ensure that comrades feel that their opinions are respected and therefore learn from others. In this way every combatant is encouraged to appreciate the problems of our struggle and share in the common striving to find possible solutions. The task of each comrade becomes even clearer.





An M.K. cadre - A soldier and political worker

There is another aspect of the work of commissars which must never be viewed as being of less importance. This is the task of showing great concern in the improvement of the diet and health conditions of the units as much as our resources can allow.

It goes without saying that commissars should always display the highest level of political consciousness. We cannot run away from the fact that they, too, are human beings with their shortcomings. Still, commissars must educate by example. Through them the members of the units must see that we have no use for the preacher approach of 'Do as I say' and not 'Do as I do'. As revolutionaries, we must always stand by what we say.

Our commissars have shining examples to follow, set by MK Commissars like:

FLAG BOSHILO of the Luthuli detachment.

Comrade Joe Slovo described him as *»one of the best MK cadres and one of the most dedicated communists. He was a man in the JB mould»*. He became our Army Commissar in the later 60's.

SIMON THELLE MOGOERANE who we knew as a good comrade and this was confirmed by his commander when he wrote: *'From Moroka to Wonderboom, Thelle was the beloved indomitable commissar. Exemplary and highly disciplined ...'*. He never flinched as he marched to the gallows on the 9th June 1983.

It is such fighters for freedom like Boshielo and Mogoerane, who have shown, both with words and deeds, what it takes for our commissars to be real pillars of our army. This is what our commissars must always be.

SHARPVILLE MASSACRE
21 MARCH 1960
24th ANNIVERSARY

**INTERNATIONAL DAY
FOR THE ELIMINATION
OF RACISM**



HEROINE OF OUR REVOLUTION



LILIAN NGOYI

BOY NXUMALO

Lilian Ngoyi was born in Pretoria in 1912. Her father was a miner and mother a domestic servant. Her religious background made an indelible imprint in her life. Lilian's childhood was that of poverty-deprivation as is the case with many African children. In later years, she had to ask herself this question: "Why can God not answer my parents? Something is wrong. The more we pray, the more poor we are". This is when she realized that something more than praying had to be done.

During those days it was a blessing for an African child to complete higher education. While attending school she had to help her mother with washing of a white woman who employed her. In accordance with Pretoria's laws she was sometimes refused entry into the yard of the white 'lady'. An African child could not be allowed entry while a dog could come in from whatever direction.

Lilian left high school in the first year because her family could no longer bear the expenses of her taxing education which included an annual 12 pounds 10shillings for school fees. She worked to help support her family and immediately came to learn of the South African realities.

Early in her married life she was widowed and with her meagre wage she had to support her three children, her mother and other members of the family, rent for the match-box house, transport fares and poll tax. She resolved to take action against all forms of injustices perpetrated against Africans. At times she had to leave her ailing mother to participate in campaigns against apartheid. Continuous exploitation led her to join the Garment Workers Union which later elected her to its executive committee. In 1952 she was involved in a protest march with her daughter against the banning of GWU Secretary General, Solly Sachs. Incidentally Helen Joseph and Mary Moodley who later became outstanding leaders of our women, were also in this demonstration.

In the same year, Lilian found her place in the African National Congress Women's League. With Ida Mtwana, Bertha Mkhize, Florence Matomela, Ray Alexander and Helen Joseph and other women leaders led the way to the formation of the Federation of the South African Women in 1954. In that founding conference she was elected the

»... We were proud that we went there, although disappointed not having seen him in person. Still the message was there. We left our message there. He knew by that ... we were a lot of people.»

Vice-President. The valour of the South African women made its landmark when Verwoed, then Minister of Native Affairs decreed that all African women are to carry passes. The enemy had "dislodged a boulder", Mangoyi and thousands of other women from various parts of the country, on August the 9th, 20,000 women strong besieged the Union Buildings in Pretoria led by Helen Joseph and herself.

"All processions to Pretoria were banned that day", as Hilda Bernstein recalls this historic event, "so the women walked to the Union buildings to see the Prime Minister in groups of not more than three. All of Pretoria was filled with women. This was four years before the national liberation movements were banned, and thousands of women wore the green and black congress blouses, Indian women dressed in brilliant saris, Xhosa women in their ochre robes with elaborate headscar-

»I must say I had a tough time, but my spirits have not been dampened. You can tell my friends all over the world that this old girl is still herself, if not mature after all the experiences. I am looking forward to the day when my children will share in the wealth of our lovely South Africa»

ves." J. G. Strydom, the racist prime minister then unaware of the developments outside, absorbed his shock in flight. Francis Baard who was also in the march gives a lucid picture of this cowardice. "He (Strydom) refused to see us...he just ran away, away from us ...We were proud that we went there, although dissapointed not having seen him in person. Still the message was there. We left our message there. He knew by that...we were a lot of people."

FEARLESS FIGHTER

The roaring fifties was a period of trial and tribulations under the reign of the Nationalist Party which assumed power in 1948. From the time it came into power

it assigned itself the task of suppressing all opposition against it. Mangoyi established herself as one of the fearless fighters against this Nazism. Her determination made her the victim of repression and police harassment. However, she is a source of inspiration to many women in our country. In one village in Western Transvaal, out of 400 women only 76 accepted passes. One shall remember that passés were not the only source of torment within the African community. Africans were also forced to drink »kaffir beer» against their traditional brew Umqombothi.

Her indomitable spirit was never broken by banishment during the state of emergency and numerous prison spells she went through. From 1961 she was barred from attending or addressing any gathering until November 1982. She died confined to her house in Orlando. In dipping our revolutionary banner in honour of Mangoyi a very

this courageous woman, we remember her inspiring message during the 1952 march in which she said: "I must say I had a tough time, but my spirits have not been dampened. You can tell my friends all over the world that this old girl is still herself, if not mature after all the experiences. I am looking forward to the day when my children will share in the wealth of our lovely South Africa." It was in appreciation and honour of this trailblazing heroism that the ANC awarded Mangoyi *ISITHWALANDWE* in 1981. It is with pride that in this year of the South African women we furthermore pierce the heart of this already growing Pretoria beast with the sharp spear that has been left by this warrior.

Continued from Page 13

a powerful weapon with which the workers can defend themselves. All our work has been directed to achieve this goal. It is through unity that we can defend our rights and protect any gains we have achieved through the heroic efforts and sacrifices of our workers. It is through unity that we can then move on to the offensive — by initiating mass national strikes, solidarity actions or joint actions with community organisations.

The struggle by workers for higher wages and better working conditions, is inextricably linked with the struggle for political rights in the land of our birth. Therefore, SACTU's role is to build the necessary unity in order to finally overthrow the oppressive exploitative state. We know no other path of struggle.

But there is a growing attempt by the detractors of our struggle to divide the trade union struggle from the struggle for political rights in the land of our birth. Therefore, SACTU's role is to build the necessary unity in order to finally overthrow the oppressive exploitative state. We know no other path of struggle.

But there is a growing attempt by the detractors of our struggle to divide the trade union struggle from the struggle for national liberation. African Confidential of the 16 December 1983 writes: *«a more difficult long-term problem is the relationship between the black trade unions and the liberation movements»*. It goes further to deliberately distort historical facts by portraying SACTU as the labour wing of the ANC.

CONSTITUTION

Perhaps those who have chosen to spread and believe this big lie need to

be reminded that SACTU was founded in 1955, 33 years after the birth of the ANC. At its founding Conference, SACTU adopted its own Constitution and elected its own National Executive Committee, and this is still the position today. However, we proudly say that SACTU is a component part of the Congress Alliance led by the ANC and adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955. It goes without saying therefore, that SACTU is committed to a revolutionary change in South Africa.

Having said this, we are surprised that the ICFTU Coordinating Committee on South Africa at its 22nd Meeting held in Brussels, Belgium on the 3rd and 4th November writes: *«it is disquieting to note that SACTU is increasingly trying to take credit for developments inside South Africa, as this could seriously prejudice the progress the independent black trade union movement is making»*.

We say that this is our struggle. It is a struggle for which Vuyisile Mini, Mkhabela, Khayinga, Ndzanga, Mdluli, Jabu Nyaose (Nzima), Mpongoshe, William Khanyile and hundreds more laid down their lives. Who else should take credit for these victories in our struggle, if not us, the executors of our struggle?

UNITE UNDER SACTU

What «progress» does the ICFTU want to see in our country? The birth of toothless trade unions fighting for industrial peace in the midst of apartheid exploitation? The ICFTU deliberately plays ignorant of the reality of the situation inside South Africa, in order to confuse and mislead the international trade union movement. ICFTU painstakingly hides the fact that SAAWU, at its 1983 Congress called upon all the democratic trade unions to *unite under the banner of SACTU*. ICFTU shies away from in-

forming the world that during the unity initiative by democratic trade unions to form a national federation, the preamble to SACTU's Constitution was adopted by July 1983 meeting of the Feasibility Committee, as that for the envisaged national federation.

There are determined efforts by the ICFTU affiliated unions like the Swedish LO/TCO, Dutch FNV, Canadian Labour Congress, and others to undermine and divert the revolutionary path of struggle followed by the militant working class, who are locked in battle with the bosses, transnational corporations and the apartheid regime. The stake of foreign investors in our country is high and the capitalist countries live in mortal fear of any revolutionary change in South Africa.

The funding of trade unions in South Africa is aimed at corrupting and buying over the trade union leadership in order to alienate them from the workers. Such »aid« is obviously politically motivated and has the desire to imbue our trade union movement with reformist tendencies. The exorbitant funding of workers' education is aimed at »educating« our trade union leadership to become obedient and dedicated servants of management and bosses. This is why today a sum of 1 115 325 pounds have been set aside by the ICFTU for the »education« of the black trade unionists. In addition, the benevolent US Ambassador to racist South Africa has recently stated that an amount of 1 million US dollars has been set aside by the US Government for the coming Federation.

PRETORIA'S CRIMES

We in SACTU, on behalf of our workers say: »*There can be no peace*

in Southern Africa or South Africa as long as the illegal Pretoria regime remains in power. How can there be peace when 20 000 children die in South Africa every year from malnutrition? When thousands of black people are forcibly removed and dumped in the Bantustans to die of starvation? When workers are shot dead for demanding a living wage? When we can no longer count the crimes perpetrated daily by the racist Pretoria regime? There can be no peace while the apartheid colonialist regime is the bedrock of international tension. No worker can call himself or herself free while workers in other countries are groaning under the heavy yoke of oppression and exploitation».

We shall continue to intensify our organisational capacities inside the factories, compounds, mines and on the farms. SACTU is rooted there amongst the workers and no amount of treachery or intrigue from foreign trade union centres will change this.

We do not want money that is stained with the blood of the workers from Chile, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Angola, Lesotho or anywhere else in the world.

We wish to restate our commitment to the total overthrow of the illegal Pretoria regime. To achieve this goal, we appeal to you in the international labour movement to play your internationalist duty in supporting by all means at your disposal, the struggling workers of South Africa, in consultation with SACTU.

**AN INJURY TO ONE
IS AN INJURY TO ALL!**

MK



WOMEN'S FORUM BATTLEFRONT

MARYLINE MEKGWE

The banning of the people's vanguard, the African National Congress, and the subsequent closure of the long non-violent stage of struggle, ushered a new era of armed struggle and the beginning and building up of underground resistance. This form of political resistance in the national liberation movement began to grow.

The racist regime has from time to time met our growing resistance with political persecution under the notorious South African Security legislations, from which many of us lost husbands and sons killed in the police cells through torture and detention without trial or mercilessly gunned down by the racists' bullets in the streets of Soweto and elsewhere. Hundreds and hundreds of our children die at an infant stage because of malnutrition and similar diseases, and those who survive suffer under child labour and homelessness.

As flowers of the nation, obliged to give birth by nature, as women we must exert our energies in the freedom struggle. We must ensure that our children, the old-aged, defenceless and humiliated by the enemy, forcefully removed from areas of



residence are saved from the clutches of apartheid rule. And this demands of us, active and full participation in the struggle for liberation.

TAKING UP ARMS

The ruthless murders of Ruth Firsts and Lindiwe Dlodlos show us clearly the extent to which the enemy is determined to destroy us. These should not deter us from our line of march. Ours is to respond to these callous murders equally in the language the enemy understands, by



Women in Zimbabwe fought arms in hand for an independent Zimbabwe

Women in El Salvador fight arms in hand for their country

taking up arms to meet violence with violence.

Our immediate task is therefore three-fold:

- (i) taking up arms to protect ourselves;
- (ii) preserve and secure the life we bring to earth; and
- (iii) eliminate the enemy and liberate ourselves.

ACTIVE ROLE

“Certainly, no longer should it be that the women’s place is in the kitchen, but in the battlefield of struggle.” Indeed, never before have women been called upon to play an active role in their rightful place, the liberation struggle in this, the Year of Women. We must join the

ranks of the ANC and swell our people’s army Umkhonto we Sizwe. We must redouble our efforts and fight side by side with our men as MK soldiers, fully prepared against the enemy, so as to realize the freedoms enshrined in the people’s document, the Freedom Charter.

The role we are to play is not an easy one. It requires us to be more determined, courageous and devoted in order to execute our revolutionary liberatory mission. Having in mind our resolute aim to destroy Botha and his cohorts, the Sebe’s and Matanzima’s, we must create conditions for assisting and giving shelter to MK soldiers, learning whatever fighting skills they may impart on us and finally join them in our all-round powerful offensive against the racist regime. Until Victory! We shall not Rest!

THE REAL LIFE OF DOMINGOS XAVIER

José Luandino Vieira

A novel of Angola

CHAPTER 8

The late afternoon of that Saturday was marked by an incident which had occurred so often as to become commonplace for the inhabitants of that township around the Post prison and the other one, with its high walls, of the new police. It was not the first or the second time that a woman, or man, came out weeping loudly or in silent grief. And, without further explanation, the great iron-clad door slammed in the face of the unhappy person who came out to lament sorrow or anger through the townships.

From the time when in the morning the prisoner, the tall, thin one, had arrived, Grandad Petelo had instructed his grandson: "You keep a look out, child. You play all the time near the prison, we need to know what happens."

And each morning he reminded young Zito of his daily task. The child went out, with catapult round his neck, and he and the other children played in that locality at cowboys and indians or at close-fought games of rag football. Sometimes

they moved away a little to the shade of the trees on the big unmade-up road, and for a few minutes were lost in fantasy as they played 'Bags I'; each child claiming for himself before the others the passing cars they spotted. But it was in playing marbles, in the shade of the cashew tree, that the afternoons were passed. And with fights over the cheats whose marbles were put in the 'trap' and the players who would not agree and ran off. Zito was an expert at marbles and it was difficult to escape his 'slaughter'.

So they were playing that quiet Saturday afternoon when the silence is at its greatest in the township. Many people did not have to work in the afternoon; some were sleeping and others went to the kiosks to talk quietly of life and its difficulties. As the wine was well watered, it would only be much later towards night that some would try to get up and talk foolishly. Soft-hearted mothers were pressing trousers for their sons, because, after all, Saturday is dance night. And as

soon as the bad times hit the townships, there would always be a dance in some spot, any excuse would do, as life will always triumph over death.

Young Zito, watched by Jacky and Kamabuindo, very deliberately was steering Toneco's marble towards the 'trap'. It was bad luck for Toneco because he had already gained three hand-spans, was on the way to a 'slaughter' and was already very close to the first hole. But Zito was pitiless. He meticulously measured out three hand-spans, tensed his middle finger and zap! One more shot would carry the little round marble into the perilous hole. But at that precise moment a woman with a baby in her arms appeared and came slowly towards them. Zito stopped his movement and watched inquisitively. The women did not come at that time of day, but only on Sunday mornings when visits were sometimes permitted. The woman went by without stopping and went to the big door where she rang the bell. It was Maria, with her baby Basty, who had come to look for Domingos.

After leaving the police station and after the big storm, Maria wanted to spend a day in the house. Her mind was full of confusion and her hopes had fled. Mama Terry could make little headway against her friend's tears and words of despair. But she did not give up; the people's friendship is like that. She let the girl rest for a day, because sleep always does you good. Next day, very early, she sent her own children out very early to allow her friend to spend all morning playing baby Basty. So it happened. And as Saturday was a beautiful day, with a clear sky and a brilliant sun bathing the little huts spread through the townships, Maria was diverted by her friend's chatter as she went about the household chores. A feel-

ing of hope began to build up again. At three in the afternoon Mr Cardoso arrived and, as he was not working that afternoon, he sat down to play with baby Basty and to say to his friend:

"Just listen, Maria! You can't give up and don't look for your husband, this is just what the police want — for no one to bother them. But if you keep going there with the baby, they'll have to give you an answer ..."

Maria agreed, but when she thought of her *companheiro* and the time for which she had not seen him, and of the story told by the *cipaio* at the Administration in the town, the hope instilled by her friends' confidence slipped away again. But Mr Cardoso did not give up: he talked on, played with baby Basty, changed the topic of conversation, and by five o'clock Maria put on clean cloths, picked up the baby and, as she already knew the way, she did what her friends were advising. She made her way to the prison of the new police, which was, as the police station had told her, next door to the townships' Post.

Afternoon was ending quietly, the wind was rustling in the fig tree leaves and in the cassava plants. Children were playing games on the red earth and the older people were just looking on, mothers and daughters were washing or ironing, fathers were leaning on the walls and engaging in meditative talk about life. This late Saturday afternoon peace even reached Maria, who was talking to baby Basty until she saw the children playing in front of the prison walls.

When young Zito saw the woman ring the bell, he muffed the third flick which was going to put Toneco's marble in the 'trap'. The other child jumped up, shouting with joy, and began his turn:

"Now you'll see Zito! I'm going to make a 'slaughter' and clean you out!"

"It wasn't worth taking a rest!" commented Kamabuindo.

But Zito went on staring at the woman and did not answer. The door opened after an exchange of words inside with the *cipaio* who had peered out, and Maria, with Basty in her arms, went through the gate and entered. Then Zito grabbed his marble and ran to his grandfather's hut. While the child ran off into the township, Toneco, Jacky and Kamabuindo were hurling insults:

"Cowardly! Running when you're beaten. Cheat!"

But the child heard none of what the friends were saying. He raced like the wind to the little hut where Grandad, smoking his pipe as usual, was seated at the doorway to catch the last rays of afternoon sun.

"Grandad, come quickly! There's a woman with a baby! She went in, into the prison."

Blinking his tired eyes, Grandad Petelo stook up and, letting his grandson lead him, went through the houses. He put away his pipe and was bombarding the child with questions. But Zito had not seen the woman clearly, although he would swear she was carrying a baby bundled up. As for the rest, her face, he had not seen, he had been distracted by the marbles.

"So, child! I tell you to keep watch ..."

"Eh! So didn't I? I'm telling you, Grandad, wait until she comes out."

"And suppose she doesn't come out?"

Zito was still arguing with his grandfather when they reached the open space in front of the huts, then Zito met the insults of his friends who had already given

up the fame:

"Cowardly, cowardly custard!"

"Aren't you ashamed! When you're winning, you stay. When you're losing, you split. If I get hold of you I'll smash you ..."

The child bent down quickly and skimmed a stone at them. Toneco, Jacky and Kamabuindo scampered across the rubbish filled grass and should back in mocking tones:

"Old one-bum! One-bu-u-u-um!"

Old Petelo in an obscene gesture stretched out his middle finger and shouted as loud as he could:

"Your mothers', your mothers'!"

When the children had vanished in the direction of Bairro Indigena, Zito sat his grandfather on a rock and stayed making drawings in the dust, while the old man, taking his inseparable pipe from his pocket, directed his feeble gaze towards the prison gate.

They had not long to wait. The sun moved a little in the organe sky by the sea and the wind began to blow more strongly, warning of the night which was approaching at its gentle pace. Suddenly the prison door opened and Maria came out crying, her baby Basty was still in her arms but her cloths were loose and dragging on the ground. She yelled so that all the township could hear and with hands to her hear she sobbed. Baby Basty, frightened by Maria's tears falling down on his face, added his childish wailing. Maria groaned and wept, letting the wind lift her loose cloths. Then she knelt down beating the red sand with her fists and letting her tears fall there, while baby Basty, suddenly let loose from the cloth, rolled on the ground, crying more loudly all the time. Mothers and children, many of the people, began to appear behind the

huts, some just looking on in fright, others already running towards the unfortunate woman. Maria yelled tearfully:

“Oooch, ooh, my husband! Ooh, they’ve killed him, I’m certain. Ooh, ooh, I want to die! I want to die too. They’ve killed him, I know! .”

Beating her head on the ground, she stayed weeping and saying these words over and over again. Zito was in the midst of the people who surrounded the woman and helped her to stand up, all stained with sand. A little girl picked up baby Basto and wiped the baby’s face with the corner of her cloth. Everyone tried to soothe the grief of the unknown woman, whose sad suffering was so plain to see. But Maria, her eyes staring, gazed and saw no one. So many people, friendly hands holding her, voices in her ears, but her grief was greater than anyone could know. Ooh, her husband, her *companheiro*, Domingos Xavier, so fond of baby Basto. No one like him, no one! They had killed him, she was certain, her heart told her.

“But, *mana*, how have they killed him? How do you know? He could still be alive ...”

“Oooh! They told me he went to Port Alexander, but I don’t believe it. The *cipaio* didn’t want to say anything, even he was ashamed. I know, my heart tells me. They’ve killed him.”

And she wept and cried out. The friendly voices of the old women were saying that Port Alexander was far away, but was better than the prison, with luck she could even manage to go there, to see her husband. Some smiles appeared in the hope of drawing a smile from Maria.

“Leave off, *mana*, leave off. You’ll see your husband.”

“Impossible! Ooh, they’ve killed him, I know! Or why didn’t the *cipaio* want to speak to me? I saw it in his eyes, they’ve killed my husband! ”

Many voices fell silent, as judgement was suspended, and only the mothers’ went on insisting. They brushed down her cloths, helped her tie her baby on her back, and stayed talking sadly about the sister who had come out on to the sand to sob and grieve for her husband, her *companheiro*. Old Petelo, from conversation with the women who had spoken to the poor woman, learned the name of the young prisoner who had arrived in the blue truck, and did not need anything else to understand. The prisoner, the tall, thin man who had arrived the other morning, tied by his feet, hands and neck, had died. They had killed him!

He took Zito’s hand and whispered some words in his ears. The women slowly dispersed, talking and grieving for the other woman — these times today; no one knows when they will come and take him. Night fell swiftly over the city, and Grandad Petelo with Zito hurried across the broad, colourless expanse of sand to Prenda, a township far away on the other side of the city perched above Maianga — Prenda showed the lights of its lamps shining through the electric light in the whites’ houses, which threateningly on all sides are climbing the hill where the township resists.

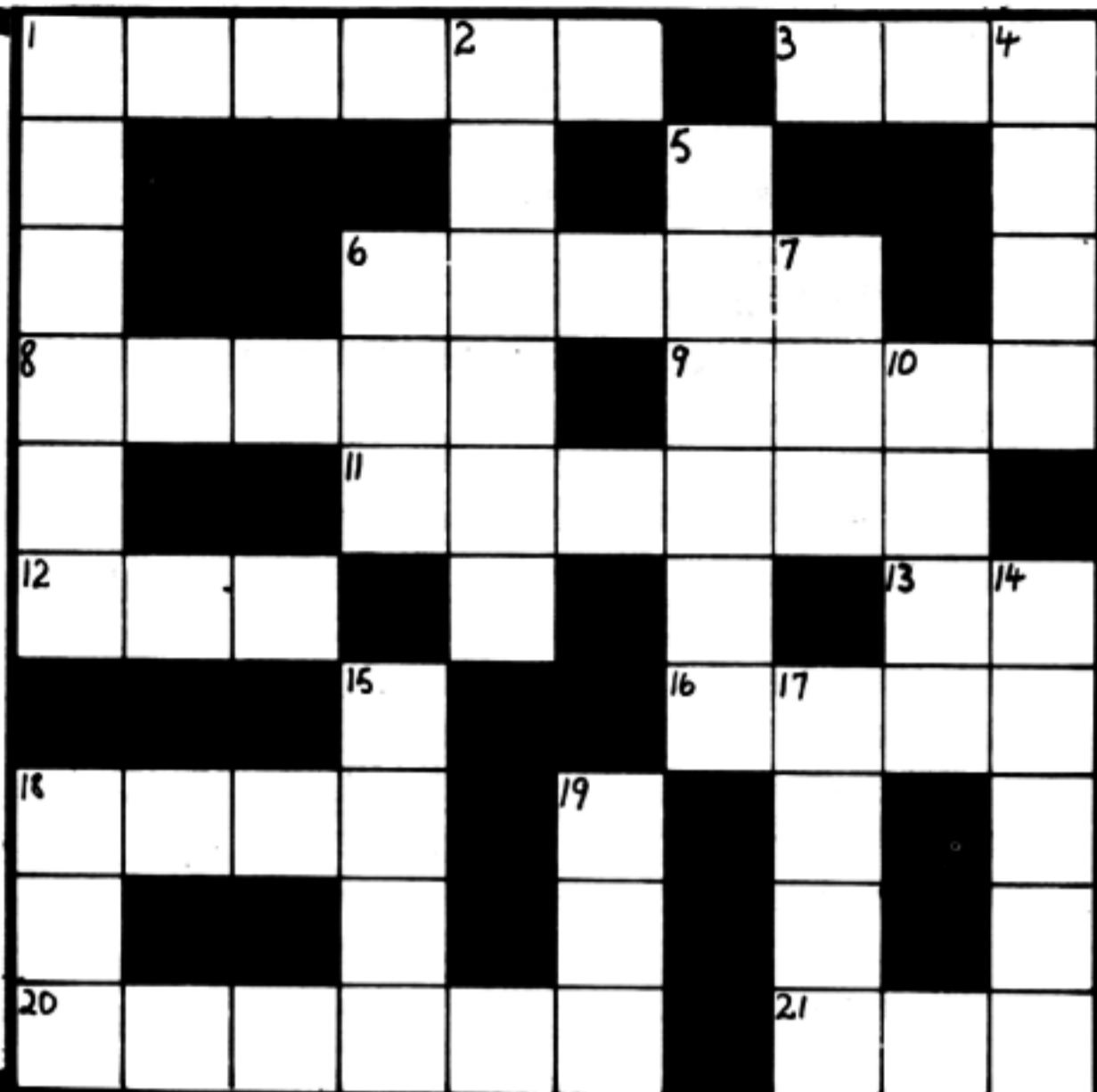
To Be Continued in the Next Issue.

DAWN



politiXword

No. 2



Clues

ACROSS:

1. Elected Vice-President at the founding conference of FEDSAW.
3. Was a member of the Congress Alliance.
6. A human being has two.
8. Taken ... means disconcerted.
9. To fow out slowly.
11. Army Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
12. Vanguard of our fighting poeple.
13. Concerning.
16. Natural satellite of the earth.
18. Moves on caterpillar tracks.
19. Heavy field gun.
21. No.

DOWN:

1. Administrative-Secretary of the ANC.
2. Great Soviet military leader.
4. Native of Denmark.
5. Self-centredness.
6. Lowest common multiple.
7. International signal for help.
10. To adjust aiming sights of a weapon.
14. Diplomat ranking below an ambassador.
15. Similar.
17. Enclosed chamber in which things are cooked.
18. Revived on May 1st 1983.
19. An enthusiastic supporter.

See answers in DAWN Vol 8 No. 4

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.



MOBIL

MK MANIFESTO

THE TIME COMES IN THE LIFE OF ANY NATION WHEN THERE REMAIN ONLY TWO CHOICES: SUBMIT OR FIGHT. THAT TIME HAS NOW COME TO SOUTH AFRICA: WE SHALL NOT SUBMIT AND WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO HIT BACK BY ALL MEANS IN DEFENCE OF OUR PEOPLE, OUR FUTURE AND OUR FREEDOM.

**STUDY MEN
AND THE
SOLUTION**